A STUDY OF PERSISTENT QUAKER ELEMENTS OF AMERICAN THOUGHT AS REVEALED IN THE WORKS OF CERTAIN AMERICAN WRITERS

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A THESIS

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CONTENTS.

FOREWORD.

It is generally agreed that most of the early American settlements were made by groups of people seeking freedom for the expression of their particular religious persuasions. For this reason, it was inevitable that religion, more than any other influence, should have colored early American life and thought. It is logical, also, that much of this influence should have continued to be felt throughout our national history.

It is a common pastime among students of the development of characteristic American attitudes, to point out the continued influence of Puritan ideals and religious beliefs. Students of American literature find frequent instances of the influence of Calvinism in ideas expressed by American writers. Less has been done in tracing similar influences of other religious groups of early colonial America. An inclusive list of characteristic American ideas would show many origins, not only from early religious sources, but also from later influences of various kinds.

As the basis of the following study, the writer has selected six ideas commonly admitted to be characteristically American in nature. It will be shown that, in America, these ideas originated among the early Quakers.

No opinion is advanced as to the value or practicability of the ideas considered. The decision is left to the judgment of the reader. It is asserted, only, that the six ideas studied were, in America, of Quaker origin, and that they

have persisted until they have become essentially American ideas. The evidences of their persistence are found in the passages quoted from American literary works.

This is primarily a study in American literature. It is not, in any sense, a religious study. The discussion in the first two chapters is presented as a means of establishing criteria upon which to base claims of validity and reliability for statements made in remaining chapters.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

THE PROBLEM.

We are, for the most part, unaware of the sources and history of ideas which are a part of our national heritage — ideas which, appearing at first in isolated, new, or even recolutionary form, are now everywhere recognized as characteristically American.

The purpose of this discussion is to show that certain Quaker principles and ideas have so influenced the thought of America that they have persieted as elements of the common mind, and are revealed in our national literature as essentially American ideas. Henry Seidel Canb, writes: "The Quakers, possessors of a set of ideals and a practice of living each more perfectly realized than any other doctrine of ethics that came to America, have been neglected by historians as a shaping force."[1] The writer has undertaken to show, in this study, that the Quaker influence has been the chief shaping force in the development of certain typically American ideas.

SOURCES OF DATA.

There is a wealth of available material showing the principles by which the Quakers shape their lives; giving the history of Quakerism in America and other lands; and explaining the united stand taken by Quakers with reference to questions and problems of national importance. The writer wishes to

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[1] Henry Seidel Canby, "Quakers and Puritans," SATURDAY REVIEW OF LITERATURE, January 2, 1926, p. 458.

acknowledge especially the following authoritative studies: Amelia Mott Gummere, The Quaker in the Forum; Auguste Jorns, The Quakers as Pioneers in Social Work; Stephen B. Weeks, Southern Quakers and Slavery; Rufus M. Jones, Quakers in the American Colonies; and Isaac Sharpless, A Quaker Experiment in Government. The relation of Quaker ideas to our American literature has been treated in part in the following studies: Henry S. Canby, Classic Americans; Garland Miller Taylor, Quaker Ideas in the Writings of Brown, Crevecoeur, and Paine — an unpublished Master's thesis; and Doran Tharp, Quakerism in the Poetry of John Greenleaf Whittier — an unpublished Master's thesis. Invaluable original printed sources are: John Woolman, Journal; Thomas Chalkley, Journal; George Fox, Journal; Robert Barclay, An Apology for the True Christian Divinity; and William Penn, Passages from the Life and Writings of. The works of the American writers named in Chapters III to VI inclusive, have been studied carefully for evidences of persistent Quaker elements of American thought.

QUAKER PRINCIPLES.

To know what the true Quaker principles are, it is necessary to refer to the writings of the very earliest leaders of the sect. The Society of Friends has never formulated a creed or set of beliefs other than the doctrines set forth by their leader, George Fox, and re-enforced and supplemented by Robert Barclay, William Penn, and John Woolman.

According to these four early leaders, the first and foremost Principle guiding the Society, the Principle (always spelled with a capital P) upon which all their other principles depend, is the belief that an "inward light" resides in the

hearts of all men to direct their way to God, and to lead them in all their activities from day to day.[2]

This Principle explains the Society's remarkably revolutionary breaking away from the ritual and ceremonies and authority of both the Catholic and the Established Churches. They turned to the New Testament and to the teachings of Jesus and the Apostles, to original Christian sources, for their authority; and to the "Inward Light" for their guidance.[3] This central Principle accounts for the great Quaker belief in the potential equality of all men. Since they believe that the "Inward Light" resides in the hearts of all men, then, perforce, they believe all men to be brothers, and equal; and the remaining Quaker beliefs and tenets follow as a matter of logic. Their first Principle accounts for the attitude of Friends against war, slavery, capital punishment, inhumane treatment of prisoners, and intemperance.[4] It explains their advocacy of peace, absolute equality of persons, absolute democracy of justice, prison reform, the separation of church and state, religious tolerance and freedom of conscience, woman suffrage, and practical humanitarianism.[5]

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2 George Fox, Passages from the Life and Writings of, p.35; Robert Barclay, An Apology for the True Christian Divinity pp.13, 14, 17, 18; William Penn, The Rise and Progress of the People Called Quakers, p.22; John Woolman, Journal, p.25; Henry S. Canby, "The People Called Quakers," CENTURY, June, 1912, pp.266-279; Warren H. Wilson, Quaker Hill; A Sociological Study, p.98; Auguste Jorns, The Quakers as Pioneers in Social Work, Intro.p.29.

3 Robert Barclay, op. cit., p.15; Isaac Sharpless, A Quaker Experiment in Government, part I., p. 13.

4 Henry S. Canby, op. cit., p.266; Warren H. Wilson, op. cit., p.127.

5 Warren H. Wilson, op. cit., pp. 80-81.

NOTE. — In order to save space in the text of this study, footnotes are given in abbreviated form. For full data on each reference, see the complete bibliography on pages 171 to 179.

"They felt, You cannot hold in slavery, God. You cannot inflict capital punishment upon this man in whom is God. The same argument dignified woman, who was made the equal of man. The same argument applies to the inpossibility of war. You cannot think of God fighting against God."[6]

The Quakers aimed not merely at the establishment of a new sect, but at the evolution of a new society — a brotherhood of all men, actuated by the principles which the Quakers stated and lived.[7] They advocated a society in which the industrial, political, social, and religious life shall be closely intermingled.[8]

QUAKERS DISTINGUISHED FROM OTHER SECTS.

Though the Quakers were a part of the great general religious unrest of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, they are not to be confused with the Puritans, or with other sects which came to America for religious reasons. Their whole movement was actuated by ideas foreign to the Calvinistic theory. The religious beliefs of the Puritans, and, in consequence, their government, and economic and social structure, were gloomed by the inexorable doctrines of Calvin, and breathed the fatalism and intolerance of the Old Testament. New England was governed by a theocracy, and the development of class

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6 Warren H. Wilson, op.cit., pp.39-40.(A quotation from Mr. James Wood, in an address at Quaker Hill Conference, 1907.)

7 Henry S. Canby, "The People Called Quakers," CENTURY, June, 1912, p.266; Rufus M. Jones, Quakers in the American Colonies, Introduction, pp.xvii and xxxi; Sharpless, op.cit., pp.1-2.

8 Isaac Sharpless, op.cit., part 1,p.43; Auguste Jorns, op.cit., Foreword by Amelia Mott Gummere, p.10.

distinctions began with the first settlements in Massachusetts.[9]

The Quaker doctrine, on the other hand, was a New Testament doctrine, the opposite of fatalism and predestination. It was a religion of hope and opportunity for every man, leading logically toward the ideas of democratic equality and justice. This was not a mere leveling influence. It was rather a leveling up.[10] Fisher writes: "Since the time of the primitive Christians there never had been such apostles of gentleness. They were a striking contrast to the Puritans, every one of whom was a restless politician, whose religion included a theory of civil government which he felt it his duty to enforce."[11]

More frequently are the origins of Quakerism confused with those of many of the Quietist, or mystic, groups which sprang up in the fifteenth, sixteenth, or seventeenth centuries, or even earlier. Fox himself was aroused and inspired by Quietist movements already in existence. "Quakerism originated in natural causes far beyond the influence of any one man. But Fox undoubtedly organized the movement and forged it into shape."[12] It was Fox who established a following, with a resultant wide influence — not Saltmarsh, Dell, or Winstanley.[13]

Lollards, Waldenses, Anabaptists, Seekers, and others, had many beliefs like those of the Quakers who succeeded them, but these earlier sects branched off into many radical groups, and

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9 Woodbridge Riley, American Thought, p.37; Irving B. Richman, Rhode Island, A Study in Separatism, pp.142-3; Amelia Mott Gummere, The Quaker in the Forum, p.52; Vernon L. Parrington, Main Currents in American Thought, Vol.I,p.15.

10 Jorns, op.cit., Introduction, pp.29-30; Parrington, op.cit., Vol. I, p.21.

11 Sydney G. Fisher, The Making of Pennsylvania, p.59.

12 Ibid., pp.54-55; Rufus Jones, op.cit., p.215.

13 Rufus M. Jones, Studies in Mystical Religions, pp.494-5

in many ways were not identical with the Quakers. It is a striking fact that the early Friends gathered up the best and the most practical of these various ideas which had attained vigor, re-colored them, and fused them into an effective organization, largely free from the radicalism, ultra-fanaticism, and mysticism of other sects.[14] The Quaker sect flourished in the later stages of the Reformation, and was, therefore, more mature than the earlier Quietists, and better fitted for influence and endurance.[15] In fact, the Quakers absorbed many of the other sects and movements, such as the Seekers and Anabaptists.[16]

In America, before the coming of the Quakers, there were groups of people who already held many ideas similar to those of the Quakers. Notable among these were Mrs. Anne Hutchinson and her Antinomian followers,[17] the "circles" at Salem and Sandwich, Massachusetts,[18] many of the members of Roger Williams' Colony,[19] and a large number of the followers of Samuel Gorton of Warwick, Rhode Island.[20] These groups of "prepared" people practically all embraced the faith of the Quakers, as the substance of what they had been "seeking." The leaders of the Antinomian controversy became ardent Quakers and important members of the first Quaker Meeting in the New World. The

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14 Jones, Studies in Mystical Religions, pp.141,148,367; Jorns, op.cit., Introduction, p.25.

15 Jones, Studies in Mystical Religions, Chapter XVII, "Anabaptists."

16 Ibid., p.452.

17 Jones, Quakers in the American Colonies, p.25; Richman, op.cit., p.42.

18 James Cudworth, Letter,(1658) Stedman and Hutchinson, A Library of American Literature, Vol. I, p.391.

19 Richman, op. cit., p. 54.

20 Jones, Quakers in theAmerican Colonies, pp. 120,121, 216, 217, 218.

Yearly Meeting of New England was established in Rhode Island at the early date of 1661.[21]

Quakers and Ranters must not be confused. The Friends definitely refused to admit that the Ranters were of them, in a minute of the Westbury Quarterly Meeting of 1675.[22] Thomas Chalkley tells in his Journal of "fighting beasts" (that is, Ranters) on Long Island, when he visited there near the close of the seventeenth century.[23]

The settlers of German Town, Pennsylvania, — the "German Quakers" — while still in Germany, had been persuaded to the Quaker faith by traveling English Friends. Later, at the invitation of William Penn, they migrated to Pennsylvania, and settled near Philadelphia.[24]

It is evident that it was as Quaker ideas that any of the Quietist tenets of Europe persisted in America. Moreover, any such ideas not originally Quaker had been re-shaped, newly colored, and adapted not only to Quakerism as it existed in England, but also to the Quakerism which was fitting itself to the new American environment. Two quotations from Canby's Classic Americans [25] are pertinent here. On page 29 we find this: "The Quaker heritage has been more durable as a spiritual influence than the Puritan, and upon our philosophies of living has been only less powerful than Calvinism." On page 23, there is this statement: "The Quaker discipline, as it slack-

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21 Jones, Quakers in the American Colonies, pp.120, 121, 216, 217, 218.

22 Ibid., p. 233.

23 Ibid., p. 238; Thomas Chalkley, Journal, p. 37.

24 Charles Evans, Friends in the Seventeenth Century, pp.228, 229, 505; William Penn, Passages from the Life and Writings of, p. 141.

25 Henry S. Canby, Classic Americans, pp.28,29.

ened, left behind it a series of humane ideas that have retained their essential character and are powerful in their original form today."

METHOD OF PROCEDURE.

In Chapter II are presented (1.) short discussions of the specific Quaker ideas with which this study is concerned; (2.) a brief summary of Quaker migrations which resulted in the wide spread of Quaker ideas; and (3.) a list of well-known American leaders who were Quakers, or were influenced by Quakers, and therefore contributed to the spread of Quaker ideas.

Succeeding chapters will show, by the survey method, how the Quaker ideas listed in Chapter II have been expressed in the works of representative American writers — both Quaker and non-Quaker — thus showing that these ideas have persisted until they are essentially American. Our most representative writers have been the products of American environment, and their works have expressed the thought of their times.[26] Woodbridge Riley has aptly said: "A study of the speculative movements in America leads to a clearer understanding of our national character, for these very movements are so closely allied to our history and literature that they may be said to form a background for both."[27]

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26 Henry S. Canby, Classic Americans, Introduction, pp. xiv-xv.

27 Woodbridge Riley, American Thought, Foreword.

CHAPTER II.

CERTAIN QUAKER IDEAS WHICH HAVE BECOME AMERICAN IDEAS.

James Freeman Clarke, writing in 1860, has as the heading of Chapter X of his Events and Epochs of Religious History, this phrase: "The Quaker movement a remarkable one, having in it the seed of many modern reforms." He lists as reforms, the anti-slavery agitation, peace campaigns, agitation for equal rights of women, prison reform, and opposition to the death penalty.[1] Ten years earlier, Bancroft wrote: "The rise of the people called Quakers was one of the most remarkable results of the Protestant Revolution.... A better opportunity will offer for explaining its influence on American institutions."[2] Today, sixty years after this prophecy was made, we find writers pointing out the part played by Quakers in economic and philanthropic enterprises, in the shaping of American institutions, and in the very reforms that Clarke listed.[3]

Amelia Mott Gummere, in The Quaker in the Forum, makes these statements: "It is not upon theology or philosophy that Quakerism has made its chief impress. It is upon social history that its influence has chiefly told.... Quakerism has made an impression upon the two great English-speaking nations of the Globe in a way that is not yet fully appreciated."[4] That Quaker influence has not always been apparent is explained by Auguste

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1 J.F.Clarke, Events and Epochs of Religious History, pp. 299-300.

2. George Bancroft, History of the United States, Vol.I, p.451.

3. Auguste Jorns, Quakers as Pioneers in Social Service, Foreword, p.11; Edward Thomas, Quaker Adventures, p.12.

4 Amelia Mott Gummere, The Quaker in the Forum, Introduction, p.1.

Jorns thus: "The frequent cooperation of the Quakers with others tends to obscure the evidence of their originality; and they have often taken ideas already extant and brought them to realization."[5]

It is popularly said, without considering the proper limits of the assertion, that America inherited the ancient liberties of the Anglo-Saxons. We may trace much of the liberal nature of our laws to Magna Charta and the Saxons, it is true; but we are prone to forget the persecutions and martyrdoms which were endured before those liberties were finally and certainly secured for everybody. The important played by the Quakers in finally securing "the ancient rights of Englishmen" is commonly overlooked, possibly because it was a "passive resistance" unattended by the noise and glamour of military revolution. It is interesting to note that certain of our "rights of all Englishmen" were first secured, in America, in Quaker provinces, or as the result of Quaker influence. Instances will be pointed out later in this chapter.

ABSOLUTE EQUALITY OF PERSONS — THE DEMOCRATIC IDEA.

In a very definite way, the Quakers expressed their belief in the equal worth of all men. They treated all persons, of whatever station, alike. George Fox held that their first Principle (see page 4) could not permit particular deference to the few. Friends addressed all persons with "thee" and "thou." They did not "doff the hat, or bend the knee" to any person.[6] Robert Barclay's Apology contains a preface directed to

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5 Jorns, op.cit., p. 238.
6 Appendix, p.182.

Charles II, and the King is addressed by the terms, "thee," "thou," and "thy"! The book is not dedicated to the King, for such deference would be flattery. In all humility, the author dedicates his book to God. Barclay warns the King against vanities, errors, and flattery as bravely as any Hebrew prophet of old.[7] William Penn addressed King Charles as "Friend Charles."[8]

The Quaker custom of thus emphasizing equality amounted to a virtual protest against the spirit of servility which had been growing in England for over a century.[9] In America, it was in direct contrast to the growth of class distinctions as they were appearing in the Southern colonies and in Massachusetts.[10] "There was in Massachusetts Bay Colony a veritable theocracy which gave a distinctly aristocratic trend to government."[11] Parrington says of John Cotton, powerful spiritual leader in early Massachusetts, that "the doctrine of unlimited popular sovereignty was for him no other than a thistle in the garden of the Lord. The desire for liberty he regarded as the sinful prompting of the natural man, a denial of the righteous authority of God's chosen leaders."[12] Gummere states that the Puritans of the seventeenth century changed slowly from aristocratic to democratic ways only as the exigencies of colonial life demanded. "The Quaker becomes significant in American history when his

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7 Robert Barclay, Apology, Preface.
8 John Richelson, "Herbert Hoover and the Quakers," CURRENT HISTORY, April 1, 1929, p.82.
9 Jorns, op.cit., Introduction, p. 29.
10 H.L.Osgood, The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, Vol.II, p.254.
11 James and Sanford, American History, p.60.
12 Vernon L. Parrington, Main Currents in American Thought, Vol.I, p.31.

share in bringing about this change is appreciated."[13] The principle of democracy was fundamental in Quaker philosophy. It was not merely a result of environmental conditions.

Large plantations, and the institution of slavery, favored the development of an aristocratic class in the southern colonies. It was the Quaker attitude, rather than the Puritan, or any other philosophy appearing in the early colonial settlements, which led logically to the American experiment in democracy.

All Quaker governments in America were democratic in nature. They were in accord with the famous compact drawn up in 1639 by Roger Williams and his companions, who began their document with the words, "We incorporate ourselves."[14] The democratic idea was fostered by the Quakers in Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, and West Jersey, where they were particularly influential, and in all other communities where they settled, until it was given final form in the Constitution. The Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina, the Concessions and Agreements of West Jersey(1677), and the Frames of Government of Pennsylvania embody many of the ideas of the Seventeenth Century Friends concerning government, especially the desire of the middle and lower classes of that century for guaranties of civil liberty.[15]

William Penn, in the preface to his Frames of Government for Pennsylvania, declared that "any government is free ...

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13 Gummere, op.cit., Introduction, p.ii.
14 Gummere, op.cit., p.85. (E.A.McKinley, work quoted, p. 433.)
15 Osgood, op.cit., Vol. II, p. 192.

where the laws rule and the people are a party to those laws; and more than this is tyranny, oligarchy, and confusion."[16] Penn differed from the leaders of Massachusetts in that he did not restrict political rights to members of his own sect. A representative system was guaranteed from the first. In Penn and his sect "appeared many of the tendencies which were finally to triumph and to constitute the distinctive American spirit."[17] Those portions of the American Constitution relating to individual liberty and the rights of popular assemblies were anticipated by 150 years in Penn's Constitutions.[18] In Penn's government, the executive, the subordinate officers, and the judiciary were dependent upon the people.[19] "The Society of Friends was the first organized body that approved and advocated the equality of all men in the civil life of the people."[20] William Dean Howells says that the Quaker principle of equality "as well as their practice of it, was their legacy to our people.... It was not Thomas Jefferson who imagined the first of the self-evident truths of the Declaration, but George Fox."[21]

The franchise was not a common privilege in the colonies. But by the end of the seventeenth century, the Quakers had secured the rights of freemanship in all the colonies.[22]

The Quakers carried the democratic idea to its logical conclusion, and regarded women as the equal of men in all

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16 William Penn, Passages from the Life and Writings of, p. 251.
17 Osgood, op.cit.,Vol.II, p. 256.
18 Sharpless, A Quaker Experiment in Government,pp.60-61.
19 Ibid.,pp.66-67; Osgood, op.cit.,Vol.II, p. 254.
20 Gummere, op. cit., p. 193.
21 William Dean Howells, London Films, p. 201.
22 Gummere, op. cit., p. 49.

church deliberations.[23] Quakers believed the gift of ministry was bestowed upon men and women alike.[24] Wherever they had political influence, they gave women unusually liberal rights in matters of inheritance of estates and control of property. "Thus," says Hinshaw, "they lifted woman from the lowly place she had occupied at man's feet and made her equal, anticipating equal suffrage by nearly three centuries."[25]

Elizabeth Hooten is the first Quaker woman preacher of whom we have any account. She was preaching in England in 1650.[26] A woman, Isabel Buttery, is said to have first carried Quakerism into London.[27] Elizabeth Fletcher was probably the first Friend who held a meeting in Dublin.[28]

Mary Fisher and Anne Austin preached in the British West Indies in 1655. They then visited Boston, receiving there a welcome most lacking in cordiality.[29] George Bishop, addressing the magistrates of Boston on this matter in 1660, said: "Two poor women arriving in your harbor, so shook ye, to the everlasting shame of you, and of your established peace and order, as if a formidable army had invaded your borders."[30] This famous incident is an excellent example of the lack of both tolerance and democracy of justice then existing in New England.

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23 Stephen B. Weeks, Southern Quakers and Slavery, p.13

24 Appendix, p. 483.

25 David Hinshaw, "Friends of the Truth," CENTURY, April, 1930, pp. 227-235.

26 Charles Evans, Friends in the Seventeenth Century, p.39.

27 Gummere, op.cit., p. 65.

28 Evans, op.cit., p. 117.

29 Ibid., p. 151; Rufus Jones, Quakers in the American Colonies, p.4.

30 Jones, op.cit., p.4. (Quoted from Bishop's New England Judged, edition of 1703, p.7. -- First edition, 1661.)

In 1660, this same Mary Fisher went to Adrianople to deliver a message from the Lord to the Sultan, Mohamet IV, and was most respectfully received. [31]

The first visit made by a Friend to Virginia was in 1656, when Elizabeth Harris arrived there. [32]

Except that they refused to engage in armed resistance to the existing government, the Friends were among the most ardent American champions of democratic rights. Their belief in the equality of persons could lead to no other position. Stephen Hopkins, Quaker, and editor of the articles in the PROVIDENCE GAZETTE on the rights of colonists, was one of the most influential leaders in the development of sentiment against unjust taxation by England. [33] This same Stephen Hopkins was a prominent member of the town meeting of Providence which made the first formal proposal for a Continental Congress, and he was one of the delegates from Rhode Island to the Congress. [34] He was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

The Quaker idea of democratic equality has been embodied in the Constitution. Though the Puritan ideas of aristocracy and intolerance still persist, in a measure, in some parts of the country, they have not achieved constitutional recognition. The Quaker idea of equality has certainly made the greater appeal to the people, inasmuch as it has flourished, while any ideas of class distinction have persisted in America only in the face of popular disapproval.

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31 Evans, op.cit., p.155; H.S.Canby, "The People Called Quakers," CENTURY,Vol.84, June 1912, p.268; George Bishop, New England Judged, Abridged copy of edition of 1703, pp.23-24.

32 Evans, op.cit., p.172; Weeks, op.cit., p.13.

33. Rufus Jones, op.cit.,p.210.

34 Ibid., p.211.

ABSOLUTE DEMOCRACY OF JUSTICE.

Since Quakers believed in the absolute equality of persons, it was but logical that they should champion the ideal of absolute democracy of justice. Quakerism, in many ways, is typically Anglo-Saxon. It had its rise and early growth in the times of Marston Moor and Naseby. Its growth continued in the times of the Long Parliament, the Protectorates, the Restoration, the reign of James II, the Revolution of 1688,[35] and in the long struggle for political equality which lasted through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and, in England, well into the nineteenth century.[36]

The early Quakers knew from sad experiance what it meant to be deprived of equality of justice; it is not strange that they should have demanded it for themselves in the American provinces to which they removed in order to avoid continuation of the sort of injustices they were suffering at home. It was a distinctly Quaker attitude to establish absolute democracy of justice in the colonies in which they had control. In Quaker colonies, everyone shared in all privileges.

The persecutions of early Quakers were very grievous. They had a definite part in the struggle between the Established Church and other religious groups. The refusal of Friends, on religious grounds, to take oaths, or to yield homage to magistrates and to others who felt that their position or rank required it, added to the general misunderstanding of the

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35 J.F.Clarke, op.cit., p.318.
36 H.L.Psgood, op.cit., p.246; H.B.Weeks, op.cit., p.62.

sect.[37] In 1660, the old laws which had been enacted against the Catholics in the reign of Henry VIII, were revived and made to apply to the Quakers.[38] Friends were imprisoned and heavily fined for not attending church, for refusing to swear allegiance or take oaths, for insisting upon treating judges, bishops, and even kings as their equals. They were convicted of blasphemy — though blasphemy was not defined — and heavy fines were exacted of them for refusing to pay tithes to the state church.[39]

Sewel reports that there were more than four thousand of "those called Quakers," both men and women, in prison in England in 1662.[40] Sewel also reports the trial of George Fox at St. Ives in 1656. In this trial, false charges were preferred which grossly violated the principles of law and justice. Most of the proceedings had to do with the taking of oaths, and the wearing of hats before "superiors."[41] Evans describes a typical trial of a Quaker in England in 1662, exactly as it was published shortly after it occurred. The account gives one an excellent idea of the way in which the laws of England were distorted by magistrates in the efforts to entrap Friends.[42]

The famous trial of William Penn and William Mead for

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37 See appendix for list of Quaker principles.
38 Charles Evans, op.cit., pp. 211-212.
39 William Sewel, History of the People Called Quakers, Vol.I, pp. 332-337.
40 Evans, op.cit., pp. 266-267. (A quotation from Sewel's History.)
41 Evans, op.cit., pp. 126-130; William Sewel, op.cit., Vol.I, p.173.
42 Evans, op. cit., pp. 270-278.

speaking in Gracechurch Street is perhaps the best known instance of those farcical trials of Quakers. It was one of the earliest trials held under the Conventicle Act of 1670. In this case, the jury, also, were imprisoned for not giving the verdict required by the judges![43] After the angry refusal by the judge of the verdict of acquittal, Penn thus addressed the jury: "You are Englishmen. Mind your privilege. Give not away your right." And the Recorder, angered by the obstinance of the jury, said: "Certainly it will never be well with us till something like the Spanish Inquisition be in England."[44] "This trial was productive of important benefits to the people of England," said Penn.[45] He was right. As a result, the freedom of juries was asserted by a judicial decision that the bench could not coerce the jury; that the jury, and not the bench, were the arbiters in regard to facts. The trial of Penn and Mead established fully the right of trial by a jury of peers, "not only for Quakers , but also for all Englishmen, for all times."[46] "It could hardly be doubted," says Sharpless, "that the man who made the eloquent and effective defence, with William Mead, of himself and the jury that acquitted him, in 1670, understood and appreciated the full meaning of civil liberty."[47] The trial of Samuel Bownas at Long Island in 1702, was very nearly a repetition of the Penn and Mead trial. The jury justified their right to return the verdict

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43 William Penn, Passages from the Life and Writings of, pp. 86-94; W.D.Howells, op.cit., p. 194.
44 William Penn, op. cit., p.93.
45 Ibid.,pp. 96-97.
46 Gummere, op.cit.,p.200; Evans, op. cit.,pp.452-456; W.D.Howells, op.cit.,p. 194.
47 Sharpless, op.cit., Part I, p.53.

they wished, by reference to the Penn and Mead case.[48] Thus were the rights to equal justice made a precedent in the courts of America, and secured for everybody.

The rigid Independents and Presbyterians, who were inimical to Quakers, were in control of the British national council — a situation which explains Cromwell's neglect of petitions from Friends for protection.[49] After the death of Cromwell, Fox sent a petition to Charles II, in which he stated that 3137 Friends had been imprisoned in the name of the Commonwealth. But there was little relief in the Restoration. In the two years following Charles's accession, 3068 had been imprisoned.[50]

The struggle begun in England was continued by Friends in America. Reference has already been made to the trial of Samuel Bownas. Wherever the Quakers held authority in the colonies, it was required that the jury of inquest and trial be universally employed. This was not generally true in the colonies in the case of small trials.[51] In Anne Hutchinson's trial, John Winthrop was both judge and prosecutor.[52] But when the American Bill of Rights was written, the Quaker ideal of democracy of justice was incorporated in Articles VI and VII which declare that the right of trial by an impartial jury shall be maintained.

However short of the ideal we may fall, it is acknowledged, however, that one of the fundamental ideals of Amer-

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48 Jones, op.cit., pp. 234-235.
49 Evans, op.cit., p. 147.
50 Clarke, op.cit., p. 316.
51 Osgood, op.cit., Vol.II, p. 303.
52 Winnifred K. Rugg, Unafraid, p. 161.

ican government is that of absolute democracy of justice, an ideal cherished by the Quakers in America from the beginning of their history here.

RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE.

Though the early generations of Quakers were constantly persecuted, they never faltered in their passive, but none-the-less insistent demands for the right of freedom of worship; and they have been consistent in their recognition of the same right for others.[53] William Penn closed his dissertation on The Great Cause of Liberty of Conscience Debated as follows: "Liberty of Conscience, as thus stated and defended, we ask as our undoubted right by the law of God, of nature, and of our country. It has been often promised. We have waited long for it... and have made many true complaints, but found little or no redress."[54]

In contrast to the conditions of which Penn complains, the tolerant spirit of Quakers is shown in these sentences from John Woolman's Journal: "All true Christians are of the same spirit, but their gifts are diverse.... I believe they were both [Thomas á Kempis and John Huss] sincere-hearted followers of Christ.... True charity is an excellent virtue: and to labour sincerely for their good, whose belief, in all points, do not agree with ours, is a happy state."[55]

Rhode Island and Pennsylvania were the only colonies in which in the seventeenth century, the Quakers and Baptists were not outlawed; and the Jews and Catholics suffered even

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53 Weeks, op.cit., p.144.
54 Penn, op.cit., p. 106.
55 John Woolman, Journal, pp. 82-83.
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greater injustice in many colonies.[56] Pressure for church uniformity was heaviest in Virginia, continuing even long after the Quakers of Massachusetts were living in peace.[57] Virginia was devoted to the Established Church, and religious liberty did not thrive there. In March, 1659-60, there were definite enactments for suppressing the Quakers of Virginia. They were the first of such acts in the Southern colonies, and among the earliest in America. Every shipmaster bringing a Quaker into Virginia was to be fined £100, and every such Quaker was to be deported. Quakers already living in Virginia suffered severe persecutions.[58] In the general court records of Virginia, of 1674, we find orders to proceed against the conventicles of Nansemond County. There are also recordsof judgments against individuals on the ground of their religious peculiarities, which imply that Quakers in Virginia in the seventeenth century led lives much harassed by persecution.[59]

As the Quaker principles became better known, however, and the number of Quakers increased, persecutions grew less frequent. Then, in contrast, the Quaker influence grew, until we find, a few years before the Revolution, Thomas Jefferson pushing through the Virginia representative body, his famous Act of Virginia for establishing religious freedom, and cutting off state support for the church. After this triumph, he declared Massachusetts and Connecticut to be the "last retreat of darkness and bigotry."[60] It is significant, also,

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56 Gummere, op.cit., p.46.
57 Jones, op.cit., p. 317.
58 Weeks, op. cit., p. 16.
59 Ibid., pp. 43-46.
60 Woodbridge Riley, American Thought, p. 85.

that in his plans for a Southern University, Jefferson proposed placing all religious training upon an ethical basis, "where all sects agree."[61] And the foremost Virginian, George Washington, in a letter to tthe Friends in 1789, makes this statement: "The liberty enjoyed by the people of these states, of worshipping Almighty God agreeably to their consciences, is not only among the choicest of their blessings, but also of their rights."[62]

There was no room in the Puritan category for religious toleration. The qualifications for the voter in all the New England colonies included, first of all, acceptance of Puritan doctrines.[63] Jones reminds us that it is a mistaken, though persistent, tradition that the Pilgrims of Plymouth did not persecute other Christians.[64] They adopted the expedient of banishing all sects with which they could not agree. Parrington asserts that when they banished the Antinomians and Quakers, "The Massachusetts magistrates cast out the spirit of liberalism from the household of the Saints."[65]

Opposition to the Quakers was already vigorous in Massachusetts when Mary Fisher and Anne Austin arrived. Quakers were called dangerous enthusiasts like the sect of Anabaptists of a century before at Münster.[66] The court made the very plain statement that "the tenetts and practices of the Quakers are opposite to the orthodoxe received opinions and practices of

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61 Ibid., p. 85.
62 George Washington, "Addresses to the Churches," from Old South Leaflets, Vol.III, No. 65, p.9.
63 Gummere, op.cit.,p.43.
64 Jones, op.cit., P.61, footnote.
65 Parrington, op.cit.,Vol.I, p.15.
66 Jones, op.cit., pp.30-31.

the godly" — that is, of the Massachusetts magistrates![67]

When Mary Fisher and Anne Austin arrived, they were seized at the harbor, thrust into prison, and shortly afterward shipped back to Barbadoes on the same boat on which they had arrived.[68] Both men and women Quakers, and even children, were subjected to whippings and banishment, and four Quakers — one a woman — were hanged on Boston Common.[69] These martyrs were Marmaduke Stevenson, William Robinson, Mary Dyer, and William Leddra. Humphrey Atherton, pointing to Mary Dyer's body swinging on the gallows, said in jest, "She hangs there as a flag!"[70] His jest was truth. The memory of Mary Dyer was as a flag in the American crusade for religious tolerance, until that principle was finally written into the Constitution. The last one of the four Quakers was hanged in 1661; but there are records of cruel whippings of Friends in New England as late as 1667.[71]

Intolerance in Massachusetts did not apply to Quakers only, but to all who disagreed with the Puritan doctrines. Episcopalians did not receive their rights in Massachusetts until the penalties for dissenters had been removed in England.[72] William Dean Howells observes that "in New England especially, they practised the lessons of persecution they had learned in Old England"; but that "Two provinces stood conspicuously for toleration, Rhode Island, for which Roger Williams imagined it

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67 Ibid.,p.32. From Proceedings of the General Court Held in Boston, Oct. 19, 1658.
68 George Bishop, New England Judged, p.12.
69 Evans, op.cit., Chapter XIV.
70 Jones op.cit., p. 89.
71 Evans, op. cit., p. 438.
72 Gummere, op. cit., p. 73.

for the first time in history, and Pennsylvania, where, for the first time, William Penn embodied in the policy of a state the gospel of peace and good will to men."[73]

The tolerant attitude of the citizens of Rhode Island made that settlement a natural haven for the first Friends who came to America. They flourished there, and were soon the largest of the sects.[74] They also absorbed practically all of those groups known as Antinomians, Anabaptists, and Seekers. It must be understood that these groups were not organized sects. They were seeking a sect which should express them adequately. This thing the Society of Friends did for them; and for this reason, historians have been justified in calling Rhode Island a Quaker colony. Rhode Island was ruled for three quarters of a century by Quaker governors.[75]

Before the end of the seventeenth century, Quaker influence was strong enough to help persecuted groups in other colonies. In Maryland, in 1695, Quakers helped repeal an act denying the Catholics the right to their mode of worship. And the Quakers were of influence in successful opposition to an act establishing a Protestant state church in Maryland.[76]

According to Locke's Fundamental Constitution for the Carolinas, any seven persons agreeing in any religion should constitute a chirch. (Locke was a close friend of William Penn and shows many evidences of Penn's influence.) The

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73 Howells, op. cit., p. 200.
74 Irving B. Richman, Rhode Island, A Study in Separatism, p.133.
75 Hinshaw, op. cit., CENTURY, April, 1930, p.232.
76 Ibid., p. 232.

Established Church did nothing in the Carolinas until after 1700. For a quarter century, the Quakers were the only organized group of worshippers in the colony.[77] John Archdale, a Quaker, became Governor-General in 1694.[78] He is considered chiefly responsible for the tolerant character of the church laws passed in the colony. In 1696-7 an act granting liberty of conscience was passed.[79]

Fisher writes that "Religious liberty was the law of the land in Pennsylvania at a time when in Massachusetts and several other colonies there were statutes punishing heresy with death."[80] The first, or Great, Fundamental of Penn's government for Pennsylvania is as follows: "I do... declare and establish for the first fundamental of the government of my province, that every person that doth and shall reside therein shall have and enjoy the free possession of his or her faith and exercise of worship towards God, in such way and manner as every such person shall in conscience believe is most acceptable to God."[81] Penn gave in his charter absolute freedom of conscience, "for Papists and Protestants, Jews and Turks," with no state form whatever. Any twenty members of the church of England might have a minister who should work "without any Deniall or molestacon whatever."[82] Dr. James McSparren, an Episcopal clergyman of Rhode Island, wrote in 1752 of Philadelphia, "There is a public and open Mass-house in this

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77 Jones, op. cit., p. 317.
78 Weeks, op.cit., p. 52.
79 Ibid., pp. 58-59.
80 George Sydney Fisher, The Making of Pennsylvania, p.209.
81 Penn, op.cit., p. 242.
82 Gummere, op. cit., p. 106; Sharpless, op.cit., p.59.

city, which I note, there being none allowed to the northward of it in all the English Plantations."[83]

At the end of the first three quarters of a century of its existence, Pennsylvania could boast the greatest variety of religious bodies anywhere in the British possessions. After 1682, the Friends were the largest sect.[84] There were, of Christian groups, English and German Quakers, Moravians, Tunkers — the Russian Quakers —, Mennonites, Catholics, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, and Congregationalists. It was the first place in America where the Presbyterians became at all powerful. Philadelphia and Pennsylvania "were regarded as the most remarkable and successful instance of liberalism that had yet appeared."[86] Voltaire said, "It was the only province on earth to which peace had fled, banished as she was from every other region."[87]

This remarkable liberalism of the Friends extended not only to religions, but also to all types of philosophical thought. When the spirit of scientific inquiry reached America in the eighteenth century, it was admitted , at first, only by the colony of Pennsylvania.[88] The American Philosophical Society, the first scientific society in America, was organized by Franklin in Philadelphia in 1744.[89] Rittenhouse and Jefferson were among its famous members. The University

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83 Gummere, op.cit., p.117. (Quoted from Dr. McSparren, "America Dissected," in Sundry Letters from a Clergyman There, III, p. 394.)
84 Sharpless, op. cit., Part 2, p.2.
85 Fisher, op. cit., p.156.
86 Ibid., p.210.
87 Ibid., p.211.
88 Ibid., p.214.
89 Ibid., p.225.

of Pennsylvania, from its beginning, required no religious test of its instructors.[90]

The first article of our "Bill of Rights" contains as its first part the following: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." Thus was the Quaker ideal of religious tolerance written into the law of the nation.

SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE.

The privilege of worshipping in their own way was won more quickly than the privilege of exemption from tithes for the support of the established ministry. But, says Rufus Jones, "When it was won, it was won for everybody."[91] This struggle lasted for three quarters of a century, in the course of which vast amounts of property of Friends were confiscated as punishment for their consistent refusal to pay the tithes which would have cost them so much less in money, but would have cost all of us so much more in freedom.[92] The contest was quite as bitter in many of the colonies as it was in England.

Charles Evans, in his book, Friends in the Seventeenth Century, writes as follows:"The uncompromising faithfulness with which Friends bore testimony to free, unpaid gospel ministry; to the equality of the members of the Church of Christ... and to the idea that the church should never be under the control of the secular power; striking as it did, at the distinction between clergy and laity, and cutting

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90 Riley, op. cit., p. 76.
91 Jones, op. cit., p.153.
92 Ibid., pp. 154-156.

away the foundation on which the punishing power of the hierarchy rested, induced the clergy to look upon them as enemies."[93] The foregiong quotation shows us that the sect was protesting effectively — though passively — against the institution of a state church. It explains also, the enmity of both the civil courts and the church for the Quakers. They were plainly seeking not merely for toleration, but also for religious liberty, and freedom from civil interference.

It is little wonder, knowing as we do the theocratic nature of the government of Massachusetts Colony, that the first Quakers to venture there were forced to leave. Vernon L. Parrington points out that there were successive statutes that effectively nullified the principle of separatism in early New England, by erecting an official state church. A law of 1631 restricted the franchise to church members ; a law of 1635 made church attendance compulsory for everyone; a law of 1636 required the approval of the magistrates for the establishment or erection of a new church; a law of 1638 established state support of the clergy; and the general Wynod of 1637 at Newton drew up a state Creed! The adoption of the Cambridge Platform in 1646-7 completed the establishment of a state church.[94]

Mr. John Cotton was the representative of the idea of a theocratic ministry, and John Winthrop, of the idea of a theocratic magistracy. "The civil authorities were chosen by a narrow body of orthodox electors with a single view to theo-

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93 Evans, op. cit., pp. 65-66.
94 Parrington, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 24.

cratic ends." One should keep in mind the theocratic framework of the early Massachusetts government.[95]

There was separation of church and state in Rhode Island from the first;[96] and we do not consider it strange, when we recall what had been suffered at the hands of the Massachusetts magistrate-elders by Roger Williams, Anne Hutchinson, and their followers. In the agreement of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, we find: "The government which this body politic doth attend unto is a Democracy, or Popular government." It was ordered that"none be accounted a delinquent for doctrine, provided it be not directly repugnant to the government and laws."[97] This was a practical separation of church and state. The idea was zealously fostered by the Quakers who settled there, and who controlled the policies of the colony for so many years.

As a result of political injustice with reference to Quakers in New Hampshire, from 1652 to 1657, Thomas Macy became a Quaker. In 1659, the Island of Nantucket was purchased from Thomas Mayhew by Macy and others, who removed there the same year. "Macy and his company settled in the Island a community, the most absolutely free of any in America."[98]

Neither Pennsylvania nor Rhode Island had a state religion, while Connecticut, usually credited with leadership in this movement, did not make final and complete separation of church and state until 1818.[99]

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95 Parrington, op.cit.,Vol. I, p. 38.
96 Richman, op. cit., p. 61.
97 Gummere, op.cit., p. 86.
98 Ibid.,pp. 85-76.
99 Ibid., pp. 136-137.

That part of Article I of our Bill of Rights which guarantees that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," traces its American ancestry through the political ideals of Jefferson, Paine, Dickinson, and Franklin to the Quakers, who so profoundly influenced those directors of national sentiment.

LOVE OF PEACE.

The Quaker first Principle leads logically to an aversion for war and a love of peace. The original Quakers were opposed to all war, even war for protection. And so are all Friends today save a minority branch.

In 1635, just before the organization of the Society of Friends, Henry IV had published his Grand Design for the peace of Europe. He suggested a general council of nations as a board of arbitration, but he proposed that peace be enforced by means of the combined military strength of the member nations, controlled by the council.[100] George Fox, a few years later, proposed the establishment of a European court of justice.[101] In the latter part of 1693, William Penn published his Essay Towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe, in which he outlined, in great detail, a plan by which peace might be preserved in Europe, and armies and navies be practically disprnsed with. All differences were to be settled by arbitration.[102]

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100 Florence Brewer Boeckel, Between War and Peace, p.198.
101 Jorns, op. cit., Introduction, p.28.
102 Penn, op.cit., pp. 384-386; Penn, "Plan for the Peace of Europe," Old South Leaflets, Vol. III, No. 75.

Penn's views on war and peace are rapidly spreading. Out of them grew the peace Congresses of Brussels, Frankfort, and Paris; the Hague Tribunal; and the World Court at Geneva.[103] Penn declared that the means of peace is justice rather than war. Penn refers to the "Grand Design" of Henry IV, but goes much farther in his plan, and also advocates the abolition of military forces — a characteristically Quaker phase of the plan.

Three famous plans have been submitted since. In 1712, Saint Pierre, of France, published his plan for perpetual peace. It provided for an international army to enforce its measures. Saint Pierre was severely persecuted for his plan, and it was given little favorable consideration.[104] Immanuel Kant's essay on Perpetual Peace is famous, and he is credited with many ideas which were original with Penn. Penn's plan was published in 1693; Kant was born in 1724. The plan for the present World Court and League of Nations — chiefly American in origin — is now being given practical trial. Incidentally, "the method of reaching conclusions in a committee of the League of Nations resembles nothing so much as a Quaker business meeting." Substantial unity is required.[105]

In the organization of the United States of America, certain of Penn's ideas were put into operation. The individual States were forbidden to keep armies or navies, and a

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103 Footnote by W.H. Dixon in Old South Leaflets, Vol. III, No. 75.

104 Boeckel, op. cit., p. 198.

105 David Hinshaw, "Friends of the Truth," CENTURY, April, 1930, p. 235.

Supreme Court was created to settle disputes between States.[106]

Quakers in colonial politics faced many problems involving their objection to war. Calls for troops, and for money to finance war, always troubled them greatly. Exigencies sometimes forced Quaker assemblies to vote funds and commission officers with soldiers, but never was it done willingly.[107] The Quaker way was to make every effort to secure understanding between the belligerents, as a means of preventing war. The Friends refused to pay war taxes, but pledged themselves to contribute to preservation of peace "more than the heaviest taxes of a war can be expected to require."

The Quaker opposition to war does not imply cowardice. The many instances of Friends going unarmed to interviews in which they sought to avert war, or about their work of relief among the victims of war, are ample proof that their beliefs require a particularly high type of courage.

Five Friends of Rhode Island, with John Easton, the Quaker deputy governor, at their head, went unarmed to interview King Philip, to try to avoid war by arbitration.[108] For the purpose of bringing peace out of the French and Indian wars, the Friendly Association was formed. It was composed of Quakers. Authorities objected to the efforts of this association, saying it was an unofficial and impertinent body. But the Friendly Association finally succeeded in bringing about a termination of the war, and the payment to the Indians of indemnities for the land taken by the "Walking Purchase" and

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106 Boeckel, op. cit., p. 199.
107 Jones, op. cit., p. 182.
108 Ibid., p. 182.

by other equally crafty processes.[109] The efforts of Christian Frederic Post, who was sent out by the Friendly Association to the Ohio Indians, were largely responsible for the termination of the war in 1757.[110]

A few years later, Dr. Fothergill and David Barclay, prominent Quakers of England, working with Benjamin Franklin, made valiant efforts to prevent war between England and the American colonies.[111]

For the seventy years during which Penn's ideas of government were enforced in Pennsylvania, that province suffered no wars or external troubles. This fact is not to be attributed to accident, but to just policies of government, and to honest relationships with the Indians.

Friends not only opposed taking actual part in war, but they opposed also, paying war taxes, taking oaths of allegiance, supplying provisions to the army, or hiring substitutes. It was also a principle of theirs never to plot against the existing government. They believed in resistance by passive suffering only. By this means, they had always resisted despotism, and with remarkable success.[112]

The attitude of Friends towards war has been generally misunderstood. They were shunned as traitors. Also, many insincere persons pretended to the Quaker persuasion in order to avoid service.[113] In the war of the Revolution, Quakers

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109 Sharpless, op.cit., pp.179 ff.
110 Ibid., p.182.
112 Gummere, op. cit., p.282; Sharpless, op.cit.,part2, p.175; Weeks, op.cit., p. 173; Jones, op. cit.,pp.259-260.
111 Gummere, op. cit., Chapter V.
113 Woolman, Journal,pp.87-89; Sharpless, op.cit., pp. 240-241.

were dubbed Tories, though as a matter of fact they were,for the most part, in sympathy with the colonists. It was a question of rights, and the appeal was made to their sense of justice.[114] As in the French and Indian War, many young Quaker men joined the service rather than be misunderstood, though they were disowned therefor by the Society. And, as in 1756, the number of "war Quakers" was distressing.[115]

No other organized groups have gone so far as the Friends in demostrating their opposition to.war. They have been true to their "testimony against war" throughout our national history. Following the Civil War, the Friends of America organized a peace association which meets annually at Lake Mohonk, Ohio, for the discussion of means of peace.[116] In the World War, Quakers spent more than $25,000,000.00 in relief work which was carried on by nearly one thousand men and women Quakers, entirely unarmed. The Quaker organization became the dispensing agency of the American Relief Administration.[117] The Germans credit the Quaker Foreign Relief Work with a large part in their reconstruction activities after the war, especially by establishing in the German mind a belief in friendship and brotherhood. Dr, Alice Salomon, prominent German social worker, says that the Foreign Relief Work

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114 Gummere, op. cit., pp. 293-294; Sharpless, op.cit., part 2, p. 176.

115 Weeks, op. cit.,pp. 125, 183-184; Sharpless, op.cit., part 2, pp. 151, 128, 135; W.H.Wilson, Quaker Hill, A Sociological Study, p. 39.

116 John Richelson, "Herbert Hoover and the Quakers," CURRENT HISTORY, April,1929, p.80; Hinshaw,op.cit., p.250.

117 Thomas, op. cit., p. 13; Richelson, op. cit., p.83; Hinshaw, op. cit., p.234.

prepared the soil for reconciliation and peace.[118]

As a part of their present-day efforts to avert war, the Friends have established international centers in many European cities, where people of various nationalities may meet on a footing of good will. It is the task of these centers "to convince people that international security is to be had much more certainly, and much more cheaply, by the policies of friendliness, openness, and good will than by the old methods of distrust, force of arms, and war."[119]

Without doubt, the majority of Americans today echo Jefferson's declaration, "My passion is peace." The multiplicity of organizations working toward peace, the movements among women's clubs and college students for the study of the cause and cure of war, the importance attached to the awards of the Nobel Peace Prize — all attest to this fact.[120] The only organized group of colonials to aid the cause of peace, in the face of popular contempt — the only organized group to have continued consistently throughtout our national history in attempts to promote a demand for peace, must be credited with a large part of the influence which has shaped our present-day American ideal of peace.

PRACTICAL HUMANITARIANISM.

If there be a common philosophy that may be called a national religious opinion in America, it is this: that any

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118 Hans Gramm, "In the Quakers' Footsteps," THE SURVEY, Vol. 61, Feb. 1, 1929, p. 588.

119 Thomas, op. cit., p. 90.

120 Anna L.Curtis, "A School for Peace Workers," THE NATION, May 27,1931,p.584; Editorial,"Jane Addams Receives Noble Peace Prize," CHRISTIAN CENTURY, Vol.48,Dec.23, 1931,pp.1611-12.

religion should give social expression in a practical humanitarian attitude towards one's fellows, to the exclusion of opinions of doctrine or theology. It is the general feeling, also, that any type of social service should be engaged in for the sake of the persons served -- which is a long stride from the medieval attitude of caring for the sick and the poor for the sake of saving the soul of the social worker. Jorns says, "Quakerism repudiated absolutely the theory that the poor should be used as a ladder to heaven."[121] It was this difference in attitude which distinguished Quakers from other charity workers of their own and former times; and it is this newer attitude which characterizes modern charitable organizations. Fisher says that it was among the Quakers that there first appeared "those ideas of philanthropy which may now be called the prevailing religion of the modern world."[122]

Prison Reform.

When George Fox was in prison at Derby for a term of nearly a year, he had ample apportunity to observe the pernicious effects of keeping prisoners in confinement together. He wrote out his observations, together with his own conclusions in the matter, and sent them to the judges. This is the first essay on prison reform of which we have any record.[123]

In Pennsylvania, the Quaker ideal of prison reform found early recognition. Penn attempted to make prisons into reformatories, and to make them free to inmates. His

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121 Jorns, op. cit., p. 69.
122 Fisher, op. cit., p. 54.
123 Evans, op. cit., p. 38.

undertaking was considered as new and striking as the Quaker religious toleration.[124] Fisher writes; "Long before Beccaria thought of writing his book on the misery of prisons, the Quakers had carried into effect in Pennsylvania the reforms which he is supposed to have originated. They introduced the idea that a prison should be a reformatory as well as a placee of punishment."[125] Thus, Jorns points out, the Quakers contributed a new principle of penology.[126]

The demands of the Quakers for prison reform were based upon two assumptions; (1) that even the convicted criminal has certain rights, of health and morals, and (2) that the purpose of imprisonment is the reform of the criminal. Hence the prisoners should have education and occupation. Quakers urged the introduction of their own Lancaster's system of education into prisons.[127]

Quakers have always opposed capital punishment.[128] According to Penn's Constitutions, capital punishment for felony was abolished. This was a surprising departure from the English code. In 1682, Penn and his friends succeeded in having passed in Pennsylvania the "Great Law" which reduced the death penalty to only two crimes, murder and treason. In England, at the same time, there were over two hundred capital offences, the same number in New York, and more than twenty in Massachusetts and South Carolina. Under great

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124 Jorns, op. cit., p. 172.
125 Fisher, op. cit., p. 54.
126 Jorns, op. cit., p. 165.
127 Ibid., p. 187.
128 See appendix, p.182.

pressure, the Great Law was modified in 1718, when capital punishment was extended to a dozen crimes. But this change was the result of non-Quaker influence.[129]

Toward the end of the seventeenth century, John Bellers, a typical Quaker philanthropist of England, began laying primary emphasis upon preventive treatment for those classes of society which are especially predisposed to criminality. He opposed capital punishment in any case, and advocated reform measures in prisons. The work of Bellers was a beginning, though his ideas resulted in little of practical value in England until much later.[130]

Mrs. Elizabeth Fry, an English Quakeress, is famous for her work in improving conditions among the women and children in Newgate prison a century ago. "The work of Elizabeth Fry in prison reform, the first widely effective effort ever initiated, changed the entire concept and practice of civilized nations in prison and correctional institutions."[131] Her brother, Joseph John Gurney, has left in his Memoirs many interesting references to the work accomplished by Mrs. Fry and by himself. He refers to improvements made in Yorkshire prison as the result of their labors, although the magistrates did not admit their influence.[132] He writes in the same year (1819), of his attempts to save the lives of three men convicted of burglary.[133] In 1830, he was urging the repeal of the British law providing capital punishment

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129 Sharpless, op. cit., pp. 148-150.
130 Jorns, op. cit., pp. 168-169.
131 Hinshaw, op. cit., p. 231; Horns, op. cit., pp. 178-182.
132 Joseph John Gurney, Memoirs, Vol. I, pp. 170-171.
133 Ibid., pp. 169-170.

for forgery.[134] Quakers were largely responsible for the laws abolishing imprisonment for debt in England.[135]

It is interesting to note that the Constitution of the United States, adopted in 1787, forty years earlier than Gurney's agitation of 1830 in England, provides for the punishment of but one crime against the nation — treason — and the kind of punishment is not fixed. Our Constitution did not inherit its liberal criminal code entirely or directly from England. Today, eight States do not inflict the death penalty for any crime, and in thirty-four it is inflicted only for the crime of murder. In six States, capital punishment may be inflicted for arson, in two for robbery, in one for burglary, in several for rape. But in practically every State, the recommendation of the jury may reduce the sentence to life imprisonment.[136] Whether of not we approve of this feature of the American penal code, it is easy to see behind it the very definite influence of the Quakers. Their influence upon the methods employed in the management of prisons and reformatories is just as apparent.

Poor Relief.

It is a matter of tradition that no Quaker ever needed public relief. Each meeting took care of its own poor, and maintained a permanent fund for poor relief.[137] The time and devotion expended by early Quakers in the care of their poor

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134 Ibid., pp. 413-414.
135 Gummere, op. cit., p.203.
136 World Almanac, 1931, pp. 277-278.
137 Jones, op. cit., p. 415; Jorns, op. cit., p. 67.

gives one respect for their sincere, practical Christianity.

We have little of record to show the work of early Quakers for the poor outside their own sect, though they have always kept careful account of their other activities. We have a little information concerning an organization of women workers, which Fox himself called into being about 1658. In the group were about sixty members, who made personal contributions and raised funds to care for poor and sick, widows and orphans, and fellow members in prison. There were similar groups among Friends outside of London.[138] By the latter half of the eighteenth century, Quakers began to extend greatly their humanitarian activities to include the needy outside their own organization.[139]

John Woolman gave expression to the general attitude of his sect when he wrote: "When wages in a fruitful land bear so small a proportion to the necessities of life, that poor honest people who have families, cannot by a moderate industry attain to a comfortable living, and give their children sufficient learning, but must either labor to a degree of oppression, or else omit that which appears to be duty ... the subject requires our serious consideration."[140] What a modern sound has this today, when every community is attempting to care adequately for its own unemplowed citizens who are unable to earn — "in a fruitful land."

The first Quakers hoped to ameliorate poverty over all of

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138 Jorns, op. cit., pp. 67-68.
139 Ibid., p. 89.
140 Woolman, Chapter I of "Remarks on Sundry Subjects," p. 320 of his Journal. (First printed in London, 1773.)

England. They urged the combined efforts of all religious groups, and they sent to the government many petitions urging adequate action in order that there might be"no beggar found on English soil." The means suggested were (1) a systematic organization of charity, and (2) a leveling off of social inequalities. They were not successful in enlisting the aid of government,[141] but their own charity work,then and since, has been carried on through systematic organization and without reference to creed or class distinction.

John Bellers, a friend of William Penn, wassone of the most distinguished of the early Quakers, and a famous humanitarian. He was responsible for the idea, later developed by the Quakers, of institutional care of the poor.[142] He did not gain sufficient help from people with capital to develop his plan fully. The Quaker workhouse in Clerkenwell, finished in 1702, was all that he directly accomplished. This institution continued until 1811. Its general character was one of pleasantness, rather than of forcible detention, as in the public workhouses.[143] With reference to poor relief by Quakers in all periods in England, "whatever was undertaken, expression was given to the desire to create humane and dignified conditions of living ... as the first prerequisite of morality and religious life."[144] They gave help toward self-help. They helped members to find work.

In 1714, John Bellers published his Essay Towards the

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141 Jorns, op. cit.,pp. 56-57.
142 Ibid., p. 75.
143 Ibid., p. 98.
144 Ibid., pp. 145-146.

Improvement of Physick.[145] In this plan, he proposed the erection of hospitals for the poor, the establishment of laboratories and clinics where physicians might study, and of government laboratories where remedies might be tested. These proposals were far in advance of their times. State oversight of public health has not yet been fully established in England.[146]

In 1751, the first hospital in America was built in Philadelphia. Here also was the first American medical school.[147] Gummere points out the important part played by Dr. Fothergill in the establishment of this hospital. Dr. Fothergill and David Barclay, both prominent Quakers in England, gave between 6000 and 7000 to it in 1772. Franklin was closely associated with Fothergill and Barclay while he was in England; and Gummere thinks it highly probable that Franklin may have received the original suggestion for the hospital from Fothergill.[148] In any case, we are well aware that Franklin was subjected to Quaker influences throughout his long years of residence in Philadelphia. The extent of this influence will be considered more fully in a later chapter.

The women members of family of Samuel Gurney, including Mrs. Elizabeth Fry, set up the first organization for the training of nurses (1840). They engaged in much charitable work among the sick, It was from this group that Florence Nightingale took her helpers when she set out for the

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145 Ibid., pp. 145-146.
146 Ibid., p. 148.
147 Fisher, op. cit., pp. 223-224; Gummere, op. cit., pp. 247-248, foot-note.
148 Gummere, op. cit.,pp. 247-248.

Crimean War. The venture of that small band of women has had remarkable influence upon the imaginations of western women,[149] with resultant wide interest in public health and social service.

The Quakers, who had been pioneers in England in the practical application of their ideas of systematic organization of charity, with consideration for the self respect of the poor, were pioneers in the same work in America. This two-fold idea has become an integral part of our American attitude towards poor relief. It has borne its most striking reaults in the organized efforts of the past year (1931-1932) to combat the effects of unemployment.

Anti-Slavery Agitation.

There was but little moral sentiment against slavery in the colonies in the seventeenth century. But very early in the eighteenth century the Friends entered the conflict against slavery. The German-Town Quakers had protested in 1688, "To bring men hither, or to rob and sell them against their will, we stand against." From that time on, the movement for abolition advanced.[150]

There are many who insist that the whole anti-slavery agitation was, under its moral wxterior, waged for economic reasons. Hart insists, however, that "though slavery had also an economic side,the reasons for the onslaught upon it were chiefly moral," and that "what dignified the whole contest

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149 Jorns, op. cit., p. 151.
150 Sharpless, op. cit., p. 266.

was the very fact that the sentiment for human rights was at the bottom of it." [151]

Many writers on the subject of anti-slavery agitation agree that the Quakers were not only the first leaders in the contest for abolition, but that they were also throughout, consistent and important in their support of the cause. Siebert says that in this work "the Quakers deserve to be placed before all other denominations because of their general acceptance and advocacy of anti-slavery doctrines when the system of slavery had no other opponents."[152]

The first recorded official action of any group against slavery was that of the German-Town Friends in 1688. This first public protest against slavery is preserved in the handwriting of Francis Daniel Pastorius.[153] But there had been preparation for such a step. George Fox had urged repeatedly that slaves held by Friends be instructed, and well treated, and that after a certain term of service they should be freed and provided for. Fox's idea was new, even among Friends.[154] William Penn, in the charter granted to the Free Society of Traders, provided that black servants, at fourteen years, be freed and provided for.[155] As early as 1675, William Edmundson, English traveling Friend, wrote to Friends in America, denouncing slavery.[156]

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151 Wilbur H. Siebert, The Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom, Introduction, Albert Bushnell Hart, p.vii.
152 Siebert, op. cit., p.93; Weeks, op. cit., p. 198.
153 Evans, op. cit., p.587; Hinshaw, op.cit., p.232; Weeks, op. cit., p.199; Sharpless, op.cit., part 1, p.31; Jorns, op. cit., p.203.
154 Jorns, op. cit., pp, 197-198.
155 Evans, op. cit., pp. 426-427.
156 Weeks, op. cit., p. 198.

In 1693, Friends were counseled by the Pennsylvania Meeting to buy slaves only for the purpose of setting them free.[157] In 1696, this meeting advised that "the members should discourage the introduction of slavery."[158] But laws passed in Pennsylvania against slave importation were vetoed in England.[159]

Justice Samuel Sewall, of Boston, tried, but without success, to influence his Puritan community in the interests of the slaves. In 1700, he wrote a pamphlet entitled "The Selling of Joseph: A Memorial," in which he denounced slavery. The entry of June 22, 1716, in his Diary reads: "Iessayed to prevent Indians and Negroes being rated with Horses and Hogs; but could not prevail."[160] The godly Puritans were not yet ready for the doctrine of equality.

In Quaker communities the manumission movement spread rapidly. New England Quakers at the Monthly Meeting at Dartmouth, 1716, sent a query to the Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting relative to the justice of holding slaves. The Quakers of Nantucket, in 1716, sent forth the declaration that "it is not agreeable to the truth of Friends to purchase slaves and hold them for the term of life."[161]

It was the preaching of John Woolman that gave the most effective impetus to the movement, not only for manumission, but also for abolition. From 1746 to 1767 he traveled in the Middle and Southern Colonies, preaching that the practice of continuing slavery is not right," and that "liberty is the

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157 Jorns, op.cit., p. 207.
158 Henry Wilson, History of the Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America, Vol. I, p.8.
159 Jorns, op.cit., pp. 206-207.
160 Samuel Sewall, Diary, p. 231.
161 Henry Wilson, op. cit., Vol.I, p.9.

right of all men equally."[162] "More than any other one man, Woolman aided the English-speaking nations to throw off the disgrace of slavery."[163]

In his Journal, Woolman tells of his reaction to what he saw of slavery in the South. "And I saw in these southern provinces so many vices and corruptions, increased by this trade and this way of life, that it appeared to me as a dark gloominess hanging over the land: and though now many willingly run into it, yet in future the consequences will be grievous to posterity."[164] At another time he writes:"Though we made slaves of the Negroes, and the Turks made slaves of the Christians, I believed that liberty was the right of all men equally."[165]

In his Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes, Woolman writes prophetically: "Where unrighteousness is justified from one age to another, it is like dark matter gathering into clouds over us. We may know that this gloom will remain until the cause be removed by a reformation, or a change of times."[166] And again:"From one age to another, tha gloom grows thicker and darker till error gets established by general opinion.... We know not the time when those scales, in which mountains are weighed, may turn."[167] He points scorn at slave-owning Friends when he writes: "Some would buy a Negro from Guinea, with a view to self-interest, and keep him a slave, who would yet seem to scruple to take arms, and join with men employed

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162 Ibid., p.9.
163 Jones, op. cit.,p.397.
164 Woolman, Journal, pp. 36-37.
165 Ibid., p. 64.
166 John Woolman, Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes in same volume with the Journal, part 2, p. 235.
167 Ibid., part 2, pp. 272-273.

in taking slaves."[168]

Quaker Hill, New York, was the first American community to free herself from slavery. This work was accomplished in 1782-3, and was recognized as the direct result of the influence of Woolman's preaching. It was thirteen years before Pennsylvania took similar action, as the first of the northern colonies to make such laws, and twenty years before Wilberforce started anti-slavery agitation in England.[169]

In 1761, Samuel Rodman was disowned by the Greenwich Monthly Meeting for buying a slave,[170] Slave-holding was made a disownable offense among New England Quakers about 1770, and by the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1776.[171] By 1755, Pennsylvania Quakers had ceased buying slaves.[172] In 1777, Maryland Friends made slave-holding a disownable offense.[173]

By 1787, there was not a single slave in the possession of a member of the Society of Friends in America,[174] except in a few cases in the South where manumission was prohibited — and "every Quaker was an abolitionist."[175]

After clearing their own skirts of the practice of slave-holding, Friends turned to the problem of securing general legislation against it. By 1770, little anti-slavery societies under leadership of Quakers had been formed in the middle colonies.[176] They included many members from other sects, a

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168 Ibid., part 2, p. 268.
169 W.H.Wilson, Quaker Hill, pp. 25-27.
170 Jones, op. cit., p. 163.
171 Weeks, op. cit., p. 199.
172 Jones, op. cit., p. 515.
173 Ibid., p. 326.
174 Jorns, op. cit., p. 212; Jones, op. cit., p. 258.
175 Sharpless, op. cit., part 2, p. 231.
176 Jorns, op. cit., p. 209.

fact which shows the spread of Quaker influence on this subject. In1774, at the petition of Friends, the Rhode Island legislature passed an act forever prohibiting the enslaving of Negroes. The author of this famous bill was Stephen Hopkins, Quaker, former governor of Rhode Island, and a former slaveholder.[177]

Charles Osborne, a Friend of North Carolina, was the "first man in America to proclaim the doctrine of immediate and unconditional emancipation." He organized manumission societies in various parts of the country; and he published at Mount Pleasant, Ohio, the PHILANTHROPIST, the "first journal in America to advocate unconditional emancipation."[178] The first issue of the PHILANTHROPIST appeared in 1817, when William LLoyd Garrison was only twelve years old, and several years before that doctrine was announced by Elizabeth Heyrick in England. Charles Osborne is entitled to rank as the real pioneer of American abolition.[179]

The most effective anti-slavery worker between 1815 and 1830 was Benjamin Lundy, a Quaker, whom Weeks places in advance of all contemporaneous and earlier abolitionists.[180] He had contributed to Osborne's paper, and in 1821, began the publication of THE GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.[181] Benjamin Lundy visited William Lloyd Garrison in Vermont in 1828, and persuaded him to aid in the work of abolition. In the summer

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177 Jones, op. cit., p. 166; Richman, op. cit.,p. 170; see also page 17‡this chapter.
178 Weeks, op. cit., pp. 235-236, and p. 238.
179 Ibid., p.237, footnote.
180 Ibid., p. 167.
181 Ibid., pp. 238-239, footnote.

of 1829, Mr. Garrison became one of the editors of the PHILANTHROPIST, which now became a weekly journal, devoted to the interests of "temperance, emancipation, and peace."[182] (All three are interests of definitely Quaker origin in America.)

Quaker influence was paramount in the formation of manumission societies in North Carolina, and other parts of the South, and in movements calling for national anti-slavery conventions.[183] In North Carolina, where it was unlawful to free slaves, the Society of Friends devoted much money to the purchasing of slaves for the purpose of giving them virtual freedom, or of transporting them to free states, or to Haiti of Liberia, if they so desired.[184] This work was continued until the Emancipation Proclamation — but to less and less degree, as the northern States, especially Indiana, Pennsylvania, and Illinois, began to protest vigorously against the free Negroes' coming there.[185]

Friends contributed many leaders to the anti-slavery cause. To the names already mentioned should be added the names of Vestal, Addison, and Levi Coffin. Vestal Coffin organized the Underground Railroad in 1819. His son, Addison, served as "conductor" from before 1836; and Levi Coffin, cousin of Vestal, was the "president" for thirty years.[186] A favorite disguise for fugitive slaves was the quaint gray costume of the women Quakers.[187]

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182 Henry Wilson, op. cit., pp. 172-173.
183 Weeks, op. cit.,p. 234, and footnote p. 235; Sharpless, op. cit., part 2, p. 283.
184 Ibid.,pp. 224-227.
185 Ibid.,pp. 232-233.
186 Ibid.,p. 242.
187 Siebert, op. cit., p. 67.

In England, the Quaker, Joseph John Gurney, was particularly active in efforts to arouse opinion opposing slavery in the dominions. As a result, an act for the abolition of slavery was passed by Parliament in 1833.[188]

In this section of this study, it has been shown that in America, the idea of complete eradication of slavery originated with the Quakers, and that they put the idea into practical execution. That the contest took the form it did in 1861, was entirely beyond their calculation. They hoped to accomplish their purpose within the law, and without bloodshed.

THE SPREAD OF QUAKER IDEAS.

In an article in which he compares the relative influence of Puritans and Quakers, Henry S. Canby makes this statement: "The seed of the Quakers was sown as widely as, if less deeply than the mental habits of the Puritans. The Quakers... permeated every corner of the infant country.... They went far and wide as missionaries preaching the inner light. They... became part of every American community, influencing it by example, which is always stronger than doctrine."[189]

This chapter has emphasized especially the Quaker communities in Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Nantucket. Settlements in other colonies should also be considered. West Jersey was settled almost entirely by Quakers. The Quakers established themselves in various communities in Massachusetts, New York, Virginia, Maryland, and Carolina. Following visits by Fox,

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188 Joseph John Gurney, Memoirs, Vol. I, pp. 483-487.
189 Henry S. Canby, "Quakers and Puritans," THE SATURDAY REVIEW OF LITERATURE, Jan. 2, 1926, p. 458.

Edmundson, and Chalkley, many of the people of the Carolinas became Quakers; and the Quaker, Archdale, was one of the early governors of Carolina. Quakerism was well-rooted and powerful in Carolina before the death of George Fox in 1691.[190] In 1700, the Quakers were the most numerous -- and the only organized-- body of Dissenters in any of the southern provinces.[191]

Friends have always kept careful record of the transfer of members from one meeting to another. Stephen B. Weeks made a painstaking study of these records as a basis for his book, Southern Quakers and Slavery. His book is the basis for most of the statements which follow here.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, many of the Quakers of Pennsylvania and New Jersey began moving southward. "The Quaker wave of migration was instrumental in the settlement of the West, and is still a great and growing power."[192] By 1761, the route of the journey of the traveling Quaker ministers, Daniel Stanton and Isaac Zane, through Virginia and North Carolina indicates that the denter of Quaker population was moving west.[193] There was considerable migration from Nantucket southward from 1771 to 1775. Between 1772 and 1777, many Quakers migrated from the northern colonies to South Carolina, and then westward.[194] Settlers went from Pennsylvania by way of Maryland to North Carolina, and thence to Indiana.[195] Records in Wrightsborough, Georgia, show that,

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190 Weeks, op. cit., p. 85; Osgood, op. cit., Vol.II, p. 244.
191 Weeks, op. cit., p. 70.
192 Ibid., pp. 71 and 85.
193 Ibid., p. 111.
194 Ibid., p. 116.
195 Ibid., p. 104.

dating from 1773, the Quaker population there was made up of newcomers from Pennsylvania, West Jersey, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina.[196] The first settler in Ohio was a Quaker, Thomas Beales, who went there in 1782 to preach to the Indians.[197]

These earlier migrations may have been made partly for economic reasons, but slavery had a definite influence. Quakers of North Carolina and Virginia, after freeing their own slaves, were unable to compete with slave-owners. For moral reasons, they would not return to slave-owning, but instead, removed to the Northwest Territory. Many large meetings of North Carolina and Virginia were virtually transplanted.[198] The Missouri Compromise and the disfranchising of free colored men in South Carolina gave a strong impetus to Quaker migrations from that State which continued until the Civil War.[199]

The first settlers of Henry County, Indiana, were Quakers from Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Ohio, and Kentucky, beginning about 1819. Many Friends from Georgia sold their lands for less than they were worth, and left for Ohio to escape slavery. The influence of Virginia Friends was preeminent in Ohio, of North Carolina Friends in Indiana. Between 1800 and 1860, many hundreds of Friends went from the Carolinas, Virginia, Georgia, and Tennessee to Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois.[200] Great numbers of South Carolina Friends

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196 Ibid., pp. 118-119.
197 Ibid., p. 251.
198 Ibid., p. 291; Hinshaw, op. cit., p. 232.
199 Weeks, op. cit., pp. 283-284.
200 Ibid., pp. 268-271. (See important tables on pp. 269-270 of Weeks' book.)

removed to Miami, Warren, and Clinton Counties, Ohio, and from there spread farther westward. The North Carolina Yearly Meeting can look in all the yearly meetings in the West, and say, with truth, "these are my children."[201]

It was inevitable that these thousands of Friends going to various parts of the new western States should bear with them the same ideas they had always held which had so influenced their neighbors in the East; and that these same ideas should have been carried on to the farther West by the immigrants from the Northwest Territory to Kansas, Iowa — even to the Pacific coast. Both Quakers and non-Quakers spread Quaker ideas in this latter migration. Many of their ideas were already a definite part of the American way of thinking. "Ideas of simplicity, of peace, of possible brotherhood... were borne west by thousands not even Quaker in name.... In America, Quakerism has diffused into the national consciousness."[202]

The influence of certain outstanding citizens of Quaker stock must not be overlooked. They had a large part in the spread of Quaker ideas which have become an integral part of American thought and tradition.

Isaac Norris, speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly, son of William Penn's confidential adviser, Isaac Norris, suggested the inscription on Liberty Bell, "Proclaim liberty throughout the land, and to all the inhabitants thereof."[203]

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201 Ibid., p. 320, and footnote, p. 307.
202 Henry S. Canby, Classic Americans, p. 35.
203 Sharpless, op. cit., part 2, p.11.

Thomas Paine, stirring writer of Revolutionary days, and John Dickinson, author of the protest adopted by the Stamp Act Congress, and of the famous Farmer's Letters, were both of Quaker families; and both were powerful in their ability to mould public opinion according to their own beliefs.

Generals Greene, Mifflin, and Morris, of the Revolution; James Fenimore Cooper, the "fighting Quaker of American literature"; Benjamin West, painter; John Greenleaf Whittier, Bayard Taylor, and Walt Whitman, poets, were all of Quaker origin

Franklin, Emerson, and Thoreau show definite Quaker influence. Gummere says that Franklin's political opinions were, in the main, those of the Quakers.[204] Thomas Jefferson was reared in Albemarle County, Virginia, where there were large settlements of Friends. Abraham Lincoln traced his paternal ancestry to Quakers in Pennsylvania.

Mark Hanna was of Quaker stock, as were also Johns Hopkins and Ezra Cornell, founders of the universities named for them.[205]

Ample, indeed, have been the opportunities for the spread of Quaker ideas. This spread of ideas was co-incident with the general westward movement of the American people, thereby resulting in the absorption of Quaker ideas into the thought of the people in all parts of the United States.

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204 Gummere, op. cit., p. 224.
205 Hinshaw, op. cit., p. 235.

SUMMARY.

In this chapter, it has been shown that because the Quakers believed that an "Inner Light" from God dwells in the heart of every man, they believed also in the potential equality of persons. Upon these two fundamental beliefs, depend the Quaker ideals of democracy of justice, religious tolerance, separation of church and state, love of peace, and practical, yet kindly, humanitarianism. It has also been shown that these same ideas are characteristically American ideas; that in America, they were cherished by the Quakers before they were adopted in their entirety and full significance by any other group; that they were spread by the Quakers, and those influenced by Quakerism, to all parts of America; and that they were inherited by America from the Quakers.

Recurring evidences of the reliability of the statement on page 1 of this study — that certain Quaker principles and ideas have persisted as American ideas — will be pointed out in succeeding chapters by references to passages in the works of representative American writers. The validity and reliability of the sources quoted or referred to in this chapter, are shown by accompanying annotations in the bibliography.

CHAPTER III.

EVIDENCES IN AMERICAN LITERATURE OF THE COLONIAL PERIOD.

James Freeman Clarke quotes the historian, Bancroft, as saying that the system of George Fox contained the highest intellectual philosophy, equivalent to the doctrines of Plato and Descartes. "Quakerism rests on the reality of the inner light; and its method of inquiry is absolute freedom applied to consciousness."[1] "Mr. Bancroft finds the ideas of the Quakers in 'the profound eloquence of Rousseau,' 'the masculine philosophy of Kant,'and 'the poetry of Schiller, Coleridge, Lamartine, and Wordsworth.'"[2] Every one of the men named by Mr. Bancroft was born in the eighteenth century when the ideas of Fox were beginning to be particularly effective — a century or more after George Fox had organized the sect known as Friends.[3] When the philosophies of Kant and Rousseau, and the poetry of Coleridge, Schiller, Lamartine, and Wordsworth reached America, they aroused sympathetic response; for the fundamental elements of their philosophies which appealed to American scholars were already a part of our national thought — subject long since to the formative influence of a philosophy of reason based upon the principle of equality.

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1 James Freeman Clarke, Events and Epochs of Religious History, pp. 318-319.

2 Ibid., p. 321.

3. Rousseau was born in 1712, Kant in 1724, Schiller in 1759, Coleridge in 1772, Wordsworth in 1770, Lammartine in 1790. Fox began preaching in 1648, and the Society of Friends was organized in 1666.

Canby believes that the ideas which dominated American colonial literature are "still powerful, if not dominant, in later America." He terms Jonathan Edwards's Freedom of the Will "sophisticated logic," and John Woolman's Journal "naive art," and declares that both "contain philosophies that, directly or indirectly, are of almost incalculable influence upon American culture."[4]

In the present chapter, some reference will be made to colonial writings showing Puritan influence, for the sake of contrasting them with writings showing Quaker influence. In the beginning of the period, evidences of Quaker influence are very slight, in view of which fact, their more frequent recurrence near the end of the period is the more striking. References are grouped chronologically according to the ideas expressed.

EQUALITY OF PERSONS — DEMOCRACY OF JUSTICE.

As was shown in Chapter II, the idea of absolute equality of persons first reached America through the Friends. There was little of democracy in early New England settlements. John Winthrop declared democratic government to be "the meanest and worst and so accounted among most civil nations." In Boston, great care was taken to observe social distinctions. Only those whose birth or financial worth justified it, were called "Mister." Next in rank were the "Goodman" and his "Goodwife," and those of lowest station were desig-

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4 Canby, Henry Seidel, Classic Americans, pp. 4 and 5.

nated merely by the term, "One."[5] Any titles held in Old England were carefully observed in New England. In notable contrast to the Puritan consideration for class distinction, was the Quaker appellation of "Friend" for everyone.

Long search reveals but little in very early colonial literature to indicate that the Puritans entertained any sympathy for the idea of equality. Early Friends scorned literary pursuits.[6] Hence the idea of equality does not have literary expression until well into the eighteenth century. Of its importance in the opinion of Friends, there is documentary evidence in a law passed in Pennsylvania in 1682. This law abolished the right of primogeniture, thus effectually preventing the establishment of an aristocracy founded on the accumulation of large estates.[7]

In the earlier writings of Franklin, we find definite expression of the belief in equality. Franklin was a grandson of the Quaker, Peter Folger.[8] But more effective Quaker influences than those of heredity, were those of his Philadelphia environment during the formative years of his youth and early manhood.

From Poor Richard's Almanac ,the following passages are submitted as expressing the growing Quaker ideal of equality of persons:

> Kings and bears often worry their keepers.[9]

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5 Winifred Rugg, Unafraid, p. 78.
6 Appendix, p. 182.
7 William Penn, Passages from the Life and Writings of, p. 271.
8 Benjamin Franklin, Autobiography, pp. 12-13.
9 Franklin, Poor Richard's Almanac, 1733, p. 26.

An innocent plowman is more worthy than a vicious prince.[10]

That Franklin was not all Quaker, though influenced by Quaker philosophy, is shown in this quotation from the Almanac for 1740:

> We frequently misplace esteem
> By judging men by what they seem,
> With partial eyes we're apt to see,
> The man of noble pedigree.
> To birth, wealth, power, we should allow
> Precedence, and our lowest bow:
> In that is due distinction shown;
> Esteem is virtue's right alone. 11

Franklin was wont to temper his beliefs by the wisdom of expediency. But in the Almanac of 1741, "Poor Ridhard had grown to this:

> The cringing train of pow'r survey;
> What creatures are so low as they!
> With what obsequiousness they bend!
> To what vile actions condescend!
> Their rise is in their meanness built,
> And flatt'ry is their smallest guilt. 12

In 1745, Richard is ready to say without reserve, that "All blood is alike ancient," [13] and that all the people of the world may receive our equal consideration.

> Self love but serves the virtuous Mind to wake.
> As the small pebble stirs the peaceful Lake;
> The Centre mov'd, a Circle strait succeeds,
> Another still, and still another spreads,
> Friend, Parent, Neighbor,first, it will embrace,
> His country next, and next all human Race;
> Wide and more wide, th' o'rflowings of the Mind
> Take every Creature in if every Kind. 14

Hector St. John de Crévecoeur was a farmer of Pennsylvania

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10 Ibid., 1734, p. 41.
11 Ibid., 1740, p. 106.
12 Ibid., 1741, p. 111.
13 Ibid., 1746, p. 155.
14 Ibid., 1745, p. 154.

who wrote in the later colonial period. Nowhere in his Letters does he state that he was a Quaker, but there is much evidence of Quaker influence in his writings. He visited much in Quaker communities, and praises the Friends in the highest terms. With reference to a visit to a Quaker home, he says, "I was received at the door by a woman dressed extremely neat and simple, who without courtesying, or other ceremonial, asked me, with an air of benignity, who I wanted."[15] Both the dress and the manners were characteristic of all Friends. Their difference from the customs of other people brought not only the customs to the notice of the eye, but also the ideals which the customs represented, to the thoughtful consideration of serious-minded persons.

In Letter III, Crévecoeur thus defines an American:

> He is an American, who, leaving behind him all his ancient prejudices and manners, receives new ones from the new mode of life he has embraced, the new government he obeys, and the new rank he holds.... Here individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of men, whose labours and posterity will one day cause great changes in the world. [16]

In this same Letter is described the probable feeling of a European upon first entering America:

> He is arrived on a new continent; a modern society offers itself to his contemplation, different from what he had hitherto seen. It is not composed, as in Europe, of great lords who have everything, and of a herd of people who have nothing. Here are no aristocratical families, no courts, no kings, no bishops, no ecclesiastical dominion... no great refinements of luxury....We are a people of cultivators, scattered over an immense territory... united by the silken bands of mild govern-

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15 J. Hector St. John de Crévecoeur, Letters of an American Farmer, p. 183.
16 Ibid., p. 43.
17 Ibid., pp. 39-41.

> ment, all respecting the laws, without dreading their power, because they are eqitable.
>
> We have no princes, for whom we tiol, starve, and bleed: we are the most perfect society existing in the world. Here man is free as he ought to be. [17]

The idea of equality of persons is very effectively stated in Letter II.

> Can more pleasure, more dignity be added to that primary occupation [farming]? The farmer thus plowing with his child, and to feed his family, is inferior only to the emperor of China ploughing as an example to his kingdom. [18]

Equal justice is seldom administered where persons are not considered equal. Winifred Rugg tells us that, in early Boston, "Goodmen" and the still humbler "Ones" could have their inglorious feet put into stocks, their ears lopped off, their backs lacerated by the lash; gentlemen who broke the laws were fined. [19] There was no democracy of justice there! In all Quaker courts, from the beginning of the histories of their provinces, all persons were subject to the same laws — and to the same punishments when they broke the laws.

The ideal of democracy of justice gained ground rapidly. The American ideal of equal consideration for all persons gained such fame abroad, that, by the middle of the eighteenth century, the oppressed of Europe looked to America as the land of true justice. Crévecoeur thus expresses that fact:

> The great number of European immigrants yearly coming over here informs us, that the severity of taxes, the injustice of the laws, the tyranny of the rich, and the oppressive avarice of the church, are as intolerable as ever.... This country, providentially intended for the general asylum of the world, will flourish by the oppression of their people. [20]

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18 Ibid., p.25.
19 Winifred Rugg, Unafraid, p. 78.
20 Crévecoeur, op. cit., p. 87.

The passage just quoted shows that our modern ideal of equality of justice was, in the period just before the American Revolution, an American ideal, not borrowed from any European philosophy. American history and literature indicate that it originated in America with the Quakers.

RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE — SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE.

William Bradford, in his History of Plymouth, discusses the difference of opinion which occurred between Roger Williams and the various churches in which he sought fellowship. It is an interesting revelation of the intolerance of New Englanders towards any opinions save those of Puritan coloring. Williams's individual opinions are charged to an "unstable judgment." To hold different opinions was bad enough, but the practice of them was beyond endurance. Particularly characteristic of the caution of these Puritan saints was the sending of a letter of warning concerning Williams to the Salem church.[21]

Toleratin was as serious a fault, in the minds of the Puritan Fathers, as was the thing tolerated. A typical warning against such weakness is expressed by Thomas Dudley:

> Let men of God in courts and churches watch
> O'er such as do a toleration hatch;
> Lest that ill egg bring forth a cockatrice,
> To poison all with heresy and vice. [22]

One should note in the foregoing quotation, not only the attitude of extreme intolerance, but also the assumption that the court as well as the church should watch over the religious

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21 William Bradford, History of the Plymouth Settlement, p. 245.

22 Thomas Dudley, "ANew England Gantleman's Death,"(1651) Quoted in The Library of American Literature, Vol.I, p.291.

life of the community. It is an admission of approval of union of church and state.

We find Roger Williams's reaction to the persecutions suffered by himself and his followers, in this selection from The Bloody Tennet of Persecution. The tract is in the form of a dialogue between Peace and Truth. Truth speaks:

> For me, though censured, threatened, persecuted, I must profess while heaven and earth last, that no one tenent that either London, England, or the world doth harbor, is so heretical, blasphemous, seditious, and dangerous to the corporal, to the spiritual, to the eternal good of all men, as the bloody tenent (however washed and whited) I say, as is the bloody tenent of persecution for cause of conscience. [23]

Something of the idea of the Inner Light is apparent in Williams's appeal to Governor Endicott for tolerance.

> Sir I must be humbly bold to say, that 't is impossible for any man or men to maintain their Christ by the Sword, and to worship a true Christ! to fight against all consciences opposite to theirs, and not to fight against God in some of them, and to hunt after the precious life of the true Lord Jesus Christ... 'T is but worldly policy and compliance with men and times... that holds your hands from murdering of thousands and ten thousands were your power and command as great as once the Roman emperors' was. [24]

Justification of Williams's accusation was slortly forthcoming in the treatment accorded by the New England magistrates to the Quakers. By 1659, this persecution reached its culmination in the hanging of two Quakers, William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson. In 1661, The Quaker Petition was presented to the king by Samuel Shattuck. It was "A Declaration of some part of the sufferings of the people of God in scorn called

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23 Roger Williams, The Bloody Tennet of Persecution (1652) Quoted by Stedman in The Library of American Literature, Vol. I, p. 249.

24 Roger Williams, Letter to Gov. Endicott, from The Bloody Tennet Yet More Bloody, Quoted by Stedman, op.cit., Vol. I, p. 250.

Quakers, from the Professors in New England, only for the exercise of their consciences to the Lord." There follows a long list of the whippings, banishments, confiscations of property, fines, imprisonments, tortures, — and martyrdom of three of the Quakers of New England.[25] The Friends had not found religious tolerance to be a characteristic of America in 1661!

Persecutions continued for many years, borne with a militant sort of passivity by the Quakers. Occasionally one of them raised a pen in their defense. Peter Folger, of Nantucket, presented a plea for toleration in a long doggerel poem in which he declared that the unrighteous intolerance of the New England magistrates was the reason that God was punishing the colony with wars with the Indians. He urged immediate repeal of the intolerant ordinances.

Let Magistrates and Ministers
consider what they do:
Let them repeal those evil laws
and break those bonds in two

Which have been made as traps and snares
to catch the innocents,
And whereby it has gone so far
to acts of violence.
. . . . . .
Indeed I really believe,
it's not your business
To meddle with the Church of Christ
in matters more or less.

Indeed I count it very low,
for people in these days,
To ask the rulers for their leave
to serve God in his ways.
. . . . . .
If we do love our brethren,
and do to them, I say,
As we would they should do to us,
we should be quiet straightway.

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25 "The Quaker Petition,"(1661) from Joseph Besse, A Collection of the Sufferings of the People Called Quakers. Quoted by Stedman, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 401-403.

But if that we a-smiting go,
of fellow-servants so,
No marvel if our wars increase
and things so heavy go. 26

In striking contrast to this generous reasonableness, is the hard, uncompromising spirit of Michael Wigglesworth's "The Day of Doom," written in 1662. When one considers that "The Day of Doom" was best seller for three generations after its appearance, one is amazed that the "seed" of Quaker principles should have made the remarkable growth that it did in the same period. A few stanzas will serve to show the nature of the whole poem. In that part of the poem called "The Plea of the Infants," these words are credited to God:

You sinners are, and such a share
as sinners may expect,
Such you shall have; for I do save
none but my own Elect.

Such theology is directly opposite to the theory of equality. In "Sentence and Torment to the Condemned," there is this:

They wring their hands, their caitiff hands,
and gnash their teeth for terror;
They cry, they roar for anguish sore,
and gnaw their tongues for horror.

But get away without delay,
Christ pities not your cry:
Depart to Hell, there you may yell,
and roar eternally.

What pity such dramatic power had not other material for expression! As a super-climax to this tale of horror, we have this stanza:

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26 Peter Folger, "A Homely Plea for Toleration,"(1677) quoted by Stedman, in The Library of American Literature, Vol. I, pp. 479-485.

The saints behold with courage bold,
and thankful wonderment,
To see all those that were their foes
thus sent to punishment. [27]

There is no relationship between this exposition and the Quaker conception of a God who created all men equal, and loves them all equally.

Had the Friends followed the custom inaugurated by other groups of religious refugees colonizing in America, they would have restricted citizenship in their colony to Friends only, or at most, as in Maryland, to Christians. The Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina(1669), devised by Locke, granted tolerance to all Protestant religions, but established also a state church. [28]

The first of the laws enacted in Pennsylvania, however, in the assembly at Chester, 1682, established religious tolerance broad enough to include Jews and Turks, as well as all Christian sects, and secured from the beginning complete separation of church and state. [29]

But in Scituate, Massachusetts, James Cudworth, though not a Quaker himself, was dismissed from his position on the Bench for entertaining Quakers in his home. A letter of his, dated 1685, declares that "the antichristian persecuting spirit is very active, and that in the powers of this world. He that will not whip and lash, persecute and punish men that

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27 Michael Wigglesworth, "The Day of Doom"(1662), quoted by Stedman, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 3-16.

28 Old South Leaflets, Vol.7, No. 172, ("The Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina.")

29 William Penn, Passages from the Life and Writings of, p. 270.

differ in matters of religion, must not sit on the Bench, nor sustain any office in the Commonwealth."[30]

The preaching which persisted in New England was not conducive to the growth of a spirit of brotherhood towards all men. The people heard too much about the wrath of God to be much affected by his love. Cotton Mather declared:

> "When it thunders, God saith to all the hearers of his word ordinarity preached, Consider this, and forget not God, lest he tear you in pieces, and there be none to deliver you." 31

Johathan Edwards followed Cotton Mather with even more terrifying teaching.

> Natural men are held in the hand of God over the pit of hell; they have deserved the fiery pit and are already sentenced to it. 32
>
> - - - - - - - - -
>
> The God that holds you over the pit of hell, much as one holds a spider, or some loathsome insect, over the fire, abhors you and is dreadfully provoked.... You are ten thousand times as abominable in his eyes, as the most hateful and venomous serpent is in ours. 33
>
> - - - - - - - - - -
>
> You hang by a slender thread, with the flames of divine wrath flashing about it, and ready every moment to singe it and burn it asunder. 34

Contrast to this, the Quaker belief that God loves all men equally, and it is easy to see why the more appealing Quaker ideal of equality, when fairly heard, spread rapidly in the colonies. Quietly, but very surely, this rapidly

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30 George Bishop, New England Judged, pp. 128-135.
31 Cotton Mather, Magnalia, Christi Americana, Quoted by by Stedman in The Library of American Literature, Vol.II,p.163.
32 Jonathan Edwards, "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God," a sermon, 1741. Quoted by Stedman, op. cit., Vol.II, p.385.
33 Ibid., p. 391.
34 Ibid., p. 392.

spreading ideal was laying the foundation for a union of States, and for two wars for freedom and equality.

Jonathan Edwards's own people were breaking away from his teachings long before he ceased preaching the wrath of God. Mrs. Jane Turrell, a Puritan of Boston and Bedford, produced this poem in 1729 or 1730:

> Behold how good, how sweet, their joy does prove,
> Where brethren dwell in unity and love!
> When no contention, strife or fatal jar
> Disturb the peace and raise the noisy war. 35

In 1739, John Callender, of Rhode Island, asked:

> Who can assign a reason why they [Christians] may not love one another, though abounding in their own several senses?

Elsewhere in the same essay, he says:

> Liberty of conscience is more fully established and enjoyed now, in the other New English colonies.... And there is no other bottom than this to rest upon, to leave others the liberty we should desire ourselves.... This is doing as we would be done by, the grand rule of justice and equity. 36

Franklin never complained of any lack of liberty in his adopted colony, and he often defended the right of all persons to liberty of conscience. America has cause to rejoice that the genius of Franklin had opportunity to develop in liberty-loving Philadelphia. Among his writings there is an interesting parable on brotherly love, which concludes thus:

> And Rueben fell on his neck, and kissed him, with tears, saying, "Thy kindness is great, but thy goodness in forgiving me is greater. Thou art indeed my brother, and whilst I live, will I surely love thee."
> And Judah said, "Let us also love our other brothers, behold are we not all of one blood?"
> And Jacob said..."Judah hath the soul of a king." 37

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35 Quoted by Stedman, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 362.
36 Ibid., pp. 412-414.
37 Benjamin Franklin, Writings, Jared Sparks Edition, Vol. II, p. 124.

Another "Parable" is a fitting companion piece. According to this tale, Abraham refused hospitality to a stranger because the stranger worshipped not Jehovah, but an idol. He beat the stranger away from the tent into the wilderness. Then God rebuked Abraham, saying: "Have I borne wuth him these hundred ninety and eight years, and nourished him, notwithstanding his rebellion against me; and couldst thou not, that art thyself a sinner, bear with him one night?" The intended moral is plain.[38]

John Woolman, gentle and sincere Friend, writes, "I found [in his own mind] no narrowness respecting sects: but believed, that sincere, upright-hearted people, in every society, who truly love God, were accepted of him." [39]

Crévecoeur, writing in the period of transition from colonial to Revolutionary period literature, describes the growing spirit of religious tolerance:

> All sects are mixed as well as all nations; thus religious indifference [tolerance] is imperceptibly disseminated from one end of the continent to the other; which is at present one of the strongest characteristics of the Americans. 40

In another letter, Crévecoeur rejoices that —

> Those ancient times of religious discords are now gone, (I hope never to return) when each thought it meritorious, not only to damn the other, which would have been nothing, but to persecute and murder one another, for the glory of that Being, who requires no more of us than that we should love one another and live! 41

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38 Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 121-122.
39 John Woolman, Journal, p. 25.
40 Crévecoeur, op. cit., p. 51.
41 Ibid., p. 138.

LOVE OF PEACE.

The striking difference between the attitude of the Puritans towards the Indians, and that of the Quakers, is shown in the two following passages:

William Bradford, in his History of Plymouth, gives an account of a battle between the Pequots, on the one side, and the English of Connecticut and New Plymouth, and the Narragansetts on the other. The English and Narragansetts attacked the Pequot fortifications —

> Those that entered first met with fierce resistance, the enemy shooting and grappling with them. Others of the attacking party ran to their houses and set them on fire, the mats catching quickly... and the wind soon fanning them into a blaze, — in fact more were burnt to death than were killed otherwise.... Those that escaped the fire were slain by the sword... so that they were quickly dispatched and very few escaped. ... It was a fearful sight to see them frying in the fire, with streams of blood quenching it; the smell was horrible, but the victory seemed a sweet sacrifice, and they gave praise to God who had wrought so wonderfully for them thus to enclose their enemy, and give them so speedy a victory over such a proud and insulting foe.42

This passage is no less than a direct echo of the warchants of the Old Testament, with its tribute to a wrathful and partial God.

We hear a different tone in William Penn's Letter to the Indians, dated 1681.

> My friends, There is a Great God and Power, that hath made the world and all things therein, to whom you and I and all people owe their being and well-being.... Thid Great God hath written his Law in our hearts, by which we were taught and commanded to love and help, and do good to one another, and not to do harm and mischief to one another. 43

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42 William Bradford, op. cit., p. 284.

43 William Penn, "A Letter to the Indians," from Select Works of William Penn, (1782) Quited by Stedman, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 227-228.

Robert Proud, in his History of Pennsylvania, thus explains the absence of Indian troubles in Pennsylvania:

> And, as our worthy proprietor treated the Indians with extraordinary humanity, they became very civil and loving to us, and brought in abundance of venison. As, in other countries, the Indians were exasperated by hard treatment, which hath been the foundation of much bloodshed, so the contrary treatment here hath produced their love and affection. 44

The severe criticsm of the early Indian policy of Carolina as made by John Archdale in his Description of Carolina, is what we might expect from a Quaker: 45

> Yet had they at first many Difficulties and Dangers to cope withal.... Yet having a Council of the loose Principled Men, they grew very unruly, that they had like to have Ruined the Colony, by abusing the Indians, whom in Providence they ought to have obliged in the highest degree, and so brought ~~on~~ an Indian War on the Country, like that in the first Planting of Virginia, in which several were cut off. 46

This reference to the first settlement of Pennsylvania is in Colonel William Byrd's most characteristic style:

> The Quakers flockt over to this Country in shoals, being averse to going to Heaven the same way with the Bishops.... They have in a few years made Pensilvania a very fine country.
>
> The truth is, they have observed exact justice with all the Nations that border upon them; they have purchased all their lands from the Indians; and tho they paid but a trifle for them, it has procured them the Credit of being more righteous than their Neighbors. They have likewise had the Prudence to treat them kindly upon all Occasins, which has saved them from many Wars and Massacres wherein the other Colonies have been indiscreetly involved. The Truth of it is, a People whose Principles forbid them to draw the Carnal Sword, were in the Right to give no Provocation. 47

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44 Robert Proud, The History of Pennsylvania, (1797) Vol.I, pp. 229-230. From A.B.Hart, Source Book of American History, pp. 67-69.

45 Archdale was governor of Carolina from 1695 to 1697.

46 Archdale, A New Description of that Fertile and Pleasant Province of Carolina, London, 1707. (Source Book, pp. 65-67)

47 William Byrd, History of the Dividing Line Betwixt Virginia and North Carolina, p. 10.

Notwithstanding the satire in the passage just quoted, we can see that the policies of the Friends were making definite appeal to the imagination of other people of the country.

Franklin was consistent in his love of peace throughout his long lifetime. Many instances will be cited in Chapter IV. In Poor Richard's Almanac for 1747, we find a bit of satire on "War's Glorious Art."

> One to destroy, is Murder by the Law,
> And Gibbers keep the uplifted Hand in Awe.
> To murder thousands, takes a specious Name,
> War's glorious Art, and gives immortal Fame. 48

John Woolman gives, in his Journal, an account of a missionary journey he made to the Indians in 1763, at a time of unrest and warfare between the Indians and the English. He went entirely unarmed and was most civilly received.[49] The Friends believed and lived their principles, which were, with them, more than a philosophy.

In his ninth Letter, Crévecoeur expresses the growing feeling that war is useless as well as wrong:

> We certainly are not that class of beings which we vainly think ourselves to be; man an animal of prey, seems to have rapine and the love of bloodshed implanted in his heart; nay, to hold it the most honorable occupation in society; we never speak of a hero of mathematics, a hero of knowledge of humanity; no, this illustrious appelation is reserved for the most successful butchers in the world. 50

In his twelfth and last Letter, Crévecoeur gives an excellent protrayal of the bewilderment of those people who, not fully understanding the issue at the beginning of the War of the

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48 Franklin, Poor Richard's Almanac, 1747, p. 173.
49 Woolman, Journal, pp. 134-151.
50 Crévecoeur, op. cit., Letter IX, p. 67.

Revolution, hesitated to be traitors to the mother country, yet shrank from the taunts of countrymen who called all pacifists traitors to the patriot cause. He, himself, decides to take refuge, together with his family, among the Indians. The Indians, he says, "will not take up the hatchet against a people who have done them no harm." They are "far superior in their motives of action to the Europeans, who for sixpence per day, may be engaged to shed that [blood] of any people on earth." [51]

The belief was gaining ground that justice to the Indians would avert war with them; and Americans were beginning to question the gloriousness of war, and to call it rather, murder.

PRACTICAL HUMANITARIANISM.

Prison Reform.

Among the laws enacted in Pennsylvania in 1682, under the direct leadership of William Penn, were those which provided for the liberal penal code, according to which, prisons were to be workshops and reformatories, and wilful murder the only crime punishable by death.[52] The idea was revolutionary. It appealed to the imagination of people elsewhere, but not to their practical judgment, and was not seriously considered in other colonies until many years later.

Poor Relief.

The Friends seldom kept records of their charity work;

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51 Crévecoeur, op.cit., pp. 217-219.
52 William Penn, Passages from the Life and Writings of, p. 270.

but that they did a great deal for the relief of the poor is well known. Their idea of poor relief was not merely to give, but to help the poor to a position where they would no longer need relief. They considered self-respect quite as essential to the well-being of the individual as food, clothing, and shelter. These ideas began to appear in colonial literature by the middle of the eighteenth century. Poor Richard's Almanac for 1748 contains this epigram:

"Liberality is not giving much, but giving wisely!"[53]

In 1766, Franklin, then in England, wrote an interesting paper on the Corn Laws. In it he states his theory of poor relief — which is exactly the Quaker idea — as follows:

> I am for doing good to the poor, but I differ in opinion about the means. I think the best way of doing good to the poor, is, not making them easy in poverty, but leading or driving them out of it. 54

In keeping with this opinion, Franklin had crammed his Almanac with advice on the virtues of thrift.

Franklin was officially connected with the Orphan School-House of Philadelphia, a Quaker institution. In his official capacity, he at one time prepared a list of hints respecting its management. The concludibg sentences might have been the work of a Quaker, so truly do they express the Quaker attitude on the subject of charity.

> The orphans, when discharged, to receive, besides decent clothing, and some money, a certificalte of their good behavior, if such it has been, as a recommendation; and the managers of the institution should still consider them as their children, so far as to

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53 Franklin, Poor Richard's Almanac, 1784, p. 183.
54 Franklin, Works, Vol. II, p. 358. (Apaper printed in the LONDON CHRONICLE, 1766.)

> counsel them in their affairs, encourage and promote them in their business, watch over and kindly admonish them when in danger of misconduct. 55

John Woolman, in an epistle sent out from the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of 1759, urges continued consideration of the poor.

> To keep a watchful eye towards real objects of charity, to visit the poor in their lonesome dwelling places, to comfort those who, through the dispensations of divine Providence, are in strait and painful circumstances in this life, and steadily to endeavor to honor God with our substance... is more likely to bring a blessing to our children, and will afford more satisfaction to a Christian favored with plenty, than an earnest desire to collect much wealth to leave behind us. 56

Anti-Slavery Agitation.

In 1688, the German-Town Quakers voiced the first organized protest in America against the slave trade. Twelve years later, Samuel Sewall published his tract entitled The Selling of Joseph. He answered many of the current objections to freeing the slaves, but not to the satisfaction of the New Englanders among whom he lived. The most common of the objections which he considered was, "These blackamoors are of the posterity of Cham and therefore are under the curse of slavery." [57] From earliest colonial days until after the Civil War, this idea was the basis for countless long theological discussions upon the justice or injustice of slavery. Sewall further observes:

> 'T is pity there should be more caution used in buying a horse, or a little lifeless dust [Arabian gold], than there is in purchasing men and women: whereas they are the offspring of God. 58

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55 Franklin, Works, Vol. II, pp. 159-160.
56 Woolman, Journal, p. 104.
57 Samuel Sewall, The Selling of Joseph, (1700) quoted by Stedman, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 195.
58 Ibid., p. 189.

His next argument should have had more weight with his neighbors than it had; but perhaps it smacked too much of Quaker ideas of equality.

> These Ethiopians, as black as they are, seeing they are the sons and daughters of the first Adam, the brethren and sisters of the last Adam, are the offspring of God, they ought to be treated with a respect agreeable. 59

Facetious as was much of the writing of the southern slave-holding gentleman, William Byrd, he yet lapsed into seriousness in his consideration of slavery in this passage from one of his personal letters:

> It were therefore worth the consideration of a British Parliament, My Lord, to put an end to this unchristian Traffick of making Merchandize of our Fellow Creatures. 60

We know, from the many references in his History of the Dividing Line, that Colonel Byrd found the Quakers and their accomplisjments, subjects of keen interest. How much they influenced his attitude toward slavery can be a matter only for conjecture — but we know that by 1736, the Quakers had made themselves felt in the public opinion of Virginia and Carolina, where Byrd spent most of his years.

In 1766, Anthony Benezet, a Philadelphia Quaker, presented this protest against the slave trade:

> Britons boast themselves to be generous, humane people, who have a true sense of the inportance of liberty; but is this a true character, whilst that barbarous, savage slave-Trade with its attendant horrors, receives countenance and protection from the legislature? 61

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59 Ibid., p. 192.
60 Col. William Byrd, "Letter to the Earl of Egmont," 1763. Quited by Hart, in Source Book, pp. 88-90.
61 Anthony Benezet, Quoted by Stedman, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 4.

The constant burden of Woolman's preaching and the subject most frequently treated in his Journal, was the injustice of slavery. His attitude was the logical result of his belief in the Inner Light and the equality of men. A typical passage follows:

> Wherever gain is preferred to equity, and wrong things publicly encouraged to that degree that wickedness takes root and spreads wide among the inhabitants of a country, there is real cause for sorrow to all such whose love to mankind stands on a true principle and who wisely consider the end and event of things. 62

Elsewhere Woolman writes:

> These are the people by whose labour the other inhabitants are in a great measure supported... these are the people who have made no agreement to serve us, and who have not forfeited their liberty that we know of. 63

Crévecoeur, in his seventh Letter, remarks upon the Quaker attitude towards slavery.

> There is not a slave I believe on the whole island [Nantucket] at least among the Friends; whilst slavery prevails all around them, this society alone, lamenting that shocking insult offered to humanity, have given the world a singular example of moderation, disinterestedness, and Christian charity, in emancipating their negroes. 64

In his ninth Letter, Crévecoeur expresses the hope that the time draws near when all slaves will be emancipated, even in those provinces where their lot is not hard. [65] In another part of the same Letter, he writes feelingly of the horrors of slavery as he has looked upon it in Carolina.

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62 Woolman, Journal, p. 237. ("Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes.")
63 Woolman, Journal, p. 69.
64 Crévecoeur, op. cit., p. 142.
65 Ibid.,p. 163.

Summary.

In this chapter, the Quaker ideas of equality of persons, democracy of justice, religious tolerance, separation of church and state, love of peace, and practical humanitarianism, have been traced through American literature of the colonial period. Literature showing Quaker characteristics has been compared with Puritan literature of the early colonial period, to show that the Quaker ideas considered were not expressed in Puritan life and letters. There was little literature other than that colored by Puritanism until near the beginning of the eighteenth century. From that time on, Puritan intolerance, and Puritan ideas of class distinction, were gradually displaced by the Quaker ideas of tolerance and equality. Thus the soil was prepared for the nurture of those distinctively American ideas which led to the War of Independence and a Union of States.

CHAPTER IV.

EVIDENCES IN AMERICAN LITERATURE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD.

Henry Seidel Canby, in his Classic Americans, presents the following estimate of the influence of Quaker ideas upon American attitudes and events:

> In this country, he [the Quaker] gave the widest diffusion to the optimistic humanitarianism that was the direct result of his theory of a beneficial inner light. Distrust of violence, a belief in the essential kinship of mankind, respect for the individual without reference to rank or estate, justice and mercy to prisoners and slaves, dislike of pomp and circumstance, all these Quaker fundamentals have been American ideals also, held by many, if by no means all, and strong enough to shape American history. 1

The Quaker belief in absolute equality of persons and democracy of justice so permeated the thought of the American people, that by the late 1760's there was a general demand for great political freedom, and for more consideration for the rights of the individual. By the early 1770's, there was much talk of equality, of the natural rights of man, and of the justice of liberty, and a general belief that men could, within themselves, find the answers to questions of right and wrong. From such agitation, it was but a step to the objective assertion of democratic ideas. It is often said that the individualism of America , as demonstrated in the Revolutionary period, was a direct result of geographical conditions; that the isolation of America from the rest of the world, and the material environment of the colonists of the New World, were natural and ideal conditions for the

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1 Henry Seidel Canby, Classic Americans, p. 29.

growth of a democratic spirit. What is usually forgotten, however, is the fact that there were beginnings here of feudalistic and aristocratic forms of government, either of which might have profited by the geographical situation quite as much as did that form which persisted. British ascendancy in America was no doubt responsible for the disappearance of feudal tendencies; but we must not overlook the fact that the isolation of America from the rest of the world favored the unhampered growth of opinions and ideas. Throughout the century preceding the Revolution, Quaker philosophy was quietly, but very surely, moulding American individualism, and combating aristocratic tendencies.

When, however, the colonies were actually embroiled in a war with Britian for the purpose of securing to America, equality of persons, democracy of justice, and freedom of opinion, the Friends were pitifully dismayed and bewildered. With the Principles for which the war was being waged, they were heartily in sympathy, for those principles were fundamentally Quaker in nature; with the war itself they could have no sympathy. They would have chosen instead to wear out the tyranny of Parliament and King by stolid non-compliance with demands. They were eager for a contest, but not a contest of war. There was a minority party of Quakers, influenced by Thomas Paine, who insisted that defensive war is not wrong. These "Free Quakers"[2] took an active part in the war, but many of them were disowned

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2 The Society of"Free Quakers" was organized in 1781 by Friends favoring defensive war, and included chiefly those disowned for being soldiers. It went out of existence in 1838. See Isaac Sharpless, A Quaker Experiment in Government, part2, p. 209.

by the Society for the offense. Quaker ideals, however, were strong and powerful, and no force could stop their course. Equality of persons, freedom of thought, democracy of justice, — these ideals were as a living force urging Americans of all persuasions into the conflict, and arousing the sympathy and hope of the oppressed of all Europe.

American literature of the Revolutionary period is characterized chiefly by the ideals of equality of persons, democracy of justice, and freedom of opinion — the latter including religious tolerance. At the same time, there is a surprising amount of opinion on the futility and wrong of war. There is also much evidence of a growing belief in the inconsistency of slavery in a country demanding political freedom. These ideals had by this time become American ideals, and are found in the writings and speeches of both Quakers and non-Quakers.

EQUALITY OF PERSONS.

In 1765, Benjamin Church, of Newport, Rhode Island, — then a century-old Quaker stronghold — sent forth this poetic challenge:

> Fair liberty, our soul's most darling prize,
> A bleeding victim flits before our eyes:
> Was it for this our great forefathers rode
> O'er a vast ocean to this bleak abode!
> . . . . . .
> See the new world, their purchase, blest domain,
> Where lordly tyrants never forged the chain;
> The prize of valour, and the gift of prayer,
> Hear this amd redden, each degenerate heir!
> Is it for you their honor to betray,
> And give the harvest of their blood away? 3

In 1770, Philip Freneau, a youth of eighteen years, wrote "The Pyramids of Egypt," in which he reveals the democratic fervor of the youth of his day. The poem is a dramatic dialogue. "The Traveler" asks how the pyramids were built, and "The Genius" answers:

> What cannot tyrants do,
> When they have nations subject to their will?
> Millions of slaves beneath their labours fainted,
> Who here were doomed to toil incessantly,
> And years elapsed while groaning myriads strove
> To raise this mighty tomb; — and but to hide
> The worthless bones of an Egyptian king. 4

The following passages quoted from Freneau's long poem, "The Rising Glory of America," expresses the prevalent idealization of the principles of equality and liberty:

> . . . By persecution wronged,
> And sacerdotal rage, our fathers came
> From Europe's hostile shores, to these abodes,
> Here to enjoy a liberty in faith,
> Secure from tyranny and base control.
> . . . . . .
> Why should I name
> Thee, Penn, the Solon of our western lands
> Sagacious legislator, whom the world
> Admires, long dead: an infant colony,
> Nurs'd by thy care, now rises o'er the rest
> Like that tall pyramid in Egypt's waste
> O'er all the neighboring piles, they also great. 5

In the same poem, we find an interesting prophecy of the future of America, compared with that of European monarchies:

> . . . . . I see, I see
> Freedom's establish'd reign; cities, and men,
> Numerous as sands upon the ocean shore,
> And empires rising where the sun descends!

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3 Benjamin Church, "The Times: a Poem By an American," 1765. Quoted by Stedman, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 185.

4 Austin, Philip Freneau, The Poet of the Revolution, p.77

5 Mary S. Austin, op. cit., p. 241.

. . . . . .

How I could weep that we were born too soon,
Just in the dawning of these mighty times,
Whose scenes are panting for eternity!
Dissensions that shall swell the trump of fame,
And ruin brooding o'er all monarchy! 6

One more prophetic passage is quoted from the same poem:

Here independent power shall hold her sway,
And public virtue warm the patriot breast:
No traces shall remain of tyranny,
And laws, a pattern to the world beside,
Be here enacted first. 7

Freneau was of Huguenot descent, and was reared in New Jersey, a Quaker province. The passages quoted show his admiration for Penn and Pennsylvania, and for the principles of the Quakers. Of particular interest here, is his use of the Quaker idea that their beneficent principles would eventually change the social organization of the whole world.[8] In the passages referring to "the ruin of all monarchy," and to laws, "a pattern to the world beside," Freneau was expressing an idea which had become fairly common in America.

In 1772, Samuel Adams, of Boston, thus stated the rights of colonists:

> Among the natural rights of the Colonists are these: first, a right to life; secondly, to liberty; thirdly, to property; — together with the right to support and defend them in the best manner they can. 9

Adams advocated war as a means of preserving these rights, but he justified such un-Quaker-like action in a very Quaker-like spirit:

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6 Ibid., pp. 246-247.
7 Ibid., p. 249.
8 Chapter I of this study, p.6.
9 Samuel Adams, "The Rights of Colonists," Quoted by Stedman, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 91.

> The right to freedom being the gift of God Almighty, it is not in the power of man to alienate this gift and voluntarily become a slave. 10

Shortly after the signing of the Declaration of Independence, Samuel Adams d3livered and influential, and now famous, speech on "American Independence." In it are a number of passages clearly reflecting Quaker influence:

> He who hath made all men hath made the truths necessary to human happiness obvious to all.[11]

> Our forefathers opened the Bible to all, and maintained the capacity of every man to judge for himself in religion. Are we sufficient for the comprehension of the sublimest spiritual truths, and unequal to material and temporal ones?....To the eye of reason, what can be more clear tan that all men have an equal right to happiness? Nature made no other distinction than that of higher and lower degrees of power of mind and body.[12]

> In the judgment of Heaven there is no other superiority among men than a superiority in wisdom and virtue.[13]

John Dickinson, a birthright Quaker, was the author of the "Liberty Song," which was promptly adopted by the whole country. One line of the song was, "By uniting we stand, by dividing we fall." This sentiment was the keynote also of the next great American war. But Dickinson did not intend that his song should be a war song. Dickinson was also the author of the influential Farmer's Letters, which appeared in 1768. These letters were translated into French, and Sharpless says that they "helped to mould the thought of that rapidly fomenting country." Hw considers that the letters were "the legal justification of American resistance, and ultimately of the Revolution."[14]

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10 Ibid., p. 92.
11 Quoted in Modern Eloquence, Thomas B. Reed, ed., Vol. XI, p. 22. (Compare with the idea of the "Inner Light.")
12 Ibid., p. 22
13 Ibid., p. 23.
14 Sharpless, A Quaker Experiment in Government, part 2, p101

Paul Leicester Ford says that "in the literature of that struggle, his [Dickinson's] position is as prominent as that of Washington in war, Franklin in diplomacy, and Morris in finance.[15] Dickinson was the author of the protest adopted by the Stamp Act Congress in 1765, and is thought to have written the Declaration of Rights, and the Petition to the King, and the resolutions which were adopted about this time by the Assembly of Pennsylvania. But he was not prepared for independence in 1776, and refused to sigh the Declaration. He served in the Revolution as a soldier, however, and there is no record that the Friends disowned him. [16]

Nothing would have been more amazing to the early Quakers than to have been told that their principles would one day find expression such as Patrick Henry's famous speech, which concludes with the fiery words:

> Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! — I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me Liberty, or give me death! 17

Historians are agreed in placing the Quaker, Thomas Paine, in the first rank of those persons who formulated public opinion before and during the American Revolution. According to M.D.Conway, editor of Paine's writings, "The great effect produced by Paine's successive publications has been attested by Washington and Franklin, by every leader of the American Revolution, by resolutions of Congress, and by

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15 Ibid., part 2, p. 101.(From preface by Paul L. Ford, to Dickinson's Writings.)

16 Sharpless, op. cit., part 2, pp. 98-100.

17 Patrick Henry, "Liberty of Death," Quoted by Stedman, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 215-216.

every contemporary historian.[18] One of Paine's first contributions to the American cause was his poem, "Liberty Tree," which contains these lines:

> The celestial exotic struck deep in the ground,
> Like a native it flourished and bore;
> The fame of its fruit drew the nations around,
> To seek out this peaceable shore.
>
> Unmindful of names or distinctions they came,
> For freemen like brothers agree;
> With one spirit endued, they one friendship pursued,
> And their temple was Liberty Tree. 19

Paine argued eloquently for the justice of defensive war; but in all othr respects, his way of thinking was that of the Quakers. His philosophy had its origin in sources older than the philosophies of Rousseau and Locke, even though his is so much like theirs. Parrington says that "Paine was not a student... familiar with all the political philosophies; rather he was an epitome of a world in revolution,"[20] and he went to Europe for the avowed purpose of disseminating throughout that continent the principles for which America stood.[21] Many instances will be noted in this chapter of Paine's championship of the ideals which form the theme of our study. Following are excerpts showing his devotion to the ideal of equality:

> When precedents fail to assist us, we must return to the first principles of things for information, and <u>think</u>, as if we were the <u>first men</u> that thought.[22]
>
> - - - - - - - - -
>
> Mankind being originally equals in the order of

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18 Thomas Paine, <u>Writings</u>, M.D.Conway, ed.,Vol.I, p.169.
19 <u>Ibid.</u>, Vol. IV., p. 484.
20 Parrington, <u>Main Currents of American Thought</u>, Vol.I, p. 340.
21 <u>Ibid.</u>, Vol. I, p. 341.
22 Paine, <u>Writings</u>, Vol. I, p. 155. (Paine was evidently referring to the "inner light.")

> Creation, the equality could only be destroyed by some subsequent circumstance.... Male and female are the distinctions of nature, good and bad the distinctions of Heaven. 23
>
> - - - - - - - - -
>
> All men being originally equals, no one by birth could have a right to set up his own family in perpetual preference to all others forever. 24
>
> - - - - - - - - -
>
> Where there are no distinctions there can be no superiority; perfect equality affords no temptation.[25]

Paine assumes that nowhere but in America, is the ideal of equal freedom given harborage.

> Every spot of the pld world is overrun with oppression. Freedom hath been hunted round the Globe. Asia and Africa have long expelled her. Europe regards her like a stranger, and England hath given her warning to depart. 26

Paine and Jefferson were close friends and entertained very similar beliefs . Paine's devotion to Jefferson is evident in his many letters to Jefferson, reprinted in Paine's Writings. On the other hand, he was bitterly opposed to the aristocratic leanings of John Adams, John Jay, George Washington, Alexander Hamilton, and others, — and particularly to their evident dallying with the idea of a hereditary president and senate. [27]

Thomas Jefferson was born and spent most of his life in Albemarle County, Virginia. His paternal grandfather was a native of Henrico County.[28] In both counties, Quakers were numerous and influential, especially during the first three

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23 Paine, Writings, Vol. I, p. 75.
24 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 79.
25 Ibid., Vol.I, p. 96.
26 Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 100-101.
27 Ibid., Vol. III, "Letters to Washington," pp. 213-252; "Letters to American Citizens," pp. 381-429.
28 Jefferson, Writings, Paul Leicester Ford, editor, Vol. I, p. xxxix.

quarters of the eighteenth century.[29] The Quaker-like attitude of Jefferson in all his writings, and in his political career, is very interesting in view of this fact. Canby remarks that there is "still much argument as to the influence of French ideas upon Jefferson.... More important, however, is the nature of his own ideas, whatever their source, as he imposed them in a long series of writings."[30] Many students feel that perhaps Jefferson had as much influence in shaping French ideas as had the French in shaping his. Parrington says that Jefferson was "very far from being a narrow French partisan," and adds, "With its emphasis laid upon agriculture, its doctrine of the produit net, its principle of laissez faire, and its social concern, the Physiocratic theory accorded exactly with his familiar experience, and it must have seemed to Jefferson that it was little other than a deduction from the open facts of American life."[31]

This excerpt from the Declaration of Independence, urging equal rights, is distinctly Quaker-like in character:

> We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator, with inherent and inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.[32]

Words and phrases of notably Quaker character are: self-evident, created equal, inherent and inalienable rights, (inherent was stricken out by Congress) and powers from the consent of the governed.

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29 Stephen B. Weeks, Southern Quakers and Slavery, pp. 76, 86, and 293.
30 Canby, op. cit., p. 56.
31 Parrington, op. cit., Vol.III, pp. 343 and 346.
32 Thomas Jefferson, Writings, Vol.I, p. 30.

In the task of revising the laws of Virginia, in 1777, Jefferson had an important part. He had special charge of drafting the law abolishing primogeniture, the law abolishing the death penalty for all crimes except treason and murder, the bill for establishing religious freedom for "the Jew and the Gentile, the Christian and the Mohametan, the Hindoo and the infidel."[33] With reference to this work, Jefferson wrote:

> I considered these four bills, passed or reported, as forming a system by which every fibre would be eradicated of ancient or future aristocracy; and a foundation laid for a government truly republican.[34]

The four bills alluded to were: 1. the repeal of the laws of entail; 2. the abolition of primogeniture; 3. the bill for establishing religious freedom and separation of church and state; and 4. the bill for general education. Every one of these bills represented established procedure in provinces under Quaker control.

"Columbia," a poem written by Timothy Dwight in 1778, claims attention next. In it are expressed aversion to wars of conquest, and the belief that American ideals of equality would influence governments everywhere.

> Columbia, Columbia, to glory arise,
> The Queen of the world, and the child of the skies!
> . . . . . .
> To conquest and slaughter let Europe aspire;
> Whelm nations in blood, and wrap cities in fire;
> Thy heroes the rights of mankind shall defend,
> And triumph pursue them, and glory attend,
> A world is thy realm: for a world be thy laws,
> Enlarged as thine empire, and just as thy cause;
> On Freedom's broad basis, that empire shall rise,
> Extend with the main, and dissolve with the skies.[35]

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33 Jefferson, Writings, Vol. I, pp. 59-62.
34 Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 68-69.
35 Quoted by Stedman, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 480-481.

Many of the writings of Benjamin Franklin were produced in the Colonial period of our literary history, and were treated, in this study, in Chapter III. He wrote also throughout the Revolutionary period, and always with influence. He was devoted to the American conception of equality, and greatly opposed any tendencies towards an aristocracy. On this subject, he wrote as follows to his daughter, Mrs. Bache, in 1784:

> I only wonder that, when the united wisdom of our nation had, in the articles of confederation, manifested their dislike of established ranks of nobility ...a number of private persons should think proper to ...form an order of Hereditary Knights, in direct opposition to the solemnly declared sense of their country![36]

In a letter to George Whately, Franklin remarked that the institution of the Cincinnati was "so universally disliked by the people, that it is supposed it will be dropped."[37]

The democratic spirit of the new nation is aptly stated in this passage from an essay by Franklin to would-be immigrants:

> It can not be worth any man's while... to expatriate himself, in the hopes of obtaining a profitabe civil office in America; and as to military offices, they are at an end with the war.... Much less is it desirable for a person to go thither, who has no other quality to recommend him but his birth.[38]

Thomas Paine declared that "the insignificance of a senseless word like duke, count, earl, has ceased to please"; and that the titled man "lives immured within the Bastille of a word." He felt certain that "the reasonable freeman sees through the magic of a title, and examines the man before he approves him."[39]

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36 Benjamin Franklin, Works, Jared Sparks, ed., Vol. X, pp. 58-65.
37 Ibid., Vol. X, p. 176.
38 Ibid.,Vol.II, pp. 469-70. 39 Paine, op.cit., Vol.I,pp. 46-47.

Joel Barlow was the author of the following tribute to equality:

> Based on its rock of Right your empire lies;
> On walls of wisdom let the fabric rise;
> Preserve your principles, their face unfold,
> Let nations prove them and let kings behold.
> Equality, your first firm-grounded stand;
> Then free election; then your federal band;
> This holy triad should forever shine
> The great compendium of all rights divine,
> Till men shall wonder (in these codes inured)
> How wars were made, how tyrants were endured. 40

One more quotation from Jefferson willserve as a fitting conclusion to this section:

> The appeal to the rights of man, which had been made in the United States was taken up by France, first of the European nations. From her the spirit has spread over those of the South.... So inscrutable is the arrangement of cause and consequences in this world that a two-penny duty on tea, unjustly imposed on a sequestered part of it, changes the condition of all its inhabitants. 41

But we wonder why he did not look for the source of the spirit which revolted at the two-penny duty.

DEMOCRACY OF JUSTICE.

The history of the third quarter of the eighteenth century in America shows, better than the literature of the same period, the growing devotion to the ideal of equal justice. The carrying of colonial offenders to the British courts for trial outraged the sense of justice of the colonists. That part of the Declaration of Independence in which the king is charged with "depriving us of the benefits of trial by jury," andof "transporting us beyond the seas to be tried for pretended offenses,"[42]

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40 Joel Barlow, From "The Columbiad," 1807, Quoted by Stedman, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 55.
41 Jefferson, Writings, Vol. I, p. 147.
42 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 33.

found immediate response in the hearts of all patriots. There was ample proof that the spirit of Penn and Mead, standing trial before the London magistrates, was still powerful in America.

Both Paine and Jefferson believed that the masses of the people were pledged to the observance of equal justice. Jefferson believed implicitly in the essential goodness of men — a belief quite opposite to the views of the Bostonian, John Adams, and the aristocrat, Alexander Hamilton. Paine once wrote:

> As far as my experience in public life extends, I have ever observed that the great mass of the people are invariably just, both in their intentions and in their objects." 43

The ideal of democracy of justice, submerged, in a literary sense, in the mass of pamphlets, essays, and orations on liberty and equality, was yet a living force, and was really an inseparable part of the spirit of the times. It appears again in the literature of the nineteenth century.

RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE.

In 1772, Samuel Adams thus stated the right of freedom of conscience:

> As neither reason requires nor religion permits the contrary, every man living in or out of a state of civil society has a right peaceably and quietly to worship God according to the dictates of his conscience.... It is now generally agreed among Christians that this spirit of toleration, in the fullest extent consistent with the being of civil society, is the chief characteristical mark of the true church. 44

One may visualize the horror of the Boston of 150 years earlier, had she dreamed one of her illustrious sons would ever

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43 From a speech in the French National Convention, 1792. Quoted by Stedman, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 229.

44 Samuel Adams, Rights of Colonists, 1772, Quoted in The Old South Leaflets, Vol. 7, Number 173.

speak thus! Indeed,he went to greater lengths in 1776, when he said:

> Freedom of thought and the right of private judgment in matters of conscience, driven from every other corner of the earth, direct their course to this happy country as their last asylum. Let us cherish the noble guests, and shelter them under the wings of a universal toleration! Be this the seat of unbounded religious freedom. 45

John Adams, though never quite convinced of the wisdom of democracy, never-the-less wrote this word of tolerance in his diary:

> Good-sense will make us remember that others have as good a right to think for themselves and to speak their own opinions, as we have. 46

Riley remarks that liberty of conscience was granted or implied in many Revolutionary documents, and that twelve of the thirteen colonies permitted an increase of freedom of thought. "It was only in Massachusetts that a dread of liberty was expressed."[47] Among the Revolutionary documents pertaining to freedom of conscience were Patrick Henry's Bill of Rights, which stated that religion should be directed only by reason; Jefferson's Declaratory Act, which established religious freedom in Virginia; and the Pennsylvania Constitution, advocated by Frnaklin, which contained the phrase, "natural and inalienable right to worship according to the dictates of the understanding." [48]

Paine said that he looked on the various denominations "like children of the same family, differing only in what is

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45 Samuel Adams, Speech delivered at Philadelphia, 1776. Quoted in Modern Eloquence, Vol. XI, p. 34.
46 Quoted by Stedman, op. cit., Vol.III, p. 186.
47 Woodbridge Riley, American Thought, p. 86.
48 Ibid., p. 86.

called their Christian names."[49] Elsewhere, Paine makes a significant statement with reference to the history of religious tolerance. His recognition of the close relationship between political liberty and spiritual liberty reminds one strongly, not so much of the principles of French philosophy, as of the long struggles of the early Quakers to gain spiritual freedom and political libery through separation of church and state.

> I am fully convinced, that spiritual freedom is the root of political liberty.
> First, Because till spiritual freedom was made manifest, political liberty did not exist.
> Secondly, Because in proportion that spiritual freedom has been manifested, political liberty has increased.
> Thirdly, Whenever the visible church has been oppressed, political freedom has suffered with it. 50

Charles Brockden Brown (1771-1810), the "first American man of letters, proper,"[51] has one of the characters in Wieland show a decided Quaker attitude in the matter of religion. An account is given of the elder Wieland's order of worship, and a description of his entirely unadorned little chapel. The passage includes these sentences:

> He did not extract from his family compliance with his example. Few men, equally sincere in their faith, were as sparing in their censures and restrictions, with respect to the conduct of others, as my father.... His own system was embraced not, accurately speaking, because it was the best; but because it had been expressly prescribed to him. Other modes, if practised by other persons, might be equally acceptable. 52

The passage just quoted is an excellent illustration of the usual Quaker attitude towards the religious beliefs and practices of others. Mrs. Taylor established proof of the

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49 Paine, Writings, Vol.I, p. 108.
50 Ibid., p. 57. ("Thoughts on Defensive War.")
51 A statement by Charles Dudley Warner, Library of the World's Best Literature, Vol.XXXI, p. 177.
52 Charles Brockden Brown, Wieland; or the Transformation, pp. 31-32.

considerable Quaker influence evident in all of Brown's novels.[53]

There is no evidence that George Washington was ever directly influenced by the Quakers. But there is evidence in his writings that the spirit of toleration, which had its American beginning among the Quakers, had, by the close of the eighteenth century, spread quite generally throughout the United States. As examples, extracts from Washington's Addresses to the Churches, 1789, are quoted here:

> To the United Baptist Churches in Virginia,—
>
> I beg you will be persuaded, that no one would be more zealous than myself to establish effectual barriers against the horrors of spiritual tyranny and every species of religious persecution.54
>
> To the Protestant Episcopal Church,—
>
> It affords edifying prospects, indeed, to see Christians of different denominations dwell together in more charity, and conduct themselves in respect to each other with a more Christian-like spirit, than ever they have done in any former age, or in any other nation. 55
>
> To the Religious Society Called Quakers,—
>
> The liberty enjoyed by the people of these States, of worshipping Almighty God agreeably to their consciences, is not only among the choicest of their blessings, but also of their rights. 56
>
> To the Roman Catholics,—
> As mankinf become more liberal, they will be more apt to allow, that all those, who conduct themselves as worthy members of the community, are equally entitled to the protection of civil government. I hope ever to see America among the foremost nations in examples of justice and liberality. 57

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53 Garland Miller Taylor, Quaker Ideas in the Writings of Brown, Crevecoeur, and Paine, an unpublished Master's Thesis, State University of Iowa.

54 Quoted in the Old South Leaflets, Vol.3, No.65, p.4.

55 Ibid., p. 7.

56 Ibid., p. 9.

57 Ibid., p. 10.

To Members of the New Church in Baltimore,—

> In this enlightened age, and in this land of equal liberty, it is our boast, that a man's religious tenets will not forfeit the protection of the laws, nor deprive him of the right of attaining and holding the highest offices that are known in the United States.[58]

In his first inaugural, Jefferson pleaded for a tolerance even broader than religious tolerance:

> Let us reflect that, having banished from our land that religious intolerance under which mankind so long bled and suffered, we have yet gained little if we countenance a political intolerance as despotic, as wicked, and capable of as bitter and bloody persecution.[59]

Notwithstanding Jefferson's optimistic outlook, there was much intolerance in the midst of the growing tolerance. This bit of satire from the pen of Lemuel Hopkins gives ample evidence of that fact:

> Lo, Allen 'scaped from British jails,
> His tushes broke from biting nails,
> Appears in Hyperborean skies,
> To tell the world the Bible lies.
> . . . . . .
> Behold inspired from Vermont dens
> The seer of Anti-Christ descends,
> To feed new mobs with hell-born manna
> In gentle lands of Susquehanna,
> And teach the Pennsylvania Quaker,
> High blasphemies against his Maker.
> . . . . . .
> One hand is clinched to batter noses,
> While t'other scrawls 'gainst Paul and Moses.[60]

Jefferson, Franklin, and especially Paine, were branded as atheists by hundreds of religious zealots, who because of that could hear little else that these men said. But the ideal of tolerance made a steady growth in the nineteenth century,

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58 Ibid., p. 13.
59 Quoted by Greenlaw in The Great Tradition, pp.545-546.
60 Lemuel Hopkins, "On General Ethan Allen," Quoted by Stedman, op.cit., Vol.III, p. 413.

as will be shown in the next chapter.

SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE.

Thomas Paine, in "Common Sense," gives a list of suggestions for a government of the new United States. One suggestion is as follows:

> As to religion, I hold it to be the indispensable duty of government to protect all conscientious professors thereof, and I know of no other business which government hath to do therewith. [61]

In Volume I of his collected Writings, Jefferson gives an account of the successive contests in the Virginia legislature from 1776 to 1779 which finally resulted in exempting dissenters from contributions to the support of the established church, or to any church, except voluntarily. With this decision, the establishment of any church became impossible; and Virginia had achieved separation of church and state. Jefferson was, throughout, the champion of separation.[62] Nor was the struggle with the state-supported clergy easy.

In The Rights of Man, Paine argues convincingly for disestablishment:

> Persecution is not an original feature in any religion; but it is always the strongly marked feature of all law-religions.... Take away the law-establishment, and every religion re-assumes its original benignity. [63] [Paine was a bit too optimistic, perhaps.]

The editor's preface to Paine's Age of Reason explains the attitude of Paine on the subject of religion in a republic:

> It his ideal republic was based on a conception of equality based on the divine sonship of every man. This faith underlay equally his burden against claims

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61 Paine, Writings, Vol. I, p. 108.
62 Jefferson, Writings, Vol. I, pp. 52-54.
63 Paine, The Rights of Man, in Writings, Vol.II, p. 327.

> to divine partiality by a "Chosen People," a Priesthood, a monarch "by the grace of God," or an aristocracy. Paine's Reason is only an expansion of the Quaker's "inner light." 64

David Ramsay, in his interesting History of the American Revolution, (1789) says with reference to some of the probable results of the Revolution:

> The world will soon see the result of an experiment in politics, and will be able to determine whether the happiness of society is increased by religious establishments, or diminished by the want of them. 65

LOVE OF PEACE.

There is much in the literature of the Revolutionary period to establish the belief that the colonists entered upon war with Britian only as a last resort, and in self-defense. The American love of peace is attested over and over. There were those, of course, who considered a military career glorious and desirable, but they were in the minority. The most popular military leader of the time, George Washington, longed, not for continued military position, but for a return to the peace of his plantation. The feeling was general that bloodshed, even when necessary, was deplorable.

Philip Freneau, in "The Rising Glory of America," rejoices that North America does not make war for mines and riches, like South America.

> Better these northern realms demand our song,
> Designed by nature for the rural reigh,
> For agriculture's toil — No blood we shed
> For metal buried in a rocky waste,—
> Curs'd be that ore, which brutal makes our race,
> And prompts mankind to shed a brother's blood! 66

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64 Editor's introduction to Paine's The Age of Reason, in Writings, Vol.IV, p. 5.

65 Quoted by Stedman, op. cit., Vol.III, p. 403.

66 Austin, op. cit., pp. 237-238.

In the concluding stanzas, Acasto points out the idyllic future of America:

> Nature's loud storms be hushed, and seas no more
> Rage hostile to mankind — and, worse than all,
> The fiercer passions of the human breast
> Shall kindle up to deeds of wrath no more,
> But all subside in universal peace —
> Such days the world,
> And such, America, thou first shall have.[67]

As late as 1774, Washington was hoping to avert war with Britain. In aletter to Captain Robert Mackenzie, he wrote:

> I am well satisfied, that no such thing [as independence] is desired by any thinking man in all North America; on the contrary, that it is the ardent wish of the warmest advocates for liberty, that peace and tranquility, upon constitutional grounds, may be restored, and the horrors of civil discord prevented.[68]

In 1775, Paine was thus explaining the necessity for defensive war in a direct appeal to the pacifist Quakers:

> Could the peaceable principle of the Quakers be universally established, arms and the art of war would be wholly extirpated; but we live not in a world of angels....
> I am thus far a Quaker, that I would gladly agree with all the world to lay aside the use of arms, and settle matters by negotiation; but unless the whole will, the matter ends, and I take up my musket.[69]
> [What a modern American way of speaking!]

But in the same article, Paine shows his belief in the advantages of peace, when he says, "The balance of power is the scale of peace."[70] In Common Sense, he expresses a similar idea in the words, "It is the true interest of America to steer clear of European contentions."[71] Compare with the next quotation from Paine, the widespread feeling in America in the last war that we should not have entered except in self-defense:

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67 Ibid., pp. 249-250.
68 Washington, Writings, W.C.Ford, editor, Vol.II, p.444.
69 Paine, Writings, Vol.I, p.55."Thoughts on Defensive War"
70 Ibid., p. 56.
71 Paine, Writings, Vol.I, p. 89.

> We fight neither for revenge nor conquest; neither from pride nor passion; we are not insulting the world with our fleets and armies, nor ravaging the globe for plunder. Beneath the shade of our vines are we attacked; in our own houses, and on our own lands, is the violence committed against us. 72

Paine declared that "not all the treasures of the world, so far as I believe, could have induced me to support an offensive war, for I think it murder." 73 This was the true Quaker attitude towards war; but Paine was bitter in his protests against the pacifist attitude of the Quakers in the Revolution, and he did not hesitate to call them Tories. Earlier in this same essay, he referred to the efforts of the colonists to avert the war, saying that they had "earnestly and repeatedly sought to avoid the calamities of war, by every decent method which wisdom could invent." 74

Paine felt that in a sense the Revolution was"a war to end war"— that the best way for America to avoid wars with Europe was to separate from the warlike Britian, who had been "nearly fifty years out of every hundred at war with some power or other." And he continued by saying, "It certainly ought to be a conscientious as well as political consideration with America, not to dip her hands in the bloody work of Europe." 75 Of aggressive war, he wrote in no uncertain terms:

> If there is a sin superior to every other, it is that of wilful and offensive war.... He who is the author of a war, lets loose the whole contagion of hell, and opens a vein that bleeds a nation to death. 76

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72 Paine, Writings, Vol.I, pp. 121-126.("The Epistle to the Quakers.")
73 Paine, Writings, Vol.I, pp. 176-177.("The Crisis.")
74 Ibid., p. 171.
75 Ibid., p. 206.
76 Ibid., Vol. V, p. 249.

After the close of the Revolution, Paine seemed to think that even revolutions might be accomplished without war. In The Rights of Man, he makes this suggestion:

> As it is not difficult to perceive, from the enlightened state of mankind, that... Revolutions on the broad basis of national sovereignty and Government by representation, are making their way in Europe, it would be an act of wisdom to anticipate their approach, and produce Revolutions by reason and accomodation, rather than commit them to the issue of convulsions. 77

Benjamin Franklin felt that under any circumstances peace was better than war. Many times, in his letters, one meets the declaration that "there never was a good war or a bad peace." He was a consistent advocate of arbitration. Following are several illustrative passages from his letters:

> To me it seems that neither the obtaining or retaining of any trade, how valuable soever, is an object for which men may justly spill each other's blood. 78
>
> - - - - - - - - - -
>
> I am as much for peace as ever I was, and as heartily desirous of seeing the war ended as I was to prevent its beginning, of which your ministers know I gave a strong proof before I left England. 79
>
> - - - - - - - - - -
>
> We make daily great improvements in natural — there is one I wish to see in moral philosophy: the discovery of a plan that would induce and oblige nations to settle their disputes without first cutting one another's throats. 80
>
> - - - - - - - - - -
>
> After much occasion to consider the folly and mischiefs of a state of warfare, and the little or no advantage obtained even by those nations who have conducted it with the most success, I have been apt to think that there has never been, nor ever will be, any such thing as a good war or a bad peace. 81

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77 Paine, Writings, Vol. II, p. 389.
78 A letter to Lord Howe, Quoted in The Old South Leaflets, Vol. VI, no. 162, p.1.
79 Ibid., p.1, (Letter to David Hartley,) Feb. 2, 1780.
80 Ibid., p.3, (Letter to Richard Price,) Feb.6, 1780.
81 Ibid., p.4, (Letter to Dr. Shipley,) June 10, 1782.

> At length we are at peace, God be praised, and long, very long, may it continue. All wars are follies, and very expensive and very mischievous ones. When will mankind be convinced of this, and agree to settle their differences by arbitration? 82
>
> - - - - - - - - - -
>
> I think with you, that your Quaker article [in opposition to war] is a good one, and that men will in time have sense enough to adopt it, but I fear that time is not yet come. 83

Perhaps the best known of Philip Freneau's works is the poem, "Eutaw Springs." In it he voices highest praise for the heroes of Revolutionary battles, but war is not characterized as heroic or glorious. Three stanzas are quoted:

> At Eutaw Springs the valiant died:
> Their limbs with dust are covered o'er;
> Weep on, ye springs, your tearful tide;
> How many heroes are no more!
>
> If in this wreck of ruin, they
> Can yet be thought to claim a tear,
> O smite thy gentle breast, and say
> The friends of freedom slumber here!
>
> Thou who shalt trace theis bloody plain,
> If goodness rules thy generous breast,
> Sigh for the wasted rural reign;
> Sigh for the shepherds sunk to rest! 84

Washington delighted in the peace which finally came to the harried States, and on many occasions expressed his desire for continued peace. In a letter to a friend in France, he wrote:

> For the sake of humanity it is devoutly to be wished, that the manly employment of agriculture, and the humanizing benefits of commerce, would supersede the waste of war and the rage of conquest; and the swords might be turned into ploughshares, and the spears into pruning hooks, and, as the Scripture expresses it, "the nations learn war no more." 85

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82 Ibid., p. 7, (Letter to Mrs. Mary Hewson.) Jan.27,1783.
83 Ibid., p. 9, (Letter to David Hartley,) Oct. 16,1783.
84 Austin, op. cit., p. 226.
85 Washington, Writings, Vol. XI, pp. 247-248. (Letter to the Marquis de Chastellux.) 1788.

In his "Farewell Address," Washington commented in terms of praise upon the advantages of the plan of union of States. The chief advantage, it seemed to him, was the exemption from the probability of broils and wars among themselves, such as distressed the countries of Europe. To this advantage, he added that of freedom from the necessity of "overgrown military establishments, which, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty."[86] He urges peace with other nations, as well as among themselves.

> Observe good faith and justice towards all Nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct, and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? 87

In 1803, Thomas Jefferson, "whose passion was peace," thus justified the expenditure of public money for the purchase of Louisiana:

> Giving us the sole dominion of the Missippi, it excludes those bickerings with foreign powers, which we know of a certainty would have put us at war with France immediately; and it secures to us the course of a peaceful nation. 88

Jefferson really outlined the military policy which he later adopted as President, in this passage from the Declaration of Independence. The policy of making the military power subordinate to the civil power has been consistently followed in America.

> He [the king] has kept among us in times of peace

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86 Washington, "Farewell Address," Quoted by Greenlaw, in The Great Tradition, p. 541.
87 Ibid., p. 543.
88 Jefferson, Writings, Vol. VIII, p. 201.

> standing armies and ships of war without the consent of our legislatures.
>
> He has affected to render the military independent of and superior to the civil power. 89 [The phrase, ships of war, was stricken out by Congress.]

The men quoted in this section — important leaders in the years of the Revolution, and wise counsellors in the first years of the new nation — all hoped sincerely for a long peace for America. But, paradox though it seems, the Quakers' pacific principles of justice and equality were to bring an even greater war in the 1860's.

PRACTICAL HUMANITARIANISM.

Prison Reform.

Paine considered the death penalty murder, and wrong under any circumstances. In this attitude, he was a true Quaker. Among his reasons for urging that the life of Louis Capet be spared, we find this:

> Monarchical governments have trained the human race, and inured it to the sanguinary arts and refinements of punishment.... But it becomes us to be strictly on our guard against the abominations and perversity of monarchical examples: as France has been the first of European nations to abolish royalty, let her also be the first to abolish the punishment of death, and to find out a milder and more effectual substitute. 90

Paine was horror-stricken at the barbarity of the punishments inflicted upon victims of the law in France — and elsewhere— and he wrote much to prove its detrimental effects. In The Rights of Man, he urges New Republics to "Lay the axe to the root, and teach governments humanity. It is their sanguinary governments which corrupt man-kind." 91

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89 Jefferson, Writings, Vol. I, pp. 32-33.

90 Paine, Writings, Vol. II, p. 124. (Speech delivered in Paris, 1793.)

91 Ibid., Vol.II, pp. 295.

Poor Relief.

Franklin, like the Quakers, advocated and practised a very simple conception of Christianity. His idea is stated in a letter to George Whitefield. It is a summary of his philosophy of humanitarianism:

> Your great Master thought much less of these outward appearances and professions, than many of his modern disciples. He preferred the doers of the word, to the mere hearers... and those who gave food to the hungry, drink to the thirsty, raiment to the naked, entertainment to the stranger, and relief to the sick, though they never heard of his name, he declares shall in the last day be accepted. 92 [The Quaker characteristics of this statement are obvious.]

Paine proposed to deal with the problem of poverty "by means of a ten per cent inheritance tax to provide a fund for the endowment of the young and the pensioning of the old.... To bring men to realize that society is responsible for poverty, and that its total eradication must be regarded as the first object of civilization" was his purpose, as it had always been one of the chief objects of all Quakers.[93]

Anti-Slavery Agitation.

In view of the many evidences of Quaker influence upon the life and writings of Franklin, it is not at all surprising to learn that he took an active interest in the welfare of the Negroes. When a young man, Franklin had not been adverse to advertising blacks for sale at his print shop; but in his old age, he declared:

> Slavery is such an atrocious debasement of human nature, that its very extirpation, if not performed

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92 Franklin, Works,
93 Parrington, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 339.

with care, may sometime open a source of serious evils.[94]

Franklin was prominently connected with The Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery and the Relief of Free Blacks, and was at one time, its president. He drew up a plan for this society for the education, moral training, and employment of free Negroes, and suggested that oversight of emancipated Negroes be made a branch of the national police.[95]

Paine partly drafted, and signed, the Act of Pennsylvania abolishing slavery, March 1, 1780. This was the first emancipation of Negroes by legislative action in the history of Christendom.[96] The first essay in Paine's collected Writings was published in 1774, and was on the subject, "African Slavery in America." It was an eloquent appeal, as the two following passages indicate:

> Our Traders in Men (an unnatural commodity!) must know the wickedness of that Slave-Trade, if they attend to reasoning, or the dictates of their own hearts.[97]
>
> - - - - - - - - - - -
>
> Whether, then, all ought not immediately to discontinue and renounce it, with grief and abhorrence? Should not every society bear testimony against it, and account obstinate persisters in it bad men, enemies to their country, and exclude them from fellowship; as they often do for lesser faults? 98

In 1778, John Jay remarked feelingly on the inconsistency of the American slave trade:

> The United States are far from being irreproachable in this respect. It undoubtedly is very inconsistent with their declaration on the subject of human rights to permit a single slave to be found within their jurisdiction. 99

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94 Franklin, Works, Vol. II, pp. 515-516.
95 Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 513-514.
96 Paine, Writings, Vol. I, p.3, Editor's note.
97 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 4.
98 Ibid., p. 8.
99 John Jay, Letter to an Ablition Society in England, 1778. Quoted by Stedman, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 329-330.

In 1789, Franklin wrote to John Wright, of London, as follows:

> I wish success to your endeavors for obtaining an abolition of the Slave Trade. The epistle from your Yearly Meeting, for the year 1758, was not the first sowing of the good seed you mention. [He then gives several instances of similar earlier action by Friends in America.] By these instances it appears, that the seed was indeed sown in the ground of your profession, though much earlier than the time you mention, and its springing up to effect at last, though so late, is some confirmation of Lord Bacon's observation, that a good motion never dies. 100

From the fore-going quotation, it appears that Franklin was familiar with the history of Quaker movements, and that he gave credit to the Quakers for the agitation for abolition at the close of the eighteenth century.

The paper from which the next quotation is made, was dated only twenty-four days before his death. The paper was a pretended review of the arguments of "Sidi Mohamet Ibrahim of Algiers," justifying the custom of the Algerians of making slaves of the Christians. It was an excellent parody of views which had just been published by a Mr. Jackson of Georgia.

> .... The result was... that the Divan came to this resolution: "The doctrine that plundering and enslaving the Christians is unjust, is at best problematical; but that it is the interest of this state to continue the practice is clear."
>
> And since, like motives are like to produce in the minds of men like opinions and resolutions, may we not venture to predict that, from this account, that the petitions to the Parliament of England for abolishing the slave-trade, to say nothing of other legislatures and the debates upon them will have a similar conclusion? 101

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100 Franklin, Works, Vol. X, p. 403.
101 Franklin, Works, Vol. II, p. 521. (A paper in the FEDERAL GAZETTE, March 23, 1790.)

The poetry of Philip Freneau contains no allusions to slavery, but it is a matter of record that he gave freedom to all his slaves some time before the Emancipation Act of New Jersey, and continued to support the aged and infirm among them.[102] This action was in close conformity with the general custom among the Friends.

With reference to his reading of the Declaration of Independence before it was submitted to Congress, John Adams once wrote:

> I was delighted with its high tone and the flights of pratory with which it abounded, aspecially that concerning negro slavery, which though I knew his Jefferson's Southern brethren would never suffer to pass in Congress, I certainly never would oppose.... I have long wondered that the original draft has not been published. I suppose the reason is, the vehemnt philippic against negro slavery. 103

The "vehement philippic" referred to contained the following sentence:

> Determined to keep open a market where Men should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legistative attempt to prohibit or restrain this execrable commerce. 104

Concerning his bill for emancipation in Virginia, Jefferson wrote:

> It was found that the public mind would not bear the proposition, nor will it bear it even at this day. Yet the day is not distant when it must hear and adopt it, or worse will follow. Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate than that these people are to be free. 105

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102 Austin, op. cit., p. 195.

103 A letter to Timothy Pickering, Aug. 6, 1822. Quoted by Stedman, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 204-206.

104 Jefferson, Writings, Vol.I, p. 34.(A copy in facsimile of the Declaration in its original form, in Jefferson's handwriting, is in the New Americanized Encyclopaedia Brittanica, Vol. VI, pp. 360-361.)

105 Jefferson, Writings, Vol. I, p. 68.

SUMMARY.

In this chapter, it has been shown that the principles of equality, democracy of justice, and freedom of thought, advocated and nurtured by the Friends, had, in the last half of the eighteenth century, become characteristic of the thought of America. These principles were stated over and over by influential leaders of the people — many of whom show in their writings definite Quaker influence — until the ideas were definitely formulated, and were recognized everywhere as American ideas. That these principles should have led to a long and bitter war was not only bewildering to the Friends, and never quite understood by many of them, but it was distressing also to a large majority of all Americans; for a love of peace, and a profound belief in its practicability were dominant in the colonies. The war would never have received sufficient support had it not been considered necessary, as a last resort, for the preservation of the American principles of liberty.

There was a very general feeling that slavery was inconsistent with the principles of the Declaration of Independence. In keeping with the general devotion to the cause of liberty, most of the new States granted religious freedom and separation of church and state. Colonists had, for the most part, come to consider cruel and sanguinary punishments for crime as more in keeping with monarchical governments than with the spirit of justice of a republic.

Equality of persons, democracy of justice, religious tolerance, and separation of church and state were all definitely provided for in the Constitution. Possibilities of war, and

problems growing out of slavery, prison managemeny, and poverty, were left for later generations to consider.

Jefferson, in his first inaugural, stated what he deemed to be the essentials of our government. If there were a Quaker political creed, it would probably read much like this summary of Jeffersonian principles of government,which is quoted as a most fitting conclusion to this chapter:

> Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatsoever State or persuasion, religious or political; peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none; .... absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority, the vital principle of republics; 106.... the supremacy of the civil over the military authority; freedom of religion; freedom of the press, and freedom of person under the protection of the habeas corpus; and trial by furies impartially selected. 107

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106 Majority rule was emphasized in all Quker meetings.
107 Jefferson,"First Inaugural Address," Quoted by Greenlawm in The Great Tradition, pp. 545-546.

CHAPTER V.

EVIDENCES IN AMERICAN LITERATURE OF THE FIRST NATIONAL PERIOD

With the adoption of the Constitution and the addition of the first ten amendments — our "Bill of Rights"— the necessity for agitation for separation of church and state disappeared. The Constitution recognized the principle of equal rights, and guaranteed equal justice for all men, and thenceforth these principles were to depend for perpetuation only upon conformity by the people. Consequently, in early nineteenth century literature, there is nothing of note referring to the principle of separation of church and state; and those literary productions, which had as their themes the ideas of equality and justice were, for the most part, in the nature of grateful appreciation for the blessings of liberty. Humanitarian interests centered chiefly in anti-slavery agitation. As the Civil War approached, much literature was produced decrying war, and urging a peaceful solution of the problem. Literary references in this chapter are limited, therefore, chiefly to the principles of equality of persons, democracy of justice, religious tolerance, love of peace, and freedom for slaves.

It was in this period, that so-called transcendentalism was introduced into American literature and philosophy. The form it took at the hands of Emerson had many very Quaker-like characteristics. The a priori idea, as considered by American writers of the period, was similar to the Quaker idea of the "inner light," and appears to have its origins more probably in the mysticism of the early Quakers of Rhode Island

and Pennsylvania than in the Kantian philosophy of Europe.

Woodbridge Riley says that "New England Transcendentalism was, in many points, only a new name for old ways of thinking."[1] Emerson insisted that the term, Transcendentalism, as used by Immanuel Kant, had been applied by everyone to philosophies similar to Kant's, — to whatever belonged to the class of intuitive thought.[2] "To call his religion Transcendentalism," says Canby, "is to disregard Emerson's plain dissatisfaction with the term. It was for him only a definition of his method.... Both the Quakers and Emerson narrowed religion to the individual."[3]

Though the ideas considered in this study sometimes appear in the present chapter in more modern garb, they are still the familiar principles of equality, tolerance, and equal justice, which had their American beginnings among the Quakers.

EQUALITY OF PERSONS.

Canby has much to say concerning the evidences of Quaker influence upon the novels of James Fenimore Cooper. "Cooper is the fighting Quaker of American literature," he says, and adds that he "swung toward democracy, and colored his social philosophy with the ideas of Jefferson."[4] Elsewhere, Canby makes the following comments upon Cooper's writing:

> Cooper, in one part of his soul, was and always remained a Quaker.... Without this imprint of a peculiar culture he would never have made Natty Bumpo or Long Tom Coffin.[5]

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1 Woodbridge Riley, American Thought, p. 155.
2 Ibid., p. 156.
3 Henry Seidel Canby, Classic Americans, p. 154.
4 Ibid., p. 97.
5 Ibid., pp. 109-110.

> He [Cooper] was not the Quaker type, and he was never consciously Quaker in his professions. But no man can escape his youth, especially the child of a Quaker. 6
>
> - - - - - - - - -
>
> It is not difficult for the reader of the "Leater-Stocking Tales" to discover that Natty's Christianity is rudimentary Quakerism." 7
>
> - - - - - - - - -
>
> Natty is the best Quaker in American literature.[8]

There are many indications in The Pioneers that "Judge Temple" is none other than Cooper's own Quaker father. Certainly, the canstant working together of the various characters in The Pioneers, from "Judge Temple" and his friends to the hunter and Mohegan, with their respectful interchange of beliefs and ideas, is a clear portrayal of the Colonial Quaker ideas of equality.

Daniel Webster felt that while the principle of free government was most suited to American environment, it might flourish in any country. He thus stated this view in his "Bunker Hill Oration":

> Our history and our condition, all that is gone before us, and all that surrounds us, authorize the belief that popular governments... may yet, in their general character, be as durable and permanent as other systems. We know, indeed, that in our country any other is impossible. The principle of free government adheres to the American soil. It is imbedded in it, immovable as its mountains. 9

Fifty years after the signing of the Declaration of Independence, Webster thus sums up the blessings of America:

> It cannot be denied ... that with America, and in America, a new era commences in human affairs. This era is distinguished by free representative governments, by entire religious liberty... by a newly awakened and unconquerable spirit of free inquiry, and by a diffu-

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6 Ibid., p. 111.
7 Ibid., p. 113.
8 Ibid., p. 114.
9 Daniel Webster, Works, Vol,I, p. 77.

> fusion of knowledge through the community, such as has been before altogether unknown and unheard of. America... is inseparably connected, fast bound up, in fortune and in fate, with these great interests.[10]

In his "Centennial Oration on Washington," Webster declared that the understanding of liberty which at that time was "flying over the whole earth" was of American origin.

> Gentlemen, the spirit of human liberty and of free government, nurtured and grown into strength and beauty in America, has stretched its course into the midst of the nations. [11]

Bryant wrote of the natural rights of men in his poem, "The Antiquity of Freedom." He held that Freedom was "twin-born with man," and hence older than tyranny.

> . . . . Tyranny himself,
> Thy enemy, although of reverend look,
> Hoary with many years, and far obeyed,
> Is later born than thou; and as he meets
> The grave defiance of thine elder eye,
> The usurper trembles in his fastnesses. [12]

Emerson's writings are packed with references to the "spirit," or "mind," or "nature," common to all men. From his Essays , are quoted several passages, which are especially characteristic of Emerson's "Transcendental" philosophy. In each quotation, may be noted the remarkable resemblance to the idea of the "inner light" which, to the Quaker, makes all men equal.

> A nation of men will for the first time exist, because each believes himself inspired by the Divine Soul which also inspires all men. [13]
>
> - - - - - - -
>
> There is one mind common to all individual men. Every

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10 Webster, Works, Vol.I, p. 148. From a speech in commemoration of the lives of Adams and Jefferson.

11 Webster, Works, Vol. I, p.224.

12 William Cullen Bryant, Poetical Works, p. 200.

13 Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Phi Beta Kappa Address," Quoted by Greenlaw, in The Great Tradition, p. 256.

> man is an inlet to the same and to all of the same.[14]
>
> - - - - - - - - -
>
> A man shall learn to detect and watch that gleam of light which flashed across his mind from within, more than the lustre of the firmament of bards and sages.[15]
>
> - - - - - - - - - -
>
> What your heart thinks is great is great. The soul's emphasis is always right.[16]
>
> - - - - - - - - -
>
> And as a man is equal to the church, and equal to the state, so is he equal to every other man. The disparaties of power in men are superficial.[17]

Nowhere is the persistence of Quaker traits in American thought more strikingly evident then in Emerson's Essays. His formulation of the idea of the equality of persons was a restatement of the basic principles upon which our democratic society was founded, and was a challenge to the people of the nineteenth century to continue courageously to build on those same principles. Emerson's appeal was made to the cultured groups. But at the same time, the same kind of philosophy was actuating the lives of people on the frontier and in the backwoods, where old ideas persisted, much as old words and phrases are known to persist in isolated communities. The ideas of equality of persons, and equal justice, were the foundation of the theory of Jacksonian democracy, which scorned the service of trained statesman.[18]

Towards the middle of the century, men began to criticize the complacency of America as she looked back upon past achievements. Lowell was one of those who insisted that freedom is not static, but must be established anew by each genera-

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14 Emerson, Essays, p. 1. ("History.")
15 Ibid., p. 28. ("Self-Reliance.")
16 Ibid., p. 90. ("Spiritual Laws.")
17 Ibid., p. 398. ("New England Reformers.")
18 For a characterization of Jacksonian democracy, see James and Sanford, American History, p. 297.

> We are not free: doth Freedom, then, consist
> In musing with our faces toward the Past,
> While petty cares, and crawling interests, twist
> Their spider-threads about us, which at last
> Grow strong as iron chains, to cramp and bind
> In formal narrowness, heart, soul, and mind?
> Freedom is recreated year by year,
> In hearts wide open on the Godward side,
> In souls calm-cadenced as the whirling sphere,
> In minds that sway the future like a tide. [19]

The essential equality of men is the central thought of Lowell's "The Vision of Sir Launfal." The "earl's" recognition of this principle is the theme of the concluding lines:

> The meanest soul on Sir Launfal's land
> Has hall and bower at his command;
> And there's no poor man in the North Countree
> But is lord of the earldom as much as he. [20]

Whittier, the Quaker poet, sang often of the blessings and virtues of democracy and equality. In his poem, "Democracy," he wrote:

> Beneath thy broad, impartial eye,
> How fade the lines of caste and birth!
> How equal in their suffering lie
> The groaning multitudes of earth! [21]

Equality as the sound basis of government is the theme of Whittier's poem, "The Poor Voter On Election Day."

> The proudest now is but my peer,
> The highest not more high;
> Today, of all the weary year,
> A king of men am I.
> Today, alike are great and small,
> The nameless and the known;
> My palace is the people's hall,
> The ballot-box my throne!
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Today shall simple manhood try
> The strenght of gold and land;
> The wide world has not wealth to buy
> The power in my right hand! [22]

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19 James Russell Lowell, Poetical Works, p. 48.
20 Ibid., p. 111.
21 John Greenleaf Whittier, Complete Poetical Works, p. 463.
22 Ibid., p. 494.

Similar in theme is this stanza from "The Last Walk in Autumn":

> Home of my heart; to me more fair
> Than gay Versailles or Windsor's halls,
> The painted, shingly town-house where
> The freeman's vote for Freedom falls! 23

The spread of American ideals of freedom is shown in Whittier's stirring poem, "The Kansas Immigrants":

> We cross the prairie as of old
> The pilgroms crossed the sea,
> To make the West, as they the East,
> The homestead of the free!
> . . . . ; . . . . .
> We're flowing from our native hills
> As our free rivers flow:
> The blessing of our Mother-land
> Is on us as we go. 24

Herman Melville's Moby Dick is full of objective allusions to Quakerism. The whaling ship sails from Nantucket, an old Quaker community long famous for its connection with the whaling industry. The old Nantucket names of Collin and Starbuck are prominent in the tale. "Captain Ahab"uses the Quaker terms of address, "thee" and "thou," when speaking to any of the crew. But more prominent then any of these objective allusions is the subjective quality — the recognition of the equal worth of men, irrespective of race, birth, or position. The character receiving highest praise from the author is "Queequeg," a tattooed harpooner from the South Sea Islands. In the following passage, the individual worth of the harpooner receives chief emphasis, but it is of interest to note also the allusion to the Quaker cistom of remaining covered in the presence of titled persons.

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23 Ibid.,p. 205.
24 Ibid.,p. 419.

> No dignity in whaling? .... No more! Drive down your hat in the presence of the Czar, and take it off to Queequeg! No more! I know a man that, in his lifetime, has taken three hundred and fifty whales. I account that man more honorable than that great captain of antiquity who boasted taking as many towns. 25

In describing the sperm-whale, "Moby Dick," the "I" of the story presents his philosophy of intuitions, which others might have named the "over-soul," or the "inner light."

> And how nobly it raises our conceit of the mighty, misty monster, to behold him solemnly sailing through a calm, tropical sea; his vast, mild head overhung by a canopy of vapor... glorified by a rainbow, as if Heaven itself had put a seal upon his thoughts.... And so, through all the thick mist of the dim doubts in my mind, divine intuitions now and then shoot, enkindling my fog with a heavenly ray. 26

That the great humanitarian, Abraham Lincoln, with his devotion to the principles of equality, justice, and tolerance, and his distress in the face of war, should have been of Quaker stock, is not at all surprising. His ancestors, who were Quakers, went from Berks County, Pennsylvania, to Virginia. His parents were born in Virginia.[27] By the time the family had reached Kentucky, the Quaker externals had apparently worn away. However, Lincoln's speeches and letters reveal much of subjective Quakerism. That a recognition of the principle of equality is essential in our democratic government, is expressed in this passage from a speech by Lincoln:

> That "central idea" in our political public opinion at the beginning was, and until recently has continued to be, "the equality of man." And although it has always submitted patiently to whatever of inequality there seemed to be as a matter of actual necessity, its constant working has been a steady progress toward the practical equality of all men. 28

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25 Herman Melville, Moby Dick, p. 100.
26 Ibid., p. 345.
27 Abraham Lincoln, Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 596.
28 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 225.

DEMOCRACY OF JUSTICE.

Whittier was fond of re-telling in his poems the tales of Quaker sufferings which he had heard or read when he was a child. Many of these poems deal with the gross injustices suffered by the very early Quakers at the hands of the Massachusetts magistrates. In "The Exiles," Whittier gives a graphic account of the escape of Thomas Macy and his wife to Nantucket, when the parish authorities would have punished them for giving shelter to a banished Quaker. [29] The poem, "Cassandra Southwick," is the account of the steadfastness of that heroine in the face of Governor Endicott's order for her sale to pay her fines for being a Quaker. [30] In another narrative poem, "How the Women Went From Dover," Whittier describes the rank injustice of the frequent whippings of Quakers in early Massachusetts. The poem is a dramatic account of the wayin which many of the Quaker women were "whipped at the cart's tail" through the towns and out of the province. [31]

Lowell often pleaded for absolute equality of justice. In the stanza which follows, he pointed out the pervasiveness of the wrong of unequal justice:

> He's true to God who's true to man; wherever wrong is done,
> To the humblest and the weakest, 'neath the all-beholding sun,
> That wrong is also done to us; and they are slaves most base,
> Whose love of right is for themselves, and not for all their race. [32]

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29 Whittier, Complete Poetical Works, pp. 18-22.
30 Ibid., pp. 23-27. (See Bishop's New England Judged, pp. 47-49.)
31 Whittier, Complete Poetical Works, pp. 176-178. (See Bishop, op. cit., pp. 211-220.)
32 Lowell, Poetical Works, p. 83.

The same idea is found in this passage from "The Present Crisis":

> For mankind are one in spirit, and an instinct bears along,
> Round the earth's electric circle, the swift flash of right or wrong;
> Whether conscious or unconscious, yet Humanity's vast frame
> Through its ocean-sundered fibres feels the gush of joy or shame; —
> In the gain or loss of one race, all the rest have equal claim. 33

RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE.

Washington Irving, in his essay, "English Writers on America," advocates that broad liberality which many Americans of his time held, not only towards religious opinions of others, but also towards all differing opinion. The influence of the religious tolerance of the Quakers was bearing fruit in the nineteenth century in a tolerance of philosophies and political opinions as well. Irving's attitude is shown in this passage:

> Opening, too, as we do, an asylum for strangers from every portion of the earth, we should receive all with impartiality. It should be our pride to exhibit an example of one nation, at least, destitute of national antipathies, and exercising not merely the overt acts of hospitality, but those more rare and noble courtesies which spring from liberality of opinion. 34

When, in Cooper's The Pioneers, the landlady, the Judge, and Marmaduke discuss the new minister's preaching, they reveal the Quaker attitude toward hired ministers and prepared sermons. [35] Their tolerance of other views is apparent, also,

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33 Lowell, op. cit., p. 68.
34 Washington Irving, The Sketch Book, p. 104.
35 See appendix, p. 182.

in this bit from their conversation:

> "How can a man stand up and be pr'aching his word, when all that he is saying is written down, and he is as much tied to it as iver a thaving dragoon was to the pickets?"
> "Well, well," cried Marmaduke,.. "there is enough said; as Mr. Grant told us, there are different sentiments on such subjects, and in my opinion he spoke most sensibly." 36

Daniel Wabster, in the course of his Bunker Hill Oration, pronounced thid epigram:

> If the true spark of civil and religious liberty be kindled, it will burn. Human agency cannot extinguish it. 37

The sort of religious liberty which Webster himself advocated is indicated in a letter to Reverend Louis Dwight, in which he wrote:

> You are pleased to ask whether, in my judgment, Christians can, with a good conscience, imprison [for debt] either other Christians, or infidels. He would be very little of a Christian, I think, who should make a difference, in such a case, and be willing to use a degree of severity towards Jew or Greek which he would not use towards one of his own faith. 38

Canby, like many other students of Nathaniel Hawthorne's writings, thinks that Hawthorne deeply disapproved of the Puritanism which he portrayed. "Think of Hawthorne, then," writes Canby, "as a man conditioned by Puritanism, though quite free from its theology and skeptical of its ethical code."[39] In the opinion of many careful students, Hawthorne's tales of New England life were a protest against the harshness and intolerance of the Puritanism existing in his own day, as well as

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36 James Fenimore Cooper, The Pioneers, p. 186.
37 Webster, Works, Vol. I, p. 75.
38 Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 534.
39 Canby, op. cit., p. 233.

in the times in which he wrote. Hawthorne took a melancholy interest in revealing the blight fastened upon the potential happiness of the new generation by the grim Calvinism of older generations. There is practically nothing of Quakerism in any of Hawthorne's writings, and there is much reference to intolerance of all sorts. There is an atmosphere of dull heaviness in all his tales of NewwEngland life. But the reader may discern between the lines the author's plea for a broader view, a kindlier feeling, and a sympathetic tolerance, as the best guarantees of happiness for future generations.

Longfellow felt that so far as intolerance existed, so far Christianity did not exist. One of his "Poetic Aphorisms" summarizes his view:

> Lutheran, Popish, Calvinistic, all
> these creeds and doctrines three
> Extant are; but still the doubt is,
> where Christianity may be. 40

Whittier's disapproval of "The Preacher" reflects also the Quaker attitude of tolerance:

> Thus he,— to whom, in the painful stress
> Of zeal on fire with its own excess,
> Heaven seemed so vast and earth so small
> That man was nothing, since God was all,—
> Forgot, as the best at times have done,
> That the love of the Lord and of man are one. 41

The conscientious tolerance of the early Quakers is the theme of these stanzas from Whittier's "The Pennsylvania Pilgrims":

> Gathered from many sects, the Quaker brought
> His old beliefs, adjusting to the thought
> That moved his soul the creed his fathers taught.

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40 Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Poems, p. 180. ("Creeds.")
41 Whittier, op. cit., p. 95. ("The Preacher." Reference is to the preaching of Whitefield.)

> For soul touched soul; the spiritual treasure trove
> Made all men equal, none could rise above
> Nor sink below the level of God's Love. 42

Ishmael, the "I" of Moby Dick, says that he was "born and bred in the bosom of the infallible Presbyterian Church." The reader wonders, however, if this statement is not an example of extreme literary license, when he reads Ishmael's line of reasoning with regard to Queequeg's worship. Queequeg had invited Ishmael to unite with him in the worship of his wooden idol. At first, Ishmael felt the shock of recoil, but soon reasoned thus:

> But what is worship?-- to do the will of God -- that is worship. And what is the will of God? -- to do to my fellowman what I would have my fellowman do to me -- that is the will of God. 43 Now Queequeg is my fellowman. And what do I wish this Queequeg would do to me? Why unite with me in my particular Presbyterian form of worship. Consequently, I must unite with him in his. 44

One may question whether this were not unusual generosity even in the most generous of tolerant men. However, Thoreau expresses the same idea in his Maine Woods, with reference to the religion of his Indian guide:

> It is suggested, too, [by life in the woods] that the same experience always gives birth to the same sort of belief or religion. One revelation has been made to the Indian, another to the white man.... I am not sure but all that would tempt me to teach the Indian my religion would be his promise to teach me his. 45

Thoreau writes in a similar vein in Walden, though in the passages quoted he refers to tolerance in other lines of thought as well as in religion:

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42 Whittier, op. cit., p. 145. (The poem is a tribute to Pastorius, first Quaker preacher of Germantown, Pennsylvania.)
43 The Golden Rule was the only creed accepted by Quakers.
44 Melville, Moby Dick, pp. 48-48.
45 Henry David Thoreau, The Maine Woods, p. 248.

> These same questions that disturb and puzzle and confound us have in their turn occurred to all the wise men; not one has been omitted; and each has answered them, according to his ability, by his words and his life. Moreover, with wisdom, we shall learn liberality.[46]
>
> - - - - - - - - - -
>
> Let us settle ourselves, and work and wedge our feet downward through the mud and slush of opinion, and prejudice, and tradition, and delusion, and appearance, that alluvion which covers the globe, through Paris and London, through New York and Boston and Concord, through church and state, through poetry and philosophy and religion, till we come to a hard bottom and rocks in place, which we can call reality. [47]
>
> - - - - - - - - - -
>
> Why concern ourselves so much about beans for seed, and not be concerned at all about a new generation of men?.... Here comes such a subtile and ineffable quality, for instance, as truth or justice, though the slightest amount or new variety of it, along the road. Our ambassadors should be instructed to send home such seeds as these, and Congress help to distribute them over all the land. [48]
>
> - - - - - - - - - -

Boynton interprets Holmes's popular account of the sudden dissolution of "The Deacon's Master-piece; or the Wonderful One-Hoss Shay," written in 1858, as a satirical comment upon the final and complete collapse, before the meeting-house, of the Calvinistic doctrine as expounded by Jonathan Edwards. We may assume that Holmes considered that while "logic is logic" with each part an essential unit in the whole, yet the <u>whole</u> could, and did, crumble at once. The poem is a satire upon "logical," but intolerant Calvinism.[49]

LOVE OF PEACE.

Without expressing either approval or condemnation of warfare, Irving explains the lure that warfare holds:

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46 Thoreau, <u>Walden</u>, p. 170.
47 <u>Ibid</u>., p. 154.
48 <u>Ibid</u>., p. 256.
49 Percy H. Boynton, ed., <u>American Poetry</u>, p. 669; Oliver W. Holmes, <u>Complete Poetical Works</u>, pp. 158-160.

> That chivalrous courage which induces us to despise the suggestions of prudence, and to rush in the face of certain danger, is the offspring of society, and produced by education.... It has been the theme of spirit-stirring song and chivalrous story. The poet and minstrel have delighted to shed round it the splendors of fiction.... Triumphs and gorgeous pageants have been its reward: monuments... have been erected to perpetuate a nation's gratitude and admiration. Thus artificially excited, courage has risen to an extraordinary and factitious degree of heroism: and arrayed in all the glorious "pomp and circumstance of war," this turbulent quality has even been able to eclipse many of those quiet, but invaluable virtues, which silently ennoble the human character, and swell the tide of human happiness. [50]

Cooper, in The Pioneers, describes the deference shown to military men in other parts of the world, and follows with this remark, which was expressive of the general thought in America at the time, with regard to the relative importance of the military and the civil power:

> Such, and at no very distant period, was the respect paid to the military in these States, where now, happily, no symbol of war is ever seen, unless at the free and fearless voice of their people. [51]

One of the frequently recurring ideas in Bryant's poetry is that of a deep love of peace, with liberty and freedom. In the long poem, "The Ages," Bryant honors the America of 1822. There is present in the passage quoted, the typical gratitude of Americans of the time, for the fate that had placed them here rather than in other lands.

> Here the free spirit of mankind, at length,
> Throws its last fetters off; and who shall place
> A limit to the giant's unchained strength,
> Or curb his swiftness in the forward race?
> . . . . . .

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50 Washington Irving, The Sketch Book, pp. 361-362.
51 James Fenimore Cooper, The Pioneers, p. 23.

> Europe is given a prey to sterner fates,
> And writhes in shackles; strong the arms that chain
> To earth her struggling multitude of states. [52]

A similar theme is found in the "Ode for an Agricultural Celebration," written the next year:

> The proud throne shall crumble,
> The diadem shall wane,
> The tribes of earth shall humble
> The pride of those who reign;
> And War shall lay his pomp away; —
> The fame that heroes cherish,
> The glory earned in deadly fray
> Shall fade, decay, and perish. [53]

In his poem, "After a Tempest," Bryant compares the quiet after the storm with the world peace that may be:

> I looked, and thought the quiet of the scene
> An emblem of the peace that yet shall be,
> When o'er earth's continents, and isles between,
> The noise of war shall cease from sea to sea,
> And married nations dwell in harmony;
> When millions, crouching in the dust to one,
> No more shall beg their lives on bended knee,
> Nor the black stake be dressed, nor in the sun
> The o'erlabored captive toil, and wish his life were done. [54]

Emerson praised the heroism of peace above the heroism of war. To thousands of early Quakers, his words in the following passage from the essay, "heroism," would have had a deep significance. Living in peace for a principle had often required of them a higher courage than that of the soldier.

> Let him hear in season that he is born into a state of war, and that the commonwealth and his own well-being require that he should not go dancing in the weeds of peace, but warned, self-collected, and neither defying nor dreading the thunder, let him take both reputation and life in his hand, and with perfect urbanity, dare the gibbet, and the mob by the absolute

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52 William Cullen Bryant, Poetical Works, p. 20.
53 Ibid., p. 46.
54 Ibid., pp. 66-67.

truth of his speech and the rectitude of his behavior.[55]

James Russell Lowell, in "The Bigelow Papers," voiced in this bit of inimitable satire, the popular disapproval of the Mexican War:

> Ez fer war, I callit murder,—
> There ye hev it plain an' flat;
> I don't want to go no furder
> Than my Testyment fer that;
> God hez sed so plump and fairly,
> It's ez long az it is broad,
> An' you've gut to git up early
> Ef you want to take in God.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Ef you take a sword an' dror it,
> An' go stick a feller thru,
> Guv'ment aint to answer for it,
> God'll send the bill to you.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Call me coward, call me traitor,
> Jest ez suits your mean idees,—
> Here I stand a tyrant-hater,
> An' the friend o' God an' Peace![56]

Melville used characteristic Quaker phraseology as he satitized military glory in this pointed defense of the whalemen:

> Doubtless one leading reason why the world declines honoring us whalemen, is this: they think that, at best, our vocation amounts to a butchering sort of business.... Butchers we are, that is true. But butchers also, and butchers of the bloodiest badge, have been all martial commanders whom the world invariably delights to honor.[57]

Nothing could better describe the combination of Quaker devotion to the principles underlying the Civil War, with their abhorrence of war itself, than this stanza from Whittier's "Brown of Ossawotomie":

> Perish with him the folly that seeks through evil good!
> Long live the generous purpose unstained with human blood!

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55 Ralph Waldo Emerson, Essays, pp. 151-163.
56 James Russell Lowell, op. cit., p. 174.
57 Herman Melville, Moby Dick, p. 97.

Not the raid of midnight terror, but the thought which underlies;
Not the borderer's pride of daring, but the Christian sacrifice.[58]

The hope of the Friends, that abolition might be secured without war, is shown again in Whittier's "Expostulation":

Rise now for Freedom! not in strife
Like that your sterner fathers saw,
The awful waste of human kife,
The glory and the guilt of war:
But break the chains, the yoke remove,
And smite to earth Oppression's rod,
With those mild arms of Truth and Love,
Made mighty through the living God![59]

In "Amy Wentworth," Whittier arouses our sympathy for the distress of Quakers in war-time:

Nursed in the faith that Truth alone is strong
In the endurance which outwearies Wrong,
With meek persistance baffling brutal force,
And trusting God against the universe, --
We, doomed to watch a strife we may not share
With other weapons than the patriot's prayer,
Yet owning, with full hearts and moistened eyes,
The awful beauty of self- sacrifice,..... [60]

Thoreau gives us a delightfully satirical account of a battle between black ants and red ants, as it was staged before his door at Walden. He describes in particular, the struggle between two individuals:

> I was myself excited somewhat even as if they had been men. The more you think of it, the less the difference. And certainly there is not the fight recorded in Concord history, at least, if in the history of America, that will bear a moment's comparison with this.... For numbers and for carnage it was an Austerlitz or Dresden. Concord fight!.... There was not one hireling there. I have no doubt that it was a principle they fought for, as much as our ancestors, and not to avoid a three-penny tax on their tea; and the results of this battle will be as important and memorable to those whom it

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58 Whittier, op. cit., p. 268.
59 Ibid., p. 255.
60 Ibid., p. 106.

> concerns as those of the battle of Bunker Hill, at least.... The battle which I witnessed took place in the presidency of Polk, five years before the passage of Webster's Fugitive Slave Bill. 61

In the poem, "The Arsenal at Springfield," Longfellow is moved to thoughts on the futility of war:

> Were half the power, that fills the world with terror,
> Were half the wealth, bestowed on camps and courts,
> Given to redeem the human mind from error,
> There were no need of arsenals and forts. 62

This prophecy of the horrors of future wars — but tempered by hope — is found in Bryant's "The Song of the Sower," written in 1859:

> And realms, that hear the battle-cry,
> Shall sicken with dismay;
> And chieftans to the war shall lead
> Whole nations, with the tempest's speed,
> To perish in a day;—
> Till man, by love and mercy taught,
> Shall rue the wreck the fury wrought,
> And lay the sword away! 63

PRACTICAL HUMANITARIANISM.

Prison Reform.

The cause of prison reform found very little literary expression in the first national period of our literary history. Whittier and Lowell were its chief exponents, as they wrote against the evils of capital punishment and imprisonment for debt. The Quakers had always worked consistently against both evils, and had attempted to abolish them altogether in Pennsylvania.

In 1830, Webster declared that "Imprisonment for debt, as it is now practised, is, in my judgment, a great evil." 64

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61 Thoreau, Walden, pp. 358 and 360.
62 Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Poems, p. 102.
63 William Cullen Bryant, Poetical Works, p. 245.
64 Daniel Webster, Works, Vol.VI, p. 534. (Letter to Rev. Louis Dwight.)

Emerson's dictum on capital punishment is often quoted in favor of mild criminal codes: "If you make the criminal code sanguinary, juries will not convict." [65]

The next quotation, from Whittier's "The Gallows," is an excellent summary of the Quakers' idea of prison reform:

> Thank God! that I have lived to see the time
> When the great truth begins at last to find
> An utterance from the deep heart of mankind,
> Earnest and clear, that all Revenge is Crime,
> That man is holier than a creed, that all
> Restraint upon him must consult his good,
> Hope's sunshine linger on his prison wall,
> And Love look in upon his solitude. [66]

The tragic inequality of justice in imprisonment for debt is the theme of the next selection quoted from Whittier:

> What has the gray-haired prisoner done?
> Has murder stained his hands with gore?
> Not so; his crime's a fouler one;
> God made the old man poor!
> . . . . . .
> Down with the law that binds him thus!
> Unworthy freemen, let it find
> No refuge from the withering curse
> Of God and human-kind! [67]

Upon reading Wordsworth's "Sonnets in Defense of Capital Punishment," Lowell offered a rebuke to all poets who could take such a position. A stanza follows:

> A poet cannot strive for despotism;
> His harp falls shattered; for it still must be
> The instinct of great spirits to be free,
> And the sworn foes of cunning barbarism:
> He who has deepest searched the wide abysm
> Of that life-giving Soul which men call fate,
> Knows that to put more faith in lies and hate
> Than truth and love is the true atheism. [68]

It is possible to gather from the passage quoted, that there was a growing feeling for prison reform, at least to the

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65 Emerson, Essays, p. 63. ("Compensation.")
66 Whittier, op. cit., p. 465.
67 Ibid., p. 485. ("The Prisoner for Debt.")
68 Lowell, op. cit., p. 23.

extent of abolishing imprisonment for debt, and of limiting the application of capital punishment.

Poor Relief.

Among literary men of the first national period, Lowell was the chief champion of the poor. He is the only writer of the period from whose works quotations are given here. Lowell was very much like the Quakers in his insistence that poverty is is a fault of society, more than of the individual. The first quotation is from an apostrophe to "Hunger and Cold."

> Bolt and bar the palace door;
> While the mass of men are poor,
> Naked truth grows more and more
> Uncontrolled;
> You had never yet, I guess,
> Any praise for bashfulness,
> You can visit sans court-dress
> Hunger and Cold!
> . . . . . .
> God has plans man must not spoil,
> Some were made to starve and toil,
> Some to share the wine and oil,
> We are told:
> Devil's theories arethese,
> Stifling hope and love and peace,
> Framed your hideous lusts to please,
> Hunger and Cold!
>
> Scatter ashes on thy head,
> Tears of burning sorrow shed,
> Earth! and be by Pity led
> To Love's fold:
> Ere they block the very door
> With lean corpses of the poor,
> And will hush for naught but gore,
> Hunger and Cold! 69

A plea for sympathetic sharing — a practical humanitarianism rather than mere alms-giving — is made in these familiar selections from "The Vision of Sir Launfal":

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69 Lowell, op. cit., pp. 61-62.

The leper raised not the gold from the dust:
"Better to me the poor man's crust,
Better the blessing of the poor,
Though I turn me empty from his door;
That is no true alms which the hand can hold;
He gives only the worthless gold
    Who gives from a sense of duty;
But he who gives but a slender mite,
And gives to that which is out of sight,
    That thread of the all-sustaining Beauty
Which runs through all and doth all unite, — [70]
The hand cannot clasp the whole of his alms,
The heart outstretches its eager palms,
For a God goes with it and makes it store
To a soul that was starving in darkness before. [71]
. . . . . .
Not what we give but what we share,
For the gift without the giver is bare;
Who gives himself with his alms feeds three,
Himself, his hungering neighbor, and me. [72]

Anti-Slavery Agitation.

Many historians give to the Quakers the first place among those whose persistent efforts finally culminated in the Emancipation Proclamation. It was but natural that the high idealism of the Abolition movement should have appealed to the poets and essayists of that period. A large amount of literature on the evils of slavery was produced in the two decades preceding the Civil War. The passages quoted in this section are but samples to show the nature of the whole.

Webster's attitude towards slavery often seemed to bethat of political expediency. But from time to time, his personal feeling of moral opposition was clearly put. In 1848, he made the following statement in the Senate, with reference to the exclusion of slavery from the Territories:

I have made up my mind, for one, that under no cir-

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70 There is added meaning in these kines when they are explained on the basis of a common "inner light," which establishes universal brotherhood.

71 Lowell, op. cit., p. 109.

72 Ibid., p. 111.

> cumstances will I consent to the further extension of the area of slavery in the United States, or to the further increase of slave representation in the House of Representatives. [73]

Webster commended the Friends for the method they were pursuing in their efforts to secure a general emancipation.

> No people are moreopposed to slavery than the people of Pennsylvania. We know, especially, that that great and respectable part of her population, the Friends, have borne their testimony against it from the first. Yet they create no excitement; they seek not to overthrow or undermine the Constitution of their Country. [74]

There is a direct echo of Woolman's preaching in this line from Emerson's "Compensation":

> If you put a chain around the neck of a slave, the other end fastens itself around your own. [75]

Very often, writers appealed first of all to the emotions of the readers. An example is the haunting tragedy of "The African Chief," by Bryant, which begins,

> Chained in the market-place he stood,
> A man of giant frame,
> Amid the gathering multitude
> That shrunk to hear his name. [76]

In Longfellow's "The Warning," is sounded a note very frequently heard from the time of Woolman to the Civil War:

> There is a poor, blind Samson in this land,
> Shorn of his strength, and bound in bonds of steel,
> Who may, in some grim revel, raise his hand,
> And shake the pillars of this Commonwealth,
> Till the vast Temple of our liberties
> A shapeless mass of wreck and rubbish lies. [77]

In 1836, Whittier became secretary of the American Anti-Slavery Society. His poems had a wonderful effect upon North-

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73 Webster, Works, Vol. V, p. 312.
74 Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 561.
75 Emerson, Essays, p. 69.
76 Bryant, Poetical Works, p. 101.
77 Longfellow, Poems, p. 59.

ern public opinion, and he was influential in the formation of the new Republican party in 1854.[78] Particularly powerful in their influence were his poems, "Farewell of a Slave Mother," and "The BrandedHand." The first began as follows:

> Gone, gone, — sold and gone,
> To the rice-swamp dank and lone.
> Where the slave-whip ceaseless swings,
> Where the noisesome insect stings,
> Where the fever demon strews
> Poison with the falling dews,
> Where the sickly sunbeams glare
> Through the hot and misty air;
> Gone, gone,— sold and gone,
> To the rice-swamp dank and lone,
> From Virginia's hills and waters:
> Woe is me, my stolen daughters!- [79]

"The Branded Hand" was written to honor a man whose right hand had been branded with the letters, S.S.,(Slave Stealer) as punishment for assisting a fugitive slave. One stanza is quoted.

> Then lift that manly right-hand, bold ploughman of the wave,
> Its branded palm shall prophecy, "Salvation to the Slave!"
>
> Hold up its fire-wrought language, that whoso reads may feel
> His heart swell strong within him, his sinews change to steel. [80]

It is hardly necessary to mention the influence of Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel, Uncle Tom's Cabin, so well known is this work. The Quaker ideal of freedom had its strongest anti-slavery champion in her. This tribute from the pen of Oliver Wendell Holmes shows how widespread was the effect of her novel:

> Know her! Who knows not Uncle Tom
> And her he learned his gospel from

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78 A.B.Hart, Source Book of American History, p. 258.
79Whittier, op. cit., p. 368.
80 Ibid., p. 394.

Has never heard of Moses;
Full well the brave black hand we know
That gave to freedom's grasp the hoe
That killed the weed that used to grow
Among the Southern roses.[81]

Thoreau shows a truly Quaker method of resistance to unjust laws, in this little story from Walden:

> One afternoon... when I went to the village to get a shoe from the cobbler's I was seized and put into jail, because... I did not pay a tax to, or recognize the authority of, the state which buys and sells men, women, and children, like cattle at the door of its senate-house.... It is true, I might have resisted forcibly with more or less effect, might have run "amok" against society; but I preferred that society should run "amok" against me, it being the desperate party.[82]

Following is a bit of satirical propoganda from The Bigelow Papers:

I du believe in Freedom's cause,
Ez fur away ez Payris is;
I love to see her stick her claws
In them infarnal Phayrisees;
It's wal enough agin a king
To dror resolves and triggers,—
But libbaty's a kind o' thing
Thet don't agree with niggers.[83]

Lowell's "Stanzas on Freedom" had unmeasured influence for emancipation, and continues to be an effective spur for flagging patriotism. The most frequently quoted passage follows:

Is true freedom but to break
Fetters for our own dear sake,
And, with leathern hearts, forget
That we owe mankind a debt?
. . . . . .
They are slaves who fear to speak
For the fallen and the weak;
They are slaves who will not choose
Hatred, scoffing, and abuse,

---

81 Oliver Wendell Holmes, Complete Poetical Works, p.273.
82 Thoreau, Walden, p. 268.
83 Lowell, Poetical Works, p. 192. ("The Pious Editor's Creed," in The Bigelow Papers, No. 6.)

> Rather than in silence shrink
> From the truth they needs must think;
> They are slaves who dare not be
> In the right with two or three. [84]

Of similar effect was "The Present Crisis," the spirit of which is shown in this excerpt:

> And the slave, where'er he cowers, feels the soul within him climb
> To the awful verge of manhood, as the energy sublime
> Of a century bursts full-blossomed on the thorny stem of Time. [85]

Two quotations, only, from Lincoln on the subject of slavery are given here. But they are sufficient to show the sort of anti-slavery doctrine he was constantly preaching in all his speeches and letters. The first is from a letter to George Robertson, written in 1855; and the second is from a speech delivered at Springfield two years later.

> When we were the political slaves of King George, and wanted to be free, we called the maxim that "all men are created equal" a self-evident truth, but now when we have grown fat, and have lost all dread of being slaves ourselves, we have become so greedy to be masters that we call the same maxim "a self-evident lie." The Fourth of July has not quite dwindled away; it is still a great day — for burning fire-crakers!!! [86]
>
> - - - - - - - - -
>
> In my opinion, it will not cease [agitation against slavery] until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. "A house divided against itself cannot stand." I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved — I do not expect the house to fall — but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other. [87]

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84 Lowell, Poetical Works, p. 56.

85 Ibid., p. 67. (It was energy of more than a century. The first protest against slavery in America was made by German-Town Friends in 1688.)

86 Abraham Lincoln, Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 215.

87 Ibid.,Vol. I, p. 240. (This famous declaration is in keeping with the long-established maxim of Quaker meetings — "There must be unity among Friends.")

SUMMARY.

In this chapter, the persistence of the Quaker ideals of equality of persons, democracy of justice, religious tolerance, and practical humanitarianism have been traced through American literature from 1800 to 1860. A study of the literature of that period shows that America felt deep gratitude for her blessings of liberty, and believed that other nations wished to emulate her example. The grim austerity of seventeenth and eighteenth century Puritanism was giving way to a growing religious tolerance, and to a tolerance of political and scientific opinion as well. In the fifth decade of the period, many writers were frantically urging a peaceful solution of the slave problem and its resulting economic problems; but despite the general antipathy for war, the principle of equality of persons was leading the nation rapidly towards war. The literature of the period shows that the Civil War struggle was to be chiefly on the moral question involved in slavery. There was some indication of a feeling that poverty is a social responsibility; and there was growing opposition to imprisonment for debt, and to capital punishment for any crime.

CHAPTER VI.

EVIDENCES IN AMERICAN LITERATURE SINCE 1860.

With the close of the Civil War, the great cause of abolition, for which the Friends had labored nearly two hundred years, came to realization. The absolute equality of all persons of all races was recognized by the government, and that recognition was written into the Constitution. After achieving victory in this struggle, no other cause appeared to claim the championship of the Friends, and for two generations they have not been prominent, as a sect, in public affairs. But they have always been a quiet people, whose social principles have worked unobtrusively into the lives of other groups. The democratic principles which they introduced into American thought and life in the seventeenth century are still vigorous and flourishing — vital elements of what is recognized as the peculiarly American way of thought. One proof of the general acceptance of the Quaker ideas considered in this study lies in the fact that, in the second national period of American literary history, these same ideas appear, more frequently than in any other period, in the works of non-Quaker writers.

EQUALITY OF PERSONS.

Abraham Lincoln made no distinctions between classes or persons: to him, all men were truly equal. John Hay has paid tribute to this trait of Lincoln's character:

> He was absolutely without prejudice of class or condition. Frederick Douglass says he was the only man of distinction he ever met who never reminded him

> by word or manner, of his color; he was as just and generous to the rich and well-born, as to the poor and humble — a thing rare among politicians. [1]

Elsewhere, Hay says that Lincoln kept himself in constant sympathy with the common people, "whom he respected too much to flatter or mislead." [2]

Lincoln's complete devotion to the principle of equality is shown in a passage taken from an address delivered in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, in 1861.

> I can say... that all the political sentiments I entertain have been drawn... from the sentiments which originated in and were given to the world from this hall.... I have often inquired of myself what great principle or idea it was that kept this Confederacy so long together. It was not the mere matter of separation of the colonies from the motherland, but that sentiment in the Declaration of Independence which gave liberty not alone to the people of this country, but hope to all the world, for all future time. It was that which gave promise that in due time the weights would be lifted from the shoulders of all men, and that all should have an equal chance.... Now, my friends, can this country be saved on that basis? If it can, I will consider myself one of the happiest men in the world if I can help to save it.... But if this country cannot be saved without giving up that principle... I would rather be assassinated on this spot than surrender it. [3]

The best known of all Lincoln's speeches is his"Gettysburg Address," the lasting effect of which has been a perennial rededication of Americans "to the proposition that all men are created equal."

> Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, concieved in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.... It is rather for us to be here dedi-

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1 Henry Cabot Lodge, editor, The Best of the World's Classics, Vol.X, p. 217. Quoted from Nicolay and Hay, Abraham Lincoln: a History, Vol. X, Chapter 18.

2 Lodge, op. cit.,Vol. X, p. 213. Quoted from Nicolay and Hay, op. cit., Vol. X, Chapter 18.

3 Abraham Lincoln, Complete Works, Vol. I, pp. 690-691.

> cated to the great task remaining before us —... that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion... that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth. [4]

The third, fourth, and sixth lines of this stanza from Sidney Lanier's "America" are in keeping with the American ideal of equality as it was defined anew after the Civil War:

> Long as thine art shall love true love,
> Long as thy science truth shall know,
> Long as thine eagle harms no dove,
> Long as thy law by law shall grow,
> Long as thy God is God above,
> Thy brother every man below,
> So long, dear land of all my love,
> Thy name shall shine, thy fame shall grow. [5]

Canby says that Walt Whitman was "half a Quaker," [6] and that Whitman's spiritual insight was very close to the seventeenth century Quakers' views of the spiritual basis of equality. Whitman was extremely individualistic — a self-appointed representative of the common man. "He was the first to give ordinary, vulgar, vital man a ranking with the captains and the kings, as one whose daily life and intuitive processes were of infinite importance and worthy of expression." [7]

A number of excerpts from Whitman's poems are quoted next. They are representative of the common opinion among nineteenth century Americans on the subject of equality. First, are given Whitman's "signs" by which one may recognize a brother:

> He says indifferently and alike, How are you, friend?
> to the President at his levee,

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4 Ibid., Vol. II, p. 439.
5 Sidney Lanier, Quoted by Greenlaw and Hanford, in The Great Tradition, p. 596.
6 Henry Seidel Canby, Classic Americans, p. 312.
7 Ibid., p. 315.

> And he says, Good-day, my brother! to Cudge that hoes
> in the sugar-field,
> And both understand him and know that his speech is
> right.
>
> He walks with perfect ease in the capitol,
> He walks among the Congress, and one representative
> says to another, Here is our equal, appearing
> and new. [8]

The next two passages represent Whitman's devotion to individualism and perfect equality:

> Remember, government is to subserve individuals,
> Not any, not the President, is to have one jot more
> than you or me,
> Not any habitan of America is to have one jot less
> than you or me. [9]
>
> - - - - - - - - -
>
> Underneath all are individuals,
> I swear nothing is good to me now that ignores
> individuals!
> The American compact is altogether with individuals,
> The only government is that which makes minute of
> individuals,
> The whole theory of the universe is directed to one
> single individual — namely toYou. 10

Whitman was a good Quaker in his belief that the whole world eventually will adopt the Quaker ideals of equality, as people come to recognize their own individual worth. (This belief leads logically to the hope of world peace.)

> Never was average man, his soul, more energetic,
> more like God ....
> What whispers are these, O lands, running ahead of
> you, passing under the seas?
> Are all nations communing? is there going to be but
> one heart to the globe?
> Is humanity forming en masse? for, lo, tyrants tremble
> crowns grow dim,
> The earth, restive, confronts a new era. [11]

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8 Walt Whitman, Poems, p. 155. ("Leaves of Grass.")
9 Ibid., p. 129. ("Chants Democratic.")
10 Ibid., p. 92. ("Chants Democratic.")
11 Whitman, "The Prophecy of a New Era." Quoted by Greenlaw, op. cit., p. 590.

That Whitman held the typical Quaker opinion on the subject of equality of the sexes, is shown in the following group of quotations:

> Without extinction is Liberty! Without retrograde is Equality!
> They live in the feelings of young men, and the best women — [12]
>
> - - - - - - - - - - -
>
> And I will show of male and female that either is but the equal of the other. [13]
>
> - - - - - - - - - - -
>
> See the populace, millions upon millions, handsome, tall, muscular, both sexes, clothed in easy and dignified clothes — teaching, commanding, equally electing and elective. [14]
>
> - - - - - - - - - - -
>
> I say a girl fit for these States must be free, capable, dauntless, just the same as a boy. [15]
>
> - - - - - - - - - - -
>
> I am the poet of the woman the same as the man,
> And I say it is as great to be a woman as to be a man,
> And I say there is nothing greater than the mother of men. [16]

Whitman recognized the universal equality involved in failure:

> Vivas to those who have failed!
> . . . . . .
> And to all generals that lost engagements! And all overcome heroes!
> And to the numberless unknown heroes, equal to the greatest heroes known. [17]

The homely verse of James Whitcomb Riley owes much of its charm, no doubt, to its recognition of the essential equality of all people. Two illustrative selections follow:

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12 Whitman, Poems, p. 87. ("Chants Democratic.")
13 Ibid., p. 8. ("Proto-Leaf" of "Leaves of Grass.")
14 Ibid., p. 13.
15 Ibid., p. 130. ("Chants Democratic.")
16 Ibid., p. 35. ("Leaves of Grass.")
17 Ibid., p. 33.

In fact I'd aim to be the same
With all men as my brothers;
And they'd be all the same with me—
Ef I only had my ruthers.
. . . . . .
The rich and great 'ud 'sociate
With all their lowly brothers,
Feelin' we done the honorun —
Ef I only had my ruthers. [18]
- - - - - - - -

You're common, as I said afore —
You're common, yit uncommon more, —
You allus kindo' 'pear to me,
What all mankind had ort to be —
Jest natchural, and the more hurraws
You git, the less you know the cause —
Like as if God Hisse'f stood by
Where best on earth hain't half knee-high,
And seein' like, and knowin' He
'S the Only Great Man really,
You're just content to size your hight—
With any feller man's in sight, —
And even then they's scrubs like me,
Feels stuck-up, in your company! [19]

Woodrow Wilson, in the following paragraph, pays tribute to the American spirit which accords equal recognition to equal accomplishment, irrespective of birth:

> It was typical of American life that it should produce such men as Washington and Lincoln with supreme indifference as to the manner in which it produced them, and as readily here in this hut as amidst the little circle of cultivated gentlemen to whom Virginia owed so much in leadership and example. [20]

Wilson urged general emulation of Lincoln's spirit of brotherhood:

> Let us be sure that we get the national temperament; send our minds abroad upon the continent, become neighbors to all the people that live upon it, and lovers of them all, as Lincoln was. [21]

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18 James Whitcomb Riley, The Hoosier Book, p. 31.
19 Ibid., pp. 28-29. ("Erasmus Wilson.")
20 Woodrow Wilson, "Address on Lincoln," at Hodgenville, Kentucky, Sept. 4, 1916. Quoted by Greenlaw, op. cit., pp. 595-6.
21 Woodrow Wilson, "The Course of American History," Quoted by Reed, in Modern Eloquence, Vol. IX, p. 1218.

Carl Sandburg voices the present-day average American's absolute refusal to assume that there are any differences in human values. In his poem, "Soup," he shows that men are equal in spite of themselves:

> I saw a famous man eating soup.
> I say he was lifting a fat broth
> Into his mouth with a spoon.
> His name was in the newspapers that day
> Spelled out in tall black headlines
> And thousands of people were talking about him.
>
> When I saw him,
> He sat bending his head over a plate
> Putting soup into his mouth with a spoon. [22]

Stephen Vincent Benét, in his long poem, John Brown's Body, chants the requiem of the last pretentious attempt to establish an aristocracy on American soil:

> And with these things, bury the purple dream
> Of the America we have not been,
> The tropic empire, seeking the warm sea,
> The last foray of aristocracy
> Based not on dollars or initiative
> Or any blood for what that blood was worth
> But on a certain code, a manner of birth,
> A certain manner of knowing how to live,
> The pastoral rebellion of the earth
> Against machines, against the Age of Steam,
> The Hamiltonian extremes against the Franklin mean.
> The genius of the land
> Against the metal hand,
> The great slave-driven bark,
> Full-oared upon the dark,
> With gilded figurehead,
> With fetters for the crew
> And spices for the few,
> The passion that is dead,
> The pomp we never knew,
> Bury these, too. [23]

DEMOCRACY OF JUSTICE.

In his poem, "Symphony," Sidney Lanier sings of the true

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22 Carl Sandburg, Smoke and Steel, p. 35.
23 Stephen Vincent Benét, John Brown's Body, pp. 374-376.

harmony of the absolute justice which considers the spirit before the letter of the law:

> And ever Love hears the poor-folks' crying,
> And ever Love hears the women's sighing,
> And ever sweet knighthood's death-defying,
> And ever wise childhood's deep implying,
> But never a trader's glozing and lying. [24]

There is never anything half-hidden of implied in Whitman's poetry. In his usual frank and open manner of the frontiersman, he pronounces the following tribute to absolute justice. To Whitman, as to all true Quakers, justice is more important than is legal formality.

> Great is Justice!
> Justice is not settled by legislators and laws —
> it is the Soul,
> It cannot be varied by statutes, any more than love,
> pride, the attraction of gravity can. [25]

With the changes of a century in industrial and social conditions, there was no longer, by the opening of the twentieth century, that equality of opportunity of which Crèvecoeur had boasted before the Revolution. As a result of changing conditions, there came into being a desire for a more far-reaching justice than merely that of the court room. It was rather a desire for <u>social</u> justice, which would allow everyone an equal opportunity for work, for expression, and for happiness; and in the frequent frustration of this desire, there was much bitterness of feeling. Hamlin Garland, Robert Frost, and Carl Sandburg are among the writers representative of this new phase of the ideal of democracy of justice.

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24 Sidney Lanier, <u>Poems</u>, p. 70.
25 Walt Whitman, <u>Poems</u>, p. 152. (From "Leaves of Grass.")

Garland wrote with bitter resentment of the social injustice apparent in American farm life, especially as he had observed it in the middle West. Two passages from A Son of the Middle Border will give a suggestion of Garland's attitude.

> I now perceived that these plowmen, these wives and daughters, had been pushed out into these lonely, ugly shacks by the force of landlordism behind. These plodding Swedes and Danes, these thrifty Germans, these hairy Russians, had all fled from the feudalism of their native lands and were here because they had no share in the soil from which they had sprung.... I clearly perceived that our Song of Emigration had been, in effect, the hymn of fugitives! [26]
>
> - - - - - - - - -
>
> I bitterly resented the laws which created millionaires at the expense of the poor. [27]

The same theme — social injustice, too subtle to combat single-handed — is found in this verse of Robert Frost's:

> The rain and the wind said
> "You push and I'll pelt."
> They so smote the garden bed
> That the flowers actually knelt,
> And lay lodged — though not dead.
> I know how the flowers felt. [28]

The utter injustice of the situation portrayed in this stanza from Sandburg's "Moon Riders," is typical of the problems commanding chief consideration today. Sandburg lists the things a man saw in the morning paper:

> Saw the headlines, date lines, funnies, ads,
> The marching movies of the workmen going to work, the workmen striking,
> The workmen asking jobs — five million pairs of eyes look for a boss and say, "Take me."
> People eating with too much to eat, people eating with nothing in sight to eat tomorrow, eating as though eating belongs where people belong. [29]

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26 Hamlin Garland, A Son of the Middle Border, pp.367-368.
27 Ibid., p. 381.
28 Robert Frost, Westrunning Brook, p. 22. ("Lodged.")
29 Carl Sandburg, Slabs of the Sunburnt West.p. 35.

As yet, our literature on the subject of democracy of justice seems to be confined chiefly to an attitude of protest against existing conditions, rather than to offer constructive suggestion.

RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE.

The generous tolerance practised by Whittier, and praised by Holmes in the lines quoted next, was typical of a similar slowly growing attitude throughout America.

> Not thine to lean on priesthood's broken reed;
> No barriers caged thee in a bigot's fold;
> Did zealots ask to syllable thy creed,
> Thou saidst "Our Father," and thy creed was told.[30]

That Holmes himself held a creed very much like that of Whittier and the Quakers, is apparent in this "Hymn" written in 1893:

> Help us to read our Master's will
> Through every darkening stain
> That clouds his sacred image still
> And see him once again,
>
> The brother man, the pitying friend
> Who weeps for human woes,
> Whose pleading words of pardon blend
> With cries of raging foes. [31]

Sidney Lanier's pleas for tolerance and generosity expressed the desire of thousands to be allowed to love their brother men without respect to creed, social views, or political opinion. Lines from two poems are quoted to show the poet's tolerant attitude. The first is from "Remonstrance."

> Opinion, let me alone; I am not thine.
> Prim Creed, with categoric point, forbear
> To feature me my Lord by rule and line.
> . . . . . .

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30 Oliver Wendell Holmes, Complete Poetical Works, p. 297. ("In Memory of John Greenleaf Whittier.")
31 Ibid., p. 298. ("Hymn.")

Oh let me love my Lord more fathom deep
Than there is line to sound with: let me love
My fellow not as men that mandates keep:
. . . . . .
Assassin! Thief! Opinion, 't is thy work.
By Church, by throne, by hearth, by every good
That's in the Town of Time, I see thee lurk
And e'er some shadow stays where thou hast stood.[32]

This stanza from "The Marshes of Glynn" is a tribute to tolerance:

Ye marshes, how candid and simple and nothing-witholding and free
Ye publish yourselves to the sky and offer yourselves to the sea!
Tolerant plains, that suffer the sea and the rains and the sun,
Ye spread and span like the catholic man who hath mightily won
God out of knowledge and good out of infinite pain
And sight out of blindness and purity out of a stain. [33]

Whitman had unbounded faith that the ideal of complete tolerance of opinion would achieve ultimate realization. So have thousands of Americans who yet may not realize the Quaker source of the ideal.

We few, equals, indifferent of lands, indifferent of times,
We, enclosers of all continents, all castes — allowers of all theologies,
Compassionaters, perceivers, rapport of men,
We walk silent among disputes and assertions, but reject not the disputers, nor any thing that is asserted.
. . . . . .
Yet we walk unheld, free, the whole earth over, journeying up and down, till we make our ineffaceable mark upon the time and the diverse areas,
Till we saturate time and eras, that the men and women of races, ages to come, may prove brethren and lovers, as we are. [34]

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32 Sidney Lanier, Poems, pp. 86-87.
33 Ibid., p. 17.
34 Whitman, Poems, pp. 297-298. ("To Him That Was Crucified.")

LOVE OF PEACE.

It is hardly necessary to point out the devotion of Lincoln to the principle of peace. His distress under the necessity for war is a matter of common knowledge. He felt, as Quakers had always taught, that lack of understanding was largely responsible for the war, and that a sense of brotherhood would have prevented it. When the ruin of war confronted the nation in 1865, no one realized more keenly than Lincoln that a reestablishment of understanding and of a sense of brotherhood was the first requisite of a lasting peace. The quotations which follow are illustrative of his attitude. The first two statements were made before he became President.

> In my view of the present aspect of affairs, there is no need of bloodshed and war. There is no necessity for it. I am not in favor of such a course. [35]

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> I think very much of the ill feeling that has existed and still exists between the people in the section from which I came, and the people here, is dependent upon a misunderstanding of one another. [36]

In his first inaugural address, Lincoln declared:

> We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. [37]

In 1865, we find him holding to the same ideals of peace;

> With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive to finish the work we are in.... to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations. [38]

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35 Abraham Lincoln, Works, Vol. I, p. 691.
36 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 694.
37 Ibid., Vol. II, p. 7.
38 Ibid., Vol. II, p. 657.

Bryant's "Christmas in 1875" is a plea for world peace, an ideal which had been held from the first by the Quakers in America, but which was considered too wildly idealistic by all more "practical" people.

> Christ is not come, while there
> The men of blood whose crimes affront the skies
> Kneel down in act of prayer
> Amid the joyous strains, and when they rise
> Go forth with sword and flame,
> To waste the land in his most holy name.
>
> Oh, when the day shall break
> O'er the realms unlearned in warfare's cruel arts,
> And all their millions wake
> To peaceful tasks performed with loving hearts,
> On such a blessed morn,
> Well may the nations say that Christ is born. 39

According to Riley's little dialect poem, "Thoughts on the Late War," war is a futile thing, since its only hopeful aspect is the "forgittin'" afterward.

> I was for the Union — you, agin it.
> 'Pears like, to me, each side was winner,
> Lookin' at now and all 'at 's in it.
> Le's go to dinner.
>
> Le' 's kind o' jes' set down together
> And do some pardnership forgittin' —
> Talk, say, for instance, 'bout the weather,
> Or somepin' fittin'.
>
> Le' 's let up on this blame', infernal
> Tongue-lashin' and lap-jacket vauntin',
> And git back home to the eternal
> Ca'm we're a-wantin'.
>
> Peace kind o' sort o' suits my diet —
> When women does my cookin' for me;
> Ther' wasn't overly much pie et
> Durin' the army. 40

Hamlin Garland, telling of his father's service in Grant's army, spares no words in his indictment of what he calls the

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39 Bryant, Poetical Works, p. 344.
40 James Whitcomb Riley, The Hoosier Book, pp. 374-375.

folly of war:

> What sacrifice — what folly! Like thousands of others he deserted his wife and children for an abstraction, a mere sentiment. For a striped silken rag—he put his life in peril. For thirteen dollars a month he marched and fought, while his plow rusted in the shed, and his harvest called to him in vain. [41]

Robert Frost, in the two selections next given, voices a typical twentieth century protest against war:

> If heaven were to do again,
> And on the pasture bars,
> I leaned to line the figures in
> Between the dotted stars,
>
> I should be tempted to forget
> I fear, the Crown of Rule,
> The scales of Trade, the Cross of Faith,
> As hardly worth renewal.
>
> For these have governed in our lives,
> And see how men have warred.
> The Cross, the Crown, the Saales may all
> As well have been the Sword. [42]
>
> - - - - - - -
>
> Blood has been harder to dam back than water,
> Just when we think we have it impounded safe
> Behind new barrier walls (and let it chafe!)
> It breaks away in some new kind of slaughter.
>
> Weapons of war and implements of peace
> Are but the points at which it finds release.
> And now it is once more the tidal wave
> That when it has swept by leaves summits stained. [43]

The Quakers as a class are "quiet" in their resistance to what they consider evils. But the outbursts by non-Quakers show how widely effective the Quaker principles are. Vachel Lindsay's poems stamp him as one of the conscientious pacifists who so troubled the nations in the World War. This passage is

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41 Garland, op. cit., p. 7.
42 Robert Frost, Westrunning Brook, p. 26. ("The Peaceful Shepherd.")
43 Ibid., p. 30. ("The Flood.")

from "Abraham Lincoln Walks at Midnight":

> He cannot rest until a spirit-dawn
> Shall come; — the shining hope of Europe free:
> The league of sober folk, the Workers' Earth,
> Bringing long peace to Cornland, Alp and Sea.
>
> It breaks his heart that kings must murder still,
> That all his hours of travail here for men
> Seem yet in vain. And who will bring white peace
> That he may sleep upon his hill again? [44]

The next poem is addressed to the Youth Movement for World Peace:

> Great wave of youth, are you be spent,
> Sweep over every monument
> Of caste, smash every high imperial wall
> That stands against the new World State,
> And overwhelm each ravening hate,
> And heal, and make blood-brothers of us all.
> . . . . . .
> "Youth will be served," now let us cry.
> Hurl the referendum.
> Your fathers, five long years ago,
> Resolved to strike, too late.
> Now
> Sun-crowned crowds
> Innumerable,
> Of boys and girls
> Imperial,
> With your patch-work flag of brotherhood
> On high,
> With every silk
> In one flower-banner whirled —
> Rise,
> Citizens of one tremendous state,
> The United States of Europe, Asia, and the World. [45]

Two short quotations from other poems follow:

> Curse me the fiddling, twiddling diplomats,
> Haggling here, plotting and hatching there,
> Who make the kind world but their game of cards,
> Till millions die at the turning of a hair.
> . . . . . .
> All in the name of this or that grim flag,
> No angel-flags in all the rag-array,
> Banners the demons love, and all Hell sings [46]
> Amd plays wild harps. Those flags march forth today!

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44 Vachel Lindsay, Collected Poems, pp. 53-54.
45 Ibid., pp. 367-369. ("Sew the Flags Together.")
46 Ibid., pp. 381-383. ("A Curse for Kings.")

> This is the sin against the Holy Ghost: —
> To speak of bloody war as right divine,
> And call on God to guard each vile chief's house,
> And for such chiefs, turn men to wolves and swine![47]

The Quakers' long hope for a world-wide brotherhood and world peace, has found its strongest champions among citizens of the Unites States. This fact must be admitted, aven though our Senate shows reluctance to enter the World Court. The Senate is representative of a large portion of our citizenry in this attitude. Another large portion is as surely represented by this paragraph from the preface to Lindsay's Collected Poems:

> We must have no Gettysburg of the nations. I still thrill to Andrew Jackson's old toast at the famous banquet: "The Federal Union, — it must and shall be preserved." But I would alter it to: "The League of Nations, — it must and shall be preserved." [48]

Carl Sandburg, also, is unsparing in his condemnation of war. The quotation given next is from the poem written by Sandburg upon the occasion of the burial of the unknown soldier:

> "The big fish — eat the little fish —
> the little fish — eat the shrimps —
> and the shrimps — eat mud." —
> said a cadaverous man — with a black umbrella —
> spotted with white polka dots — with a missing
> ear — with a missing foot and arm —
> with a missing sheath of muscles
> singing to the silver sashes of the sun. [49]

Sandburg sounds the hope of a long world peace:

> There will be a rusty gun on the wall, sweetheart,
> The rifle grooves curling with flakes of rust.
> A spider will make a silver string nest in
> the darkest, warmest corner of it.
> . . . . . .
> It will be spoken among half-forgotten, wished-to-be-forgotten things.
> They will tell the spider: Go on, you're doing good work. [50]

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47 Ibid., p. 384. ("The Unpardonable Sin.")
48 Ibid., p. 24.
49 Sandburg, Slabs of the Sunburnt West, pp. 20-27.
50 Ibid., p. 94. ("A.E.F.")

The pitiful attempts of boy-soldiers to remain true to the high heroism which sent them to the wars — any wars one might name — are poignantly told in this bit from a letter of a Union private to his mother, as imagined by Benét in his poem, John Brown's Body:

> "I wish you could see the way we have to live here.
> I wish everybody at home could see what it's like.
> It's muddy. It's cold. My shoes gave out on the march.
> We lost the battle. The general was drunk.
> This is the roughest life that you ever saw.
> If I ever get back home — "
> And, over and over, in stiff patriotic phrases,
> "I am resigned to die for the Union, mother,
> If we die in this battle, we will have died for the right.
> We will have died bravely—you can trust us for that."
> . . . . . .
> And through it all, the deep diapason swelling.
> "It is cold. We are hungry. We marched all day in the mud." 51

Comment is hardly necessary, in addition to the foregoing quotations, to point out that the seed of the Quaker "testimony against war" is bearing its logical fruit, in the thought of American people.

PRACTICAL HUMANITARIANISM.

Prison Reform.

James Bryce, in a characterization of the Americans, makes this assertion with reference to the American penal code:

> Nowhere is cruelty more abhorred.... As everybody knows, juries are more lenient to offences of all kinds but one, offences against women, than they are anywhere in Europe. 52

Bryce made this statement forty years ago, but it is still true. In fact, our courts today are, if anything, more lenient

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51 Benét, op. cit., pp. 186-187.
52 James Bryce, The American Commonwealth, Vol.II, p.273.

than ever.

Magazines and newspapers often voice the demands of present-day Americans for further prison reform. Prison and reformatory officials and boards, and organizations of citizens, are giving the subject much constructive attention. Americans, for the most part, seem to be opposed to capital punishment; as was shown in Chapter II, they inflict it in the case of very few crimes.

The horror of capital punishment, whether inflicted by the court or by the mob, is the theme of the following quotations from Sandburg. He speaks for thousands who feel quite as strongly on the subject as he.

(The executioner speaks:)

> I am the high honorable killer today,
> There are five million people in the State, five million killers for whom I kill.
> I am the killer who kills today for five million killers who wish a killing. [53]

"The Hangman at Home"

> What does the hangman think about
> When he goes home at night frm work?
> When he sits down with his wife and
> Children for a cup of coffee and a
> Plate of ham and eggs, do they ask
> Him if it was a good day's work
> And everything went well, or do they
> Stay off some topics and talk about
> The weather, baseball, politics,
> And the comic strips in the papers
> And the movies? Do they look at his
> Hands when he reaches for the coffee
> Or the ham and eggs? [54]

"Man, the Man-Hunter"

> I saw Man, the man-hunter,
> Hunting with a torch in one hand

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53 53 Sandburg, Smoke and Steel, p. 99.
54 Ibid.,p. 47.

And a kerosene can in theoother,
Hunting with guns, ropes, shackles.
. . . . . .
In the morning the sun saw
Two butts of something, a smoking rump,
And a warning in charred wood:
Well, we got him,
The sbxyzch. 55

Poor Relief.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, too much of the literature about the poor, as well as actual public consideration of the poor, took the form of mere pathos and tears, rather than actual poor relief. However, much of even this type of literature was productive of a genuine sympathy which led to efforts towards understanding and relief. Examples of this type of pathetic verse are "Little Mandy's Christmas-Tree," [56] and "Little Johnts's Chrismus," [57] by James Whitcomb Riley. They are remarkable for their portrayal of the pathos of the children of the poor.

Riley revealed also the beauty of character of such people as the "Raggedy Man" and "Our Hired Girl," and thus contributed to that literary movement of the time which sought to express the hearts of the poor as well as of the rich, and of the common man as well as of the man of importance and position. This literary movement, sponsored particularly by such writers as Riley, Whitman, and Garland, was of particular significance in a nation founded upon the principle of equality.

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55 Ibid.,p. 48.
56 James Whitcomb Riley, The Hoosier Book, pp. 86-88.
57 Ibid., pp. 163-166.

Upon the occasion of the dedication of the Oliver Wendell Holmes Hospital at Hudson, Wisconsin, in 1887, Holmes himself contributed the hymn. The theme is the beauty of generous care of our poor brothers, of whatever race or creed.

. . . . . .

Enough for thee the pleading eye,
The knitted brow of silent pain;
The portals open to a sigh
Without the clank of bolt or chain.

Who is our brother? He that lies
Left at the wayside, bruised and sore:
His need our open hand supplies,
His welcome waits him at our door.

Not ours to ask in freezing tones
His race, his calling,or his creed;
Each heart the tie of kinship owns,
When these are human veins that bleed. [58]

Hamlin Garland's Main-Travelled Roads carries these sentences in the foreword:

> Mainly it is long and wearyful and has a dull little town at one end, and a home of toil at the other. Like the main-travelled road of life it is traversed by many classes of people, but the poor and weary predominate.[59]

Garland's attitude towards the condition of the poor was one of bitter protest that society should permit it. Like the Quakers, he longed for some means by which poverty might be entirely eradicated. At one time, he undertook to aid an organized Anti-Poverty Campaign in Boston, but he became known as an anarchist and sank into disfavor. [60] What constructive work he did for the poor took the form of depressing accounts of the harshness of poverty, especially as he had seen it on middle-western farms. The next quotation, from his A Son of the

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58 Holmes, Complete Poetical Works, p. 288.
59 Hamlin Garland, Main-Travelled Roads, foreword.
60 Hamlin Garland, A Son of the Middle Border, pp. 379-381.

Middle Border, might as well have begun with the phrase, "Like Woolman": [61]

> Like Millet, I asked,"Why should all a man's waking hours be spent in an effort to feed and clothe his family? Is there not something wrong in our social scheme when the unremitting toiler remains poor?" [62]

There is protest against war, but praise for the war-relief worker in these verses from Vachel Lindsay's "The Merciful Hand":

> Your fine white hand is Heaven's gift
> To cure the wide world, stricken sore,
> Bleeding at the breast and head,
> Tearing at its wounds once more.
> . . . . . .
> Each desperate burning brain you soothe,
> Or ghastly broken frame you bind,
> Brings one day nearer our bright goal,
> The love-alliance of mankind. [63]

The Quaker ideal of total eradication of poverty is far from realization, but the persistent American hope of realizing it and the nation-wide interest in practical plans for its accomplishment are encouraging signs.

Anti-Slavery Agitation.

These two stanzas from "Choose You This Day Whom Ye Will Serve," by Holmes, are typical of quantities of literature published in the North throughout the Civil War:

> Whose God will ye serve, O ye rulers of men?
> Will ye build you new shrines in the slave-breeder's den?
> Or bow with the children of light, as they call
> On the Judge of the Earth, and the Father of All?
>
> Choose wisely, choose quickly, for time moves apace,—
> Each day is an age in the life of our race!

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61 See page 42 of this study.
62 Garland, A Son of the Middle Border, p. 368.
63 Vachel Lindsay, Collected Poems, p. 385.

Lord, lead them in love, ere they hasten in fear
From the fast-rising flood that shall girdle the sphere! 64

Though greatly distressed by the necessity for civil war, Lincoln was firm in his position on the issue involved. There is no doubt that in his mind, it was a war primarily for abolition. His second unaugural address states his position squarely:

> Fondly do we hope — fervently do we pray — that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn by the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."
>
> With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle; and for his widow, and his orphan — to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations. 65

Always, Whitman identified himself with the people or the problems of which he wrote. In the following excerpt from his poem, "Walt Whitman," he seems to be pleading that the reader, as well as the writer, identify himself with the slave in his wretchedness:

> I am the hounded slave, I wince at the bite of the dogs,
> Hell and despair are upon me, crack and again crack the marksmen,
> I clutch the rails of the fence, my gore dribs, thinned with the ooze of my skin,
> I fall on the weeds and stones,
> The riders spur their unwilling horses, haul close,
> Taunt my dizzy ears, and beat me violently over the head with whip-stocks. 66

In the next passage quoted, Whitman enters more into the

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64 Holmes, op. cit., p. 122.
65 Lincoln, Works, Vol. II, pp. 656-657.
66 Whitman, Poems, p. 54.

abstract phase of the slave problem:

> I say man shall not hold property in man;
> I say the least developed person on earth is just as important and sacred to himself or herself, as the most developed person is to himself or herself.
> I say where liberty draws not the blood out of slavery, there slavery draws the blood out of liberty.
> I say the word of the good old cause — These States, and resound it hence over the world. 67

The rejoicing that followed the close of the war was suddenly hushed by the tragic death of President Lincoln. Without question, the most magnificent poetic tribute to the martyred President was Whitman's "O Captain! My Captain!" Could Lincoln have heard it, the line that would have soothed him most was that one reading,—

> The ship has weather'd every rack, the prize we sought is won;

But Whitman's Quaker half saw, too, the terrific cost of war even for emancipation:

> But O heart! heart! heart!
> Leave you not the little spot,
> Where on the deck my captain lies,
> Fallen cold and dead. 68

The general feeling was that expressed in Bryant's "The Death of Lincoln":

> Thy task is done; the bond are free:
> We bear thee to an honored grave,
> Whose proudest monument shall be
> The broken fetters of the slave. 69

In the prelude to John Brown's Body, Stephen Vincent Benét gives a dramatic presentation of a slave ship enroute to America. There is a strange contrast between the Puritan captain's

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67 Ibid., p. 314. ("Says.")
68 Ibid., p. 450.
69 Bryant, Poetical Works, p. 316.

love of his Bible, and his indifference to the condition of the negroes in the hold. This inconsistency was the theme of the sailor's song —

> Captain Bell was a Yankee slaver,
> Blow, blow, blow the man down!
> He traded niggers and loved his Savior,
> Give me some time to blow the man down. 70

Benét gives us this enlightening portrayal of the feeling of the well-treated negro towards the prospect of freedom:

> I'se mighty fond of ole Mistis and ole Marse Billy,
> I'se mighty fond of 'em all at the Big House,
> I wouldn't be nobody else's nigger for nothin',
> But I hears them goin' away, all goin' away,
> With horses and guns and things, all stompin' and wavin',
> And I hears the chariot wheels and de Jordan River,
> Rollin' and rollin' and rollin' thu my sleep;
> And I wants to be free. I wants to see my chillun
> Growin' up free, and all bust out of Egypt!
> I wants to be free like an eagle in de air,
> Like an eagle in de air. 71

The controversy about the part played by John Brown in the struggle will perhaps never be settled. Here is a twentieth-century contribution on the subject by Vachel Lindsay, followed by another from the pen of Carl Sandburg:

> I've been to Palestine.
> What did you see in Palestine?
> Old John Brown.
> Old John Brown.
> And there he sits
> To judge the world.
> His hunting dogs
> At his feet are curled.
> His eyes half-closed,
> But John Brown sees
> The ends of the earth,
> The Day of Doom.
> And his shot-gun lies
> Across his knees —
> Old John Brown,
> Old John Brown. 72

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70 Stephen Vincent Benet, John Brown's Body, p. 15.
71 Ibid., p. 82.
72 Lindsay, op. cit., p. 166. ("Old John Brown.")

They hauled him into jail.
They sneered at him and spit on him,
And he wrecked their jails,
Saying, "God damn your jails."
And when he was most in jail
Crummy among the crazy in the dark
Then he was most of all out of jail,
Always asking: Where did that blood come from?
. . . . . .
They laid hands on him and he was a goner.
They hammered him to pieces and he stood up.
They buried him and he walked out of the grave,
Asking again: Where did that blood come from? 75

SUMMARY.

The literary references noted in this chapter show us that "the thought of the Quaker is living still." The American principles of equality and justice have influenced our literature throughout the period from 1860 to the present. Following the success of the anti-slavery agitation, the topic of slavery, of course, disappears. With the winning of that cause, emphasis was largely transferred to other phases of humanitarianism, notably to prison reform and poor relief. The opposition to war has grown apace, and writers, sure of popular approval, protest vigorously against it. There is much evidence of wide interest in world peace, and in a union of nations for the sake of maintaining peace. The feeling for tolerance of <u>all</u> diversities of opinion seems fairly well established, not only in literature referring directly to the principle of tolerance, but also in the sense of freedom manifest in the literature itself, much of which advances doctrines that would never be tolerated in countries where the military power more nearly rivals the civil power than is the case in the United States.

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73 Carl Sandburg, <u>Smoke and Steel</u>, p. 79. (Ossawatomie.")

CHAPTER VII.

CONCLUSION.

Restatement of the Problem.

The purpose of this discussion has been to show that certain Quaker principles and ideals have so influenced the thought of America that they have persisted as elements of the common mind, and are revealed in our national literature as essentially American ideas.

Since religion was a major motive in the establishment of the American colonies, it is not surprising that it should have put a lasting stamp upon many phases of American thought, or that it should have colored the common attitude towards many matters of fundamental significance. It is generally admitted that Calvinism has been responsible for many well-defined characteristics of the modern American, and that the Puritan quality of many of our opinions and attitudes has definitely affected our social, industrial, and political history. The present study has attempted to show that it is quite as true that certain characteristic Quaker ideas, introduced into America in the seventeenth century, have been the chief shaping force in the development of those American ideals of equality which are everywhere recognized as typical of our people.

Summary of Findings.

It was shown in Chapters I and II, that the American ideals of equality grew logically from the Quakers' First Principle — the belief that in the heart of every man, of whatever race or religion, there resides an "Inner Light" which is the voice, or

spirit of God; and that this "Inner Light," if heeded, will direct each person aright in all his thoughts and actions. As logical corollaries of this first Principle, the Quakers deduced six other principles. The Quakers had no formal creed; but from statemants amde by leaders in the sect, from the opinion of Friends as revealed by the carefully kept minutes of their meetings, and from historical records of the consistent stand taken by Friends on many questions of social or political importance, the following statement of their six principles of equality may be submitted as substantially correct: [1]

1. All men are created equal, and are, therefore, brothers.
2. Exactly the same justice ought to be meted to all persons, irrespective of race, creed, or position.
3. The honest opinions of all persons, especially their religious opinions, ought to be respected and tolerated.
4. No individual ought to be required to attend or support any church, except as his conscience may dictate.
5. Men ought not to war against each other, since they are brothers, sharing equally in the "Inner Light."
6. The belief in equality implies:
    a. That prisoners should receive humane treatment, and that capital punishment is wrong,
    b. That the poor require our consideration, as brobrothers rather than as inferiors, and
    c. That slavery implies putting in bondage, God, and, is, therefore, not to be tolerated.

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1 Accepted lists of Quaker principles and tenets are to be found in an appendix to this discussion.

These are the basic Quaker principles of equality as worked out in actual practice. The essential oneness of these six ideas is evident. They may be summed up in the expression, "All men are created equal."

It has been shown in this paper that the principles outlined above were first introduced into the American colonies by the Quakers, and that, until early in the eighteenth century, they were nourished chiefly by the Quakers. After that time, they were gradually adopted by other groups. It has been shown further that Quaker influence has spread widely throughout the United States as a part of the various westward migrations, and also as a direct result of the influence of prominent Quaker citizens.

The remainder of the study has been devoted to a chronological survey of the works of representative American writers of the various periods of American literary history, for the purpose of tracing the continued influence of the six Quaker principles of equality upon American thought. It was found that many writers of each period showed that these principles were steadily and progressively being incorporated into our national thought. In Chapter III, early Puritan literature was cited to show that the Puritans were <u>not</u> responsible for the introduction of these liberal ideas.

<u>Conclusion</u>.

The works of representative American writers show ample evidence of the continuous influence of Quaker principles of equality. There has been some modification of these principles in the practical application which has been made of them

from time time; but, in the main, they have remained essentially as they originally were formulated by George Fox, Robert Barclay, William Penn, and John Woolman. We do not, as a people, prove the validity of these ideas by a reference to the "Inner Light," but we do base our social and political doctrines upon the assumption of the essential brotherhood of men. In consequence, we declare the right of all men to equal opportunity, we attempt to administer equal justice, we guarantee wide freedom of opinion, we have established separation of church and state, we have abolished slavery, we make genuine attempts at practical methods of poor relief, we have a liberal penal code, and we are actively interested in the search for means of achieving and maintaining world peace. These are the six Quaker principles of equality. The American ideas of equality find their primary source in the teachings of the Quakers.

An understanding of the Quaker source of American ideals of equality enables us to explain much in those significant philosophical and political movements in our history — the war of the Revolution, the Jeffersonian "Revolution," the Jacksonian "Revolution," the transcendental movement, the moral basis of the Civil War, and the movement for international peace.

Limitations of the Study.

We must go to records and documents for the facts in the history of a people; but their literature, which reveals the attitudes, feelings, and emotions of a people, explains why the historical events occurred. The major part of this dis-

cussion has been concerned with literary productions which show that the American people absorbed and appropriated the Quaker ideals of equality. It has been a study in American literaure, rather than a study in history or religion. References to historical records, to records of Quaker activities, and to critical studies, have been made only for the purpose of establishing criteria to show that the six ideas forming the basis of discussion were Quaker ideas, and that they were first introduced into America by the Friends.

To what extent the Quaker ideas of equality will continue to influence social and political thought in America, or to what extent they may solve or augment our social problems, are questions outside the field of this investigation. So, also, is the question of whether or not America followed the best course in adopting these ideas. No Quaker ideas other than the six outlined above, were included in the study.

Suggestions for Further Study.

The writer feels that the results of this study are but a survey of a large and interesting field. The same subject might well be the basis of research for a doctor's dissertation. Subjects for further study in the same field include the following:

1. Quaker influence evident in the American attitude towards work as shown in American literature.
2. A detailed study of the influence of Quaker ideals of equality upon the works of any one writer — as Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, William Cullen

Bryant, Abraham Lincoln, Sidney Lanier, Walt Whitman, Vachel Lindsay, or Carl Sandburg.

3. Quaker principles of equality revealed in twentieth century literature. Writers studied should include, among others, Edna Ferber, Willa Cather, Carl Sandburg, Vachel Lindsay, and Hamlin Garland.

William Dean Howells has written of the Quakers that "the creed of honest work for daily bread, and of the equalization of every man with another which they lived,can never perish."[2] The writer felt that if Howells's observation were true, such a persistent idea would be increasingly evident in the literature of America. Research has justified the expectation.

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2 William Dean Howells, London Films, p. 201.

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APPENDIX.

DOCTRINES AND PRINCIPLES OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

The Friends have never adopted a formal creed, but declare that the Golden Rule is sufficient. However, a study of the discussions of their faith, as given by George Fox, William Penn, Robert Barclay, and John Woolman, will reveal the system of doctrine and belief according to which, for more than two centuries, the Friends shaped their lives. To show what their principles were, there follows a list of statements based upon, or quoted from, the writings of the four Quakers named above.

I. From George Fox, Passages from the Life and Writings of:

1. George Fox laid down the proposition that ministers should take no pay. The scriptural basis of his assertion was, "Freely ye have received, freely give." (pp. 49-50.)

2. Fox declared against beautiful churches, a priesthood, tithes, and church ceremonials. He advocated rather the pure life of worship "within" at all times, and in all places. He held that the "Inward Light" made a priest unnecessary, and that the whole of life should be a communion and a sacrement. (p. 57, pp. 125-126.)

3. Fox enjoined the Friends to look after their own poor, that none might be chargeable to their parishes. They also helped any other poor who might apply for aid. (p. 165.)

4. "Oh! the daily reproaches, revilings, and beatings we underwent amongst them [their persecutors] ... because we could not put off our hats to them; and for saying thou and thee to them! Oh! the havoc and spoil the priests made of our goods, because we could not ... give them tithes! ... and besides the great fines laid upon us because we could not swear! [i.e. take oaths.] (pp. 175-176.)

II. From Robert Barclay's Apology:

1. "According th the Scriptures, the Spirit is the first and principle leader." (p. 14.)

2. "There is an evangelical and saving light and grace in all." (p. 16.) (This is the doctrine upon which the Quaker belief in equality is based. It is in complete contrast to the Calvinistic doctrine of election, and is the point from which the two views of life and religion diverge. This point is of first importance in an analysis of American ideals of equality.)

3. "God alone, has dominion over the conscience; therefore, no magistrate has any authority to punish any one for matters of conscience, provided one do nothing 'destructive to, or inconsistent with human society.'" (p. 22.)

4. Man has invented "foolish and superstitious formalities ... to feed his pride in the vain pomp and glory of this world." (p. 22.) (This quotation refers to the Quakers' refusal to use titles or to admit of any inequalities among persons.)

III. From William Penn's The Rise and Progress of the People Called Quakers:

"Their characteristic, or main distinguishing point or principle, is the Light of Christ within." "This, I say, is at the root of the goodly tree of doctrines that grew and branched out from it." (p. 22. See also, Fox, p. 77.)

Following, are some of the doctrines branching out from the first Principle:

1. "To love enemies. Endeavoring through faith and patience, to overcome all injustice and oppression." (p. 25.)

2. "The sufficiency of truth-speaking." (Quakers refused to take oaths in addition to their own yea and nay.) (p. 25.)

3. "Not fighting, but suffering." "But though they were not for fighting, they were for submitting to civil government, If they cannot fight for civil government, neither can they fight against it." (p. 26.)

4. "They refuse to pay tithes of maintenance to a national ministry." "Maintenance of gospel ministry should be free and not forced." (p.27)

5. "They affirmed it to be sinful to give flattering titles, or to use vain gestures and compliments of respect." (p. 27.) (See also, Fox, p. 36.)

6. "They refused to give service of 'cap and knee.'" (p. 28.)(See also, Fox, pp. 36 and 106.)

7. "They use the plain language of thee and thou to a single person," whatever his degree. (p. 28.) (See also, Fox, pp. 36.)

8. "They were changed men themselves before they went about to change others." (p. 38.)

9. "They spoke not their own studied matter, but as they were opened and moved by his spirit." Neither did they use a common prayer book. Upon this doctrine was based also,their opposition to literary pursuits. (p. 39.) (See also, Fox, p. 91.)

10. "The first business in their view [the elders'] ... was the exercise of charity; to supply the necessities of the poor." (p. 44.)

From William Penn's A Key, etc.:

1. "Though we do not pull off our hats, or make courtesyings, or give flattering titles, or use compliments ... yet we treat all men with seriousness and gentleness, though it be with plainness." (p.28) (This is a statement of the Quaker principle of equality.)

From the writings of both George Fox and William Penn, as well as from the histories of Bishop and Sewel, we find the attitude of the early Quakers against the conditions of the prisons, and the injustices in the courts. Here lay the basis for the Quakers' consistent championship of prison reform, and of reform of the penal code.

From early references to the evils of slavery in Fox's Journal, and from John Woolman's constant reiteration throughout his writings that slavery was wrong, and that Friends ought to free their slaves, we find the beginning of the agitation against slavery.

IV. The following additional statements of beliefs of Quakers are taken from the introduction to an unpublished thesis by Mrs. Garland Miller Taylor, of the State University of Iowa:

1. Quakers consider womens' place in the universe to be in equal fellowship with men. In business meetings women have equal voice with men.
2. They will neither bear arms nor contribute funds for war.
3. They assume a philanthropic attitude toward mankind, especially toward the poor and oppressed.
4. They are tolerant toward the religious beliefs of others.

The validity of the foregoing lists of Quaker beliefs and principles is established by numerous references in the journals of prominent Friends, and in the records of activities and decisions as kept in the minutes of Monthly, Quarterly, and Yearly Meetings, in England and in all parts of the United States.