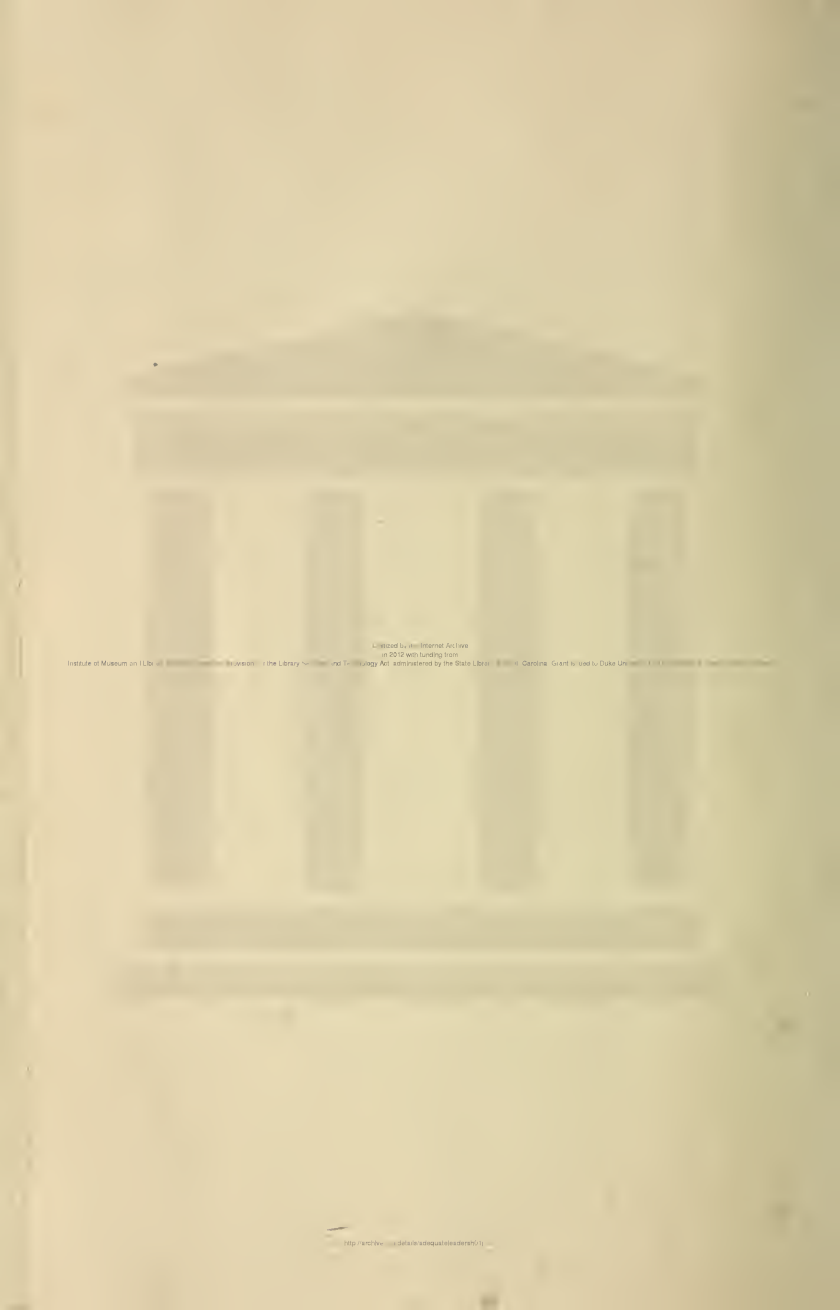

An Adequate Leadership for Friends Meetings

ALEXANDER C. PURDY

The Ward Lecture, 1950

GIVEN AT GUILFORD COLLEGE ON FOUNDERS DAY
November 10, 1950
GUILFORD COLLEGE, N. C.

J. M. Ward

Eudema Bales Ward

THE WARD LECTURES

The First Ward Lecture, "An Adequate Leadership for Friends Meetings," was given by Alexander C. Purdy on Founders Day, November 10, 1950.

Jeremiah Montgomery Ward and Eudema Bales Ward had a concern for a more adequate and spiritual leadership among Friends. The lectureship is among several projects established to further their special and persistent purpose.

During a period of years, perhaps nothing stimulates the thinking, inspires the activity, and unfolds the insight of a group more than the carefully prepared lectures of the religiously dedicated leaders of the era. It is envisaged that this expression of the generosity and foresight of the Wards will give new understanding, develop new motivation, and reveal new wisdom to the present and future leadership of the Society of Friends.

ALEXANDER C. PURDY

Alexander C. Purdy, Hosmer Professor of New Testament at Hartford Theological Seminary—eminent teacher, author, lecturer, and creative and inspiring Christian leader—presented the first Ward Lecture. He has constantly and constructively maintained his fellowship with and his interest in the Society of Friends. During his professorship at Hartford Seminary, he has been the understanding guide and wise counselor of approximately one hundred Friends preparing for religious leadership. He was, thus, especially qualified to prepare this lecture on "An Adequate Leadership for Friends Meetings."

AN ADEQUATE LEADERSHIP FOR FRIENDS MEETINGS

I am honored by the invitation to give the first annual Ward Lecture. Since the purpose of the J. M. Ward Trust Fund is to aid in the development of the future spiritual leadership of the Society of Friends, this lectureship as part of the program of the Fund may well be inaugurated by discussing the larger issue of an adequate leadership for Friends' Meetings rather than some specific aspect of it. I should perhaps add that the subject was suggested to me as a result of some observations first submitted to a small conference called by the Committee on Ministerial Training of the Five Years Meeting.

The phrase "adequate leadership" raises at once the perennial question of employed, salaried pastors or secretaries as over against a voluntary and unpaid Meeting leadership. The leadership of Friends Meetings in North Carolina, Tennessee and Ohio—the area specified in the Ward bequest—is prevailingly pastoral. Indeed, according to Elbert Russell's estimate, "Taking the Society as a whole throughout the world, about two-thirds of Friends are in pastoral Yearly Meetings."* One does not foresee any significant change in the immediate future in regard to an employed or pastoral leadership. My purpose in this lecture is not to debate the question again. I have listened to such debates for fifty years and shared in them for at least forty and while I am not prepared to say that these discussions have been wholly profitless I doubt if they have been very fruitful. Young men and women preparing to become Friends pastors have sensed a certain lack of dignity and significance in this vocation and a decided coolness on the part of many Friends toward the pastoral service. There has been a good deal of exaggeration about so-called "professionalism" on the one hand, and about the "deadness" of many non-pastoral

*Friends at Mid-Century (pamphlet), 1950, p. 14.

meetings on the other hand. This issue needs to be lifted out of the area of debate in so far as that is possible.

It is the purpose of this lecture to suggest another orientation of the question of Meeting leadership, by relating it to the task and opportunity of Friends in the world today. My purpose is therefore a limited one. I do not propose to discuss all the ramifications of the training and education of an adequate leadership, along the lines of what a theological seminary undertakes in the education of the clergy. What does constitute an adequate leadership for Friends' Meetings and how shall such a leadership be discovered and developed? This question cannot be answered without raising a prior and equally important question: What is the mission of the Society of Friends today? In my judgment, the answer to the first question will largely depend on the answer to the second. It is important to consider the mission of Friends not just in the rather general and somewhat abstract terms we often use but in more specific human situations.

QUAKERISM AND THE SEEKERS

The early Friends believed they were reviving "primitive Christianity" and theirs was a universal message for all men everywhere. But after an initial period of rapid growth, Quakerism ceased to attract large numbers into its fellowship. Many reasons may be given for the decline in life and enthusiasm following the first period of expansion. The Quietistic temper and interpretation, the growth of emphasis on conformity in the Society, an increase in wealth and respectability with the cessation of persecution, and deterioration in the quality and vigor of leadership—these are some of the causes of the cooling off of the Quaker movement as suggested by Quaker historians. We cannot overlook the possibility, however, that both the rapid growth and the subsequent failure to grow were due to the presence and then the absence of groups of seekers.

Sidney Lucas writes:

> The failure of the Society of Friends to live greatly and expand was not entirely due to its leaders, but to the times in which they lived. All the groups of Seekers and other small sects that came together to form the Society had been absorbed. They met Quakerism more than half way, bringing with them a depth of insight and spiritual resource that proved most valuable to the incipient Society of Friends. After this, progress was not easy, as most new members had to be either attracted from other religious groups or recruited from those who had no religious allegiance; both instances called for tact, patience, and powers of persuasion. Though possessing a message of universal appeal, Quakerism was conditioned in its growth by the environment in which it was born. As the level reached by a reservoir is limited by the springs that feed it, so the level reached by the Society of Friends was inevitably limited by the inflow of groups and individuals of the "Seeker" outlook.*

Has membership in our Society fluctuated through the three centuries of our history according to the existence or the absence of specially prepared groups ready for the Quaker message? Elbert Russell estimates that while "the population of the United States has approximately doubled since 1900 . . . we have at best gained only 3,000 members, less than 3 per cent."† Is this sad showing due wholly to our weakness and ineptitude or is it, in part at least, due to the lack of prepared groups of Seekers?

Where growth has come there seems to be no clear criterion indicating the causes. Why have some Yearly Meetings gained and others lost in membership? Neither evangelism nor a pastoral ministry, nor the lack of both, is represented consistently by the Yearly Meetings losing or gaining in number of members. To quote again from Elbert Russell's analysis:

*Sidney Lucas, The Quaker Story, Harper & Brother, 1949 pp. 104, 105.
†Elbert Russell, Friends at Mid-Century, 1950, p. 13.

The Pacific Coast Yearly Meetings have increased greatly, chiefly due to immigration from the east. North Carolina is the fastest growing Yearly Meeting not aided by immigration, having more than doubled in size, chiefly through large families and success in holding the young people. Ohio Yearly Meeting has been most earnest in the use of revival meetings and has made a net gain of about 500, an average of about ten a year. The great central Yearly Meetings—Wilmington, Indiana, Western, Iowa and Kansas—have declined in membership rather heavily in spite of evangelism and pastoral ministry. The Conservative Yearly Meetings have declined steadily. The General Conference Yearly Meetings were declining in 1900 and continued to do so until after the First World War. Since then they have just about regained their losses. Philadelphia (Arch Street) and London Yearly Meeting are both non-pastoral and similar in many other respects. Both have gained slowly in the period. New York and Baltimore (Five Years Meeting) are partly pastoral and have both gained in membership, the former very considerably.*

Looking across the Yearly Meetings as a whole we find no indication of substantial growth in this century.

Over against this survey of the more established Quaker Meetings must be placed a small but by no means insignificant phenomenon of present day Quakerism: the rise of about one hundred new Meetings which have sprung up since the first World War. These new Meetings have come into being, for the most part, in and around educational institutions. The nucleus of most of these meetings is one or more concerned Friends, or a Friends family, separated from an established Meeting by the amazing migratory movements of the past thirty-five years. About such a nucleus, Friends of various affiliations gather and with them others who have no Friendly background, at least of an organizational sort. So far as I know, these new Meetings all worship in unprogrammed gatherings

*Elbert Russell, Friends at Mid-Century, 1950 p. 14.

and without employed pastors. In so far as they attract non-Friends I think it is safe to say that the peace testimony, the work of the American Friends Service Committee, and the mystical note are prominent in these new meetings.

It is perhaps too early to say that the rise of these new Meetings witnesses to a new period of "seeking" and "seekers," for it is not entirely clear how much these Meetings owe to non-resident members of the established Meetings and how much to non-Friends who are attracted to them. They do witness, however, to a certain degree of receptivity of the Quaker message in our time. The new Meetings also raise once more the question of the mission of Friends today.

TWO VIEWS ON THE MISSION OF FRIENDS

A confusion in thinking about leadership in our Society arises from two views of the mission of the Society today. Perhaps the majority of Friends think of our mission as substantially identical with that of other Protestant churches. Our Friends Churches are often assigned an area in a city or town by the Comity Committee of the local Federation of Churches. In that area we are expected to assume the responsibility for the evangelism, the worship, the religious education, the social message, and the outreach of the Christian Church. The distinctive message of Friends is given within that framework and the amount and kind of Friendly emphasis will depend upon the make-up and background of the congregation and its employed leadership.

Such a Friends Meeting or Church is oriented primarily to a community as a whole rather than to a group of seekers. The support of its activities and its program depends upon members and attenders drawn from the general community and often from a geographical community, that is, folk who attend the Friends Church rather than the Methodist or the Baptist Church because it is nearer. With rapid transportation this strictly geographical factor means less but its significance

a generation or more ago undoubtedly influenced the development of Friends Churches and shaped their course.

It is sometimes suggested that Friends Churches with this sense of mission to a community, as the one religious organization ministering to an entire area, tend to lose their distinctive Friendly character and to lose the distinctive Friendly testimonies. This would be difficult to prove. The unprogrammed meeting certainly does not appeal to the general public but only to individuals and groups. As for the peace testimony there would seem to be no certain criterion for the production of pacifists, certainly not the criterion of pastoral as against non-pastoral meetings. One suspects that the family, the school and the college—actually the influence of individuals upon individuals—have been quite as important as the Meeting at this point. The Five Years Meeting with its prevailingly pastoral ministry has contributed many leaders to Quaker colleges and to the American Friends Service Committee.*

Over against this Friends Church is the Friends Meeting (I use the two terms for convenience only; many congregations with an employed pastor prefer the name Meeting to that of Church). With an unprogrammed meeting for worship and reliance on voluntary leadership, most Meetings do not feel a responsibility for a geographical area or for any community as such. Their existence and function is directed toward persons who fail to find in the churches the spiritual help and guidance they seek. Most Friends Meetings of this type do not regard their mission as identical with that of other Protestant Churches. They could hardly imagine themselves as in any sense in competition with other churches. They minister to special groups and to special individuals, to the modern "Seekers" indeed, and they are concerned with the special testimonies of Friends rather than primarily

*All the executive secretaries of the A.F.S.C., for example, came originally from pastoral meetings. Two of them, indeed, served as pastors.

with the concerns, such as Foreign Missions, which occupy the attention of the churches. Perhaps only through the Sunday School or First Day School or by means of a forum or lecture series do these Meetings touch the surrounding geographical community.

If this analysis of the current situation among Friends is at all accurate it follows that much of the debate between pastoral and non-pastoral meetings has been superficial, failing to face the important issues. Are we simply to accept differing conceptions of the function of Friends Meetings—now very deeply rooted—and go our several ways, or is there the possibility of drawing Friends of different types closer together in the conviction that we would all gain by a more understanding fellowship? It is my personal conviction that Friends would be enriched and stimulated by a fuller understanding of one another. I am also convinced that an analysis of the problem of leadership in our Meetings, of whatever type, might assist in furthering such an understanding. What are the needs of every Meeting, whether pastoral or non-pastoral, and how far do these needs form a common basis for better understanding and fellowship?

EVERY MEETING HAS A PASTORAL RESPONSIBILITY

Every Meeting, large or small, city or town or country, with an employed pastor or secretary or with voluntary leadership, every meeting has a pastoral opportunity and responsibility. How are its members, regular attenders and occasional or transient attenders to be gathered into the fellowship of the meeting? How are they to be made conscious of the warmth and reality of the Meeting's concern for people and for each one of them in particular? This means more than a friendly handclasp after the meeting for worship, though it certainly means that, for first impressions are important. It means a concern for the total life of each

individual and for each individual not just as an immortal soul but for each individual in the context of his or her daily life.

The Meeting must be aware of births, deaths, illnesses, the new job, the current success or difficulty in a vocation, marriages and family problems, the manifold exigencies of the education of children and the like. A recent reading of the life of Margaret Fell impressed me again with the vigorous and practical concern of early Friends in this area of pastoral responsibility. One of the reasons for the spread of Quakerism in the initial period was the conspicuous and organized way in which this responsibility was met. It is true, of course, that persecution bound them close together and called out a living concern for one another's welfare, but the practical implementation of their love for one another in the Truth was a witness to others of the reality and power of their spiritual experience.

Was it not in the same fashion that primitive Christianity spread? Not just doctrine and zeal, but human concern implementing both, won men and women to the little Christian churches. One ventures to assert that many who did not understand Paul's letters completely, did understand what it meant to be accepted—Jew or Gentile, slave or free, male or female—as a member of the body of Christ and to feel one's self bound up in the one bundle of life in the little Christian fellowship. Agnes Tierney once defined salvation by remarking that a man is saved when none of him is wasted. It is only a living, responsive fellowship, sensitive to each individual and glowing with the divine love which can lift individuals out of their isolation and loneliness and give them the sense of belonging to a society and of having meaning and significance as members of it.

Under modern conditions, especially in great cities, members of Friends Meetings often find it difficult to know one another except in the most casual way. Perhaps the

greatest weakness of the small, new Meetings in urban centers is this lack of any real community of life. Ideally this should be a major concern of the Committee on Ministry and Counsel but it is seldom carried out in any thoroughgoing way. It is true that in some Meetings the vocational, social and economic life of the members is so varied that only the meeting for worship brings them together, with perhaps an occasional conference or study class. Otherwise their lives are almost completely separate.

Where Friends have employed pastors the pastoral responsibility is obviously one of the pastor's major concerns. It is also the most difficult, varied and delicate task he undertakes. It is so easy to professionalize the pastoral office! Indeed the pressure of weddings, funerals, calls on the sick, and the shut-ins (the increased use of the modern hospital has altered considerably the pastor's task and opportunity with the sick), committee meetings, representation of Friends at this, that and the other public function and literally dozens of other obligations—all these tasks make the temptation to professionalism almost irresistible. But a Friends pastor cannot regard his vocation as priestly or even clerical. He has the more difficult task of enlisting the members of the Meeting in the pastoral work of the Meeting and of helping them to perform it.

The pastor faces the peril of becoming a clergyman, reckoned as one of the local clergy. He "officiates" at weddings and funerals, represents Friends at ecclesiastical and public ceremonies, shares the discounts to clergymen and is called Reverend. In short he differs from other clergymen only because he does not administer the sacraments, at least this tends to be the public view of a Friends pastor.

That so many pastors have witnessed effectively to the Quaker message of lay religion in spite of this powerful social pressure is evidence of their deep devotion to the testimonies of Friends. Professionalism is quite as deeply deplored by the

clergy of many churches as it is by Friends. Professionalism is the recourse of little people who substitute the tricks of their trade for its real vocation. Yet Friends do have a sound and important witness to give here and it should be the concern of every pastor to achieve the dignity of representing "our Meeting" instead of "my Church" and of thinking of his task as that of enlisting the members of the Meeting in the pastoral responsibilities of the Meeting.

The field of personal counseling is being explored in our time and the pastor ought to be aware of the skills and the experience accumulating in this new discipline which is, of course, a very old one now being freshly implemented. It is not to be expected that a pastor or Meeting secretary shall be necessarily expert in this skill; certainly it is most dangerous for him to attempt to probe into the depths of mental illness as such. He ought, however, to avail himself of the general information at hand in the field of counseling. Above all, there should be some person in every Meeting who is in touch with psychiatrists and with the social agencies of the community. Then the Meeting will have a personal contact with professional assistance when members or attenders need such help.

THE MEETING'S RESPONSIBILITY FOR RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

The field of religious education requires trained and educated leadership. Not every member of the Meeting is qualified to teach and expert guidance to the full extent of the resources and personnel of the congregation is needed. We have been for many years more or less aware of the importance of good religious education for our children and youth. We have now to face the problem of a religiously illiterate adult group, since more than a generation of folk who know next to nothing about the Bible, the history of the Christian Church, or even the history of Quakerism is present in our Meetings. The really pressing need is that of adult religious

education; an over-all program for the Meeting as a whole which shall send a thrill of new life through the whole.

Let me particularize what I mean. In one small Meeting which I know intimately, a Meeting of about seventy-five members, there are the following resources in terms of personnel: at least three professional social workers; a professor of international relations from a nearby teacher's college; two teachers from a theological seminary; a former executive secretary of the state Council of Churches who served for many years as a pastor; several other past and present teachers in schools and colleges; a few physicians, lawyers, and other professional men; a few business men and fewer workers in industry; the usual number of housewives who have had wide-ranging experience in various fields. The educational resources may be somewhat unusual in this particular Meeting but very many Friends Meetings could show something similar. What is the moral? In spite of ample resources in terms of Meeting personnel, the Meeting just described is actually religiously illiterate. I mean as a Meeting little is known by the members about the Bible, about the history of the Christian religion or Christian thought, about other religions, even about Quakerism, or about the social implications of religion. The Meeting has members who do know something about these fields, but the Meeting as a whole probably deserves the harsh description, religiously illiterate, and would confess it.

The average Friends Meeting in these days has resources in its membership for a thorough program of adult religious education. This does not mean that it has experts in these various fields; it means that its membership usually includes persons who can, in their spare time and as an avocation, make themselves authorities in some field pertaining to the religious life of the Meeting. We know this because in any Meeting there are a number of persons who have done just that in following their hobbies. If they could be challenged

with the possibility of becoming a Meeting resource in this or that aspect of religious knowledge and skill there are no limits to the possibilities of religious education in and through the Meeting.

Some careful thinking about the total adult program for a Meeting might yield surprising results. The time factor is not the limiting consideration as in more formal educational ventures. A Meeting curriculum could be planned for a five or even a ten year period. In this way the spotty, sporadic character of the educational program might be overcome. An adult class in the Sunday School is not enough. Talks at supper meetings, occasional addresses and forum discussions, an educational plan for the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings so effectively used by our English Friends and other adult opportunities might be integrated into an over-all, master plan of religious education. Some Friends are interested in current political, social and economic questions; others in the study of the Bible, church history, other religions and the like. All groups might be willing to share in a curriculum of studies including, in due course, the entire range of subjects decided upon. We have an advantage over formal schools and colleges in that we are not limited to a few crowded years; we have our lives before us for a life-long educational process. One is not thinking of a rigid system but of a flexible, comprehensive set of objectives integrating the educational activities of the Meeting.

The pastor, Meeting secretary or chairman of the Committee on Religious Education who conceives his opportunity in such terms may well be fired with a contagious enthusiasm. He will want to discover and uncover all the resources of the membership and he may be surprised to find them richer than he had dared to imagine.

THE OUTREACH OF THE MEETING

The outreach of the Meeting to those beyond its limits whether in this or in other lands needs an informed and capable leadership. One of the real gains achieved in this century is a new integration of the missionary and the social objectives of the Christian message. We are coming to see that the objectives of the American Friends Service Committee, the Friends Foreign Mission Board and the Friends Committee on National Legislation, to name only three agencies of outreach, are and ought to be much closer than we had supposed. Our testimonies as Friends are all essentially spiritual, springing from the same source and speaking to that of God in every man. Obviously the outreach of the Meeting, whether to the immediate community or to the other side of the world, must be based on sound information and education in the Meeting itself. Social and missionary action in terms of the giving of men and of means, in terms of exploiting and discovering ways of influencing public opinion and action, in terms of finding and using methods of reconciliation in areas of tension and conflict—all this is an important service in every Friends Meeting.

The pastor is a natural leader in this area of the Meeting's life. The amount of literature coming to him daily threatens to engulf him; all from good causes and most of it enlisting his sympathy and support. The average member of the Meeting simply cannot give the time required to open and read the flood of literature that comes to the average-sized Friends Meeting, much less the time and effort required to carry out the proposals suggested, however praiseworthy. A carefully planned distribution of this material to those who are interested in and concerned with each separate cause is clearly indicated. The boy facing the draft who needs to know what this pamphlet contains; the committee chairman who will make use of that letter; the group working on a particular

project, described or further illuminated by some communication from another Meeting or by an article in a Friendly periodical—these persons need constant help and inspiration from these multiple sources. It is an arduous but deeply rewarding task to help the membership of the Meeting function democratically as a fellowship of Christians in community with one another and with the world outside.

LEADERSHIP AND THE MEETING FOR WORSHIP

The role of leadership in the meeting for worship is the one area in which any serious difference of principle arises. Pastoral leadership in the pastoral responsibilities of the Meeting, in the field of religious education, and in the outreach of the Meeting does not seem to challenge any Friendly principle. When such leadership is really **leadership** it is nothing more than gifted Friends have exercised from the beginning of Quakerism. The first publishers of Truth, as they were called, were supported by means of a common stock or pool to which Friends voluntarily contributed. Friends did object to a "hireling" ministry paid by taxes exacted from the public. The same testimony against a state church or its equivalent would be made by Friends today. There can be no valid objection, however, to furnishing adequate means for those who carry out the purposes of the Meeting under its guidance. The recognition of this responsibility in the employment of Meeting secretaries confirms one in feeling that the issue no longer is, if it ever has been, a matter of financial support as such. We come back, then, to the central point at issue: the conduct of the meeting for worship.

Is it essential that the meeting for worship shall be free, completely unprogrammed, and without a recognized and appointed human leadership? It may be well to summarize briefly some of the considerations which make this question so important. The meeting for worship is the central gathering

of the Meeting, the focus of its life and work, and perhaps the major impact it makes on the community. The status of the pastor in the Meeting and in the community depends in large part, it is urged, upon his leadership in the meeting for worship and especially upon his prepared sermons. His service outside the meeting for worship through the varied ministries he shares with others is dignified by his leadership in the meeting for worship, and in turn his vocal ministry is reinforced by his many services. One may well question whether a Meeting secretary, who has no more responsibility than any other member for the meeting for worship, will ever achieve a position of dignity and vocational security. A further consideration of a different kind must be included if the importance of this question is to be fully grasped. Most meetings of the programmed kind and with an employed pastor as the leader of worship would not welcome any drastic change in the manner of worship.

May we turn again to the question: Is the unprogrammed meeting essential to Quakerism? Perhaps we may assume general agreement on two points: first, that it is essential that we seek the guidance of the Spirit of God in our worship whatever the man-made forms may be and second, that the unprogrammed meeting is the one unique contribution of Friends to public worship. Can we move together one further step: there is no immediate possibility that programmed or semi-programmed meetings with a prepared sermon as the central feature will be transformed either now or in the foreseeable future into wholly unprogrammed meetings.

I can imagine Friends meetings of the programmed type moving ever closer to other Protestant bodies until the appeal for unity shall finally result in the absorption of Friends into a larger frame of reference. One also is prepared to see Friends sharing in Community Churches where the trend toward unity is all but inevitable. What ought to concern us is not our survival as a separate body but whether we have

a vital contribution to make and whether we are making it.

More than ten years ago Rufus Jones wrote:

> I am impressed with the feeling that most of the Christian leaders and Christian bodies in the world want us Friends to maintain our unique position, our freedom from ecclesiastical forms and our way of life and worship. These unique traits have been won at very great cost of life and suffering. Thousands of our forerunners have suffered for this freedom. We are numerically a feeble people, almost negligible in the rank of statistics. If we count at all it is because we are bearers of a spiritual heritage which is not only priceless to us but precious in the sight of many who belong to other communions.*

Rufus Jones has given us the right leading. The endless debate over who is a real Quaker and what kind of meeting is a real Friends meeting has not been very fruitful. We need rather to ask, What is our spiritual heritage and are we faithful bearers of this heritage in this needy time? And this question needs to be asked not in terms of some other context than our own specific situations but about our meetings as they now are in city, town and countryside.

The pastoral meetings need especially to consider whether the sacramental aspect of worship is in danger of neglect in programmed meetings. There must be a continuing and important place for a prophetic ministry but it is apparent that many people today are oppressed by wordiness in press, radio, platform and pulpit. Are there not many who hunger for a sacramental, mystical interpretation of the Gospel, something deeper than instruction, indoctrination, exhortation? The living, awe-full silence of a gathered company seeking to realize the Presence of Christ is the Quaker sacrament. It is limited by no outward symbol and validated by no priest. It has the reality of authentic personal experience in a group context, and is therefore capable of repetition, for

*The Friend, 8th month 10th, 1939.

"where two or three are gathered in my name, there am I in the midst of them." And this kind of sacramental experience is capable of an immediate and wholesome reference to everyday life through the simple ministry arising from the group which is bound together by the sense of the Presence in the Midst.

Friends in the programmed meetings for worship need to search their hearts to ask if they lack this sacramental note. If and when it is lacking they need to ask how it may be recovered. A good many experiments are going forward. So far as I know no completely satisfactory solution has been achieved. Shall there be periods of unprogrammed worship in an otherwise programmed meeting? Shall an unprogrammed meeting be arranged to meet at some other time than the regular Sunday morning hour? Shall there be an unprogrammed meeting on one or more Sunday mornings in the month, with programmed meetings on the other Sundays? All these experiments and no doubt others are going forward at the present time.

It is encouraging that an increasing number of Friends, and especially Friends pastors, are keenly aware of the need to recover, in the present fabric of the programmed meeting for worship, this sacramental emphasis and experience.

The present lecturer has had a share in the training and education of many young men and women who have become pastors, Meeting secretaries, and religious educators. As has been recently pointed out, Friends in general have not been theologically minded, and we are not apt to develop many professional theologians; the climate of Quakerism does not seem to be right for the production of many Robert Barclays. We need some, however, and we need a leadership which is sufficiently in touch with the history and thinking of the

Christian Church throughout the centuries to guard us from the vagaries which crop up from time to time only to be recognized by the scholar as very ancient and disastrous errors.

We need also a good sprinkling of scholarly interpreters of the Bible and of the other historic disciplines taught in the best theological seminaries. But what one longs for most is that the impulse for human service dramatized by the Service Committee and the Mission Board might also be channeled into the life and work of our local Meetings as well as into other lands and far places. If we are willing to consider the mission of the Meeting in its totality and the possibilities before us as Friends in our local communities we might awaken a desire to be of service there and the corresponding possibility of a more adequate leadership.

The Function of a Quaker College

HOWARD H. BRINTON

The Ward Lecture, 1951

Given at
GUILFORD COLLEGE ON FOUNDERS DAY
November 9, 1951
GUILFORD COLLEGE, N. C.

The Function of a Quaker College

WARD LECTURE

by

Howard H. Brinton

GUILFORD COLLEGE

November 9, 1951

Inaugural Ward Lecture, *"An Adequate Leadership for Friends Meetings."* Alexander C. Purdy, November 10, 1950

THE WARD LECTURES

IN 1946, the J. M. Ward Permanent Trust Fund was established for "the use and benefit of the Society of Friends in Ohio, Tennessee, and North Carolina."

Jeremiah Montgomery and Eudema Bales Ward had a concern that a more adequate and spiritual leadership should be developed among Friends. In order to carry out their purpose, the Board of Trustees of Guilford College designated that a major part of the annual income from the Trust Fund should provide scholarships for especially qualified students. Three other types of activity were also approved: research grants to study the needs for leadership, community service projects for isolated Friends' groups and rural meetings, and the annual Ward Lecture.

It is envisaged that the Ward Lectures will give new understanding, develop new motivation, and reveal new wisdom to the present and future leadership of the Society of Friends.

I.

THE EDUCATION OF THOUGHT AND FEELING

I SHALL take my text from a statement issued in 1848 by the trustees of New Garden Boarding School, the parent of Guilford College. This statement defines education as follows:

> By education we ought to understand whatever has a tendency to invigorate the intellect, to train the mind to thought and reflection, to mould aright the affections of the heart and to confirm us in the practice of virtue.
>
> *Guilford, A Quaker College,* Gilbert, p. 77.

This definition expresses the ideal of Quaker education as it was envisaged a hundred years ago and as it continues to serve as the ideal in Quaker schools and colleges today. The four objectives are really two, each being mentioned twice. According to this statement, education must include the development of both mind and heart, training in the use of the intellect and practice in the ways of virtue. In other words, education is concerned with both thought and feeling.

Most education today is focused more upon the first, that is, on thought, intellect or reason. There is too little conscious cultivation of the kind of wisdom which comes through feeling. By feeling I do not mean emotion which may accompany any kind of activity. I mean by feeling that capacity by which we discover what is valuable in itself. That which is valuable as a means toward some particular end is ascertained by reason, but the value of the end itself is made known by feeling. A good life is worth living for what it is in itself, not for what can be done with it, and the character of a good life is realized not through any process of reasoning, but by our deepest feelings.

The worship of God, if genuine, is valuable for what it is in itself. If I worship God or live a good life because of some benefit which I may receive from doing so, I am neither

sincere nor genuine. If I write a poem or paint a picture, I would like you to enjoy or value it for what it is in itself, not for what you can do with it; in other words, I would hope that it might inspire you with the same feeling that I enjoyed in creating it. If you commend my creation because it possesses admirable qualities, and yet you do not have the right experience on being exposed to it, I have very likely failed. I appeal to your critical judgment, but the criterion of taste is not made by reason. It is an act of appreciation made by the feelings. We spend much time, and rightly, on educating powers of thought by which we judge what is true or false, but how can we educate the feelings which tell us what is good or evil, agreeable or disagreeable, religious or irreligious, beautiful or ugly; in other words, how can we educate the sense of value?

College Education Neglects Feeling

We provide in our colleges courses in philosophy, literature, ethics, aesthetics and religion. These subjects involve taste and judgment of value by means of feeling. But our college courses in these subjects are often as intellectual in content as are courses in mathematics. Even in theological schools this condition prevails. Students are provided with theories which various authorities have advanced regarding the nature of, shall we say, religion. They give a knowledge about the subject, not the knowledge of acquaintance.

In a course in science the teacher undertakes to help his students to become scientifically minded, but in a course in religion the teacher does not necessarily undertake to help his students to become religiously minded. There are no laboratories in religion where the students seek to attain to religious experience. In ethics the student may learn what various thinkers have thought about the nature of good and evil, but is he thereby inspired to be good? He may even feel that, since the great authorities disagree regarding the nature

of what is excellent, that goodness itself is purely relative to one's interest and point of view. A student who is morally bad might receive the highest grade in ethics and a student might be given a grade of A in aesthetics who had never experienced a genuine feeling for the beautiful. Without a true feeling for the good, the beautiful, the religious, knowledge in these fields is intellectual.

I do not wish to be misunderstood as identifying the good, the beautiful and the religious. Feeling gives us wisdom in many different fields, including humor. It would be possible for a man without any sense of humor to write a book on the subject simply by observing what kinds of things people laugh at. He would have an intellectual or scientific knowledge of humor, but not a basic feeling for it. In the same way it would be possible for a deaf man who had never heard a sound to write a book on sound. Most laboratory experiments on sound involve principally the use of the eyes.

Limitations of Education in Thought Only

In scientific studies we learn of facts and theories regarding the world revealed to us by our senses. These facts may be used for a good or an evil purpose; education in facts alone is an incomplete training. We are now beginning to realize that the belief in progress through scientific knowledge, so characteristic of the 19th century and the early decades of the 20th, is an insufficient, if not a false belief. It used to be taken for granted that humanity was getting better and better because we were knowing more and more. Every new discovery in science increased the sum total of human knowledge. Man's power to improve himself and his environment was to that degree increased. The age of optimism was ended by the two World Wars and the rise of totalitarian states in which scientific knowledge was used for the opposite of good purposes. It is clear now that increase in scientific knowledge may increase man's power to do evil as it may increase his power to do good.

Some persons, who realize that recent and still continuing tragic events demonstrate how science destroys as well as builds and heals, tell us that our trouble is due to the fact that the physical sciences are overdeveloped in comparison with social sciences. We know too much about nature and not enough about man. The balance will be restored if we develop biology, economics, sociology and psychology as elaborately as we have developed physics and chemistry. These critics do not realize that the social sciences are often pursued in a way that is just as intellectual and as little concerned with value as are the physical sciences. A dictator who wishes to put his people completely under his control, needs a keen knowledge of social psychology in order to make his propaganda succeed, of sociology in order properly to organize his supporters, of economics in order to make prosperity appear entirely dependent on himself, and of biology in order to breed a race with a slave mentality. The laws of heredity enable a breeder to breed pigs so fat that they are unable to walk. This may be a satisfactory result from the farmers' point of view, but an unsatisfactory result from the point of view of the pig. Expertness in social sciences might be useful to those in control, but its misuse might prove the opposite to those who are controlled. Does this mean that we should give up education as a means of improving mankind? The answer I wish to emphasize is this: Education should be more ardently pursued than ever before, but it must be an education of feeling as well as an education in thought.

Does goodness come through knowledge? Can virtue be taught? These are very old problems. They were discussed at length by Plato in *The Republic* and have often since been subjects of debate. I believe that virtue does come through knowledge and can be taught, but not through an intellectual knowledge of facts so much as by a knowledge of values obtained through sensitizing our feelings, particularly our consciences. Thinking may tell us what is true or false, but only

feeling, in this case we call it conscience, can tell us what is right or wrong. No one was ever argued into being good. A person becomes good by apprehending goodness in the depth of his soul at the spring of his will. Thoughts are on the mind's surface. Feelings arise out of what may be called the depths. It is not easy to reach those depths by any conventional method of teaching. Von Hügel writes, "It is by the apparently slight, apparently far away accompaniment of a perfectly individual music to the spoken or sung text of the common speech of man, that I am, it would seem, really moved and won."

The Conflict of Thought and Feeling

Psychologists tell us that we seldom do things because of reasons for doing them. We more often find reasons for doing what we want to do. Our feelings come from a deeper, more intimate source than our thoughts. Feelings influence thought in a way we do not usually realize. We all experience fears, dislikes, prejudices which run counter to our reason. It is quite possible for thought and feeling to be on opposite sides of a question. Some persons, for example, who are pacifists in their thoughts, act in a way which indicates that they are war-like in their feelings. Some who are militarists intellectually may be pacifist in their feelings and quite incapable of becoming effective soldiers. Some, by a process of logical reasoning, become opposed to all racial discrimination, but they are obviously possessed by feelings which are discriminatory. This is shown when they go so far as to overemphasize their good relations with minorities.

A certain group of communists in England a few years ago agreed to practice their theories and live together communally. When they got together they quarrelled over each person's share of work and goods. It was soon found better to separate. These people were communist in thought but individualist in feeling. I remember that in my college days our professor of economics, like other professors of economics, was

a free-trader and convinced us of the soundness of his position, but all his students who went into business immediately became advocates of a high tariff.

Is there then any method of education which will educate feeling as well as thought so that the two will be in harmony? If thought and feeling are not in harmony, man is at war with himself and if he is at war with himself he will soon be at war with others.

The Danger of One-Sidedness

At a musical concert Sir William Crookes, the famous physicist, was once asked, "Why are you so interested in that man's playing?" He answered, "I was merely seeking to calculate the energy in foot-pounds being expended per minute." This answer indicates the nature of a problem which faces us today in many forms, a problem arising out of the fact that we are all specialists. We are apt to specialize either in thought or in feeling, seldom in both. Hence we are out of balance. It is not considered correct for a professor of one subject to take more than an amateur's interest in other subjects.

When Sir Arthur Eddington, the famous Quaker mathematical physicist, wrote about mysticism, he forfeited the confidence of some of his fellow physicists. Since the sixteenth century, human knowledge has become so vast that no one can claim to compass more than a very small part of it. As a result, learned men tend to be one-sided. A specialist in a subject involving thought would hesitate to specialize also in a subject involving feeling; he would probably feel that he had not the capacity to do both. If he specializes in thought, his feelings remain undeveloped, and immature. A business man who has spent his whole life in making money may realize, when he is about to retire, that he has no religion and that he needs what religion alone can give if his life is to have a satisfactory goal and meaning. He goes in for re-

ligion and not infrequently adopts fantastic, even infantile, religious ideas because up to now his religious feelings have remained undeveloped.

Our whole culture is out of balance because its attention has become concentrated on tools and machines, products of intellect, rather than on the goals and meanings which can be ascertained only by feeling. We make extremely efficient automobiles in order to go nowhere in particular. We are concerned with means rather than with meaning, with tools rather than goals. Our civilization is a tool civilization. Tools are the product of thought.

It may be that human beings first began to have self-conscious, logical thought processes only when they began to create tools. The animal whose tools grow on his body does not, because of them, develop self-conscious thought. His tool using arises out of his sub-conscious feelings. We are grateful for the development of reason by which the human race has reached preeminence in the animal kingdom, but the penalty often paid for this advance is the underdevelopment of feeling and inability to realize value.

In certain respects human beings have reached the prominent place they hold for the very reason that men are in many ways less highly specialized than animals. It has been remarked that a human hand is not as useful as a wing for flying, a fin for swimming, or a claw for fighting. But the hand is more useful than any of these because it is so generalized and so sensitive to a variety of situations. Though it cannot be used for flying, or long range navigation, it can produce airplanes and ships. Perhaps we can learn from our own history as human beings that, while specialization is one of our greatest advantages, we misuse it at our peril. All sides of our being must be both efficient and responsible.

II

THE QUAKER EMPHASIS

So far we have only diagnosed our difficulty and diagnosis is easier than cure. How can we educate feeling? How, for example, can we teach religion, a question which Sunday School teachers ask in despair. It is not difficult to teach facts *about* religion, its history, its doctrines, its practices, but that is very different from making even the earnest student religious.

Since this is a lecture delivered in commemoration of the founding of a Quaker institution, we may properly turn to the Society of Friends for guidance. The Quakers have been clearly aware of this problem and of the nature of its solution. Three centuries ago the founders of the Society of Friends discovered the Inward Light which came from God and shone into their souls. Their discovery was not new. Christians had previously been aware of the Divine Spirit giving strength and guidance from within; especially were the early Christians aware of it, first at Pentecost and many times later when the Spirit was poured out upon congregations. But in the 17th century it was not generally realized and the Quakers' emphasis on it was considered to be a revolutionary doctrine. At that time the Protestants held that moral and religious truth could be found only in the Bible; the Catholics held that the Church was the sole repository of such truth, while, then as always, there were many who thought that morality and religion could be deduced by a process of reasoning.

The Quakers denied the primacy of all three of these sources of religious and moral truth, though they acknowledged the value of each as an important secondary source. They held that the fountain of truth was men's deepest feelings resulting from the permeation of his soul by the Divine Spirit, which they called the Inward Light. This Light is not

primarily revealed on the surface of the mind, where are the ideas which we use in dealing with our outward environment. It shines into the depths of the soul and it can be reached only by "centering down," to use an old Quaker phrase, that is, by concentrating our attention on the inward side of life where the soul's windows open toward the Divine rather than on the outward side where the windows open toward the world revealed by our senses. This Light Within coming direct from God can tell us what is ultimately valuable. Reason, church tradition and the sacred book, all of them derived from the Light, provide indispensable checks on the character of our guidance.

To the Light the Quakers ascribed other functions besides that of revealing moral and religious truth. It was the Light which gave man power to act on his religious and moral insights and brought him into unity with God and his fellow men. The Light could move the will in a way which reason could not. This is another way of saying that the Light is apprehended by feeling rather than by thinking. The highest religious activity is simply opening the soul to the Light in the silent, waiting, expectancy of worship.

For this reason the early Friends hesitated in regard to higher education, lest so much study result in a religion of ideas rather than in a religion of feeling. They were opposed to what they called "airy notions" or a religion "afloat on the surface."

William Dewsbury, one of the most saintly of the early Friends, wrote in a letter:

> I have a concern upon my spirit to write to you that you do not rest in an outward profession of truth received by education, but watch unto the heart-searching Light of Christ in you which will let you see that you must be regenerated and born again and so be made real and faithful Friends by the heavenly inspiration of the Spirit of God in you.
>
> (*Friends Library* II, 291)

And in a similar vein William Penn wrote that for

> most men . . . that which is the religion of their education and not of their judgment is the religion of another and not theirs.
>
> (*Fruits of Solitude,* Works, p. 742)

Quakerism and Higher Education

Friends knew, however, that Quaker children, if they were to be useful citizens and succeed in life, must know how to read, write, keep accounts, and speak grammatically. They even needed to learn foreign tongues in order to be able to spread the Truth. So, where a meeting house was built, an elementary school was also established. But Friends soon found that it was not easy to get teachers with the right character, qualified to exert the right sort of religious and moral influence on their students. The boarding schools, set up by several Yearly Meetings, resulted, partly at least, from an effort to prepare teachers for the elementary schools. Particular efforts were made to secure the right kind of environment to educate students religiously and morally. Of the first 400 students at New Garden Boarding School, 100 became teachers.

But Friends were then faced with the problem of securing the right teachers for the Boarding Schools and also for the Quaker Academies, many of which were founded in the first half of the nineteenth century. As a result of this demand (though there were other reasons as well), the Quaker colleges evolved, having, in a sense, the same objectives as the Boarding Schools. In the initial stage the colleges resembled the Boarding Schools and Academies in many ways. This was natural and inevitable in the case of Guilford, Haverford and Earlham which developed directly out of the Boarding School. Swarthmore College was founded because of the concern of Benjamin Hallowell that better teachers be prepared for Quaker schools.

By the nature of their need of teachers Friends were induced to undertake higher education though they continued to

have reservations about it. In the course of time it became clear that their hesitation was not in regard to higher education as such, but toward the particular kind of higher education which was concerned with words and ideas to the exclusion of training and experience having to do with acts and feelings. As the Guilford Trustees expressed it, there must be an education of the heart as well as the mind, a training in virtue as well as intellect. Allen Jay, who once raised money for Guilford College as well as for other Friends colleges, quotes in his Journal (p. 68) a speaker who said,

> The Quakers have the true idea of education. They educate the body, intellect and heart together, which is the true system of education, for if you educate the intellect alone, you have a cold and formal Christian, or if you educate the heart and emotions alone, you have a fanatic with his hobbies.

Job Scott, a Quaker school teacher, writes,

> I fear a great part of the tuition which too many children receive under the name of Christian instruction tends rather to blunt the true sense and evidence of divine truths upon the mind and to substitute notions and systems instead.
>
> (*Journal*, p. 11)

The Quaker emphasis on feeling rather than doctrines, creeds or arguments as a source of moral and religious truth is well illustrated by typical expressions used in Quaker meetings for the transaction of the business of the church. A conservative Quaker who is still under the influence of the older customs will not say "*I believe* this to be right;" he will say that "I *feel* this to be right," "I *feel* that I must go on this journey," "that course is in accord with my *feelings*." An examination of the Quaker Journals or autobiographies shows the wide use of the word "feel" in reference to any concern that the writer apprehends has been laid upon him.

How then did the Quakers undertake to teach religion and morality?

The Boarding Schools were in their early days almost all of junior college rank. Many subjects were taught, such as Christian Evidences, the Principles of Morality, Philosophy, Logic, Analytic Geometry, Trigonometry, Astronomy, Navigation, Surveying, which today might be studied in the first or second year of college. In North Carolina there was New Garden Boarding School under the Yearly Meeting and about ten academies under Quarterly Meetings, the latest survivors being Belvedere (1834-1914), Woodland (1876-1916), and, nearby in Virginia, Corinth (1888-1908).

These educational institutions were organized on the family plan. They were co-educational and were presided over by a man and wife, called the superintendent and matron, with equal responsibilities. This was a peculiarly Quaker type of organization; there has been nothing quite like it elsewhere in educational practice. The interdependent life typical of the average Quaker family was closely approximated. Students worked in the garden and on the farm. At Ackworth School in England, which was the prototype of all the Friends Boarding Schools, the girls mended the boys' clothes. There was a daily period of family worship, which consisted of a reading from the Bible followed by silence. The school went to meeting together twice on Sunday and once in the middle of the week. Many of the teachers resided in the school building in intimate relation with their pupils. Members of the school committee and Friends traveling with a concern for the ministry were continually coming and going.

These arrangements resulted in a closely integrated community life which exerted a powerful influence on character. This kind of interdependent life is most effective in educating feeling. Thought was thoroughly exercised in the classroom. The Quakers were well aware of the importance of developing the mind and equipping it with the facts, powers and skills needed for successful living. But they were equally interested

in developing that area of the human soul which is deeper than thought, the region into which the Divine Light shines revealing religious and moral truth. This area is not as thoroughly cultivated by specific instruction in the classroom as it is by what might be called a religious and moral atmosphere breathed by young people during all their school days. The impact of the school community on the individual was exclusive. There was no competing influence. The expression "a religious, guarded education," so often appearing in the minutes of Friends meetings, designated the considered effort to keep out distractions. As the student took part in the activities of the school community, he was affected more deeply than would have been possible by studies alone. His feelings were trained as well as his thoughts.

Absolute and Relative Truth

But it must be noted that similar methods can be used to educate evil feelings as well as good ones. The Quakers not only believed in the Inward Light, but they were keenly aware both of inward and outward darkness, a fact which some modern Quakers have decided to overlook. The methods used in their youth organizations by Hitler, Mussolini and the Communists exhibit some aspects of the same pattern. An exclusive community is created. Youth takes part in its closely knit activities which powerfully affect the character and will. But there is this important difference,—for the Nazis, Fascists and Russian Communists, truth is relative and subordinate to a particular purpose, while for the Quakers, Truth has always been Absolute, and independent of human purposes. Man is not the center of the moral universe any more than he is the center of the physical universe. The Quakers did not rely on indoctrination, though they have always firmly believed in expressing Truth as they see it. They believe in exposure to the Light of Truth in the heart, confident that Truth would be apprehended if the right conditions were created to produce

a maximum realization of the presence of the Divine Source of Truth within.

This principle is also fundamental to the Quaker business meeting which arrives at its decisions not by voting, but by a search for unanimity, the theory being that, since there is only one absolute Truth, the nearer the meeting comes to that Truth the nearer it will come into unity. Unity therefore can be reached if waited for in the right spirit; a humble, genuine searching by the whole group. In this procedure a minimum of power or authority is exercised by any individual or majority.

The same method can be used as an educational technique in those subjects which concern values, but it is not useful in teaching the facts of science or history. The Light Within does not reveal such facts.

The Search for Consistency

It must be recognized that, during the age at which young people attend college, their reason is at its most intense stage of development. The most important question for them to answer is simply, "is it reasonable?" Is this particular fact or theory now offered for my evaluation consistent with what I already know? The test of reason is the test of consistency. College students abhor inconsistency. As they grow older, they find by experience that life is full of inconsistencies which they are forced to accept, or at least admit. When this stage comes, fortunate are those who know how to resort to the test of feeling in addition to the test of reason. "The heart has reasons which reason knows not of," says the mathematician Pascal, and many inconsistencies are resolved, not by reason, but by a deeper insight. Job could not reconcile the justice of God with the suffering of the righteous, but he had a religious experience which eventually satisfied him. The college student should be shown that his efforts to express all knowledge by a consistent system is not feasible. If religion appears inconsistent with science, it does not follow that one or the other is un-

true. There are many inconsistencies within science itself. The recognition of these inconsistencies has often been the means of making way for newer and more profound insights.

If scientific thought gives us one view of life and our religious feelings give us another, we are offered an opportunity for a profound search into the Truth which may be found to include both. When thought and feeling are synthesized, we are on the strongest foundation. This is well illustrated in the case of pacifists faced with conscription,—the rational pacifist finds himself in the weakest position, the religious pacifist is in a stronger position, but the man who bases his position both on reason and religion is in the strongest position of all.

The Quaker College

The Friends colleges which evolved out of Boarding Schools or Academies kept many of their original characteristics and methods, though they were modified by a large influx of non-Quaker students and staff and by the requirements of standardizing agencies. It is still true that the Quaker colleges, to varying degrees, retain part of the original emphasis on a religiously centered community life which profoundly affects feeling as well as thought. I had never realized this as clearly as when I transferred from teaching in Earlham College to a non-denominational college. This college was characterized by high academic standards and a religiously motivated origin which exerted definite influence on the curriculum, but there was a difference between it and Earlham which is difficult to describe. The Quaker colleges, Guilford, Earlham and Haverford, in which I have taught (I cannot speak with the same intimate knowledge of the others), possessed a subtle, indefinable quality, a kind of community life centered in the higher values, independent of classroom courses, yet not wholly unrelated to them.

It is this which makes a Quaker college distinctive and which, if allowed to develop and grow, will result in imple-

menting the Quaker social testimonies for equality, simplicity and peace. I shall not elaborate on these social doctrines, but I would like to emphasize one which used to be primary in Quaker thought and experience, but which is now largely overlooked. The Quakers believed in simplicity or genuineness in speech to a degree which frequently brought them into ridicule. They were opposed to what today would be called "verbalism," the use of words which are not true expressions of what was felt and experienced, words for the sake of words, rather than for the sake of truth. I believe that verbalism is a disease from which our higher education is suffering today. We educate our students in the expert use of speech, an important and useful accomplishment but, as in advertising, this expertness is often used to impress others rather than to express what the speaker really thinks and feels. The forced and rapid reading of innumerable books creates a tendency toward insincerity and indifference in the use of words. William Penn in outlining ten characteristics of a Quaker mentions as one "the use of few words." Modern Quakers would do well to exert greater care in this regard.

One other desirable characteristic may be selected for consideration. If the ideal of a Quaker college as a religiously centered community of students and teachers, *societas magistrorum descipulorumque,* as it was anciently expressed, is to continue to exist, then the college should not be too large. As the college grows, a certain point is reached at which it ceases to be an integrated community and becomes an aggregate of individuals who create small, often competitive, communities within the larger whole. A college created for the purpose here outlined must be small enough for every member to become well acquainted with every other member. When the freshmen have no opportunity to study under the leading teachers on the faculty, the college is too large.

I have pointed out elsewhere that college and university education in our Western culture began by placing the Divine Arts first, the Liberal Arts or the humanities second and the Useful Arts third. This was the order of precedence of chapel, library and hall—the divine, the human and that which concerned man's relation to nature. In the course of the 19th century, the Liberal Arts forged ahead of the Divine Arts and now, in the 20th century, the Useful Arts, the practical or applied sciences, appear to present the greatest attraction. The Quaker colleges must not lag behind either in the humanities or in science, but perhaps it is given to us in a peculiar way to demonstrate that it is still possible to put the Divine Arts first. Our Quaker religion which is based, as is science, on immediate experience, has nothing to fear from the discoveries of science, history, archeology or any other honest endeavor of human intellect and reason. It is a frightening fact that many of the most influential teachers today in American colleges and universities are scientific materialists. Those who teach religion and ethics, and have religious or moral views of their own, seldom venture to express them fully. Our colleges and universities, especially those under state control, must take no small share of the blame for the prevailing materialistic philosophy in American life. This lays a great responsibility on all religiously centered institutions.

There are only two ways of changing men,—one is by education of spirit, mind and body, and the other is by violence. Quakers are opposed to changes wrought by violence. Such change is superficial and generally creates an inner reaction opposite in direction to the change desired. Education is the one peaceful technique for creating changes for the better. But, as I have endeavored to show, men are not greatly changed by education if education concerns only ideas, theories and facts, these being on the surface of the mind. We need to extend our education not so much in extent as in

depth. We need to reach and change for the better those deeper feelings which express the inner character of persons. We need to discover and develop methods suited to present conditions for achieving this. Feelings alone give significance and value to life. All else is means rather than meaning, tools by which we move rather than goals to which we go.

Three thousand years ago a Chinese sage named Mohtze believed that men could be educated to do absolutely anything if appropriate methods were used. He observed that the emperor could so educate his soldiers that they would march into a blazing fire if ordered to do so. Mohtze concluded that men could be educated just as effectually to practice universal love and dispense with all strife and contention.

The education of spirit, mind and body can be a powerful instrument in the hands of a religious group which seeks to bring about the kingdom of righteousness on earth by changing men from within. Quaker methods are based on the belief that, in the depths of his soul, man is in contact with the Divine Spirit of Truth and Love. The Seed of Truth was planted when God breathed into man the breath of Life. Our part as teachers, is to provide the right soil and nourishment in order that the Seed may grow.

HOWARD H. BRINTON

HOWARD H. BRINTON, Director of Pendle Hall, was selected the second Ward lecturer. He is especially qualified to interpret "The Function of a Quaker College" because of his teaching at Guilford, Earlham and Haverford colleges and Pendle Hill and because of his long and careful study of Quaker education. Since the Friends colleges must of necessity help select and prepare the leadership for the distinctive ministry and service of the Society of Friends, Howard H. Brinton's rich and varied experiences, not only in these colleges, but also with Friends meetings and service projects, give him significant preparation for this particular investigation and lecture. As a thought-provoking creative teacher and author, he draws upon a wide and exact knowledge of many subjects—mathematics, physics, religion, philosophy and Quakerism—and illuminates his teaching and writing with penetrating spiritual insight!

Friends and International Affairs

CLARENCE E. PICKETT

The Ward Lecture, 1952

Given at
GUILFORD COLLEGE ON FOUNDERS DAY
October 22, 1952
GUILFORD COLLEGE, N. C.

Friends and International Affairs

WARD LECTURE

by

Clarence E. Pickett

GUILFORD COLLEGE
October 22, 1952

Inaugural Ward Lecture, *"An Adequate Leadership for Friends Meetings."* Alexander C. Purdy, November 10, 1950

Second Ward Lecture, *"The Function of a Quaker College."* Howard H. Brinton, November 9, 1951

FRIENDS AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

IT SEEMS an innocent statement to make in our time, but in the middle of the 17th century Quaker leaders discovered that "there was that of God in every man." It was not thought to be an innocuous idea, but ran counter not only to the authority of the Pope but to the doctrines of the Reformation propounded by Luther and Calvin. Neither Friends nor their antagonists were colorless in the terms they used defending their position. In 1659 over a hundred pamphlets appeared denouncing Quakers. George Fox replied in a pamphlet entitled "The Great Mystery of the Great Whore Unfolded and Anti-Christ's Kingdom Revealed Unto Destruction; An Answer to Many False Doctrines and Principles Which Babylon's Merchants Have Traded With." Replying, a Puritan pamphlet appeared under the title "The Quakers' Folly Made Manifest to All Men," to which George Whitehead, a prominent Quaker of the first generation, replied under the title "The Boasting Baptist Dismounted and the Beast Disarmed"; again a reply by the Baptists, "The Quaker Quasht and his Quarrel Quelled."

Why did people get so excited about this new idea? I have no doubt that it arose partly from the rough-and-ready character of the early founders of the Society of Friends. Heretics usually act in unorthodox fashion. When a preacher was through with his sermon, like as not, George Fox would come to the front of the meeting and begin to preach his gospel. Or he might stay outside the meetinghouse and assemble a congregation as they left the church, harangue against the veracity of the gospel they had heard, and preach what he thought to be the true gospel. When the government said it was illegal to hold religious meetings within five miles of a church, early Friends paid no attention to the law, but went ahead and held their meetings and as a consequence went to prison by thousands. People don't do that kind of

thing unless there is something profoundly meaningful at stake. These Friends felt that the religion of Jesus was being reborn in their very midst, and they spoke with all of the drive of a new and holy discovery. Christ, whom some Christians of that time felt was due to return in the flesh, and others looked to as an event in history, was for them present now and here, within *every* man, woman and child. It was this great discovery that made our spiritual forbears irrepressible. They had great news, that the world everywhere must know about. It drove George Fox to visit Oliver Cromwell and King Charles II and to speak to them as human beings stripped of worldly power yet standing in positions of great responsibility, and to call for the awakening of Christ in them. When George Fox was thirty-six years old, he wrote epistles to the King of Spain, the Emperor of Austria, the King of France, the Pope, magistrates of Malta, the Emperor of China, and in case he may have missed anyone, he addressed a letter "to all the nations under the whole heavens." He announced to the leading potentates of the world this great new gospel.

Why this interest in the heads of state? The conception of the state was quite different then from what it is now. An approach to the men in high position was not only because of concern for their spiritual welfare. The king or emperor of the 17th century could speak with more finality concerning his country's position in relation to other states than can even the dictators of today. He personally could carry his country into war or keep it out. In most cases, he was believed to hold his position by Divine right. Threatened wars might be settled by two or three kings meeting in a comfortable inn, compromising the issues between them, and simply telling their people what had been done. Today many people feel we have little voice in national affairs. But our helplessness is nothing as compared with the peasant citizens in almost any country in the 17th century.

Early Quakers and Heads of States

The generally accepted position of the head of state led early Quakers to put more emphasis on the importance of dealing with these men who wielded more power than they merited. In 1667 John Perrot, John Luffe, and Mary Fisher, the latter a housemaid, all of whom had become Quaker converts, set out on a mission to the Mediterranean states. They called on the English Consul in Smyrna, who roundly discouraged their mission. Naturally, it appeared to him visionary and full of danger. So he had all of them put on a ship headed toward Venice and thence, he hoped, toward home. Bad weather overtook them at Constantinople, where the British Ambassador wrote to his sovereign, "Nor are all our troubles from without us. Some are . . . occasioned by people who crept in unawares, called Quakers, three of whom arrived recently. I friendly warned them to return which two women quietly did. But John Buckley refused so I forced him onto a ship."

But Mary Fisher had not boarded the vessel when she was told to do so by the Consul at Smyrna, but set out for Constantinople on foot. She walked the entire way along the coast of Greece through Macedonia and over the mountains of Thrace until she reached Adrianople, where Mohammed IV, the Sultan of Turkey, lived. Now a young man of seventeen years, his father had attempted to kill him as an infant.

His secretary told him that an English woman had come to see him with a message from the great God. He gave directions that she should be received with the honor of an Ambassador, and an interview was arranged. The following day she was ushered before the Grand Turk, dressed in her simple Quaker garb. The Sultan appeared in many-colored robes, with a profusion of gold and embroidery and all the splendors of an Eastern court. She stood for a moment in silence in his presence, and was overwhelmed by his grandeur. The Sultan spoke graciously to her and asked her if it was not true that she had something from the great God to say to

him, and if so, she might say on. Then she spoke her mind. She was listened to with great respect and attention. The Sultan told her that he knew she had spoken what was true, that she had taken so much pains to come so far, that she should stay for some time in his country. She declined. He then offered her a guard to take her back to Constantinople because of the danger of travelling. This also she declined.

Her traveling companions who had taken the ship that the Consul had put them on, got to Venice, where Perrot had an audience with the Doge of Venice and gave him some books. Then he proceeded to denounce the College of Jesuits, was called before the Pope and was hanged. Before his execution, however, he said to the Pope, "Thou pretendest to sit in Peter's chair. Now I know that Peter had no chair but a boat. Peter was a fisherman; thou art a prince. Peter fasted and prayed; Thou farest deliciously and sleepest softly. He was in mean attire; thou art beset with ornament and gay attire. He fished for men to convert them; thou hookest souls to confound them. Peter was a friend and a disciple of Christ; thou art indeed anti-Christ."

A book could well be written about the efforts of early Friends to live up to the full significance of their great discovery. I have thought it well, however, to comment briefly about the experience of our founders, because there have been periods in our history when Friends have felt, and indeed there are some Friends today who feel, that Friends have no business dealing in international affairs.

We certainly are not bound to follow the pattern of our forbears in these affairs. But it is well to remind ourselves of the universality of this new upsurge of religious life and of the urge which impelled these simple folk to believe that they could change the course of history. In this effort they were not eminently successful. So far as our records go, no head of a state was completely won to Quakerism. But something far more meaningful did happen. It was by diligently

acting on this belief in the universally indwelling spirit of Christ, that the concept of the dignity of all men and the beginnings of Democracy were born.

Birth of Democracy

The Quaker Movement was more at home with the political conception of the Magna Carta and the Declaration of Independence than it was with the fast-declining conception of the Divine Right of Kings. That movement toward the recognition of the dignity of all men is still being worked out even within our own country, and perhaps more obviously in those parts of the world which are retarded in development. There is in the great Asiatic world, the Arab world, and on the Continent of Africa, particularly these three great populous parts of our world, a new sense of what man under God can be. It brings a disturbing element into the political structure of a world built on Western supremacy. But we can never forget that it is an inherent outgrowth of the idea of the Divine origin of man.

In our day, trade, transport, and communications have changed the whole character of international affairs. If it was possible in the middle of the 17th century for an offense against another country to be simply an offense against the head of a state, certainly that day is gone. You may remember that on an early spring evening in 1948 President Truman announced the recognition of the newly established State of Israel. The League of Nations mandate of Great Britain over Palestine expired at six o'clock. Six minutes later the United States recognized the existence of the State of Israel. That very night loyal Moslems in Pakistan threw stones through the windows of the United States Consul-General's house in Karachi, the capital of Pakistan, in protest against the President's action. How sensitive is this world in which we live! One needs only to visit almost any Arab country today to find out how intense the feeling is against the United States because our official action was taken as indi-

cating that we favored the Jews instead of the Arabs in this great mid-Eastern controversy.

For nearly fifty years Gilbert and Minnie Bowles represented the Arch Street, Philadelphia, Friends Mission Board in Japan, and with all of the tools available with which to express the Christian spirit, they worked not only for release of the spirit of God in the Japanese, but for an understanding between the Japanese people and the people of our own country. How well do I remember when in 1924 Gilbert Bowles came home on furlough, he travelled up and down this country, including many visits to officials in Washington, pleading that the Exclusion Act preventing Japanese from entering the United States and from becoming citizens be not enacted into law. But Congress did pass this act. After nearly fifty years of intelligent and devoted service in Japan, this couple had to leave for safety because Japan and the United States were at war. The Exclusion Act of 1924 had given birth to its logical child, Pearl Harbor. Although at the present time relations are cordial, and while the peace treaty between the United States and Japan has much to be commended, one wonders how deeply in the recesses of the Japanese heart has been planted memory of the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, memory that the United States was the first country in the world to use the atom bomb.

American Power and Private Responsibility

At a time in history when relations between countries are most sensitive, we who live in this country need to be conscious that we are now citizens of a great power. The very fact of our military, economic and political strength adds a new burden of responsibility to every American. In a sense we, like Jesus, are being taken up on a mountain and shown the kingdoms of the world, and these may well seem to be promised to us if we will only worship this earthly power. We may well see temporary acquiescence to our demands, only to find that the seeming world of friends are allies who seek alliance with

us because of our strength, rather than friends bound to us because of confidence and trust.

As a nation we are at this moment moving not in the direction of trusting in goodwill and understanding. We as citizens need to be conscious of our changing national vocabulary. Early after the end of hostilities in Europe and Japan, we realized, perhaps dimly but effectively, that the world would never work if we allowed the economy and social structure of the late enemy to decay and fester. This applied even more truly to our recent allies. And we came forward with that generous form of aid called Economic Cooperation. This was to put our defeated enemies as well as our exhausted allies back on their economic and social feet. But our vision grew. Catching something of the new sense of human dignity that the whole world felt, we talked about sharing our technical skills and our capital goods to help underdeveloped countries. We probably hardly knew how much we had led the world to expect of us. But we certainly struck a chord of tremendous response all around the world. Even if we allow for a generous amount of self-interest and ineffective administration, still something new had been born in the world—we acted on the *solidarity of all mankind.*

Then came Korea, and the wave of fear and weakness before the rising spectre of Communism. And we saw, within the short space of two years, our economic aid restricted to countries who would promise to be military allies, and our technical assistance threatened with the same fate. We talked about "speaking from positions of strength," and about "total diplomacy." And this meant that all of our governmental (and to some extent private) effort was to be channeled into military objectives. We had said to Germany and Japan that they could never again have an army. And from millions of the citizens of those countries went up a voice of thanks. Then, within two short years, we demand that each of these countries, as well as most of our former allies, re-arm themselves *as our allies*, prepared for an unparalleled expression

of overwhelming power. Yet most countries do not share our full confidence in the use of arms to prevent the growth or even the invasion of Communism. And so within these countries there is deep turmoil and disturbance. They are dependent upon us for security and recovery. But they deeply mistrust the effectiveness of military preparation which we desire to see them develop. In fact, the tragedy of two wars has greatly disillusioned the peoples of these countries as to whether wars settle anything at all. Most of their problems have come from war. Victor and vanquished alike have this deep fear of a repetition of war. England and France are closer to bankruptcy than is defeated Germany.

Changed Attitude Toward the United States

But as our external strength grows, the hope that has long been cherished that America might lead the world in a great adventure, fades. And for the first time in our history the great Arab world, the African continent, and Asia, look with attitudes ranging from question to mistrust, or even to hatred of us. And the thoughtful American may well remember that this great mass of humanity just emerging toward maturity and strength outnumbers the West three to one. Given the tools with which to exploit their fabulous natural resources, and the gleam of some great ideal, one can hardly imagine what the transfer of the power center from West to East might mean. One wonders if we are not seeing the turn in that direction in our time. It may well be that while we trust in the protection of external power, our African and Eastern neighbors are learning the disciplined arts of non-violent action which in the long run comes closer to being the "Sword of the Spirit" than bombs and tanks. The former conquer but do not win, the latter at its best may win.

But let us return now to the scene in our own beloved America, and especially to consider what all of this means to us as a religious body. I do not mean to imply that it is my

conviction that most Americans desire imperialistic control of the world. There may be some Americans who aspire to such achievement, but I think they are few. It is because we believe that no power is strong enough to defend us against the growing strength of an increasing Communist world that we resort to these emergency measures. It is just here, it seems to me, that there is a call to Friends to participate in international affairs as intelligently, with as much dedication, and with as much unity of concern, as we can muster. If the fate of the world must in the end depend on physical strength, then who can object to its development on a global scale? But the testimony of the Christian Church is that not only for defense but for offense, there is a Power that can transform evil into good, and hate into understanding love. And we as a very small branch of the Christian Church have always urged by word and deed the central validity of that claim. We have shared the great tradition of a faith that faced the terrors of the Roman Empire and changed its climate. Our forbears challenged Cromwell and Charles II and the bigotry of early American colonists, and made an imprint. In the language of Rufus Jones of a decade ago—Are we ready?

Are We Imperialist?

The activity of government in international affairs today, with its program of total diplomacy, often makes it difficult to conduct even religious missions abroad which are not considered by the receiving country as expressing the imperialistic ambition of our country. Chinese propaganda today is grossly overdone, but there is no doubt about its being tremendously confusing to many Chinese. The very establishment of hospitals and colleges and missions by the West in China is said to have been a long-range and subtle way of preparing the way for American commerce and diplomacy to subjugate their nation. Not long since, the question of technical assistance for India was discussed between representatives of the government of India and the United States.

India expressed real hesitation in accepting technical assistance funds because they feared the imperialist influence of America. It is at that point that our own government requested representatives of the American Friends Service Committee to consider whether they might use some government funds to carry out small technical assistance projects. Happily, relations of greater confidence have been developed and now India is working directly with the government of the United States. But still there are rumblings and questions in the minds of many Indian people as to whether they may not be subjecting themselves to our domination. Wherever we go, even though it might be to distribute relief, or bring ministry of help, or increase production, the question as to whether we represent the spearhead of political domination is raised. This does not mean that our government is using voluntary agencies in this way, but it means that this suspicion must be reckoned with. Agencies who go for missionary relief or technical purposes must reassure the receiving country that they are free from any taint of political ambition. I believe we may humbly but honestly say that the missionary efforts of Friends and the work of the AFSC, combined with private missions of travelling Friends, have prepared the way for us to play some part along with many others in releasing the power of a new spirit and a new hope which alone is more powerful than bombs.

I suppose there is hardly any part of the world where mistrust, skepticism, and bitterness towards peoples of the Western world run more deeply than in the Middle East. But for more than fifty years in a number of places, in Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, and now in Israel, Friends have established work, and have built up some degree of confidence. More recently in Egypt in connection with relief for 230,000 Arab refugees, at least some living contact has been established. Then there is that one and only hospital for mentally ill in the whole Middle East established by English Friends forty-five years ago, and the refuge and school for orphans carried on

for over fifty years by Daniel and Emily Oliver; and the boys' and girls' schools at Ramallah; a large scale relief operation in the Gaza Strip carried on by the Service Committee for Arab refugees, a community center in the old walled city of Acre inside Israel, and the accompanying technical assistance program at Nazareth; efforts under the leadership of Rufus Jones to get a peace of God in Jerusalem during the Arab-Jewish War, and on the other side a long service to Jewish refugees by the Service Committee in Germany and elsewhere in Europe, finding in each something of God to build on, a tiny start for the new world in the dark order. When our Quaker delegation began its work at the Assembly of the United Nations, we soon became deeply conscious that our effectiveness depended very largely on confidence established in these countries and among these peoples by workers on the spot over many years.

In the Far East

If one turns to India and Pakistan, where two new countries are struggling to face their almost insurmountable problems, the long-time service of English Friends coupled with the intimate contact which especially Horace Alexander and Agatha Harrison have had with this sub-continent before and after its independence, was found invaluable; also, service in times of drought and typhoon that has been carried on in more recent years by both British and American Friends, laid the groundwork for the kind of confidence that is most overwhelming to those of us who had little to do with preparing the ground. The same is true in Germany and Japan, the late enemy countries, in the former through the great relief operation to children after the first World War, the assistance and companionship with Germans between the two wars, and the ongoing program of the present, especially in the efforts to re-knit the broken fabric of the social structure of German life, and to deal with the incredibly huge problem of the ten million refugees in Germany, together with repeated religious

visits provided by Friends from England and this country, again, there is a confidence built up that is sobering but reassuring. Is it not interesting that a Friend was chosen to teach English to the Crown Prince of Japan, although as an American, she was identified fully with the late enemy country? Perhaps there is some significance in the fact that the retiring ambassador from the USSR to the United States frequently recounted to us the fact that his life was saved by Quaker relief when he was a growing boy of sixteen. And even since the sharpening conflict between Russia and the United States, it should not be forgotten that it was possible for us to get the consent of our government to send $25,000 worth of streptomyecin to aid two doctors in Moscow to treat tuberculosis.

Our contact with the continent of Africa is less than almost any other continent in the world, but we do have a mission in Kenya, and a little group of Friends in that very troubled spot in South Africa. I was deeply touched by a visit recently from a young man from Togoland, who had heard of the Quakers and who wanted to come and tell us the sad story of his country. A German colony before the first World War, it was divided between the French and the English at the end of the war, and so their tribal life and their economic existence both were affected by having two colonial administrations. He did not want to see his people try the use of violence. But there must be found a time and a way to recognize the growing sense of dignity and independence among his people which he felt the Christian lands of England and France ought to be ready to understand. Otherwise they would find help elsewhere. How helpless one feels when such wistful confidence is shown!

Quaker Delegates to U. N.

It was because of repeated experiences of such openings that it has seemed right for the last two sessions of the U. N. Assembly, the fifth and the sixth, that we should in a more

formal way see what could be done to further the process of understanding among peoples. It was an effort in the time of a gigantic power struggle centering in the United States and Russia, to see if media of peaceful understanding could replace force or the threat of force. At the fifth and sixth Assemblies Friends were represented by two English, one Mexican, one Swedish and two American Friends. We were especially fortunate in having a Mexican and a Scandinavian, because both came from regions somewhat aside from the great powers and were able to exert a third, middle force. Also, our English colleagues represented a long and intimate knowledge of India and Pakistan, both important as moderating influences in the power struggle.

We began by getting acquainted with some of the delegations at the Assembly, which in itself is sometimes of value. None of us, I think, had the high hopes of early Friends that an epistle written to a king, or a one-time message spoken to a sultan, would straighten out the more complicated world of our time. British and American Friends particularly found their countries engaged in a mighty power struggle, and all too often these issues were considered by our political spokesmen from the viewpoint of whether they would add to or detract from our national and collective power, rather than what is truth. This often meant that it was important that the small countries with little political or economic power should be encouraged to express their more independent views. While these smaller countries fear Communism and Russian domination, we Americans all too little recognize that our country too is feared by many of them. They don't want to become tools of either side. As a delegation of Friends we often found our most useful function in encouraging independent consideration of important issues by the smaller countries. Often sharing a meal in our home is the most satisfactory setting in which to cultivate understanding and confidence.

Southwest Africa

In 1950 an Anglican missionary who had served in Africa came as a lone individual to the Assembly to plead the case of one of these little helpless groups. Southwest Africa, inhabited chiefly by the tribes known as the Hereros, was a German colony before the first World War. They became a mandate under the League of Nations and that mandate was assigned to Great Britain, who in turn asked South Africa to administer the mandate for her. The period of the mandate expired in 1950, and South Africa simply announced that she was annexing them to her territory. "But," said the Southwest Africans, "we don't want to be annexed." "However," said South Africa, "you are annexed, and what can you do about it?" Michael Scott, the Anglican missionary who had visited this tribe, felt deeply that a wrong was being done to them. They were weak and without means of pleading their case in the larger world. They were Christians and they too wanted to find a way in which their dignity and rights could be recognized without violent conflict with the white man's world. It was a tribute to both the United Nations and to Michael Scott that he succeeded in getting permission to present the case of the Hereros to the Assembly and through them the question was presented to the World Court. That body said that the Hereros did not have to belong to South Africa if they didn't want to. South Africa refused to accept the World Court judgment. They refused to work with a committee appointed by the United Nations to carry out the World Court's decision. Again at the Assembly in Paris in 1951 the question came up and Michael Scott was on hand. A tall, gaunt man, walking solemnly up and down the corridors of the United Nations, he was a kind of standing symbol of conscience for the people who felt themselves wronged. Even though it was a small group of 300,000 people in the midst of the great continent of Africa, the Assembly again heard their cry. It was impressive when the little state of Cuba

proposed that the Hereros should be permitted to come to the Assembly and to speak for themselves. The Arab states, the Asiatic states and the Latin American countries all united in voting for the visit. I realized how deeply we were enmeshed in the power struggle when Great Britain voted against their being heard and America abstained. Great Britain was restrained because South Africa, a part of the British Commonwealth, strongly opposed the visit, and one feared that the United States' action was influenced by our desire to keep Great Britain closely bound to the North Atlantic Pact. The feeling of our Quaker delegation was that the voice of these little people should be listened to. The overwhelming vote was for the Hereros to come. The message inviting them went one Friday afternoon. It had to go to their little capital of Windhook, in Southwest Africa, and then be carried 300 miles through forest trails to Hosea, the chief of the tribe. On the following Monday, back came a cable from Windhook, saying that Hosea and two of his assistant chiefs were ready to come. But alas, they never came. South Africa alone could provide the necessary travel papers and they were not willing to give them. The chiefs stayed on for three or four weeks hoping that the way might open. One of the subchiefs died during that time. But they never were allowed to come. One can imagine the great ray of hope which that cable brought to this group of people and the dismay felt when their chiefs came back to announce that they had not been allowed to go. One wonders if deep bitterness is building up in the hearts of these humble little people. It may be that events in the long-distant future are being conditioned by this disappointment. One comes away from an event like this with a heavy heart, especially when he feels that the issues have not been considered on their merit but that these people are victims of the power struggle.

Later Egypt brought to the Assembly the treatment of the people in Morocco by France, with the proposal that it should be studied by the United Nations. And again Eng-

land and the United States voted against. More recently, in the Security Council they defeated the same kind of vote in regard to a request for investigation of the condition of people in Tunisia. Again the combination of weakness and color, pitted against white power, loses. One wonders how long this can last. Not always. Are we unwittingly building the setting for our children's suffering? I wonder.

Do I imply that our United States' delegation and other Western powers are always wrong? This would not be a fair picture. For many times they courageously supported moves that were for the wider interest. But at times like the ones I have cited we felt that we are building the conflicts of the future. During this last Assembly, the Quaker delegation felt deeply the concern that when this new sense of inner capacity to control one's own destiny moves from the scene of our own colonial history in this country to the now rising peoples of Africa and other parts of the world, we must realize that there is essentially a spiritual quality to the stuggle. God has made of one substance all of the peoples of the world. We have seen the Gold Coast rise to take charge of its own affairs and do it with surprising ability and skill. Nigeria, far from being a Christian country, yet is able to carry out its legitimate ambitions of self-government with a surprising degree of skill and competence. May we of the powerful West not find ourselves viewed as enemies of freedom instead of its champions?

Effect of Events in America

In the meantime problems of race in our own country are watched by the great continent of Africa and the whole of Asia. As members of the Society of Friends we forego the use of violence and force and say in no uncertain tones that all men are the children of God. We say that to develop we must have food, health, shelter and education. We can get it for ourselves and we want it for all our citizenry. But the world of Africa and the Middle East and Asia wants these same benefits. Most of all, however, they want understanding,

companionship, fellowship. They want to be recognized for what they believe they are. They would like to believe that there is genuine integrity in the world. They want to feel that they have something to contribute in the world. They want to be a part of the same world that we are in. Friends believe there is something of God in every man. The door of opportunity to express this through the representatives who come from sixty different countries to the Assembly of the United Nations is wide open. We are trying all too feebly to make use of this opportunity.

Of course, it is easy to see that the way in which we live here at home has a great deal to do with the effectiveness of anything that we can do in the United Nations or abroad. The responsibility for political action goes back more than we usually recognize to the spiritual concern and the moral climate which we here in our own communities generate. The riots at Cicero, Illinois, the treatment the American Indians have received at the hands of the white man, these and a good many other things stand across the path of the purity of our testimony. Even more perhaps for us as Friends is our own insufficiency in the presence of the great opportunities that are before us. In the past ten years we have had about six hundred young people giving of their services, at times not more than two months, sometimes as much as two years, working with and under the leadership of Mexicans who are trying to reduce their illiteracy, to increase the number of schools, to expand their health services, and to improve their agriculture. I was much moved when one of the Mexican delegates to the United Nations Assembly who knew a good deal about this service said that he believed that this humble service done mostly by young and relatively unskilled people from the United States had done more to build the sense of confidence between the two countries than anything else that has happened. This summer we have had about eighty young people in work camps in Europe and Israel, in the same kind of an effort. This sharing on the part of young and old is

invaluable, yet inadequate to convince the world with sufficient depth and speed that the most important crusade of this day is this deep recognition of the profound and abiding worth of men under God. We must spare no sacrifice of people and property to see that men everywhere are able to grow in that Kingdom of fellowship and recognition.

Point Four

In government and private agencies today we are helping with technical assistance, familiarly known as Point IV. We are trying as best we can to share our substance with our fellows. But this may become the tool of expressing the superior quality of our gadget world in the United States, or it may offer a wide opportunity to share without the expectation of profit. Sensitive, wakening peoples will soon detect the former motives if they predominate. Truly, it is a world in which "the meek shall inherit the earth." Yet Americans are not well known abroad for that quality of meekness. If we can make two ears of corn grow where one once grew, if we can help lengthen the life span and give content to lives now all too soon snuffed out, and do it as a glorious service without expectation of return, we shall be sowing the seeds of the kingdom of understanding even in the political sense. For without the climate of fellowship and sharing and confidence, healthy international relations cannot thrive. The spirit of an outgoing service is contagious. If our service shall have been so rendered that it invites those who receive to carry on the sharing with others to build a new fellowship in the spirit of God; if we can spread modern knowledge where it is vitally needed; if we can take our own modern technical equipment to the far parts of the world and can at the same time carry with it the understanding that "man does not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God," we can change the climate and practice in this power struggle.

It is not without significance that more than 30,000 students from nearly 90 countries will be among us Americans this year. Will they get from us not only technical learning but appreciation? There could hardly be afforded a greater chance to affect the climate of world affairs than this. More effective than bombs, and bases, and even economic assistance, is that we reveal something of the Sermon on the Mount in our own conduct. Such an effort on the part of the humblest of us will not be lost in international bookkeeping. It is my deep conviction that with the exercise of the inward spirit of our religious faith and such God-given intelligence as we have, we can find sufficient areas of accommodation to avoid a major war. But what is more important, we can find truth accepted in the hearts of men, now weary of boasting propaganda. We *could* be facing a great step forward in the brotherhood of man and the Fatherhood of God.

The New Isolationism

In 1929 Walter Woodward, then editor of the *American Friend,* went with the Eddy party to Europe. He was deeply impressed by his conversations with a wide variety of people that we were, as he said, "going all the way toward peace." The Eddy party was helping in a variety of ways to change the American mind from isolationism and provincialism to concern for the rest of the world. That optimism was hardly sustained by subsequent events. Now that isolationism has gone, but our danger is a new isolationism. It is the isolation that comes from being the privileged, wealthy landowner in the big house on top of the hill who looks down in every direction on poor people who owe him money. And it is difficult to prevent this from isolating him in spirit and sympathy from the rest of the world. That is the isolation which is more difficult to eliminate in our lives.

Indeed, one of our present-day statesmen has said, "The great deficiency in our statesmanship in international affairs is that we have carried over to the affairs of state the concept

of right and wrong, the assumption that moral judgment can be applied to states." It is by no means unusual to accept this thesis that moral judgments do not apply between nations But may it not be that just this languishing faith is why in international affairs we so frequently linger in the tooth-and-claw age, while in the neighborhood and the family we have found the higher way? I do not see how a Friend can ever accept this double-standard judgment. God does not keep double-entry bookkeeping; one entry for states and the other for individuals.

It is also clear that processes of negotiations as applied between countries need to be further developed. Mediation by labor and management is much further developed in the world than international mediation. With this in mind a seminar has been conducted, made up of leading men who have participated in labor mediation, and those who have experience in international mediation. We have produced a book called "Meeting of Minds" under the leadership of Elmore Jackson, which we hope might contribute something to the understanding of the mediation process.

I cannot develop here the whole area of concern with our own actions internally in the United States. One wonders if the Immigration Act of 1952 which greatly restricts access to our country from other countries, even for people under great political danger, will, like our Exclusion Act of 1924, plunge us into a now unforseen war. It may well be. For it is looked on by more than one of the observing countries as blind arrogance which can do us no good.

We must humbly acknowledge that living as we do in a country of great power and privilege, we are by no means sufficiently equipped with understanding and courage to meet the opportunities that are open to us. But in the providence of God, the way for dedication of mind, body and substance is open to us in more than two score countries, to live out the spirit of the Christ whom we profess to follow. More than

opportunity we need detachment from privilege and position, and commitment to join the great throng of little peoples, who need our health, our knowledge and our fellowship. And could we so commit ourselves, our prevailing sentiment would not be fear of Communism, but love of people. For "perfect love casteth out fear."

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TOWARD SECURITY THROUGH DISARMAMENT, a report prepared for the American Friends Service Committee

THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION, a report prepared for the American Friends Service Committee

STEPS TO PEACE—A QUAKER VIEW OF U. S. FOREIGN POLICY, a report prepared for the American Friends Service Committee

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A Quaker Approach to the Bible

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The Ward Lecture, 1953

Given at
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WARD LECTURE

by

Henry J. Cadbury

GUILFORD COLLEGE

November 9, 1953

Inaugural Ward Lecture, *"An Adequate Leadership for Friends Meetings."* Alexander C. Purdy, November 10, 1950

Second Ward Lecture, *"The Function of a Quaker College."* Howard H. Brinton, November 9, 1951

Third Ward Lecture, *"Friends and International Affairs."* Clarence E. Pickett, October 22, 1952.

A QUAKER APPROACH TO THE BIBLE

In the Society of Friends unanimity is not expected and certainly it does not exist on such matters as the role of the Bible in religion. This paper is therefore not called *the* Quaker approach. Another reason is that whatever viewpoint is characteristic of Friends, whether ancient or modern, it is no monopoly of theirs but rather is widely shared. For the ancient period this has been shown by numerous modern studies, notably by Rufus M. Jones and Geoffrey F. Nuttall. The latter in his book on *The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience* arranges Seventeenth Century English religious thought in such a way as to show how Quakerism had much in common with all the Puritans but stood rather to the extreme of a graded spectrum. Probably the same holds true today, especially if William James was right in saying, "So far as our Christian sects today are evolving into liberality, they are simply reverting in essence to the position which Fox and the early Quakers so long ago assumed." This lecture may therefore be found acceptable to Christians of many other churches, while presenting the kind of viewpoint to the Scriptures that is congenial to the genius of the Quaker tradition.

At first sight the Quaker view of the Bible seems to be one of less regard for it than is found in some other groups. This is due to various historic influences but principally because other sources of revelation have been recognized by Friends. The moment any new or unfamiliar source of authority is admitted, the traditional sources seem to be belittled or to be actually attacked. In so far as Quakerism has emphasized the contemporary presence of the Holy Spirit, the immediate guidance of God, or the universality of the saving Light of Christ, all outward and traditional media of religion appear to suffer some eclipse. The historical Christ and the historical revelation, the church with its sacraments

and its clergy, and even its sacred book by sheer contrast with the core of Quakerism acquire an appearance of inferiority. At this point our forefathers three centuries ago were merely carrying forward by logical steps what the Reformation had begun but had left unfinished. Perhaps the question that really needs explanation is why the Friends did not proceed still further.

With regard to the Scriptures Friends used various contrasts. Many of these were not unique in their day. They were parallel to the spiritual wing of Puritanism in seventeenth century England with its anticlericalism, its emphasis upon religious experience, and its revival of belief in the Holy Spirit. The scriptures appear relatively external, literal, traditional. Paul himself had contrasted the letter and the spirit. While the kinship between experience today and that of the classical past was accepted, emphasis upon the past seemed to Friends to weaken attention to the present. It was felt to be important to know the experience realized in oneself today rather than to recognize its validity in the past. The latter could even at times interfere with the former. Friends were concerned to point to the more significant channels of religious experience.

Fox, for example, at his first recorded public utterance, which led to his first imprisonment, contradicted the minister in the church at Nottingham for claiming that the sure word of prophecy mentioned in 2 Peter 1:19 was "the Scriptures by which they were to try all doctrines, religions, and opinions."

He reports in his *Journal*:

> Now the Lord's power was so mighty upon me that I could not hold, but was made to cry out and say, "O no, it is not the Scriptures," and I told them what it was, namely the Holy Spirit by which the holy men of God gave forth the Scriptures, whereby (i.e. by the Spirit) opinions, religions and

judgments were to be tried; for it led into all truth, and so gave the knowledge of all truth. The Jews had the Scriptures and yet resisted the Holy Ghost and rejected Christ, the bright morning star. . . . As I spoke thus among them, the officers came and took me away and put me into a nasty, stinking prison.[1]

Margaret Fell reports the first time she met Fox, hearing him speak at the church at Ulverston:

> The first words he spoke were as followeth. He is not a Jew that is one outward . . . but he is a Jew that is one inward . . . And then he went on, and opened the Scriptures and said the Scriptures were the prophets' words, and Christ's and the apostles' words, and what as they spoke they enjoyed and possessed and had it from the Lord. And said, "Then what had any to do with the Scriptures but as they came to the Spirit that gave them forth? You will say Christ saith this, and the apostles say this, but what canst thou say? Art thou a child of Light and hast thou walked in the Light, and what thou speakest, is it inwardly from God, etc? This opened me so, that it cut me to the heart, and then I saw clearly we were all wrong. So I sat me down in my pew again and cried bitterly: and I cried in my spirit to the Lord, "We are all thieves, we are all thieves, we have taken the Scriptures in words, and know nothing of them in ourselves."[2]

It is interesting to know in these days of book-burning and even of Bible burning that the early Friends were suspected of such practices. I am not sure that it actually happened, or if so that more than one or two fanatical cases occurred. One rather ill-balanced Friend, John Pennyman, at least talked about burning a Bible in public and said he might

1. *Journal*, ed. 1901, i. 43.
2. *Ibid.* ii, 512.

do so if he was moved to do so from the Lord. The famous Henry More wrote "[I do not] think that it is so far from the spirit of a real Quaker to burn the Bible, whenas the letter of it is so little believed by them. For that unbelief takes away the very sense of the Bible, the fire consumes only the paper."[3]

Characteristic of the churchmen of that time was the use for the Scriptures of the phrase "the Word of God." This Fox and Barclay and others objected to; partly because the Scriptures themselves use that term of Christ. In our day more than ever a Bible-centered theology loves to use that term.

Characteristic too of that time was the treatment of the Bible as the only rule of faith and conduct. The Quaker by denying its sole and ultimate authority seemed to others nothing less than blasphemous, while the rule which he claimed in its stead, the experience of present guidance, seemed to others much too subjective, untrustworthy and lacking in uniformity and precision. In spite of frequent charges of setting themselves up against the authority of the Bible, the Friends for many generations gave precedence to the source of inner guidance, first in the individual and then —and this was an important check—in the concurrence of the group of Friends. It was quite clear to them that the inner Light would never lead into obvious sin.

Two oft quoted passages from George Fox indicate in different but charmingly naïve manner how loose he sat to the current bibliolatry. The Scriptures were for him a confirmation rather than a source of truth. You can appeal to revelation in spite of them. Describing one of his early openings he says, "This I saw in the pure openings of the light, without the help of any man, neither did I then know where to find it in the Scriptures, though afterwards, searching the Scriptures, I found it."[4]

3. M. H. Nicolson, *Conway Letters*, 1930, 306.
4. *Journal* i. 34.

Later he writes "An Encouragement to all the Faithful Women's Meetings in the World." After citing scores of examples from the Old Testament and the New he concludes, "And if there were no Scriptures for our Men and Women's Meetings, Christ is sufficient, who restores man and woman up into the image of God to be helps meet in righteousness and holiness, as they were in before they fell."[5]

What might be expected to result from the Quaker attitude to the Bible has not always followed. One would naturally look for neglect and even hostility. Instead Friends have not infrequently respected and used the Bible as much as did their contemporaries or opponents. Neglect of the Bible among Friends has existed but rarely as a reasoned policy. They were never averse to using it in argument with those who professed belief in its authority. This is manifestly clear in the old debates, as when George Fox, confronted with persons who believed that "women have no souls, no more than a goose," simply quoted the well known words, "And Mary said, My soul doth magnify the Lord." This use must not be regarded as merely accommodation to the opponents as an *argumentum ad hominem*. In fact some of our Quaker beliefs seem at first sight to rest upon a biblicism and a literalism that could carry conviction neither with ourselves nor with our opponents today. Our objection to oaths has never seemed to Friends to demand more explicit reason, than the two clear passages, one in Matthew and one in James, which forbid oaths. Friends of old made merry with the fact that they were ordered to swear upon a book that says "Swear not at all," and said that if Friends were imprisoned for refusal, the Bible itself ought to be imprisoned too. No matter what reasoned or concurrent or unconscious bases our Quaker pacifism has today our predecessors in that faith, both Quaker and pre-Quaker, found sanction enough

5. Epistles, No. 320 (1676).

for it in the New Testament and even in the Old—the Golden Rule and "Thou shalt not kill."

As a matter of history it must be admitted that Friends made—selectively, like other people—a considerable use of the Bible, and, as the Devil is said to do, could quote Scripture to their own purpose. In doing so they showed that they could not fully escape the practice of their surroundings and did not wish to do so. Where their environment was less Biblical than it was in Seventeenth Century England they consciously or unconsciously altered their behavior. And since it was part of their belief that saving knowledge was vouchsafed to people outside the pale of Christendom—even to the heathen Turk or American Indian—they adjusted their appeal to the conscience, or to "that of God in every man." Fox even quotes the Koran instead of the Bible in writing to the Great Turk.

Of course their opponents accused Friends of neglecting the Bible and perhaps we are still suspected of unsound views regarding it. It was said in the old days that in Friends' schools, instead of Bible reading, Fox's *Journal* held the place of honor. But this Friends denied. It seems shocking to some people no doubt that in our unprogrammed meetings the Bible is not in evidence, is not read aloud, and is sometimes little quoted. I am not defending this absence, still less the reduced practice among Friends of family Bible reading, as was once widely characteristic.

Perhaps this decline is not so recent as we think. Joseph John Gurney visiting in America in 1837 observed Friends here:

> By far the greatest deficiency which I can see prevailing is a want of diligence and regularity in the family reading of Scripture. . . . There are some things in the habits of the people unfavorable to this practice. They breakfast at seven o'clock in the morning and when one party has finished another sits down, and so on for a considerable time.

> The same for tea or supper—the six o'clock evening meal—and also at half past one dinner. I fall into their hours and modes of living with little difficulty, and am in excellent health. As to wine or beer they are pretty nearly articles unknown. I think I shall learn to do without stimulus.[6]

One can understand Gurney's nostalgia for the leisurely simultaneous meals of Earlham Hall which permitted an orderly period of worship for the family and for a whole troop of household servants. But he understood the difficulties in the different American scene.

What the Friends often thought of their opponents was that, for all their use of the Bible, they were the ones who neglected it. One recalls the words in the Gospel, "Ye search the Scriptures because ye think in them ye have eternal life but ye will not come to me that ye may have life." With their belief in the continuing revelation of the Holy Spirit—the same Holy Spirit that inspired the Scriptures—Friends have appealed for the experience as well as for the knowledge of the Scriptures. Just as many Puritans hesitated to sing David's Psalms without sharing David's spiritual state, so Friends complained against taking the words of Scripture without knowing the experience first hand as stealing. "We are all thieves," sobbed Margaret Fell, when she first heard the Quaker message.

In modern terminology the danger of the outward Scriptures is the danger of sheer nominalism. Taking their words and phrases as authoritative sometimes becomes a substitute for the experience itself which they merely describe. Friends are only too aware of the ease with which verbal or mental acceptance can exist side by side with actual ignorance or practical rejection. Again in our time doctrines (what Fox called "notions") can usurp attention to the detriment

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6. *Journal of Friends Historical Society*, xxxii, 1935, pp. 40f., a letter about Ohio Yearly Meeting.

of the living experience—profession for possession. Such fashions are sometimes even popular, as what is called today "Biblical Theology." There is symbolism for us in the story of Sceva's sons in the Book of Acts. They undertook to cast out demons by pronouncing the name of the Lord Jesus over those who had evil spirits, saying, "I adjure you by the Jesus whom Paul preaches." But the evil spirit answered them, "Jesus I know and Paul I know: but who are you?" One recalls the disastrous outcome of this effort. Such is the futility of attempting to make profit of others' authority.

It is not that the Bible is harmful in itself. It is misused as a substitute for what it bears witness to. "Why trim yourselves with the saints' words," asked Francis Howgill three centuries ago, "when you are ignorant of the life?"[7] And a more recent Friend has written:

> Men substitute tradition for the living experience of the love of God. They talk and think as though walking with God was attained by walking in the footsteps of men who walked with God.[8]

In a noteworthy and well written essay, William Penn, referring to the critics of Quakerism in his day, says:

> With loud voices and clamorous tongues they thus exclaim against us, after this unruly and unjust manner, the Quakers deny the Scriptures; the Quakers say they are not binding upon them; the Quakers say, it is dangerous to read them; but I say in their name, Blessed are they, who reading, truly understand them and live according to them.[9]

William Penn continues by pointing out that respected representatives of orthodoxy have clearly understood, like the Quakers, that the Scriptures are of no value unless you share by experience—"experimentally" is the Seventeenth Cen-

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7. Francis Howgill, *A Lamentation for the Scattered Tribes*, 1656.
8. William Charles Braithwaite, *Spiritual Guidance in Quaker Experience*, 1909.
9. *The Invalidity of John Faldo's Vindication*, 1673 (Works, ed. 1726, ii. 357).

tury word—the same things done in you by the Spirit. In the same way the Scriptures are to be understood only in so far as one is himself in "the Spirit which gave them forth." One of the curious non-Quaker testimonies to this effect that an earlier Friend quotes is a conversation in Amsterdam with an unnamed Jew, who appears with great probability to have been the now famous Baruch Spinoza.[10]

It has not followed from the Quakers' approach to the Scriptures that they have thought meanly of knowledge of the Bible, both technical and popular. They have insisted that such knowledge did not of itself equip men for the service of God. Hence in the early days their strong words about theological schools, which they consistently call by the term—the Scriptural term—"a cage of unclean birds," with their emphasis upon the Biblical languages, Greek and Latin and Hebrew. Fox reminds his readers that knowledge of these languages is associated with the unsavoury figure of Pilate who used them in the inscription on the cross. What the Friends criticize in such learning is again its substitution for the real essence of the Scriptures. James Nayler comments on the requirement for professional ministers of "such a pitch of learning and so many years at Oxford or Cambridge and there to study so long in books and old authors. And all this to know what unlearned men, fishermen, ploughmen and herdsmen, did mean when they spoke forth the Scriptures, who were counted fools and madmen by the learned generation. . . . And when you have brought them to this height of learning, yet the scripture is a book sealed to all their wisdom and learning."[11]

Yet like so many of their contemporaries the early Friends were well acquainted with the Scriptures, and encouraged like knowledge in their children and to this day have cherished both a simple and a more advanced study in

10. See my article in *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies* of the Warburg Institute, London, i., 1941, pp. 130-132.
11. *Works*, p. 43.

the field. Some of the early Friends had before they joined the Society a really extensive theological education [12]—Barclay, Fisher, Keith and Penn, for example. This they used to good effect. I expect only in our time has such equipment by several members of the Society been matched.

Of Quaker Biblical scholars through three centuries I cannot here speak. Even the simple minded have brought to the book curiosity and concern—interest in its history and contents. I personally am very glad that George Fox is on record as recommending the translation of the New Testament "into every man's language and mother tongue," [13] and for a man of so limited opportunity he shows unexpected interest in comparing the English translations available to him.[14]

Holding, as they did, that the revelation of God was not limited to Scripture, early Friends were not impressed by the arbitrary limits of the Bible canon. In using the Old Testament apocrypha they were not unlike other Protestants of their day, for the Protestant aversion to those books has increased more recently. Friends' curiosity about still other books, lost or professing early date, was a natural expression of their feeling that Divine revelation neither began with Moses nor ended with the Apostles.[15]

This approach to the Bible may be stated positively in various ways. One way we might name "Operation Mirror." Robert Barclay wrote:

> God hath seen meet that herein we should see as in a looking-glass the conditions and experiences of the saints of old, that finding our experiences to answer to theirs, we might be the more confirmed

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12. There is an interesting statement of his problem by a Friend three centuries ago who apparently became one while actually training ministers at Trinity College, Cambridge—James Jollie in *Journal of Friends Historical Society,* xxv, 1928, 54f.

13. *Gospel Truth Demonstrated,* p. 742.

14. See my "George Fox and Seventeenth Century Bibles" in *Journal of Friends Historical Society,* xxi, 1924, pp. 1-8.

15. See my essay "Early Quakerism and Uncanonical Lore" in *Harvard Theological Review* xl, 1947, pp. 177-205.

and comforted and our hope of obtaining the same end strengthened. . . . This is the great work of the Scriptures and their service to us that we may witness them fulfilled in us, and so discern the stamp of God's Spirit and ways upon them by the inward acquaintance we have with the same Spirit and work in our hearts.[16]

Or one might name this approach "Operation Dictionary," though the dictionary like the Bible is often misunderstood. The dictionary is not the authority which dictates how words ought to be used. It is rather the record of how words are used and what they commonly mean. In like manner the Bible is not the dictator of our conduct and faith. It is rather the record of persons who exemplified faith and virtue. It does for religion that which the dictionary does for speech. Its value consists in its agreement with experience, or with truth, as Friends used to use the word. What is true in the Bible is there because it is true, not true because it is there. Its experiences "answer" to ours, that is, they correspond to ours. This is the repeated discovery of generations of Bible readers. "I meet that in Scripture," said Coleridge, "which finds me." [17]

We rarely can go to the Bible to look up the answer to a question directly. In that respect it is not as convenient as a dictionary. I don't know that any index could be devised to make the Bible yield easy answers to questions we set it. In a much richer way it brings answers to questions we are not directly asking, and so it can keep on doing if we have ears to hear and eyes to see through all the changing circumstances of our life.

Such an approach to the Bible is not easy to exploit to the full. At best the Bible is a difficult book, often confusing, often ill edited, often obscure. When I hear people talk about

16. *Apology*, Proposition III, Sect. V.
17. S. T. Coleridge, *London Discourses*, I. 102.

the simple gospel I wonder if they are not people easily satisfied. I think I sympathize a bit with Dr. Samuel Johnson, when Mrs. Knowles, a Friend, justified the move of young Jenny Harry from Anglican to Quaker with the words, "She had the New Testament before her." "Madam," said Johnson, "she could not understand the New Testament, the most difficult book in the world, for which the study of a life is required."

But to appropriate the Bible, or rather to have it appropriate us, is far more exacting, as it is far more rewarding, than some other ways of using the Bible. We do not depend on some kind of magical effect, expecting a text here and a text there to operate like medicinal pills in almost supernatural manner. We must have much more range and perspective.

Men talk about the Bible as revelation. It is much more important to know from the Bible how God reveals than what God reveals, if we want to share its experiences and not merely its expressions. In the same way one might rather aim to understand how Jesus thought than what he thought, if our wish is to learn to think for ourselves as he did.

To fail to make this approach is to be satisfied with the second best and automatically to exclude the very best. How much the Bible has to teach when taken as a whole, that cannot be done by snippets! There is its range over more than a thousand years giving us the perspective of religion in time, growing and changing, and leading from grace to grace. There is its clear evidence of the variety of religious experience, not the kind of straight jacket that nearly every church, even Friends, have sometimes been tempted to substitute for the diversity in the Bible. To select from it but a single strand is to miss something of its richness. Even the uncongenial and the alien to us is happily abundant in the Bible. The needs of men today are partly to be measured by their difficulty in understanding that with which they differ. At this point

the Bible has no little service to render. It requires patient insight into the unfamiliar, and provides a discipline for the imagination such as today merely on the political level is a crying need of our time.

Further the Bible is a training school in discrimination among alternatives. One of the most sobering facts is that it is not on the whole a peaceful book—I mean a book of peace of mind. The Bible is the deposit of a long series of controversies between rival views of religion. The sobering thing is that in nearly every case the people shown by the Bible to be wrong had every reason to think they were in the right, and like us they did so. Complacent orthodoxy is the recurrent villain in the story from first to last and the hero is the challenger, like Job, the prophets, Jesus, and Paul.

To grasp these wider meanings of the Scriptures will need more familiarity in the first place. How to recall our generation, both younger and older, to this literacy is an urgent problem. We shall need, however, more than superficial verbal knowledge. For many years I have been occupied with the translation of the Biblical books from Greek to English. Few that have not tried it know the difficulty of this task in many facets and on many counts. That is, however, merely a transfer from words to words, from one language to another. Conscientious, technical labor is required if this translation is to be worthily performed. The approach I here have been discussing goes much deeper than that. It is translation from language to life, from words to flesh. I am impressed with the value here also of conscientious effort no less than that of the linguistic translator. For such results from the Bible are intrinsic, not imputed. They are genuine not imitative, factual not verbal. They come unconsciously rather than as specifically sought, and they recognize rather than exclude the other media of divine revelation.

Books of Discipline of sundry Yearly Meetings (consult index for "Bible" or "Scriptures").

Robert Barclay, *An Apology for the True Christian Divinity,* 1676 and later editions, Proposition III.

A Reasonable Faith, by three "Friends." Revised edition, 1885, last chapter.

J. W. Graham, *The Faith of a Quaker,* 1920, pp. 137-143.

H. G. Wood, *Friends and the Scriptures,* [1926].

A. N. Brayshaw, *The Quakers: Their Story and Message,* Third Edition, 1938, Chap. IV.

Rufus M. Jones, *A Call to What Is Vital,* 1948, Chap. IV.

M. A. Creasey, *The Contribution of Bible Study to the Life of Our Meetings,* 1949.

C. M. Woodman, *Quakers Find a Way,* 1950, Chap. 11.

A. W. Swayne, *The Use of the Bible in Religious Education* (with an up-to-date general bibliography of books for teachers and for children) c. 1951.

HENRY J. CADBURY

Henry J. Cadbury, Hollis Professor of Divinity in Harvard University, is eminently fitted to discuss "A Quaker Approach to the Bible." His contributions to modern Biblical study are recognized by scholars everywhere, while all Bible readers are indebted to him for his share in the new Revised Standard Version of the New Testament. He has brought the same painstaking and exact scholarship to the study of the history of the principles and practices of Quakerism. As the Chairman of the American Friends Service Committee he has found the link between these two interests in an active concern for what he once called "the social translation of the Gospel."

Friends in Relation to the Churches

ROLAND H. BAINTON

The Ward Lecture, 1954

Given at
GUILFORD COLLEGE ON FOUNDERS DAY
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Inaugural Ward Lecture, *"An Adequate Leadership for Friends Meetings."* Alexander C. Purdy, November 10, 1950

Second Ward Lecture, *"The Function of a Quaker College."* Howard H. Brinton, November 9, 1951

Third Ward Lecture, *"Friends and International Affairs."* Clarence E. Pickett, October 22, 1952

Fourth Ward Lecture, *"A Quaker Approach to the Bible."* Henry J. Cadbury, November 9, 1953

Friends in Relation to the Churches

WARD LECTURE

by

Roland H. Bainton

GUILFORD COLLEGE
November 12, 1954

FRIENDS IN RELATION TO THE CHURCHES

The theme of the relationship of the Friends to the other churches may have been proposed to me because I am at the same time an ordained minister of the Congregational Church and an affiliated member of the Society of Friends. Yet for this reason alone, it would not have been suggested were it not that Friends are concerned as to their place in a world community of Christians and particularly so since the formation of the World Council of Churches. The British Friends at the outset declined to join because the council was defined as "a fellowship of churches which accept our Lord Jesus Christ as God and Savior." The objection was perhaps less to the content of the statement than to the demand because Friends have always been averse to creedal affirmations. On this side of the water, however, qualms have been largely allayed by the assurance of the World Council that the statement is not a creed. All save the Fundamentalist Friends in Canada and the United States have been satisfied with this elucidation. I must say that I find it most unconvincing. A creed is a statement of faith. This is a statement of faith. A creed is used both to include and to exclude. This formula is used both to include and to exclude. What then is it, if not a creed? Also, in my judgment it is a very bad creed, because ambiguous. All depends on the definition of God. Is He the creator and Lord of the universe? Is the word used in the old Greek sense, meaning simply the divine? Or is God conceived in Humanist terms as the summation of human ideals? In that case a non-theist might subscribe. Friends would have done well to protest in the interests of clarification.[1] At the same time, one cannot but rejoice that so many of the Friends are participating in the life of the World Council.

Friends are concerned, also, for their wider relations to all of the churches whether within or beyond the council. The

1. The difficulties are well stated in *The Vocation of Friends in the Modern World,* Second Study Booklet (Friends' House, London, 1951,) p. 58.

theme of ecumenical relations has been discussed by members of the Society. Percy Bartlett has a pamphlet entitled *Quakers and the Christian Church* (London, 1942,) and Edward Grubb in his *Quaker Thought and History* (New York, 1925) has a chapter entitled "Christian Reunion." Henry Cadbury has given an address upon this topic.[2]

A perusal of the discussions brings to light the curious anomaly that whereas the original separation of the Friends from other Christians is defended as wholesome, every subsequent defection from the Society itself is deplored as tragic. Such a view, one would suppose, could be defended only on the assumption that the Friends exhibit the one true form of Christianity. Hence the coming out of the true from the false would be a gain, and any deviation from the true would be a loss.

But this is not the position which Friends commonly take today. Those very authors who defend the original separation and lament the subsequent divisions do not do so because in their judgment early Quakerism was the perfect variety of Christianity. Modern Quakers are rather disposed to proclaim their emancipation from now one and now another element in their religious heritage.

Grubb, for example, regrets the indifference of the founders of the Society to theology. This anti-intellectualism was responsible in his judgment for some of the later division. With reference to the Hicksite schism he says, "I believe the whole disastrous episode might have been avoided if the minds of Friends on both sides of the controversy had not been starved. Nothing strikes the modern student more than the crudity of ideas and the ignorance of religious truth that were shown by the combatants on both sides."[3]

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2. Compare "William H. Thorpe, "Friends' Place and Contribution within the Christian Church," in *The Society of Friends, the Church and the State* (Friends' Book Centre, London, 1952). "Christian World Fellowship 1954-55," *The Friends Advance of the Five Years Meeting of Friends* (Richmond, Indiana).

3. Grubb, *Op. cit.*, p. 43.

Charles M. Woodward in his book *Quakers Find a Way* has a diametrically opposite explanation of the schism. It was due precisely to preoccupation with dogma. Had Hicks and Grellet "recognized that Quakerism is essentially a spiritual experience and that intellectual statements of such experiences are at best feeble and inadequate presentations of what really lies too deep for words, the greatest tragedy Quakerism ever faced might well have been avoided."[4] Woodward sees this not altogether as a corruption of original Quakerism, for the mischief was present at the outset. The initial movement was constricted by Calvinism and prevented thereby from enjoying the fullness of mystical experience. When George Fox in The Letter to the Governor of the Barbadoes expressed belief in the substitutionary efficacy of Christ's death, the founder was "guilty of backsliding." The early Quakers, says Woodward, were wrong in regarding the Bible as all of one level and as dictated by God and as inerrant. The taboo on music, he claims, forefeited "a priceless Divine possession."[5]

Modern historians of Quakerism are more and more inclined to recognize that the early movement was a phase of Puritanism, sharing alike in its magnificence and in some of its foibles and offering us therefore in this generation an example but not a rigid pattern. With the Puritans the Quakers shared in the battle for religious liberty. Witness the superb deportment of William Penn on trial. Friends were Puritans in their sturdy resistance to tyranny. Friends were not remote from Puritans in some of the emphases which are often regarded as distinctive. Friends said that the outward word of the Bible must be interpreted by the light within. Puritans said by the illumination of the Holy Spirit. Friends were often subject to intense emotional enthusiasm, Puritans likewise. Friends sought to reduce Christianity to its absolute essentials. So also did the Puritans, though they did not strip

4. Woodward, *Quakers Find a Way* (1950), p. 100.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 160.

so much away. Some of the less attractive features of Puritanism appeared also among the Friends, aversion to music as titillating and distracting in worship, if not indeed a mark of the vainglory of the world. Quaker invective against stage plays—Barclay's scorn of acting as dissimulation and Penn's scorn for the "languishing voices" in the theater savor of the strictures of that Puritan William Prynne in his *Scourge of Stage Players.*[6]

Some of the points made by early Friends were conditioned by the circumstances of the times, and we may properly inquire whether the circumstances of our day necessitate the same solutions. The Friends were Puritans. Yet they differed from other Puritans. Characteristic of the Puritan movement was a breakdown into a number of sects each very hostile and recriminatory toward the others. Today we all regret the acrimony of the dispute between George Fox and Roger Williams. Fox wrote of him as *A New-England-fire-brand quenched.* and Williams replied with *George Fox digg'd out of his burrowes.* Each was saying something important for his time. Yet perhaps not in all respects for our time. The Quakers, discovering in their day so much contention with regard to polity, vestments and sacraments said in effect, "These are not essential. We can have a true church without any of them. We will show you that not only may the church dispense with a bishop but also with a minister. No robes are necessary, no altars, no candles, no storied cathedrals, no sacraments even. God can be worshipped in simplicity, in silence, in unpremeditated speech, and all of your supposed aids from without are but encumbrances." Friends gave a marvelous example of a Christianity revitalized by simplification, but whether Christianity need remain forever so simplied is open to question. Throughout Christian history one finds an oscillation in this regard. When complexity is disturbing, there is a move toward

6. Ezra Kempton Maxfield, "Friendly Testimony Regarding Stage Plays," *Bulletin of Friends Historical Association* XIV (1925).

simplicity, and when simplicity proves to be an impoverishment, there is a trend toward complexity. And each may serve its own day.

Modern Friends, then, are less and less disposed to regard the earliest Quakerism as the only valid form of Christianity, let alone as sacrosanct in all of its details. The beginnings are examined with a critical and selective spirit.

Yet assuming that some elements in the first Quakerism were universally valid—as indeed they were—how are they to be conserved—as a pattern to be repeated without deviation or as a theme to be developed with variations? What is entailed in preservation? Do we mean stagnation or continuity within growth? As a matter of fact, there can be no life without growth and no growth without change. If Quakerism should become encrusted, unadaptable, rigid, then it would already have ceased to be itself. The genius of the movement cannot be preserved simply by continuing ancient modes of behavior.

Already the decision has been reached that plain dress is not essential for the plain testimony. In the matter of speech a curious reversal has taken place. In the beginning the reason for the use of the "thee" and "thou" was social equalitarianism. The English language at that time, like French, Germany, Italian and other tongues today, had two modes of address, the polite and the familiar. "Thee" and "thou" were used toward intimates, children, servants; Protestants who felt better acquainted with God than did the Catholics used this form, also, in prayer. The less intimate and always the more exalted in social rank were to be called "you." George Fox believed that, since in the eyes of God there is no respect of persons, all should be addressed in the same manner, and he employed toward all the familiar form. Today his point has been won. All are treated alike, though the form is reversed. "Thee" and "thou" have become obsolete save in prayer, where they express reverence rather than intimacy. The form "you" has become universal. Among the Quakers the plain

speech has come to be a badge of intimacy within the Society rather than a protest against social snobbery without. Friends may, if they will, keep the plain speech as a quaint and endearing custom, but it does not mean what once it did. And to shift from this to other ways of stressing social equality would be much more truly a continuation of the spirit of the founders than to adhere to a formal custom bereft now of its original significance.

The continuing separation of the Friends from other bodies is not, then, to be justified on the ground that Friends in the first place represented an absolutely unique and absolutely satisfactory form of Christianity, and in any case the spirit of original Quakerism does not preclude change. If perhaps separation was requisite in the beginning, it is not for that reason of necessity to be continued in perpetuity.

Another reason, however, is adduced for the division of denominations. It is not because any one represents the whole truth, rather the reverse. Each represents only a partial truth, yet a truth and a very important truth, commonly neglected by other Christian bodies. The witness to the totality of Christian life and experience, in view of the limitations of human nature, is possible only through varieties of religious experience and varieties of church structure and form. This theory of diversity was first enunciated during the Puritan Revolution. John Milton declared that the variation of the burgeoning spring is more in accord with God's plan than the uniformity of congealed winter. Oliver Cromwell pointed out that the Old Testament mentions a number of trees: The plantin, sycamore, olive, palm and cedar, all different and yet all giving shade. So also in religion there should be variety. By this token schism was justified if some valid aspect of the faith had been overlooked, and continued schism was justified in order to provide a witness and concrete expression of the several strands. Percy Bartlett on these grounds defends the original and the continuing separateness of Friends. The

distinctive note to which they should bear witness in his judgment is the service of worship, consisting of silence and unplanned speech. Nothing like it is to be found elsewhere, and a moment of silence in a liturgical service is not comparable. There must be first the discipline of settling and waiting upon the Spirit. Henry Cadbury in his recent address lays stress on three distinctive points. The first is the responsibility of all members of the Society for its worship and for its affairs. The second is the equality of women, and the third is the peace testimony. Friends have something to offer, something to stand for and something to stand by. And they must not suffer these valid Christian notes to be muted by any mergers. This is not to decry other bodies. The validity of their witness also is recognized. Thus the sects can accord each other respect without forming a single organization.

This view of denominationalism has a certain plausibility, but does it not mean an acquiescence in the partial? If each group has something of the truth but not the whole truth, then to stay by one's own and leave other valid emphases to the rest is to be content with an impoverishment. Again does not this theory add up to the view that Christians should be grouped according to temperament? We commonly feel that it is quite unChristian to group ourselves according to wealth, social status, race and ethnic origins. Is it any less deplorable if one church is committed to preserving the intellectual side of Christianity and draws to itself the theologians, whereas another appeals to the aesthetic and invites the musicians and the artists, while a third is socially concerned and devotes itself to philanthropy and so on? Such specialization reminds one of the case of a pioneer of medical missions, Peter Parker, who in the early nineteenth century went out to Canton with the intention of restricting himself to the diseases of the eye. He soon found multitudes suffering in every portion of their anatomies, and was speedily driven to become a general practitioner.

In the light of these considerations let us now examine the divisions which have occurred within the Society of Friends. A re-evaluation of these schisms may throw some light on the relationship of Friends to the churches, for it is difficult to see on what basis Friends can so unanimously condemn the rifts within the Society and justify the separation from without.

The divisions of Friends have resulted because of greater and lesser degrees of accommodation to the religious environment. Some Friends were more responsive to current attitudes than others, and in consequence divisions occurred. If we assume that any accommodation was corruption, then our judgment with regard to these separations is prepared in advance, but we have already noted that change may be a better preservative than stagnation. We should therefore examine each case with openness of mind.

In the eighteenth century Deism was a rational form of Christianity which invaded the Society of Friends and led some to searching inquiries. No schism resulted, but individuals were disowned. The Deists were leveling strictures against the morality of the Old Testament. Peter Annet, for example, in his tract *David, the Man After God's Own Heart* was very satirical with regard to David's bloodshed and adultery. One marvels that Friends had not been earlier disturbed over the wars of the Old Testament. Toward the end of the eighteenth century some elders maintained that the Hebrew wars for the extirpation of the Canaanites could not be regarded as due to the express command of God. For a God of love could not have been in former times a God of vengeance. This was, of course, to deny the veracity of statements in the Old Testament. Among those disowned for such views was a woman, Hannah Barnard. She was charged with "promoting a disbelief of some of the Scriptures of the Old Testament; particularly those which assert that the Almighty commanded the Israelites to make war upon other nations." "I found

myself reduced," said she, "to the alternative of either believing that the Almighty's nature and will were changeable like those of a finite man or that it never was his positive will and pleasure for his rational creatures to destroy one another's lives in any age of the world."[7] Few among Friends today would fail to agree with her. Yet she was disowned. The bearing which this may have upon our situation is this, that if for a conviction and a right conviction Friends are disowned by other bodies, they cannot for the sake of unity renounce their conviction.

What Rufus Jones called the greatest tragedy in Quaker history occurred in the 1820's, the Hicksite schism. Grubb, as we have already noticed, attributed it to intellectual starvation, whereas Woodman blamed the concern for theology. Rufus Jones says the division was due rather to an abandonment of a zig zag course.[8] Up to this time Quakerism had tacked between the authority of the Spirit and the authority of the Scripture, but now the vessel adopted a straight course, and those who would not have it so boarded another ship in an opposite direction. To use another figure, the synthesis was dissolved between private illumination and Biblical revelation. Hicks is commonly supposed to represent the influence of Unitarianism upon Quakerism. His affinities appear to me to lie rather with the Transcendentalist Movement. The light within played for Hicks a role similar to the oversoul of Emerson. Hicks did not, however, adopt Emerson's theory of God immanent in nature. Rather he exaggerated the early Quaker disparagement of all outward helps, and whereas the first generation had rejected the sacraments on that account, he went so far as to include the historical Jesus as himself only an outward help. Our reliance should be rather on the Christ within, who is but another name for the inward light. Thus the historical core of Christianity was destroyed,

7. Rufus M. Jones, *The Later Periods of Quakerism* Vol. I (London, 1921,) pp. 302-03.
8. *Ibid.*, 457-58.

and the unique revelation of God in Christ became only an anticipation of that which takes place in every human soul.

Stephen Grellet, on the other hand, was influenced by the Evangelical Revival, with its emphasis upon salvation solely through the expiatory death and redeeming work of the historical Christ.[9] Biblical and theological interests were revived. So sharp an accentuation of the two aspects of the Quaker testimony, hitherto held in conjunction, produced the schism.

Under the circumstances one cannot see any other legitimate outcome than division. It is all very well to say that these men should have appreciated their deeper unity. Such a statement must not be taken so far as to imply that they should have been indifferent to truth. If they did have profoundly divergent conclusions with regard to the very source of religious revelation, then their ways for the time being had to part. At the same time, the division was deplorable because each was partially right and each was partially wrong. The calamity was that the healthy tension between historical revelation and inward illumination had broken down, and we may rejoice today in the reunion, not because men have ceased to care about the truth but because the partial has been corrected by the whole.

The Hicksite split is somewhat differently interpreted by Elbert Russell who sees the basic ground in the falling apart of the city and the country Friends about Philadelphia. The farmer folk resented the centralization of authority in the hands of urban elders and supported Hicks less on account of theology than because of his insurgence.[10] If this be so, then Friends like other branches of the Church became so identified with their culture as to be ruptured by rifts already present in the social structure. Whenever the Church fails to main-

9. Edward Grubb, "The Evangelical Movement and Its Impact on the Society of Friends," reprinted from *The Friends Quarterly Examiner* (Jan., 1924).

10. Elbert Russell, "The Separation after a Century," reprinted from *Friends Intelligencer* (1928).

tain her unity against the rents of the world, there is reason to lament. This division, now happily healed, should prompt inquiry as to whether Friends today are separated from other Christians on sociological grounds. Friends are commonly in the upper strata. They do not attract either the indigent or the ignorant. But these the Gospel does not reject.

Finally the Wilburites reacted against the Evangelical theology of Grellet in the name of the ancient Quaker pattern. But the old zig zag could not be restored immediately after the separation had occurred. The present need was for a re-examination of the entire problem of revelation. Friends needed a theologian rather than a return to the vague formulations of the founders.

The question of the sacraments has occasioned not a major schism but some disowning among Friends. The original reason for rejecting the sacraments was of a piece with the repudiation of music and of art. All of these were considered creaturely. Since God is a spirit, he must be worshipped in spirit with no sensory medium appealing to the ear, the eye or the mouth. Baptism was declared to be only of the spirit. The command of Christ in Matthew 28 to baptize all nations was interpreted by the older exegetes among the Friends as referring not to water baptism, since water was not mentioned, but only to spiritual regeneration. Some later Friends took advantage of Biblical criticism to deny the authenticity of these words.[11] Yet, as a matter of fact, there can be absolutely no question that in the New Testament and continuously thereafter the disciples did baptize with water, and they did celebrate the Lord's Supper with real bread and real wine. Moved by these considerations, David Updegraff, an Ohio Friend, in the 1880's revived these ordinances. He was disowned by eight meetings, and the Ohio Yearly Meeting in 1885 made the pronouncement. "We believe that the baptism

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11. James H. Moon, *Why Friends (Quakers) Do Not Baptize with Water* (1909).

which appertains to the present dispensation is that of Christ, who baptizes his people with the Holy Ghost, and that the true communion is a spiritual partaking of the body and blood of Christ by faith. Therefore, no one should be received, acknowledged or retained in the position of minister or elder among us, who continues to participate in or advocate the necessity of the outward right of baptism . . . or the Supper." [12] Surely, ran the argument, the Society of Friends cannot have misunderstood its teachers for two hundred years. Updegraff replied that if George Fox was right in contending that the Church of his day had misunderstood the Master for sixteen hundred years, what was so preposterous in suggesting that the Friends might have misunderstood George Fox for two hundred years? Updegraff went on then to cite a number of passages from the early Quakers who did not make an absolute out of abstention from the water of baptism or the bread of the Supper but left each to follow the guidance of the inner light. So Updegraff would not impose these ordinances on others but asked only that he be accorded the liberty of his conscience. In consequence, he was disowned. Today such rigor is no longer exercised.

Yet although latitude is allowed and respect accorded to individual conviction, the Friends as a whole still refrain from any celebration of the sacraments and any use of artistic or musical symbols in the service of worship. May one who is also a Congregationalist be permitted to remind Friends that by banishing all symbolism they run the risk of introducing symbolism of a lower order. I know of two meeting houses which have no altar, no candles, no signs of the Evangelists, no crucifixes and no cross. Instead, in the front of the meeting house blazes a roaring fire. It is not there for heat. The building has already been warmed. It can be there only as an aid to the focusing of attention. The historic symbolism of the

12. David B. Updegraff, *An Address on the Ordinances* (Columbus, Ohio, 1885).

Church has been replaced by the device of primitive, pagan fire-worshippers.

Where now are these reflections leading us? We should all agree that Friends do have certain valid and distinctive testimonies to bear. The service of worship is unique. The role of the entire membership in the affairs of the Society is almost unique. The equality of women is only approximated in other denominations, and the peace testimony, though borne also by the Mennonites and the Brethren, is certainly not so clearly and exclusively advocated by other religious groups. One would be extremely unhappy if these positions of the Friends should be weakened by any organic union with other bodies. At the same time there is the possibility that Friends are bearing only a partial witness and that their own religious life could be enriched if they were able either by organic union or by borrowings to supplement their own tradition.

But here a warning must be introduced against the mere blending of forms. There must be a sense of artistic harmonies and unities in whatever combinations are effected. In the realm of music the sonata and the choral are distinct and cannot simply be jumbled. In the realm of architecture the liturgical church has the altar in front, the pulpit and the reading desk on the sides and the central aisle leading up to the altar. In the preaching church of the Congregational tradition the pulpit is in the center, a solid block of pews in front and the aisles on the side. It will not do to place the altar at the head and then to have the pews massed in the center with side aisles. The altar requires a central aisle. Likewise the old Congregational meeting house does not lend itself to stained glass windows, and the very simple meeting houses of the Quakers may lose their chaste appeal if they are subjected to any excessive adornment.

There is the possibility, however, that different types of worship can be practised by the same individuals at different

times. My wife and I commonly attend first Friends meeting and then a Congregational service. There is no reason why the other churches could not introduce the practice of a genuine Friends' unplanned meeting on some weeknight occasion, and there is equally no reason why the Friends, if they wished, should not celebrate the sacrament of the Lord's Supper not as a part of the ordinary meeting but on some separate occasion.

Many of the Friends have a very deep feeling against such a participation. One Friend told me that in her community, since there was no Friends' meeting, she attended the Congregational church. At the celebration of the sacraments she was uneasy. She was loath to get up and leave and equally loath to take part. Now plainly, if she could not participate in a reverent, devout and meaningful manner, she ought to have abstained. But if the celebration on the part of the congregation was a genuine act of worship, then she need not have found the bread and the wine to be insupportable obstacles.

Perhaps the query may come, why not then participate in footwashing? To which I would reply, indeed, why not? I have done so when among the Brethren, and I found the rite deeply moving. I do not feel any urge, however, to try to make it universal because it does not have a continuing tradition reaching back to the time of the New Testament, nor is it in any sense a universal symbol of Christendom.

Far be it from me, however, to urge Friends to reintroduce the sacraments. This must be a matter of private decision, and, if there is no preparation of spirit, to participate would be a desecration. This, however, is plain that neither water nor the lack of water, neither bread nor the lack of bread is so significant as the communion of the spirit, and where it is real, then one should count oneself privileged to be allowed to partake and, if not to partake, at any rate simply to be present.

I remember an occasion in France when I was serving with the American Friends Service Committee during the First World War. We were in a village where there was no Protestant service. I went to the Catholic mass. That Sunday it was being celebrated by a French priest on behalf of German prisoners. They sang in their own rich tongue. The priest murmured inaudibly, in Latin; and as he did so, my mind reverted to a Congregational church in the State of Washington, and again I heard my father repeating the simple words of institution, how our Lord in the night that he was betrayed took bread and broke it and gave to his disciples saying, "Take, eat, this is my body which was broken for you. This do in remembrance of me."

Let not Friends forget the vital testimony of bygone days. Let not Friends dedicate themselves to the preservation of encrusted forms. Preserve rather the valid, seek the well rounded truth, respect diversity of honest conviction, join reverently with all who are reverent, seek the unity of the spirit and pray for unity of the body. William Penn well said, "The humble, meek, merciful, just, pious and devout souls are everywhere of one religion; and when death has taken off the mask, they will know one another, though the divers liveries they wear here may make them strangers." And Isaac Pennington declared: "This is the true ground of love and unity, not that such a man walks and does just as I do, but that I feel the same spirit and life in him." [13]

13. Cited in Edward Grubb, *Quaker Thought and History* (New York, 1925), p. 146.

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Women in the Society of Friends

ELIZABETH GRAY VINING

The Ward Lecture, 1955

Given at
GUILFORD COLLEGE ON FOUNDERS DAY
November 11, 1955
GUILFORD COLLEGE, N. C.

Women in the Society of Friends

WARD LECTURE

by

Elizabeth Gray Vining

GUILFORD COLLEGE

November 11, 1955

Inaugural Ward Lecture, *"An Adequate Leadership for Friends Meetings."* Alexander C. Purdy, November 10, 1950

Second Ward Lecture, *"The Function of a Quaker College."* Howard H. Brinton, November 9, 1951

Third Ward Lecture, *"Friends and International Affairs."* Clarence E. Pickett, October 22, 1952

Fourth Ward Lecture, *"A Quaker Approach to the Bible."* Henry J. Cadbury, November 9, 1953

Fifth Ward Lecture, *"Friends in Relation to the Churches,"* Roland H. Bainton, November 12, 1954

WOMEN IN THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

When I was asked to deliver the Ward Lecture on the subject of Women in the Society of Friends, my first reaction was, Why women? Why not men? Why not people? It seemed to me so clear and obvious that in the Society of Friends a woman, like a man, is an individual, not merely a part of a category, that it scarcely needed repeating. In our religious fellowship a woman is free to take up a task because she sees something that needs doing, to develop and exercise her talents without considering whether they belong to any so-called "woman's sphere," and to follow her leadings without self-consciousness or apology. My second thoughts revealed to me that this immediate reaction was a sign of something significant and possibly unique in Quakerism and its attitude toward women, and that a further consideration of the subject might prove interesting.

What, exactly, I asked myself, is this attitude which I so immediately felt to be characteristic of Quakerism? How has it been expressed? Has it resulted in a recognizable type of woman?

It is not simply, I saw at once, a question of equality. No doubt the single fact that leaps most swiftly to mind when one thinks of women and Quakerism is that in the meeting for worship women are equally free to take part in the ministry. This is, of course, a vital and essential element of Quaker thought and practice, but it does not proceed from a formulated or even an unconscious declaration of equality. It is the outcome of a principle that is deeper, more inclusive, more creative. Friends believe that the light of Christ shines within all human hearts without the necessity for mediation by priests or a priestly caste. They believe that the word of God may be read not only in the Bible but in the inner chambers of the individual soul. It follows then that men and women are alike children of God. The degree to which they are illu-

mined by His light depends not upon their sex but upon their openness to the Source, on their attention to it, and on their obedience to its commands. There is immense variation in individuals, in their characters, mental abilities, the circumstances of their birth, their interests and ambitions, but all are human beings first, men and women second.

Equality has something partial and mechanical about it. The Declaration of Independence proclaimed that "All men are created equal." It did not mean by that that they were financially or socially equal or that they had equal physical, mental, or spiritual endowments. Equality before the law, we are told, is what was meant. Yet the laws themselves might not, and actually did not, provide equal rights for all citizens. Women and Negro slaves were denied liberties and rights considered essential for men. The French Revolution was founded on a basis of liberty, equality, and fraternity, yet women do not vote in France today.

Advocates of equality would—and often do—say, We must have so many men and so many women on this committee. Or in college councils, We will admit so many Jews and so many Negroes. Those who see people primarily as human beings say, We will select the best qualified individuals for the work, and after that we will notice whether they are men or women, Caucasian or colored, Christian, Jewish, or Mohammedan.

It is a rarer attitude than one might think. Two such diverse writers as D. H. Lawrence and Dorothy L. Sayers agree that is the one thing men will not accord women. In her book, *Unpopular Opinions,* Dorothy Sayers quotes D. H. Lawrence, with the prefatory remark that though he "talked a good deal of nonsense" on the subject of sex, he was "occasionally visited with shattering glimpses of the obvious."

"Man," said Lawrence, "is willing to accept woman as an equal, as a man in skirts, as an angel, a devil, a baby-face, a machine, an instrument, a bosom, a womb, a pair of legs, a

servant, an encyclopedia, an ideal, or an obscenity: the one thing he won't accept her as is a human being, a real human being of the feminine sex."

Dorothy Sayers, whose essays and dramas on religious themes are as brilliant as her earlier and better known detective novels, points out that it was one of the God-like qualities of Jesus that He saw women as human beings, but the church, she charges, has been "extremely reluctant to endorse His opinion." "I think," she writes, "that I have never heard a sermon preached on the story of Martha and Mary that did not attempt somewhere, somehow, to explain away its text. Mary's of course was the better part—the Lord said so, and we must not precisely contradict Him. But we will be careful not to despise Martha . . . We could not get on without her, and indeed (having paid lip-service to God's opinion) we must admit that we greatly prefer her. For Martha was doing a really feminine job, whereas Mary was just behaving like any other disciple, male or female; and that is a hard pill to swallow."

What the Society of Friends has done, from its earliest days, has been to accept women as individual human beings, as valid disciples as men, as competent as they for spiritual leadership.

In fact, the principle that women were by nature as capable of discipleship as men and as directly called to it, was accepted by Friends even before there was an organization called the Society of Friends. Perhaps partly because Elizabeth Hooten, George Fox's first convert, had been a Baptist and Baptists, alone among 17th century churches, recognized "she-preachers," women Friends from the first spoke in meetings for worship and preached in the highways and byways. Of the Vailant Sixty (actually sixty-six) who went out two by two to "publish Truth" in the early 1650's, twelve were women. Some years later, after the practice was well estab-

lished, George Fox laid down the principle in one of his Epistles:

"And women are to take up the Cross daily and follow Christ daily as well as the men, and so be taught of Him, their Prophet, and fed of Him, their counselor, and sanctified by Him who offered up Himself once for all. And there were elder women in the Truth as well as elder men in the Truth; so they have an office as well as the men, for they have a stewardship to the Lord as well as man."

There is nothing here about equality as such. Women, human beings, open to the direct revelation of God, have a part to play according to what has been entrusted to them in stewardship.

THE DARING OF GEORGE FOX

That this acceptance of women should break forth in the middle of the 17th century was extraordinary, for their position in western society had at that time reached its nadir. Women in the Middle Ages had lived free and vital and satisfying lives by comparison. The great convents offered education to girls, and to women employment not only in religious vocation but in the fields of business administration, literature, art, languages, music. They could rise to executive positions of dignity and power. In the trades they were protected by the far-sighted laws of the guilds. All that, however, vanished with the Reformation and the dissolution of the monasteries. At one blow woman lost her opportunity both for an education and a career. By the middle of the 17th century the only avenue open to women outside the home was domestic service and small shopkeeping. Marriage took on supreme importance, and the age of marriage became younger and younger. Ignorant little girls of fourteen, fifteen, and sixteen were married off by their parents in a panic lest the time of their blooming pass and they be left unwed.

To this secular belittling of women the Puritans added a religious disapproval. John Knox's *First Blast of the Trumpet*

against the Monstrous Regiment of Women led the way to a spate of attacks on the frivolity, superficiality, incompetence, and immaturity of women, until Richard Baxter's classification of us as "betwixt man and a child" emerges as one of the more complimentary remarks.

It was not the least of the scandalous proceedings of that radical and dangerous sect, the Quakers, that they declared women to be endowed with the Light as men were and like them called to preach the Gospel. By the time that Robert Barclay wrote his famous *Apology* in 1676, he found it necessary to devote only one of this 574 pages to the preaching of women, for, he said, "the manifest experience [of its usefulness] puts the thing beyond all controversy." Non-Quakers however were still shocked. A tract was written in 1699 to show that "women's preaching is contrary to the Scriptures and to be accounted a Delusion of the Devil."

One wonders if George Fox realized fully what he was doing when he made his statements about women, which he seemed to regard as so natural and inevitable as not to need comment or defense. He was influenced doubtless by Elizabeth Hooten and by Margaret Fell, whom he married and whose part in the forming of the Society of Friends was in many ways almost as great as his own. Still, "an original," as William Penn said of him, "and no man's copy," he spoke out of his own genius, his own clear apprehension of the Light. But did he know—could he foresee—the revolutionary nature of his stand? It is hard to say, now, from this distance. At all events, he never retracted his words. Indeed he was far more concerned to stir women up to do their full part than to hold them back.

As a result Quaker women have never had to struggle for their "rights." Within the Quaker community—with the inevitable variations due to contemporary thought and practice and the degree to which the meeting has been impinged upon and influenced by non-Quaker groups around it—women

Friends have for three centuries enjoyed the recognition which Dorothy Sayers and D. H. Lawrence united in declaring that men in general and the church in particular will not grant to women even today. This extraordinary acceptance has entailed certain privileges and responsibilities characteristic of Quaker thought and practice.

PREACHING AT HOME AND ABROAD

Throughout the years there has never been an attempt to reduce women to silence in the meetings for worship. There have been few invidious remarks about women's preaching, few attempts even to classify it as especially "feminine." Caroline Stephen, it is true, did recognize a difference of tone in women's messages when she wrote of the added enrichment which the ministry of women brings to the harmony of the varied utterances in a Quaker meeting. "I have often wondered," she added, "whether some of the motherly counsels I have listened to in our meeting would not reach some hearts that might be closed to the masculine preacher." It was a woman Friend whose preaching was the means of convincing Moses Brown, though he is reported to have been a little ashamed of the fact. Some of the most powerful Quaker preachers have been women. Hannah Whitall Smith, Sybil Jones, and Anna Braithwaite, to name but three from the last century, spoke to large gatherings not only of Friends but people of other denominations as well.

Throughout the years, moreover, Quaker women have been free to go forth to travel in the ministry whenever they felt the divine leading to do so. This I think is even more remarkable than the freedom to speak in their home meetings. It was a remarkable institution anyhow, the traveling of concerned Friends over the world to visit small and struggling meetings in remote places. By their messages, their love, their visits in scattered homes, they held together a religious society but loosely organized, without creed, hierarchy, or central au-

thority. During the years when a traveling ministry was most necessary, traveling of any kind was difficult, slow, dangerous and expensive. By convention and general practice most women were bound to their homes. But Quaker women could rise up, leave their husbands and children—after making careful provision for them—and go forth on long, arduous, and taxing expeditions to visit faraway meetings and encourage Friends. It was logical, it was natural, that the call should come to women as well as to men, but it was not inevitable that Quaker fathers and husbands should accept without objection the validity of the call. It would have been human to protest, and perhaps some did, but not enough to halt the practice.

Quaker history of the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries is full of accounts of brave women who felt the call to travel and —sometimes in real reluctance and anguish of mind—rose up to obey. Weighty Friends were consulted, the Friend was liberated to go with a minute from the Monthly Meeting and in some cases from a superior meeting as well, and a companion was appointed to accompany her. The fact that she was a wife and mother, with home responsibilities—or on the other hand that she was a maiden aunt living in the house of a brother with no worldly claim to importance—made no difference. She had a leading, and if it was in right ordering it was valid and all helped her to go.

Rachel Wilson of Lancaster, for instance, said farewell to her husband and children in 1768, crossed the ocean in a little sailing boat, and traveled thousands of miles on horseback in North America, through summer heat and winter snows. In one place she was brushed off her horse by the branch of a tree and landed head first in a snowdrift. It was she whose ministry so impressed Moses Brown. Of all the religious visitors to Philadelphia Yearly Meeting from 1684 to 1773 from England, Ireland, and Barbados, seventy-nine were men, thirty-two were women. Anna Braithwaite under a similar

concern in the first part of the nineteenth century made three trips to America in six years, in order to reach all the places she felt led to visit without having to be too long separated at any one stretch from her seven children. Thirty-four years old at the time of her first trip, she went humbly without any inflated sense of the importance of her mission but only the desire to obey what she understood to be the will of God. "I look not," she said, "for great things in my steppings along." Rufus Jones' Aunt Peace, the beloved unmarried aunt living in his childhood home, went to Ohio and Iowa to visit the meetings there, and the joy and excitement of her return was one of Rufus' vivid early memories.

A HAND IN CHURCH GOVERNMENT

Revolutionary as early Quakerism was in admitting women as equals to spiritual leadership, it was perhaps even more drastic in giving them an actual part in church government. Theory is one thing. Practice is sometimes different. And men have ever liked to keep the reins firmly in their own hands.

It is noteworthy that from the first organization of Quakerism, even before the monthly meetings were established, women began to take part in the business and government of the church. In 1653 the first men's meeting was established in London, when certain "just and righteous" men Friends were appointed to meet fortnightly to care for the poor, keep records, and settle disputes. Before long they felt the need of assistance and with the approval of George Fox and other leaders the Women's Two-Week Meeting was formed. It seems that the women were chosen by the men's meeting and were responsible to it.

A few years later, after the restoration of Charles II and the storm of persecution that came with it, the two-weeks meetings were overwhelmed with the needs of Friends, and an independent women's meeting called the Box Meeting was set up. Sixty women met once a week to inquire into the neces-

sities of all Friends, sick, weak, in want, widows or fatherless. It was called the Box Meeting because contributions were collected in a box.

By 1671 Fox was writing a circular letter urging that women's meetings be established everywhere. To the women's meetings themselves he wrote, "Encourage all the women that are convinced and minds virtue and loves the truth and walks in it, that they may come up into God's service, that they may be serviceable in their generation and in the Creation . . . Let the Creation have its liberty." As time went on and the problems of persecution became less acute the women's meetings began to turn their attention to other matters, to add sick-visiting to prison-visiting, and to poor relief the providing of situations for servant girls, the apprenticing of boys of poor Friends, and even exhorting the younger women in sobriety and modesty of apparel and stopping tatlers and false reports that tend to cause division. But "chiefly our work is to help the helpless in all cases according to our abilities."

Mabel Brailsford wrote in her *Women and Quakerism*, a fascinating account of 17th century Quaker women, that the establishment of women's meetings met with a "storm of opposition," even by those who had taken women preachers calmly. George Fox was aroused to declare severely, "Those that are against the women's meetings that they see no service for them: then they may hold their tongues and not oppose them that do see the service . . . All you that feels the power of God and your service for God as aforesaid, in them, you, men and women, keep your meetings in the power of God."

The women's meetings survived the early opposition and when monthly, quarterly, and yearly meetings were organized, each was divided into men's and women's meetings. To us today such separation seems to deny the basic Quaker attitude toward women, but at that time it represented at least a marked advance over the practice of other churches.

The same pattern was followed in America in the earliest pioneer meetings. The women in the wilderness reached out for fellowship with their sisters in London. In 1678 the Women's Meeting of Maryland sent two hogsheads of tobacco to the Women's Meeting of London, a gift apparently much appreciated and enjoyed.

In *A Small-Town Boy* Rufus Jones describes the monthly meeting for business in South China, Maine, two centuries later. After the preliminary meeting for worship, the clerk arose and said, "If Friends' minds are easy I apprehend that this would be a suitable time to close this meeting and proceed to the business." Then a strange creaking noise was heard overhead and "shutters started moving down as though an archangel from above was performing the miracle and in a few minutes the room was divided into two. The men filed into one and the women into the other." Each room had its clerk, and the business "consisted largely of a searching inquiry into the state and condition, the moral and spiritual progress or decline of the membership."

In England the practice of holding separate women's meetings came an end in 1896, when London Yearly Meeting recognized women Friends as a constituent part of all meetings for church affairs. In the United States the change took place a little later at different times in different parts of the country. The Race Street Yearly Meeting in Philadelphia was one of the last to combine the two groups. In 1924 the men and women had their first Yearly Meeting together and the clerk of the Women's Meeting, Jane Rushmore, became the assistant clerk of the whole group. Three years later she was made clerk and she held the position for three years. It is interesting that after experience of both she said, "In general the Women's Meeting had unity without uniformity. It was more progressive than the men's and under much better control. The philanthropic reports found the Women's Meeting more receptive and new ideas were more likely to be approved."

London Yearly Meeting had its first woman clerk in 1943 when E. Maude Brayshaw was appointed.

Women have also and in numbers held other positions in the church government down the years, as elders, overseers, clerks of both bodies, members and chairmen of important committees. In the pastoral meetings there has been a small number of women pastors and assistant pastors.

THEIR SHARE OF PERSECUTION

In the early years of Quaker history there was another way in which women from the first took their full share of the burden: in enduring, even going out to meet, suffering and persecution. The physical brutality which was visited on early Friends makes painful reading. Women of the 17th century met it without flinching and even with rejoicing. The first Quakers, men or women, to suffer flogging were two girls, Mary Fisher and Elizabeth Williams, who went to Cambridge to preach to the students. The following year, 1654, undeterred by their experience, two others, Elizabeth Leavens and seventeen-year-old Elizabeth Fletcher, who was usually called "Little" Elizabeth Fletcher, went to Oxford and were there barbarously beaten. Mary Dyer, as we all know, went to Boston to "bear her testimony against the persecuting spirit," was banished under pain of death, returned to "look the law in the face," and was hanged. After her execution, so far from being frightened away, other Quaker women went resolutely to Boston and other Massachusetts towns, to be imprisoned, whipped at the cart's tail, and subjected to what we would today call a "death march." None lost her life, after Mary Dyer. Non-violent resistance begins to be effective after the worst is done to one and five more rise up to take his or her place.

Three Quaker women going to deliver the message to the colonies in America in the 1650's and '60's were shipwrecked and drowned. Katherine Evans and Sarah Cheevers, on their

way to publish Truth in Cyprus in 1659, fell into the hands of the Inquisition in Malta and suffered imprisonment and privations for three and a half years.

The list could be greatly extended, but I think I have said enough to make my point. The contemplation of their fortitude, their daring, their determination makes a modern Quaker woman feel abashed. Yet the steadfastness of women Friends in Germany and Japan in the face of the dangers of recent years indicates that the early spirit has not entirely died out. And Quaker women in the United States have been among the very few individuals who have given up their jobs rather than take loyalty oaths. Harrop Freeman in an article on civil liberties calls our attention to "the Baltimore headline describing the refusal of two Quaker ladies to take the Maryland anti-Communist oath, not because they were Communist but because they opposed witch-hunts and oaths: 'Toll of the Ober Law—no Communists, two Quakers.'" Dr. Miriam Braillie's statement, strong and clear, should be part of the permanent Quaker literature on civil liberties. She had had tenure as Director of the Bureau of Tuberculosis in the Baltimore City Health Department. In refusing to take the oath and thereby relinquishing her post, she said in part: "I could truthfully sign the loyalty pledge. I am unwilling to do so, however, because I hold that by signing I purchase the right to continue as a municipal employee at the price of collaboration with a piece of legislation which I regard as wrong."

THE HAPPIER PRIVILEGES

To Quaker women throughout the years have come, besides their religious responsibilities and duties, certain privileges and opportunities not universally granted at the time to women.

The first was the gift of education. Isabel Ross pointed out in her stimulating biography of Margaret Fell Fox that the responsibility laid upon the first Quaker women in the

women's meetings taxed their abilities to the utmost. It early became evident that the girls in a Quaker family would need as much education as the boys. As early as 1668 Fox was saying with his usual largeness of vision and carelessness of grammatical niceties that a school for girls should be established at Shacklewell along with the school for boys at Waltham, to instruct them in "whatsoever things was civill and useful in the Creation."

In America Friends schools sprang up in connection with most monthly meetings. All were coeducational. The Quaker boarding-schools when they came were coeducational, too, and being managed as large families were able to solve successfully the problems of coeducational boarding-schools. When the need for colleges was felt they too for the most part were coeducational. Though Haverford was for men only, Bryn Mawr in its founder's vision was to be the feminine counterpart.

Because of their education Quaker women, according to Howard H. Brinton, were employed as teachers in Friends' schools in the 17th and 18th centuries, when other women were not qualified to teach in anything higher than a dame school. Another result of their education and of the structure of the meetings was that—and again I am quoting Howard Brinton—"for the unmarried woman the Society of Friends has always had significant work of an educational, social or religious nature to claim her full attention." Furthermore, education and the experience they received in the religious and business affairs of the meetings enabled women Friends of the 19th century to become leaders in the struggle for women's rights. Without Lucretia Mott and Susan B. Anthony, women's suffrage might have been very much slower in coming than it was.

In addition to an education superior to what most women of her time were receiving, the Quaker woman also had another advantage, that of travel. I have already mentioned

this in connection with her service in the ministry. Now I mean to stress its value to her in terms of education, pleasure, the widening of her horizons and all the other benefits of sojourns in foreign lands. In the Middle Ages woman had been able to go on pilgrimages. Chaucer's Wife of Bath was by no means the only one to combine religion and sightseeing. But the era of pilgrimages went out when the Reformation came in, and women for the most part stayed home, and developed the homely wits which Shakespeare ascribed to homekeeping youth. From the first, however, Quaker women went abroad. True, frivolous sightseeing was not their purpose. They went on religious journeys, dangerous, sacrificial, sober, and earnest, but still they have got about. Sybil Jones, for instance, who lived in a remote country village in Maine, visited England, Scotland, Ireland, Norway, Germany, Switzerland, France, Greece, Syria, Palestine, Liberia, and Sierra Leone. Even in modern times when traveling has become more general, I think it can be safely said that more Quaker women in ordinary circumstances travel than proportionately among other groups, that they go to more unusual places and have a more interesting time in that they have more opportunities to meet the people who live in those places. They are not mere tourists. The English Quaker delegation to Russia in 1951 included two women and ours of this year, one. Dorothy Hutchinson recently was sent around the world to visit the ordinary people in a number of countries and to take a message of friendship to them.

At the far extreme from the opportunity to travel, Quaker women have had another privilege, one which we take for granted and the value of which we have seldom paused to assess. It is, put briefly, time for silence and the right to claim it. In Anne Lindbergh's beautiful book, *Gift from the Sea*, she writes of the need for solitude, in which to find inner stillness. "Anything else," she says, "will be accepted as a better excuse. If one sets aside time for a business appointment, a

trip to the hairdresser, a social engagement, or a shopping expedition, that time is accepted as inviolate. But if one says: I cannot come because that is my hour to be alone, one is considered rude, egotistical, or strange." Quaker women can have their hour to be alone, to meditate, to prepare for meeting; it is theirs without question, when they want to take it, and what is more, most of them know what to do with it when they get it.

THE HEART OF THE MATTER

Not all women speak in meeting, or travel in the ministry, or chair committees, or become leaders of their sex. Home and the family are central in Quakerism. When a religious group puts aside in its worship services all dependence upon ritual, sacraments, prepared sermons, hymns, and Bible readings, it is essential that the minds of the worshipers be stored before the meeting hour with religious knowledge on which to draw. In the early days—indeed until very recently—this was supplied largely by family worship and daily Bible reading. Rufus Jones, writing of his childhood, said, "I was not 'christened in a church' but I was sprinkled from morning till night with the dew of religion. We never ate a meal which did not begin with the hush of thanksgiving. We never began a day without a 'family gathering' at which Mother would read a chapter of the Bible, after which there would follow a weighty silence."

The practical George Fox, realizing the importance of women in the home, wrote in an Epistle in 1676, "So the women in the time of the gospel light and grace are to look unto their own selves and families, and to look to the training up of their children; for they are oft times more among them than the men and may prevent many things that may fall out and many times they may make or mar their children in their education."

At a Quaker wedding the same promise is made by both

the man and the woman. One does not obey and the other endow with worldly goods, but both promise to be faithful and loving. The sharing of decisions and responsibilities is taken for granted.

The importance to women of this equality in the home was made vivid to me when I saw the absence of it in Japan. Although there, as in other places, there is great individual variation—families where the woman by reason of unusual strength of personality has wrested power from the man, and a great many more families where she rules without his ever knowing it—still, by and large, the family is dominated by the father. He makes decisions about where they live, what schools the children attend, where and when they have a vacation, how the family income is to be spent, and whom the children are to marry. The end of the war and the new Constitution, which gave women the vote, changed many things. In the annual Womens' Week, six years after the war, the gains for women during those years were summed up by the Women's Bureau in the Labor Ministry as follows: personal accomplishments of individuals, improvement of working conditions, and increased opportunity to speak on important family matters. Of the three, the last gain was the one that meant most to the great mass of Japanese women.

ALL IN ONE DRESS AND ONE COLOR

What has been the effect of all this freedom, this opportunity, this travel, this acceptance as a human being, upon Quaker women during the three centuries of Quakerism? Is there a recognizable Quaker type? Could you, out of a group of women, select without foreknowledge those who were Quakers, saying, I would know them anywhere?

Once it would have been possible. You would have known them immediately by their costume. A full-skirted dress of drab color or gray, often of the finest material, with a white kerchief, a shawl, a transparent, immaculate white cap for

indoor wear, a bonnet for outdoor wear. Details of the costume varied, and were subject to minute scrutiny, but this was the general outline. In the world, hoops, panniers, waistlines at the armpits, balloon sleeves, zouave jackets, basques and bustles came and went, with every possible variety of silly headgear, "antic and fantastic inventions of old Satan," but still the Quaker bonnet and shawl persisted. Even Charles Lamb, who admired Quaker women enormously (and Hester Savery in particular), so that he declared sweepingly, "Every Quakeress is a lily," felt that the dress became monotonous. "Their garb and stillness conjoined," he wrote, "present a uniformity, tranquil and herdlike—as in the pasture—forty feeding as one."

In Janet Whitney's lively and absorbing novel, *The Quaker Bride,* the heroine, Rose, who has unsuspectingly married a gambler is required by her husband to wear her Quaker costume to dinner parties, so as to cast an aura of more than ordinary respectability over the house, in order to disguise the sinister purpose for which it is really being used. Though Rose had the simplicity, the gentleness, the shining quality of goodness, the loving heart that we should like to think of as marking the Quaker type, it is evident that these qualities were not enough to establish her as a Quaker: the costume was necessary.

The costume is now gone. I am glad that I can remember seeing one or two of them about in my childhood, but I would not call it back again. It was a superfluity, an excrescence, that had grown upon the tree of Quakerism during the years of Quietism, not part of the original root and branch. Margaret Fell Fox, with her robust good sense, would have none of it. Shortly before she died she wrote a vigorous letter to Friends protesting against the new tendency toward a Quaker uniform. "They say we must look at no colors," she wrote disgustedly, "nor make anything that is changeable colors as the

hills are, nor sell them nor wear them. But we must be all in one dress and one color. This is a silly, poor gospel."

A NEW CAST OF CHARACTER?

Without the costume, have we nothing left? Is there no basic Quaker character, so that we show openly what we are?

Thomas Clarkson, not a Friend, writing his *Portraiture of Quakerism* in 1806 said, "The execution of these and other public offices by which the Quaker women have an important station alloted to them in the Society cannot but have an important influence on their minds. It gives them, in fact, a new cast of character." Jonathan Dymond, who was a Friend, wrote at about the same time, "Within the last twenty-five years the public has had many opportunities of observing the intellectual condition of Quaker women. The public has not been dazzled." After this rather crushing bit of irony he continues comfortingly, "Who could wish it? But they have seen intelligence, sound sense, considerateness, discretion. They have seen these qualities in a degree and with an approach to universality of diffusion that is not found in any other class of women, as a class."

If we cannot claim to be lilies today, neither can we claim a monopoly of those admirable but somewhat less than dynamic virtues, intelligence, sound sense, considerateness, and discretion. After all, in the intervening century and a half, all women have come to enjoy in worldly affairs the outward freedom, the responsibility, and the opportunity for service that were once confined almost entirely to Quaker women. If these advantages have an effect upon the personality of Quakers they must likewise mold the personalities of all who hold them.

The Quaker women to whom I have put the question always reply immediately and with vigor, No, not in the least. We are just like everybody else. But when I have asked those

who are not Quakers I have got a different answer, not so definite or so vigorous, not nearly so articulate. Yes, they have felt, there is a discernible difference.

We discussed the question in our little group of "Poets"—fifteen or twenty women who have been meeting together for some fifteen years to read and write poetry. Those members who were not Quakers said that they did not notice it so much now, but when they first entered the group they had felt a definite difference. Asked to analyze and specify, they thought carefully and then, somewhat tentatively but with entire agreement among them, brought up three points. They felt, they said, a marked friendliness, open and sincere. They felt, in the second place, no need to pretend in any way; they would be accepted as they were. In the third place, they felt no competitiveness in the group. And this I find the more surprising because it is a writing group and writers as a rule are highly competitive. One of them ventured further, putting it in the most delicate and gentle way, that as far as appearance was concerned she would have thought that none of us could have been wearing our best clothes! Perhaps this last could be interpreted as a recognition of the testimony of simplicity.

Following up the idea that perhaps an outsider can have a better perspective than one who is inside, I turned to my experience in Japan, as I so frequently do, seeking light on some problem in America, and I thought I found there something that bears on the subject. Because of my work with the Peers' and Peeresses' School, I came to know some of the other schools in Tokyo rather well, and a good many of the graduates. I found that each of the schools, especially the girls' schools, marked their students definitely, so that there was a distinct type. I learned to tell with some degree of accuracy when I met a woman whether she was a graduate of the Peeresses' School or of the Sacred Heart School, of Jiyu Gakuen, Freedom School, which was the product of an

original, vigourous, and courageous woman journalist, of Keisen, Miss Michi Kawai's School, with Presbyterian, Bryn Mawr, and Y.W.C.A. influences, and of Friends Girls School. There were few if any Quakers among the pupils of the Friends School, but from its inception seventy or more years ago there has always been a Quaker principal—Mr. Hirakawa, Mrs. Tomiyama, Esther Rhoads, and now Orie Shimazaki—and the key teachers have been Friends. The characteristics that I saw in the graduates, as in the older students, were those that might logically have come from Quaker nurture and that I had seen to exist in the teachers whom I knew, especially in Esther Rhoads, whose influence has been profound. Some of them are the same as those which our non-Friend friends saw in the Quaker Poets. I saw in those Japanese girls and women an open, natural friendliness, less of the ceremoniousness that is usually a part of Japanese manners, a lack of pretense, an unstrained appreciation of others, and a quiet readiness to take responsibilities or even leadership without officiousness.

These are very quiet qualities. They do not impress themselves upon the observer; one has to be looking for them. Perhaps the Quaker woman needs her costume to dramatize her particular virtues: the gray or drab-colored silk, of very good quality, the kerchief, the cap, the bonnet.

We like to point to Elizabeth Fry, Lucretia Mott, Susan B. Anthony, Mary Mendenhall Hobbs, and others, to see them as typical Quaker women. But what of the other great women of modern times: Florence Nightingale, Dorothea Dix, Clara Barton, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Julia Ward Howe, Jane Addams? Put the whole list together, mixed up, Friends and non-Friends, would we know, if we were not told and if they were all dressed alike, which were Quakers and which were not?

Has it all been in vain then? Have we Quaker women had a rare treasure not vouchsafed to other women and have we

come through three centuries of these advantages with nothing to show for it but a tentative claim to a few quiet virtues?

Unquestionably there is more. Quakerism, after all, is an inward religion. Though without the costume we cannot be recognized from the outside, still we know ourselves from within. We realize, when we think about it, our great good fortune in having been born or convinced into a religious fellowship which grants to each of us the dignity of our humanity, the freedom to be ourselves, to "mind the Light," in the words of the dying Fox, each in her own way. And the more faithful we are to the Light, the more truly Quaker we shall be and at the same time the closer to the luminous and dedicated spirits of all faiths.

ELIZABETH GRAY VINING

Elizabeth Gray Vining, sixth Ward lecturer, has won recognition for her teaching, her lectures, and her books.

For many years she has been an outstanding author of children's books, notably *Adam of the Road,* which was awarded the John Newberry Medal.

Recommended by the United States Government, she became the tutor of the Crown Prince of Japan. Her insight into character and the quality of her own personality built lasting friendships with many members of the royal family. Her experiences, related in *Windows for the Crown Prince,* have not only captivated her fellow countrymen but have widened their horizons and their understanding of the prince and his countrymen.

Her most recent book, titled *The Virginia Exiles,* "conveys the Quaker quality of quiet and luminous integrity." It is, as one critic said, "a timely and powerful defense of liberty of conscience and the right of an individual in a free country."

Her contribution to devotional literature through "The World in Tune," an anthology with comments, reveals the depth of her faith, her insight into, and her practice of, the tenets of the Society of Friends.

Reared in a Quaker home, educated at Bryn Mawr College, active in the philanthropic activities of the American Friends Service Committee, she understands and is capable of interpreting "Women in the Society of Friends."

Quakerism and Politics

FREDERICK B. TOLLES

The Ward Lecture, 1956

Given at
GUILFORD COLLEGE ON FOUNDERS DAY
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GUILFORD COLLEGE, N. C.

Quakerism and Politics

WARD LECTURE

by

Frederick B. Tolles

GUILFORD COLLEGE

November 9, 1956

Inaugural Ward Lecture, *"An Adequate Leadership for Friends Meetings."* Alexander C. Purdy, November 10, 1950

Second Ward Lecture, *"The Function of a Quaker College."* Howard H. Brinton, November 9, 1951

Third Ward Lecture, *"Friends and International Affairs."* Clarence E. Pickett, October 22, 1952

Fourth Ward Lecture, *"A Quaker Approach to the Bible."* Henry J. Cadbury, November 9, 1953

Fifth Ward Lecture, *"Friends in Relation to the Churches,"* Roland H. Bainton, November 12, 1954

Sixth Ward Lecture, *"Women in the Society of Friends,"* Elizabeth Gray Vining, November 11, 1955

QUAKERISM AND POLITICS

Though we are cautioned in our books of discipline against observing special "times and seasons," Friends have been busy during the past few years celebrating a series of significant anniversaries, and more are in the offing. In 1948 North Carolina Friends observed the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of their Yearly Meeting. In 1952 we all united in celebrating the three hundredth birthday of Quakerism in England. Two years ago, Irish Friends observed the tercentenary of Quakerism in Ireland. This year Friends in New England honored the first Quaker "Publishers of Truth" who arrived in North America three hundred years ago. Next year, the two hundred and seventy-fifth anniversary of William Penn's coming to the Delaware Valley, and the hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the birth of John Greenleaf Whittier, the Quaker poet, will, no doubt, be noticed with suitable ceremonies. I should like to call your attention to two minor Quaker anniversaries that occur this autumn. Neither is likely to attract much public attention. I mention them chiefly because they have a striking relevance to my theme.

I

It was three hundred years ago, in October 1656, that George Fox had a memorable interview with Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector of England. It was one of the great moments of a great century, for here, face to face, were two of the most powerful personalities of the age, the one the military dictator of the British Isles at the pinnacle of his worldly power, the other a crude, rustic preacher who had just spent eight months in one of England's foulest prisons. They met in Whitehall, at the very heart of the British government. Fox bluntly took the Protector to task for persecuting Friends when he should have protected them. Then characteristically he set about trying to make a Quaker out of Cromwell, to turn him to "the light of Christ who had enlightened every man that cometh into the world." Cromwell was in an argumentative mood and took issue with Fox's theology, but Fox had no patience with his objections. "The power of God riz in me," he wrote, "and I was moved to bid him lay down his crown at the feet of Jesus."

Cromwell knew what Fox meant, for two years earlier

he had received a strange and disturbing missive in which he had read these words:

God is my witness, by whom I am moved to give this forth for the Truth's sake, from him whom the world calls George Fox; who is the son of God who is sent to stand a witness against all violence and against all the works of darkness, and to turn people from the darkness to the light, and to bring them from the occasion of the war and from the occasion of the magistrate's sword. . . .[1]

The man who persisted in calling himself the "son of God"—he later acknowledged that he had many brothers—was demanding nothing less than that the military ruler of all England should forthwith disavow all violence and all coercion, make Christ's law of love the supreme law of the land, and substitute the mild dictates of the Sermon on the Mount for the Instrument of Government by which he ruled. In a word, Fox would have him make England a kind of pilot project for the Kingdom of Heaven. Fox was a revolutionary. He had no patience with the relativities and compromises of political life. His testimony was an uncompromising testimony for the radical Christian ethic of love and non-violence, and he would apply it in the arena of politics as in every other sphere of life. It is not recorded that Cromwell took his advice. Neither is it recorded that Fox ever receded an inch from his radical perfectionism. The absolute demands he made upon Cromwell just three hundred years ago may stand as one pole of Quaker thought on politics.

Now I would draw your attention to another anniversary we might appropriately observe this autumn. It was just two hundred years ago, in October 1756, that the Quakers abdicated their political control of Pennsylvania, and the "Holy Experiment" in government in the Valley of the Delaware came to a close. For three quarters of a century, first in West New Jersey, then in Pennsylvania, Friends had been deeply involved in the day-to-day business of politics—winning elections, administering local and provincial government, struggling for power among themselves, contending with non-Quaker politicians, squabbling with neighboring provinces, wrangling with the imperial authorities in Whitehall. Though William Penn had founded his Quaker Utopia by the Delaware on the proposition that government was "a part of religion itself, a thing sacred in its institution and

1. *The Journal of George Fox*, ed. John L. Nickalls (Cambridge, England, 1952), pp. 274-75, 197-98.

end," neither he nor his successors had pretended to maintain George Fox's absolute witness.

As office-seekers they had often fallen short of perfect Christian charity in their relations with their opponents. As office-holders they had often found it necessary to compromise their highest principles in order to stay in office. As judges they had sentenced men to death. As legislators within the British Empire they had appropriated funds with which the Crown had carried on its wars with France and Spain. In some degree every one of them had come to terms with the world, had compromised the purity of his religious testimony as a Quaker. But they had created in the American wilderness a commonwealth in which civil and religious liberty, social and political equality, domestic and external peace had reigned to a degree and for a length of time unexampled in the history of the Western world. When the Quaker lawmakers of Pennsylvania, just two hundred years ago this autumn, stepped down and gave the province of Pennsylvania into the hands of "the world's people," something went out of American political life—something that we have been two hundred years trying to restore.[2] The relative testimony of the colonial Pennsylvania politicians may stand for us as the other pole of political thought and practice in the Society of Friends.

Between these two poles Quaker political attitudes and behavior have oscillated, and the main purpose of this lecture is to trace historically the path of that oscillation, to underline some of the dilemmas in which Friends have found themselves in relation to politics, and, if possible, to draw from the record some conclusions which may have contemporary relevance.

II

We must begin by recognizing how thoroughly primitive Quakerism shared the spirit of millennial hope, the exhilarating atmosphere of expectancy that marked the middle years of the seventeenth century. It was a period, like the early years of the Christian church itself, when many religious people in England looked for the imminent return of Christ

2. On the withdrawal of Friends from the government of Pennsylvania see Frederick B. Tolles, "The Twilight of the Holy Experiment," *Bulletin of Friends Historical Association,* XLV (Spring 1956), 30-37.

on the clouds of glory and the prompt establishment of the Kingdom of Heaven on earth. It was the period of the Barebones Parliament, that curious collection of assorted fanatics who hoped to usher in the Rule of the Saints in England. It was the period of the Fifth Monarchy Men, those violent zealots who planned to enthrone King Jesus in succession to the late Charles I. The apocalyptic imagery of the Books of Daniel and Revelation worked like yeast in English minds and the radical ethics of the New Testament were spawning visionary schemes for the root-and-branch reform of English society. The Quaker movement, we must recall, grew out of the same Puritan soil as these other manifestations of left-wing Protestantism; its early leaders shared fully in the apocalyptic excitement, the zeal for social reform, the identification of politics with religion.[3]

"Laws and decrees shall be changed and renewed," exulted Edward Burrough. "Every yoke and burden shall be taken off from the neck of the poor; true judgment and justice, mercy and truth, peace and righteousness shall be exalted; and all the nations shall have judges as at the first and counselors as at the beginning."[4] When George Fox "was moved to sound the day of the Lord" from the top of Pendle Hill, he was not behaving exactly like a twentieth-century Philadelphia Quaker, but he was acting quite in the spirit of the time.[5] And when William Tomlinson cried out: "Woe, woe, woe, to the oppressors of the earth, who grind the faces of the poor," and warned that "God will in time hear the groanings of the whole creation, and then, woe, woe, woe, to you who have been such oppressors and hard-hearted taskmasters," he was speaking in the authentic vein of prophetic Christianity and adding one more Quaker voice to the chorus of social protest that reached a crescendo in England at the end of the 1650's.

3. The best account of the Puritan roots of Quakerism is Geoffrey F. Nuttall's *The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience* (Oxford, 1946). For the social and political "climate" of the 1650's see W. Schenk, *The Concern for Social Justice in the Puritan Revolution* (London, 1948).

4. Both this passage and that from William Tomlinson below are taken from a revealing article by James F. Maclear, "Quakerism and the End of the Interregnum: A Chapter in the Domestication of Radical Puritanism," *Church History*, XIX (December 1950), 240-70.

5. *Journal of George Fox*, pp. 103-104. T. Canby Jones places Fox in relation to the eschatology of his time in "George Fox's Understanding of Last Things," *Friends' Quarterly*, VIII (October 1954), 194-206.

It is now pretty clear, despite the reticence of Quaker literature on the subject, that in the critical year 1659, just before the Restoration of Charles II, the Rump Parliament made a remarkable proposal to the Quakers—"nothing less than that they should aid in a sweeping reorganization of . . . the Commonwealth government—a reorganization in which justiceships would be given to Friends or to others sympathetic to the Quaker movement." [6] What is more, many Quakers were prepared to rise to the challenge and take their part in administering the Holy Commonwealth. Friends in Somersetshire described themselves as "ready (for Truth's sake) to serve the commonwealth to the uttermost of their ability," and it seems probable that five Friends in Westminster and seven in Bristol were actually appointed commissioners of the militia. The French ambassador wrote home that the hard-pressed government was relying for its support on the Quakers: "The Spirit of God, by which they are ruled," he reported, "now permits them to take part in the affairs of this world, and the Parliament seems inclined to make use of them."

We are accustomed to think that the early Friends stood aloof from politics, and we find it hard to see how men who had renounced force could justify administering the militia. Yet given the apocalyptic atmosphere of the time, it is not impossible to understand how Friends could have agreed to accept public office, even to take up the magistrate's sword, in the interests of establishing the Rule of the Saints. For once the regime of the righteous was set up, all swords would, no doubt, be turned into plowshares and all spears into pruning hooks. After all, one of the earliest epistles of advice to Friends, the ancestor of all our books of discipline, the famous letter sent out from Balby in Yorkshire in 1656, had recommended "that if any be called to serve the Commonwealth in any public service, which is for the public wealth and good, that with cheerfulness it be undertaken, and in faithfulness discharged unto God: that therein patterns and examples in the thing that is righteous, they may be, to those that be without." [7]

But the revolution of the Saints did not come off. Instead the unsaintly Charles II was restored to the throne in 1660,

6. Maclear, op. cit., p. 255.

7. *Letters, etc., of Early Friends*, ed. A. R. Barclay (London, 1841), pp. 280-81.

and Puritan apocalypticism fizzled out in the absurd and abortive little rising of the Fifth Monarchy Men in January 1661. If George Fox had ever really favored Quaker participation in the politics of the Saints, he had had by now some sober second thoughts; some scholars think the ten-week-long "time of darkness" into which he was plunged in the middle of 1659 was a time of inward struggle over this very issue. In any case, by the end of that year he was advising Friends everywhere to "keep out of the powers of the earth that run into wars and fightings" and to "take heed of joining with this or the other, or meddling with any, or being busy with other men's matters; but mind the Lord, and his power and his service." [8] After the fiasco of the Fifth Monarchy rising, innocent Friends were taken up by the hundreds and imprisoned on charges of conspiracy to overthrow the government—charges based on a doctrine of "guilt by association" as far-fetched and vicious as that which has flourished in our own day. To clear themselves of suspicion a number of leading Friends, including Fox, issued a public declaration that they had never been concerned in any plots for the violent overthrow of the government, that indeed the Spirit of Truth would never lead them to "fight and war against any man with outward weapons, neither for the kingdom of Christ, nor for the kingdoms of this world." [9]

III

The traumatic experiences of the Restoration year had a lasting effect on the Quaker attitude toward politics. Many Friends reacted sharply against anything that smacked of partisan politics and took the position that a Quaker should have nothing to do with the politics of this world, that his citizenship was in another Kingdom. The words of Alexander Parker in 1660 may stand as representative of this attitude: "My advice and counsel," he wrote, "is, that every one of you, who love and believe in the Light, be still and quiet, and side not with any parties; but own and cherish the good wherever it appears, and testify against the evil. . . ." [10]

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8. *Journal*, p. 358.

9. This familiar declaration has often been reprinted. See *Journal of George Fox*, pp. 398-404.

10. *Letters, etc., of Early Friends*, p. 368.

This attitude of aloofness and neutrality was the dominant one in the Society of Friends during the fifteen years following the Restoration. All the strength the Society could muster was required simply to survive, to weather the storm of persecution that Charles II loosed upon them. But political interests were not dead. Around the year 1675 some Friends at least began to show a new concern for politics. There was no dream of capturing England for the Kingdom of God now. The House of Stuart was too strongly entrenched. Moreover, Quakers were excluded from office by the requirement of an oath, which they could not in conscience take. And anyhow, the confident millenial mood of midcentury had passed forever. But Friends had meanwhile strengthened their own internal government by creating a network of Monthly Meetings all over the country with appropriate central agencies in London. Consequently, they now had the means of bringing their organized influence to bear on the British government at one limited but—to them—all-important point: religious toleration. Quaker action to bring an end to the persecution took two forms: on the one hand, an attempt to influence elections, and, on the other, an effort to influence legislation. In other words, Friends engaged in a certain amount of electioneering and lobbying.

In 1675, for example, the Second-Day Morning Meeting in London encouraged Friends to vote only for Parliamentmen who would sign an agreement to work for toleration. Six years later, the Meeting for Sufferings was urging Quakers who had the franchise to vote for "sober, discreet, and moderate men . . . that are against persecution and Popery, and that deport themselves tenderly towards our Friends." [11] William Penn was, of course, the most active political Quaker of the time. Everyone knows about his "Holy Experiment" in Pennsylvania (to which I shall come back presently), but before he set that experiment on foot he had a fling at politics in England. Though he had announced, just a few years before, that "it is not our business to meddle with government," he took to the hustings twice—in 1677 and 1679—in a vain effort to elect his friend Algernon Sidney to Parliament—

11. William C. Braithwaite, *The Second Period of Quakerism* (London, 1919), pp. 90, 98. Ethyn Williams Kirby gives a good account of "The Quakers' Efforts to Secure Civil and Religious Liberty, 1660-96" in the *Journal of Modern History*, VII (1935), 401-21.

Sidney who dreamed of transforming King Charles's England into a republic. Friends were clearly a political bloc to be reckoned with in those years. So active were they in the Parliamentary elections that the King's friends actually promised Penn to free his people from persecution if he would pledge their political support or at least their neutrality.[12] And it has been plausibly argued that King Charles's willingness to grant Penn a huge province across the sea was dictated by the hope of draining off to America a troublesome portion of his political opposition.[13]

But in the long run lobbying was for Friends a more congenial method of influencing politics than electioneering. Quakers had been engaged in lobbying—that is to say, in seeking to influence legislators by personal visits—ever since 1659, when a hundred and sixty-five Friends went to Westminster Hall and sent into the House of Commons a paper offering to lie "body for body" in jail in place of their imprisoned and suffering fellow Quakers.[14] But after 1675 they intensified their legislative activity, seeking acts for the release of prisoners and the ending of persecution. The Meeting for Sufferings co-ordinated the work. The weightiest Friends in England, including George Fox and William Penn, busied themselves buttonholing Members of Parliament and appearing at committee hearings. The Yearly Meeting even rented a room in a coffee house hard by the Houses of Parliament for a headquarters—a kind of Friends Committee on National Legislation office.[15] An unfriendly observer noted sourly that "it was indeed somewhat scandalous, to see, when any Bill or Petition was defending, wherein the Quakers had their Account or Design, what crowding, what soliciting, what treating and trading there was by that sly and artificial set of Men. . . ." And another critic observed that "Their broad Hatts, their short Crevatts, their dour Looks, [and] Subtil Carriages" were always in evidence when the House of Commons was in session.[16] The legislative struggle for religious

12. Kirby, op. cit., 402, 405-406.

13. Fulmer Mood, "William Penn and English Politics in 1680-81," *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society, XXXII* (1935), 3-21.

14. W. C. Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism*, Second Edition, revised by Henry J. Cadbury (Cambridge, England, 1955), pp. 454-55.

15. *The Short Journals and Itinerary Journals of George Fox* ed. Norman Penney (Cambridge, England, 1925), pp. 190-92, 218.

16. Kirby, op. cit., p. 413.

liberty was substantially won in 1689 with the passage of the great Toleration Act, but the lobbying efforts went on, until Friends were finally granted the right to substitute a simple affirmation for a formal oath in 1722. From time to time in the course of this campaign the Meeting for Sufferings urged Friends to write their Parliament-men on the subject.[17] If anyone thinks the techniques of the FCNL are a modern innovation, he knows little of Quaker history.

IV

The Affirmation Act of 1722 finally gave English Quakers many of the privileges of citizenship they had hitherto lacked, including the right to sue in court and to vote without impediment (though not to hold public office). Curiously enough, the achievement of most of the privileges of citizenship was followed by a widespread disinclination to exercise them. Friends in England—I am leaving the American story to one side for the moment—were entering the age of Quietism. The feeling grew that a good Quaker should have as little as possible to do with earthly government, that he must avoid the temptations, the distractions, the compromises, the corruptions of political life, that he ought to maintain his religious testimonies with absolute purity, in isolation, if need be, from the life of his time. He must be—it was a favorite phrase of the period—among "the quiet in the land."

We saw this attitude taking root among the English Friends at the time of the Restoration in 1660; in the eighteenth century it became almost a dogma. Listen to Samuel Scott, a fairly typical "public Friend," on the Parliamentary elections of 1780:

> The parliament being dissolved, a general election is coming on; the devil cometh forth, and hell from beneath. . . . it becometh not the members of our society to meddle much in those matters, or to be active in political disquisitions. . . . In respect to elections, we ought to go no farther than voting for the candidates we best approve, and declaring our preference of them, without endeavouring by any other means to influence others. "Israel is to dwell alone, and not to be mixed with the people." [18]

Some Friends even counseled against voting. Here is the advice of Thomas Shillitoe, an extreme Quietist, in 1820:

17. Ibid., p. 416.

18. Samuel Scott, *A Diary of Some Religious Exercises and Experience* (London, 1809), p. 12.

"Friends, let us dare not meddle with political matters. . . . Endeavour to keep that ear closed, which will be itching to hear the news of the day and what is going forward in the political circles." Friends, he thought, should be resolutely oblivious to the world around them. "Avoid reading political publications," he warned, "and, as much as possible, newspapers." [19] The religion of these Quietist Friends was a tender plant that must be carefully guarded against blighting contact with "the world."

V

The climate of English Quaker opinion on politics did not change until well into the nineteenth century. After the passage of the great Reform Bill of 1832 it became possible at last for Friends to qualify for Parliament by taking an affirmation in place of an oath. The first Quaker to take a seat in the House of Commons was Joseph Pease, who was elected in 1833, though his father, his mother-in-law, and his Monthly Meeting all tried to dissuade him from entering the hurly-burly of public life. He sat in the House for several years, always wearing his plain Quaker coat, steadfastly declining, in Quaker fashion, to use formal titles of address even in Parliament.

Ten years after Joseph Pease broke the ice, a Quaker statesman greater than he—indeed one of the towering figures in nineteenth-century British politics—entered Parliament. I shall not recount the story of John Bright's career or attempt to catalogue his achievements. I will simply mention some of the liberal causes for which he struggled nobly and, in the main, successfully: the abolition of compulsory Church rates or tithes, against which Friends had long borne a testimony; the repeal of the Corn Laws, which were taking bread out of the mouths of the poor; the extension of the franchise, which had hitherto been denied to many poorer folk in town and country; the emancipation of the Jews, who had been subject to civil disabilities based on prejudice; the abolition of capital punishment, still a subject of political debate in England; justice and fair treatment for the people of Ireland and India, who in different ways were suffering from oppression; stead-

19. *Journal of the Life and Labours of Thomas Shillitoe* (London, 1839), I, 224.

fast opposition to the Crimean War, a war which modern historians unite in condemning as unjust and unnecessary; the humanitarian protest against the wanton bombarding of Alexandria in 1882, the issue over which he resigned from Gladstone's cabinet. Every one of these causes was in harmony with his humane and pacifist impulses as a Quaker. William E. Gladstone was not merely indulging in the conventions of funeral eulogy when he said of Bright "that he elevated political life to a higher elevation, and to a loftier standard, and that he . . . thereby bequeathed to his country the character of a statesman which can be made the subject not only of admiration, and not only of gratitude, but of reverential contemplation."[20]

Yet John Bright himself would have been the first to admit that he had not been a completely "consistent" Friend throughout his long career in politics, that the testimonies of his religious society were counsels of perfection which a practical politician could not uphold in all their purity. He had, for instance, approved the bloody suppression of the Indian Mutiny of 1857. He had been a warm supporter of the North in our fratricidal Civil War, writing to John Greenleaf Whittier that "war was and is the only way out of the desperate difficulty of your country," and to another correspondent that "I want no end of the war, and no compromise, and no reunion till the Negro is made free beyond all chance of failure."[21] And in his social philosophy he was so much the captive of the *laissez faire* doctrines of his time as to oppose every effort to limit by law the number of hours women should work in factories.[22] In other words, one cannot overlook the plain fact that Bright's contributions as a Quaker statesman, notable as they were, were achieved at the sacrifice of consistency as a Quaker.

Since John Bright's time there has been an unbroken tradition of political Quakerism in England. More than sixty

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20. Quoted in Rufus M. Jones, *The Later Periods of Quakerism* (London, 1921), II, 633. The best account of Bright's career is still George Macaulay Trevelyan's *Life of John Bright* (Boston and New York, 1913). But Margaret E. Hirst's *John Bright* (London, 1945) is an admirable brief biography.

21. Margaret E. Hirst, *The Quakers in Peace and War* (London, 1923), pp. 285-87, 288-91.

22. Edwin B. Bronner, "John Bright and the Factory Acts," *Bulletin of Friends Historical Association*, XXXVIII (1949), 92-102.

Friends have held seats in Parliament—and they have held them right through two World Wars. Scores, probably hundreds more have served on county councils and in other posts in local government.

Meanwhile the official attitude of London Yearly Meeting has changed slowly from one of reluctant acquiescence to one of whole-hearted endorsement of political activity. The London Discipline of 1861 took pains to point out some of the duties of public office that would be inconsistent with Quaker principles—adminstering oaths, enforcing ecclesiastical demands, calling out the armed forces—and warned Friends to consider seriously "whether it is right for them to accept an office which involves such alternatives." Furthermore, the Discipline went on, still under the sway of the Quietist fear of "the world": "When we consider the seductive influence of popularity, and the self-satisfaction consequent upon the successful efforts of the intellectual powers, even in a good cause, we feel bound with affectionate earnestness, to caution our friends against being led to take an undue part in the many exciting objects of the day." [23] By the beginning of the twentieth century, however, the Yearly Meeting was offering advice in quite a different vein. "The free institutions under which we live," read the Discipline of 1911, "give many of our members a direct share in the responsibilities of government, and in forming the healthy public opinion that will lead to purity of administration and righteousness of policy. This responsibility belongs to them by virtue of their citizenship, and our members can no more rightly remain indifferent to it, than to the duties which they owe to their parents and near relatives." "In view of the opportunities for public service opened to Friends during the last half century," it went on, "we desire to press upon them the duty of qualifying themselves, so that they may be 'prepared unto every good work.'" [24] The change from the cautious spirit of the Yearly Meeting's advice just half a century before is too striking to miss.

Perhaps the most critical test of any Quaker's devotion to his traditional religious testimonies comes in wartime, and this

23. *Extracts from the Minutes and Epistles of the Yearly Meeting . . . Relating to Christian Doctrine, Practice, and Discipline* (London, 1861), pp. 123, 124.

24. *Christian Discipline of the Religious Society of Friends of London Yearly Meeting,* Part II, *Christian Practice* (London, 1911), p. 126.

is especially true for the Quaker in public office. A student at Swarthmore College several years ago tabulated the votes of the Quaker Members of Parliament on crucial measures during the two World Wars. She found about what one might expect: that some were consistent pacifist Quakers throughout, voting for no military measures and vigorously defending the rights of conscientious objectors; that some were pretty consistently unpacifist and unQuakerly in their attitude, supporting nearly all the war government's measures; and that some were simply not consistent (i.e., on some issues they voted their Quaker consciences and on others they did not). From her analysis she concluded that it is not inherently impossible to be a consistent Quaker pacifist in government, even in wartime: here the notable career of the late T. Edmund Harvey, who sat in Parliament during both World Wars, was her chief exhibit. On the other hand, she was obliged to grant that if one is to avoid mere negativism and obstructionism, it is often necessary to be silent and therefore, to a degree, uninfluential with respect to most major issues and to concentrate one's efforts on such minor though important problems as securing fair treatment for CO's.[25] The experience of the English Quaker M.P.'s suggests that the path of a religious idealist in practical politics is not an easy one.

VI

So far I have focused on the relationship of English Quakers to politics. I can deal with the American experience more briefly, though it is far from a simple story. The elements are the same, but the historical development of attitudes is curiously different; in fact, the American experience reverses the British to produce a kind of historical counterpoint. For Quakers on this side of the Atlantic were becoming more and more deeply involved in politics just when their British cousins were detaching themselves from it; later, American Friends reacted towards Quietism and non-involvement as the English moved away from that attitude and began to take an active part in government.

There were four American colonies in which, for longer or

25. Betty Ann Hershberger, A Pacifist Approach to Civil Government: A Comparison of the Participant Quaker and the Non-Participant Mennonite View (typewritten B.A. thesis, Swarthmore College, 1951).

shorter periods, the powers of government were in Quaker hands. In Rhode Island between 1672 and 1768 ten Quakers served for a total of thirty years as Governors, and other Friends held office as Deputy-Governors and Assemblymen.[26] West New Jersey, especially during its first quarter-century, from 1674 to 1702, was in every sense a Quaker colony.[27] Everyone knows that Pennsylvania was controlled by Friends from its founding in 1682 down to the middle of the eighteenth century.[28] And there is no need to remind North Carolinians of the brief but important Governorship of that able Quaker administrator John Archdale.[29] Obviously there are plenty of materials here for the study of Quaker experience in government, and they are far from having been exhausted by historians. I shall limit myself to one point, the same point I discussed in connection with John Bright and the other Quaker M.P.'s—the inevitability of compromise. I shall draw my illustrations from what is usually, and rightly, considered the most successful Quaker experience in government—William Penn's "Holy Experiment" in colonial Pennsylvania.

As a concerned Friend William Penn gave his allegiance to the fundamental principle of Christian pacifism. So, as individual Friends, did most of his associates and successors who dominated Pennsylvania politics for three quarters of a century. But as responsible legislators and administrators governing a constituent part of the British Empire, they found it impossible in practice to maintain that principle without abatement or compromise.

Compromise indeed was built into the very foundations of the "Holy Experiment": by his charter from King Charles II Penn was given power "to levy, muster, and train all sorts of men . . . and to make war and pursue the enemies and . . . put

26. Rufus M. Jones, *The Quakers in the American Colonies* (London, 1911), Part I, Chapter VIII, is the best account.

27. John E. Pomfret, *The Province of West New Jersey* (Princeton, 1956) makes this amply clear.

28. Isaac Sharpless, *A Quaker Experiment in Government* (Philadelphia, 1898), though written nearly sixty years ago, is still a very useful book; a briefer account, also by Isaac Sharpless, will be found in Jones, *Quakers in the American Colonies,* Book V. There is a short narrative in my *Meeting House and Counting House* (Chapel Hill, 1948), Chapter I.

29. The ten pages in Jones's *Quakers in the American Colonies* (340-350) need to be amplified by some Quaker scholar.

them to death by the law of war . . . and do all and every act which to the charge and office of a captain-general of an army belongeth." In other words, his authority, like that of the President of the United States, included the powers of Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy. Penn apparently had no scruples about accepting this authority, which was an essential condition of his receiving the colony for his "Holy Experiment." No doubt he believed there would be no need to exercise it in a Quaker commonwealth. But events and the logic of Pennsylvania's status in the British Empire showed otherwise. When Britain went to war with France or Spain, as she did four times during the next seventy-five years, orders came from London to put the colony in a posture of military defense and to contribute funds for the prosecution of the war. The Quaker rulers of Pennsylvania knew they might lose control of the colony and be forced to abandon their "Holy Experiment" if they did not comply. They grew adept at the politics of shuffle and evasion, but in the end they usually found ways to meet the military demands. The usual formula was to grant money "for the Queen's use." No one was deceived as to the use the Queen would make of the money. But, as one of the leading Quaker politicians put it, "we did not see it to be inconsistent with our principles to give the Queen money notwithstanding any use she might put it to, that being not our part but hers."

Presently, the legislative "dodges" became more ingenious. During King George's War the Quaker Assembly voted four thousand pounds for the purchase of "bread, beef, pork, flour, wheat and other grains"; and when the Governor interpreted "other grains" to mean gunpowder, no Quaker legislator is known to have objected. By 1755 the Assembly was appropriating as much as fifty thousand pounds—a huge sum considering the time and place—"for the King's use." In the following year Pennsylvania found itself actually at war with the Delaware and Shawnee Indians. By now the time for shuffling and evasion was past: Quakers simply could not administer a province at war. And so the majority of the Friends stepped down from office and the "Holy Experiment" was over.

I have stressed this single point of compromise with the peace testimony—and I could have shown it in other areas as well—not to pass judgment on the political Quakers of

Pennsylvania. They had a noble and forward-looking experiment in government committed to their hands. I am not disposed to blame them for wanting to preserve the substance of that experiment as long as they could, even at some cost in terms of consistency with principle. I merely wish us to be clear that even in William Penn's Quaker Utopia the exercise of political power involved compromise, involved some abatement of Quaker ideals.[30]

In 1758, two years after the Quaker abdication in Pennsylvania, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting advised its members to "beware of accepting of, or continuing in, the exercise of any office or station in civil society or government" which required actions inconsistent with Quaker testimonies. The pendulum had swung sharply away from political participation, and I think it is fair to say that American Friends have tended almost from that day to this to avoid direct participation in politics, at least in the sense of seeking elective office. The strong feelings of North Carolina Friends on this subject a hundred years ago are reflected in the unequivocal language of the Yearly Meeting Discipline of 1854: "It is the sense of the Yearly Meeting, that if any of our members accept, or act in, the office of member of the federal or state legislature, justice of the peace, clerk of a court, coroner, sheriff, or constable, that they be dealt with, and if they cannot be convinced of the inconsistency of their conduct, after sufficient labor, they be disowned."[31] Philadelphia's attitude, a century or more ago, was only a little less sweeping: Friends were advised under pain of disownment "to decline the acceptance of any office or station in civil government, the duties of which are inconsistent with our religious principles"; furthermore they were urged not "to be active or accessory in electing or promoting to be elected, their brethren to such offices or stations in civil

30. For a thoughtful critique of Quaker participation in Pennsylvania politics from the Mennonite non-resistant point of view the reader is referred to two articles by Guy F. Hershberger: "The Pennsylvania Quaker Experiment in Politics, 1682-1756," *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, X (1936), 187-221; and "Pacifism and the State in Colonial Pennsylvania," *Church History*, VIII (1939), 54-74.

31. *The Discipline of Friends, Revised and Approved by the Yearly Meeting, Held at New Garden, in Guilford County, N. C., in the Eleventh Month*, 1854 (Greensboro, N. C., 1855), p. 16.

government." [32] Quietism in relation to politics had become the rule among American Friends just as British Friends were beginning to break away from it.

In recent years the official attitude of many American Yearly Meetings has swung over to a position not unlike that of London Yearly Meeting, though this shift was neither prompted nor followed, as in England, by any significant migration of American Quakers into public office. In 1927 Philadelphia Yearly Meeting declared its belief that "the Kingdom of God on earth is advanced by those who devote themselves with unselfish public spirit to the building of a high national character, and to the shaping of a righteous policy of government both at home and abroad." It urged Friends "to be active in the performance of all the duties of good citizenship," and defined the duties of good citizenship specifically to include office-holding.[33] In 1945 the Five Years Meeting, representing the great majority of American Quakers offered similar advice: "It behooves all Friends," read its Discipline, "to fit themselves for efficient public service and to be faithful to their performance of duty as they are gifted and guided by the inspiration of God." [34]

The book of *Faith and Practice* issued by the reunited Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1955, repeats the earlier advice about accepting office when summoned to it, but adds a cautionary proviso: "Necessity for group action," it suggests, "may, however, present difficult problems for the office holder who seeks to be single-minded in his loyalty to God. A prayerful search," it goes on in slightly cryptic language, "may lead to a suitable adjustment which need not establish a precedent but should be kept before the Father in Heaven for further light." But, "It may become necessary," the statement concludes, "to sacrifice position to conscience and expediency to principle." [35]

32. This advice appears in the *Rules of Discipline* of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting before the Great Separation and was retained in both Orthodox and Hicksite Disciplines for a considerable period thereafter. North Carolina's discipline was later (1870) revised to bring it essentially into line with the Philadelphia advice.

33. *The Book of Discipline of the Religious Society of Friends* (Philadelphia, 1927), pp. 57-58.

34. *Faith and Practice of the Five Years Meeting of Friends in America* (Richmond, Indiana, [1946]), pp. 38-39.

35. *Faith and Practice of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends* (Philadelphia, 1955), p. 42.

This sober advice calls to mind a wise passage from Rufus Jones:

> There has always been in the Society of Friends a group of persons pledged unswervingly to the ideal. To those who form this inner group compromise is under no circumstance allowable. If there comes a collision between allegiance to the ideal and the holding of public office, then the office must be deserted. If obedience to the soul's vision involves eye or hand, houses or lands or life, they must be immediately surrendered. But there has always been as well another group who have held it to be equally imperative to work out their principles of life in the complex affairs of the community and the state, where to gain an end one must yield something; where to get on one must submit to existing conditions; and where to achieve ultimate triumph one must risk his ideals to the tender mercies of a world not yet ripe for them.[36]

If anything is clear from our quick historical survey, I think it must be this: that there is no one Quaker attitude towards politics. Historically, Quakers can be found practicing and preaching almost every possible position from full participation to complete withdrawal and abstention. Rufus Jones has isolated for us, in the passage I just quoted, the two polar extremes. I would just underline the dilemma implicit in his description. If a concerned Quaker (or any man or woman committed to an absolute religious ethic) decides to enter practical politics in order to translate his principles into actuality, he may achieve a relative success: he may be able to raise the level of political life in his time, as John Bright did, or maintain a comparatively happy and just and peaceful society, as the Quaker legislators of Pennsylvania did. But he can apparently do it only at a price—the price of compromise, of the partial betrayal of his ideals. If, on the other hand, he decides to preserve his ideals intact, to maintain his religious testimonies unsullied and pure, he may be able to do that, but again at a price—the price of isolation, of withdrawal from the main stream of life in his time, of renouncing the opportunity directly and immediately to influence history.

Let me call the two positions the relativist and the absolutist. And let me suggest that perhaps each one needs the other. The relativist needs the absolutist to keep alive and clear the vision of the City of God while he struggles in some measure to realize it in the City of Earth. And conversely, the

36. *Quakers in the American Colonies*, pp. 175-76.

absolutist needs the relativist, lest the vision remain the possession of a few only, untranslated into any degree of reality for the world as a whole. Which position an individual Friend will take will depend, I suppose, on his temperament. For those of us who incline towards the more absolutist position, there is wisdom in the statement of Henry Hodgkin, the English Friend who was the first Director of Pendle Hill: "With my conception of the Christian life," he wrote,

> I do not see that it would be possible for me to enter the world of politics as it is at present run. For example, anyone who wants to make his influence felt must be allied to a party and accept many compromises. He must use methods current in politics but, to say the least, highly distasteful to a moral man. . . . Time was when I felt that for anyone to embark on such a career was a comedown from the highest level of Christian living. While I am as far as ever from being able to go into politics myself, I should now hold that God may be just as truly revealed in a person who enters this field and accepts conditions which I could not accept as, let us say, a devoted evangelist.[37]

Of course neither of these two polar positions is uniquely Quaker. The Mennonites in their quiet way have practiced the absolutist withdrawal from the world longer and more consistently than Friends have ever done. And many religious idealists have gone into politics at some sacrifice of their ideals to work for a relatively better world. I should like to suggest in closing that if there is any distinctive Quaker posture *vis à vis* politics, it is one which I might describe as the prophetic stance or the role of the divine lobbyist. By this I do not mean approaching legislators for favors—though Friends have sometimes done that, as in the case of the Affirmation Act. I am thinking rather of George Fox in 1656 bidding Oliver Cromwell to lay down his crown at the feet of Jesus, of Robert Barclay in 1679 standing before the representatives of the European powers at Nimwegen and calling upon them to settle a peace upon Christian principles, or Joseph Sturge in 1855 pleading with Tsar Alexander II for reconciliation with England, of Rufus Jones in 1938 interceding for the Jews befor the chiefs of the Gestapo or Henry Cadbury appearing before the Military Affairs Committee in Washington or any Friend visiting his Congressman with a religious concern. All these, like the prophets of Israel, have felt a divine call to

37. Quoted in F. W. Sollmann, *Religion and Politics*, Pendle Hill Pamphlet Number 14 (Wallingford, Penna., n.d.), pp. 5-6.

"speak truth to power," to lay a concern upon those who are charged with the governing of men.[38] The Friends Committee on National Legislation is, in a sense, an institutionalization of this age-old Quaker practice.

There are grave perils and responsibilities in this role. There is the peril of hiding a selfish motive behind a facade of religious concern: a Quaker lobby must never fall to the level of the lumber lobby or the oil lobby. There is the peril of mistaking a personal impulse, no matter how altruistic, for a divine call, of becoming a mere busybody, troubling harassed legislators with trivial or irresponsible demands. And there is the responsibility of "earning the right" by a consistent pattern of religious dedication and service to speak to those who bear the heavy burden of political power.[39] This kind of prophetic mission to the rulers of men is a distinctively Quaker approach to politics. When carried out under a deep religious concern by a person whose own life speaks of a genuine commitment to a spiritual vision, such an approach can be a way of avoiding the dilemma of isolation on the one hand and compromise on the other, a way of combining consistency of life with relevance to history. Like the prophet Zechariah before his king, Friends can still pronounce the timeless but always timely message: "Not by might, nor by power, but by my spirit, saith the Lord." [40]

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38. Clarence E. Pickett gave some examples of Quakers visiting heads of states in his Ward Lecture, *Friends and International Affairs* (Guilford College, 1952). I have collected some other examples in "Friends and the Rulers of the People," *The American Friend*, New Series, XXXVI (1948), 134-35, 153; and "The Dream of John Woolman," *AFSC Bulletin*, October 1951, pp. 19-20.

39. Cecil E. Hinshaw has some pertinent observations on this subject in his Pendle Hill Pamphlet (Number 80), *Toward Political Responsibility* (Wallingford, Penna., 1954), a pamphlet, incidentally, which presents a point of view not unlike the perfectionism of George Fox in the 1650's. Bertram Pickard in an earlier Pendle Hill Pamphlet (Number 16), *Peacemaker's Dilemma* (Wallingford, n.d.) suggests another, less radical way out of the impasse. Walter C. Woodward made a helpful contribution to the discussion of this problem in his essay on "The Individual and the State" in *Beyond Dilemmas: Quakers Look at Life*, ed. S. B. Laughlin (Philadelphia, 1937), pp. 205-27; he acknowledges, however (pp. 215-16), that Friends have not succeeded in transcending the crucial dilemma outlined above.

40. Zechariah iv. 6.

FREDERICK BARNES TOLLES

The Howard M. Jenkins Professor of Quaker History and Research at Swarthmore College, Frederick Barnes Tolles, presents the seventh Ward Lecture. Choosing as his subject Quakerism and Politics, he combines the several interests in which he has had extensive scholarly training. His three academic degrees from Harvard University were taken in the fields of American Civilization and American History. In 1948 the University of North Carolina Press published his book *Meeting House and Counting House: The Quaker Merchants of Colonial Philadelphia.* Subsequently continuing his interests in research and Quakerism, he has written *Slavery and the Woman Question: Lucretia Mott's Diary, George Logan of Philadelphia, James Logan and the Culture of Provincial America.* His excellence in the areas of research and in knowledge of Quakerism was recognized by his election to the presidency of the English Friends Historical Association, for which he gave the historical address at the Friends Tercentenary Celebration in 1952.

THE WARD LECTURE, 1957

Developing Leadership

for

The Society of Friends

SUMNER A. MILLS

Given at Guilford College on
FOUNDERS DAY
November 8, 1957

GUILFORD COLLEGE, NORTH CAROLINA

Developing Leadership for The Society of Friends

WARD LECTURE

by

Sumner A. Mills

GUILFORD COLLEGE

November 8, 1957

Inaugural Ward Lecture, "*An Adequate Leadership for Friends Meetings.*" Alexander C. Purdy, November 10, 1950

Second Ward Lecture, "*The Function of a Quaker College.*" Howard H. Brinton, November 9, 1951

Third Ward Lecture, "*Friends and International Affairs.*" Clarence E. Pickett, October 22, 1952

Fourth Ward Lecture, "*A Quaker Approach to the Bible.*" Henry J. Cadbury, November 9, 1953

Fifth Ward Lecture, "*Friends in Relation to the Churches,*" Roland H. Bainton, November 12, 1954

Sixth Ward Lecture, "*Women in the Society of Friends,*" Elizabeth Gray Vining, November 11, 1955

Seventh Ward Lecture, "*Quakerism and Politics,*" Frederick B. Tolles, November 9, 1956

DEVELOPING LEADERSHIP FOR THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

From the time of Abraham to the present day, every great religious movement has had three common characteristics. All such enduring communions have been started by forceful and prophetic leaders, have inspired loyalty to some great truth or set of ideas, and have had a system of organization. This is no mere historical coincidence. It is hard to imagine a strong religious fellowship without these three basic dynamics: (1) Prophetic leadership, (2) loyalty to a cherished body of truth, and (3) organization. The Religious Society of Friends is no exception to this rule.

I venture tonight to discuss these three factors in the Quaker movement, already enumerated, with special reference to the problem of developing leadership in our day and generation. If there is reluctance to accept the leadership concept, we can be assured that from the beginning George Fox saw no incompatibility between the concept of a priesthood of all believers, a shared ministry, and the development of leaders. Indeed, he would have had all Friends, like the Valiant Sixty, going forth as "publishers of truth;" he exhorted them to "be patterns, be examples in all countries, places, islands, nations, wherever you come. . . ." [1]

Self-Examination

As Friends we are inclined to introspection and the process of evaluation, but we shy away from thorough examination of the problems of leadership and organization. With most of us there is a lingering feeling that emphasis on leadership and organization is inconsistent with our concern for the Leadership of the Spirit and with complete spiritual democracy in the church. However, some Friends now feel that it is time to end this evasion of the problems of leadership and organiza-

1. John Nickalls, *Journal of George Fox*, 1952, p. 263.

tion. We are all deeply aware that the Society has not lived up to its early promise as a religious movement.

One thing should be clear at the outset. We believe that Quakerism is Christianity interpreted according to our best insights. Although some Protestants may raise the question as to whether Quakers are clearly within the Christian tradition, a thoughtful study of the history of the Society of Friends can lead only to the conclusion that we are.

At the Friends World Conference at Oxford in 1952, a representative of the World Council of Churches, Oliver S. Tomkins, said to us, "You Friends are a standing perplexity to other Christians: you enjoy the spirit of Christian life without the forms that we have supposed essential!"

We are the spiritual heirs of George Fox who disputed with priests and clergymen but who declared, "Christ has come to teach His people Himself." Quakerism, therefore, is a religious reformation movement within the great Christian cause.

Growing Quakers

While many of our most vital and concerned Friends have come into membership as adults, through conversion and convincement, our responsibility to lead our children and young people into a genuine religious experience and appreciation for the Quaker approach to life is in no way lessened.

Of course it starts with the home, with the attitude of parents. There must be an appreciation of membership in the Society of Friends. There must be a realization that Friends have an important place among the Christian churches—that we have a special approach to human problems based on our belief that there is "that of God in every man." This gives the teaching of Jesus and the Christian Gospel new and precious meaning.

This is a proposal that there be a conscious and continuous effort, at every stage of childhood development, to inspire

interest in the life of the local meeting, the Sunday School and the wider work of Friends.

It is not enough to say that we will bring up our children "in the nurture and admonition of the Lord." That is a vacuum unless there is loyalty to the Christian fellowship and its outreach. Childhood expectation is a powerful force in determining vocational direction. One of my uncles knew that he would be a Friends minister while still a small boy. Probably he was greatly influenced by visits of traveling ministers. But there was quiet encouragement at home and he often mounted a stump to preach to my patient grandfather at work in the woods. Unfortunately, my uncle died as a young man while serving as superintendent of Indiana Yearly Meeting.

The College Choice

In wrestling with the problem of growing our own leaders and keeping them surrounded by Friendly influence, the importance of encouraging our young people to attend our own colleges can hardly be overestimated.

Recently the Edward W. Hazen Foundation sponsored a study to determine the impact of social science courses on the student generations of this decade. A book just off the press written by our well-known Friend, Philip E. Jacob, summarizes the findings of this study and also encompasses the results of a survey on the place of religious and moral values in twenty-six representative institutions. This survey was made by Professor John Moore of Swarthmore a few years ago.

The conclusions of this book are not surprising, but offer little encouragement to those who expect the typical college or university to instill moral and religious values which are at variance with a materialistic approach to life.

To quote just one paragraph from these findings:

> Students normally express a *need for religion* as a part of their lives and make time on most weekends for

an hour in church. But there is a "ghostly quality" about the beliefs and practices of many of them, to quote a sensitive observer. Their religion does not carry over to guide and govern important decisions in the secular world. Students expect these to be socially determined. God has little to do with the behavior of men in society, if widespread student judgment be accepted. His place is in church and perhaps in the home, not in business or club or community. He is worshipped, dutifully and with propriety, but the campus is not permeated by a live sense of His presence.[2]

Many colleges and universities may be equally effective for the learning process, but no institution can approach the Quaker coeducational college as a place where Quaker religious indoctrination may continue during the critical years when we lose so many of our young Friends. Perhaps equally important is the opportunity to choose a life-mate with a congenial and similar religious background.

If a personal reference may be forgiven, I might say that in my childhood there was always the unspoken assumption in our home that the children would go to a Quaker college. It seemed the natural thing to do because, after all, we were the third generation to go to Earlham. So with our own children there was really never any serious thought of going elsewhere, and incidentally our sons all found Quaker wives at college.

Young people should be encouraged to make important life decisions; but at the risk of seeming old-fashioned may we say that today too many parents among Friends abdicate their true responsibility to lead children to choose a college where creative growing will continue in a Christian atmosphere. At their best the home, the meeting and the Quaker college provide the "habitual vision of greatness."

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2. Philip E. Jacob, *Changing Values in College* (Harper & Bros.) 1957, p. 4.

Second-Rate Causes

As few of us ever use more than a fraction of our potential to learn, so do few of us ever approach our potential as mature Christians. It is not wilful failure to develop Christian character and usefulness, but rather it is our choice of second-rate interests and the support of secondary causes.

I once knew a young man whose whole life was wrapped up in playing golf. It prevented attendance at meeting on Sunday. Whether it be a contest with clubs on the golf course or with cards at the bridge table, there is more important business afoot. These are examples of harmless but secondary diversions. You can find your own example of secondary causes which we all support: good though they may be, they take the time, money and energy which we should devote to the real business of the Kingdom.

Contribution of Science

Many of you know about the Character Research Project conducted at Union College, Schenectady, New York. For twenty years Dr. Ernest M. Ligon and his staff have been trying to apply the insights of modern psychology to the creation of Christian character and the appreciation of spiritual values. At the present time fourteen thousand children in widely scattered schools and churches are being exposed to a character education program. This curriculum has built-in techniques for testing its effectiveness.

It is too early to have the evidence but heartening to know that religiously oriented scientists like Dr. Ligon now believe that it is possible to use scientific techniques in producing and measuring the growth of Christian character. We shall not be saved by psychology, but perhaps someday a basic insight may come which will cause us, like Archimedes, to leap from the bathtub and run down the street shouting, "Eureka! Eureka!"

In his latest book, *Dimensions of Character,* Dr. Ligon

raises the question: "Is it not probable that one reason why our progress in moral and spiritual values has been so small is that we have not made use of *this form of prayer which we call science* in our attempts to utilize these values?" [3]

Whether in the meeting for worship or in the laboratory, Quakers during three centuries have been aware of new insights, unfolding truth and a continuing creation. We might join with scientists in calling this *"the infinity principle."*

To quote Dr. Ligon again:

> This principle states that since truth is infinite, we shall never find final answers. Each new insight becomes not only a step in progress, but, even more important, a guidepost to the next step. Furthermore, truth is always in the direction of a better world. Even when new evidence seems to upset our cherished beliefs, we need have no fear. Finer and better concepts will inevitably emerge. Religionists will recognize that these concepts are based on the faith that God is infinite and that God is good.[4]

The Quaker College Contribution

Reference has been made to the Quaker colleges as a seed bed for leadership in the Society of Friends. Here at Guilford College, where so much provision has been made for special preparation and training, it is hardly necessary to mention this role. However, we are prone to take for granted these privileges without fully appreciating the opportunity they provide for developing young leaders for both North Carolina and the wider field of the Society of Friends.

It seems a happy and auspicious development that Guilford should now offer a program of graduate studies leading to the degree of Master of Arts. In the past, with a few notable exceptions, Friends have been ignorant about theology almost

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3. Ligon, *Dimensions of Character,* 1956, p. 47.
4. *Ibid,* xi

to the point of illiteracy. It is time for us to lose our fear of this awesome word and to realize that theology means *"the consummation of faith in the realm of thought,"* or better, perhaps, simply *"theology is man's attempt to explain his religious experience."*

It may be presumptuous to suggest that the college should utilize this strong department of religion to carry on a continuous program of research into the factors which develop mature, responsible Quaker leaders. Doubtless, to a degree, this goes on in all our Quaker colleges, but we do not know enough about the process.

One of our sons who teaches psychology in a Quaker college reports that the dean of an unidentified college with 750 students remarked: "As a small college we are not interested in research; we only want sound teaching which keeps our students happy." [5] We will all agree that we want happy students, but I seriously doubt that this remark plumbs the depths of our responsibility to seek new light and to measure results.

It is to be hoped that many Quaker college faculty members will write up their best insights on this problem of developing leadership. Even this casual attempt merely to describe the problem is enough to convince one that we have not really begun to come to grips with it.

At a time like this, when the starting salaries of university graduates are often publicized as the only measure of success, the church-related college has a primary function of conserving our sense of values. Pessimists are saying that many people no longer accept the basic concepts out of which our society sprang and that Western civilization will die because our life is cut off from its philosophical roots. While it seems evident that America can hardly be called a Christian nation and there is a wide discrepancy between Christian ethics and

5. Eugene S. Mills, Address, *Proceedings Western College Association Meetings*, San Diego, March 1956.

our behavior, we have always a new generation of young people with honesty and idealism. Someone has said recently that we are always only one generation away from the end of Christian faith unless we do something to perpetuate it. This has been true for every one of the eighty generations since the time of Christ, but even through every dark age there has been, always, a new band of bearers for the light of Christian faith.

A Quaker college like this has been described as *"a society of learning in the making."* At its best, such a college becomes a living fellowship in which religion is the touchstone of every life.

Training in Service

Many older and younger Friends say that their interest in the testimonies and work of the Society of Friends was never really awakened until they attended some Quaker camp or Young Friends conference. We observe this so often, as young people come back to the local meeting from such places, that we sometimes wonder if they have been deaf all their previous years. This phenomenon, however, has happened to so many of us, in our own youth, that we know that religious interest and loyalty may only simmer in the average Friends meeting and never boil over except when warmed by the fires of happy and stimulating contacts with inspired leaders and like-minded young people.

For young Friends these days there are many other opportunities to get the feel of working for a better world, through work camps and youth projects of all kinds. These can originate and be operated in any Friends meeting however small, or they can be co-ordinated with some program of the American Friends Service Committee or youth projects of the Five Years Meeting.

For some of us the opportunity to work in Europe under the Service Committee at the time of the First World War created a loyalty to its purposes and programs which has

remained with us. The same thing happens to the scores in each generation of young Friends who participate in our wider outreach. We must remain humble, however, as we remember that military conscription and war created the situation which impelled the Society of Friends to undertake these programs. We should have been at work in the world with voluntary programs without the pressures of war.

Now we can take some measure of satisfaction from the fact that the American Friends Service Committee not only continues to provide alternative service for conscientious objectors to war, but is engaged in social and technical assistance and community welfare projects in less privileged countries. Wherever possible we work for reconciliation and good will between nations and races.

On a recent trip which took us around the world we were impressed by the need for the kind of Christian statesmanship which this work of reconciliation requires. At this moment, for our missions and service projects we need a score of mature, wise Friends who can work with castes in India, with the three races in Kenya, and amid the bitterness and barbed wire which divides Palestine. This is to stress not only our need for Quaker leaders abroad, but also the opportunity for service by wise and spiritually prepared Friends.

Since the end of Civilian Public Service, many Friends have urged that we take seriously the idea of setting up a wide-scale program of work and study projects which would include every young man or woman instead of the few young Friends who now get to work camps. The Church of the Brethren has done a much better job than Friends in this field. We could take a lesson, too, from the Latter Day Saints, who send out many young people to do two years of missionary work as part of their expected service to the church. It follows that these remain loyal and active Mormons the rest of their lives.

When we were in Thailand, it was impressive to see hun-

dreds of young men going about the streets of Bangkok, barefoot and with shaved heads, wearing the saffron robes of young monks, while engaged in the three months' minimum training which is expected of every young male Buddhist. One young man told me that he was a railroad worker, and that it was the practice of employers to give time off for this religious training.

A significant program of voluntary service for Friends would require a great deal of leadership and money, but it should be seriously considered. It is trite to remind you of the terrific impact of all kinds of forces and propaganda which is daily brought to bear on us. Most of this did not exist only a generation ago, and it is too early to measure the results, which we feel sure are not all harmful. This only points up the difficulty and importance of an opportunity to keep young Friends aware of and dedicated to the message and mission of Friends in the world today.

In addition to worship and study, there is something to be said for the work experience and the lesson in simple and cooperative living which a work camp provides. In this dawning era of automation, with push buttons all around us, we must uphold the dignity of manual labor. It is important that we should always remember that sweat comes before bread and we should be thinking more about service and less about security. It is one of the curses of Africa and the Middle East, this idea that a man above the bare subsistence level and able to read should be above work with his hands. As a farmer, I have never exactly felt virtue flowing out of a hoe handle, but I greatly value the self-respect which manual toil brings.

Involvement

If it be true that leadership can only be matured in the school of experience, then this word "involvement" is the key to our success in producing active Friends. I use the word "involvement" advisedly, because it seems to express even better

than "participation" the process by which Friends become, first, interested, then concerned and active, and finally ready for leadership responsibility.

In our local meetings we know that Friends who really serve on active committees usually develop a fair degree of interest. In the small country meeting in Western Yearly Meeting to which I belong we try to appoint every active resident member to some committee in order to spread the interest and involvement. It must be confessed that not all committees function and not all members of active committees really serve. To that extent we fail.

For a half century preceding the last decade, our meeting at home had remained almost static in spiritual life and activity. We had not produced a minister since Elbert Russell grew up in our community. Now it happens that our meeting has two families working on the Friends African Mission Field in Kenya. This blessing has given us a real sense of involvement and participation. We feel the lift of inspiration and a wider area of concern because of the dedication of these young people who have grown up in our midst. It has widened our horizons and has stimulated financial support not only to missions, but to every interest of the meeting. This same experience can be found, it seems, in every meeting which is producing workers dedicated to full-time Christian service.

Friends Ministry

In the Five Years Meeting we usually associate the term "ministry" with the pastoral system, but neither the term nor the service should be confined to the efforts of a pastor. For a century Friends have approached this subject with mixed feelings. They have been torn between the desire to retain a free ministry under divine guidance, and the need to provide special leadership in worship and in co-ordination of the meeting's activities. Some meetings have solved the problem

in a measure by having a meeting secretary, and any discussion of leadership should recognize this pattern.

What is our situation in the Five Years Meeting? According to a recent survey, we have in America about 500 separate congregations, of which roughly 400 use pastoral leadership if it can be secured and supported.

Among these 400 meetings, only about 180 have full-time ministers, while part-time ministers serve about 200 others. This situation is a commentary on our weakness, especially in rural areas. We recognize at once that economic changes and population shifts are part of the explanation, but we cannot shrug off the problem. There is no comfort either in the clear evidence that instead of developing our own pastoral leadership, often we have to resort to finding it outside in order to maintain even the weak coverage which this survey indicates.

The same survey shows the wide range in background and preparation of our pastors. They have studied in 71 different colleges with only about 35% of those reporting having attended Quaker colleges. There are 96 who have attended one or more of 43 different seminaries or graduate schools. Of these, 27 hold the B.D. degree, while 12 have the Master of Arts degree. One has the Ph.D. degree and one can write Th.D. after his name. It is interesting to learn that 78 of the ministers reporting expressed interest in further training.

It seems most timely that a carefully planned conference on ministerial training is to be held at Germantown, Ohio, two weeks from now, November 22 to 24. Perhaps we are finally facing up to one aspect of the problem of leadership. At least there is great expectation for this significant conference.

The diversity of training shown to exist serves to corroborate the findings of a previous survey made by the Mission Board in 1948. At that time it was found that less than 25% of the young Friends who planned to go into full-time Christian service were enrolled in Quaker colleges within the Five

Years Meeting, while about 60% were attending non-Friends schools.

Some Friends feel that we should set up a special Quaker seminary, and that may come in the course of time, but a graduate school that would do credit to the society is at present patently beyond the resources of Friends. More realistic are efforts to utilize fully our existing Quaker colleges. This institute at Guilford is a fine example of yearly meeting and college co-operation in the interest of Quaker education.

If it may appear to some that in the course of these remarks I have unduly labored Quaker training, indoctrination and loyalty, it is not through any desire to develop narrow sectarianism. Perhaps it is because many years in a highly competitive business, from which I am now retired, have left their mark. We know that no business, including the church, can possibly succeed unless its leadership is knowledgeable about its history and special field of service and loyally dedicated to its organization. The sporadic divisive movements and centrifugal forces evident among Friends, especially in the Five Years Meeting, are not so much the result of theological differences as a failure on our part to bring all Friends with their diverse backgrounds and training into an intimate sense of sharing the same great vision.

Friends are not alone in their concern for the ministry; it seems to be current among most Protestants today. H. Richard Niebuhr has called the ministry "the perplexed profession." In a recent book he says:

> The evidence that perplexity and vagueness continue to afflict thought about the ministry is to be found today in the theological schools and among ministers themselves. . . . Many reasons have been given for the prevalence of this uncertainty and many remedies have been suggested. Some men believe that it is due to a loss of Christian conviction on the part of young men and women entering the schools and applying for ordi-

nation or to the weakness of their sense of call to the ministry. Others, who also see the situation only as a result of human failure, believe that ministers and schools have been deflected from their purpose and have lost their sense of mission because they have succumbed to the temptation to improve their personal and professional status by doing anything that might make them pleasing to the greatest number of people.[6]

Whatever our own failures, we cannot leave this subject with Dr. Niebuhr's "dim view." Often when I am with Friends ministers, I feel proud and humble at the same time—proud of their quality of spirit and dedication, and humble because we have given them so little support and recognition. It takes a very special person to be a Friends minister and no one has described his qualifications better than Seth B. Hinshaw in his series of studies on the status and responsibility of a Friends minister:

> His call must be of God; his religious experience deep and genuine; and his character above reproach. In some details, however, the minister in a Friends meeting holds a particularly difficult and exacting position. He must know how to be a good pastor without being priestly; he must know how to be a minister without being a clergyman; he must know how to be a competent leader without losing his status as a servant; he must know how to be an employee without becoming a hireling. Truly, this requires a high degree of spiritual discernment and an abundance of practical, common-sense wisdom.[7]

Whatever the type of leadership in our meetings, we seek the common goal of a deeper spiritual life for every member.

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6. H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Purpose of the Church and Its Ministry,* 1956, pp. 53, 55.
7. Seth B. Hinshaw, *The Pastor in a Friends Meeting* (North Carolina Yearly Meeting) 1956, p. 6.

Lorton Heusel, a Friends minister at Chicago, has well described this end as follows:

> Here is something that must be preserved by the Pastoral Friends Meeting. Every minister and certainly every pastor must feel the commission of divine command. He must speak and live under orders; he is a servant not primarily of the people, but of the King. Secondly, the meeting for worship must be free from the rigidity which prevents the workings of the Spirit. Third, the corporate body should wait upon the Lord together so that there can be spontaneous participation or a free ministry. And finally, we must cultivate an awareness in our meetings of the personal responsibility to respond to the leading of the Light of Christ within.[8]

A New Reservoir of Leadership

We have stressed the involvement of young people and the role of our ministry in leadership without even mentioning a potential new source. I refer to the retired Friends who, under present employment policies, often have years of active service which may be devoted to good causes. Some such men and women are finding places of leadership to fill, but we are not doing enough to encourage middle-aged people to look forward, consciously and with eagerness, to these opportunities. Empty years may, indeed, become full rich years for many older Friends if we utilize their maturity fully. This should be a concern for every ministry and counsel body.

As a trustee of a Friends trust fund, it recently came to my attention that a devoted Quaker couple had made a new will in which they listed bequests for a whole range of worthy projects. Missions and ministerial training under the Five Years Meeting, the work of the Service Committee and the Friends World Committee all were remembered, along with

8. Lorton Heusel, *The Quaker Pastorate* (Indiana Yearly Meeting), 1956, pp. 5-6.

bequests for their local meeting, a Friends boarding school and a home for aged Friends.

It is a lasting inspiration to think of this still active couple who have worked loyally through the years in positions of leadership, and now plan for that support to continue after they are gone.

If it may appear that this discussion has failed to touch on the special role of women, you may be assured that I make no distinction between men and women in their capacity for leadership. Two years ago on this occasion, Elizabeth Gray Vining expressed it succinctly as follows: "What the Society of Friends has done, from its earliest days, has been to accept women as individual human beings, as valid disciples as men, as competent as they for spiritual leadership." [9]

Organization

If the opening premise of this paper be true, that leadership, a vital corporate witness, and organization are essential to the life of the Society of Friends, then a word should be said about organization. Here each generation should feel free to change patterns. Quaker organization should serve current needs and not preserve old forms unless they meet the conditions of the day.

There is general agreement that the meeting for worship is our foundation stone. Perhaps almost equal conviction supports Quaker business procedure in our monthly meetings as uniquely indigenous to our religious philosophy. From this point we may differ. In some yearly meetings there is a feeling that the quarterly meeting pattern has outlived its usefulness. Certainly there is nothing sacred about our heavy committee system or any such practical arrangement for our united work.

As we examine the functions of yearly meeting, however, we find it hard to devise some arrangement which might serve

9. Elizabeth G. Vining, *Women in the Society of Friends,* Ward Lecture, 1955.

us better. Indeed, every Protestant church seems to have a comparable structure. For more than a half-century, likewise, the Five Years Meeting has served as a useful instrument for work which we could not do as separate yearly meetings. As a vehicle for promoting Christian education, administering missions, and providing a channel for other concerns, we can hardly overestimate its contribution. If we live up to our responsibility here and abroad, the Five Years Meeting will become increasingly important and useful.

Our Testimonies

Now, finally, to consider the third element in the religious movement which we represent—our testimonies and witness to the world.

Every screaming headline these days reminds us of some issue which cries out for solution in the spirit of reconciliation and peace. Bomb testing, disarmament, racial justice, civil liberties and freedom of conscience all lie within the compass of our special witness to the way of love and nonviolence in every human relation. No longer are our testimonies pious, academic ideals which are to be dusted off and put back on the shelf.

Our testimonies have caught up with us. If we ever feel that Quakerism as a religious movement has run its course or has outlived its usefulness, we need only to be reminded that there remains of the original Quaker heritage "yet much land to be possessed."

In the words of Elbert Russell:

> The Society has still a testimony to elements of the Christian gospel not yet fully acknowledged by even Protestant Christendom, such as simplicity in manner of living, complete spiritual democracy in the church, the ministry of women, inward spiritual authority, personal religious guidance, sincerity and truthfulness in

speech, freedom of conscience and worship, simple mystical public worship, a classless Christian Society, reliance on spiritual forces only to overcome evil, international peace and the brotherhood of man regardless of sex, class, nation or race. There is still an urgent need also for its ministry of impartial love in a divided, war-torn world.[10]

We believe that, broadly speaking, Friends are moving unmistakably closer together in the outward witness to our faith. We are finding that missions and service cannot be separated. They are both integral elements of the same Christian ministry. Our work will have to be done, as always, in quiet, humble ways and mostly among our nearest neighbors. But let us raise up a generation of leaders who will have the ecumenical vision of a better world. Wherever we look, spiritual leadership is the problem. There is a "burning bush" for every soul who can hear the call to lead God's children out of the bondage of darkness and fear.

It is my confident expectation that today's children will live to see war outlawed. It will be regarded as a barbarous relic of a dark and savage age; to consider engaging in it will be unthinkable. But even when the nations are brought under law, a durable peace established, there will remain increasingly complex problems in a shrunken world where our most distant neighbors will be only a few hours away.

Let us, therefore, prepare ourselves and our children to think, as God does, of one humanity. In humility, let us search our souls. If we are ready, we may yet help to build bridges between nations, cultures, races and religions and be used of God in bringing in "Christ's Peaceable Kingdom."

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10. Elbert Russell, *The History of Quakerism*, 1942, p. xxiv.

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STUDY QUESTIONS ON THE LECTURE

SELF-EXAMINATION

1. What are the three characteristics of religious movements throughout history.
2. How is each of these related to the other two?
3. What is the nature of each of these within Quakerism?
4. What was George Fox's concept of the ministry?
5. Are Friends concerned about the problems of leadership and organization?
6. What is the response of Friends to the World Council of Churches? To the World Council to Friends?

GROWING QUAKERS

1. Does the Quaker home provide adequate training for Friends?
2. What factors in the home are favorable to providing leaders for Friends?
3. What factors in the local meeting?
4. What factors in school and college?

THE COLLEGE CHOICE

1. Should Friends usually attend a Friends College?
2. How does choice of a college affect Friends leadership?

SECOND-RATE CAUSES

1. What makes young people today often unwilling to assume leadership?
2. How can these influences be overcome?

CONTRIBUTION OF SCIENCE

1. What has been learned about the impact of social science on students by the studies of Philip Jacob and John Moore?
2. To what extent can leadership ability be tested?
3. How far can education go in deliberately producing leaders?

THE QUAKER COLLEGE CONTRIBUTION

1. What can the Quaker college contribute to leadership for the Society of Friends?
2. What is Guilford College doing in this field?
3. What can Quaker teachers contribute through research?
4. Do our Quaker colleges maintain a spirit in contrast to the secular trends in education today?

TRAINING IN SERVICE

1. What can Young Friends organizations, camps, work projects and volunteer service contribute to leadership training?
2. Should Friends plan a program of a definite length of service to be

expected from their young people in some of the Society' larger concerns?

INVOLVEMENT

1. What is meant by involvement?
2. How does the degree of participation of members of his family and members of his meeting affect a Young Friend's involvement?

FRIENDS MINISTRY

1. How many Friends Meetings are there in the United States? How many have full time pastors? How many have part time pastors? How many are unable to find pastors?
2. What is the nature of the college and seminary training of Friends pastors?
3. Should Friends have a seminary? What problems would be involved in establishing one?
4. What does Richard Niebuhr say about the leadership problem in Protestantism?
5. What is the place of personal responsibility by all members in a pastoral meeting, according to Lorton Heusel?
6. What is the relation in Friends meeting between lay and professional ministry?

NEW RESERVOIR OF LEADERSHIP

1. How can older Friends help to meet the problem of leadership?
2. What unique qualities can be found in such leaders?

ORGANIZATION

1. Is the present organizational structure of Friends adequate?
2. What makes a meeting for worship effective?
3. How can one judge the effectiveness of the pattern of worship in a meeting?
4. What do Friends meetings for worship and meetings for business have in common, and how important is this common element to Friends?
5. What kind of leadership is needed for Friends meetings, and how does such leadership differ from leadership in other churches?

TESTIMONIES

1. Are our present testimonies vitally significant for our day?
2. How can we close the gap between our vision and our practice?
3. What is the role of leadership in this area?

QUALITIES DESIRABLE IN FRIENDS' WORKERS

1. Spiritual insight and power.
2. Respect for individual worth and for the sacredness of all aspects of life.
3. Integrity in personal character and in the search for truth.
4. Ability to appreciate all phases of human life in work, religion, and education. This quality has many interpretations. The teacher may feel it most clearly as the underlying unity of knowledge; for the service worker it means, among other things, an international point of view; for the missionary, an understanding of many cultures; for the minister, a conviction that all useful activity is sacred; and for all members, a renewed understanding of the unity in all Friends' work and aims.
5. Growing emotional maturity.
6. Simplicity, tranquillity, humor, flexibility, and humility.
7. A sense of concern which motivates the individual and extends beyond him to the group so that it becomes the social conscience.
8. An understanding of what is best called "the sense of the Meeting"—the kind of leadership which, though it is based upon deep personal conviction, seeks not to impose decisions but to draw them from the corporate mind, and which is tender and willing and patient in waiting for the co-operative and creative power of fellowship.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR LEADERS

The Mission Board has perhaps 10 opportunities for service now open in East Africa, Jamaica, Palestine, and Cuba.

There is immediate need for at least 50 pastors, if all meetings desiring pastoral leadership are to be served.

Employed meeting workers will be required according to the estimate as follows: Religious Education Directors, 30; Choir Directors, 105; Church Secretaries, 28; Pianists and Organists, 350.

The American Friends Service Committee has 34 jobs now open, 22 of them in foreign service, and expects a steady demand for replacements and for staff workers in new enterprises.

The workshop on teaching reports that Friends' Secondary Schools employ about 75 new teachers annually, the colleges about 50, and the primary schools about 60. Both the Service Committee and the Mission Board need some trained teachers to carry on phases of their work.

A survey of the types of work indicates the great extent of the possibilities; many technical and professional fields, often considered secular, now have a place in religious service, particularly with the American Friends Service Committee. The following list of job categories shows the wide and diverse needs of the Service Committee, some of which are shared by the Mission Board: accountants, agricultural rehabilitation experts, dieticians, directors for international centers, doctors, engineers, fund raising personnel, general clerical assistants, mechanics, nurses, personnel administrators, publicists and journalists, purchasing agents, secretaries, social workers, teachers, traffic managers.

THE GUILFORD COLLEGE PROGRAM FOR FRIENDS LEADERSHIP TRAINING

Guilford's full program consists of four years of undergraduate study and one year of graduate work. Its purpose is to provide prospective leaders with a broad general education; a sound introduction to the main areas of theological study, both theoretical and practical, with advanced work in certain fields; also additional study in important related fields.

I. General Education

For all undergraduate students, Guilford's educational program includes English, mathematics, foreign language, physical and biological science, psychology, sociology, world literature, philosophy of art, world history and philosophy.

All students prepare and deliver a sophomore speech and a junior speech and write a senior thesis.

II. Work in Religion

Every student chooses some major field of interest. For the prospective Friends leader this should be religion. While programs are flexible to meet special needs, a typical program in religion, including the year of graduate study is as follows:

1. *The Bible.*

Undergraduate: The Old Testament prophets, the books of the Law, historical books, writings, the Gospel and the teachings of Jesus; the writings of Paul, John and others — 12 semester hours.

Graduate: The early history of the church; New Testament thought — 6 semester hours.

Total — 18 semester hours.

2. *The Interpretation of the Christian Message.*

Undergraduate: Christian Ethics, Philosophy of Religion —6 semester hours.

Graduate: Contemporary Theology, Quaker Thought, Seminar in theology or philosophy of religion — 9 semester hours.

Total 15 semester hours.

3. *History.*

Undergraduate: Church History, History and Principles of Friends, History of Religions — total, 12 semester hours.

4. *Practical Disciplines.*

Undergraduate: Public Speaking (English Department); Religious Education — 9 semester hours.

Graduate: Principles and Practice of Preaching; Leadership of Friends Meetings — 12 semester hours.

Total — 21 semester hours.

III. Related Subjects.

In addition to the work in psychology, sociology and philosophy required of all Guilford undergraduates, six additional hours in each of these fields is normally expected of students in the Friends Leadership Program.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Sumner A. Mills, presiding clerk of the Five Years Meeting, is a native of Indiana, to which state his great grandparents went from the Guilford College community. He is a graduate and former trustee of Earlham College, and a teacher of history for five years. Now retired, he was formerly president of Maplehurst Farms, Inc., and vice-president of Meridian Mutual Insurance Company.

Sumner Mills has devoted much of his talent and energy to activities in the Society of Friends. He has served as clerk of the Western Yearly Meeting, as vice-chairman of the American Friends Service Committee and as chairman of the Friends Committee on National Legislation. In 1952 he was a delegate to the World Conference of Friends at Oxford, England, and from 1952 to 1954 served as co-ordinator of the regional offices of the American Friends Service Committee.

During the past year, Sumner and Lela Mills spent almost seven months on a trip around the world visiting Friends groups, missions and service projects, especially in the Far East, India, Africa and the Middle East.

Date Due

MAY 19'68	NOV 24		
NOV 9	DEC 27		
OCT 14			
NOV 16			
DEC 19			
MAY 2			
DEC 22			
AUG 27			
DEC 2			
DEC 17			
SEP 29			
NOV 29			
OCT 9			
OCT 12			
DEC 16 '81			
NOV 9			
DEC 12			