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**TRADITIONAL QUAKERISM
IN FOREIGN MISSION EDUCATION**

A Thesis

**Presented to the Faculty of
the Department of Christian Education
of Asbury Theological Seminary**

**In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Religious Education**

by

Shirley Jo Stuart

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INTRODUCTION

The Society of Friends, commonly known as Quakers, have given a spiritual message to the world out of their interpretation of the Christian faith. There has been a universal faith, and the great fundamentals of that faith, the basic principles of the Society of Friends, have been perpetuated in the Christian education of the convert on the foreign missionary field. It is the purpose of this study to investigate the character and practicability of traditional Quakerism in the environment of the foreign mission field.

The first chapter lays the foundation for the paper with an abbreviated survey of historical Quakerism and its relation to Christian education and the missionary spirit. In terms of general Christian education, the second chapter deals with the place of education and its relation to evangelism in mission work; and the two following chapters investigate Quaker "testimonies" in specific areas of ecclesiastical and social practice.

It has not been possible to obtain specific data on all phases of the Quaker faith and practice from every field of work, but it has been possible to make rather broad generalizations of the total picture of mission practice from known general attitudes of the mission staff

toward historical or traditional Quaker concepts in general when more particular information was lacking. The largest part of the conclusions resulting from this study have been reached through both specific illustrative instances and inferred practice suggested in official missionary reports and missionary letters. The main sources for materials have been the annual reports of the various mission boards; missionary biographies, and mission histories have also been helpful. Personal letters from representatives of several of the independent Friends' missions have greatly aided in supplementing the less abundant printed material regarding these independent enterprises. For standard material on the traditional Quaker viewpoint the doctrinal formulations of Robert Barclay are the chief sources. Robert Barclay, a contemporary of George Fox, is Quakerism's earliest and greatest theologian, and his apologetical work more clearly and comprehensively than any other writing formulates the doctrines held by the Society of Friends.

A few definitions of terms not explained elsewhere will serve to clarify usages throughout this paper. "Foreign Missions" is used only in the commonly accepted sense of the evangelistic Christian enterprises of a permanent nature among people of non-Christian countries. By "traditional" is meant that point of view which represents

the thinking of George Fox and the earliest Quakers and which has become the heritage of the Society of Friends today. The term "testimony" has its own peculiar significance in Quaker understanding, for the testimony is not only a verbal witness but signifies an action witnessing to a dynamic belief. As in the usage of the term "peace testimony" the meaning may also include the doctrine or belief itself which underlies the outward action. Taken as a whole, the Quaker philosophy of life and religion may also be referred to as a testimony. The "unprogrammed meeting" is the traditional style of non-pastoral meetings in which there is no formal planning of the service.

In no sense is this study to be considered a historical treatment of Friends' missions, nor are the cited data given any historical significance. The time element is to be considered important only in individual cases of the growth and development in understanding the message.

CHAPTER I

QUAKERS AND FOREIGN MISSIONS

No study of a movement or any branch of a greater movement is well founded or complete without a knowledge of the essential characteristics and historical significance of the dynamics behind that movement. The spiritual dynamics embodied in the pattern of Christian faith and practice known as Quakerism produced in the later history of the Society of Friends a flow of missionary activity akin to the early fervent evangelism of the first Quakers; but divergent developments of thought at a crucial point in Quaker history resulted in the formation of the fountainhead of missionary interest among the Friends most vitally affected by another spiritual movement, the revivalism of the nineteenth century. The consideration of the place of missionary activity in the program of the Society of Friends necessitates a review of fundamental theological and spiritual issues embedded in the historical background of the present program.

Friends' Unique Message

Historical background. Early Quakerism is most aptly designated a movement because it was not intended to be a separate organization; but it was, rather, at first a series

of protesting impulses toward the achievement of a spiritual religion. Furthermore, Quakerism was not a lonely movement but it had its roots down in precedents already set by other movements. Chief among these were the Anabaptists' opposition to infant baptism, the Dutch Mennonites' pacifism, and the Pietists' emphasis upon a mystical Christianity. The Quakers carried these ideas farther than their predecessors, but they were not entirely original, nor was the development of Quakerism accidental. The spiritual and moral conditions of the Church of England set the impulse going toward fulfilling the great need, and the Pietistic influence of that century set the example.

George Fox was born in Leicestershire in 1624, the son of an humble weaver. His was a day of extreme formalism in the Church, when the clergy was engaged in corruption and "theological hair-splitting" instead of ministering to the spiritual needs of the people. Calvinism of the most pessimistic sort, dwelling upon infant damnation and hopeless predestination was the prevailing theology of the day,¹ such as drove many besides the Quakers to seek spiritual help outside the Church. From an early age George Fox was a seeker for spiritual truth and satisfaction, exhibiting an

¹ Eleanore Price Mather, Berelay in Brief, p. 14.

unusually sensitive nature and seriousness of thought. An excerpt from Fox's own account of his seeking and his ultimate conversion shows something of the spirit of the man and his experience:

Now after I had received that opening from the Lord that to be bred at Oxford or Cambridge was not sufficient to fit a man to be a minister of Christ, I regarded the priests less, and looked more after the Dissenting people. Among them I saw there was some tenderness; and many of them came afterwards to be convinced, for they had some openings. But as I had forsaken the priests, so I left the Separate preachers also, and those called the most experienced people; for I saw there was none among them all that could speak to my condition. And when all my hopes in them and in all men were gone, so that I had nothing outwardly to help me, nor could I tell what to do; then, oh, then I heard a voice which said, "There is one, even Christ Jesus, that can speak to thy condition"; and when I heard it, my heart did leap for joy. Then the Lord did let me see why there was none upon the earth that could speak to my condition, namely, that I might give Him all the glory; for all are concluded under sin, and shut up in unbelief, as I had been, that Jesus Christ might have the pre-eminence, who enlightens, and gives grace and faith and power. Thus when God doth work, who shall let it? and this I knew experimentally. My desires after the Lord grew stronger, and zeal in the pure knowledge of God, and of Christ alone, without the help of any man, book, or writing. For though I read the Scriptures that spake of Christ and of God, yet I knew Him not, but by revelation, as He who hath the key did open, and as the Father of Life drew me to His Son by His love, which was endless and eternal, surpassing all the knowledge that men have in the natural state, or can get by history of books; and that love let me see myself, as I was without Him. I was afraid of all company, for I saw them perfectly where they were, through the love of God, which let me see myself.

The above is indicative, also, of the fact that George

² George Fox, Journal, p. 8-9.

Fox did not find what he wanted among the Dissenters, nor the Hanters; thus he was not satisfied with what he found in groups outside the Church, either.³

After the crucial experience described above, however, George Fox discovered that all of his trials, temptations, and troubles were not over; and though his faith in Christ was firm and strong he was sometimes overtaken by storms of darkness. He describes how that in one of these storms divine light appeared and gave him a new revelation and a second definite experience of soul:

Then after this, there did a pure fire appear in me; then I saw how He sate as a refiner's fire and as fullers' soap; - - then the spiritual discerning came into me, by which I did discern my own thoughts, groans and sighs; and that it was did veil me, and what it was that did open me. That which could not abide in the patience nor endure the fire, in the light I found to be the groans of the flesh that could not give up to the will of God, which had veiled me; and that could not be patient in all trials, troubles, and anguishes and perplexities, and could not give up self to die by the cross, the power of God, that the living and quickened might follow Him; and that that which would cloud and veil from the presence of Christ that which the sword of the Spirit cuts down, and which must die - - might not be kept alive.⁴

In 1643 Fox became an itinerant preacher, mightily preaching repentance and regeneration, arousing the clergy

³ The "openings" which Fox speaks of are visions or revelations of truth, and when he spoke of the fact that some of the Dissenters became "convinced" he was referring to their becoming "convinced" of the superiority of the Quaker way of life. From this expression comes the term "convinced Friend."

⁴ Fox, op. cit., p. 10.

to wrath and indignation by his fearless proclamation of a spiritual gospel open to every man. In addition to regeneration, he also preached perfection, a doctrine that further enraged the Calvinistic clergy. In spite of this opposition he gradually obtained a following of others who had long been waiting and seeking for new light to break, and in 1853 the first monthly meeting for business was established.⁵ Calling themselves The Society of Friends from the words of Christ, "Ye are my friends, if ye do whatsoever I command you,"⁶ they were soon dubbed "Quakers" because of their trembling when they were deeply moved in spirit. Many of his followers came from humble ranks of farmers and labourers, but he also won to his cause some whose minds were well-trained and who had much to lose from the world's viewpoint if they accepted the Quaker way of life and threw in their lot with the sometimes fanatical George Fox. William Penn, Robert Barclay, Margaret Fell, Isaac Pennington, and Thomas Ellwood were a few of those in this latter group. Those early days were days of persecution, but those were also days in which the movement grew most rapidly. Quakerism enjoyed its greatest spread in Great Britain, and it was early brought to America and carried to the continent

⁵ George H. Dryer, History of the Christian Church, IV, 62.

⁶ John 15:14.

of Europe. However, Quakerism has not flourished to any sizeable extent in Europe, though small meetings are scattered through several countries. Suffering persecutions, dauntless as the martyrs of the early Christian Church, the first generation of Quakers stood valiantly for the full gospel, emphasizing experiential religion and freedom of expression as they zealously exhorted the people to turn to a vital Christianity wherever they went.

The original spiritual vitality of the Society of Friends sank, however, to a low ebb in a period of quietism in the eighteenth century. In the place of the first spontaneity there came a new formalism, the formalism of silent worship, and the new pharisaism of overly-zealous disownment of members from the Society. Much of the first evangelical fervor was for a time lost; and, instead of reaching out to minister to the spiritual needs of all men the Friends were drawn in unto themselves. The Society of Friends wrapped themselves in a cloak of complacency and self-satisfaction, and contented themselves with traditional trivialities and spiritual shallowness, becoming so engrossed in their own private mystical experiences that they became afraid of social action. There came to be so much stress upon the personal revelation that Friends tended to lose sight of the prophetic revelation of the Bible, and their message lost its former ring of enthusiasm and certainty as voiced

by the theological interpretations of Fox and Barclay. Passivity and lethargy characterized the general tone of the Society for a time.

Then came the nineteenth century stirrings of new life which resulted in several divisions in the Society. The greatest of these separations was what is known as the Hicksite (liberal)-Orthodox (conservative) split in 1827. It was at this time that the spirit of evangelical revivalism became for Friends the regeneration of the spirit of Fox and his associates in their burning desire to see others come into the light of Christ. With this period of revivalism at its peak in the latter part of the nineteenth century, a new epoch was begun in the Society of Friends, which was marked by the adoption of the pastoral system among Orthodox Friends of America. The Hicksite branch of Friends, however, clung tenaciously to the old style of unpastored meetings; and a minority of the Orthodox Friends have also continued in the traditional fashion. The chief distinction which marks these two broad groupings of Friends from the nineteenth century is theological. In point of doctrine, the Orthodox Friends retained the original Foxian view of the divinity of Christ and the need of all men for salvation by grace. Though each group has claimed to represent the original Quakerism, the Orthodox, on the whole, most truly represents Fox. However, both groups have been touched by the currents of

life which carry all living institutions beyond the boundaries first conceived. Only from the Orthodox Friends in America and those of Great Britain has there been bred the impetus for foreign missions. British Friends did not go through the same disturbing crisis as did Friends in America, and there were no major splits. However, despite the inevitable inroads of divergent elements within the body of the Society, British Friends have succeeded in maintaining a sufficient evangelical emphasis to foster a lively interest in missionary activity and a successful coordination of both missionary evangelism and altruistic interests.

Spirituality vs. formalism. The above sketchily outlines the course of the Society of Friends up to the point where this study begins. As has been pointed out, the Society of Friends began as a movement in protest against the formalism and barrenness of spirit in the Church of England. The original aim of the early Quakers was not to set themselves apart or to rebel against ecclesiasticism, but rather was to obtain for themselves what they considered to be reasonable freedom from the outward authorities and things of the flesh that the things of the Spirit might be enjoyed in their fullest. The strain of mysticism in the Society proved to be a stumbling block in the quietistic period, but in its original conception this method of attain-

ing to spiritual reality was not regarded as an end in itself, but as a means to the end of an experience which would furnish the dynamic for action. In its emphasis upon the corporate character of the experience in the meeting for worship Quakerism differs from the essentially individual nature of the ordinary conception of the mystical religious experience. To the mind of George Fox and the early Friends, the emphasis upon outward form and ordinances ~~put too many~~ things between man and God, and their discarding of the ordinances and form of worship was not to them a questioning of the authority of Christ, but of His real meaning. Contemporary Quakerism is to be seen in the more clear light of its original setting as a great protest against the unhealthy climate of the theological emphasis upon a hopelessly unbridgeable chasm between God and man. It was their contention that this chasm, which was created by the sinful nature of man through Adam's fall, had been provisionally bridged for every man by the atonement of Jesus Christ, the Son of God; and they believed that the final negotiations for this redemption of every man came not through the rites of the Church, but through the personal transaction between the individual and his Saviour. In short, Quakerism is essentially a form of inward, experiential Christianity whose priesthood is made up of all believers.

Distinguishing doctrines. In accord with the spiritual interpretation of the Christian message, the Quakers emphasized the direct revelation of truth through the agency of the Holy Spirit in intimate communion of God and man. Driven by the theological wranglings of the clergy away from the Church, Friends sought the immediate direction of the Holy Spirit for the interpretation of the Scriptures. In practice, they believed that the same Holy Spirit who inspired the Sacred Writ was to inspire those who read, and they felt that true revelation from God would be borne out by the Scriptures.⁷ Meeting together for worship, Friends waited to receive the ministrations of the Holy Spirit, each member being responsible for the transmission of any message the Holy Spirit might lay upon his heart. The adoption of the pastoral system by modern Orthodox Friends presented no really clear-cut break with the traditional meeting for worship. In the old system there were laymen appointed as presiding elders, and in actual practice most meetings did have one or more members, usually the elders, who did most of the speaking in meeting; and the principle of reliance upon the immediate direction of the Spirit carried over into the matters of divine calling and direction for the ministry. However, to this day

⁷ Robert Barclay, Apology for True Christian Divinity, quoted by Mather, op. cit., p. 29.

the Society of Friends does not ordain its ministers; but the Society only recognizes by officially recording what they believe to be ordinations from God for the Christian ministry. Friends have continued within the pastoral system to allow freedom of expression for all members for any message they might have to give in the meeting for worship.

As Friends of God, the Quakers felt that no man should be accorded the place of authority in ecclesiastical affairs, but that the religious community should conduct its affairs upon a strictly democratic basis under the leadership of the Holy Spirit. With this system working under ideal circumstances, no action was taken by the official body without complete unity of mind among the participating members. The same principles were operational in the larger organizational set-up, and the following quotation describes the functional system:

George Fox is generally credited with the establishment of the unique Quaker system of church government. These unique characteristics were as follows: the ultimate disciplinary control rested in the monthly meeting; all powers of quarterly, general, or yearly meetings were granted by common consent of monthly meetings; thus no man, however situated, could become a leader of followers. Close scrutiny of early Quaker history reveals that Fox himself was controlled by the very system which he inspired.⁸

⁸ Robert J. Leach, The Yearly Meetings of the Religious Society of Friends, p. 7.

In order not to hinder the free workings of the Spirit in the individual life the Quakers advocated a life of simplicity and democracy. Neither dress and things of physical comfort nor deference to the high estate of any man was to deter them from achieving a life of openness to the reality of the things of God. Dressing in somber colors and refusing to remove their hats, even before kings, the Quakers in the early days carried this phase of their testimony to a great extreme. Many of these particular testimonies have outmoded their usefulness and have been abandoned, though the underlying principles remain in the Quaker discipline.

In accord with the New Testament teaching of the worth of every man in the sight of God, Friends took literally the command of Jesus, "Love your enemies." They have sought to make a practical application of the following excerpt from Jesus' Sermon on the Mount:

Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth: But I say unto you, That ye resist not evil, but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloke also. And whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain. Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away.

Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy. But I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you; That ye may be the children of your Father which is in

heaven: for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and the unjust. For if ye love them which love you, what reward have ye? do not even the publicans the same? And if ye salute your brethren only, what do ye more than others? do not even the publicans so? Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect.⁹

Rather than to participate in war or do violence to fellow men, Friends have chosen to die or suffer torture for what they believed to be the Christian way. Quaker pacifism is based upon other such Scripture passages as Romans 12:19-21; II Corinthians 10:3-5; and Hebrews 12:14. Not only have Friends seen specific requirements for obedience from such Scriptural references, but they have felt in the whole New Testament teaching a spirit with which hate and violence are totally out of harmony. Though many later Friends have failed to practice or stress this fundamental of the Quaker faith, it still remains universally as an article of discipline in the Friends' declaration of faith. This change of attitude on the part of some Friends is shown in the abandonment since the nineteenth century of disownment of members for participating in war.

The peace testimony was not, however, merely a negative testimony; it had its positive aspects as well in the continuing alertness of Friends to the social needs of fellow

⁹ Matthew 5:38-48

men. Friends have been noted since their beginnings for being a philanthropic people, building institutions, and promoting the freedom and well-being of man everywhere. This was in further fulfillment of Christ's command that His followers ought to love their fellow men, to serve one another, and to care for the needy. In the belief that every human being has a soul, whether that individual be black, yellow, or white of skin, the Quakers saw every man as precious in the sight of God and as an immortal soul, a potential heir to salvation and better life. In reality, the peace testimony in regard to war is only one phase of the larger testimony of good will and love for all men. It is the Friends' belief that true Christian democracy has its foundation upon such a high regard for humanity.

Friends and Education

Because they believed in the New Testament teaching of the potential dignity and worth of every man, Friends have stressed the necessity for education throughout most of their history, and their educational institutions have had a large part in the perpetuation of the Society's life and ideals. This stress upon education is in harmony with the ideal that Christianity demands the use of all the human faculties for the most whole spiritual life.

George Fox and education. George Fox wrote the following in a letter of instruction to members of the Society:

See that schoolmasters and mistresses who are faithful Friends and well qualified be placed and encouraged in all cities and great towns and where they may be needed: the masters to be diligent to forward their scholars in learning and in the frequent reading of the Holy Scriptures and other good books, that being thus seasoned with the truth, sanctified to God and taught our holy, self-denying way, they may be instrumental to the glory of God and the generation.¹⁰

From early beginnings the Quakers were encouraged to support education and send their children to schools of their own that they might be brought up in the way of Friendly practice and faith and be fitted to take their individual responsibility in the meetings.

Friends saw clearly from the beginning of their history that if they were to have no trained clergy, but were to try seriously the great experiment of a priesthood of believers, they must educate the entire membership of the Society.¹¹

Later developments. However, in the period of quietism the Friends became timid of education, to their privation and incalculable loss. But the revival of spirituality in the nineteenth century and its spread westward brought with it a revival of education toward the end of the century, and

¹⁰ George Fox, letter cited by Rufus M. Jones, The Later Periods of Quakerism, p. 666.

¹¹ Rufus M. Jones, ibid., p. 669.

the more robust position of the early Friends was gradually inaugurated by a few virile personalities who were awake and forward-looking. They were primarily motivated by the awakened interest in Scripture study. The new pastoral system did not curb the growing interest in education, as some feared it might, but rather whetted the appetites of thinking Friends to know Truth first-hand.

Education and the missionary spirit. The growth of interest in Bible study and education was accompanied by an awakened interest in foreign missions. With their view of Christianity as the answer to every man's need, they could hardly miss the appeal of the missionary spirit through the Holy Scriptures. Through education formerly isolated Friends achieved a broader world horizon and looking out across the world they saw the stark need of a world lying in darkness, in need of the Great Light, in need of a simple and spiritual Gospel.

Friends and the Missionary Spirit

Historically. An oft-quoted saying of George Fox is, "Friends, be of a universal spirit." The first part of the history of Friends, as has been pointed out, was characterized by ardent missionary zeal, followed by a decline and an emphasis upon the "inward look" rather than

the "outward look." Even in the flame of the nineteenth century revival, Friends were slow to become infected with the modern missionary spirit growing in other denominations. The chief objection which seems to have been felt to undertaking or supporting regular missionary work was that Friends might, in so doing, compromise their views in relation to the freedom of the Christian ministry.¹² Missionary activity requires organization, and some of the older Friends discouraged the younger Friends who felt the call of the foreign field on the ground that such organization was "creaturely activity."¹³ The natural and inevitable result of an evangelical religious awakening, however, was that those who experienced the saving power of Christ should long to carry the Gospel to others. With the change to the pastoral system in America and the awakened life in Great Britain the Society began to entertain new missionary ideas. The first concrete evidences of modern missionary enthusiasm appeared in the seventh decade of the nineteenth century.¹⁴ The fires within began to burn once more, and

¹² Henry T. Hodgkin, Friends Beyond the Seas, p. 34.

¹³ Rufus M. Jones, op. cit., p. 877.

¹⁴ American Friends Board of Foreign Mission, Foreign Mission Work of American Friends, A Brief History of Their Work from the Beginning to the Year 1912, p. v.

American Friends Board of Foreign Missions will hereafter be referred to as A.F.B.F.M.

Friends yielded to the inner promptings of the Holy Spirit to do and dare for the sake of a universal Gospel.

In principle. Of the missionary spirit in Quakerism Henry T. Hodgkin, an outstanding English Friend said:

What really happened when the modern missionary movement began in the Society was that Friends were getting back to the true inner meaning of their own faith. They were breaking once again with traditionalism and formalism, only this time with that of the Society itself, instead of with that of the Churches outside.¹⁵

We should note, however, that the Friends who had reacted negatively to the enthusiasm of the evangelical fervor of the revival spirit were almost entirely unaffected by the new missionary spirit, as were also the liberal or so-called Hicksite Friends of America.¹⁶

The twentieth century. By the beginning of the twentieth century Quaker missions were well advanced, extending to the far ends of the earth. In contrast to the early fear of organization manifested in the nineteenth century, there is now an American Friends Board of Missions representing the eleven yearly meetings of the Five Years Meeting,¹⁷ and in Great Britain the Friends Service Council

¹⁵ Hodgkin, op. cit., p. 222.

¹⁶ Elton Trueblood, The Theory and Practice of Quaker Missions, p. 22.

¹⁷ The Five Years Meetings is a consultative and administrative body with constituent yearly meetings remaining autonomous. It is made up of orthodox yearly meetings.

carries on the missionary work for both London and Dublin Yearly Meetings. Besides these the four orthodox independent yearly meetings in America, Central, Kansas, Ohio, and Oregon, carry on their own missionary activity. In the twentieth century the missionary spirit has become a vital part of orthodox Quakerism of both America and Great Britain. As has been shown, the modern missionary movement of Quakerism has been built upon the foundation already laid by George Fox and the earliest Quakers.

Areas of Study

Fields of missionary activity. Friends of America and Great Britain are now engaged in evangelization in the following fields: The American Friends Board of Missions of the Five Years Meeting in Kenya Colony, East Africa; Kansas Yearly Meeting in Belgian Congo, West Africa; Oregon Yearly Meeting and Central Yearly Meeting in Bolivia; Friends Service Council in Ceylon; Friends Service Council, Ohio Yearly Meeting, and A.F.B.M. of Five Years Meeting in China; A.F.B.M. in Cuba; California Yearly Meeting in Guatemala and Honduras; Ohio Yearly Meeting and the Friends Service Council in Central Provinces, India; A.F.B.M. in Jamaica; the Friends Service Council in Madagascar; A.F.B.M. in Mexico; A.F.B.M. in Palestine; the Friends Service Council in Pembe and Syria. Former work was also done in Japan, begun by Philadelphia

Friends and engaging the support of numerous yearly meetings and the American Friends Service Committee. At the present time, the meetings in a number of areas where mission work has been carried on are organized into working yearly meetings, and a few of these yearly meetings are autonomous and practically independent of the mother body.

Phases of the Quaker message. It is impossible to cover all the phases of the Quaker message, but in order to gain an adequate understanding of the message on the mission field it is necessary to look not only at the outstandingly unique ideals and practices of Friends but also at the fundamental view of Friends toward evangelism and Christian education. Church government, public worship, outward ordinances, and the social concepts of Quakerism on the mission field are not the basic ideals of Quakerism but are merely the outgrowth of the fundamentals of their spiritual interpretation of Christianity. Quakerism abroad has its roots in the Quakerism at the home base; it is time now to turn to look at Quakerism abroad in the light of the traditional faith.

CHAPTER II

CHRISTIAN EDUCATION AND EVANGELISM

From its very beginning the preaching mission of the Christian Church has been inseparably bound with its indispensable teaching mission. Evangelism must be accompanied by education to be permanently effective, and Christian education without evangelism in the mission field ceases to fulfill its only legitimate function as a Christian missionary enterprise because of the evangelistic nature of the Christian message. Education has played a prominent part in all Friends' fields of missionary activity, and its relation to evangelism in the light of the traditional position of Friends is a fundamental phase of Quaker missions. Christian education as a concept used in this chapter is education in the narrower sense of the school and it designates any such institutional teaching which is carried on in schools established for the use of Christians or prospective converts of the mission field.

Education and Revelation

The subject of education and revelation suggests the well-known Quaker doctrine of the "Inner Light." In order to find sure ground on which to stand as to the exact original meaning of this term it is necessary to turn to Barclay's

own words on the matter:

But in regard that Christ is in all men as in a seed, yea, and that he never is nor can be separate from that holy pure seed and light which is in all men; in this respect then, as he is in the seed which is in all men, we have said Christ is in all men, and have preached and directed all men to Christ in them, who lies crucified in them by their sins and iniquities, that they may look upon him whom they have pierced, and repent: whereby he that now lies as it were slain and buried in them, may come to be raised, and have dominion in their hearts over all.

Though then this seed be small in its appearance, so that Christ compares it to a grain of mustard-seed, which is the least of all seeds, Matth. xiii. 31, 32. and that it be hid in the earthly part of man's heart; yet therein is life and salvation towards the sons of men wrapped up, which comes to be revealed as they give way to it. And this seed in the hearts of all men is the kingdom of God, as in capacity to be produced, or rather exhibited, according as it receives depth, is nourished, and not choaked. And as the whole body of a great tree is wrapped up potentially in the seed of the tree, and so is brought forth in due season, even so the kingdom of Jesus Christ, yea Jesus Christ himself, Christ within, who is the hope of glory, and becometh wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption, is in every man's and woman's heart, and in that little incorruptible seed, ready to be brought forth.

And we believe, that at these singular seasons of every man's visitation, as man is wholly unable of himself to work with the grace, neither can he move one step out of the natural condition, until the grace lay hold upon him; so it is possible for him to be passive, and not to resist it, as it is possible for him to resist it. So we say, the grace of God works in and upon man's nature; which, though of itself wholly corrupted and defiled, and prone to evil, yet is capable to be wrought upon by the grace of God; even as iron, though an hard and cold metal of itself, may be warmed and softened by the heat of the fire, and wax melted by the sun. And as iron or wax, when removed from the fire or sun, returneth to its former condition of coldness and hardness; so man's heart, as it resists or retires from the grace of God, returns to its former condition again.¹

¹ Robert Barclay, Apology for the True Christian Divinity, quoted by Mather, pp. 34ff.

Nothing could more explicitly point up the belief in the necessity for a work of divine grace through exercise of faith than the above excerpts from Barclay. Clearly it was felt that a change of nature was necessary before the nurture of education could really be effective. Furthermore, the need for revealed and applied divine work of grace in the perfection of the inner man is attested to by the following quotation from Barclay:

We do believe, that to those in whom this pure and holy birth is fully brought forth, the body of death and sin comes to be crucified and removed, and their hearts united and subjected to the truth; so as not to obey any suggestions or temptations of the evil one, but to be free from actual sinning and transgressing of the law of God, and in that respect perfect.

By this we understand not such a perfection as may not daily admit of growth, and consequently mean not as if we were to be pure, holy, and perfect as God in his divine attributes of wisdom, knowledge, and purity; but only a perfection proportionable and answerable to man's measure, whereby we are kept from transgressing the law of God, and enabled to answer what he requires of us. . . .²

To establish the traditional view of the relation of reason (the source of natural knowledge) and revelation (the source of divine knowledge) and thus to find the basis for the relation of education and revelation it is well to hear what Barclay had to say about reason:

² Ibid., p. 41

For as God gave two great Lights to rule the outward world, the sun and moon, the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night; so hath he given man the light of his Son, a spiritual divine light, to rule him in things spiritual, and the light of reason to rule him in things natural. And even as the moon borrows her light from the sun, so ought man, if they would be rightly and comfortably ordered in natural things, to have their reason enlightened by this divine and pure light. Which enlightened reason, in those that obey and follow this true light, we confess may be useful to man even in spiritual things, as even as the animal life in men, regulated and ordered by his reason, helps him in going about things that are rational.

So, then, education becomes not the means to obtain grace, but when enlightened by the light of Christ, true Christian education, is the supplement to divine grace in the attainment of the stature of the complete man in Christ.

Education as Evangelism

The early call to Friends to take up missionary work was rather for teaching than for preaching, largely because of the dread of anything that could possibly be called a "paid ministry."³ However, this trend also shows Friends' appreciation of the vital place which Christian education must have in the evangelization of non-Christian peoples.

³ Ibid., p. 38

⁴ Hoaglin, Friends Beyond the Seas, p. 113.

Means of reaching the people. In some areas education has proven to be one of the most effective means of getting a hearing for the Christian message. In the fields in which education is so important there is a very close relation between evangelistic and educational work. While educating the native does not Christianize him, yet it is often, in some situations, through formal teaching that opportunity is afforded of making a direct and effective appeal to the native to leave his old life and live for Christ. Pupils in the schools brought out from the reign of superstition and fear to be under the constant influence of Christian example, personality, and teaching are in a favorable climate for the "seed" to come into germinating power. While education is not substituted for the divine work of God, nor is growth regarded as the satisfactory equivalent of crisis experiences in grace, there are often converts who do seem to near the kingdom in a more gradual way than others due to the influence of Christian teaching and environment. Through their increased knowledge of the will of God for their lives and through an introduction to the wholesomeness of Christianity men and women manifest changed lives, and in their spoken desire to enter the way is the evidence of their nearing the Kingdom.

In such schools the Bible has been held aloft as the inspired Word of God, the primary source for Christian edu-

sation, a means to enlighten their reason by divine light. The paramount aim of such education is to teach them to read the Word that the Holy Spirit might speak directly to them from its inspired pages.

Education as Supplement to Evangelism

Opening the way for the Message. Here is seen evangelism as the heart and center of the work, i.e. evangelism in its pure preaching form. The usual method employed in most fields begins with a wide-spread evangelistic work, accompanied in the early stages by simple medical work and a few elementary schools. Education thus is one means both of aiding the people and gaining their confidence as an opening to the further preaching of the Gospel.

"Nurseries for the Church of Christ." In his address to the Friends at the Darlington Conference on missions in 1896, Samuel Baker, missionary of India, said, ". . . it is our heartfelt desire that all our schools may be nurseries for the Church of Christ."⁵ True to the Quaker ideal, this is the method necessary to the establishment of the "priesthood of believers." Such schools must take the new converts and nurture and train them until they grow up into true

⁵ Report of the Proceedings of the Conference at Darlington on Foreign Missions, p. 146

Members of the Church of Christ. These possibilities for attainment of perfection in Christ are taught, and students are encouraged to seek for themselves the experiential knowledge of His presence. Most schools scheduled a time of quiet devotion each morning before the daily activities of the boarding school pupils. The shift from an idolatrous and heathen culture is not easily made, and careful superintendence and guidance is the essential ingredient in the making of Christians.

Training a church of evangelists. Witness to the good news of Jesus Christ is held to be the privilege of every member of Friends' mission meetings, and all are encouraged to take part in voluntary evangelistic work, in whatever form the individual may feel led to express the message. When the converts of a mission begin to exhort in meeting, the missionaries know that the time has come to establish training centers for those who desire to become specifically fitted for going out to preach to others as full ministers of the Gospel and as lay preachers.

Education as Indirect Evangelism

Education as an indirect approach to evangelism in the mission field is a secondary method and an outgrowth of the original program. In the beginning educational work

is usually part of the evangelistic department, primarily as a means of opening the Bible to the natives. It is often extended and broadened in more advanced stages of mission work, however, to aid the natives in making the difficult adjustments to the modern civilization which is pushing into the formerly hidden areas of backward nations. The prime purpose of such education is to develop Christian character that will speak in the quality of their lives to the world around. Such education does not rule out direct evangelism, for evangelism remains a part of the program, and converts continue to be reported from among the students.

Industrial missions. Included in this type of program are the industrial missions, which are sometimes the beginning of the mission work rather than the later development as mentioned above. Outstanding work in industrial mission work in the early days was done in Hoshangabad, India, in Kenya Colony, Africa, and in Pemba. The work of raising the people from their degraded and impoverished life operates as a witness for the Christian Gospel and its effect upon the human economy. Often people need physical help before they can be reached to be given spiritual help, and in the same way people sometimes need to acquire a new evaluation of life before they can be reached for Christ.

The work of the industrial mission in Kenya Colony,

which began as the Friends Africa Industrial Mission, has been very significant. The work is described in its early days thus:

The primary object of the Friends Africa Industrial Mission, as officially recorded in the outset and ever since emphasized by both the Board and the missionaries, is the evangelization of the heathen. The industrial feature is introduced into the work for the purpose of exerting a continuous Christian influence on the natives employed, in the hope of obtaining the following results, viz.: to teach them habits of industry and ultimately to establish a self-supporting native Christian church.⁶

Education and citizenship. In Mexico the broader view of Christian education is given a place as described below:

Perhaps the greatest contribution that Friends can make to the Mexican church will be that of giving a thoroughly Christian education to those who must lead in the economic, educational and religious life of the Republic. Already many graduates of our schools are to be found in school and government positions. Their influence is telling for righteousness and peace.⁷

Upon one occasion a member of the Friends church in Mexico was arrested and taken before the chief magistrate, where he was accused of a trivial offense. The accused declared that he was a Friend and innocent; then and there he was dismissed because the judge said that he never had known of the Friends' being guilty of such an offense.⁸ The

⁶ A.F.B.F.M., Foreign Mission Work of American Friends, p. 77.

⁷ Minutes of Oregon Yearly Meeting, 1922, A.F.B.F.M. reports, p. 54

⁸ A.F.B.F.M., Foreign Mission Work of American Friends, p. 52.

Christian character produced by Friends' work witnessed for the Gospel in a real and dynamic way.

In Palestine. The Palestine enterprise of Friends' mission work represents another slant upon this type of educational work which is unique in itself. The whole work there may be characterized as that of Christian education in essence.

The heart of its message is the saturation of an educational program, which is so much sought by the people of the country, with the spirit of Christ, his love and ideals. There are agencies in Palestine which are giving an education; the Friends aim to give a Christian education.

A great deal of the time that Friends have been working in Palestine has been marked by great unrest and disturbances in that country. Friends have had a concern to give the people a message of peace and goodwill, and through education they have sought to show a Christ-like spirit, at the same time pointing them to the knowledge of Christ as a personal Friend and Savior who is able to meet the need of human hearts. Through Christian education they have been able to offer the spiritual food which satisfies the heart hunger which the improved government schools have not been able to give.

⁹ American Friends Board of Mission, Annual Report, 1931-32, p. 40.

American Friends Board of Missions will hereafter be referred to as A.F.B.M.

In harmony with this spirit missionaries there have taken leading responsibilities for the Daily Vacation Bible Schools for Palestine and Transjordan, in which Protestants, Greeks, Moslems, and Christians cooperated in the Daily Vacation Bible School Movement. It was hoped that this movement would be a potent factor in bringing in a spirit of unity and brotherhood so much needed in this country.¹⁰

In 1945 the report of the Friends' Boys' School at Ramallah gave the following religious affiliations for the student body: 72 Moslems and 111 Christians, of which 78 were Greek Orthodox, 11 Latin Catholic, 10 Anglican, 5 Greek Catholic, 3 Coptic, 3 Quaker, and 1 Armenian.¹¹ A similar report was given for the enrollment of the girls' school showing parallel figures. Through such a method the boys and girls enjoy the broader benefits of the Quaker ideals, as well as receive the opportunity to accept Christ.

Summary

Whatever the methods of evangelism and Christian education, Quaker missions have found that both are twin necessities in foreign mission work. Education may become the means of evangelism, the supplement to the evangelistic

¹⁰ A.F.B.F.M., Annual Report, 1929-30, p. 44f.

¹¹ A.F.B.F.M., Annual Report, 1945, p. 24.

preaching program, or indirect evangelism through the results of the educational institution's product. No single one of these three divisions may be considered as descriptive of the total program of any given mission program, for in the developmental process of missionary enterprise most missions have used each or all of these approaches to the task. These descriptive divisions, however, point up the objectives and methods of Christian education in relation to evangelism in Quaker mission education.

CHAPTER III

THE CHURCH

The organized fellowship of Christian believers is both an end and a means in the education of the evangelized on the mission field. The function of the local organization of the Church is not educational in the strict sense of the word; yet the local church is in fact the bulwark of Christian teachings; and it is the mission church, not the school, which must act as the preserver of any particular interpretation of Christian teachings.

In the beginning, the Friends adopted the designation "society" for their organized Christian community because they believed that there could be only one true church, the universal Church of Jesus Christ, composed of all those who believe on His name. For convenience in this chapter the term "church" is used to designate what is commonly thought of among Christians as the church, i.e., the organization and its activities in worship, spiritual ministrations, and discipline of the community of believers. The Quaker "meeting for worship" is the equivalent of the church service, and these terms may be used interchangeably in referring to the pastoral meeting, but only the term "meeting

for worship" is used for the non-pastoral meetings.¹

The fundamental Christian principles motivating the church practices of Friends have not always produced exactly the same results in the mission field as they have in the home church, nor have they netted the same identical results in every field. Both varying conditions in the environment on the field and the modifications of traditional patterns of practice from the home churches have produced these differences. For example of the latter factor, foreign missions became a part of Friends' program in the transition period of the nineteenth century, and those missionaries who were touched by the pastoral system naturally took with them the habits of church practice which they were accustomed to using. At the same time, both British and American missionaries who came from meetings retaining the old non-pastoral system were slow to encourage the adoption of a paid ministry for the native meetings for worship.

Group Worship

Traditional viewpoint. Although most orthodox Friends have considerably modified their methods of public

¹ The term "church" has been adopted by a number of American Yearly meetings in their official titles, and it is common for local Friends' meetings to be called churches. Though in its earliest conception the Society was not a church, it has assumed the function of a church and is really such today.

worship, it is safe to say that they have striven to retain the fundamental principles which prompted the earliest Friends to do away with all formal programming of the worship hour. They sought to make the service so free from human planning that the Holy Spirit would have the most complete freedom to work upon the hearts of His own chosen participants in the program. Robert Barclay thus states the original viewpoint:

All true and acceptable worship to God is offered in the inward and immediate moving and drawing of his own Spirit, which is neither limited to places, time, nor persons. For tho' we are to worship him always, and continually to fear before him; yet as to the outward signification thereof, in prayers, praises or preachings, we ought not to do it in our own will, where and when we will; but where and when we are moved thereunto by the stirring and secret inspiration of the Spirit of God in our hearts; which God heareth and accepteth of, and is never wanting to move us thereunto, when need is; of which he himself is the alone proper judge.²

The emphasis in all Friends' practices is not upon the organization nor authority of the Church, but upon the individual, his needs, privileges, and duties as a member of the corporate body and as a believer in Jesus Christ.

The teaching ministry of public worship. Formal instruction is only one means of teaching the Gospel and training the convert. Group worship not only is the turning of the heart toward God in adoration and praise, but it is also the time when God speaks to individuals through His

² Barclay, Apology for the True Christian Divinity, pp. 45-6.

Holy Spirit in edification and revelation. In turn, those who receive the divine message are under the obligation to transmit the essence of that message to their fellow worshipers. Teaching is one of the gifts of the Holy Spirit as taught by St. Paul and recognized in the early Christian church; and in the unprogrammed meeting for worship, or in its modifications, as practiced by Friends the gift of teaching has found a full expression.

The order of worship. Samplings of worship practices here and there give representative pictures of adaptations in Quaker worship. These illustrations given will not necessarily be indicative of the present practices on any particular field mentioned, but will merely show how adaptations have been made in particular situations. The type of unprogrammed worship used often is shown by a description of a typical daily morning worship service and its results at the Friends College of West China University in 1921:

At 6:45 the students gather quietly and settle down for personal Bible study and silent prayer. Frequently there is a hymn, the reading of a few verses of Scripture, vocal prayer or an earnest exhortation, but the larger part of the 20 or 25 minutes is spent in silence which is frequently so living and vital that the Holy Spirit's presence is unmistakably felt. During these past two or three years few students have been able wholly to resist this quiet influence of their fellow students. The majority confess themselves disciples of Christ and apply for membership in the church before they reach the middle of the University course.³

³ A.F.B.F.M., Annual Report 1921-22, p. 49.

Again in the West China area, in 1922 the Chengtu Monthly Meeting of Friends reported regularly holding two preaching services in the chapel two afternoons a week and a meeting for women once a week. However, the preaching composed only a part of the meeting, for the same report notes that the regular attenders seemed to particularly enjoy the Friends' way of worship and to enter heartily into the meeting.⁴ This practice of combining the preaching service with liberty given to the members for expression seems to have proven satisfactory quite generally wherever practiced.

In more detail, description is given of the above type of service in Banani, Pemba:

The service at Banani lasts for an hour or a little more; it is a true Friends' meeting with freedom for any member to take part. The silences are deep and real; one cannot fail to be impressed by the earnestness, sincerity and solemnity.⁵

The customary order of service at Banani was given as this: hymn, vocal prayer, hymn, Scripture reading and exhortation, and explanation by a native evangelist, prayer, silence and freedom for expression by the worshippers. One of the native elders has the responsibility in these services of choosing

⁴ Minutes of Oregon-Yearly Meeting, 1944, A.F.B.M. Report, p. 53.

⁵ The Friend, 5-3-50, p. 459.

and announcing the hymns to be used.

Similar worship services were held in the early days of the work in Palestine and in Bundelkhand, India, with perhaps a little less direct planning. These meetings were characterized by seasons of silent devotion, followed by vocal prayer or reading of Scripture with comments, interspersed with hymns.⁶ The following has been given as a characterization of the early worship services in Bundelkhand:

Teaching also had a prominent place in the worship services. But the meetings were never programmed, haphazardly speaking. The Holy Spirit was honoured and His guidance sought for each separate service, and the way was always kept open for Him to choose His own messenger as well as the message. This brought a naturalness and freedom into the services which was most beneficial. Ere long exhortation from the children (of the orphan school), was not an uncommon thing. Thus did the training of these little ones begin. Mentally and spiritually they grew with a surprising rapidity . . .⁷

The Friends in Bundelkhand showed early these tendencies toward silent worship and opposition to any pastoral system. However, under new leadership in recent years these Friends have also adopted the pastoral system.⁸

In Mexico during a time when missionaries were not permitted to act as ministers or preachers, the Quaker mode

⁶ Timothy B. Hussy, letter, Friends Missionary Advocate, XXV:6, Nov., 1909.

⁷ Merrill Coffin, Friends in Bundelkhand, India, pp. 53f.

⁸ Walter R. Williams, letter to the author, March 25, 1947.

of worship proved adaptable to the needs of the hour. Their services opened with a fifteen minute song service at the beginning because it was the only means for many to learn new hymns. Following the singing came a period of silence, broken by a very free exchange of ideas, voluntary prayer, and much reading of Scripture. Any sincere word was welcomed, as they attempted to feel the leadings of the Spirit together.⁹

Education for worship. In most places the introduction of the Friends' unprogrammed meeting necessitates an educational process. The art of silent corporate worship does not come easily for any people who have not become familiar with its principles and purpose; and without a mental grasp of what the silence means and an understanding of the way Friends are expected to "wait upon the leadings of the Holy Spirit", some may abuse their privileges in the unprogrammed meeting. Discipline of mind and training in the use of the quiet period of waiting is required for anyone to become skillful in this method of coming into the worship experience. Modifications of the traditional worship service have been one means of worship education. An example of worship education appeared in the stress upon worship in the Friends' school at Ramallah, Palestine. In practice, a period of short silence was introduced in the daily morning

⁹ Clyde C. Roberts, "Quakerism in South Tamaulipas," American Friend, p. 895.

worship hour for the student body, then from time to time the meaning and value of that mode of worship was explained to the students.¹⁰ This was aimed at aiding the students in their ability to appreciate and participate in the Sunday service. In Madagascar in 1939 meetings after the manner of Friends were reported to have been held once a month in several of the stations. To this educational endeavor the response was good, and though the Malagasy did not find the silence easy, some expressed their appreciation of the meetings.¹¹ Similar reports could be given for other groups:

Value of Friends' worship. The worship service is a comprehensive expression of the total Quaker philosophy of Christianity. At its best it becomes the powerhouse for the application of Christian principles to the total area of life. Something of the value of the Friends' approach is expressed in the annual report from West China in 1922:

In thinking over the situation in the Chinese Republic one cannot but be impressed by the tremendous opportunity and need for the Friendly Message of direct access to God without the aid of any external agency; a salvation through Jesus Christ that enters every avenue of one's life and affects every act, thought, and deed; the sacredness of personality; peace, and love and good will as a way of life, which will settle all difficulties, be they social, economic

10 A.F.B.M., Annual Report 1929-30, p. 46.

11 Minutes of London Yearly Meeting 1939, p. 63.

or political, national or international.¹²

As the principles of democracy and spiritual experience operative in Friends' worship are of value to the people, so such worship is significant as it builds those principles into the lives of the worshippers.

In conception of worship the Friendly message has proven of spiritual value. A most pertinent example was found in the report from West China in 1920-21, which spoke not only of the growing appreciation of Friends' principles by the students of the Friends' College of West China Union University, but also of that appreciation by the students of the whole institution. The Friends' emphasis had borne fruit so that one evening when the difficulty of reality in public prayer was being discussed at a Student Volunteer Band meeting a member of a sister denomination remarked that Friends seemed to enter into public prayer really and vitally, making it peculiarly helpful.¹³ In other meetings where the unprogrammed method or a variation of it was followed, the reports have been of results in growing spiritual knowledge and vitality; and as the people came to know the real meaning of worship they grew in appreciation of the free mode in which the Holy Spirit was recognized as the

² minutes of Oregon Yearly Meeting, 1922, A.F.B.F.M. Report, p. 53.

¹³ A.F.B.F.M., Annual report 1920-21, p. 48.

true leader of the meeting. In such cases the people have felt the power of silent worship as well as the value of free expression under divine direction.

Especially in those countries where there has been a great deal of ceremony and form in religion the Friends' message with its simplicity and freedom from form presents an opportunity of placing before the people an interpretation of religion which is vitally spiritual. Unhindered by outward restrictions and formal limitations, the possibilities have been, - and are, - rich for exhorting the converts to meet together as brethren in the presence of Christ Himself, the Head of the Church, and to wait upon Him that there might be freedom for Him to guide the worship in prayer, praise, exhortation, and teaching. The practical value of Friends' worship was particularly important in Mexico during the time of those peculiar circumstances in which the authorities made impossible the establishment of any kind of pastoral system by missionaries. In the following words Clyde C. Roberts gave his evaluation of the situation:

It seems to me that the Friends' message and democratic, unprogrammed service are especially suitable at this time of agitation against an over-authoritative and supercredulous system . . . We simply adopt the unprogrammed service and I participate along with others, and often more than anyone else. On account of the intense anti-religious agitation, and wishing above all to respect the law, I could not act as pastor or minister so we use the above system and so far have gotten along well . . . They are beginning to volunteer to lead and to participate freely . . . When left alone again I believe that they will carry on better as a re-

sult of this experience that was partly forced upon them.¹⁴

With these variations and adaptations of the traditional form of worship the Quaker message meets the need of every circumstance in which it is found. It is not in the form but in the ideal of freedom and direction of the Holy Spirit that the true Quaker meeting for worship is found. Worship in the Spirit as seen by Friends is that which is led of the Spirit, and whether the message comes from the pew or pulpit it must be given and received in the confidence that the Holy Spirit is able to choose and direct both the message and the messenger. From the Quaker point of view, the Holy Spirit speaks to the people whether they be from the East or West, black or white, ignorant or learned, saint or sinner - - if they but listen. It is felt that the duty of the Church is to become an open channel whereby the divine messages may be transmitted to the members of the church. Human instrumentality may fail in the transmission of the message, but Friends proceed upon the assumption that the Holy Spirit knows the needs of every heart, and He is able to apply the truth to every one of those needs.

¹⁴ Roberts, Op. cit., American Friends, p. 895.

Outward Ordinances

The traditional view. The rites of baptism and communion as commonly practised in the Christian church are the subjects of Friends' own peculiar interpretation. Though not always adhered to closely by all Friends, the Society has generally retained the original testimony regarding the sacraments. While baptism and communion have been practiced to some extent by Friends here and there, the Society as a whole has held that the rites are non-essential. At the same time, some Friends have considered their practice helpful, but others would go so far as to consider their practice detrimental to the best spiritual welfare. In regard to baptism Robert Barclay has this to say:

As there is one Lord, and one faith, so there is one baptism; which is not the putting away the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience before God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ. And this baptism is a pure and spiritual thing, to wit, the baptism of the Spirit and Fire, by which we are buried with him, that being washed and purged from our sins, we may walk in newness of life; of which the baptism of John was a figure, which was commanded for a time, and not to continue for ever. As to the baptism of infants, it is a mere human tradition, for which neither precept¹⁵ nor practice is to be found in all the scripture.

Barclay gives the Friends' view of communion in this brief statement:

The communion of the body and blood of Christ is inward and spiritual, which is the participation of

¹⁵ Barclay, op. cit., pp. 61-2.

his flesh and blood, by which the inward man is daily nourished in the hearts of those in whom Christ dwells. Of which things the breaking of bread by Christ with his disciples was a figure, which even they who had received the substance used in the church for a time, for the sake of the weak; even as abstaining from things strangled, and from blood, the washing of one another's feet, and the anointing of the sick with oil; all which are commanded with no less authority and solemnity than the former; yet seeing they are but shadows of better things, they cease in such as have obtained the substance.¹⁶

In these matters the Friends were not discarding authority nor deleting from the message of Christ, but they were attempting to make it a matter of individual appeal to the final authority (Christ within), and seeking to preserve in its finest sense the essence of what Christ taught. In other words, they sought to obtain active, inward, experiential knowledge of truth in the place of blind, passive acceptance of the teachings from the outward, earthly authorities of the Church.

Teaching regarding the rites in missions. The primary aim of Quaker missions is and has always been to teach the Gospel, not peculiarities. In their testimony concerning the outward ordinances the Friends have not been rabidly sectarian but have striven in their proclamation of the Gospel to emphasize spiritual truth in its pure form. From the Quaker point of view the non-use of outward ordinances has proven effective in a significant way on the mission field. Rather than substituting Christian rites for non-

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 63.

Christian rites, most Friends have felt it a more significant and powerful witness to do away with such rites altogether in order to emphasize the essentially spiritual nature of Christian teachings. Granting that the Quaker method is also open to criticism practically speaking and is not an inviolate practice, experience has shown that poor, ignorant, and superstitious peoples can grasp the meaning of the spiritual message of Christianity without the outward rites of baptism and communion considered so essential in mission education by some other denominations.

Especially in those countries where strongly ritualistic groups had already obtained a firm foothold, the Friends found both difficult problems and opportunity for triumph for their teachings. Instances from reports from Alaska will illustrate the way the problem was met in a country dominated largely by the Episcopal church. In 1917 the missionaries at Golovin, Alaska, wrote during their preparations for Easter services:

Not many of them seem to have heard much about what the day signifies. Hannah says some call it "the day to drink Christ's blood," so presumably they have been used to receiving communion on that day. We shall excite no controversy, but shall be glad to explain our views as Friends.¹⁷

Further enlightenment on the Alaskan situation is revealed in the description of results from a revival in 1939 in the Kotzebue Friends' mission, during which many were saved:

¹⁷ Eva W. Geary, letter, Pacific Friend, 6th month, 1917, p. 9.

Also many who for years had held strongly to a ceremonial faith, in true repentance and humility sought forgiveness of sins and the baptism with the Holy Spirit. A mighty work of grace resulted and many requested membership with Friends they sent letters of resignation of their church affiliation to the Episcopal Arch-Deacon. The letters were heavy, for they contained metal crosses. We marvel at the leading of the Spirit because nothing had been said about the crosses; we had only preached the pure Gospel, and those who accompanied me testified to the reality they had found by believing. The revival and requests for membership were the result. To use the words of one of their number, "We have something more real than water baptism or a metal cross on which to pin our hope of salvation and a home in heaven."¹⁸

It is not the intention here to imply that this is a criticism of the use of outward ordinances and symbolism in worship; probably the evil in these cases resulted from inadequate or corrupted teaching and not from the use of the outward sets themselves. However, in these cases given, it is to be noted that the simple non-ritual faith has met the test, satisfying the people's needs.

India's outstanding missionary of earlier days, Samuel Baker, felt the problem keenly; and to help meet the situation he translated the Book of Christian Discipline of the Society of Friends into Hindi, saying of it:

I believe it will be a great help to have such a book. We find that great stress is laid on water baptism in many of the tracts published by North India Tract Society, so if we can increase our literature it will be a great help to the work. The more experience one gains the more one feels the necessity for inward and spiritual work in contra-distinction to the outward and ceremonial, and the more one prizes the Christian doctrine

¹⁸ California Yearly Meeting of the Friends Church, Official Minutes, 1940, pp. 197.

of the priesthood of all believers, so firmly held by the Society of Friends, Jesus Christ Himself being our High Priest and only Mediator.¹⁹

Because of the Friends' peculiar interpretation of Christianity the missions sometimes had to pass through seasons of unusual opposition. In 1937 while the missionary of a certain post in Honduras was gone the native workers of another mission came out and "endeavoring to corrupt the faith" of the believers there they led the poor, ignorant people to turn against some of the Friends' doctrines, to be baptized, and to refuse to listen to the Friends' women preachers.²⁰ In Cuba and Jamaica, where Catholicism has a strong hold, it seemed that the powers of darkness and ritualism united in opposition against the Friends' cause. But such ordeals were profitable to the revealing of strength as well as weakness, and the gain of members coming to Christianity and the non-ritual form of worship amidst difficulties was a great source of satisfaction to the missionaries.²¹ In such areas the idea of ritualism becomes deeply instilled upon the minds of the people, even when they are opposed to Catholicism itself. An example of this in Cuba will illustrate the problem:

¹⁹ C. Pumphrey, Samuel Baker of Hoshangebad, p. 101.

²⁰ California Yearly Meeting of the Friends Church, Official Minutes, 1938, p. 46.

²¹ Charles E. Tabbetts, "Missions in 1908," Friends Missionary Advocate, XIV; #2, p. 8.

In the rural areas one finds a subconscious Catholicism abed with a somewhat overt anti-Catholicism which expresses itself in such ways as the father who brought Sylvester Jones his baby to be baptized: The Catholic belief in the absolute necessity of baptism persists almost universally, but linked with it is a determination not to have the rite performed by a Catholic priest. And there is that same rationalistic note of the father who came to Sylvester Jones: they want the child to "be something more than an animal."²²

These difficulties are met in most fields with careful explanation and faithful teaching of the Friends' viewpoint on such questions.

Not all groups found difficulty in teaching the Friends' position regarding the sacraments. An interesting case is found in the early Friends group in Mexico. Though coming from a background of Catholicism, the Mexican converts described by Samuel Purdie evinced great independence of thought, carefully studying the Scriptures with the desire to know the truth and to receive it from Christ alone, even resting less upon the opinions of others than most Christians in a land where Romanism never held sway.²³ These first Mexican Friends were a highly intelligent and strong group. Friends in African missions reported no problems in connection with the sacraments. A letter from Ralph E. Choate, missionary to Urundi from Kansas Yearly Meeting, reports that

²² A.F.B.M., Annual Report 1945-46, p. 21.

²³ Christina Jones, American Friends in World Missions, p. 110.

they find little or no difficulty in pointing out to the African the advantage of a spiritual communion, rather than a visible communion.²⁴ Apparently this has been the common experience among such groups not already influenced by other missions.

There has been only one Friends' board, so far as this writer has been able to discover, which has had missionaries who administered the sacrament of baptism to the converts. The home board of the independent yearly meeting of Ohio early in the development of missions in both China and India gave permission to the missionaries to use water or receive candidates into membership without such baptism, according to the conscience of the believer.²⁵ The majority of the missionaries in China had been baptized, and the larger number of converts also chose water, the common form of baptism being sprinkling. Apparently there was no conflict among either missionaries or the church members on this matter, but it was allowed to remain a matter of conscience. In India, the earliest missionaries from Ohio Yearly Meeting were strongly opposed to the use of water, but the children of the orphanage there, as they came to maturity and witnessed the teaching of other missions, showed

24 Ralph E. Chaste, letter to the author, March 20, 1947.

25 Walter R. Williams, letter to the author.

a desire to be baptized. A very few sought it secretly elsewhere, until at last the missionaries arranged for a Methodist missionary to come to Nowgong and administer baptism to such as seemed ready for the step and desired it. Some did not want it, and some of them continue to hold against it to this day, though many are baptized in the Bundelkhand church.²⁶ In India a great deal of significance is attached to the ceremony of baptism for Christians, and the prevalence of this attitude has undoubtedly influenced the practice of Indian Friends to some extent. Summarizing the work of Ohio Yearly Meeting Friends, the present superintendent of that mission boards gives this statement:

In both fields the general emphasis of Friends has been to make Christians rather than to make FRIENDS, and to give less emphasis to the distinctive emphases of Friends, more to the teachings of the Church generally.²⁷

In these last cases the underlying causes for such variation from the traditional Friends' practice seem to have been both of missionary background and of influence from the work of other denominations on the field.

Church Government

Organization and establishment of discipline over the

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

meetings has been the outgrowth of need. The key word for Friends' form of church government is "democracy," and in a democracy organization is beneficial only when the members of the group are ready to assume their own government, as they advance in spiritual knowledge and their enlarging activities demand direction and control. While government of the meetings in America and Great Britain has become more or less stereotyped in usage, church government on the mission field is in most areas still in the process of taking shape, though in general the essential principles of Friends are followed. The whole system of Friends' discipline and government is built upon the premise that all members have equal rights and privileges in the church, modified only by the gifts they have received and their faithfulness in the exercise of those gifts.²⁸

Organization. The meeting for worship of those interested in the Christian message and of converts to the faith is the first step in the process of organization. When sufficient converts are made there is usually what is called a probation class, or some similar group for special instruction, of the converts to fit them in the knowledge of the requirements for being a member of the Church of Christ. When the work has developed to the point that there is necessary business concerning the meeting and its corporate activities

²⁸ Discipline of Kansas Yearly Meeting of Friends, p. 48.

a monthly business meeting is established, the Monthly Meeting. The missionary attitude toward further organization is aptly illustrated in the following excerpt from the mission staff in Urundi, Belgian, Congo:

A beginning has been made in church organization with the appointment of Elders and the prayer meeting once each month is given to the business of the Church. We do not want to press upon these people our entire church organization with its many committees, but rather let the needs of the new church guide us in determining what shall be the church practice in Urundi.²⁹

In Urundi the missionaries usually sit at the head of the various meetings, but the Africans themselves assist with the regular services of worship. The African elders of the church sit in monthly session and attend to cases of discipline and plans for church extension in new areas.³⁰

In Kenya, where the work had reached a more advanced stage, each monthly meeting had an evangelist or minister who led in the work of the church. These leaders or pastors were members of the Native Affairs Committee of the Mission, which had as an important part of its work the examination of candidates for full membership in the church.³¹ Similar organization is found in other missions.

Authority in meetings more advanced in their ability

²⁹ Minutes of Kansas Yearly Meeting of Friends, 1945 Mission report, p. 59.

³⁰ Choate, letter to the author.

³¹ A.F.B.M., Annual Report 1928-29, p. 65.

to furnish their own leadership is even less dependent upon the missionary. Such was the case in the organization of meetings in Japan. There the missionary acted simply as a member among others, serving on committees as he might be appointed and exercising no authority, having outside the meeting the widest liberty to engage in any form of Christian work approved by the Friends' Foreign Mission Committee.³² More, perhaps, than in any other type of religious organization the Quaker meeting requires for its success the assuming of responsibility on the part of its members, and this is evidenced in the broadening work of committee operation as the church grows. Committees for the purposes of discipline and further organization are especially significant marks in the advancement of self-government. Fittingly, the setting up of membership requirements and careful examination of all candidates before their acceptance is the task of the native leaders of the church.

In the beginning, the new monthly meetings are associated with the parent yearly meetings, but as the meetings increase and take on independent and self-sufficient proportions a yearly meeting is established. A few such yearly meetings have advanced to the stage of an essentially self-sustaining and self-sufficient concern, receiving only limited subsidization from the parent meeting. In

³² A.F.B.F.M., Foreign Mission Work of American Friends,
p. 175.

such cases, however, the fraternity of the two meetings is usually maintained in a spirit of special closeness, and usually constant contact is sustained through representatives going not as missionaries to the younger meetings, but as counselors for their leaders and as representatives of the older meeting.

Discipline. The first requirements of new converts is a public declaration of faith, after which they may make application for membership. The practices concerning admission to membership are essentially the same in most places, but vary a little according to the circumstances and expediency of particular situations. The usual method is what may be called the probation class or the candidates class and the examining committee. In Urundi the probation period is two years, in which time the candidates' lives are watched for evidence of consistency and loyalty to the Christian way of life. If one of those on probation should fall in the way or commit an act unbecoming for a Christian a committee is delegated to "deal with" them, and the term of probation is extended. If this process fails to have its desired effect, the stumbler may be expelled from the probation class, but only after much prayer and careful consideration.³⁵ In Hoshangabad, India, the converts were required to apply to a preparative meeting for permission to

³⁵ Minutes of Kansas Yearly Meeting of Friends, 1939,
p. 47.

make a public declaration of their faith in Jesus Christ and their desire to serve Him. Then after the written application for membership was read at the quarterly meeting a visiting committee was appointed to inquire into the candidate's fitness for admission, and then bring in a written report to the following Quarterly Meeting on the following points of question:

1. Have experienced a true conversion of heart.
2. Have a fair understanding of our Christian doctrines as explained in the pamphlet on Quaker belief used by this meeting.
3. Are free from debt.
4. Use any intoxicants or not.³⁴

The requirements for membership in the meetings are generally strict and specifically enforced. Not only does the church have the responsibility of admitting members, but in many fields those members who fail to hold up the standards are disowned. The formal written disciplines of the native churches are similar, in general, to those of the meetings from which the missionaries come, being basically in line with traditional practices of Quakerism. However, some changes and adaptations are necessary to meet the peculiar needs of the various circumstances. For example, in the discipline for the church in Bolivia under Central Yearly Meeting the provision in the home yearly meeting discipline prohibiting the use of tobacco for their members is changed to specify the chewing of coca leaves.³⁵

³⁴ Principles and Rules for Church Government, pp. 23 f.

³⁵ J. Edwin Newby, letter to the author, February 24, 1947.

By decision of the Africans themselves, the Urundi church has made the payment of the tithe compulsory, and failure to pay the tithe becomes a matter of discipline for the church officials.³⁶

A most interesting illustration of what goes on in native monthly meetings comes from Kenya Colony, East Africa, which has recently been the scene of the establishment of a new and large yearly meeting. African Friends faced distinct problems of discipline and Christian education because of the large size of the monthly meetings in some areas. The report from this field in 1928-29 contained this graphic description:

Monthly meeting in the northern district usually lasts from eleven o'clock to four or five in the evening. They have worship first, followed by business. The affairs of the outschools, meetings, and individuals are discussed. In a sense, the meeting holds the place in the Christian's life that a native court holds in a heathen's life . . . African Friends have a particular fondness of making new disciplinary rules. The Maragoli Friends recently ruled that every young man who marries must stay at home for at least six months after his wedding. If he goes on long trips or to work for the settlers his wife will become lonely and restless and will go back to her people, thus causing much trouble. One of the groups of Kaimosi Monthly Meeting introduced for consideration a rule to the effect that when a girl has refused as many as ten proposals from as many different boys, she should be denied any active part in the church services. As may be imagined, the proposal called forth a vigorous and lengthy discussion. Friends finally³⁷ decided not to pass the proposed rule.

³⁶ Choate, letter to the author.

³⁷ A.F.B.M., Annual Report 1928-29, p. 65.

The above example presents a rather amusing slant upon church democracy in action, but it is, nevertheless, a representative picture of what happens when Quakerism is transplanted to another culture.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL ETHICS

Motivated by the Christian conception of the dignity and worth of every man before God, Friends have striven to teach and practice social concepts in harmony with the teachings of Jesus. The mission field has presented Friends with tremendous opportunities to apply such Quaker principles as the religious significance of all human situations, the importance of every personality, and the measuring of progress in terms of human values instead of by institutional statistics. Not only have they been able to infuse their ideals into the changing scene, but they have been able to aid effectively through small-scale experiments in solving human difficulties.

Objective and Means

The objective of all mission work is to bring individuals into the liberty of the sons of God. Beyond evangelization and teaching the doctrines of Christianity and the church, the Quaker missionary concerns himself with the important task of leading the people into a fuller life through intellectual enlightenment, raising the standards of living, breaking down superstition, training in crafts and industry, providing medical care in many places, etc. This is all based on the premise that every individual and

the kind of life he lives is important. It is further believed that the individual who is made to realize his own true worth is in a position to comprehend something of the value of others' lives and he becomes fit to live with others. The convert of the mission field finds his horizons lifted from the edges of the community surrounding his own little hovel to include a whole world-wide fellowship of believers.

There has been at least one place where the teaching concerning fellowship in Christian love has had practical results; and that is Jamaica. Jamaica has a race problem; the population is made up of Negro, East Indian and White people, and it has not always been easy for them to live harmoniously together. Friends have succeeded, however, in educating their students on this matter by maintaining schools with the races living together in friendly comradeship. Another project in Jamaica has been the Friends College, organized chiefly for training in social welfare work. Here a small group of young men and women have worked together with their teachers in a wholesome comradeship on practical social problems. It is almost the only training of this kind given in Jamaica.¹

Other matters of practical education have included equality of the sexes, especially in lands where the women

¹ Christine Jones, American Friends in World Missions,
p. 137.

have been subjected to degradation and suppression; and opposition to the use of or traffic in various drugs and intoxicating liquors. The traditional Friends' position regarding the taking of oaths has received active support at least in Urundi, where the Friends worked along with other Protestants in obtaining government consent for allowing Protestant Africans to give testimony without taking the usual heathen oath.² The above illustration of the practical means and support of instruction in fundamental Christian ethics represent the kind of testimony which is carried to all the Friends' mission fields.

The Peace Testimony

The traditional viewpoint. The Richmond Declaration of Faith expresses concisely and adequately the Quaker position in regard to peace:

We feel bound explicitly to avow our unshaken persuasion that all war is utterly incompatible with the plain precepts of our divine Lord and Law-giver, and the whole spirit of His Gospel, and that no plea of necessity or policy, however urgent or peculiar, can avail to release either individuals or nations from the paramount allegiance which they owe to Him who hath said, "Love your enemies." (Matt. v. 44, Luke vi. 27). In enjoining this love, and the forgiveness of injuries, He who has bought us to Himself has not prescribed for man precepts which are incapable of being carried into practice, or of which the practice is postponed until all shall be persuaded to set upon them. We cannot doubt that they are incumbent now, and that we have in the prophetic Scriptures the distinct intimation of their direct application not only to individuals, but

² Choate, letter to the author.

to nations also. (Isaiah ii. 4, Micah iv. 1.) When nations conform their laws to this divine teaching, wars must necessarily cease.

We would, in humility, but in faithfulness to our Lord, express our firm persuasion that all the exigencies of civil government and social order may be met under the banner of the Prince of Peace, in strict conformity with His command.³

It should be pointed out, also, that Friends have not regarded the peace testimony as strictly limited to the area of war, but the peace testimony is in its broadest sense used to indicate a way of life based upon forces of love and good will.

On the mission field. The Friends' testimony in regard to war has not received a direct test on many fields, but a few countries have had ample opportunity to put into practice this Friendly principle in specific testimony against violence.

Friends of West China have been faced with the challenge of pacifism as a very real and practical issue; and some members have been able to make a positive witness by their eagerness to serve in the relief of war victims and assistance of refugees. Their yearly meeting epistle in 1939 reported that they had striven "to do all in the spirit of love that can bind up wound without hatred or the perpetration of the strife."⁴ Reports also indicate that peace

³ Discipline of Kansas Yearly Meeting of Friends, p. 41.

⁴ Handbook of the Religious Society of Friends, p. 27.

principles have been stressed and maintained in the Friends College of West China Union University.

During the Cuban revolution of 1931 Gibera became the center for military opposition to the government. Friends were faithful to their testimony during these days. All holders of public office were ordered to sign a statement promising to take up arms in defense of the government in case of emergency. One of the Friends pastors lost his position in the hospital and the postmistress was dismissed because they refused to sign the statement. This position was taken by a number of Friends at the time in spite of the fact that there had not been a great deal of emphasis put upon this matter to the membership at large.⁵ Throughout the militaristic regime Friends in Cuba have maintained their faith in peaceful methods, though strongly tested. Such a stand has been the result of faithful, but not rebid teaching.

One of the most interesting enterprises in peace education was carried out in Japan. Friends' work in Japan from the first carried a strongly social emphasis, and peace was one of the keenest points in this land so long trained to militarism. The peace movement there not only included Friends, but it reached out to touch some other influential men in all departments of life. It was felt that the peace

⁵ A.F.B.M., Annual Report 1931-32, p. 23.

movement of Japan even had some influence in shaping the government policy in its plans for reducing the appropriation for army and navy to the amount of \$45,000,000 in 1908.⁶ The Japan Peace Society was established by Quakers, but the Quakers remained pretty much in the background themselves. In 1912 the work consisted of the following phases: organization of three branches at Kobe, Osaka, and Senadi with a membership of about 800 and including leading business men and educators in these places; the organization of the American Peace Society of Japan, 200 American residents in all parts of Japan and Korea, representing commercial, educational, diplomatic and missionary circles; lecture tours and public meetings; publication of Heiwa, organ of the Japan Peace Society.⁷ Active work was going on in 1914 at the time of sorely strained Japanese-American relations because of California legislation and the anxiety caused by the World War. Gilbert Howles reported that he had daily brought to his notice the confession of individual Japanese Christians as to the difficulty they had in defending Christianity against the assaults of those who pointed to the European war then raging as an

⁶ Friends Missionary Advocate, February, 1909, p. 12.

⁷ A.F.B.F.M., Foreign Mission Work of American Friends, pp. 132-3.

evidence of the ineffectiveness of Christianity.⁸

During the second World War Japanese Friends merged, as did all denominations, with the Japanese Christian Church. However, perhaps the peace education work done in Japan before has not been in vain. In a nationwide release in the fall of 1945 Tamou Maeda, Dr. Nitobe's disciple friend, then recently appointed Minister of Education, said this:

Japan is thoroughly tired of war. From now on with new determination, it is our duty to teach our young people the ideologies of peace, and to train them to become intelligent peace-makers. For this reason we shall welcome with wide-open arms our friends, the Quakers, who through all of history have followed a most difficult, but straight road to peace.⁹

At least this sounds a note of confidence in the Friends, and offers a challenge not to be despised by those who believe in peace education.

Among Bolivians in the Oregon Yearly Meeting field the Christian position in regard to war was complicated by the independent rebellious uprisings against military service of other groups in the country. One of the mission's workers was accused of instigating such a rebellion against military service among the Aymaras because of his position of influence. This man was imprisoned and persecuted, then he was sentenced to go to the front to die. However, he

⁸ A.F.B.F.M., Annual Report, 1914, p. 30.

⁹ The American Friend, 33:483, 1945.

was finally set free without the carrying out of the sentence through what seemed to be the working of Providence.¹⁰ Many of the men were forced to go to the front line in the war with Paraguay in 1863 and either fight in self-defense or submit themselves to brutal killing. They went under protest that Christ taught them to love their enemies.¹¹ All men between the ages of seventeen and thirty-nine were called to service, and some of the mission workers did enter the service as soldiers. Some of those who entered the service could not withstand the persecution and bloodshed, however, and so deserted from the army. There were others who could not muster up the courage to answer the call to arms and take their stand as Conscientious Objectors and they took to hiding.

When Samuel Purdie went to Mexico in 1871 to begin mission work supported by the Friends there, that country was in a transition state of unsettled government with a society in the throes of frequent upheavals, torn by contending political factions. Purdie went there with strong peace convictions, and what he saw in Mexico in the civil war strengthened these convictions. His burning concern was that Mexico needed the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Gospel of peace. In September, 1872, he put out by hand press

¹¹ Minutes of Oregon Yearly Meeting of the Friends Church, 1933, p. 27.

the oldest missionary periodical of Protestants in Mexico,¹² the "El Ramo de Oliva," (The Olive Branch). This little peace education paper went to subscribers in every Spanish speaking country in the world by 1912. The work of Friends in Mexico has been interrupted and hindered by the frequent uprisings during the first half of this century, but the mission has remained alive and today the influence of the education for peace of Friends is being felt through the graduates of Friends schools now serving in public positions.³

Palestinian and American members of the staff in Palestine have been deeply concerned to promote conciliation in that troubled country. During the most difficult periods of unrest Ramallah has been one of the places where an attempt has been made, with no little success, to maintain an atmosphere in which Jews and Arabs could live and work together. Publication of a periodical called "Lighthouse of the East", with peace education objectives has been maintained by the mission staff in Syria.

Though the problem of war was not directly felt by African Friends, the missionaries there have been alert to the possibilities of peace education in its largest sense. The following excerpt from a report of the mission staff

¹² A.F.B.F.M., Foreign Mission Work of American Friends, p. 20.

¹³ Christina Jones, op. cit., p. 107.

of Kenya Colony shows the general attitude on the matter:

We want to be as helpful as possible to the Africans during this war period. Things are very difficult for them to understand (as well as for us!). We would like to give them our convictions of the way of peace and how it could be applied to world conditions. We do try and meanwhile we urge them to live in their meetings, committees, and homes with love and good will to all in their hearts. Many of them have already learned that they can only do this if they have a full and abiding trust in Jesus Christ, but they need much encouragement.¹⁴

A member of the staff in Urundi reports that the World War II did not affect the African church much, but that they had ample opportunity to teach the Quaker doctrine of non-violence as they met the persecution from the opposing religious fanatics in the country.¹⁵

¹⁴ A.F.B.M., Annual Report, 1940-41, p. 8.

¹⁵ Choate, letter to the author.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

It is doubtful that the fundamental religious philosophy of Quakerism could be called absolutely unique, for the spiritual interpretations of Christ's teachings embodied therein have been paralleled by Christian thinkers both before and after George Fox and Robert Barclay, but the relative uniqueness of Quakerism lies in some of the distinct practices through which the Christian faith has been manifested. However, not even all these practices which are considered peculiar to Quakerism can be considered altogether original, as has been pointed out. As a part of the universal Church, the Society of Friends is historically a missionary organization, and the contemporary orthodox Friends in joining with the modern missionary movement most nearly approximate in point of evangelical doctrine and spirit that of George Fox and the early Quakers. The missionary spirit harmonizes with the Friends' belief in the potential spiritual life within every man, with the Friends' high regard for the welfare of every man and the sensitiveness to the command of Christ to love fellow men.

As Friends' traditional faith is in harmony with the evangelical spirit of the missionary movement, so is it also alert to the possibilities and necessities of Christian education. The Friends' emphasis upon the privilege

and responsibility of every Christian to be a member of the body of "the priesthood of believers" demanded a significant consideration of education for everyone as essential. Carried over into evangelistic work among those who have been totally ignorant of Christian teachings, this stress on education of the Christian becomes doubly important. In complete integration, these two phases of labor form the operational basis of Quakerism on the mission field.

In points of unique Quaker practice it has been found that Quakerism abroad is much the same as Quakerism at home. The missionaries have brought to the mission meeting the type of worship service to which they were accustomed, and when there has been a shift from the unprogrammed meeting to the pastoral system it has come through practically the same exigencies as brought the pastoral system into use in America. As with people in Great Britain and America, Christians must be educated into the proper use of the unprogrammed meeting if it is to be effective. The unprogrammed meeting has had possibly as much success as a method of worship for the peoples of other continents as it has had in Great Britain and America, considering the amount of real testing it has received. The fundamental principles of experiential worship and freedom for the leadings of the Holy Spirit in all worshippers have been retained even under the pastoral system, and these principles have been proven to form an effective philosophy of worship.

As to the second phase of unique practices, with the exception of Ohio Yearly Meeting missions, the traditional teachings regarding the outward ordinances have been practiced intact. It is the conclusion of this author that problems connected with Quaker teaching concerning the ordinances have more to do with previous teaching and experience of the people with other Christian missions than with any inherent cultural influences that might have been considered as important factors. In view of the acceptance of the non-ritual Quaker view among converts previous to their contact with the teaching of other Christians it would be difficult to establish any premise as to how much cultural factors have had a part in the predisposition of the native mind to demand the ceremonial element of Christianity. While facing some problems in areas where ritualistic religion has gained something of a foothold, Quakerism has found opportunity for effective work among people of both high and low estate.

The singular system of church government of Quakers has proven particularly adaptable and effective for the developing native church. In specific problems of discipline and organization minor adaptations have been necessitated by the expediencies of maturing organization and social welfare problems. However, these occasional departures from the generally accepted pattern of Quaker practice have come

in the spirit of the underlying philosophy which makes government an organization by the people and for the good of the people.

The social ethic of Quakerism springs from a literal interpretation of the teachings of Jesus. In the missionary movement there has opened to Quakerism a vast field of opportunity for the fullest expression of the fundamental view of the potential worth of man and the importance of individuals in the face of the tremendous needs in pagan societies of other countries. Not only have the Quaker missionaries succeeded in restoring to men a sense of their rightful dignity as potential sons of God, but their converts have shown themselves capable of witnessing to a religious experience which emanates love and transcends hate and war. Largely in proportion to the emphasis given the peace testimony there have been results obtained in the number of converts subscribing to this point of traditional Quaker doctrine.

There have been those religionists who have maintained that the Christianity of the Society of Friends is out of the main stream of Christian thought and practice and her message should be reserved for those who have already reached a certain degree of spiritual maturity. This position is based upon the assumption that for the majority of people the outward forms and an authoritarian church

are essential, that Christ left two simple rites for our universal adoption in recognition of our frailty and our need of reaching spiritual realities through material means. If the above position were correct, there would be a very limited sphere for the Society of Friends in the foreign mission field; and her only function would be in following where Christ has already been preached to give her mystical approach to the few select or spiritually advanced Christians capable of responding and persevering without the aid of external rites. Others have maintained that the Quaker faith with its emphasis upon love and good will is much too far advanced for this age of living and that it is impractical. The evidence that the Friends' social testimony has been found to be effective under many extremely trying circumstances in hostile environments voices strongly an "It can be done."

Quakerism is a mystical approach to Christianity in the sense that it insists upon an immediate inward revelation of God within the sphere of personal experience, a revelation which is not dependent on any outward rite or on the assistance of any person claiming its authority from an earthly source.¹ The surest outward test of the reality

¹ The author recognizes the difficulty posed by the Quaker teaching regarding the "Inner Light" or the inward revelation, and the concomitant dependence upon the authority of the Biblical revelation. This problem has never been fully resolved by Quaker theologians, and it has been the

of the experience of a personal relation with God, then, is the Christian life. It was the belief of the earliest Quakers that there is something of need in all men for this direct, personal experience of God, and that as a result of the experience true Christianity must include all of life in its philosophy through pure social ethics. It would be a gross misunderstanding of the message of the founders of the Society of Friends if we were to regard it as limited to any "prepared" or select group, for to them it was nothing less than primitive Christianity revived, and as such, it must embrace the whole human race. In harmony with this spirit, foreign missions of the Society of Friends represent the traditional Quakerism of George Fox and Robert Barclay. Study of Quaker mission education is both an illumination of fundamental Quakerism in its traditional and primitive form and a vindication of the thesis that its methods are adaptable to the need of "every man."

source of a great deal of confusion and division among Quakers. In actual practice, Fox and Barclay apparently relied upon Biblical authority as fundamental, though they taught that the personal revelation from the Source of revelation is most important; there is a discrepancy here between theory and practice. However, the doctrinal formulations of Barclay and Fox can only be understood in the light of the peculiar conditions against which they were protesting.

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Member of Kansas Yearly Meeting Mission Staff, Urundi, Africa.

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