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## The Doctrine of Christian Service as Practiced by the Quakers

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THE DOCTRINE OF CHRISTIAN SERVICE

AS

PRACTICED BY THE QUAKERS

by

Donald B. Spitler

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of Master of Arts  
Graduate School of Religion.

Department of Christian Doctrine  
Butler University.  
Indianapolis.  
1941.



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Dedicated

Dedicated to Loreen Leamon Spitler, my wife,  
and our three children.

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## Preface To Thesis.

This thesis was written in the Department of Christian Doctrine and has been titled , " The Doctrine Of Christian Service As Practiced By The Quakers " but it is not the author's intention to imply that all members of the Religious Society of Friends follow in practice the ideals of George Fox as well as other great Quaker humanitarians mentioned here in.

It should also be stated that the author has had no intention of delving deeply into various phases of Christian doctrine as such but rather to show something of the "Quakerly way of life" and their attitudes toward great social and moral problems with which they have been confronted.

The author has tried to make this thesis readable in style rather than deeply scholarly in thesis structure as he hopes to have it printed in book form and readable . For the reason just stated the field touched upon is more or less general in character rather than intensively specific .

## THE RISE OF QUAKERISM

The Religious Society of Friends, commonly known as Quakers, constitutes one of the numerous religious groups which arose in England in the seventeenth century.<sup>1</sup> It was the period in which with the weakening of the power of the crown, the popular opposition to the officially recognized Reformation developed so powerfully that church and state were shaken to their foundations. Puritanism, as this whole movement is called, arose as early as the reign of the Bloody Mary. In 1554 occurred the first schism among the English Protestants, in the community of fugitives in Frankfort and after their return to England, (after the beginning of Elizabeth's reign in 1558), the revolt against Episcopal domination began, first within and then outside the Established Church. All attempts at effecting any radical change in the legally prescribed forms of worship met with prompt persecution.

In spite of laws which prohibited emigration, many Protestants succeeded in escaping persecution by flight to Holland and Germany and were influenced by the different trends of the Reformation on the Continent. Under the first Stuarts a few of these fugitives ventured back to England,

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<sup>1</sup>  
William Sewel, The History of the Rise, Increase and Progress of the Christian People Called Quakers, (London 1722, originally issued in Low Dutch in 1717).



and there strengthened the attack on the Established Church, (which was disestablished in 1643), but at the same time they increased the tendency toward factionalism among the opponents of the Church. Many parties arose, each fighting for its own ideal form of church, until hardly a conceivable type of creed did not have its supporters. "For the mass of Englishmen, religious belief was their only intellectual food, as religious books were their only literature. There were thousands for whom legal and constitutional arguments had but little attraction, who could throw their whole souls into an argument about Presbyterianism or Episcopacy, or about the comparative merits of various forms of worship."<sup>2</sup>

"One group of Puritans, of considerable strength, maintained the Scotch Presbyterian creed; and three years after the disestablishment of the Episcopal Church, this creed had risen to the point of being officially adopted, even though it lacked from the very first the elements of permanence."<sup>3</sup>

As Neal points out, it was a fatal mistake of Parliament to abolish one form of religious institution before agreeing upon another to take its place; for in the interregnum the dissenters could increase so much that no uniformity or agreement could ever again be attained. The intolerance of the Presbyterians hastened their fall; as early

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<sup>2</sup>  
S. R. Gardiner, Fall of the Monarchy of Charles I, (London 1882), ii, 247.

<sup>3</sup>  
Auguste Jorns, 1911 (1921 - Translated by Thomas K. Brown) Chapter 1, p. 20.

as 1649 an uprising brought to the helm the so-called Independents, with principles involving a greater degree of liberty than ever before dreamed of.<sup>4</sup>

It was under this condition that Quakerism found opportunity to develop under the leadership of George Fox, a remarkable man whom Weigartin<sup>5</sup> calls the last English reformer, was born in Drayton, Leicestershire in 1624 (exactly 300 years after the first reformer Wycliffe), the son of a weaver in modest circumstances. Fox's parents had serious puritanical attitudes, though they did not separate from the Established Church. George Fox says of himself, "I kept myself much as a stranger, seeking heavenly wisdom and getting knowledge from the Lord; and was brought off from outward things to rely wholly on the Lord alone."<sup>6</sup> A statement made by John S. Rountree of many of the opponents of the Established Church applies especially to him, "Men were yearning to feel Christ closer to their spirits, to know His Gospel a real glad tidings to all, especially to those who lived in cottages and passed their days in toil. Men had grown weary of disputings about methods of church government, whether by Popes, Bishops, Presbyters, or Ruling

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<sup>4</sup> Daniel Neal, History of the Puritans, or Protestant Non-conformists from the Reformation in 1517 to the Revolution in 1688, Revised edition, (London 1831), ii, 271.

<sup>5</sup> Hermann Weigartin, The Revolutionskirchen Englands, (Leipzig 1868).

<sup>6</sup> George Fox, Journal, i, 10.



Elders. Thus there was a widespread yearning for a presentation of Christianity, more spiritual and less theological, more ethical and less dogmatic, more practical and less ceremonial than that then dominant."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>8</sup>Barclay thinks it probable that there was hardly a single religious movement with which George Fox had not become familiar during his wanderings which no doubt helped him clarify his views which he attributed solely to Divine revelation.

Fox in 1689 wrote, "And how often have the priests generally turned within this hundred years, to Queen Mary and from Queen Mary to Queen Elizabeth, and to King James, and then to Oliver and Richard Cromwell, and called them Caleb and Joshua that led them into the Promised Land. But was it not the tithes, offerings, augmentation, and glebe hands? And then when King Charles II came in, did not they most of them turn to common Prayers and persecute them that did not? And when King James came to the throne, what did many of the priests and bishops do then with their passive obedience and non-resistance, were not many of them posting to Rome their mother church as they call it? Let all sober

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<sup>7</sup>John S. Rountree, The Society of Friends, its Faith and Practice, 3d edition (London 1902) p. 17, 18.

<sup>8</sup>Robert Barclay, The Inner Life of the Religious Society of the Commonwealth, 2d edition (London 1877) p.254.

judge."<sup>9</sup> Amid these conditions Fox's spiritual longings were not satisfied; and from the "priests", the ministers of the State-established Church, he could get no help. Far and wide he wandered in his quest, sometimes in "heavenly joy", sometimes in misery "great and heavy", speaking little of yielding to temptation but much of temptation itself in his quest for the principle that would overcome it. When all hope in man was gone he testifies, "Then, O then, I heard a voice which said, 'There is one, even Christ Jesus, that can speak to thy condition', and when I heard it my heart did leap for Joy".<sup>10</sup> Following this experience he wrote, "Mind that which is pure in you to guide you to God".<sup>11</sup>

From 1647 to 1652, except for such time as he was in prison, Fox continued to give his message in the midland counties and in Yorkshire, the earliest settled congregation of his followers being formed at Mansfield in 1648.

"Though he knew little of school education, he had in him", says William Penn, "the foundation of useful and commendable knowledge".<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> George Fox, Gospel Truth Demonstrated (often called Doctrinals) p. 1066-1067. Humphrey Smith, Words, p. 235. Also Memoirs of Benjamin Bangs, p. 3 (1798).

<sup>10</sup> George Fox, Journal, (bi-cent-edn.) 1. p.391.

<sup>11</sup> George Fox, Epistles, p. 9. Also. p. 94 (last line).

<sup>12</sup> A.N.Braysshaw, The Quakers, i p. 28. (New York 1927).



Fox became a chief exponent of the doctrine of the Inner Light. He believed, "there is that of God in every man" and if one will but search and wait he may know "the mind of God" for his conduct. Indebted as one might be to the Church or the Bible or other outward sources for the first communication of truth that otherwise might not have come to him, his own assurance of truth inwardly revealed was the ultimate ground of his conviction. On this rock he took his stand. He boldly asserted that in all men, even in the heathen who knew not the Scriptures nor Christ in the flesh, there was a principle of God which, as it was heeded, would lead to salvation. He and the early Quakers identified this principle - "the light", as they called it - with Jesus Christ. It was not for them an impersonal abstraction, a substitute for God or Christ; for them it was Christ, manifesting Himself in the hearts of men. This was their "Logos" doctrine of the Gospel of John. Thus the early Quakers insisted on personal conviction as the ultimate ground of assurance.

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<sup>13</sup> Fox, Doctrine, p. 332.

<sup>14</sup> Penn, The Christian Quaker (1669) cc.16, 17.

## CHAPTER II

### THE HUMANITARIAN SPIRIT OF THE QUAKERS

The priceless estimate of human life is everywhere in evidence in early Quaker movement.

John Wilhelm Rountree of York, concluded a soul-stirring address in the Manchester Conference in 1895 with this prayer:

Thou, O Christ, convince us by Thy Spirit, thrill us with Thy Divine passion, drown our selfishness in Thy invading love, lay on us the burden of the world's suffering, drive us forth with the apostolic fervour of the early Church!

It was no accident that he emphasized two central notes: the invasion of the individual life by the Spirit of Christ, and the call for Friends to "take up the burden of the world's suffering". These are the two outstanding spiritual aims of Friends in all generations of their history, and Rountree was merely calling his people to the tasks of life which his forerunner had recognized as most important.

Quakerism was born with a passion for a better social world. George Fox was not a monastic type of reformer. His thought did not centre upon inward thrills and personal deliverance. He was always concerned for those who suffered and were heavy-laden. The more clearly he saw the divine potentiality of man, the more tragic seemed the marring and spoiling of these human beings who were meant to have the joy and liberty of sons of God.



They attacked the prevailing forms of fashion and etiquette because they seemed hollow and unreal, and particularly because they hampered and belittled man and woman. They sensitively felt the horrors of drunkenness and sensuality. They cried out against the appalling jails and prisons because they saw there the barbarity of man's treatment of man.

These Friends always held a brief for those who were the victims of ignorance and greed, and especially for the unfavoured and undeveloped races.<sup>1</sup>

#### Poor Relief

The social and humanitarian work of the Quakers was a "concern" growing out of economic conditions existing in England during the middle of the seventeenth century. Rogers<sup>2</sup> states that he has found very few reliable reports regarding this epoch, and he rejects the undocumented statements of other historians with regard to its prosperity. By comparing wages, rents exacted from tenant farmers, and prices, he comes to the conclusion, however, that it was a period of extraordinary misery for the great mass of the people and for the tenant farmers - a time in which few were

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<sup>1</sup> Rufus M. Jones, Faith and Practice of the Quakers, (New York, 1928) ii, ;. 123, 124.

<sup>2</sup> Therold Rogers, Economic Interpretation of History, (New York 1889), p. 139.

able to get rich, while many sank into hopeless poverty.

There are many causes for this condition of poverty. The rise of large-scale agriculture at the close of the Middle Ages was one of these causes. The debasement of the coinage effected by Henry VIII, the granting of monopolies for most of the articles of daily consumption and the concentration of trade in the hands of about two hundred persons were effective in raising the cost of living. At the same time wages were depressed and were the lowest in agriculture.

This brief statement may serve as a general characterization of the economic status of England during the first of the seventeenth century. These were the conditions with which the Quakers had to contend when, in the course of their efforts to mitigate the direst need, they began to lay the foundations among their adherents for their doctrine of the universal priesthood of the believer. The ultimate aim of the first great Quakers was to ameliorate poverty over the whole country by securing the combined action of the various sects in helping the poor. Abolition of begging, the erection of almshouses, and a general regulation of the whole system of caring for the poor, which in spite of the laws was in very bad shape, seemed difficult but not impossible. George Fox wrote to the English Parliament in 1658, "Let all the poor, the blind,



the lame, and the crippled be cared for, so that no beggars may be found on English soil, and so that you can claim to be the equals of the Jews; for they had the Law, which provided for widows, orphans, and strangers. Whosoever closes his ear to the poor, closes it to the Law."

The Quakers made two proposals for caring for the needy. First, systematic organization of charity instead of unregulated almsgiving, and, secondly, a leveling off of the social inequalities - for the crushing distress of the lower classes stood in sharp contrast to the senseless luxury of the upper strata of society. A report of Johann Schlezer, the minister from Bradenburg at the court of Cromwell, runs: "A pound is thought of as lightly here as a reichst<sup>4</sup>hater (about three shillings) among us."

It was a principle among Friends that everyone should endeavor to support himself through his own work. While records regarding the humanitarian activities of Quakers within their own membership are limited it seems that comparatively few were supported at public expense.

During the first years of the existence of the Quaker meetings, it was sometimes customary, following business meetings, to make a distribution of bread to the needy. In Fox's Journal (manuscript) we read, "and many times there would be two hundred beggars of the world (for all the country

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<sup>4</sup> S. R. Gardiner, History of the Great Civil War, III, 4 and Wolfgang Michael, Cromwell, II, p. 27.

knew we met about the poor) which after meeting was done, friends would send to the bakers and give them each a loaf, a piece - as many as would".<sup>5</sup> As an outgrowth of their concern for the poor the Quakers made an effort to collect special funds for the purpose of supporting the poor, and urged their richer members to make legacies and gifts to this end.

In 1658 Fox, with the assistance of Sara Blackbourne, succeeded in assembling sixty women, who watched over the interests of the poor and sick, of widows and orphans, and above all of their fellow members who were in jail. At that time no public provision was made for feeding prisoners.

Not only did they aid those who were already needy, but they made vigorous efforts to prevent the increase of pauperism.

The cases of persons who, though able to work, fell into a condition of need in spite of all these preventive measures offered the Quakers their first real problem in theory and practice of social work.

If the needy person knew no trade at all to which he was fitted, an effort was made to find some sort of work that he could do - a measure which proved effective in discouraging those who were unwilling to work, and who might otherwise abuse the liberality of the Quakers, from joining the Society.

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<sup>5</sup> George Fox, Journal. See Cambridge Journal, i, p. 356.



The difficulty of finding work for the needy was increased by the Quaker principle of simplicity, which frowned upon luxury even for the well-to-do of their membership. Therefore artisans found little occupation with Friends. They did not maintain a large household of servants but an attempt was made to find employment under Quaker masters for members who were of the servant class, on the assumption that they were only satisfying a need for the domestic servants. This matter of employment was taken care of within the meeting in the following way: Those desiring the assistance of servants and those seeking employment indicated the same to the monthly meeting and if an agreement between the employer and the employee were made and sanctioned by the monthly meeting, the person so hired could not leave his position without the consent of the meeting.

The unemployed maidservant was the especial concern of the women's meetings. Even when domestic servants entered the employ of non-Quakers they remained under the care of a meeting, which gave them the feeling of having something to fall back upon in case of need.

Friends maintained a central bureau for bringing together prospective employers and employees. This was established in London when the activities of the meetings had proved to be insufficient to meet the needs. Its

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<sup>6</sup>  
Beck and Ball, p. 72.

<sup>7</sup>  
Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, (Philadelphia 1852), 1, 39.

activities were of very modest scope; yet at that Quakers were far ahead of their day.

One might mention John Bellers (1654-1725), born of well-to-do family, the friend of William Penn, unable to pursue a political career because of his Quakerism, and so devoted himself to various studies and philanthropic undertakings in poor relief.<sup>8</sup>

Beller's best known work is entitled, "Proposals for Raising a College of Industry", the idea of which, with variations and additions, recur in his other writings.

Beller aims at three objectives with these workers' colonies: First, profit for the rich (which will be life to the rest). Secondly, a plentiful living for the poor, without difficulty. Thirdly, a good education for youth that may tend to prepare their souls into the nature of good ground.<sup>9</sup>

In 1696 the Quakers in Bristol provided employment for poor Friends at weaving cloth.<sup>10</sup> Bristol at this time was a city with 29,000 inhabitants and was the second greatest industrial and commercial city in England. The excellent fabrics made here were in demand among dealers in all parts of England; but in spite of this the factory was closed down in 1720.

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<sup>8</sup> Bellers, op. cit.; 1; Bellers, op. cit., p. 2.

<sup>9</sup> Jorns, A. (1931 translated) l. p. 76.

<sup>10</sup> Trust Property Books of Bristol and Somerset Quarterly Meetings.



John Bellers was the first of the Quaker humanitarians to work out with care and insight the principles of a new philosophy. It was Karl Marx who called him, "a veritable phenomenon in the history of political economy", but the more important point is his acute and creative Christian conscience. His tender spirit is revealed in his appended prayer to one of his essays, "Make us, O Lord, what is right in Thy sight, suitable to the beings which Thou hast made us and the stations which Thou has placed us in that our tables nor nothing that we enjoy may become a snare unto us; but that the use and strength of all that we receive from Thy bountiful hand may be returned unto Thee."

John Woolman, of Mount Holly, New Jersey is the next spiritual genius to interpret the Quaker ideals of human service. Long before he wrote that perfect literary gem, his "Journal" or his remarkable "Tract", "A Word of Remembrance and Caution to the Rich", his life had been giving visible illustration of the principles which he so simply but impressively expounded.

John Woolman's deepest concern, after the purification of his own spirit, was the liberation and elevation of the people of color on the American continent, the negroes and the Indians. There were many others who had similar spirit and a tenderness not unlike his. Such men as John Churchman, John Pemberton and others caught the spirit which motivated Woolman.

This humanitarian spirit, described in this thesis, is typical of Quaker attitude down to the present day. Carlyle in his writings on political economy, sets up a Quaker as the ideal type of employer, and recommends that<sup>11</sup> his methods be used as widely as possible.

No doubt this spirit of Quaker honesty has had much to do with "Quaker Trade Marks" being adopted by so many brands of merchandise today.

As I review the history of the Quakers' desire to relieve the poor, I am convinced that whatever was undertaken, expression was given to the desire to create humane and dignified conditions of living, even for the man who had no property, as the first prerequisite of morality and religious life.

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<sup>11</sup> Thomas Carlyle, Past and Present, Bk. IV, ch.5, in Works, Literary edition, 30 vols., (London 1869-71) Xiii, 343.

## Quakers Vs Slavery

It cannot be claimed that the slaves in America owed their freedom to the persistent work of the Quakers, but the Friends did, however, first through their gifted leaders and finally through the unified and importunate effort of almost the entire membership drive the issue of abolition into the moral consciousness of the nation and arouse and stimulate those dynamic souls who finally carried the cause through to its goal. The Quakers never let go, never despaired, and all the time kept the torch moving on from hand to hand until slavery was completely abolished.

As early as 1671 the founder of Quakerism issued earnest appeals to all slaveholders among Quakers in the Barbados to pay heed to the welfare of their helpless negroes. (It will be well to remember that the Barbados was the first island of the West Indies to come into English possession. Quakers had been banished to this island and to Jamaica; and George Fox visited them on his missionary journey.) Fox demanded kind treatment, protection from cruelty at the hands of the overseers, and the emancipation of slaves after a certain number of years of service, and he laid upon the masters of slaves the duty of uplifting them by means of a strict Christian education.



Until 1790 the British Parliament did not recognize the negroes as human beings but Fox held that under a colored skin there was born a soul with an eternal destiny. Thus in 1675 William Edmundson preached to the negroes and insisted, before the Governor, that Christ had died for<sup>1</sup> them as well as for other human beings.

In 1617 the first little band of negroes was taken to certain English settlements in North America, and sold as laborers. The demand for this type of labor was soon established, and rose steadily; for even though the enslavement of natives captured in war was permitted, or the purchase of members of other races as slaves, these methods were not merely sufficient to meet the demands. After the restoration the English government granted to the Royal African Society, at the head of which stood the Duke of York, a monopoly on the importation of negroes into British Colonies. At about the same time various acts were passed confirming the status of the negroes as outside the protection of the law. Civilian rights were denied to free negroes; all children of slave women were declared to be slaves and the killing of a negro was not considered murder.

The credit of being the first to recognize the incompatibility of slaveholding with the Quaker teachings belongs to a group of German settlers. I refer to the

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<sup>1</sup> Fox, Journal, ii, p. 149-158.

inhabitants of Germantown, colonists from Krefeld, Frankfurt and Kirchheim, who were induced to emigrate by William Penn on his missionary journeys in Germany and by his report of Pennsylvania which was widely circulated in a German translation. I might also add that these German colonists were originally Mennonites.

Francis Daniel Pastorius, the leader of these German settlers was a jurist of good family, highly educated and yet of deep religious feeling, who gave up a brilliant career in order to become teacher and preacher to the American colonists.<sup>2</sup> There is preserved in his handwriting the first public protest against negro slavery, a letter presented to a meeting at Germantown, Pa., held Second Month [April] 18, 1688, and forwarded to a monthly meeting held at Dublin of the same year.<sup>3</sup> In this letter primary emphasis is laid upon religious and moral arguments against slavery. Although the concern of Pastorius did not result in official action at this time, the question had once for all been squarely put and continued to occupy men's minds.

William Penn showed an active interest in the status of the negro and expressed the hope that their legal rights

<sup>2</sup> Marion Dexter Learned, The Life of Francis Pastorius, Philadelphia, 1908.

<sup>3</sup> S.W. Pennypacker, Settlement of Germantown, Philadelphia, 1899, p. 145.



might be regulated and they themselves, through proper influence upon their morals, educated to a higher level of life, so that in the course of time an equality between the black and white races might be possible.

In 1743 a study was made of the part the Quakers were playing in the slave trade and consequently energetic measures were undertaken. The publication of private investigations made by Benezet and Woolman brought to light some of the grave abuses in the slave trade. In 1754 an earnest exhortation for Quakers to set their slaves free and in 1758 the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting determined to exclude all owners of slaves from the meetings for discipline, but not without renewed efforts to induce them to give up their slaveholding. A delegation, headed by John Woolman, was sent out to visit all slaveholders. Woolman's Journal gives some very interesting pictures of the difficulties of their task.<sup>4</sup>

As early as 1770, little anti-slavery societies had been formed, under the leadership of Quakers, in various parts of the middle provinces of North America, to which belonged members of English Established Church, Presbyterians, and Catholics; the first permanent organization of all friends of the slaves occurred in 1774 as a result of the efforts of the Quaker, James Pemberton and of a distinguished citizen, Dr. Benjamin Rush, representing

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<sup>4</sup> Anelia Mott Gummere, The Journal and Essays of John Woolman, London, 1922. p. 58.

the non-Quakers. The purpose of this organization was "to promote the emancipation of the slaves, and to assist free negroes who were unjustly kept in bondage." Its headquarters were in Pennsylvania, but it set up numerous branches during the eighties, and soon entered into correspondence with persons in England who were sincerely interested.

The Quakers were now entirely agreed that radical reform was necessary, and the following specific measures were proposed: absolute prohibition of further importation of slaves; emancipation of all present slaves as soon as purchase price or cost of their training could be considered to have been met; and the settling of these freed slaves in the colonies, where they were to maintain themselves by cultivating their own farms or by selling their labor to whites. The plantation owners affected by these measures could be reimbursed, if necessary, from public funds; and the work of emancipation should proceed regardless of alleged injury to trade in sugar and tobacco.

After the Quakers publicly urged the emancipation of all slaves, they were obliged to exercise particular care to see that no one within their membership was chargeable with this practice which the Society condemned, for otherwise these in favor with slavery would have grounds for attacking them. Thus a passage in the London Yearly Meeting Epistle of 1784 reads: "It is our earnest desire that none under our name weaken or counteract our endeavours by contributing, in any way, to the support of this iniquitous



commerce".<sup>5</sup> At the beginning of the seventies there were but a few scattered cases of slavery among Quakers left in Great Britain. In the United States, complete abolition of slavery had been attained in Pennsylvania by 1782. By 1782 all slaves were gone in New England Yearly Meeting, and by 1787 even the Southern Quakers had liberated all of their slaves.

The Quakers, having cleared their skirts, now became actively engaged in the anti-slavery movement in England and America and by 1805 acts were adopted by the British Parliament prohibiting the importation of slaves by British traders into the colonies conquered by England during the war. The act of 1806 prohibited the transportation of slaves into foreign countries, the traffic in slaves by means of foreign ships, and the outfitting of foreign slave ships in English ports. An additional clause prohibited the use of ships for the slave trade unless they had previously been used for that purpose. Thus the long desired goal was finally attained, and complete eradication of commerce in human beings appeared to be near at hand, since the United States prohibited the importation of slaves at about the same time.<sup>6</sup>

Cessation of marine slave trade was only the first step in the Quakers' fight toward the total abolition of

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<sup>5</sup> London Yearly Meeting Epistle, London, 1784.

<sup>6</sup> By the Law of March 2, 1807, effective January 1, 1808.



slavery to which they now turned their attention with renewed zeal.

A Quaker by the name of William Allen opened a new phase of the abolition campaign by establishing an association for the civilizing of Africa and the eradication of surreptitious slave trade. This was known as the African Institution.<sup>7</sup>

Friends, who were fundamentally a non-political organization, were more and more drawn into political participation because of the slavery issue. If they could not themselves plead the cause of the slaves in Parliament, they could at least work for the election of candidates who were thinking their way. In 1807 a lively campaign was waged to secure the reelection of Wilberforce and the Quakers of York<sup>8</sup> were very active in his behalf.

After a time it became apparent that the slave trade laws of 1807 were entirely ineffective and so the Friends had to work upon the same old problem again, but by the acts of 1811 and 1819 were passed declaring that slave trading constituted a felony punishable by drastic action. In spite of this, however, Spanish, Portugese, English, Dutch, and French traders persisted in this barbarous trade.

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<sup>7</sup> James Sherman, Memoir of William Allen, Philadelphia, 1851.

<sup>8</sup> Meeting of the Committee of Friends, York, May 21, 1807.

After the Quakers had finally attained their goal in the English colonies, they turned, full of energy, to the support of the abolitionist movement in the United States, where the work had to be begun at the beginning again. Only a few scattered Quakers had remained true to the cause as the battle had been drawn out over the decades and the situation became worse and worse. The Society (Quakers) had officially withdrawn into private life, in order not to endanger its own purity by the uncleanness of politics.

As a result of Eli Whitney's cotton gin in 1793, by means of which a single slave could separate the cotton seeds from about one thousand pounds of cotton daily instead of five or six pounds, as formerly, the cotton industry increased tremendously and there arose a demand for the much cheapened cotton material. Thus slavery was stimulated and continued on a large scale even through prohibited by law.

Space will not permit a full account of the work of Friends during the Civil War, and many a negro who followed the Underground Railroad, no doubt had some Quaker to thank for his care and freedom.

If we take Whittier, as we undoubtedly should, as the typical leader of the American Quaker movement, we have in him the true fruit and offspring of primitive, fundamental Quakerism. He felt the immeasurable worth of man. His two poems, Eternal Goodness and Our Master, are



two of the best interpretations of genuine Quakerism that have ever been written. Those who were closest to him in the work during those discouraging years of ever-expanding slave territory, when no one could dream that the event of total release from bondage was so near, were in large measure in sympathy with his broad faith. The abolition of negro slavery was no doubt due largely to men of this same spirit.

### Quakers in Education

One might suppose that Quakerism built around the concept of an inward light would have discounted the need for education, but that was in no sense the case. While there were no doubt exceptions to the rule, yet it may be said that the Quakers have ever fostered and encouraged education.

Browning has his Paracletus declare that "Truth is within ourselves" and he adds that

To know,  
Rather consists in opening out a way  
Whence the imprisoned splendour may escape,  
Than in effecting entry for a light  
Supposed to be without

The Quakers, however, have not given much aid and comfort to that extreme view. Just because they saw how easy it would be for their principle of Light to be exaggerated and raised to a kind of magic - like the use of Aladdin's lamp - Friends have shown peculiar zeal to exalt the importance

of education.<sup>1</sup> George Fox felt his lack of education and welcomed into his fellowship men like William Penn, Robert Barclay, Alexander Jaffray, Thomas Ellwood, and others of good scholarly training. Fox showed great zeal for education and promoted it at home and abroad. In 1668 he secured the establishment of two schools, one for children at Waltham Abbey and one at Sacklewell for young ladies.

George Fox and William Penn contemplated a Garden School near London, so the city children could study the beauties of nature.

George Fox wrote these wise and comprehensive words of advice to his fellow members: "See that school masters and mistresses who are faithful Friends and well qualified be placed and encouraged in all cities and great towns and where they may be needed: the masters to be diligent to frequent reading of the Holy Scriptures and other good books, that being thus seasoned with the truth, santified to God and taught our holy, self-denying way, they may be instrumental to the glory of God and the generation".<sup>2</sup>

One of the first provisions for the care of Monthly Meetings over their members was to help parents in the education of their children. From the very first the Quaker school became an adjunct of the church and the teaching-master as important a figure as the minister.

<sup>1</sup> Rufus M. Jones, The Faith and Practice of the Quakers, New York, 1928. Ch. 9, p. 143.

<sup>2</sup> Rufus M. Jones, The Faith and Practice of the Quakers, New York, 1928. Ch. 9, p. 144.



The Quakers do not take credit for being the first and only promoters of mass education in England during this period. The necessity of improving and extending education among the masses was first agitated in England by the Puritans, for, since they declined to admit the theory that the clergy should stand in the relation of spiritual guardians to the laity, and do all their thinking for them, they were obliged to reckon with the necessity of bringing up each individual person so that he should have the power of independent judgment. This is the general tendency of Milton's proposal to apply the ecclesiastical estates which had been seized by the crown to the establishment of a greater number<sup>3</sup> of schools and public libraries throughout the country.

<sup>4</sup>Harrington goes even further. In *Oceana* he adopts the modern idea of free compulsory schooling under state control<sup>5</sup>, a plan which, as is well known, did not reach full fruition in England until 1870.

The Quakers carried through to its logical conclusion the theory of independence in matters of faith, and hence they believe that religious conviction rests jointly on feeling and reason. Further, the close connection between

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<sup>3</sup> Alfred Stern, Milton and Seine Zeit (Milton and His Time) Leipzig, 1877. II, iii. p. 216.

<sup>4</sup> James Harrington, Oceana, 1656. England.

<sup>5</sup> Charles Firth, Oliver Cromwell and the Rule of the Puritans in England, London, 1900. p. 354.

intellectual growth and economic security afforded an incentive for the careful education of the next generation.

The early Friends would not consider the instruction of their children in the public schools, hence they were dependent entirely upon their own resources for the establishing and maintaining of their schools.

In regard to education, the Quakers owed much to the ideas of Fox, Penn and Beelers. All three hoped to see the formation of a unified educational system.

The earliest pronouncement of Fox of which we have a record, regarding the education of children, is contained in a pamphlet of the year 1657.<sup>6</sup> In this pamphlet the principal emphasis is laid upon religious instruction, all the "worldly arts", such as music, dancing, and the like, should be avoided. Fox insisted that the school master was to be well skilled in Latin, writing and arithmetic.

Thus the Quakers offered instruction in Latin to the poorest children at a time in which even the middle class was still illiterate. In 1675 two Friends were entrusted with the preparation of a Latin text book. By 1691 we find the Yearly Meeting Minutes mentioned fifteen schools in operation;<sup>7</sup> eleven for boys and two for girls.

In the early days the lack of regular schools was partly made up for the practice, followed by many of the

<sup>6</sup> George Fox, Pamphlet, London, 1657.

<sup>7</sup> London Yearly Meeting Minutes, 1691.



meetings, of arranging for instruction by qualified members within the meeting house, or of renting rooms to teachers who set up what amounted to private schools. The teachers were obliged to arrange with the elders with regard to the rate of tuition; the women's meeting often paid for poor children.

Similar to the efforts of the English Friends are the methods of education adopted by the earlier Friends in Scotland, Ireland and Pennsylvania.

William Penn's views of education coincided essentially with those of George Fox. Even though it is true that, for a time, Pennsylvania remained behind the mother country in respect to its facilities for advanced education, it was far in the lead.<sup>8</sup> The very first laws laid upon all parents the obligation of having their children instructed in reading and writing.

The efforts of the Quakers along educational lines were not directed only toward the white settlers. About 1770 schools for colored people were started, for slaves as well as for free persons, for both sexes and all ages, in which both instruction and school supplies were free. Except for the voluntary contribution of slave owners, these schools were maintained by subscriptions and gifts from Quakers.

In any comprehensive view of the educational activities of the Quakers, one point stands out clear - the sense of obligation of the meeting to provide all children with education

The suggestions of Fox, Penn and others that there should be complete spiritual and manual training were never entirely realized, owing to the lack of means and of general interest.

The zeal for the improvement of the schools developed only slowly; but it must be noted that whatever was accomplished was for the benefit of all children, whether rich or poor. The ancient principle was adhered to that the possibilities of spiritual development in each child should determine the kind of education he received, not the accident of his birth; direct financial assistance from the meeting is replaced by a policy of tuition charges graded according to the means of the parents, with no resulting distinction in the treatment accorded the children.

A striking innovation was the acceptance of children whose parents had only an indirect connection with Friends, or none at all; although the children of members received the preference, since contributions from the meetings formed the principal source of support of the schools.

The primitive stage of Quaker education was too exclusive and too much designed for their chosen seed, but it had an immense shaping upon the Religious Society of Friends. Gradually many of these schools widened out to a larger community service in their neighborhoods.

In many sections of the United States these pioneer Quaker schools formed the nucleus of the school system of the county or even for the State. The oldest public school in



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New York City was originally a Quaker colonial school, and in many districts of Ohio, Indiana, Iowa and Kansas, the leading public schools have blossomed out of the plant which the pioneer Quakers started.

The last quarter of the eighteenth century saw a remarkable expansion of Quaker institutions. The new step was marked by an awakening of the leaders of the Society to the immense importance of education for the enlargement of life, personality and service. In 1784 a boarding school was opened at Portsmouth, Rhode Island, of which the present Moses Brown School in Providence is the successor, under the leadership of Moses Brown. In 1796 New York Yearly Meeting set up Nine Partners Boarding School at Washington, N.Y. In 1799 Westtown School was established near Philadelphia.

The second quarter of the nineteenth century saw a new educational awakening for Friends and some of the foremost Quaker institutions had their birth in this period. Haverford College, Guilford College and Earlham College came into being at this time. There were at the end of that century nine Quaker colleges in the United States and one in Canada. Meantime three prominent Quakers of means had founded three educational institutions which stand in quality at the top of American institutions of higher learning: Cornell University at Ithaca, N.Y.; Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, Maryland, and Bryn Mawr College for women at Bryn Mawr, Pa.

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It is impossible to determine the full worth of the Quaker academies as institutions of secondary education but their value as the forerunner of the modern high school is unquestioned.

#### Quakers as Prison Reformers

The subject that will occupy us in the present chapter is the personal work of the Quakers in behalf of prisoners in general, and their influence upon legislation and the administration of the law, undertaken with the purpose of reforming the penal code. Prison reform was carried on, not as the result of any official action of the Society of Friends, but, like many other types of humanitarian work, as the private concern of individual philanthropists. *modifies?*

The Society had early emphasized the close connection between poverty, neglect of education, alcoholism and crime, and had recognized the actual encouragement of crime resulting from the deficiencies of the law and its execution. They had abundant opportunity to assemble a body of practical experience in such matters, for after the Restoration they populated the prisons literally by hundreds or often, indeed, by thousands.<sup>1</sup>

*unrate*  
The Quaker prisoners, regardless of the cause of their confinement, were treated like common criminals.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> George Fox, Journal, London, 1658. Ch. 1, P. 71.

<sup>2</sup> Norman Penney, The First Publishers of Truth, London, 1907, P. 343.



They refused to pay bribes and so had to endure the full measure of wretchedness imposed upon prisoners who had no money.

The prisons were almost uniformly dungeon-like or underground rooms which, as they were mostly over-crowded and never properly ventilated, were crusty with filth and alive with vermin. The prisoners who were diseased in body and mind were not separated from the others. In some cases jailers were negligent about removing the bodies of the dead. The prisoners had to provide their own food and clothing, and as a result many had to endure hunger and cold. The low grade of the jailers constituted one of the chief evils. They received no regular salaries but obtained their pay from trafficking in the food and drink for the prisoners and from fees charged the prisoners. In other words, the jailer was not subject to any supervision or control as the management of a prison was not considered a fit occupation for a decent person.

Accused prisoners awaiting trial were herded together with convicted criminals of all ages and stages, even the sexes were not always separately housed.

The Quakers held that imprisonment should not be viewed as a punishment, but as a means to reform. Strictness, but not barbarous tyranny should, in their opinion, characterize the treatment accorded prisoners; and the jailers should be reliable persons. Again and again they emphasized the need of occupation for all prisoners as a means

both for their moral rehabilitation and for the support of their dependents.

The death penalty was imposed for 150 different crimes. There was an utter lack of proper proportion between the punishment and the gravity of the offense.

The abolition of the death penalty except for murder, which Fox had urged, was effected in 1653.

It has been said that John Howard was the first student of English prisons to present a systematic account of the conditions to be found there; but even he had his predecessors. Thomas Shillitoe devoted himself to the spiritual and bodily needs of prison inmates. Elizabeth Fry was first stirred to an interest in prisons by an American Quaker, Stephen Grillet. In the course of a visit to England in 1813, Grillet visited a number of penal institutions with William Forster, and, shocked by the fearful conditions in the women's section of the Newgate prison, he appealed for help to Elizabeth Fry, who already had given evidence of her lively sympathy for the poor and needy in distress.

Having heard from Stephen Grillet that most of the children who were in prison with their mothers, many of them had been born there, were naked, she made the distribution<sup>3</sup> of clothing her first point of contact with the convicts. Her impressions of this first visit have been described by

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<sup>3</sup> John Howard, The State of Prisons in England, 4th edition. London, 1792.



herself and her biographer.

Prisons were over-crowded. The Newgate prison designed for 500, housed 822 in 1813. Neither beds nor other furniture, not even the common necessities, were provided; the three-hundred Women with their numerous children, whom Elizabeth Fry found in entirely inadequate quarters, were obliged to sleep, wash, cook and eat on the floor. They were entirely in the power of two wardens. No work was furnished those who were well, nor was any care given to the sick.

In 1817 a forward step was taken by providing all adults in the prison with employment. The prisoners were divided into groups, each under the direction of one of the inmates. A group of interested Friends in Newgate known as the "Association for the Improvement of Women Prisoners" did much to assist in helping the prisoners with the new prison labor venture. This Association had no disciplinary authority and had no desire to exercise compulsion, but sought solely to help the prisoners. The prisoners therefore were to subject themselves only to such regulations as they themselves might approve, and provide for the maintenance of order through their own appointees.

In later days, Quakers stressed again and again the necessity for compelling convicts to submit to employment of some kind, the so-called sloyd system was recommended.

The purpose of this system was to instruct prisoners in the use of tools, and gradually to train them to a certain degree of facility.<sup>5</sup> The convicts could not at once develop the skill requisite to the production of salable articles; but it was easier to put up with a measure of delay when there was some guarantee that at least the necessities of life could be paid for independently of the convict's private means.

So successful was the work of the Association that its efforts were not confined to Newgate Prison. Gradually the range of its activities expanded to other penal institutions.

Soon the scope of the Association's activities increased to include the care of discharged convicts, and of persons who had suffered injury while in prison. Houses of refuge were established, the first of which, Tothill Fields Asylum in Westminster, was opened in 1822 by a certain Miss Neave. The prisoners who appeared most amenable to reform received preference; and in general an attempt was made to pay most particular attention to the worthiest, with the idea that such a policy would serve as an incentive to industry and good conduct.

Often the term of imprisonment was followed by deportation, under conditions which were likely to undo all the good which might have been laboriously done. Violent



scenes were common occurrences while the prisoners were being forcibly loaded on board ship; and during the passage sanitary conditions were anything but favorable and no sort of oversight or occupation was provided. When the transported convicts arrived at their destination nobody paid any attention to their further fate. Destitute and unfamiliar with local conditions, they were exposed to a great variety of dangers.

The women in the prison reform associations did their best to correct these evils. They made official inquiry as to the living conditions about the ports of destination, in order to prepare in advance the convicts who were to be transported there. In some cases raw materials were supplied to the convicts such as they could manufacture during the voyage and sell immediately upon arrival.

After great effort the Association succeeded in securing the appointment of matrons to accompany the women convicts on their voyage. Elizabeth Fry herself, from 1818 to her death in 1845, visited every one, with few exceptions, of the two to five transport ships departing each year from the Thames, each containing from 200 to 500 convicts.

The demands of the Quakers, regarding convict treatment, were based upon two presumptions; first, that even the

convicted criminal has certain rights, and, second, that the chief purpose of imprisonment is the reform of the convict.

An Association for the Abolition of Capital Punishment, founded in 1808 and consisting principally of Quakers directed attention first toward lessening of the severity of the law. The Quakers secured the signatures of 1000 bankers to petition Parliament to abolish the death penalty for forgery in 1830.

When Queen Victoria came to the throne in 1837, the number of capital crimes had diminished from 150 to 10 and it might be added since 1861 murder and treason have been the only capital crimes in England. *non acquies*

Throughout the civilized world the ground is gradually being cleared for an approach to the ideal of criminal law, as the Quakers conceived it a hundred years ago, not punishment of the criminal, but prevention of the crime. *how many?*



## CHAPTER III

### QUAKER CONCERNS FOR OTHER SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Alcoholism ---- Public Health ---- Care of Insane

#### Quakers and the Liquor Problem

It should be remembered that Quakerism was born in a day when people in general looked upon spirituous liquors of some kind as necessary to health and considered the ordinary consumption of wine and beer as a matter of course, attended by no harmful result.<sup>1</sup>

Excessive drinking was early condemned by the Quakers, and in an address to the Protector and Parliament of 1658 Fox condemned the laxity with which licenses to brewers and innkeepers were granted.<sup>2</sup>

In the address of 1658, Fox voiced further warning when he said, "The multitude of other inns all over the country, which are not equipped to lodge anybody, serve only to seduce the young people to frivolity and folly, and ruin the divine creation; for through drinking come sinful thoughts, and the temptation to steal, in order to get more money to satisfy the evil desires. By this means the world is debauched, and men are brought into contempt."

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<sup>1</sup> George Fox, Journal, 1. p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> To the Protector and Parliament of England, printed for Giles Calvert, 1658, p. 11.

The harm resulting to public morals and health, and, by no means least, to the economic situation, led in 1678 to the absolute prohibition of the importation of spirituous liquors in England.

The Quakers, to be sure, expected self-control from the members of their faith. Again and again the annual epistle<sup>3</sup> admonished Friends to be moderate in their use of intoxicating beverages; they are especially urged to accustom their children to simplicity and moderation, so that they may be preserved later from danger. It is considered the duty of every member of the Society to lead a temperate life, in order to avoid all occasion of possible reproach against Quakerism. If any member brought disgrace upon the Society through drunkenness, he was disowned.

In Pennsylvania where Friends had a free hand in the regulation of all social relationships, it was easier for them to give effect to their zeal for temperance than in England. William Penn laid down this principle that no saloons or alehouses should be tolerated - a requirement which was modified in the final charter of Pennsylvania, making licenses for the sale of liquor conditional upon the recommendation of a judge, and permitted the revocation of the license of any public house that proved to be disorderly.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> London Yearly Meeting Epistles of 1691, 1751, 1754, 1834, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Jorns, The Quakers As Pioneers in Social Work, New York, 1931. Ch. 3, p. 135.



In Penn's view, "To wink at a trade that effeminates the people, and invades the ancient discipline of the kingdom, is a crime capital, and to be severely punished instead of being excused by the magistrate."<sup>5</sup> Penn would have nothing to do with the popular practice of outwitting the natives by making them drunk, but sought rather to protect the Indians from being debauched by alcohol. The repeated injunction came from the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting not to sell alcoholic beverages to the Indians, nor to give them in exchange for other goods. After Penn's death the sale of rum to the natives increased to such an extent that an investigation was brought about at the instance of the New York Yearly Meeting.<sup>6</sup>

By this time in England, as well as America, the idea was gaining ground that it was reprehensible not only to use or serve intoxicating liquors to excess, but even to manufacture them. Friends contended that such manufacture was an injustice to the poor, inasmuch as the use of grains for distilling and beer making raised the price of bread; but it was felt that it was an even greater sin for men to

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<sup>5</sup> Frederick Sessions, Two and a Half Centuries of Temperance Work in the Society of Friends, 1643-1893, lecture delivered Feb. 1893, p. 9. (Penn's Maxims 1693)

<sup>6</sup> New York Yearly Meeting Records, 1813.

take what God bestowed for the maintenance of life and change it into beverages which destroy life.<sup>7</sup>

The conviction that for Quakers themselves it would be better to have nothing at all to do with the business of brewing or dispensing liquor is of very early date. In the records of the Quakers in Devonshire for September 29, 1705, the minute occurs: "James Goodridge to be advised to give up the retailing of brandy and strong liquors in his house at the bridge, as it does tend to the dishonour of truth" (i.e., the Quaker faith)<sup>8</sup>.

Thomas Shillitoe (1754-1836) was born in an inn-keeper's family, but he spent his life preaching temperance in the alehouses in spite of curses and active violence. He advocated total abstinence instead of moderation.

People now began to find out that even hard physical labor could be performed without the use of stimulants, and that alcohol was absolutely lacking in food content. A Quaker physician by the name of Dr. John Fothergill (1784-1858) of Darlington established the positively harmful effects of alcohol, and thus took the last step in the development of the theory of total abstinence.

<sup>7</sup> Antony Benezet, Serious Considerations on Important Subjects, Philadelphia, 1778.

<sup>8</sup> Friends' Quarterly Examiner, Vol. 6 (1872), p. 381.



As soon as the Quakers became aware that alcohol had no value as a food, but had actually a harmful effect, and also that not only spirituous liquors should be given up, but beer as well, they abolished, in 1843, the use of alcoholic beverages of any kind at all their public functions and at social gatherings.

The Friends' Temperance Union now carried on the fight against alcohol outside the Society, but worked in conjunction with other organizations.

The Quakers in America worked hard for the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States and as a group were sorry to see it repealed, but they have not given up the fight for temperance. Today in their various Yearly Meetings, they have Committees for Prohibition and Public Morals, and they are working with all recognized temperance organizations for the abolition of alcoholism.

#### Quakers and Public Health

Quakers were among the first to recognize the social problem involved in sickness. One cannot but be impressed by their constant emphasis upon the duty of the community toward the blind, the lame and the crippled.

At that time the idea of special diet for the sick was as yet unknown. Even the first Quakers did no more than meet the exigencies of physical need and offer religious consolation.

The necessity of improving and perfecting the science of medical care was first agitated by Bellers. His "Essay<sup>1</sup> Towards the Improvement of Physick" brings the humanitarian appeal of improved medical knowledge into relation with its practical usefulness to science, and hence with the self-interest of the wealthy, and therefore dominant classes.

First in importance, in Beller's plan, is the establishment of hospitals for the poor. Exact records are to be kept of all cases of sickness which occur there. The dead are to be dissected for the instruction of the physicians. The physicians in their turn are to avail themselves of this advantage as much as possible; those not connected with any hospital are to have access to the dissections, so that residence abroad, which had hitherto been essential to the pursuit of medical studies, may no longer be necessary.

A similar proposal was suggested - the establishment of university clinics for the combination of practice with theory.

Bellers also suggested that a public laboratory and observation clinic be established for the preparation and testing of new remedies.

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<sup>1</sup> John Bellers, Essay Improvement of Physick, London, 1714.



All in all, Bellers' Essay amounts to nothing less than the proposal of a complete reorganization of the care of the public health, based on the greatest practicable advancement of the science of medicine. The state and municipal corporations are called upon to bear the burden of setting up and administering all the necessary institutions.

John Fothergill, one of the few Quaker physicians, pleaded for improved sanitary conditions in London in various respects, as, for instance, through the removal of grave-<sup>2</sup>yards from within the city.

Nursing outside the hospitals was raised in status to be a life profession for educated women. In 1840 the first organization for training nurses was set up. Florence Nightingale took her helpers from here when she set out for the Crimean War. The Association set up at that time has<sup>3</sup> survived to the present day.

The Quakers' concern for public health will be shown further in our consideration of the work of the American Friends Service Committee during and since the World War.

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<sup>2</sup> John H. Tuke, Life of John Fothergill, England, 1879.

<sup>3</sup> Institution of Nursing Sisters, 16 Broad Street Building, Bishopsgate, London.

## Care of the Insane

The idea that those who are mentally deranged are merely sick, and are in many cases curable, is of thoroughly modern origin. It was not until the time of the French Revolution that Philippe Pinel (1745-1826) the physician, ventured to remove the chains from the insane in the hospital and asylum at Bicetre, near Paris, and to accord them medical treatment.

In the Middle Ages the insane were considered on a par with criminals, and were held accountable for their behavior, or subjected to capital punishment.

One of the first humane steps was the practice of rendering them harmless by confining them in prisons or workhouses. Further progress was marked by the creation of institutions designed especially for the insane, but here the insane were treated like wild beasts, and were customarily exhibited to visitors as curiosities. Thus, in the first great English insane asylum, the Bethlem Hospital, (Bedlam), opened in London in 1676, such exhibitions were permitted until 1770, and constituted a source of some little income.<sup>1</sup>

John Goodson, a Quaker physician, offered to erect a large house for insane persons and apparently carried out his plan.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> D.H. Take, Chapters in the History of the Insane, London 1882.

<sup>2</sup> Beck and Ball, p. 130.



The initiative for the establishment of an insane asylum, according to new principles, came from William Tuke in York. Supported by Lindley Murray and a few others, he laid the matter before the Quarterly Meeting of March, 1792; and a few months later there was held a special meeting for "the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of providing a retired habitation, with necessary advice, attendance, etc., for members of our Society and others in profession with us, who may be in a state of Lunacy or so deranged in mind (not Idiots) as to require such a provision."<sup>3</sup>

On May 1, 1796 the doors of the asylum at York were formally opened. This institution, which at first was provided with accommodations for only thirty patients, was soon filled; even before the end of the century an enlargement was necessary. At the same time the contributions rose in even greater degree, so that patients who were entirely destitute could be cared for without charge. Moreover, the charges made to paying patients remained lower than the charges which were customary in institutions, in spite of the comparatively comfortable conditions there, and the greater cost of treatment. The complete abolition of restraint in chains - a relief

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<sup>3</sup> Samuel Tuke, Description of the Retreat, London and Philadelphia, 1813. p. 20.

which in other institutions was not accorded even to the King<sup>4</sup> - required a larger personnel for oversight; the medical attention was more careful than in other insane asylums, where the customary methods of cure were bleeding and starving. Great importance was attached to keeping the patients occupied and interested or amused; the burden of this task was carried chiefly by Quaker women. A spirit of friendly cooperation overcame any feeling of repugnance or abhorrence toward the insane - a feeling which unfortunately dominated wide circles of people in connection with victims of far less harmful defects, as, for instance, the deaf-mutes. Even in America, it will be remembered that, deaf-mute girls were persecuted as if accursed, and it was a Quaker, Anthony Benezet, who first interested himself<sup>5</sup> in their plight and gave them instruction.

The results attained by the Quakers, influenced the manner in which the state cared for the insane.

The initial, though small, result of the labors of the Quaker pioneers came to pass with the law of 1819; though the erection of asylums was not provided for by law until

<sup>4</sup> George III had his first attacks of insanity in 1765 and in 1810 his condition became incurable.

<sup>5</sup> A. Jorns, The Quakers as Pioneers in Social Work, New York (translated) 1931. Ch. 4;p. 158.



1828, at which time also the overseers of the poor and the justices of the peace were required to report cases of insanity and see that the sufferers were provided for. Thorough reform ensued finally as a result of the law of 1845, the "Magna Charta of the insane," which assured a home and proper care to all, and established a<sup>6</sup> permanent commission on insanity.

In recent years the Quakers have taken up the care of the insane in connection with foreign missions. The first asylum for the insane in Palestine owes its origin to the missionary Theophilus Waldmeier, who left the Roman Catholic Church to join the Quakers.<sup>7</sup>

*road claim*  
As a result of many years of labor and sacrifice, on the part of those who carried a concern for the insane, today great hospitals with trained leadership provides the best of care and treatment for those who are mentally sick.

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<sup>6</sup> George Nicholls, A History of the English Poor Law, London 1854, ii, p. 193-212.

<sup>7</sup> Theophilus Waldmeier, The Autobiography, London, 1887.

## CHAPTER IV

### QUAKERS IN PEACE AND WAR

#### The Christian Churches and Peace

Among the doctrines held by the Quakers is a belief in the un-Christian nature of war, of which the refusal to take part in war or military training is the corollary. The grounds of this principle among Friends and their practice of it during nearly three centuries will be set forth in the following pages of this thesis. But it is less generally known that the same belief was widely held among early Christians, that it was a tenet of some mediaeval and Reformation sects, and is even now maintained by some other churches, of which the Mennonite and Church of the Brethren (Dunkard) are chief in point of numbers.

In the Christian Church of the first three centuries there existed a strong body of opinion which, basing itself upon the words of Christ and the spirit of His teaching, held that warfare and bloodshed were impossible for His followers. Professor Harnack, in his short study, "Militia Christi", after making a careful examination of the evidence, came to the conclusion that, at any rate until the time of Marcus Aurelius, the soldier's life was held to be in such obvious conflict with that of the Christian that no Christian<sup>1</sup> entered, and all converted soldiers left the army.

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<sup>1</sup>  
Harnack, Militia Christi, p. 49.



Neander in his Church History, argues that only a minor party among the early Christians objected to the occupation of a soldier<sup>2</sup> but Nicholas Rigault and Beatus Rhenanus both accept Tertullian as a complete opponent of war.<sup>3</sup> Dr. Cadoux does admit in this connection that about A.D. 174 the Logeo Fulminata contained a considerable number of Christian soldiers. Justin Martyr, the apologist, writing in the reign of Antoninus Pius, testifies to the peaceful character of the Christian religion (First Apology, 39; Trypho, 110). He died about A.D. 165, but some later editor appended to his Apology an alleged letter from the Emperor Marcus Aurelius to the Senate, in A.D. 174, ordering a general toleration of Christianity, on the ground that when hard pressed by thirst and the enemy his army in Germany was saved by the prayers of a large body of Christians in the Twelfth Legion. Their supplications were followed by a storm which quenched the thirst of the Romans and terrified the enemy into flight. Hence the Legion became known as the "Thundering". Tertullian twice alludes to the story, but though the deliverance is recorded by historians, the Christian element in it is probably false, and the latter an invention. The Twelfth

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<sup>2</sup> Neander, Church History, i. p. 125.

<sup>3</sup> C.J. Cadoux, The Early Christian Attitude to War, Swarthmore Press, 1919, p. 230.

Legion had been named the "Fulminate" (Thunderstuck) for generations, and Marcus Aurelius permitted a severe persecution in the South of France in A.D. 177. The latter contains one curious sentence about the Christian soldiers; "They began the battle [i.e. prayer] not by preparing weapons nor arms nor bugles, for such preparation is hateful to them, on account of the God they bear about in their conscience."<sup>4</sup>

But during the next century and a half, as Christianity spread and the early hope of the immediate second coming of Christ faded, the Christians began to make that compromise with the world which was fully carried out by Constantine. The writings of the Fathers and the legends of the church give abundant testimony that the Christian soldier was no longer an anomaly, and by the year 323 the new faith must have been widespread in the ranks, for how else could Constantine, owing his power to the army, have ventured on the adoption of Christianity as the official religion of the empire?

Even in this later period, however, there were great leaders of the church, for example, Tertullian (born 160) and Lactantius (born 270), who maintained the old testimony against the soldier's profession. There were also many occasions on which the devout Christian soldier

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<sup>4</sup>  
Dr. Cadous, The Early Christian Attitude to War, Swathmore Press, 1919. p. 230.



found himself in opposition to the State and his commanders. It was his military duty in time of peace which roused the Christian's conscience. The military garrison in the provinces was the engine of criminal law; it was the duty of officers to pronounce and soldiers to execute death sentences, and the early church, as a whole, included capital punishment among the forms of blood-shedding forbidden by the Gospel. How could a Christian reconcile a military oath of unconditional submission to his Emperor with the vow of obedience to his God? And then the official sacrifices which all soldiers were found to attend, the worship of past Emperors and of the genius of the living ruler, and the constant practice of pagan rites and superstitions, must all have placed a conscientious believer in a delicate and difficult position. Some attempted to compromise, and while attending pagan ceremonies, protected themselves from their evil influence by making the sign of the Cross. Others took some convenient opportunity of leaving the army. Others simply absented themselves from sacrifices. The result of this last step evidently depended largely on the attitude of the ruling Emperor, and perhaps still more on the temper of the commanding officers. In times of persecution such "non-conformists" were the first to suffer; in times of peace, even, there are occasional records of martyrdom, but in many cases

the practice must have been tolerated. It must be remembered that conscription, though nominally in force, was little employed, since the army, comparatively small in proportion to the great masses of population within the Empire, found ready recruits among the warlike peoples of the recently conquered northern provinces. In the more settled regions exemption could be purchased with little difficulty. The clearest instance recorded in the martyr-ology of an objection on Christian grounds to actual warfare occurs in the legend of St. Martin of Tours (born A.D. 316). Himself a Christian, he was forced into the army by heathen parents, and later his legion was among those stationed on the Rhine to resist the inroads of the barbarians. One day, when a donative, or money gift, was being distributed among the soldiers to hearten them for the coming battle, Martin asked for his discharge, "I am a soldier of Christ, it is not lawful for me to fight". The general taunted him with cowardice, whereupon he offered to stand unarmed next day in the thickest of the battle, to prove his faith in the divine protection. He would have been taken at his word had not the enemy sued for peace, and shortly afterwards he was allowed to leave the army.

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It is remarkable that even in the third century and the early part of the fourth century, the Christian apologists, while admitting that their brethren were serving in the army, still laid down in emphatic terms the incompatibility of war and military service with Christianity. Tertullian, before and after joining the sect of the Montanists (which stood for strict adherence to New Testament teaching), discusses the question at length. Origen argues that since priests are exempted from warfare in order to offer sacrifice with pure hands, Christians have an equal right to exemption, since they all as priests of the One true God offer prayers on behalf of those "fighting in a righteous cause".<sup>6</sup> Cyprian described war as "wholesale murder".<sup>7</sup>

But with the accession of Constantine and the official recognition of Christianity ("that fatal encircling of the cross with the laurel", as it has been called by a Quaker<sup>8</sup> historian ) the leaders of the Church modified their opinion.

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<sup>6</sup> Origen, Contra Celsum, viii, p. 73.

<sup>7</sup> Cyprian, Epistle to Donatus.

<sup>8</sup> Blackhouse and Tyler, Early Church History, p. 317.

In Augustine's great treatise, The City of God, he included only wars waged "by the command of God" among the forms of manslaughter not forbidden by the Sixth Commandment, on which Vives, the Spanish humanist, commented in his edition of the treatise, that certainly God never commanded the Christians of sixteenth-century Europe to engage in their war of mutual destruction.

From this date the official church raised no protest against Christians participation in war. Neander gives an account of the conditions which led to the famous capitulary of Charles the Great.<sup>9</sup> "It being found", he says, "that a very bad impression was made on the minds of the multitude, when clergymen fell wounded or dead in battle, the Emperor Charles was entreated to make a provision against the occurrence of such things in future." The result was the Capitulary of A.D. 801, to the following effect: "That no priest should thereafter engage in battle; but that two or three chosen bishops should attend the army, with a certain number of priests, who should preach, give the blessing, perform mass, receive confession, attend the sick, administer extreme unction, and take especial care that no man left the world without the communion. What victory could be hoped for, when the priests, at one hour, were giving the body of the Lord to Christians, and at



another were, with their own wicked hands, slaying those very Christians to whom they gave it, or the heathen to whom they ought to have been preaching Christ"?

This ordinance did not restrain Popes and bishops of the Middle Ages from waging wars like any temporal ruler, but it did emphasize afresh the distinction between clergy and laity which had already been established by the doctrine of a celibate priesthood. The clear statement that it is sinful for Christian priests, but lawful for Christian layment to slay their fellow-Christians marks the distance travelled since the second century after Christ. From the time of Constantine the general protest against Christians' participation in war is only voiced by heretical sects, about whom we have unfortunately little definite information, and that little, since it comes mainly from their persecutors, cannot be accepted without question.

In the thousand years between Augustine and Luther the church was disturbed by many groups of "heretics" or dissenters from established orthodoxy.

During the fourteenth century the first English voices are heard against war, evoked perhaps by the sufferings of the long struggle with France. Wycliffe's study of the New Testament drew him away from the prevalent standards in civil and religious life. In more than one treatise he attacked war in vigorous terms. "Lord, what honour falleth to

a knight that he kills many men? The hangman killeth many more, and with a better title. Better were it for men to be butchers of beasts than butchers of their fellowmen." <sup>10</sup>

*number?*  
At the dawn of the Reformation some of the most distinguished men of the New Learning were found on the side of peace. Luis Vives, the Spaniard, and his great friend Erasmus, was one of the most eloquent and earnest exponents of the contradiction between war and Christianity. But the more powerful sects produced by the Reformation did not include among their tenets any scruple against war. The history of Huguenots in France and of Lutherans in Germany, Scandinavia and Holland contain many bloody pages. The peace doctrine was left to the despised Baptists, or Anabaptists as they were popularly called.

John Smith (or Smyth) one of the most influential and learned of the first generation of English Baptists, who died in 1612, declared in his Confession that Christ called His flock "to the following of His unarmed and unweaponed life and of His crossbearing footsteps". Smyth was closely connected with the Dutch Mennonites, and during the early seventeenth century some of the English Baptist congregations were in rather loose union with the Dutch Mennonite Church. But a division soon arose between them concerning war and the use of arms, which was naturally intensified by the outbreak



of the Civil War. Even after the Restoration, however, there were Baptist congregations who maintained an objection to war, though the Friends considered them lukewarm in their testimony. Robert Barclay in his Apology rebuked those who opposed war (Baptists) and yet took part in the public prayers and thanksgivings for victory.<sup>11</sup>

The Mennonites just mentioned were the most important and interesting of the sects into which the Continental Anabaptists developed. Menno Symons was a priest in West Friesland, where in 1535 there was a fierce persecution and massacre of Anabaptists. Menno was so struck by the courage and constancy of the martyrs that he began to inquire into their creed. Soon he had so stamped his personality upon the Church that it received his name. The Mennonites became established in Holland, France, Switzerland and Germany.

The testimony against war caused the Mennonites as much trouble as it did the Quakers later. In all other respects they made excellent and law-abiding citizens, but they were gradually driven out from each country that adopted compulsory military service.

After the adoption of conscription by the United Kingdom, appeals to tribunals for exemption reminded the public that, in addition to the Quakers, various smaller sects, such

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<sup>11</sup>

Robert Barclay, Apology, 1676. England.

as the Christadelphians and the Seventh Day Adventists, which had arisen in the nineteenth century, held principles opposed to war.

Rufus M. Jones has well said, "Quakerism is no isolated or sporadic religious phenomenon. It is deeply rooted and embedded in a far wider movement that has been accumulating volume and power for more than a century before George Fox became a 'prophet' of it to the English people. And both in its new English, and in its earlier Continental form, it was a serious attempt to achieve a more complete Reformation, to restore primitive Christianity, and to change the basis of authority from external things, of any sort whatever, to the interior life and spirit of man."<sup>12</sup>

#### Early Peace Testimony of the Quakers

During the sixteen centuries which preceded the rise of the Society of Friends, many of the sects just described had maintained a witness for Christian simplicity in life and doctrine closely akin to that held by the Early Church. At times the witness had been faintly uttered and almost unheeded, but it was never wholly silenced. It is impossible to trace a direct connection between these earlier movements and seventeenth century Quakerism as taught by George Fox who

<sup>12</sup>

Rufus M. Jones, Spiritual Reformers of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, New York. P. 348.



held to the conviction that his spiritual enlightenment was the immediate gift of God, so he acknowledged no guidance from men or books. George Fox certainly had a good deal of intercourse with Baptists during his six years (1643-49) of spiritual conflict, and many of his followers came from that sect, and there is little doubt in my mind that this association left its impression upon him and his subsequent teaching. Yet, least of any sect, can Quakerism be understood apart from the religious and social conditions amidst which it came into being. It is not only to the personal experiences of George Fox, but to the general mind of England in his day that we must look for an explanation of the rapid establishment and extension of Quakerism under the Commonwealth and the later Stuarts.

In the years of struggle between Parliament and King, and in those which followed Charles' execution, a hard Old Testament Calvinism was dominant. The Army was religious, the Government was religious, and religion was military and political, bringing the arm of flesh to reinforce the sword of the Spirit. Episcopalianism was in hiding, a current running underground, to reappear with gathered strength at the Restoration; Puritanism, stern and forbidding, though from many aspects full of grandeur, ruled in Church and State. In those days of political, social and religious unrest little companies of "Seekers" met together to wait in silence seeking for the divine will. Thus we see that

the seed of Fox's teaching fell upon prepared ground. But it would give a false impression, and be gravely unjust to the brave "Publishers of Truth", his friends and fellow-workers, to identify the teaching of the Society exclusively with one man's utterances or to imply that he ever imposed a rigid body of doctrine upon the new sect.

In 1650, three years after Fox began to preach, the Derby justices had him imprisoned for six months as a blasphemer. During his term of imprisonment his patience and integrity won him many friends. In this same autumn and winter Charles Stuart the younger, was rallying his forces for a last venture, and Cromwell's Commissioners were filling up the gaps in the Parliamentary Army by raising local militia. It is evident from Fox's experience that the Commissioners took a large view of their powers. They wanted to make Fox a captain of the prisoners to fight at Worcester. But Fox said, "I told them I lived in the virtue of that life and power that took away the occasion of all war, and I knew from whence all wars did rise, from the lust, according to James his doctrine. And still they courted me to accept of their offer, and I thought I did but compliment with them, but I told them I was come into the covenant of peace, which was before wars and strifes was; and they said they offered it in love and kindness to me because of my virtue, and suchlike: and I told them if



that were their love and kindness I trampled it under my feet." He was then cast into a dungeon with thirty felons<sup>1</sup> and kept there for half a year.

This first Quaker testimony against war struck the keynote for the future. Fox did not linger over the circumstances of the particular war, nor the interpretation of a particular text, but he relied on the contradiction between the spirit of war and the spirit of Christ. Fighting, like persecution, was the negation of Christianity. George Fox could not reconcile hatred of the brother on earth with love of the Father in heaven. There was also another marked resemblance between the attitude of Fox and that of his later followers. He obviously carried on no peace propaganda among the other conscripts and made no attempt to impose his own convictions upon them. The essence of early Quakerism lay in freedom to follow the inward guide, who would in due season lead the pilgrim into all truth. There was no desire on the part of the human teacher to force his hearers to travel at his own pace or to tread precisely in his footprints. Thus the Quaker "position" on war, as will be seen, came to be adopted at different times as an individual conviction by the first members of the Society.

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<sup>1</sup> George Fox, Journal, Cambridge 1652, i, 11, 12.

Many interesting pages have been written concerning the influence of Fox and his doctrine upon many of the soldiers who now refused to fight and left the army. In 1656 Fox wrote Friends exhorting them to help and support any soldiers that might be turned out of the army "for<sup>2</sup> truth's sake".

Not all the precautions and warnings of Fox and others, however, could save Friends from falling under the suspicions of the government and it was the general misunderstanding of the Quaker position which led Friends to publish more clear and comprehensive statements of their peace principles in 1659.

In this first peace document, as definitely as in his speeches at Derby, Fox stated his abhorrence of all war and of the employment of force and violence for political and religious ends, but he now made the further claim that part of his mission was to bring others to the same peaceable state. Fox however recognized the place of civil authority in preserving order within the State. It must be remembered that the line of demarcation between the civil and the military power was blurred almost out of recognition in the days of the Protectorate. Soldiers were often put upon police duty, and it was in that capacity that they were ordered to disperse Friends' meetings and to arrest Fox and

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<sup>2</sup> George Fox, Epistles, 1698, P. 94. Letters of Early Friends, p. 284.



others.

### Early Apologists for Peace

*referred*  
The seventeenth century might be called the Age of Tracts. The possessor of any view on any subject, political or religious or social, felt bound to give it to the world, his opponents felt bound to combat it, and despite the intermittent censorship of the pamphlets which in some degree took the place, in the free expression of opinion, of the modern newspaper and review.

The Quakers contributed their full quota to the mass. Many of these Quaker tracts dealt with the question of peace and war. These fall into three classes. Some, accepting the soldier's profession as a necessity of the time, appeal to the Army of the Parliament to use its power on the side of righteousness; others set forth "the life and power that take away the occasion for wars"; others explain and vindicate the Quaker attitude against the misunderstandings of suspicion or enmity. In Fox's own writings all these positions may be found. His "Epistles" are direct personal appeals to individuals or groups. As early as 1653 he issued an exhortation to "all soldiers, governors, and officers" to refrain from persecution, to follow the inner light, and to take the Baptist's words as their guide of conduct. In one of his letters Fox wrote, "The Peace-maker hath the kingdom

and is in it; and hath the domination over the Peace-breaker, to calm him in the power of God."<sup>4</sup> And again he says, "All war and persecution is a departure from allegiance to Christ."

Most of the tracts written by the various Quakers were short, but the works of Robert Barclay were exceptions to the rule.

Quakerism found its apologist in Robert Barclay, one of the comparatively few men of birth and scholarship who joined the Society in its early days. Born in 1648, at Gordonstown in Moray, he was the son of Colonel David Barclay, a Protestant soldier of fortune in the Thirty Years and Civil Wars. Robert Barclay was educated under a Jesuit uncle, head of the Scots Theological College in Paris.

Three of Barclay's works bear on the subject of peace. The Apology for the True Christian Divinity, published in 1676, deals at length with the whole body of Quaker doctrine and practice, including the testimony against all war. His treatise on Universal Love is a protest to all Christians against any form of persecution or war. In 1678, he dispatched an Epistle to the representatives of the Powers assembled for peace negotiations at Nimeguen, expounding to them the "means for a firm and settled peace". Thus in three years, a distinct advance

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<sup>4</sup>

George Fox, Epistle, 1652. P. 11. England.



had been made. Earlier writers had contented themselves with defending Quaker peaceableness against misunderstanding and misrepresentation in times of special crisis. Barclay first showed it in its true relation to their whole body of belief, then urged it on his fellow Christians as an essential part of Christianity, and finally he made a definite effort toward the restoration of peace to the war-ravaged countries of Europe.

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In all of Barclay's writings on the subject, his position is the same. His firm conviction that war and Christianity are irreconcilable and that force is ineffectual to change opinion or belief, gives him an especial horror of the religious motive so loudly trumpeted in the wars of his day and of the action of religious leaders in fomenting war. He has a burning pity for the mass of innocent suffering created by any war, and for the great armies automatically driven to mutual slaughter at the will of a few statesmen. To him the only remedy lies in the awakening of the individual conscience and the revival of true Christianity. The Society of Friends had made this attempt, but the world had received its teaching and persecution and contumely. Thus he links together an apology for Quakerism and a plea for the abolition of war. Into the Apology Barclay put all the learning and power of exposition which he possessed. Barclay's application of the religious principles of the Society to practical life,

including the question of war, has always remained in harmony with the convictions of the great bulk of its members.

### William Penn and John Bellers

#### William Penn

Although I have referred to William Penn and John Bellers in an earlier chapter of this thesis, this peace section would be incomplete without direct reference to their words and work in this connection.

William Penn, Oxford scholar and gentleman, son of Admiral Penn (who was a servant first of the Commonwealth and later of Charles II) seemed a most unlikely subject for conversion to Quakerism. Yet, even in his schoolboy and student days, he had attended Friends' Meetings, where the preaching of Thomas Loc had deeply affected him.

Penn's missionary tour with Barclay and Fox in Holland and Germany no doubt had a deep influence upon his character. Well has it been said that "Deep religious feeling, undaunted courage, wide tolerance, good sense, and enthusiasm for freedom were Penn's main characteristics. Freedom of conscience, with Penn as with Barclay, was a deep and passionate conviction."

On the question of outward wars and fighting, if we believe the often-quoted anecdote, he soon made up his mind. Like other young men of fashion, he wore a sword, and one day after his convincement he asked the advice of Fox



about the custom, saying that once in Paris it had saved his life, as he had been able to disarm and put to flight a highwayman. Fox simply replied: "Wear it as long as thou canst". Shortly afterwards they met again, and<sup>1</sup> this time Penn had no sword.

*obscure* When, during one of his many trials, on this occasion for unlawful preaching the oath of allegiance was offered to Penn in the form "that it is not lawful, upon any pretence whatever, to take up arms against the King," he refused on the ground "I cannot fight against any man, much less against the King," and "it is both my practice and all my friends to instil principles of peace and moderation."<sup>2</sup>

Penn was convinced that there were three motives for war; defence, recovery and aggression.

William Penn gave the following benefits that flow from his proposal of peace:

1. It prevents the spilling of "humane" and Christian blood.
2. It will in some degree recover the reputation of Christianity in the sight of infidels.
3. It releases the funds of princes and peoples, which go to learning, charity, manufacture, etc.

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<sup>1</sup>

Janney's Life of Penn, Philadelphia, 1851.

<sup>2</sup>

M.E.Hirst, The Quakers in Peace and War, London, 1923, 11; P. 156.

4. Border towns and countries will be saved from the rage and waste of war.

5. It will afford "ease and security of travel and traffic, an happiness never understood since the Roman Empire has been broken into so many sovereignties".

6. Europe will be secured against Turkish inroads, which have usually occurred through the carelessness or connivance of some Christian prince.

7. It will beget friendship between princes and States; and from communion and intercourse will spring emulation in good laws, learning, arts, and architecture. In short, reciprocal hospitality and intercourse will plant peace in a deep and fruitful soil.

8. Princes will be able to marry for love, and family affections will not be crushed by dynastic quarrels and reasons of State.<sup>3</sup>

Penn's plan for a reasonable European peace settlement, if not unnoticed, was at least untried.

#### John Bellers

John Bellers is an interesting and unique figure in the annals of the Society as has already been indicated in an earlier chapter of this thesis.<sup>4</sup> He was not a child of his generation, but belongs much more to those groups of philanthropic reformers who arose in England and France in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century and who were

<sup>3</sup> William Penn, Penn's Works; M.E. Hirst, Quakers in Peace and War, II, P. 164.

<sup>4</sup> Braithwaite, Second Period of Quakerism, P. 571-, Has a good account of Bellers as writer and philanthropist.



agents in the removal of so many abuses. Bellers was born in 1654, the son of a prosperous Quaker grocer in the City of London. By his marriage to Frances Fettiplace, also a Friend and heiress of an old Gloucestershire family, he inherited a small estate at Coln St. Aldwyn, and he seems to have led a life of leisure and some affluence.

A peace tract, which is his chief title to notice here, was published in 1710, after the War of the Spanish Succession had for nine years consumed uncounted lives and treasure.

Bellers proposed at the next peace there should be established by universal guarantee an annual Congress of all the princes and States of Europe, in one federation, "with a renouncing of all claims upon each other," which should debate under acknowledged rules of an international law "to prevent any disputes that might otherwise raise a new war in this age or the ages to come; by which every prince and State will have all the strength of Europe to protect them." Bellers wanted to divide Europe into a hundred or more equal cantons, of such a size that every sovereign state shall send at least one member to the Congress. Each canton must raise an equal proportion of soldiers or a contribution in money or ships of the same value, and for every such contribution furnished by a state it shall have the right to send an additional member to the Senate or Congress.

Although Bellers' plan was not adopted by the nations of Europe it is interesting as it deals directly with this matter of war and peace.

1755 - 1815

The Seven Years War opened in 1755. The American Revolutionary War, the rise of the new Republic in America, the French Revolution, and the long struggle between France and Europe all followed the bloody campaigns which made the name of Clive, of Wolfe and of Chatham, household words to the English people.

These were years of stress for the Quakers. In England and in America they entered this period as a prosperous, inoffensive, and somewhat cautious body. In England, and yet more in America, the Society of Friends after a testing-time, smaller in numbers, perhaps for the time narrower in outlook, and yet with a clearer view of some of the foundation principles of the Quaker faith. Their emphatic testimony against war and against slavery had stripped the Society of many members, not a few among them Friends of standing and influence. The labours of John Woolman fall within the first half of this period, and if to any one man, then assuredly to him must be attributed the awakening of the conscience of the Society. He was himself an embodied conscience, and he witnessed for complete sincerity and pureness of heart in all the relations of life. His brief visit to England in 1772,

*incomplete*



sealed by his death, left an abiding impression upon English Friends. While we remember John Woolman as a Quaker who did much for the cause of the negro slave, we must not forget that he was a strong advocate of peace.

In March 1756 a Militia Bill was introduced with Pitt's support, the aim of which was to establish a regularly trained army of reserve. This law proved to be unpopular and on the attempt to enforce it, riots broke out. Quakers were exempted from personal military service, however, if a Quaker were chosen by lot to serve and refused or neglected to appear and to take the oath or to provide a substitute, the Deputy-Lieutenants, or other local authorities should provide a substitute to serve for three years and levy a distraint upon the goods of the Quaker to defray the expense.

Peace, however, did not end the militia fines, and Quarterly Meetings had to report occasional delinquencies such as the actual enlistment of a member in Yorkshire in 1767 and next year the payment of the rate in Derbyshire by some "who plead for the same".

From the earliest times, even when there was no recognized test of membership, Friends had exercised the power of disownment, against those who "walked disorderly". But the process was less penal in results than some historians outside the Society have imagined. The disowned person was no longer considered a member of the Society;

he could take no part in its business, and was thus excluded from meetings for discipline, if poor, he had no claim upon its charitable funds, and the machinery of the Society would not be put in motion to rescue him from any legal difficulty, but there was no check on his attendance at meetings for worship. But Friends, as a rule, were not disowned until the matter had been long in the care first of the overseers, who only brought it under the notice of the Monthly Meeting when their private exhortations had produced no effect, then of the Monthly Meeting, sometimes for a period of years, and until they had been often visited and dealt with by a small delegation of members of the meeting, whose endeavours to reclaim the erring were patient and protracted. This statement does not apply to some of the American meetings in the Revolutionary War. By then enlistment in either army or any overt assistance in the conduct of the war was taken as good ground for immediate disassociation.

The repeated warnings by the Yearly Meeting against any concern in armed ships show that the trials of Quaker ship-owners and captains did not diminish in the eighteenth century. It was in those days little part of the duty of the fleet to defend the country's trade against the enemy. Merchantmen had to trust to themselves, and it was customary to carry at least sufficient armament to put up a fight against an ordinary privateer. It was seldom possible to



man a Quaker vessel with a Quaker crew, and in war time the unregenerate seaman often refused to sail on a defenseless ship. It was this difficulty, rather than personal fear, which led to most of the delinquencies recorded in sea-board meetings. Durham, Yorkshire, Suffolk, Kent, Devon, Cornwall and Bristol, all at various times suffered from this backsliding.

#### Peace and War

1815 - 1899

*placed?*

The end of the struggle with Napoleon left a world weary of war. In all the belligerent countries a heavy load of taxation pressed upon the citizens, and among the working classes distress was acute. In addition, the political reaction and continued suppression of popular rights disappointed idealists, who had hoped that when the menace of a French despotism was removed, the nations might have opportunity for internal reforms. These influences reinforced the natural horror with which humane and thoughtful men regarded the bloodshed and devastation of the long years of war. In England, at least, the sentiment in favour of peace was stronger and more widespread than ever before, and the opportunity arose for an organized movement to promote international good will. This movement had its origin within the Society of Friends. In June 1814 William Allen noted in his journal "a meeting to consider a new Society to spread tracts, etc., against war".

## Quakers and the War of Independence

Although the Quaker control of the Pennsylvania Assembly ended in 1756, the colonists continued to return representatives who, except in regard to defense, maintained the old policy. Up to the Revolution the the majority of the Assembly was known to its opponents as the "Quaker" party. Isaac Norris, the younger, remained Speaker until his death in 1764, and signed various bills for war purposes. But the influence of the Society was strongly against the entrance of Quakers into the legislature. The Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings - the first in America - was established in 1756 partly to meet the troubles due to the Delaware Militia Bill and the Pennsylvania war taxes.<sup>1</sup> Both it and the Yearly Meeting issued repeated cautions to Friends against taking any active part in politics. When peace came, however, some Friends felt that their scruples were allayed, especially as the Assembly disbanded the military forces, leaving only one hundred and fifty men in the State militia. Thus we see that the efforts of the official bodies always kept the actual Quaker element in the Assembly small.

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<sup>1</sup> The fullest account of Pennsylvania Quakerism between the Seven Years' and the Revolutionary Wars is found in Sharpless, Quakers in the Revolution, Chapters I - V.



Many of the young Quakers around Philadelphia supported Franklin's defensive measures and took active part in the Revolution. Soon their Monthly Meetings, through a committee, began to "labour" with them. As a result of their "labour" a considerable number at once acknowledged their error. Some, however, justified their action as the defence of the helpless against lawless violence and a few maintained the lawfulness of defensive war. The work of the committee went on until 1767, by which time many had made public acknowledgment of their fault to their meeting. A few were still convinced that they had acted rightly, but even these promised to be more circumspect in the future. With this the meetings appeared satisfied, for no member was disowned.

As the dispute between England and the American colonies passed first into resistance to the financial claims of the home Government, and then into a movement for independence and open war, the position of Friends in all the colonies was peculiarly difficult. In the years from 1765 to 1773 many, as leading citizens of their provinces and towns, took an active part by writings, speeches and deeds in the opposition to any encroachment on colonial rights, thus carrying on the policy of the earlier Quaker colonists.

Stephen Hopkins and Moses Brown in Rhode Island, John Dickinson, the Pembertons, and others in Philadelphia,

all were concerned in these preliminary measures of resistance. Many Quakers were prosperous merchants, and so were specially affected by the Navigation Acts and other attempts of England to restrict and control American trade.

But as events moved irresistibly toward war, Friends had to reconsider their position. On the one side were the claims of liberty and justice. On the other was the testimony against war, and the old tradition of loyalty to the established Government. These were reinforced by the feeling which had grown during the past half century that spiritual life was hindered by an active share in political movements.

Of those who actively supported the war the majority naturally was on the Revolutionary side. They were disowned by their Monthly Meetings, when in membership - for it must be remembered that many "Quakers" were only called so by the public from their social connection with Friends or their attendance at religious meetings. Those who joined the British cause were dealt with in the same way, but their numbers were very small. The majority of Friends maintained a quiet opposition not only to all military activity, but to all active support of the Revolutionary government. This attitude gave rise to the general opinion that Friends were traitors and "Tories". Traitors they were not, for they gave no aid to the British.



Probably the majority of the New England Friends, as well as those in the American colonies elsewhere, sympathized with the American cause. But they all united in a conscientious opposition to warlike measures, and a refusal to share in them.

After the war was over George Washington said concerning the Quakers, "During the course of the war, I had entertained an ill opinion of this Society; I knew but little of them, as at that time there were but few of that sect in Virginia, and I had attributed to their political sentiments the effect of their religious principles. Having since known them better I have acquired an esteem for them; and considering the simplicity of their manners, the purity of their morals, their exemplary economy, and their attachment to the constitution, I consider this Society as one of the best supports of the new Government."

A patriotism which satisfied George Washington is not in urgent need of defense.

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<sup>2</sup>  
 Brissot de Warville, New Travels in America,  
 (English edition, 1794), p. 357.

### Quakers and the Civil War

In 1855-1856 Friends joined with other opponents of slavery in the migrations to Kansas, which aimed at securing that great territory as a free State. These settlers were harassed and terrorized by raiders from the bordering slave States. One Friend (William H. Coffin) has left us a candid account of his weakness before the prospect of a murderous attack. "My education was such I could not with conscience kill a man; but when I got to reasoning with myself about my duty in the protection of my family, my faith gave way. I had an excellent double-barrelled gun, and I took it outdoors and loaded it heavily with buckshot. - I barred the door and set my gun handy, - but I could get no sleep - Finally, towards midnight I got up, wife and children peacefully sleeping, drew the loads from my gun and put it away; and then, on my knees, I told the Lord all about it and asked his protection, - went to bed, was soon asleep, and slept till sun-up next morning".<sup>1</sup> The raiders meanwhile met with resistance elsewhere which diverted their route, and the house was not attacked.

The Civil War shook the nation to its very foundation. Here we must only consider that great and bloody struggle - the most costly in men and money known to modern civilization until the World War.

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<sup>1</sup> Kansas Historial Collection, VII. 334-5, quoted in Later Periods of Quakerism, p. 848.



It was the hereditary passion for freedom, added to the natural forces of patriotism and public opinion which produced groups of "Fighting Quakers" during the Civil War. A considerable number of young Friends joined the Northern army, and some of their elders were concerned with military supplies and other war activities. A "Hicksite" Quaker, James Sloan Gibbons, wrote one of the war songs of the North: "We are coming, Father Abraham", and the 15th Pennsylvania Regiment, led by a "Hicksite" Quaker, Colonel Palmar, was known as the "Quaker" regiment, since most of the officers and a proportion of the privates belonged to their leader's sect.

In the Northwest and Middle West the Quaker meetings were largely made up of emigrants from the Slave States and their children. It was from those newly settled meetings that the largest proportion of Quakers enlisted during the Civil War. It was said of the Quakers of Indiana, that in proportion to their numbers they had more soldiers in the war for the Union than any other religious denomination. This statement no doubt is exaggerated greatly for there were less than <sup>2</sup> three hundred soldiers out of a membership of twenty thousand.

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<sup>2</sup>  
 Remark made by Sen. G. W. Julian of Ind., in 1895 (Weekes, Southern Quaker, p. 306) but discounted by Dr. Rufus M. Jones, Later Periods of Quakerism, p. 736-7).

As soon as the evil of war fell upon humanity, Friends showed a loyal desire to serve the country and to relieve the sufferings of war. Many Quakers, both men and women, helped in the hospitals, and even in the medical service of the battlefields, but the work they made peculiarly their own was the care of the freedmen and colored refugees. Thousands of these had been taken prisoner by the Northern armies. They were temporarily settled in large camps, where Friends found a wide field of helpfulness in providing clothing, medical aid, and organizing employment and instruction.

In the dark days of December 1861, when it seemed as if England and America must be drawn into war, members of the Society put all their influence on the side of peace.

On more than one occasion Abraham Lincoln admitted, and indeed welcomed, a "religious visit" of prayer and exhortation from earnest Friends. One, from Eliza Gurney, widow of the English Friend, Joseph John Gurney, left a deep impression on his mind. A letter which she wrote to him was found in his breast pocket when he was assassinated. His reply to this letter (dated September 4, 1864) throws light on his own deepest convictions, and shows his respect for principles sincerely held. This letter written by Lincoln follows:

My esteemed Friend,

I have not forgotten-probably never shall forget - the very impressive occasion when yourself and Friends visited me on a Sabbath



afternoon two years ago. Nor has your kind letter, written nearly a year later, ever been forgotten. In all it has been your purpose to strengthen my reliance upon God. I am much indebted to the good Christian people of the country for their constant prayers and consolations, and to no one of them more than yourself.

The purposes of the Almighty are perfect and must prevail, though we erring mortals may fail to accurately perceive them in advance. We hoped for a happy termination to this terrible war long before this, but God knows best and has ruled otherwise. We shall yet acknowledge His wisdom and our own error therein, and in the meantime we must work earnestly in the best light He gives us, trusting that so working still conduces this mighty convulsion, which no mortal could make and no mortal could stay.

Your people, the Friends, have had and are having a very great trial. On principle and faith, opposed to both war and oppression, they can only practically oppose oppression by war. In this dilemma some have chosen one horn of dilemma and some the other. For those appealing to me on conscientious grounds I have done, and shall do, what I could and can in my own conscience under my oath to the law. That you believe this I doubt not, and believing it, I shall still receive for our country and myself your earnest prayers to our Father in Heaven.

Your sincere friend

3

A. Lincoln.

All Lincoln's goodwill, however, could not entirely relieve Friends from the pressure of the "draft" or conscription. They were, indeed, at first exempted on payment of three hundred dollars, but Congress, on the grounds of fairness to others, would not continue this as the need for

men increased, nor was the payment officially sanctioned by Friends. The Draft Act of March, 1863, was enforced by Federal officials, and made all citizens between the ages of twenty and forty-five liable to service. The various bodies of Friends at once stated their position, and individual Friends, when drafted, claimed exemption.

In the Confederate States the lot of the Quaker was much harder and in many cases scruples of conscience were met with brutal maltreatment and persecution.<sup>4</sup> The reason for this was due in part to the great need for soldiers in the Confederate States.

After the close of the struggle, for fifty years American Friends were free from the trials of war and conscription, but in these quieter days they maintained their testimony for peace.

Then came the Spanish-American War in 1898, but this served to draw Friends of all branches closer together in their common work for peace. On December 14, 1901 an "American Friends' Peace Conference" was held in Philadelphia. This was the first time since the separation in 1827 that members of all the Quaker bodies met together to take counsel one with another. The conference, which was well attended, sat for some seven hours daily listening to short papers

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<sup>4</sup>  
F. G. Cortland, Southern Heroes, 1895, (gives full account of Southern Friends).



by leading Friends on various aspects of the peace question<sup>5</sup> and take part in discussion upon them.

In earlier times, Friends lived more isolated from the public affairs of the world. They desired then to be thought a "peculiar people". They shut themselves off from current trends of thought and fostered individualism. They maintained a testimony for peace, rigidly excluding from membership those who violated that testimony. This testimony secured for them a measure of exemption from the requirements of military service, and so they escaped many of the severe testings which their views would have otherwise entailed.

The Civil War brought the issue closer to Friends in America, but the sympathy of President Lincoln and the active help of Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, greatly aided the Northern conscientious objector. In the Southern States Friends maintained their testimony at great cost in agony and suffering and thereby clarified their faith both for themselves and others. But, strange as it may seem, the Quakers were hardly more prepared for the shock of the World War than were other religious groups in America. Professor Rufus M. Jones, who is probably better able to sense the situation among Friends in American than any other, says:

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<sup>5</sup> American Friends' Peace Conference, 1901. (Philadelphia, 1902), 234 pages.

"When the Great War burst upon the world in the summer of 1914, Friends in America were not spiritually prepared to give an adequate interpretation of the ground and basis of their faith, nor were they clearly united upon a plan of action suited to and correspondent with their ideals of life. The difficulty had been that this 'way of life' was often held in a nominal and traditional fashion and not vitally<sup>6</sup> and freshly thought out in an up-to-date manner".

Quakers along with millions of others had come to look upon a great international conflict as an impossibility. Along with others, they believed that the tremendous growth of international commerce and banking made a world war impossible, and so it was needless to agitate against something which would never happen. As a result, there was little peace education in the various Yearly Meetings to prepare young Friends for a military emergency. This is significantly revealed by a report that of 787 men of draft age in one Yearly Meeting, 370 had either been drafted or had volunteered, 324 of these accepted combatant service, 41 had accepted non-combatant service<sup>7</sup> and 5 had refused any service under military direction. Of 18,000 members of the Friends General Conference, (Hicksite) 954 were of draft age, 143 were in military service, 26 were in the Friends

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<sup>6</sup> Rufus M. Jones, A Service of Love in War Time, New York, 1920, p. 3.

<sup>7</sup> Minutes of Western Yearly Meeting, 1919.



Reconstruction Unit, 7 were conscientious objectors in camp, no report from 237, and the remainder, presumably, had not been called. Sixteen who were not included in the draft had enlisted.<sup>8</sup>

Friends in Great Britain and Ireland first realized that the war in which their nations were becoming involved, was in strong conflict with their central faith, and they issued a Message in the first days of the war, "To Men and Women of Goodwill in the British Empire". This Message reaffirmed that "the method of force is no solution to any question" and issued a call to those "whose conscience forbade them to take up arms" to "serve in other ways". "Our duty is clear to be courageous in the cause of love and in the hate of hate," was a keynote of the Message, and it was answered by a host of volunteers for many avenues of service.

T The three most notable forms of service which the English and Irish Friends began to operate were: (1) a voluntary ambulance unit under the Friends' Ambulance Committee; (2) an extensive system of relief for refugees and other victims of the war, directed by the War Victims Relief Committee; and (3) a service of assistance to aliens and their families under the Emergency Committee for Helping Aliens. A fourth form of service developed later

when the Conscription Law went into operation. Help for conscientious objectors was managed by the Friends' Service Committee.<sup>9</sup>

American Friends were immediately interested in these activities, and soon sent assistance of about \$5,000.00 a month. This was followed by the sending of four men, Edward Rice, Jr., Felix Morley, Earl Fowler and Howard Carey to serve for a year in the Friends' Ambulance Unit. This small beginning had an important influence in shaping the larger work of the coming years.

On April 30, 1917, met a group of fourteen men and women representing the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Orthodox), the Friends General Conference (Hicksite) and the Five Years Meeting (Orthodox) which is the central body of thirteen Yearly Meetings.<sup>10</sup> To state their position, they adopted the following minute: "We are united in expressing our love for our country and our desire to serve her loyally. We offer our services to the Government of the United States in any constructive work in which we can conscientiously serve humanity".<sup>11</sup> Permanent officers, with an executive secretary were appointed and headquarters were

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<sup>9</sup> Rufus M. Jones, A Service of Love in War Time, New York, 1920. P. 4.

<sup>10</sup> Personnel listed, L.M. Jones, Quakers in Action, New York, 1929, p. 18-19.

<sup>11</sup> Rufus M. Jones, A Service of Love in War Time, New York, 1920. p. 9.



arranged at Friends Institute, 20 South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia. Rufus M. Jones was made chairman.

The possibility of forming an Ambulance Unit of American Friends was considered and found not practical at this time. Henry Scattergood and Morris E. Leeds were chosen to go as commissioners to France to make a study of the possible fields of service there, and to try to correlate American Friends' work with that of the English Friends. About the same time, the American Red Cross was reorganized and the foreign war-relief work was placed under Henry P. Davison, with Grayson Murphy as Chief of the American Red Cross in France. Grayson Murphy was an intimate friend of Rufus Jones. Conferences resulted in Grayson Murphy and the two Friends Commissioners sailing together for France. Thus from the start it was possible for these organizations for a similar purpose to work together with hearty cooperation and goodwill.

Meanwhile the enlarged committee in Philadelphia was renamed. American Friends Service Committee, Charles F. Jenkins was made treasurer, and Alfred G. Scattergood was vice-chairman and also chairman of the finance committee, and prepared to go forward on plans arranged in conference with Grayson Murphy. Accordingly, one hundred men were carefully chosen and arrangements made with Haverford College for their special training for the task ahead.

This training of the "Haverford Unit" as the one hundred men were called, consisted of French instruction, carpentry, mason-work, agriculture, road making, auto repairing and mechanics of farm machinery, lectures, hygiene and sanitation, and the necessary work connected with the feeding and housing of a hundred men. As fast as information of the French situation was sent, additional plans were laid.

A large part of the information of the needs was secured from English Friends already working in France. Since many thousands of French homes had been destroyed, the returning peasants often found no shelter, and were forced to live in cellars or what scraps of houses might be still remaining. Overcrowding, with poor ventilation and sanitation, made tuberculosis and other diseases a serious menace. Consequently, no civilian who had fled from his home when the Germans came was permitted to return to his village unless he had a place to stay. Therefore, the first thing needed was to supply a hut or temporary shelter to live in. Then tools must be provided. Hospitals were opened by the English, with special attention for the babies and expectant mothers. Children were removed to safer places.

Portable wooden houses, made in sections to be re-assembled at the place needed, seemed the best solution of the housing problem, but that was only a part of the task of restoring a rural people in agricultural work. A network



of trenches, all seven feet deep or more, with underground rooms must be filled, any timbers or iron structure salvaged, un-exploded shells removed, barbed wire belts thirty feet in width must be removed. Some of this would take so much time that it would be left to the last. A food supply of live stock must be replaced, and for this chickens and rabbits seemed the best solution. French peasants were accustomed to living in villages, walking daily to tend their unfenced plots of ground of only one or two acres. Farm machinery was broken and tools destroyed, the able-bodied men were away in the ranks, and despair was like a blank wall. This was serious, because it struck at the mental and spiritual balance, the very sanity of hundreds of innocent fellow men.

Adding to the problem of helping such needy people, were the hindrances of inadequate transportation of supplies, the difficulty of securing understanding and cooperation with people of a different language, the delay in getting permits to move about in any section of the country and the interminable necessity of consulting officials about everything. Yet Henry Scattergood wrote concerning English Friends in the Marne, "Everything they do seems to be inspired with a combination of untiring goodwill and practical wisdom, which has secured them a firm place in the affections of the people whom they serve, and the highest praise from competent critics who have studied their work..... They are very modest

about their accomplishments and emphasized mistakes and failures to be guarded against, but we have seen enough to know that these must have been small in comparison with their successes."<sup>12</sup>

Tentative plans for a proposed union with English Friends were being considered, when word came that the English Friends Executive Committee proposed that the American Friends be taken into their group on exactly the same standing as their own, as they felt this would present less difficulties. This was a bold solution of the problems of cooperation and was gratefully received. Meanwhile, Grayson Murphy was developing the plan of cooperation with the American Red Cross. This was most important because it secured passes and permissions to work, which would have been very difficult for Friends to have secured alone, made possible shipping large amounts of supplies and also aided in funds for the work. This three-fold merger of American Red Cross and American and English Friends was one of the finest displays of wisdom and insight with which the whole work was carried on. Thus the American Friends obtained at once the rare advantage of skilled relief leaders, vital experience on the field, increased weight with French officials and the backing of the American nation rather than merely a relatively small denomination.

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<sup>12</sup>  
Rufus M. Jones, A Service of Love in War Time,  
New York, 1920, p. 38.



These things magnified many times the size of the work in which Friends were so eager to have a part.

Now into the enthusiastic preparation for actual reconstruction work in France came the distressing difficulties with the draft at home, and the difficulty of getting a release for the men of draft age who were in the Haverford Unit, and a permit for them to leave the country. After much delay and many efforts to get a clear decision from Washington affecting conscientious objectors, on September 4, 1917, fifty-one men and three women sailed on the Rochambeau accompanied by Dr. Babbitt. These were met in France by English Friends, and by thirteen of their own group who preceded them by a week.

The attitude in which these workers came was voiced by Henry Scattergood in the welcoming meeting. "We are here because we feel we must do something, not expecting an easier life than the millions of men who are following their light in other ways, and we are ready to do the hardest and lowliest kind of work. It is not that our blood is any less red or our patriotism any less real, it is that we are conscious that we are servants of a King who is above all nations - the King of Love, and that we must live out His Gospel of Love. It is not for us to talk, it is for us to work, and in our work to show the power of goodwill, even in these terrible times.....Our privilege is to unite the experience and standing of the English Friends with the

enthusiasm and personnel of the American Friends and the influence and backing of the Red Cross. Wonderful possibilities open before us, the limits to which are set simply by what we make ourselves make of them." <sup>13</sup>

Even with these high ideals and the union on paper of these three great organizations, much remained of interchange of ideas and merging of attitudes and experiences in the amalgamation of the groups, which in the coming days became a fact, as the record of the work accomplished so well testifies.

Fifty-four members of the American Friends' Reconstruction Unit Number One arrived in Paris on September 14, 1917, where they were joined by a dozen or more who had come a week earlier. This group was soon scattered among the various departments of service - medical, building, works, manufacturing, agriculture and relief.

The need for reconstruction work in the region of the Aisne, Somme, and the Oise was so great that about 50 English and American Friends were assigned to this task. In the first year of American co-operation they plowed 580 acres, half of which they seeded themselves, they cut 250 acres of hay and 100 acres of grain, and distributed seed, binder twine. Their repair department rendered important service by repairing 600 mowers and binders



requiring 4,500 repairs. The Friends also had 53 mowers, 18 binders and 25 other pieces of farm machinery, which<sup>14</sup> they lent and kept in repair.

The Friends also interested themselves in restocking the farms with livestock with a view to increasing the food supply. They secured animals which would multiply rapidly and mature quickly. "Thousands of rabbits, therefore, were distributed by the Friends Units in the district of the Meuse and the Marne, and later, by the help of incubators, thousands of chickens, besides some few goats and several hundred sheep --- Two or three bee specialists among the number of the Unit also worked hard to build up a stock of bees for distribution, to add to the resources of the more or less sugarless French."<sup>15</sup>

The peasants were sorely in need of places to live, for in sections of Northern France entire villages were demolished by the invaders.

The British Friends had established a factory at Dole in the Jura, but this was inadequate to supply the need, so that with the coming of the American Unit a second factory was started at Ornans. From 1914 to the end of 1918, 543 houses were built and 46 houses repaired in 41 villages of the departments of the Aisne, Marne, Meuse,

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<sup>14</sup> Charles Evans, First Annual Report, Chief of Friends Unit in France.

<sup>15</sup> L.M. Jones, Quakers in Action, New York, 1929, V. p.25.

*out of how many?*

Somme, Doube, Jura and Aube, housing over 2,000 people. In addition 35 stables and barns were put up and 40 huts and barracks either for hospital work of the Mission or the housing of workers. Much sanitary work was done, such as analyzing water, cleaning wells and carrying of debris.

The Friends did not attempt to do very much temporary relief work as this was carried on efficiently by other agencies. The aggregate, however, for the year ending July 30, 1918, was considerable. They distributed 11,172 articles of clothing, 855 pairs of shoes, 3,573 pieces of furniture and household equipment, 707 meters of cloth, and 65 kilos<sup>16</sup> of food. This last item was all at one place.

In the Spring of 1918, Friends started their evacuation work in the Somme Region. They helped to get the baggage of the refugees to the trains, sought out the aged, the crippled, and the sick, worked in the canteens where the people were fed, helped to convoy six hundred insane patients from Amiens to Lourdes, and later on they helped to evacuate the maternity hospital at Rheims which was accomplished under heavy shell fire by means of four cars in two days.

As early as December 1917 the Friends were asked to take sole charge of the reconstruction work of Verdun with the coming of peace. This was a district of two hundred square miles where some of the fiercest fighting of the war



took place. Here ninety-five per cent of the buildings were destroyed and in many places the soil was rendered untillable. Soon 547 workers, 347 of whom were Americans, were on the job helping the needy people of this district.

Medical relief was also an important service rendered by the Quakers. One hesitates to write a summary of this type of service because no mere enumeration of numbers treated can convey any adequate idea of the results obtained from the standpoint of the Quaker objective, namely, opportunity by thought, word and deed to live a "Way of Life" little considered in 1914-1918. One dentist alone (Dr. Maris) treated five hundred members of the Mission, over eight hundred French, and about two hundred German prisoners.

The Friends established four convalescent homes, where refugee women and children suffering from the effect of the war could recuperate.

The outstanding medical institutions conducted by the Friends were the Chalons Maternity Hospital and the general hospital at Sermaize in the Marne.

The first hospital and the one destined to remain as a memorial to the Friends' work in France was the Maternity Hospital at Chalons-sur-Marne opened by the British December 14, 1914. Nine hundred and eighty-one children were born and one thousand nine hundred and nine other infants and children were nursed in the institution during the five years that the hospital was run by the Mission. After the war was over the Friends erected a memorial hospital at a cost of

at what was  
one?

how long?  
1500  
375 = one +  
patient per day!

*how much in money.*

one million nine hundred thousand francs. The new building was formally dedicated June 17, 1922.

### Friends' War Relief in Germany

Months before the signing of the treaty of peace, the Friends had heard of the desperate need of food in Germany, and their sensitive natures made them sure that the Germans needed the ministrations of the Friendly spirit in re-organizing their philosophy of life. The result was that just one week after the signing of the treaty of peace, three representatives of the American Friends arrived in Berlin by way of Holland, crossing the border on the first civilian passports issued there since the signing of peace. These representatives were Carolina M. Wood, Jane Addams and Dr. Alice Hamilton. An English Friends' Committee also arrived in Germany. The American and English groups formed a joint committee and held a conference with the representatives of various German organizations for the care and protection of children. The Committee distributed \$30,000 worth of food and twenty-five tons of new clothing provided by the American Friends.

The Committee then divided into two groups. The English Friends went into the industrial regions of the Ruhr Valley; the American Friends went into the industrial cities of Saxony, Leipzig, Halle, and Chemnitz, where the need was especially great.



Spurred on by Jane Addam's report of the material and spiritual need in Germany, the Quakers were planning in the autumn of 1919 to send over a small group of men and women to distribute probably \$50,000 worth of supplies and to render whatever service willing hands and sympathetic hearts could find to do. They were agreeably surprised one day in early November to receive a visit in Philadelphia from Herbert Hoover, chairman of the American Relief Administration. After talking it over with a small group of the Friends and corresponding with the chairman of the American Friends' Service Committee, an agreement was reached which Mr. Hoover restated in a letter to the American Friends' Service Committee under date of November 17, 1919.

The American Friends' Service Committee was now faced with two tasks: (1) the raising of the money with which to buy the food for the relief of German children, and (2) the selecting of a competent corps of workers to supervise the distribution of the food in Germany. The former of these tasks was beset with obstacles, but the latter was comparatively easy and eighteen well-trained workers under the leadership of Alfred G. Scattergood, a Philadelphia banker, were soon ready for the job.

This group arrived in Berlin on January 2, 1920, ahead of their food supplies, which had been delayed, and began the difficult task of getting statistics as to the relative health of the people in various sections of the country, food

shortage, and particularly the under-nourishment and diseases of children.

Sometimes the Quakers had to overcome bitterness, resentment and suspicion before they could get the co-operation necessary for the success of their undertaking.

The food was prepared in central kitchens in huge boilers, some of which held enough for a thousand children. From these kitchens it was taken in big double-walled containers to the feeding centers. Food in these containers would keep hot for five or six hours. One can scarcely over-praise the 25,000 under-nourished teachers who day after day served this steaming meal to the long line of children each armed with his own cup and spoon.

An average meal for the school children consisted of 180 grams of food and contained about 670 calories. Nursing mothers were given 750 calories, and children from two to six years of age about 400 calories.

The Friends served the first meal to the German children in Berlin on February 26, 1920. The number fed was gradually extended until they were feeding 632,000 children and mothers by the first of July in 88 cities through 3,392 feeding centers. During the third week in June, 1921, the feeding reached the high peak of 1,010,658 persons in 1,640 communities receiving a supplementary meal each day from 8,364 feeding centers supplied by 2,271

How did they  
get money to buy  
food?



17  
kitchens.

### Friends' War Relief Activities in Austria

Sixty per cent of the children in Vienna had severe rickets and nearly every child was afflicted in some degree. Another estimate stated that 90% had rickets. Fifty per cent of the children between 6 and 12 years of age had tuberculosis. A medical examination of nearly 207,000 Viennese children under 6 years of age showed that 46.7 per cent were extremely undernourished, 30 per cent were undernourished, and only 3.3 per cent were free from undernourishment. A million people were dependent for the barest subsistence upon government rations and foreign relief agencies.

Such a situation could not but appeal to the Society of Friends, so in May, 1919, the English Friends sent Dr. Hilda Clark to investigate these bad conditions in Vienna, so English Friends entered Austria in July, 1919, in an endeavor to meet that need. At once their work was extended to include: (1) aid to professional and pensioned classes, (2) aid to agricultural settlers; and (3) a direct fight on tuberculosis.

Although the initiation of this work and much of its leadership and funds were British, the American Friends had an active part in it, contributing about \$400,000 in money and supplies, and sixteen American workers by 1922.

## Friends' War Relief Activities in Poland

On Nov. 1, 1921, 1,130,000 refugees from the districts which later comprised the Republic of Poland were registered in Russia to return. It was further estimated that one-fourth of them (about 50,000 families) would need \$100.00 per family to recover their economic independence. This sum would be sufficient to provide the refugee with a horse and wagon, and leave a balance of \$40.00 or \$50.00 to be used for seed and implements.<sup>18</sup>

Many of these people had been forced to evacuate their homes at the time of the German offensive in 1915. Many of them wandered into Turkestan or into Siberia, but now after five or six years of privation, the longing for home, the dread typhus in Russia, and the famine in the Volga combined to draw them back to their devastated homes. They were aided in this desire by the Russian government, which was anxious to get the refugees out of their famine-stricken land.

The early work the Quaker Mission was focused on ridding certain areas of typhus. Since the disease is communicated solely by body lice, typhus work consists in thorough disinfection of the people and all their belongings. So thoroughly was the work done that in a few months typhus was reduced ninety per cent.



The other forms of Quaker relief work in Poland were quite similar to those already described in other countries so it will not be necessary to consider it here.

#### Friends' War Relief Activities in Russia

The German invasion of Russia in the autumn of 1915 forced an evacuation of the civil population over a wide area. Some of these Russians fled into Siberia, and some into Turkestan 2,000 miles from their homes, where they remained for a year losing fifty-five per cent of their numbers. The conditions were so appalling that authorities arranged for them to return to the Volga provinces.

The Friends' Service Committee in 1918 estimated that there were 12,000,000 refugees in European Russia, Siberia and Turkestan.

Here again as in other countries described, Friends carried on relief activities.

#### Brief Summary

From 1917 to 1927 the American Friends' Service Committee contributed \$25,200,000 in money and "gifts" in kind" in European relief activities. In addition to the free service rendered by 900 American Quakers in Europe, the 100,000 Quakers in the United States gave \$1,858,734.26 in cash besides large amounts of "gifts in kind".

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The Work of the American Friends' Service Committee Today  
1941

Since the days of the World War the American Friends' Service Committee has continued its work in ever broadening and intensive fields of helpfulness. Because of the great demands upon it, the work has been divided into the following sections:

- A. The Peace Section.
- B. The Industrial Section.
- C. The Foreign Service Section.
- D. The Refugee Section.
- E. The Civilian Public Service Section.

Each section has its own secretary, staff of workers, and its own particular service to render.

*content in paragraph*

In these trying days of a second World War, all of the sections are indeed busy. The Peace Section has carried on an intensive program of peace education; the Industrial Section has done much to help to rehabilitate those who were impoverished in the mining areas of the mountains and those who were victims of the economic depression; the Foreign Section is now ministering to the unfortunates of Europe wherever this help is permitted; the Refugee Section is a comparatively new section, made necessary by the many Jews and others who have been driven from their native lands by the dictators, and so they have sought a haven of refuge in America under the care of the Service Committee. The last section to be added to the American Friends' Service Committee was the Civilian Public Service Section, made necessary by the Selective Service Training Act as passed by the United States Government, September 14, 1940.



## CHAPTER V

### THE SELECTIVE SERVICE TRAINING ACT OF 1940

This Selective Service Training Act was passed "to provide for the common defense by increasing the personnel of the armed forces of the United States and providing for its training."<sup>1</sup>

The Law has taken into consideration the place of the Conscientious Objector and has made provision for alternate service, under civilian direction. This alternate service, among Friends, is being cared for by the Civilian Public Service Section of the American Friends' Service Committee, and will be explained more fully in the following paragraphs.

#### The Conscientious Objector Under the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940

##### What Happens After Registration

After registration on October 16, registrants will receive registration questionnaires by mail in the order in which their numbers have been selected by lot in Washington.

These registration questionnaires provide an opportunity to state conscientious objections to combatant and/or non-combatant military service and training.

The following is a copy of the section of registration questionnaire on the conscientious objector:

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<sup>1</sup> Selective Service Act (S.4164) Introduction of the Act.

## Series X - Conscientious Objection to War

Instructions - Only registrants who are conscientiously opposed to combatant military service by reason of their religious training and belief shall fill in this series, and shall obtain from the Local Board a special form on which to give substantiating evidence of conscientious objection. The Local Board will determine whether the registrant shall be classed as a conscientious objector on the basis of information contained in the special form, and not merely on the basis of the statements made in this Questionnaire.

I am conscientiously opposed, by reason of my religious training and belief, to the type or types of service checked below:

(Put an "X" in the applicable box or boxes.)

Combatant military service.  
Noncombatant military service.

Persons conscientiously opposed to combatant and/or noncombatant military training and service should check both boxes.

It is necessary for the registrant claiming exemption as a conscientious objector to ask the local selective service board for form 47 on which the registrant can state in detail his conscientious convictions against military training and service. This form will be used by the local selective service board in judging the sincerity of the convictions held by the registrant.

Assistance in filling out these questionnaires may be obtained from the local Advisory Board which will be assigned to each Selective Service Board. (Vol. 1, phg. 145.)



It is understood that the Acting Director of Selective Service has suggested to State Directors of Selective Service that they assign an associate member to the Advisory Board who understands the viewpoint of the Conscientious Objectors and who will be able to aid a registrant in preparing the questionnaire.

Registrants may have the assistance of any person they wish in filling out the questionnaire. It will be sent to their home and they will have five days in which to complete the form.

#### Classification

Class IV will consist of persons who have been granted deferment specifically by law or because unfit for military service; such as, conscientious objectors who have proven their sincerity, and who are willing to perform only work of national importance under civilian direction, or persons who are physically unfit for military training and service. Class III will consist of those persons deferred because of dependents. Class II will consist of those persons deferred because of their occupational status. Class I will consist of those persons available for training and service. (Vol. 3, phg. 327-328.)

The present plans provide for the physical examination before classification of all persons not placed in Class II or III or in some subsections of Class IV. (Vol. 3, phg. 330.) Persons claiming exemption on the grounds of conscientious objection to military training and service will be given a physical examination.

Conscientious objectors will be classified in one of four classes and only persons in Class I will be asked to establish the sincerity of their convictions.

Persons claiming exemption on conscientious grounds, who are physically unable to perform training and service, will be placed in Class IV; persons with dependents will be placed in Class III; persons engaged in work considered essential will be placed in Class II; without consideration of their request for exemption on the grounds of conscientious objection. (Vol. 3, phg. 330.)

Conscientious objectors willing to perform non-combatant service who have not been given deferment on other grounds, will be placed in Class 1-B-O. (Vol. 3, phg. 331 b.) They will be inducted into the armed forces in the order in which their numbers appear, and become subject to military control.

Conscientious objectors willing to perform work of national importance will be placed in Class IV-E. (Vol. 3, phg. 361.)

After the Local Selective Service Board has deferred persons claiming conscientious objections on all other grounds, such as, physical disability, dependents, and occupational status, the Board will then seek to establish the sincerity of the person applying for exemption as a conscientious objector. (Vol. 3, phg. 363.)



The law provides that the Selective Service Boards may:

(1) Find that the convictions against military service in a combatant capacity are sincerely held, and direct the conscientious objector to perform only such duties as the President declares to be non-combatant.

(2) Find the conviction against all military service to be sincere and instruct the conscientious objector to perform "work of national importance under civilian direction"; or,

(3) Find that the claims for exemption of the conscientious objector are not sustained and rule that he be made liable for full military service.

A definite decision has not been reached yet (October 11th) as to the precise meaning of "work of national importance under civilian direction" or the types of work which may be included under this definition.

#### Appeals

In the event a Local Selective Service Board does not sustain the claim for exemption the registrant has the right to appear in person before the Local Selective Service Board. A request for a personal appearance must be filed with the Local Selective Service Board within five days after the Local Selective Service Board has mailed to the registrant notice of the class in which he has been placed. (Vol. 3, Phg. 367-368.)

If the Local Selective Service Board, after a personal appearance by the registrant, does not sustain the claim for exemption the registrant has the right to appeal to the appeal board in the Selective Service system. (Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, Sec. 5-g.)

Failure to file an appeal from a ruling of the Local Selective Service Board within five days after the Local Selective Service Board has mailed notice to the registrant of the rejection of a claim for exemption on grounds of conscientious objection will be considered as a waiver of the right of an appeal, and he cannot claim it later. (Vol. 1, phg. 159-b.)

The act instructs the Local Selective Service Board to forward the appeal to the appeal board of the Selective Service system for that region. The appeal board will then notify the Department of Justice that an appeal has been filed with the Local Selective Service Board.

The Department of Justice will then assign a member of its staff to inquire into the background of the person making an appeal. The investigator will not be authorized to determine the sincerity of convictions of the person appealing, but merely to assemble factual information which will aid the Hearing Examiner in determining the question of sincerity. (Vol. 3, phg. 375-b.)

The information contained in this paragraph is not based upon any regulations yet published but is probably the course of procedure which will be followed. Hearings will be conducted by the United States Attorney, or some person designated by him, in each Federal Judicial District. These hearings will be held in different cities and towns of the judicial district. Persons appealing will be given adequate



notice of the time and place of the hearing. They will have an opportunity to appear in person, have witnesses, submit affidavits, have an attorney and fully present their position. Hearings will be conducted informally with the examiner asking such questions as he feels will enable him to decide regarding the sincerity of the appellant. The examiner's conclusions will be submitted to the Department of Justice at Washington where it will be reviewed to assure, as much as possible, uniformity of treatment in all of the sections of the country.

The Appeal Board shall give consideration to the report of the Department of Justice in its determination of the appeal, but is not bound to follow the recommendation of the Department of Justice. (Vol. 3, phg. 375-b.)

A filing of an appeal shall act as a stay and no person shall be inducted into the land or naval forces or assigned to civilian work of national importance pending an appeal or during the period permitted for an appeal to be made. (Vol. 3, phg. 378.)

The Local Selective Service Board will list on a register of conscientious objectors all persons whose claims have been sustained by either the Local Selective Service Board or an Appeal Board. The registry will indicate what type of service the conscientious objector is conscientiously able to perform. (Vol. 3, phg. 366.)

No person shall be tried by any military or naval court martial in any case arising under this Act unless such person has been actually inducted for the training and service prescribed under this Act or unless he is subject to trial by court martial under laws in force prior to the enactment of this Act. (Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, Sec. 11.)

### Civilian Public Service

#### I. Background of Civilian Public Service

In accord with the National Selective Service and Training Act of 1940, Civilian Public Service Administrations were set up by the historic peace churches and other religious and social groups to provide projects for persons who were unable, because of religious training and belief, to participate in military training. Opportunity to engage in programs of national importance under these administrations were approved by the President of the United States on December 19, 1940, and steps were taken to define aims and complete organizations satisfactory to assume the responsibilities undertaken.

#### II. Aim

The general aim of Civilian Public Service is to provide alternative service to war for those who on moral or religious grounds are opposed to the use of force. Conscientious Objectors will be set to work of National importance under Civilian direction to the end that human and



natural resources may be conserved and be used to contribute to the successful functioning of a democratic society.

### III. Administrative Organization

Civilian Public Service is related to the Selective Service and Training system of the Federal Government by a National Service Board under the direction of Paul Comly French. This Board is responsible through its directors to the American Friends Service Committee, the Brethren Service Committee, the Mennonite Central Committee, and such other religious and social agencies as are admitted to membership.

The administration of the Civilian Public Service of the various church groups operating camps is related directly to the administrative bodies of their respective church organizations and to the National Selective Service and Training System through the National Service Board.

This National Service Board has charge of hearing and adjusting complaints in connection with the administration of the National Service and Training Act; of negotiations with the government and administrations of Civilian Public Service, in locating camps in connection with work projects of national importance; of arranging for camp equipment, co-operating with the government and the administrations of Civilian Public Service, in assigning persons to camps; and of sending out information and maintaining standards of health and sanitation in the camps.

Civilian Public Service for the American Friends Service Committee under the direction of Dr. Thomas E. Jones will have charge of Friends camps throughout the country including selection of personnel, developing and coordinating educational programs, maintaining standards of health and morale, obtaining reports, interpreting camp policies, and raising funds for the development of the program.

#### IV. Assignment to Civilian Public Service

The Local Boards of Selective Service send to the National Service Board for Religious Objectors the names of registrants who have been certified as sincere and placed in Class IV E.

The National Service Board for Religious Objectors then sends a questionnaire to the registrants. The order for assignment to a Civilian Public Service camp is forwarded by Selective Service to the Local Draft Board, and a ticket for transportation will be sent to the registrant.

#### V. Camps

Camps have been established by the Mennonite Civilian Public Service at Grottoes, near Harrisonburg, Virginia, and Colorado Springs, Colorado; by the Church of the Brethren Civilian Public Service at Lagro, near Wabash, Indiana, and Manistee, Michigan; and by the American Friends Service Committee in the Patapsco Maryland (State Park near Baltimore), and at San Dimas, 20 miles east of Los Angeles, California. The American Friends Service Committee camp at



Cooperstown, New York, will also be used by the Civilian Public Service.

Civilian Public Service camps are of two types (1) those devoted to projects of National Importance under the supervision of government experts in reforestation, soil conservation, rural rehabilitation, (2) those of an experimental nature in rehousing, slum clearance, rehabilitation, and relief in this country and abroad. These are under the direct supervision of appropriate sections of A.F.S.C.

Of the first type, three camps, Patapsco, San Dimas, and Cooperstown are now ready for operation. Other camps in the middle west are being selected.

Of the second type several places of international significance are being investigated in Mexico and Puerto Rico, and it is hoped that similar opportunities may be found in England and Europe.

A. Registration and Arrival at Camp. Upon notification that a person has been called to camp, the director of Civilian Public Service of the denominational camp to which he has been assigned will send him a letter of welcome and detailed instructions regarding when and how to reach camp.

Upon arrival at the camp, it will be necessary to register, receive assignment of a place in the residence hall, undergo a physical examination, and learn the general routine of the camp.

B. Daily Schedule. A daily schedule may be suggested as follows, which can be adjusted to suit conditions in the various camps:

5:30 a.m.	Rising bell
6:00 a.m.	Breakfast
6:30 a.m.	Meditation and Devotional Meetings
7:00 a.m.	Embark upon work project
12:00 noon	Lunch
1:00 p.m.	Begin afternoon work schedule
4:00 p.m.	Return to camp
4:30 p.m.	Shower - rest
6:00 p.m.	Supper
6:30 p.m.	Recreation - rest - orderly duty, etc.
7:30 p.m.	Study or entertainment
9:00 p.m.	Prepare for bed
9:30 p.m.	Lights out

C. Educational Program. The educational program of Civilian Public Service camps will include (1) orientation in purpose and program of soil conservation, reforestation and other projects; (2) Religious foundations of the non-violent way of life; (3) World integration through peaceful means; (4) Reconstruction problems after the war; (5) Physical, Intellectual and Cultural development of individual campers.

To work out these areas of concern campers are informed and stimulated by lecturers, moving pictures, radio programs, dramatic performances, and musical numbers. One to two hours each evening, from 7 - 9 o'clock, for four nights each week may be utilized for this purpose. The interests aroused and the questions raised in these evenings are expected to add interest to the eight hour work program and result in no little intellectual training and insight. The possibilities of meditation and learning while engaged in physical work grow out of the Friends "Way of Life" and hold important implications for the future of education.

In addition to stimulating thought during work projects, preparation for reconstruction work abroad will be furthered by training in linguistic and technical subjects. Seminars and individualized study will be arranged as far as time and inclination permit. General and directed reading will be encouraged in libraries equipped with a collection of well selected books and special materials provided for projects agreed upon by the Director and campers.

It is hoped that at the end of this training each camper will have a clearer appreciation of the work project and the community in which he has been engaged, an understanding of the spiritual basis for his conscientious



objection to war; an intelligent plan for world organization on a non-violent basis; a greater proficiency in one or more skills he may have brought to camp, an appreciation of the rules of health and good citizenship; and training in one or more essentials for reconstruction work after the war.

D. Administrative Standards. In accord with the ideals of the Civilian Public Service, it is expected that Christian fellowship, mutual helpfulness and good neighborliness are furthered among campers. Understanding of the purpose and importance of the work in hand, and its relation to the local community, as well as the larger world of human need, is essential in building standards of expectancy in a well managed camp. Recreational programs, folk dancing, camp spontaneity, caricature, doggerel and singing help relieve tension and further good fellowship. Living and worshipping in groups of from ten to twenty, arranging for discussion of camp problems in these groups and of full representation on a camp council are effective in furthering a sense of responsibility under freedom.

Non-conformist and disgruntled campers frequently find that a day of hard grinding physical labor does much to broaden perspective and relieve emotional upsets. The officious or opinionated often find that a day spent with the work project superintendent or foreman or other admired fellow camper tends to restore a balance of judgment and a proper sense of humility.

A wise and beloved head resident, nurse, dietitian, director or other leader often secures cooperation in maintaining standards of expectancy by vicariously making a bed, cleaning a room, or performing a neglected task. Patience and long suffering are generally rewarded. If not, however, the offender may be moved to another group, camp or returned to the government.

Pride in one's room, seminar, or work gang may be stimulated by wholesome physical, academic, and recreational contests or by providing opportunity to construct tables, chairs, window boxes, and the like, for one living quarters. Discipline, hard work and spiritual concern go hand in hand in a well managed camp.

E. Follow-up and Placement of ex-Campers. Effort will be made in cooperation with the campers' relatives and friends, to retain his former place of employment until he returns at the end of his camp experience.

New and better appointments will also be sought on the basis of conduct and achievement in the camp. Encouragement will be given upon leaving the camp to build up funds with which to help subsequent campers and to further camp programs.

## VI. Finances

The cost for each camper will be \$35.00 a month. They will pay their own expenses or in cases where that is not possible, their expenses will be paid by their Meetings and Church groups or friends.

Organizations are being set up in the different Yearly Meetings of Friends and arrangements are being made with officers of other churches to solicit funds for campers who cannot pay the full fee. In this way an opportunity is afforded for all those who wish to share in the responsibility and spiritual blessing that comes from daring to build a world that takes away the occasion for war.

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In this chapter I have given a greater space to the Civilian Public Service Section than to the other sections of the American Friends' Service Committee, not because its work is more important, but because it is the one more in the public eye because the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 is



now beginning to touch the lives of all the able-bodied men  
of our communities between the ages of 21 to 35 years of age.

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Finis

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