

## GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM



### THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

It hath been a weighty concern on this meeting, that our ancient and honorable testimony against being concerned in bearing arms, or fighting, may be maintained; it being a doctrine and testimony agreeable to the nature and design of the Christian religion, and to the universal love and grace of God. This testimony, we desire may be strictly and carefully maintained, by a godly care and concern in all to stand clear therein; so shall we strengthen and comfort one another.

We think it necessary earnestly to recommend to monthly meetings, to keep a watchful eye over their members, in this important branch of our Christian testimony; and where any inclination toward such practices appears, that timely admonition and suitable counsel be given, in the spirit of love and meekness. And as we are called out of wars and fightings, so let them be as seldom as possible the subjects of our conversation; but let a holy care rest upon us, to abide in that power which gives dominion over the hopes and fears that arise from the concerns of an unstable world, and tend, as they are admitted into the mind, to lessen the trust on that Rock which is immovable.

It is recommended to the several quarterly and monthly meetings, that all concerned in armed vessels be dealt with according to the minute of 1744; and it is recommended to Friends everywhere, to take into their serious consideration the inconsistency of any under our profession suffering their temporal interest to induce them in any manner to contribute to the purposes of war. If any be concerned in fabricating or selling instruments of war, let them be treated with love; and if by this unreclaimed, let them be further deal with as those whom we cannot own. And we entreat that when warlike preparations are making, Friends be watchful lest any be drawn into loans, arming or letting out their ships or vessels, or otherwise promoting the destruction of the human species.

We feel not inclined, though war yet continues to desolate the earth, to repeat our advices on that head, or to resume the subject further than to remark how thankful we ought to be, in that we are still permitted to meet together, as we have done at this time, in brotherly fellowship and mutual condescension; whilst the world around us is tossed with the tempest of discord. O Friends, may be consider it as an incitement to suffer everything which tends to contention to be eradicated from our hearts; and, under the influence of the heavenly Husbandman, to cultivate, with unwearied assiduity and patience, all those dispositions which make for peace; things whereby we may edify one another; yea, things by which we may evince to our fellow-men at large, that we are really redeemed from the spirit of contests, and truly the disciples of a merciful Redeemer, whose holy, pure, and undefiled religion is a system of universal



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love!

We desire afresh to press upon all our members, the necessity of a peaceful and innocent demeanor amongst men; and especially, let all be careful not to seek or accept profit by any concern in the preparations so extensively making for war: for how reproachfully inconsistent would it be, to refuse all active compliance with warlike measures; and, at the same time, not to hesitate to enrich ourselves by the commerce and other circumstances dependent on war!

Though we meet under the shadow of loyalty oaths, restriction of liberties, conscription, and a governmental policy relying on armed force, we are neither [intimidated] nor fearful. Out of similar conflicts grew Friends' original testimonies, and in the face of these conflicts one of the most searching tests of Friends' principles and way of life today ... will be the extent of our enlightened and dedicated implementation of the peace testimony. Both the inescapable involvement of Friends in a war-making and war-breeding culture and the sense Friends have of responsibility to society lead us to affirm that more is required than the refusal to bear arms, more is demanded than opposition to war. Conscientious objection to evil must be complemented by conscientious projection of God's spirit into affirmative peace action.



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1637

Of the about 3,000 Pequot who remained after the separation of the Mohegan and the decimation caused by the small pox during the winter of 1633-1634, fewer than half would survive the race war with the English which took place during this year, to be sold into [slavery](#) in the Bermudas.

THE SCARLET LETTER: At about the centre of the oaken panels that lined the hall was suspended a suit of mail, not, like the pictures, an ancestral relic, but of the most modern date; for it had been manufactured by a skilful armourer in London, the same year in which Governor Bellingham came over to New England. There was a steel head-piece, a cuirass, a gorget and greaves, with a pair of gauntlets and a sword hanging beneath; all, and especially the helmet and breastplate, so highly burnished as to glow with white radiance, and scatter an illumination everywhere about upon the floor. This bright panoply was not meant for mere idle show, but had been worn by the Governor on many a solemn muster and draining field, and had glittered, moreover, at the head of a regiment in the Pequod war. For, though bred a lawyer, and accustomed to speak of Bacon, Coke, Noye, and Finch, as his professional associates, the exigencies of this new country had transformed Governor Bellingham into a soldier, as well as a statesman and ruler.

According to THE RECORDS OF THE COLONY OF NEW PLYMOUTH IN NEW ENGLAND, THE STORY HOW SAMUEL GORTON FOUGHT IN THE PEQUOT WAR, published in 1855 or 1856 in Boston by Nathaniel Bradstreet Shurtleff, [Samuell Gorton](#) took part in this extermination of the Pequot. (If this source be accurate, and it also be accurate as has been alleged, that later on in life Gorton would find himself in sympathy with [the Quaker Peace Testimony](#) as this testimony was pioneered in 1661 by Friend George Fox and others — then these two circumstances would presumably indicate that Gorton was under the influence of the Friends rather than vice versa.)



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**1652**

June 13, Sunday: Quakerism became a movement when [George Fox](#) converted a large group called the Seekers to his leadership by preaching a long sermon on Pendle Hill in Lancashire. The Seekers were for the most part agricultural workers, yeomen or husbandmen of one form or another who had in the 1640s been in conflict with their landlords over rents and manorial services which they regarded as excessive, or who had been refusing to pay tithes. A tablet on Firbank Fell now reads:

**Let Your Lives Speak**

**Here or near this rock**  
**George Fox**  
**preached to about one thousand seekers**  
**for three hours on Sunday June 13, 1652.**  
**Great power inspired his message**  
**and the meeting proved of first importance**  
**in gathering the Society of Friends known as Quakers.**  
**Many men and women convinced of the truth on this fell**  
**and in other parts of the Northern counties**  
**(of Westmoreland, Cumberland, Lancashire and Yorkshire)**  
**went forth through the land and over the seas**  
**with the living word of the Lord**  
**enduring great hardships**  
**and**  
**winning multitudes to Christ.**

The [Religious Society of Friends](#) would spread rapidly southwards, and by 1655 would have its main centres in Bristol and [London](#), though Quakerism would remain predominantly a rural movement, with local congregations scattered throughout the nation linked only by itinerant “ministers” and by occasional General Meetings. Many of the early [Quakers](#) would soldier in the New Model Army, either as officers or in the ranks, as this new movement would not develop a uniform Peace Testimony until 1661.

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As we travelled we came near a very great hill, called Pendle Hill, and I was moved of the Lord to go up to the top of it; which I did with difficulty, it was so very steep and high. When I was come to the top, I saw the sea bordering upon Lancashire. From the top of this hill the Lord let me see in what places he had a great people to be gathered. As I went down, I found a spring of water in the side of the hill, with which I refreshed myself, having eaten or drunk but little for several days before.

\* At night we came to an inn, and declared truth to the man of the house, and wrote a paper to the priests and professors, declaring the day of the Lord, and that Christ was come to teach people Himself, by His power and Spirit in their hearts, and to bring people off from all the world's ways and teachers, to His own free teaching, who had bought them, and was the Saviour of all them that believed in Him. The man of the house spread the paper abroad, and was mightily affected with the truth. Here the Lord opened unto me, and let me see a great people in white raiment by a river side, coming to the Lord; and the place that I saw them in was about Wensleydale and Sedbergh.

The next day we travelled on, and at night got a little fern or bracken to put under us, and lay upon a common. Next morning we reached a town, where Richard Farnsworth parted from me; and then I travelled alone again. I came up Wensleydale, and at the market-town in that Dale, there was a lecture on the market-day. I went into the steeple-house; and after the priest had done I proclaimed the day of the Lord to the priest and people, warning them to turn from darkness to the Light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they might come to know God and Christ aright, and to receive His teaching, who teacheth freely. Largely and freely did I declare the Word of life unto them, and had not much persecution there.

Afterwards I passed up the Dales, warning people to fear God, and preaching the everlasting gospel to them. In my way I came to a great house, where was a schoolmaster; and they got me into the house. I asked them questions about their religion and worship; and afterwards I declared the truth to them. They had me into a parlour, and locked me in, pretending that I was a young man that was mad, and had run away from my relations; and that they would keep me till they could send to them. But I soon convinced them of their mistake, and they let me forth, and would have had me to stay; but I was not to stay there.

Then having exhorted them to repentance, and directed them to the Light of Christ Jesus, that through it they might come unto Him and be saved, I passed from them, and came in the night to a little ale-house on a common, where there was a company of rude fellows drinking. Because I would not drink with them, they struck me with their clubs; but I reproved them, and brought them to be somewhat cooler; and then I walked out of the house upon the common in the night.

After some time one of these drunken fellows came out, and would have come close up to me, pretending to whisper to me; but I perceived he had a knife; and therefore I kept off him, and bade him repent, and fear God. So the Lord by His power preserved me from this wicked man; and he went into the house again.



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*The next morning I went on through other Dales, warning and exhorting people everywhere as I passed, to repent and turn to the Lord: and several were convinced. At one house that I came to, the man of the house (whom I afterwards found to be a kinsman of John Blakelin's) would have given me money, but I would not receive it.*

*The next day I went to a meeting at Justice Benson's, where I met a people that were separated from the public worship. This was the place I had seen, where a people came forth in white raiment. A large meeting it was, and the people were generally convinced; and they continue still a large meeting of Friends near Sedbergh; which was then first gathered through my ministry in the name of Jesus.*

*In the same week there was a great fair, at which servants used to be hired; and I declared the day of the Lord through the fair. After I had done so, I went into the steeple-house yard, and many of the people of the fair came thither to me, and abundance of priests and professors. There I declared the everlasting truth of the Lord and the Word of life for several hours, showing that the Lord was come to teach His people Himself, and to bring them off from all the world's ways and teachers, to Christ, the true teacher, and the true way to God. I laid open their teachers, showing that they were like them that were of old condemned by the prophets, and by Christ, and by the apostles. I exhorted the people to come off from the temples made with hands; and wait to receive the Spirit of the Lord, that they might know themselves to be the temples of God.*

*Not one of the priests had power to open his mouth against what I declared: but at last a captain said, "Why will you not go into the church? this is not a fit place to preach in." I told him I denied their church. Then stood up Francis Howgill, who was preacher to a congregation. He had not seen me before; yet he undertook to answer that captain; and he soon put him to silence. Then said Francis Howgill of me, "This man speaks with authority, and not as the scribes."*

*After this, I opened to the people that that ground and house were no holier than another place; and that the house is not the Church, but the people, of whom Christ is the head. After awhile the priests came up to me, and I warned them to repent. One of them said I was mad; so they turned away. But many were convinced there that day, who were glad to hear the truth declared, and received it with joy. Amongst these was Captain Ward, who received the truth in the love of it, and lived and died in it.*

GEORGE FOX



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*The next First-day I came to Firbank chapel in Westmoreland, where Francis Howgill and John Audland had been preaching in the morning. The chapel was full of people, so that many could not get in. Francis said he thought I looked into the chapel, and his spirit was ready to fail, the Lord's power did so surprise him: but I did not look in. They made haste, and had quickly done, and they and some of the people went to dinner; but abundance stayed till they came again. John Blakelin and others came to me, and desired me not to reprove them publicly; for they were not parish-teachers, but pretty tender men. I could not tell them whether I should or no, though I had not at that time any drawings to declare publicly against them; but I said they must leave me to the Lord's movings.*

*While others were gone to dinner, I went to a brook, got a little water, and then came and sat down on the top of a rock hard by the chapel. In the afternoon the people gathered about me, with several of their preachers. It was judged there were above a thousand people; to whom I declared God's everlasting truth and Word of life freely and largely for about the space of three hours. I directed all to the Spirit of God in themselves; that they might be turned from darkness to Light, and believe in it; that they might become the children of it, and might be turned from the power of Satan unto God, and by the Spirit of truth might be led into all truth, and sensibly understand the words of the prophets, of Christ, and of the apostles; and might all come to know Christ to be their teacher to instruct them, their counsellor to direct them, their shepherd to feed them, their bishop to oversee them, and their prophet to open divine mysteries to them; and might know their bodies to be prepared, sanctified, and made fit temples for God and Christ to dwell in. In the openings of heavenly life I explained unto them the prophets, and the figures and shadows, and directed them to Christ, the substance. Then I opened the parables and sayings of Christ, and things that had been long hid.*

*\* Now there were many old people who went into the chapel and looked out at the windows, thinking it a strange thing to see a man preach on a hill, and not in their church, as they called it; whereupon I was moved to open to the people that the steeple-house, and the ground whereon it stood were no more holy than that mountain; and that those temples, which they called the dreadful houses of God were not set up by the command of God and of Christ; nor their priests called, as Aaron's priesthood was; nor their tithes appointed by God, as those amongst the Jews were; but that Christ was come, who ended both the temple and its worship, and the priests and their tithes; and that all should now hearken unto Him; for He said, "Learn of me"; and God said of Him, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye Him."*

*I declared unto them that the Lord God had sent me to preach the everlasting gospel and Word of life amongst them, and to bring them off from all these temples, tithes, priests, and rudiments of the world, which had been instituted since the apostles' days, and had been set up by such as had erred from the Spirit and power the apostles were in. Very largely was I opened at this meeting, and the Lord's convincing power accompanied my ministry, and reached the hearts of the people, whereby many were convinced; and all the teachers of that congregation (who were many) were convinced of God's everlasting truth.*



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At Kendal a meeting was held in the Town-hall. Several were convinced and many were loving. One whose name was Cock met me in the street and would have given me a roll of tobacco, for people were then much given to smoking. I accepted his love, but did not receive his tobacco.

Thence I went to Underbarrow, and several people going along with me, great reasonings I had with them, especially with Edward Burrough.

At night the priest and many professors came to the house; and a great deal of disputing I had with them. Supper being provided for the priest and the rest of the company, I had not freedom to eat with them; but told them that if they would appoint a meeting for the next day at the steeple-house, and acquaint the people with it, I might meet them. They had a great deal of reasoning about it; some being for, and some against it.

\* In the morning, after I had spoken to them again concerning the meeting, as I walked upon a bank by the house, there came several poor travellers, asking relief, who I saw were in necessity; and they gave them nothing, but said they were cheats. It grieved me to see such hard-heartedness amongst professors; whereupon, when they were gone in to their breakfast, I ran after the poor people about a quarter of a mile, and gave them some money.

Meanwhile some that were in the house, coming out, and seeing me a quarter of a mile off, said I could not have gone so far in such an instant, if I had not had wings. Hereupon the meeting was like to have been put by; for they were filled with such strange thoughts concerning me that many of them were against having a meeting with me.

I told them that I had run after those poor people to give them some money; being grieved at the hardheartedness of those who gave them nothing.

Then came Miles and Stephen Hubbersty, who, being more simple-hearted men, would have the meeting held. So to the chapel I went, and the priest came.

A great meeting there was, and the way of life and salvation was opened; and after awhile the priest fled away. Many of Crook and Underbarrow were convinced that day, received the Word of life, and stood fast in it under the teaching of Christ Jesus.

After I had declared the truth to them for some hours, and the meeting was ended, the chief constable and some other professors fell to reasoning with me in the chapel yard. Whereupon I took a Bible and opened the Scriptures, and dealt tenderly with them, as one would do with a child. They that were in the Light of Christ and Spirit of God knew when I spake Scripture, though I did not mention chapter and verse, after the priest's form, to them.

Then I went to an ale-house, to which many resorted betwixt the time of their morning and afternoon preaching, and had a great deal of reasoning with the people, declaring to them that God was come to teach His people, and to bring them off from the false teachers, such as the prophets, Christ, and the apostles cried against. Many received the Word of life at that time, and abode in it.

GEORGE FOX



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Thence I went to Ulverstone, and so to Swarthmore to Judge Fell's; whither came up one Lampitt, a priest, who was a high notionist. With him I had much reasoning; for he talked of high notions and perfection, and thereby deceived the people. He would have owned me, but I could not own nor join with him, he was so full of filth. He said he was above John; and made as though he knew all things. But I told him that death reigned from Adam to Moses; that he was under death, and knew not Moses, for Moses saw the paradise of God; but he knew neither Moses nor the prophets nor John; for that crooked and rough nature stood in him, and the mountain of sin and corruption; and the way was not prepared in him for the Lord.

He confessed he had been under a cross in things; but now he could sing psalms, and do anything. I told him that now he could see a thief, and join hand in hand with him; but he could not preach Moses, nor the prophets, nor John, nor Christ, except he were in the same Spirit that they were in.

Margaret Fell had been absent in the day-time; and at night her children told her that priest Lampitt and I had disagreed, which somewhat troubled her, because she was in profession with him; but he hid his dirty actions from them. At night we had much reasoning, and I declared the truth to her and her family. The next day Lampitt came again, and I had much discourse with him before Margaret Fell, who then clearly discerned the priest. A convincement of the Lord's truth came upon her and her family.

Soon after a day was to be observed for a humiliation, and Margaret Fell asked me to go with her to the steeple-house at Ulverstone, for she was not wholly come off from them. I replied, "I must do as I am ordered by the Lord." So I left her, and walked into the fields; and the Word of the Lord came to me, saying, "Go to the steeple-house after them."

When I came, Lampitt was singing with his people; but his spirit was so foul, and the matter they sung so unsuitable to their states, that after they had done singing, I was moved of the Lord to speak to him and the people. The word of the Lord to them was, "He is not a Jew that is one outwardly, but he is a Jew that is one inwardly, whose praise is not of man, but of God."

As the Lord opened further, I showed them that God was come to teach His people by His Spirit, and to bring them off from all their old ways, religions, churches, and worships; for all their religions, worships, and ways were but talking with other men's words; but they were out of the life and Spirit which they were in who gave them forth.

Then cried out one, called Justice Sawrey, "Take him away"; but Judge Fell's wife said to the officers, "Let him alone; why may not he speak as well as any other?" Lampitt also, the priest, in deceit said, "Let him speak." So at length, when I had declared some time, Justice Sawrey caused the constable to put me out; and then I spoke to the people in the graveyard.

GEORGE FOX



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*From thence I went into the island of Walney; and after the priest had done I spoke to him, but he got away. Then I declared the truth to the people, but they were something rude. I went to speak with the priest at his house, but he would not be seen. The people said he went to hide himself in the haymow; and they looked for him there, but could not find him. Then they said he was gone to hide himself in the standing corn, but they could not find him there either. I went to James Lancaster's, in the island, who was convinced, and from thence returned to Swarthmore, where the Lord's power seized upon Margaret Fell, her daughter Sarah, and several others.*

*Then I went to Baycliff, where Leonard Fell was convinced, and became a minister of the everlasting gospel. Several others were convinced there, and came into obedience to the truth. Here the people said they could not dispute; and would fain have put some other to hold talk with me; but I bade them fear the Lord, and not in a light way hold a talk of the Lord's words, but put the things in practice.*

*I directed them to the Divine Light of Christ, and His Spirit in their hearts, which would let them see all the evil thoughts, words, and actions that they had thought, spoken, and acted; by which Light they might see their sin, and also their Saviour Christ Jesus to save them from their sins. This I told them was their first step to peace, even to stand still in the Light that showed them their sins and transgressions; by which they might come to see they were in the fall of old Adam, in darkness and death, strangers to the covenant of promise, and without God in the world; and by the same Light they might see Christ that died for them to be their Redeemer and Saviour, and their way to God.*

*Soon after, Judge Fell being come home, Margaret Fell, his wife, sent to me, desiring me to return thither; and feeling freedom from the Lord so to do, I went back to Swarthmore. I found the priests and professors, and that envious Justice Sawrey, had much incensed Judge Fell and Captain Sands against the truth by their lies; but when I came to speak with him I answered all his objections, and so thoroughly satisfied him by the Scriptures that he was convinced in his judgment. He asked me if I was that George Fox of whom Justice Robinson spoke so much in commendation amongst many of the Parliament men? I told him I had been with Justice Robinson, and with Justice Hotham in Yorkshire, who were very civil and loving to me; and that they were convinced in their judgment by the Spirit of God that the principle to which I bore testimony was the truth; and they saw over and beyond the priests of the nation, so that they, and many others, were now come to be wiser than their teachers.*

*After we had discoursed some time together, Judge Fell himself was satisfied also, and came to see, by the openings of the Spirit of God in his heart, over all the priests and teachers of the world, and did not go to hear them for some years before he died: for he knew it was the truth that I declared, and that Christ was the teacher of His people, and their Saviour. He sometimes wished that I were a while with Judge Bradshaw to discourse with him.*





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*There came to Judge Fell's Captain Sands before-mentioned, endeavouring to incense the Judge against me, for he was an evil-minded man, and full of envy against me; and yet he could speak high things, and use the Scripture words, and say, "Behold, I make all things new." But I told him, then he must have a new God, for his God was his belly. Besides him came also that envious justice, John Sawrey. I told him his heart was rotten, and he was full of hypocrisy to the brim. Several other people also came, of whose states the Lord gave me a discerning; and I spoke to their conditions. While I was in those parts, Richard Farnsworth and James Nayler came to see me and the family; and Judge Fell, being satisfied that it was the way of truth, notwithstanding all their opposition, suffered the meeting to be kept at his house. A great meeting was settled there in the Lord's power, which continued near forty years, until the year 1690, when a new meeting-house was erected near it.*

*On the market-day I went to Lancaster, and spoke through the market in the dreadful power of God, declaring the day of the Lord to the people, and crying out against all their deceitful merchandise. I preached righteousness and truth unto them, which all should follow after, walk and live in, directing them how and where they might find and receive the Spirit of God to guide them thereinto.*

*After I had cleared myself in the market, I went to my lodging, whither several people came; and many were convinced who have since stood faithful to the truth.*

*The First-day following, in the forenoon, I had a great meeting in the street at Lancaster, amongst the soldiers and people, to whom I declared the Word of life, and the everlasting truth. I opened unto them that all the traditions they had lived in, all their worships and religions, and the profession they made of the Scriptures, were good for nothing while they lived out of the life and power which those were in who gave forth the Scriptures. I directed them to the Light of Christ, the heavenly man, and to the Spirit of God in their own hearts, that they might come to be acquainted with God and Christ, receive Him for their teacher, and know His kingdom set up in them.*

*In the afternoon I went to the steeple-house at Lancaster, and declared the truth to the priest and people, laying open before them the deceit they lived in, and directing them to the power and Spirit of God which they wanted. But they haled me out, and stoned me along the street till I came to John Lawson's house.*

*Another First-day I went to a steeple-house by the waterside, where one Whitehead was priest. To him and to the people I declared the truth in the dreadful power of God. There came a doctor so full of envy that he said he could find it in his heart to run me through with his rapier, though he were hanged for it the next day; yet this man came afterwards to be convinced of the truth so far as to be loving to Friends. Some were convinced thereabouts who willingly sat down under the ministry of Christ, their teacher; and a meeting was settled there in the power of God, which has continued to this day.*

GEORGE FOX  
JAMES NAYLER



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*After this I returned into Westmoreland, and spoke through Kendal on a market-day. So dreadful was the power of God upon me, that people flew like chaff before me into their houses. I warned them of the mighty day of the Lord, and exhorted them to hearken to the voice of God in their own hearts, who was now come to teach His people Himself. When some opposed, many others took my part. At last some fell to fighting about me; but I went and spoke to them, and they parted again. Several were convinced.*

*After I had travelled up and down in those countries, and had had great meetings, I came to Swarthmore again. And when I had visited Friends in those parts, I heard of a great meeting the priests were to have at Ulverstone, on a lecture-day. I went to it, and into the steeple-house in the dread and power of the Lord. When the priest had done, I spoke among them the Word of the Lord, which was as a hammer, and as a fire amongst them. And though Lampitt, the priest of the place, had been at variance with most of the priests before, yet against the truth they all joined together. But the mighty power of the Lord was over all; and so wonderful was the appearance thereof, that priest Bennett said the church shook, insomuch that he was afraid and trembled. And when he had spoken a few confused words he hastened out for fear it should fall on his head. Many priests got together there; but they had no power as yet to persecute.*

*When I had cleared my conscience towards them, I went up to Swarthmore again, whither came four or five of the priests. Coming to discourse, I asked them whether any one of them could say he had ever had the word of the Lord to go and speak to such or such a people. None of them durst say he had; but one of them burst out into a passion and said that he could speak his experiences as well as I.*

*I told him experience was one thing; but to receive and go with a message, and to have a Word from the Lord, as the prophets and apostles had had and done, and as I had done to them, this was another thing. And therefore I put it to them again, "Can any of you say you have ever had a command or word from the Lord immediately at any time?" but none of them could say so.*

*Then I told them that the false prophets, the false apostles, and the antichrists, could use the words of the true prophets, the true apostles, and of Christ, and would speak of other men's experiences, though they themselves never knew or heard the voice of God or Christ; and that such as they might obtain the good words and experiences of others. This puzzled them much, and laid them open.*

GEORGE FOX





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At another time, when I was discoursing with several priests at Judge Fell's house, and he was by, I asked them the same question, — whether any of them had ever heard the voice of God or Christ, to bid him go to such and such a people, to declare His word or message unto them. Any one, I told them, that could but read, might declare the experiences of the prophets and apostles, which were recorded in the Scriptures. Thereupon Thomas Taylor, an ancient priest, did ingenuously confess before Judge Fell that he had never heard the voice of God, nor of Christ, to send him to any people; but that he spoke his experiences, and the experiences of the saints in former ages, and that he preached. This very much confirmed Judge Fell in the persuasion he had that the priests were wrong; for he had thought formerly, as the generality of people then did, that they were sent from God.

Now began the priests to rage more and more, and as much as they could to stir up persecution. James Nayler and Francis Howgill were cast into prison in Appleby jail, at the instigation of the malicious priests, some of whom prophesied that within a month we should be all scattered again, and come to nothing. But, blessed for ever be the worthy name of the Lord, His work went on and prospered; for about this time John Audland, Francis Howgill, John Camm, Edward Burrough, Richard Hubberthorn, Miles Hubbersty, and Miles Halhead, with several others, being endued with power from on high, came forth in the work of the ministry, and approved themselves faithful labourers therein, travelling up and down, and preaching the gospel freely; by means whereof multitudes were convinced, and many effectually turned to the Lord.

On a lecture-day I was moved to go to the steeple-house at Ulverstone, where were abundance of professors, priests, and people. I went near to priest Lampitt, who was blustering on in his preaching. After the Lord had opened my mouth to speak, John Sawrey, the justice, came to me and said that if I would speak according to the Scriptures, I should speak. I admired him for speaking so to me, and told him I would speak according to the Scriptures, and bring the Scriptures to prove what I had to say; for I had something to speak to Lampitt and to them. Then he said I should not speak, contradicting himself, for he had said just before that I should speak if I would speak according to the Scriptures. The people were quiet, and heard me gladly, till this Justice Sawrey (who was the first stirrer-up of cruel persecution in the north) incensed them against me, and set them on to hale, beat, and bruise me. But now on a sudden the people were in a rage, and fell upon me in the steeple-house before his face, knocked me down, kicked me, and trampled upon me. So great was the uproar, that some tumbled over their seats for fear. At last he came and took me from the people, led me out of the steeple-house, and put me into the hands of the constables and other officers, bidding them whip me, and put me out of the town. They led me about a quarter of a mile, some taking hold by my collar, some by my arms and shoulders; and they shook and dragged me along.

GEORGE FOX



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*Many friendly people being come to the market, and some to the steeple-house to hear me, diverse of these they knocked down also, and broke their heads so that the blood ran down from several; and Judge Fell's son running after to see what they would do with me, they threw him into a ditch of water, some of them crying, "Knock the teeth out of his head." When they had haled me to the common moss-side, a multitude following, the constables and other officers gave me some blows over my back with their willow rods, and thrust me among the rude multitude, who, having furnished themselves with staves, hedge-stakes, holm or holly bushes, fell upon me, and beat me on my head, arms, and shoulders, till they had deprived me of sense; so that I fell down upon the wet common.*

*When I recovered again, and saw myself lying in a watery common, and the people standing about me, I lay still a little while, and the power of the Lord sprang through me, and the eternal refreshings revived me; so that I stood up again in the strengthening power of the eternal God, and stretching out my arms toward them, I said, with a loud voice, "Strike again; here are my arms, my head, and my cheeks."*

*There was in the company a mason, a professor, but a rude fellow, who with his walking rule-staff gave me a blow with all his might just over the back of my hand, as it was stretched out; with which blow my hand was so bruised, and my arm so benumbed, that I could not draw it to me again. Some of the people cried, "He hath spoiled his hand for ever having the use of it any more." But I looked at it in the love of God (for I was in the love of God to all that persecuted me), and after awhile the Lord's power sprang through me again, and through my hand and arm, so that in a moment I recovered strength in my hand and arm in the sight of them all.*

*Then they began to fall out among themselves. Some of them came to me, and said that if I would give them money they would secure me from the rest. But I was moved of the Lord to declare the Word of life, and showed them their false Christianity, and the fruits of their priest's ministry, telling them that they were more like heathens and Jews than true Christians.*

*Then was I moved of the Lord to come up again through the midst of the people, and go into Ulverstone market. As I went, there met me a soldier, with his sword by his side. "Sir," said he to me, "I see you are a man, and I am ashamed and grieved that you should be thus abused"; and he offered to assist me in what he could. I told him that the Lord's power was over all; and I walked through the people in the market, none of whom had power to touch me then. But some of the market people abusing some Friends in the market, I turned about, and saw this soldier among them with his naked rapier; whereupon I ran, and, catching hold of the hand his rapier was in, bid him put up his sword again if he would go along with me.*

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About two weeks after this I went into Walney island, and James Nayler went with me. We stayed one night at a little town on this side, called Cockan, and had a meeting there, where one was convinced.

After a while there came a man with a pistol, whereupon the people ran out of doors. He called for me; and when I came out to him he snapped his pistol at me, but it would not go off. This caused the people to make a great bustle about him; and some of them took hold of him, to prevent his doing mischief. But I was moved in the Lord's power to speak to him; and he was so struck by the power of the Lord that he trembled for fear, and went and hid himself. Thus the Lord's power came over them all, though there was a great rage in the country.

Next morning I went over in a boat to James Lancaster's. As soon as I came to land there rushed out about forty men with staves, clubs, and fishing-poles, who fell upon me, beating and punching me, and endeavouring to thrust me backward into the sea. When they had thrust me almost into the sea, and I saw they would knock me down in it, I went up into the midst of them; but they laid at me again, and knocked me down, and stunned me.

\* When I came to myself, I looked up and saw James Lancaster's wife throwing stones at my face, and her husband, James Lancaster, was lying over me, to keep the blows and the stones off me. For the people had persuaded James Lancaster's wife that I had bewitched her husband, and had promised her that if she would let them know when I came thither they would be my death. And having got knowledge of my coming, many of the town rose up in this manner with clubs and staves to kill me; but the Lord's power preserved me, that they could not take away my life.

At length I got up on my feet, but they beat me down again into the boat; which James Lancaster observing, he presently came into it, and set me over the water from them; but while we were on the water within their reach they struck at us with long poles, and threw stones after us. By the time we were come to the other side, we saw them beating James Nayler; for whilst they had been beating me, he walked up into a field, and they never minded him till I was gone; then they fell upon him, and all their cry was, "Kill him, kill him."

When I was come over to the town again, on the other side of the water, the townsmen rose up with pitchforks, flails, and staves, to keep me out of the town, crying, "Kill him, knock him on the head, bring the cart; and carry him away to the churchyard." So after they had abused me, they drove me some distance out of the town, and there left me.

Then James Lancaster went back to look after James Nayler; and I being now left alone, went to a ditch of water, and having washed myself (for they had besmeared my face, hands, and clothes with miry dirt), I walked about three miles to Thomas Hutton's house, where lodged Thomas Lawson, the priest that was convinced.

When I came in I could hardly speak to them, I was so bruised; only I told them where I left James Nayler. So they took each of them a horse, and went and brought him thither that night. The next day Margaret Fell hearing of it, sent a horse for me; but I was so sore with bruises, I was not able to bear the shaking of the horse without much pain.

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*When I was come to Swarthmore, Justice Sawrey, and one Justice Thompson, of Lancaster, granted a warrant against me; but Judge Fell coming home, it was not served upon me; for he was out of the country all this time that I was thus cruelly abused. When he came home he sent forth warrants into the isle of Walney, to apprehend all those riotous persons; whereupon some of them fled the country.*

*James Lancaster's wife was afterwards convinced of the truth, and repented of the evils she had done me; and so did others of those bitter persecutors also; but the judgments of God fell upon some of them, and destruction is come upon many of them since. Judge Fell asked me to give him a relation of my persecution; but I told him they could do no otherwise in the spirit wherein they were, and that they manifested the fruits of their priest's ministry, and their profession and religion to be wrong. So he told his wife I made light of it, and that I spoke of it as a man that had not been concerned; for, indeed, the Lord's power healed me again.*

*The time for the sessions at Lancaster being come, I went thither with Judge Fell, who on the way told me he had never had such a matter brought before him before, and he could not well tell what to do in the business. I told him, when Paul was brought before the rulers, and the Jews and priests came down to accuse him, and laid many false things to his charge, Paul stood still all that while. And when they had done, Festus, the governor, and king Agrippa, beckoned to him to speak for himself; which Paul did, and cleared himself of all those false accusations, so he might do with me.*

*Being come to Lancaster, Justice Sawrey and Justice Thompson having granted a warrant to apprehend me, though I was not apprehended by it, yet hearing of it, I appeared at the sessions, where there appeared against me about forty priests. These had chosen one Marshall, priest of Lancaster, to be their orator; and had provided one young priest, and two priests' sons, to bear witness against me, who had sworn beforehand that I had spoken blasphemy*

*When the justices were sat, they heard all that the priests and their witnesses could say and charge against me, their orator Marshall sitting by, and explaining their sayings for them. But the witnesses were so confounded that they discovered themselves to be false witnesses; for when the court had examined one of them upon oath, and then began to examine another, he was at such loss he could not answer directly, but said the other could say it. Which made the justices say to him, "Have you sworn it, and given it in already upon your oath, and now say that he can say it? It seems you did not hear those words spoken yourself, though you have sworn it."*

*There were then in court several who had been at that meeting, wherein the witnesses swore I spoke those blasphemous words which the priests accused me of; and these, being men of integrity and reputation in the country, did declare and affirm in court that the oath which the witnesses had taken against me was altogether false; and that no such words as they had sworn against me were spoken by me at that meeting. Indeed, most of the serious men of that side of the country, then at the sessions, had been at that meeting; and had heard me both at that and at other meetings also.*



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*This was taken notice of by Colonel West, who, being a justice of the peace, was then upon the bench; and having long been weak in body, blessed the Lord and said that He had healed him that day; adding that he never saw so many sober people and good faces together in all his life. Then, turning himself to me, he said in the open sessions, "George, if thou hast anything to say to the people, thou mayest freely declare it."*

*I was moved of the Lord to speak; and as soon as I began, priest Marshall, the orator for the rest of the priests, went his way. That which I was moved to declare was this: that the holy Scriptures were given forth by the Spirit of God; and that all people must come to the Spirit of God in themselves in order to know God and Christ, of whom the prophets and apostles learnt: and that by the same Spirit all men might know the holy Scriptures. For as the Spirit of God was in them that gave forth the Scriptures, so the same Spirit must be in all them that come to understand the Scriptures. By this Spirit they might have fellowship with the Father, with the Son, with the Scriptures, and with one another: and without this Spirit they can know neither God, Christ, nor the Scriptures, nor have a right fellowship one with another.*

*I had no sooner spoken these words than about half a dozen priests, that stood behind me, burst into a passion. One of them, whose name was Jackus, amongst other things that he spake against the Truth, said that the Spirit and the letter were inseparable. I replied, "Then every one that hath the letter hath the Spirit; and they might buy the Spirit with the letter of the Scriptures."*

*This plain discovery of darkness in the priest moved Judge Fell and Colonel West to reprove them openly, and tell them that according to that position they might carry the Spirit in their pockets as they did the Scriptures. Upon this the priests, being confounded and put to silence, rushed out in a rage against the justices, because they could not have their bloody ends upon me. The justices, seeing the witnesses did not agree, and perceiving that they were brought to answer the priests' envy, and finding that all their evidences were not sufficient in law to make good their charge against me, discharged me.*

*After Judge Fell had spoken to Justice Sawrey and Justice Thompson concerning the warrant they had given forth against me, and showing them the errors thereof, he and Colonel West granted a supersedeas to stop the execution of it. Thus I was cleared in open sessions of those lying accusations which the malicious priests had laid to my charge: and multitudes of people praised God that day, for it was a joyful day to many. Justice Benson, of Westmoreland, was convinced; and Major Ripan, mayor of the town of Lancaster, also.*

*It was a day of everlasting salvation to hundreds of people: for the Lord Jesus Christ, the way to the Father, the free Teacher, was exalted and set up; His everlasting gospel was preached, and the Word of eternal life was declared over the heads of the priests, and all such lucrative preachers. For the Lord opened many mouths that day to speak His Word to the priests, and several friendly people and professors reprov'd them in their inns, and in the streets, so that they fell, like an old rotten house: and the cry was among the people that the Quakers had got the day, and the priests were fallen.*



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1657

Friends [John Perrot](#) and [John Luffe \(Love\)](#) traveled on the [Italian](#) peninsula to convert [Catholics](#) and Jews to [Quakerism](#). Eventually they would seek an audience with Pope Alexander VII at the Vatican in [Rome](#) and be imprisoned.

In this year [Friend George Fox](#) is said to have written in reproach to an aged and failing [Oliver Cromwell](#): “O Oliver, hadst thou been faithful and thundered down the deceit, the Hollander had been thy subject and tributary, Germany had given up to have done thy will, and the Spaniard had quivered like a dry leaf wanting the virtue of God, the King of France should have bowed his neck under thee, the Pope should have withered as in winter, the Turk in all of his fatness should have smoked, thou shouldst not have stood trifling about small things, but minded the work of the Lord as He began with thee at first.”



Some Quakers have taken this to mean that Friend George was rebuking Cromwell for not having had English soldiers adorn their armor with the big red cross of the Crusader, and gone off on a 5th Crusade against Islam, and have offered this as a limitation on the early understanding of [the Quaker Peace Testimony](#): that the testimony was at this early point entirely compatible with the use of war as an instrument of the monarch. My own contention would be, however, that when Friend George wrote “O Oliver, hadst thou been faithful and thundered down the deceit,” he was writing a phrase that is to us at the very least indefinite, or ambiguous. Precisely what would it be for a person to be faithful as Friend George proposed? Being faithful does not, of course, intrinsically, involve armies and shedding the blood of others, for one can on occasion be faithful even when one has no army at one’s disposal and even when one is refusing to shed the blood of others. Exactly what is it for a person to thunder down deceit as Friend George proposed? Thundering down deceit does not, of course, intrinsically, involve the use of cannon and gunpowder, for one can on occasion thunder down deceit, even if one is out of gunpowder and all one’s cannon have become Quaker cannon, fallen entirely silent. So if one is going to insist that when Friend George told the Lord Protector that “the Turk in all of his fatness should have smoked” what he meant was that that Cromwell should have sent the English army off on a 5th Crusade to kill so many of them that the ones still alive would fear the Lord Protector and do his will,<sup>1</sup> one is going to have to admit also that by the same token, “the Hollander had been thy subject and tributary” would have meant that Cromwell should have killed so many Hollanders that the ones still alive would fear him and do his will, and one is going to have to admit also that by the same token, “Germany had given up to have done thy will” would have meant that Cromwell should have killed so many Germans that the ones still alive would fear him and do his will, and one is going to have to admit also that by the same token, “the Spaniard had quivered like a dry leaf wanting the virtue of God” would have meant that Cromwell should have killed so many Spaniards that the ones still alive would fear him and do his will, and one is going to have to admit also that by the same token, “the King of France should have bowed his neck under thee” would have meant that

1. Note that Friend Mary Fisher’s missionary voyage to the court of the Great Turk was at this point an entirely unknown and unimagined, because future, event.





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Cromwell should have killed so many Frenchmen that the ones still alive would fear him and do his will, and one is going to have to admit also that by the same token, “the Pope should have withered as in winter” would have meant that Cromwell should have killed so many Roman Catholics that the ones still alive would fear him and do his will. What a spasm of 17th-Century conquest and bloodshed and terror this Quaker of today seems to suppose Friend George to have been imagining! But this is preposterous. Friend George certainly was not suggesting to Lord Protector Cromwell that he should have played Alexander the Great and conquered the known world. Had he meant that he would have said that. Where might any Quaker scholar have acquired such a conceit? And why would a Quaker now be furthering such a conceit?

Please notice once and for all that the phrase “O Oliver, hadst thou been faithful and thundered down the deceit” is consistent also with an attitude that if Lord Protector Cromwell had studied to make himself a man of the spirit of God rather than a man of violence, he would have had a greater and more lasting influence upon his fellows, rather than experiencing, as he was, in his declining years, that for all the blood he had caused to be shed his life had produced no lasting benefit.





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**1658**

March 3, Wednesday (1657, Old Style): The government of the United Colonies had officially warned the government of [Rhode Island](#), that if it continued to harbor [Quakers](#), a trade embargo would be declared. In their response, the government of Rhode Island promised to be vigilant against Quakerism, but pointed out to the general colonial government that there was a “liberty of conscience” clause in their colonial charter which would somewhat limit what they could do against this conscientious folk. They promised that if any of them should refuse to turn out for militia training, or should refuse to stand watch — they would promptly report such behavior to the government in England. (We can safely infer from this, that the Quakers of Rhode Island, affected by the Peace Testimony, were having difficulty with the idea of bearing arms in the militia.)

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)



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## [90] An act for y<sup>e</sup> Better Regulating y<sup>e</sup> Militia & for Punishing offend<sup>ers</sup> as Shall not Conform to y<sup>e</sup> Laws there unto Relating

*Bee it Encted* by y<sup>e</sup> hon<sup>ble</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Gouer<sup>er</sup> Councill & house of Representatives in this P<sup>re</sup>sent Sessions assembled & by y<sup>e</sup> Authority thereof it is hereby Enacted y<sup>t</sup> aft<sup>r</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Publication of this Act y<sup>t</sup> if any p<sup>er</sup>son or persons Listed Und<sup>r</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Co<sup>m</sup>mand of any Cap<sup>t</sup> or Commad<sup>er</sup> in Cheif of y<sup>e</sup> Militia Shall or do not appear Compleat in armes (Viz<sup>th</sup>) w<sup>th</sup> A Good & Sufficient muskett or Fuze a Sword or Bayenet, Catooch box or Bandelers w<sup>th</sup> twelve Bulets fitt for his Peice half a Pound of Powder & Six good Flints Upon y<sup>e</sup> Precise Training Days already p<sup>re</sup>fixt as well as when there Rspective Cap<sup>ts</sup> or Co<sup>m</sup>mand<sup>ers</sup> in Cheif Shall call them Togeather Either by Allarum or any oth<sup>er</sup> time or times as Shall by their s<sup>d</sup> Command<sup>ers</sup> be thought fitt & Expedient for his maj<sup>ties</sup> Interest During y<sup>e</sup> Times of Warr & if any p<sup>er</sup>son or p<sup>er</sup>sons Listed &c Shall neglect their Respective Dutys & due Obedience & not appear in Manner Afores<sup>d</sup> Shall forfeit for Each neglect on y<sup>e</sup> Days Appointed for Training or Oth<sup>er</sup> Meetings in Armes y<sup>e</sup> Sum of Thre Shillings in money w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Due Fees Arising thereon & for non Appearance or neglect on any Larum y<sup>e</sup> Sum of five Shilling w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Due Fees Arising thereon to be taken by Distraint or otherwise as y<sup>e</sup> fines for non apperance on y<sup>e</sup> Training Days are to be Taken

....

[92] *And Bee it Further Enacted*  
That y<sup>e</sup> Respective Cap<sup>t</sup> & Co<sup>m</sup>ission officers of Each Respective Company or Train band in this Colony have full Pow<sup>er</sup> & authority during y<sup>e</sup> time of their being in Armes on y<sup>e</sup> training Days or on Allarums or Upon any oth<sup>er</sup> occasion w<sup>h</sup>soev<sup>er</sup> to Punish any Private Sentinall y<sup>t</sup> Shall Misbehaue him self w<sup>th</sup> Laying him Neck & Heels or Riding y<sup>e</sup> wooden horse or A fine not Exceeding fore Shillings at y<sup>e</sup> Discrefion of s<sup>d</sup> Commision Officers notw<sup>th</sup>standing y<sup>e</sup> Afore recited Acts Relateing y<sup>e</sup> militia it Shall be in y<sup>e</sup> pow<sup>er</sup> & Authority of y<sup>e</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> & Co<sup>m</sup>ission officers of Each Respective train Bands in this Colony if any P<sup>er</sup>sons as they Shall Iudg realy Conscientious being w<sup>th</sup>in their list & y<sup>t</sup> they Cannot bare arm's in y<sup>e</sup> Times of Allarums &c y<sup>t</sup> if y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> p<sup>er</sup>sons being So Conscientious be any ways Serviceable in makeing Discoverys or Riding upon any Expedition or any thing Elce y<sup>t</sup> may be Iudged Conuenient for y<sup>e</sup> Preferuation of his maj<sup>estys</sup> Interest y<sup>t</sup> it Shall be then in y<sup>e</sup> Pow<sup>er</sup> of s<sup>d</sup> Cap<sup>ts</sup> or Co<sup>m</sup>ission officers as afores<sup>d</sup> to remit y<sup>e</sup> fine or fines Imposed for their not appearing in Arms accord<sup>ing</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> Afore p<sup>re</sup>mised Act



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

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1659

Friend [George Fox](#) sent off an Epistle advising [Friends](#) to pay their taxes to rulers who are to keep the peace, for the advantage of Truth, in order to safeguard their liberty. Friend George's epistle was entitled "All Friends Everywhere, Who are Dead to Carnal Weapons":

### THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

*All Friends everywhere, who are dead to all carnal weapons, and have beaten them to pieces, stand in that which takes away the occasion of wars, in the power which saves men's lives, and destroys none, nor would have others. And as for the rulers, that are to keep peace, for peace's sake, and the advantage of truth, give them their tribute. But to bear and carry carnal weapons to fight with, the men of peace, (which live in that which takes away the occasion of wars,) they cannot act in such things under the several powers; but have paid tribute. Which they may do still for peace sake, and not hold back the earth, but go over it; and in so doing, Friends may better claim their liberty.*

G.F.



*George Fox*



**QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

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**1660**



The council on Barbados, the island that would be called by a Quaker missionary “the nursery of truth,” enacted that any citizen who refused service in the militia was to be fined “five hundred pounds of sugar for the first offense,” and then a thousand pounds of sugar for each subsequent failure to appear for a militia muster. The offender was to be jailed until his fine was paid. There was to be no exemption for those tender of conscience, such as those afflicted with [Quakerism](#).

**CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE**

**THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**



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1661

The Clarendon Code: the "Cavalier" Parliament of King [Charles II](#) enacted a series of repressive laws against the English Nonconformists. (Meanwhile, on the opposite side of the globe, the English were acquiring Bombay.) During this year and the following one, Friend [George Fox](#) would be experiencing many labors, dangers, and sufferings:

*I stayed at Pall-Mall, intending to be at the meeting there; but on Seventh-day night a company of troopers came and knocked at the door. The servant let them in. They rushed into the house, and laid hold of me; and, there being amongst them one that had served under the Parliament, he put his hand to my pocket and asked whether I had any pistol. I told him, "You know I do not carry pistols, why, therefore, ask such a question of me, whom you know to be a peaceable man?"*

*Others of the soldiers ran into the chambers, and there found in bed Esquire Marsh, who, though he was one of the King's bedchamber, out of his love to me came and lodged where I did. When they came down again they said, "Why should we take this man away with us. We will let him alone."*

*"Oh," said the Parliament soldier, "he is one of the heads, and a chief ringleader."*

*Upon this the soldiers were taking me away, but Esquire Marsh, hearing of it, sent for him that commanded the party, and desired him to let me alone, for he would see me forthcoming in the morning.*

*In the morning, before they could fetch me, and before the meeting was gathered, there came a company of foot soldiers to the house, and one of them, drawing his sword, held it over my head. I asked him why he drew his sword at an unarmed man, at which his fellows, being ashamed, bade him put up his sword.*

*These foot soldiers took me away to Whitehall before the troopers came for me.*

*As I was going out several Friends were coming in to the meeting. I commended their boldness and cheerfulness, and encouraged them to persevere therein.*

*When I was brought to Whitehall, the soldiers and people were exceedingly rude, yet I declared Truth to them. But some great persons came by, who were very full of envy. "Why," said they, "do ye let him preach? Put him into a place where he may not stir."*

*So into such a place they put me, and the soldiers watched over me. I told them that, though they could confine my body and shut that up, yet they could not stop the Word of life. Some came and asked me what I was. I told them, "A preacher of righteousness."*

*After I had been kept there two or three hours, Esquire Marsh spoke to Lord Gerrard, and he came and bade them set me at liberty. The marshal, when I was discharged, demanded fees. I told him I could not give him any, neither was it our practice; and I asked him how he could demand fees of me, who was innocent.*



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*Then I went through the guards, the Lord's power being over them; and, after I had declared Truth to the soldiers, I went up the streets with two Irish colonels that came from Whitehall to an inn where many Friends were at that time prisoners under a guard. I desired these colonels to speak to the guard to let me go in to visit my friends that were prisoners there; but they would not. Then I stepped up to the sentry, and desired him to let me go up; and he did so.*

*While I was there the soldiers went again to Pall-Mall to search for me; but not finding me they turned towards the inn, and bade all come out that were not prisoners; so they went out. But I asked the soldiers that were within whether I might not stay there a while with my friends. They said, "Yes." I stayed, and so escaped their hands again. Towards night I went to Pall-Mall, to see how it was with the Friends there; and, after I had stayed a while, I went up into the city.*

*Great rifling of houses there was at this time to search for people. I went to a private Friend's house, and Richard Hubberthorn was with me. There we drew up a declaration against plots and fightings, to be presented to the King and Council; but when finished, and sent to print, it was taken in the press.*

*On this insurrection of the Fifth-monarchy men, great havoc was made both in city and country, so that it was dangerous for sober people to stir abroad for several weeks after. Men or women could hardly go up and down the streets to buy provisions for their families without being abused. In the country they dragged men and women out of their houses, and some sick men out of their beds by the legs. Nay, one man in a fever, the soldiers dragged out of bed to prison, and when he was brought there he died. His name was Thomas Pachyn.*

*Margaret Fell went to the King and told him what sad work there was in the city and nation, and showed him we were an innocent, peaceable people, and that we must keep our meetings as heretofore, whatever we suffered; but that it concerned him to see that peace was kept, that no innocent blood might be shed.*

*The prisons were now everywhere filled with Friends and others, in the city and country, and the posts were so laid for the searching of letters that none could pass unsearched. We heard of several thousands of our Friends that were cast into prison in several parts of the nation, and Margaret Fell carried an account of them to the King and Council. The next week we had an account of several thousands more that were cast into prison, and she went and laid them also before the King and Council. They wondered how we could have such intelligence, seeing they had given such strict charge for the intercepting of all letters; but the Lord did so order it that we had an account notwithstanding all their stoppings.*

FOX'S JOURNAL

*George Fox*





QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

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Soon after the King gave forth a proclamation that no soldiers should search any house without a constable. But the jails were still full, many thousands of Friends being in prison; which mischief was occasioned by the wicked rising of the Fifth-monarchy men. But when those that were taken came to be executed, they did us the justice to clear us openly from having any hand in or knowledge of their plot.

After that, the King being continually importuned thereunto, issued a declaration that Friends should be set at liberty without paying fees. But great labour, travail, and pains were taken before this was obtained; for Thomas Moore and Margaret Fell went often to the King about it.

\* Much blood was shed this year, many of the old King's judges being hung, drawn and quartered. Amongst them that so suffered, Colonel Hacker was one. He had sent me prisoner from Leicester to London in Oliver's time, of which an account is given before. A sad day it was, and a repaying of blood with blood. For in the time of Oliver Cromwell, when several men were put to death by him, being hung, drawn and quartered for pretended treasons, I felt from the Lord God that their blood would be required; and I said as much then to several.

And now, upon the King's return, several that had been against him were put to death, as the others that were for him had been before by Oliver. This was sad work, destroying people; contrary to the nature of Christians, who have the nature of lambs and sheep. But there was a secret hand in bringing this day upon that hypocritical generation of professors, who, being got into power, grew proud, haughty, and cruel beyond others, and persecuted the people of God without pity.

When Friends were under cruel persecutions and sufferings in the Commonwealth's time, I was moved of the Lord to write to Friends to draw up accounts of their sufferings, and lay them before the justices at their sessions; and if they would not do justice, then to lay them before the judges at the assize; and if they would not do justice, then to lay them before the Parliament, the Protector and his Council, that they might all see what was done under their government; and if they would not do justice, then to lay it before the Lord, who would hear the cries of the oppressed, and of the widows and fatherless whom they had made so.

FOX'S JOURNAL:

George Fox



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

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### GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

*For that for which we suffered, and for which our goods were spoiled, was our obedience to the Lord in His Power and His Spirit. He was able to help and to succour, and we had no helper in the earth but Him. And He heard the cries of His people, and brought an overflowing scourge over the heads of all our persecutors, which brought a dread and a fear amongst and on them all. So that those who had nicknamed us (who are the children of Light) and in scorn called us Quakers, the Lord made to quake; and many of them would have been glad to hide themselves amongst us; and some of them, through the distress that came upon them, did at length come to confess to the Truth.*

*Many ways were these professors warned, by word, by writing, and by signs; but they would believe none till it was too late. William Sympson was moved of the Lord to go at several times for three years naked and barefooted before them, as a sign to them, in markets, courts, towns, cities, to priests' houses, and to great men's houses, telling them, "So shall ye be stripped naked as I am stripped naked!" And sometimes he was moved to put on hair-sackcloth, and to besmear his face, and to tell them, "So will the Lord God besmear all your religion as I am besmeared."*

*Great sufferings did that poor man undergo, sore whippings with horse-whips and coach-whips on his bare body, grievous stoning and imprisonments, in three years' time, before the King came in, that they might have taken warning; but they would not, and rewarded his love with cruel usage. Only the mayor of Cambridge did nobly to him, for he put his gown about him and took him into his house.*

*Another Friend, Robert Huntingdon, was moved of the Lord to go into Carlisle steeple-house with a white sheet about him, amongst the great Presbyterians and Independents there, to show them that the surplice was coming up again; and he put an halter about his neck to show them that an halter was coming upon them; which was fulfilled upon some of our persecutors not long after.*

*Another, Richard Sale, living near Westchester, being constable of the place where he lived, had sent to him with a pass a Friend whom those wicked professors had taken up for a vagabond, because he travelled up and down in the work of the ministry. This constable, being convinced by the Friend thus brought to him, gave him his pass and liberty, and was afterwards himself cast into prison.*

*After this, on a lecture-day, Richard Sale was moved to go to the steeple-house in the time of their worship, and to carry those persecuting priests and people a lantern and candle, as a figure of their darkness. But they cruelly abused him, and like dark professors as they were put him into their prison called Little Ease [this was a hole hewed in a rock with a door fitted over the hole, generally seven inches deep but at the shoulders eight inches and at the chest nine and a half inches, seventeen inches wide and a yard and a half high but with a device to lessen this height for purposes of torture], and so squeezed his body therein that not long after he died.*



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Although those Friends that had been imprisoned on the rising of the Fifth-monarchy men were set at liberty, meetings were much disturbed, and great sufferings Friends underwent. For besides what was done by officers and soldiers, many wild fellows and rude people often came in.

One time when I was at Pall-Mall there came an ambassador with a company of Irishmen and rude fellows. The meeting was over before they came, and I was gone into a chamber, where I heard one of them say that he would kill all the Quakers. I went down to him, and was moved in the power of the Lord to speak to him. I told him, "The law said, 'An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth'; but thou threateneth to kill all the Quakers, though they have done thee no hurt. But," said I, "here is gospel for thee: here is my hair, here is my cheek, and here is my shoulder," turning it to him. This so overcame him that he and his companions stood as men amazed, and said that if that was our principle, and if we were as we said, they never saw the like in their lives. I told them that what I was in words, I also was in my life. Then the ambassador who stood without, came in; for he said that this Irish colonel was a desperate man that he durst not come in with him for fear he should do us some mischief. But Truth came over the Irish colonel, and he carried himself lovingly towards us; as also did the ambassador; for the Lord's power was over them all.

At Mile-End Friends were kept out of their meeting-place by soldiers, but they stood nobly in the Truth, valiant for the Lord's name; and at last the Truth gave them dominion.

\* About this time we had an account that John Love, a Friend that was moved to go and bear testimony against the idolatry of the Papists, was dead in prison at Rome; it was suspected he was privately put to death. Also before this time we received account from New England that the government there had made a law to banish the Quakers out of their colonies, upon pain of death in case they returned; that several of our Friends, having been so banished and returning, were thereupon taken and actually hanged, and that diverse more were in prison, in danger of the like sentence being executed upon them. When those were put to death I was in prison at Lancaster, and had a perfect sense of their sufferings as though it had been myself, and as though the halter had been put about my own neck, though we had not at that time heard of it.

As soon as we heard of it, Edward Burrough went to the King and told him that there was a vein of innocent blood opened in his dominions which, if it were not stopped, would overrun all. To this the King replied, "But I will stop that vein." Edward Burrough said, "Then do it speedily for we know not how many may soon be put to death." The King answered, "As speedily as ye will. Call," (said he to some present) "the secretary, and I will do it presently."

The secretary being called, a mandamus was forthwith granted. A day or two after, Edward Burrough going again to the King to desire the matter might be expedited, the King said he had no occasion at present to send a ship thither, but if we would send one we might do it as soon as we would. Edward then asked the King if it would please him to grant his deputation to one called a Quaker to carry the mandamus to New England. He said, "Yes, to whom ye will."





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Whereupon Edward Burrough named Samuel Shattuck, who, being an inhabitant of New England, was banished by their law, to be hanged if he came again; and to him the deputation was granted. Then he sent for Ralph Goldsmith, an honest Friend, who was master of a good ship, and agreed with him for three hundred pounds (goods or no goods) to sail in ten days. He forthwith prepared to set sail, and with a prosperous gale, in about six weeks' time, arrived before the town of Boston in New England, upon a First-day morning.

With him went many passengers, both of New and Old England, Friends, whom the Lord moved to go to bear their testimony against those bloody persecutors, who had exceeded all the world in that age in their bloody persecutions.

The townsmen at Boston, seeing a ship come into the bay with English colours, soon came on board and asked for the captain. Ralph Goldsmith told them he was the commander. They asked him if he had any letters. He said, "Yes." They asked if he would deliver them. He said, "No; not to-day."

So they went ashore and reported that there was a ship full of Quakers, and that Samuel Shattuck, who they knew was by their law to be put to death if he came again after banishment, was among them, but they knew not his errand nor his authority. [Friend [Mary Dyer](#), Friend [William Ledra](#), Friend [Marmaduke Stevenson](#), and Friend [William Robinson](#) had already been executed.]

So all were kept close that day, and none of the ship's company suffered to go on shore. Next morning Samuel Shattuck, the King's deputy, and Ralph Goldsmith, went on shore, and, sending back to the ship the men that landed them, they two went through the town to Governor John Endicott's door, and knocked. He sent out a man to know their business. They sent him word that their business was from the King of England, and that they would deliver their message to no one but the Governor himself.

Thereupon they were admitted, and the Governor came to them; and having received the deputation and the mandamus, he put off his hat and looked upon them. Then, going out, he bade the Friends follow him. He went to the deputy-governor, and after a short consultation came out to the Friends, and said, "We shall obey his majesty's commands."

After this the master gave liberty to the passengers to come on shore, and presently the noise of the business flew about the town; and the Friends of the town and the passengers of the ship met together to offer up their praises and thanksgivings to God, who had so wonderfully delivered them from the teeth of the devourer.

While they were thus met, in came a poor Friend, who, being sentenced by their bloody law to die, had lain some time in irons expecting execution. This added to their joy, and caused them to lift up their hearts in high praise to God, who is worthy for ever to have the praise, the glory, and the honour; for He only is able to deliver, to save, and support all that sincerely put their trust in Him.



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*Here follows a copy of the mandamus.*

*CHARLES R.*

*Trusty and well-beloved, We greet you well. Having been informed that several of our subjects amongst you, called Quakers, have been and are imprisoned by you, whereof some have been executed, and others (as hath been represented unto us) are in danger to undergo the like, we have thought fit to signify our pleasure in that behalf for the future; and do hereby require that if there be any of those people called Quakers amongst you, now already condemned to suffer death or other corporal punishment, or that are imprisoned and obnoxious to the like condemnation, you are to forbear to proceed any further therein; but that you forthwith send the said persons (whether condemned or imprisoned) over into this our kingdom of England, together with the respective crimes or offenses laid to their charge, to the end that such course may be taken with them here as shall be agreeable to our laws and their demerits. And for so doing, these our letters shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge. Given at our court at Whitehall the ninth day of September, 1661, in the 13th year of our reign. Subscribed: To our trusty and well-beloved John Endicott, Esquire, and to all and every other the Governor or governors of our plantations of New England, and of all the colonies thereunto belonging, that now are or hereafter shall be, and to all and every the ministers and officers of our plantations and colonies whatsoever within the continent of New England.*

*By his majesty's command, WILLIAM MORRIS.*

*Some time after this several New England magistrates came over, with one of their priests. We had several discourses with them concerning their murdering our Friends, the servants of the Lord; but they were ashamed to stand to their bloody actions.*

*On one of these occasions I asked Simon Broadstreet, one of the New England magistrates, whether he had not had a hand in putting to death those four servants of God, whom they hung only for being Quakers, as they had nicknamed them. He confessed that he had. I then asked him and the rest of his associates that were present whether they would acknowledge themselves to be subject to the laws of England; and if they did, by what laws they had put our Friends to death. They said they were subject to the laws of England, and had put our Friends to death by the same law that the Jesuits were put to death in England.*

*I asked them then whether they believed those Friends of ours whom they had put to death were Jesuits or jesuitically affected. They said, "Nay." "Then," said I, "ye have murdered them, if ye have put them to death by the law by which Jesuits are put to death here in England, and yet confess they were no Jesuits. By this it plainly appears ye have put them to death in your own wills, without any law."*



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*Then Simon Broadstreet, finding himself and his company ensnared by their own words, asked if we came to catch them. I told them they had caught themselves and might justly be questioned for their lives; and if the father of William Robinson, one of them that were put to death, were in town, it was probable he would question them, and bring their lives into jeopardy.*

*Here they began to excuse themselves, saying, "There is no persecution now amongst us." But next morning we had letters from New England telling us that our Friends were persecuted there afresh. We went again and showed them our letters, which put them both to silence and to shame; and in great fear they seemed to be lest some one should call them to account and prosecute them for their lives. Especially was Simon Broadstreet fearful; for he had before so many witnesses confessed that he had a hand in putting our Friends to death, that he could not get off from it; though he afterwards through fear shuffled, and would have unsaid it again. After this, he and the rest soon returned to New England again.*

*I went also to Governor Winthrop, and discoursed with him on these matters. He assured me that he had no hand in putting our Friends to death, or in any way persecuting them; but was one of them that protested against it.*

*About this time I lost a very good book, being taken in the printer's hands; it was a useful teaching work, containing the signification and explanation of names, parables, types, and figures in the Scriptures. They who took it were so affected with it, that they were loth to destroy it; but thinking to make a great advantage of it, they would have let us have it again, if we would have given them a great sum of money for it; which we were not free to do.*

*Before this, while I was prisoner in Lancaster Castle, the book called the "Battledore" was published, which was written to show that in all languages Thou and Thee is the proper and usual form of speech to a single person; and You to more than one. This was set forth in examples or instances taken from the Scriptures, and books of teaching, in about thirty languages. J. Stubbs and Benjamin Furly took great pains in compiling it, which I set them upon; and some things I added to it.*

**FOX'S JOURNAL:**

Here is the title page of this "Battledore" which Fox was describing:

A BATTLE-DOOR FOR TEACHERS & PROFESSORS TO LEARN SINGULAR AND PLURAL; YOU TO MANY, AND THOU TO ONE: SINGULAR ONE, THOU; PLURAL MANY, YOU, WHEREIN IS SHEWED FORTH BY GRAMMAR, OR SCRIPTURE EXAMPLES, HOW SEVERAL NATIONS AND PEOPLE HAVE MADE A DISTINCTION BETWEEN SINGULAR AND PLURAL, AND FIRST. IN THE FORMER PART OF THIS BOOK, CALLED THE ENGLISH BATTLE-DOOR, MAY BE SEEN HOW SEVERAL PEOPLE HAVE SPOKEN SINGULAR AND PLURAL, AS THE APHARSATHKITES THE TARPELITES, THE APHARSITES, THE ARCHEVITES, THE BABYLONIANS, THE SUSANCHITES, THE DEHAVITES, THE ELAMITES, THE TEMANITES, THE NAOMITES, THE SHUITES, THE BUZITES, THE MOABITES, THE HEVITES, THE EDMITES, THE PHILISTINES, THE AMALEKITES, THE SODOMITES, THE HITTITES, THE MIDIANITES, &c. ALSO, IN THIS BOOK IS SET FORTH EXAMPLES OF THE SINGULAR AND PLURAL ABOUT THOU, AND YOU IN SEVERAL LANGUAGES DIVIDED INTO DISTINCT BATTLE-DOORS, OR FORMS, OR EXAMPLES; ENGLISH, LATINE,



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ITALIAN, GREEK, HEBREW, CALDEC, SYRIACK, ARABICK, PERSIACK, ETHIOPICK, SAMARITAN, COPTICK OR EGYPTICK, ARMENIAN, SAXON, WELCH, MENCE, CORNISH, FRENCH, SPANISH, PORTUGAL, HIGH-DUTCH, LOW DUTCH, DANISH, BOHEMIAN, SLAVONIAN, AND HOW EMPERORS AND OTHERS HAVE USED THE SINGULAR WORD TO ONE; AND HOW THE WORD YOU (TO ONE) CAME FIRST FROM THE POPE. LIKEWISE SOME EXAMPLES, IN THE POLONIAN, LITHVANIEN, IRISH AND EAST-INDIAN, TOGETHER WITH THE SINGULAR AND PLURAL WORDS THOU AND YOU, IN SWEDISH, TURKISH, MUSCOVIAN AND CURLANDIAN TONGUES, — IN THE LATTER PART OF THIS BOOK ARE CONTAINED SEVERAL BAD UNSAVOURY WORDS GATHERED FIRST FOR CERTAIN SCHOOL BOOKS, WHICH HAVE BEEN TAUGHT BOYES IN ENGLAND, WHICH IS A ROD AND A WHIP TO THE SCHOOL MASTERS IN ENGLAND AND ELSEWHERE WHO TEACH SUCH BOOKS. GEO. FOX, JNO. STUBBS, BENJAMIN FURLEY. London: Printed for Robt. Wilson, and are to be sold at his Shop at the Signe of the Black-Spread-Eagle and Wind-Mil in Martins le Grand 1660.]



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*When it was finished, copies were presented to the King and his Council, to the Bishops of Canterbury and London, and to the two universities one each; and many purchased them. The King said it was the proper language of all nations; and the Bishop of Canterbury, being asked what he thought of it, was at a stand, and could not tell what to say to it. For it did so inform and convince people, that few afterwards were so rugged toward us for saving Thou and Thee to a single person, for which before they were exceedingly fierce against us.*

*Thou and Thee was a sore cut to proud flesh, and them that sought self-honour, who, though they would say it to God and Christ, could not endure to have it said to themselves. So that we were often beaten and abused, and sometimes in danger of our lives, for using those words to some proud men, who would say, "What! you ill-bred clown, do you Thou me?" as though Christian breeding consisted in saying You to one; which is contrary to all their grammars and teaching books, by which they instructed their youth.*

*About this time many Papists and Jesuits began to fawn upon Friends, and talked up and down where they came, that of all the sects the Quakers were the best and most self-denying people; and they said it was great pity that they did not return to the Holy Mother Church. Thus they made a buzz among the people, and said they would willingly discourse with Friends. But Friends were loth to meddle with them, because they were Jesuits, looking upon it to be both dangerous and scandalous.*

*But when I understood it, I said to Friends, "Let us discourse with them, be they what they will." So a time being appointed at Gerrard Roberts's, there came two of them like courtiers. They asked our names, which we told them; but we did not ask their names, for we understood they were called Papists, and they knew we were called Quakers.*

*I asked them the same question that I had formerly asked a Jesuit, namely, whether the Church of Rome was not degenerated from the Church in the primitive times, from the Spirit, power, and practice that they were in in the Apostles' times? He to whom I put this question, being subtle, said he would not answer it. I asked him why. But he would show no reason. His companion said he would answer me; and said that they were not degenerated from the Church in the primitive times. I asked the other whether he was of the same mind. He said, "Yes."*

*\* Then I replied that, for the better understanding one of another, and that there might be no mistake, I would repeat my question over again after this manner: "Is the Church of Rome now in the same purity, practice, power, and Spirit that the Church in the Apostles' time was in?" When they saw we would be exact with them, they flew off and denied that, saying it was presumption in any to say they had the same power and Spirit which the Apostles had.*

*I told them it was presumption in them to meddle with the words of Christ and His Apostles, and make people believe they succeeded the Apostles, yet be forced to confess they were not in the same power and Spirit that the Apostles were in. "This," said I, "is a spirit of presumption, and rebuked by the Apostles' spirit."*



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*I showed them how different their fruits and practices were from the fruits and practices of the Apostles.*

*Then got up one of them, and said, "Ye are a company of dreamers." "Nay," said I, "ye are the filthy dreamers, who dream ye are the Apostles' successors, and yet confess ye have not the same power and Spirit which the Apostles were in. And are not they defilers of the flesh who say it is presumption for any to say they have the same power and Spirit which the Apostles had? Now," said I, "if ye have not the same power and Spirit which the Apostles had, then it is manifest that ye are led by another power and spirit than that by which the Apostles and Church in the primitive times were led."*

*Then I began to tell them how that evil spirit by which they were led had led them to pray by beads and to images, and to set up nunneries, friaries, and monasteries, and to put people to death for religion; which practices I showed them were below the law, and far short of the gospel, in which is liberty.*

*They were soon weary of this discourse, and went their way, and gave a charge, as we heard, to the Papists, that they should not dispute with us, nor read any of our books.*

*\* So we were rid of them; but we had reasonings with all the other sects, Presbyterians, Independents, Seekers, Baptists, Episcopal men, Socinians, Brownists, Lutherans, Calvinists, Arminians, Fifth-monarchy men, Familists, Muggletonians, and Ranters; none of which would affirm that they had the same power and Spirit that the Apostles had and were in; so in that power and Spirit the Lord gave us dominion over them all.*

*As for the Fifth-monarchy men I was moved to give forth a paper, to manifest their error to them; for they looked for Christ's personal coming in an outward form and manner, and fixed the time to the year 1666; at which time some of them prepared themselves when it thundered and rained, thinking Christ was then come to set up His kingdom, and they imagined they were to kill the whore without them.*

*But I told them that the whore was alive in them, and was not burned with God's fire, nor judged in them with the same power and Spirit the Apostles were in; and that their looking for Christ's coming outwardly to set up His kingdom was like the Pharisees' "Lo here," and "Lo there." But Christ was come, and had set up His kingdom above sixteen hundred years ago, according to Nebuchadnezzar's dream and Daniel's prophecy, and He had dashed to pieces the four monarchies, the great image, with its head of gold, breast and arms of silver, belly and thighs of brass, legs of iron, and its feet part of iron part of clay; and they were all blown away with God's wind, as the chaff in the summer threshing-floor.*

*And I told them that when Christ was on earth, He said His kingdom was not of this world; if it had been, His servants would have fought; but it was not, therefore His servants did not fight. Therefore all the Fifth-monarchy men that are fighters with carnal weapons are none of Christ's servants, but the beast's and the whore's. Christ said, "All power in heaven and in earth is given to me"; so then His kingdom was set up above sixteen hundred years ago, and He reigns. "And we see Jesus Christ reign," said the Apostle, "and He shall reign till all things be put under His feet"; though all things are not yet put under His feet, nor subdued.*





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*This year several Friends were moved to go beyond the seas, to publish Truth in foreign countries. John Stubbs, and Henry Fell, and Richard Costrop were moved to go towards China and Prester John's country [Abyssinia]; but no masters of ships would carry them. With much ado they got a warrant from the King; but the East India Company found ways to avoid it, and the masters of their ships would not carry them.*

*Then they went into Holland, hoping to get passage there, but none could they get there either. Then John Stubbs and Henry Fell took shipping for Alexandria, in Egypt, intending to go thence by the caravans. Meanwhile Daniel Baker, being moved to go to Smyrna, drew Richard Costrop, contrary to his own freedom, to go along with him; and in the passage, Richard falling sick, Daniel Baker left him so in the ship, where he died; but that hard-hearted man afterwards lost his own condition.*

*John Stubbs and Henry Fell reached Alexandria; but they had not been long there before the English consul banished them; yet before they came away, they dispersed many books and papers for opening the principles and way of Truth to the Turks and Grecians. They gave the book called, "The Pope's Strength Broken," to an old friar, for him to give or send to the Pope. When the friar had perused it he placed his hand on his breast and confessed, "What is written therein is truth; but," said he, "if I should confess it openly, they would burn me."*

*John Stubbs and Henry Fell, not being suffered to go further, returned to England, and came to London again. John had a vision that the English and Dutch, who had joined together not to carry them, would fall out one with the other; and so it came to pass.*

*Among the exercises and troubles that Friends had from without, one was concerning Friends' marriages, which sometimes were called in question. In this year there happened to be a cause tried at the assize at Nottingham concerning a Friend's marriage.*

*The case was thus: Some years before two Friends were joined together in marriage amongst Friends, and lived together as man and wife about two years. Then the man died, leaving his wife with child, and leaving an estate in lands of copyhold. When the woman was delivered, the jury presented the child heir to its father's lands, and accordingly the child was admitted; afterwards another Friend married the widow. After that a person near of kin to her former husband brought his action against the Friend who had last married her, endeavoring to dispossess them, and deprive the child of the inheritance, and to possess himself thereof as next heir to the woman's first husband. To effect this he endeavoured to prove the child illegitimate, alleging that the marriage was not according to law.*

*In opening the cause the plaintiff's counsel used unseemly words concerning Friends, saying that "they went together like brute beasts," with other ill expressions. After the counsel on both sides had pleaded the Judge (viz., Judge Archer) took the matter in hand, and opened it to them, telling them, "There was a marriage in paradise when Adam took Eve and Eve took Adam, and it was the consent of the parties that made a marriage." And for the Quakers, he said, he did not know their opinions; but he did not believe they went together as brute beasts, as had been said of them, but as Christians; and therefore he did believe the marriage was lawful, and the child lawful heir.*



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*The better to satisfy the jury he brought them a case to this purpose: "A man that was weak of body and kept his bed, had a desire in that condition to marry, and did declare before witnesses that he did take such a woman to be his wife, and the woman declared that she took that man to be her husband. This marriage was afterwards called in question, and all the bishops did conclude it to be a lawful marriage."*

*Hereupon the jury gave in their verdict for the Friend's child against the man that would have deprived it of its inheritance.*

*Now, there being very many [not less than 4,500] Friends in prison in the nation, Richard Hubberthorn and I drew up a paper concerning them, and got it delivered to the King, that he might understand how we were dealt with by his officers. It was directed thus:*

*FOR THE KING:*

*FRIEND, Who art the chief ruler of these dominions, here is a list of some of the sufferings of the people of God, in scorn called Quakers, that have suffered under the changeable powers before thee, by whom there have been imprisoned, and under whom there have suffered for good conscience' sake, and for bearing testimony to the truth as it is in Jesus, three thousand one hundred and seventy-three persons; and there lie yet in prison, in the name of the Commonwealth, seventy-three persons that we know of. And there died in prison in the time of the Commonwealth, and of Oliver and Richard the Protectors, through cruel and hard imprisonments, upon nasty straw and in dungeons, thirty-two persons. There have been also imprisoned in thy name, since thy arrival, by such as thought to ingratiate themselves thereby with thee, three thousand sixty and eight persons. Besides this our meetings are daily broken up by men with clubs and arms, though we meet peaceably, according to the practice of God's people in the primitive times, and our Friends are thrown into waters, and trodden upon, till the very blood gushes out of them; the number of which abuses can hardly be uttered.*

*Now this we would have of thee, to set them at liberty that lie in prison in the names of the Commonwealth, and of the two Protectors, and them that lie in thy own name, for speaking the truth, and for good conscience' sake, who have not lifted up a hand against thee or any man; and that the meetings of our Friends, who meet peaceably together in the fear of God, to worship Him, may not be broken up by rude people with their clubs, swords, and staves. One of the greatest things that we have suffered for formerly was, because we could not swear to the Protectors and all the changeable governments; and now we are imprisoned because we cannot take the oath of allegiance. Now, if our yea be not yea, and nay, nay, to thee, and to all men upon the earth, let us suffer as much for breaking that, as others do for breaking an oath.*





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*We have suffered these many years, both in lives and estates, under these changeable governments, because we cannot swear, but obey Christ's doctrine, who commands we should not 'swear at all,' and this we seal with our lives and estates, with our yea and nay, according to the doctrine of Christ. Hearken to these things, and so consider them in the wisdom of thy God that by it such actions may be stopped; thou that hast the government, and mayst do it. We desire all that are in prison may be set at liberty, and that for the time to come they may not be imprisoned for conscience' and for the Truth's sake. If thou question the innocency of their sufferings, let them and their accusers be brought before thee, and we shall produce a more particular and full account of their sufferings, if required.*

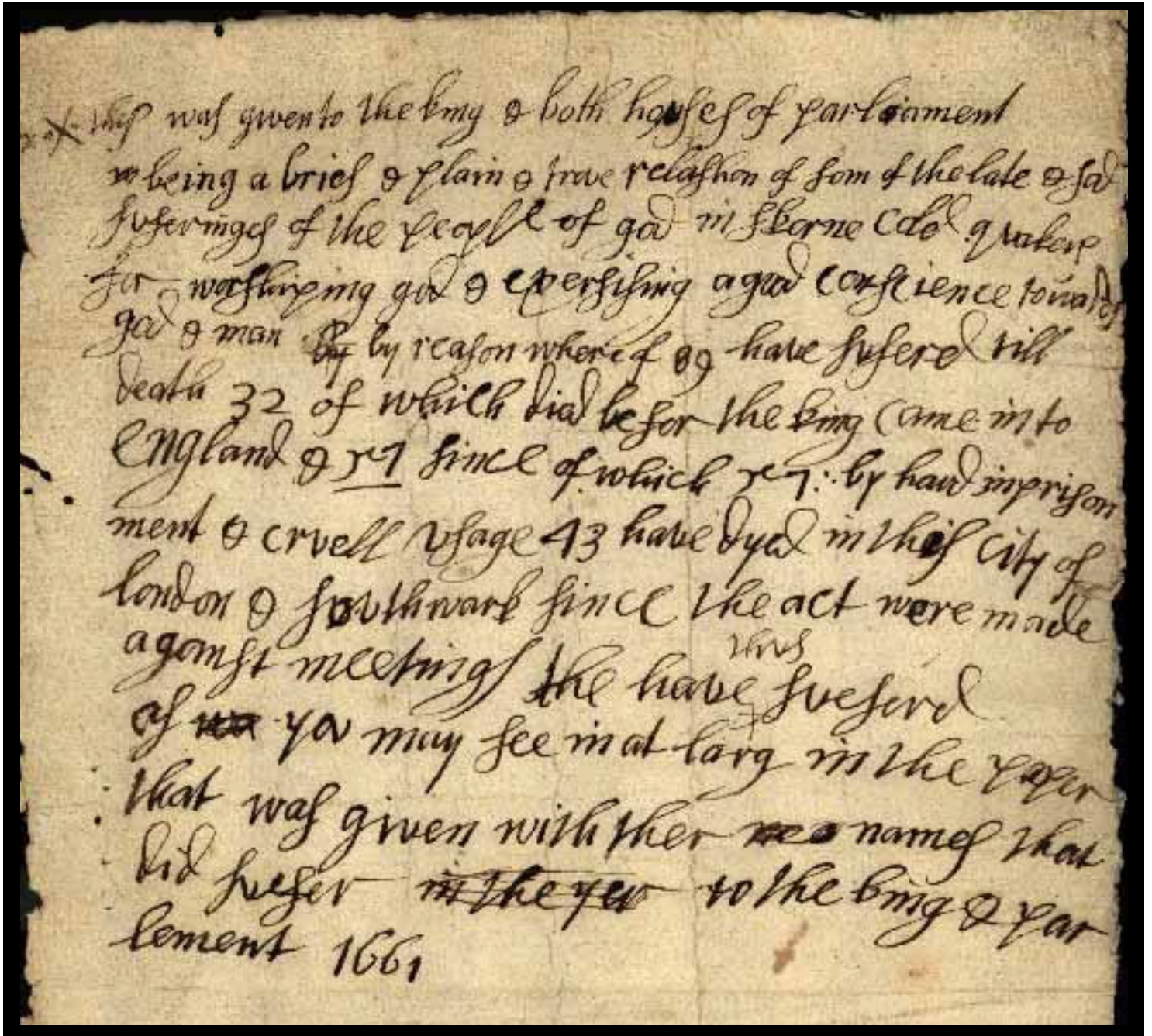
**FOX'S JOURNAL:**

*George Fox*

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## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

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\* This was given to the King & both houses of parliament  
being a brief & plain & true relation of some of the late & sad  
sufferings of the people of god in these Colonies & Quakers  
for worshipping god & exercising a good conscience towards  
god & man By reason whereof 89 have suffered till  
death 32 of which died before the King came into  
England & 57 since of which 27 by hard imprison-  
ment & cruel usage 43 have dyed in this City of  
London & forthward since the act were made  
against meetings the have <sup>thus</sup> suffered  
of ~~the~~ you may see in at large in the paper  
that was given with their ~~names~~ names that  
did suffer in the year to the King & par-  
liament 1661

Friend [George](#)'s epistle entitled "In The Stillness and Silence of the Power of the Almighty Dwell" dates to early in this year:



Dear Friends, - In the stillness and silence of the power of the Almighty dwell, which never varies, alters, nor changes, but preserveth over and out of, and above all the changeable worships, religions, ministers, churches, teachings, principalities, and powers, with the power of God, which keepeth over all this, to the



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kingdom of Christ, that is everlasting, in which there is no changing, who is King of kings, and Lord of lords. All power in heaven and earth is given unto him, of whose light, life, power, and wisdom, grace, and riches have ye received, which comes from him, that doth not change. So in that live, that doth not change, the unchangeable life, the unchangeable mind, the unchangeable spirit and wisdom, and the unchangeable worship and church, of which Christ is the unchangeable head, who remains the same yesterday, to-day, and forever; in that ye will feel the blessing and presence of the Lord God of life amongst you, as ye all abide in the unchangeable kingdom, dominion, power, and life, who are heirs of it according to your measures, who have received the light, and received the life and grace, and the power of a kingdom and a word that hath no end. So wait all in it, that ye may be possessors and inheritors of the kingdom, and of the life and power which hath no end, and of the promises, that are yea and amen; and let nothing, that is of the world, alter you, but keep ye in that which keepeth you in the everlasting kingdom of God. The 3d month, 1661.  
G.F.

His epistle entitled "Trust Not in Man" also dates to this year:



Friends, - Trust not in man, nor in the arm of flesh, neither put confidence in them, but in the Lord. Judge yourselves, and keep down the boaster, and that which would be high; under judgment keep that down, but the power of God in yourselves, lest the Lord God bring upon you something without you to bring you down, who do not keep that down in yourselves. And therefore keep all that down with the power of the Lord God in yourselves; and then ye will have domino over it all, in the power of the Lord God. And live all in the power of God, which was before the fall, in which ye will have fellowship over all the fellowships in the fall, and above all outward things that have an end; which fellowship seeth over all that which is in the strife. For in the power of God your fellowship there hath no end, which was before the fall and strife was, in which is peace; which fellowship will remain when all that which is in the fall is gone, and in which is the perfect unity, which keeps over all such spirits which run into outward things; from which arise quarrels, and strife, and imperfections. And therefore keep in the power of the Lord God, that is everlasting, in which is the fellowship that hath no end; in that live and dwell. And feel the seed of God over all that which makes to suffer, and it will remain when that is gone, in that ye will feel life over death, and light over darkness. And so in that the Lord God Almighty preserve you, and keep you in the dominion! This day I came into the isle of Ely, where I hear nothing, but things are peaceable, and Friend's minds kept over all the bustlings in the world, and take little notice thereof; but mind the power of God, which was before the fall was; in which fall are bustlings. And so to the Lord God be faithful.  
G.F.



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January 6, Sunday (1660, Old Style): Prior to this point, the [Religious Society of Friends](#) had not been generally committed to any doctrine of pacifism or nonviolence. An event occurred which neatly marks the end of the 1st period of [Quakerism](#), its period of evangelism and polemic and populism and service-disruption, and the beginning of the 2nd period, during which the membership would separate itself from the profane commonality and the meetings draw in upon themselves and become preoccupied with internal governance and nuance. What happened on this date was that a cooper named Thomas Venner, a 5th Monarchist man or apocalypt who had favored the Good Old Cause during the English Revolution, when he saw the pretender Charles Stuart preparing to enter [London](#) as "[Charles II](#)," led a congregation of about 50 persons to occupy St. Paul's Cathedral under the motto "King Jesus and Heads Upon the Gate." Within a few days these warriors of the Millennium would of course all be dead, after retreating from St. Paul's to a wood near Highgate in a fanatical fight to the last man.



[John Evelyn](#)'s diary entry was in part as follows:

### John Evelyn's Diary

*I was now chosen (& nominated by his Majestie for one of that Council) by Suffrage of the rest of the Members, a Fellow of the Philosophic Society, now meeting at Gressham Coll[ege] where was an assembly of divers learned Gent[lemen] It being the first meeting since the returne of his Majestie in Lond[on] but begun some years before at Oxford, & interruptedly here in Lond[on] during the Rebellion: This morning was another rising of the Phanatics in which some were slaine: his Majestie being absent; til the 10th.*

### THIS DAY IN PEPYS'S DIARY





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Friend [George Fox's JOURNAL](#) put the matter in this light:

*Now did I see the end of the travail which I had in my sore exercise at Reading; for the everlasting power of the Lord was over all, and His blessed Truth, life, and light shined over the nation. Great and glorious meetings we had, and very quiet; and many flocked unto the Truth. Richard Hubberthorn had been with the King, who said that none should molest us so long as we lived peaceably and promised this upon the word of a king; telling Richard that we might make use of his promise.*

*Some Friends were also admitted in the House of Lords, to declare their reasons why they could not pay tithes, swear, go to the steeple-house worship, or join with others in worship; and the Lords heard them moderately. There being about seven hundred Friends in prison, who had been committed under Oliver's and Richard's government, upon contempts (so called) when the King came in, he set them all at liberty.*

*\* There seemed at that time an inclination and intention in the government to grant Friends liberty, because those in authority were sensible that we had suffered as well as they under the former powers. But still, when anything was going forward in order thereto, some dirty spirits or other [Fifth-monarchy men], that would seem to be for us, threw something in the way to stop it. It was said there was an instrument drawn up for confirming our liberty, and that it only wanted signing; when suddenly that wicked attempt of the Fifth-monarchy people broke out, and put the city and nation in an uproar. This was on a First-day night, and very glorious meetings we had had that day, wherein the Lord's Truth shone over all, and His power was exalted above all; but about midnight, or soon after, the drums beat, and the cry was, "Arm, Arm!"*

*I got up out of bed, and in the morning took boat, and, landing at Whitehall-stairs, walked through Whitehall. The people there looked strangely at me, but I passed through them, and went to Pall-Mall, where diverse Friends came to me, though it had now become dangerous to pass through the streets; for by this time the city and suburbs were up in arms. Exceedingly rude the people and soldiers were. Henry Fell, going to a Friend's house, was knocked down by the soldiers, and he would have been killed had not the Duke of York come by.*

*Great mischief was done in the city this week; and when the next first-day came, as Friends went to their meetings, many were taken prisoners.*

January 19, Saturday (1660, Old Style): The captured 5th Monarchist insurrectionary, Thomas Venner, was drawn and quartered. A row of his head and 13 others were put up on pikes to decorate London Bridge, and suddenly all over England all "primitive Christians" of whatever political stripe became suspect of secret leveling tendencies and doctrines.



RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

THE MARKET FOR HUMAN BODY PARTS

LONDON



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

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January 21, Monday (1660, Old Style): What were the [Quakers](#) to do to avoid being categorized with the 5th Monarchist insurrectionaries who had so disturbed English order? Friend [George Fox](#) and a few other elder Quaker males unilaterally issued a document which spoke for all English Friends, a document which has become known as "[The Quaker Peace Testimony](#)." For this vital document, Friend Richard Hubberthorne improved Fox's wording. The ostensive intent of this document was to remove "the ground of jealousy and suspicion" which was keeping so many of "the harmless and innocent people of God, called Quakers" in England's gaols, at a point in time in which these prominent friends believed that a piece of paper releasing all such prisoners of conscience lay waiting on [King Charles II](#)'s desk for his signature. The male elders who signed affirmed that "all bloody principles and practices ... we do utterly deny, with all outward wars and strive, and fightings with outward weapons, for any end, or under any pretence whatsoever." Falsifying the history of the New Model Army during the English Revolution, the document suggests that no Quaker ever took up the sword. Despite this document, and the fact that he had always refused to take up arms against the crown, Fox would be imprisoned in Lancaster dungeon, apparently on suspicion as a "Common Enemy to His Majesty" — though he would never be allowed to know the precise nature of the charges against him.

<http://www.quaker.org/peaceweb/pdecla07.html>





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1665

[John Perrot](#) died in Jamaica, Barbados.

On Bermuda, Captain Dorrell and a group of eight militiamen entered a [Quaker](#) meeting for worship and dragged away two men to their musterfield. One of these men, Friend Francis Estlake, who had been neglecting his militia duty, they “tied neck and heels together.”

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

[Friend George Keith](#)'s A SALUTATION OF DEAR AND TENDER LOVE TO THE SEED OF GOD ARISING IN ABERDEEN, IN 2 EPISTLES. DIRECTED UNTO FRIENDS OF TRUTH IN THAT PLACE, WHOM THE LORD HATH CALLED, AND IS CALLING FORTH TO BEAR THEIR TESTIMONY FOR HIS GLORIOUS TRUTH, (AGAINST AN EVIL, ADULTEROUS, AND PERSECUTING GENERATION) WITH OTHERS THEIR DEAR FRIENDS IN THESE NATIONS. WRIT BY GEORGE KEITH, PRISONER FOR THE SAID TESTIMONY IN THE TOLBOOTH OF ABERDEEN, 1664.<sup>2</sup>

During this year and the following one, while the Great Plague in [London](#) was continuing toward its grand total of some 75,000 fatalities, [Friend George Fox](#) would be spending a whole lot of his time in detention at Scarborough Castle. During this year he would write an epistle entitled “The Saints’ Weapons Are Spiritual, That The Blessing Of God May Come Upon All Men”:



*We are not against any man, but desire that the blessing of the Lord may come upon all men, and that which brings the curse may be destroyed; and in patience do we wait for that, and with spiritual weapons against it do we wrestle, and not against any man or woman's person. For amongst us Christ is King, who bringeth the blessing, and destroyeth that which brought the curse. And whoever dwells in righteousness, (man or woman,) and loves mercy, and doth justly, and walks humbly with God, and hath the humility, which goes before the honour, we are not against. But whosoever doth unrighteously, or doth not justly, nor righteously, nor walk humbly before God, and will have honour before humility, God will overturn such by his power. And in that let your faith be; for we look not at persons, but at the power of God; and know the reign of Christ among us. And as it is said, "God save the king," or "God bless the king;" we would not have him nor any man destroyed, but save; and so blessed. And the saved man will not suffer any thing to rule that destroys; and so our mind is, and we would that all men were saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth, which the persecutors are out of. And all Friends, dwell in the endless power of the Lord, in which the supremacy is know, and the power which hath no end; whose dominion is over all dominions, and will stand when all other have an end; in that is the patience felt, which runneth the race, and obtaineth the crown; and that*

2. In this thumbnail of the life of Friend George Keith, you will find there to be a truly enormous number of truly enormous book titles. Be assured that some of these polemic titles are in fact here abbreviated, and be assured that the publications mentioned are far from providing a total list of the various publications put out throughout his *floruit* by this prolific controversialist. The truth is far worse than here presented.



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*hath the wisdom, which is sweet, and cool, and pure, whereby the  
living truth hath the supremacy and dominion, and in that keep  
your meetings.  
G.F.*

*George Fox*

**THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**  
**RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS**



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*After the assize, Colonel Kirby and other justices were very uneasy with my being at Lancaster; for I had galled them sore at my trials there, and they laboured much to get me removed thence to some remote place. Colonel Kirby sometimes threatened that I should be sent beyond sea. About six weeks after the assizes they got an order from the King and council to remove me from Lancaster; and with it they brought a letter from the Earl of Anglesey, wherein it was written that if those things with which I was charged were found true against me, I deserved no clemency nor mercy; yet the greatest matter they had against me was because I could not disobey the command of Christ, and swear. When they had prepared for my removal, the under-sheriff and the head-sheriff's man, with some bailiffs, fetched me out of the castle, when I was so weak with lying in that cold, wet, and smoky prison, that I could hardly go or stand. They led me into the jailer's house, where were William Kirby and several others, and they called for wine to give me. I told them I would have none of their wine. Then they cried, "Bring out the horses."*

*I desired them first to show me their order, or a copy of it, if they intended to remove me; but they would show me none but their swords. I told them there was no sentence passed upon me, nor was I præmunired, that I knew of; and therefore I was not made the King's prisoner, but was the sheriff's; for they and all the country knew that I was not fully heard at the last assize, nor suffered to show the errors in the indictment, which were sufficient to quash it, though they had kept me from one assize to another to the end they might try me. But they all knew there was no sentence of præmunire passed upon me; therefore I, not being the King's prisoner, but the sheriff's, did desire to see their order.*

*Instead of showing me their order, they haled me out, and lifted me upon one of the sheriff's horses.*

*When I was on horseback in the street the townspeople being gathered to gaze upon me, I told the officers I had received neither Christianity, civility, nor humanity from them.*

*They hurried me away about fourteen miles to Bentham, though I was so weak that I was hardly able to sit on horseback, and my clothes smelt so of smoke they were loathsome to myself. The wicked jailer, one Hunter, a young fellow, would come behind and give the horse a lash with his whip, and make him skip and leap; so that I, being weak, had much ado to sit on him; then he would come and look me in the face and say, "How do you, Mr. Fox?" I told him it was not civil in him to do so. The Lord cut him off soon after.*

FOX'S JOURNAL:



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*When we were come to Bentham, in Yorkshire, there met us many troopers and a marshal; and many of the gentry of the country were come in, and abundance of people to take a view of me. I being very weak and weary, desired them to let me lie down on a bed, which the soldiers permitted; for those that brought me thither gave their order to the marshal, and he set a guard of his soldiers upon me.*

*When they had stayed awhile they pressed horses, raised the bailiff of the hundred, the constables, and others, and bore me to Giggleswick that night; but exceeding weak I was. There, with their clog shoes, they raised the constables, who sat drinking all the night in the room by me, so that I could not get much rest.*

*The next day we came to a market-town, where several Friends came to see me. Robert Widders and diverse Friends came to me upon the road.*

*The next night I asked the soldiers whither they intended to carry me, and whither I was to be sent. Some of them said, "Beyond sea"; others said, "To Tynemouth Castle." A great fear there was amongst them lest some one should rescue me out of their hands; but that fear was needless.*

*Next night we came to York, where the marshal put me into a great chamber, where most part of two troops came to see me. One of these troopers, an envious man, hearing that I was præmunired, asked me what estate I had, and whether it was copyhold or free land. I took no notice of his question, but was moved to declare the Word of life to the soldiers, and many of them were very loving.*

*At night the Lord Frecheville (so called), who commanded these horse, came to me, and was very civil and loving. I gave him an account of my imprisonment, and declared many things to him relating to Truth.*

*They kept me at York two days, and then the marshal and four or five soldiers were sent to convey me to Scarborough Castle. These were very civil men, and they carried themselves civilly and lovingly to me. On the way we baited at Malton, and they permitted Friends to come and visit me.*

*When we were come to Scarborough, they took me to an inn, and gave notice to the governor, who sent six soldiers to be my guard that night. Next day they conducted me into the castle, put me into a room, and set a sentry on me. As I was very weak, and subject to fainting, they sometimes let me go out into the air with the sentry.*

*They soon removed me out of this room, and put me into an open one, where the rain came in, and which was exceedingly thick with smoke, which was very offensive to me.*



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*One day the Governor, Sir John Crossland, came to see me, and brought with him Sir Francis Cobb. I desired the Governor to go into my room, and see what a place I had. I had got a little fire made in it, and it was so filled with smoke that when they were in they could hardly find their way out again; and he being a Papist, I told him that this was his Purgatory which they had put me into. I was forced to lay out about fifty shillings to stop out the rain, and keep the room from smoking so much. When I had been at that charge, and made it tolerable, they removed me into a worse room, where I had neither chimney nor fire-hearth. This being towards the sea-side and lying much open, the wind drove in the rain forcibly so that the water came over my bed, and ran so about the room that I was fain to skim it up with a platter. When my clothes were wet, I had no fire to dry them; so that my body was benumbed with cold, and my fingers swelled so that one was grown as big as two.*

*Though I was at some charge in this room also, I could not keep out the wind and rain. Besides, they would suffer few Friends to come to me, and many times not any; no, not so much as to bring me a little food; but I was forced for the first quarter to hire one of another society to bring me necessities. Sometimes the soldiers would take it from her, and she would scuffle with them for it.*

*Afterwards I hired a soldier to fetch me water and bread, and something to make a fire of, when I was in a room where a fire could be made. Commonly a threepenny loaf served me three weeks, and sometimes longer, and most of my drink was water with wormwood steeped or bruised in it. One time the weather was very sharp, and I had taken great cold, I got a little elecampane beer. I heard one of the soldiers say to the other that they would play me a trick: they would send me up to the deputy-governor, and in the meantime drink my strong beer; and so they did. When I came back one of the soldiers came to me in a jeer, and asked me for some strong beer. I told him they had played their pretty trick; and so I took no further notice of it.*

*But inasmuch as they kept me so very strait, not giving liberty for Friends to come to me, I spoke to the keepers of the Castle to this effect: "I did not know till I was removed from Lancaster Castle, and brought prisoner to this Castle of Scarborough, that I was convicted of a præmunire; for the Judge did not give sentence upon me at the assizes in open court. But seeing I am now a prisoner here, if I may not have my liberty, let my friends and acquaintances have their liberty to come and visit me, as Paul's friends had among the Romans, who were not Christians, but heathen. For Paul's friends had their liberty; all that would, might come to him, and he had his liberty to preach to them in his hired house. But I cannot have liberty to go into the town, nor for my friends to come to me here. So you that go under the name of Christians, are worse in this respect than those heathen were."*



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\* But though they would not let Friends come to me, they would often bring others, either to gaze upon me, or to contend with me. One time a great company of Papists came to discourse with me. They affirmed that the Pope was infallible, and had stood infallible ever since Peter's time. But I showed them the contrary by history; for one of the bishops of Rome (Marcellinus by name), denied the faith and sacrificed to idols; therefore he was not infallible. I told them that if they were in the infallible Spirit they need not have jails, swords, and staves, racks and tortures, fires and faggots, whips and gallows, to hold up their religion, and to destroy men's lives about it; for if they were in the infallible Spirit they would preserve men's lives, and use none but spiritual weapons about religion.

Another Papist who came to discourse with me said, "All the patriarchs were in hell from the creation till Christ came. When Christ suffered He went into hell, and the devil said to Him, What comest thou hither for? to break open our strongholds? And Christ said, To fetch them all out. So Christ was three days and three nights in hell to bring them out."

I told him that that was false; for Christ said to the thief, "This day thou shalt be with me in paradise"; and Enoch and Elijah were translated into heaven; and Abraham was in heaven, for the Scripture saith that Lazarus was in his bosom; and Moses and Elias were with Christ upon the Mount, before He suffered.

These instances stopped the Papist's mouth, and put him to a stand.

Another time came Dr. Witty, who was esteemed a great doctor in physic, with Lord Falconbridge, the governor of Tinmouth Castle, and several knights.

I being called to them, Witty undertook to discourse with me, and asked me what I was in prison for. I told him, "Because I would not disobey the command of Christ, and swear." He said I ought to swear my allegiance to the King.

He being a great Presbyterian, I asked him whether he had not sworn against the King and House of Lords, and taken the Scotch covenant? And had he not since sworn to the King? What, then, was his swearing good for? But my allegiance, I told him, did not consist in swearing, but in truth and faithfulness.

After some further discourse I was taken away to my prison again; and afterwards Dr. Witty boasted in the town amongst his patients that he had conquered me. When I heard of it, I told the Governor it was a small boast in him to say he had conquered a bondman. I desired to bid him come to me again when he came to the Castle.

He came again awhile after, with about sixteen or seventeen great persons, and then he ran himself worse on ground than before. For he affirmed before them all that Christ had not enlightened every man that cometh into the world; and that the grace of God, that bringeth salvation, had not appeared unto all men, and that Christ had not died for all men.





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*I asked him what sort of men those were whom Christ had not enlightened? and whom His grace had not appeared to? and whom He had not died for? He said, "Christ did not die for adulterers, and idolaters, and wicked men."*

*I asked him whether adulterers and wicked men were not sinners. He said, "Yes."*

*"Did not Christ die for sinners?" said I. "Did He not come to call sinners to repentance?"*

*"Yes," said he.*

*"Then," said I, "thou hast stopped thy own mouth."*

*So I proved that the grace of God had appeared unto all men, though some turned from it into wantonness, and walked despitefully against it; and that Christ had enlightened all men, though some hated the light. Several of the people confessed it was true; but he went away in a great rage, and came no more to me.*

*Another time the Governor brought a priest; but his mouth was soon stopped.*

*Not long after he brought two or three Parliament-men, who asked me whether I did own ministers and bishops.*

*I told them, "Yes, such as Christ sent; such as had freely received and would freely give; such as were qualified, and were in the same power and Spirit the apostles were in. But such bishops and teachers as yours, that will go no farther than a great benefice, I do not own; for they are not like the apostles. Christ saith to his ministers, 'Go ye into all nations, and preach the gospel'; but ye Parliament-men, who keep your priests and bishops in such great fat benefices, have spoiled them all. For do ye think they will go into all nations to preach; or any farther than a great fat benefice? Judge yourselves whether they will or not."*

*There came another time the widow of old Lord Fairfax, and with her a great company, one of whom was a priest. I was moved to declare the truth to them, and the priest asked me why we said Thou and Thee to people, for he counted us but fools and idiots for speaking so.*

*I asked him whether they that translated the Scriptures and that made the grammar and accidence, were fools and idiots, seeing they translated the Scriptures so, and made the grammar so, Thou to one, and You to more than one, and left it so to us. If they were fools and idiots, why had not he, and such as he, that looked upon themselves as wise men, and that could not bear Thou and Thee to a singular, altered the grammar, accidence, and Bible, and put the plural instead of the singular. But if they were wise men that had so translated the Bible, and had made the grammar and accidence so, I wished him to consider whether they were not fools and idiots themselves, that did not speak as their grammars and Bibles taught them; but were offended with us, and called us fools and idiots for speaking so.*

*Thus the priest's mouth was stopped, and many of the company acknowledged the Truth, and were pretty loving and tender. Some of them would have given me money, but I would not receive it.*



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

### GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

*After this came Dr. Cradock, with three priests more, and the Governor and his lady (so called), and another that was called a lady, and a great company with them.*

*Dr. Cradock asked me what I was in prison for. I told him, "For obeying the command of Christ and the apostle, in not swearing." But if he, I said, being both a doctor and a justice of peace, could convince me that after Christ and the Apostle had forbidden swearing, they commanded Christians to swear, then I would swear. "Here is the Bible," I told him, "thou mayest, if thou canst, show me any such command."*

*He said, "It is written, 'Ye shall swear in truth and righteousness.'" "Ay," said I, "it was so written in Jeremiah's time; but that was many ages before Christ commanded not to swear at all; but where is it written so, since Christ forbade all swearing? I could bring as many instances out of the Old Testament for swearing as thou, and it may be more; but of what force are they to prove swearing lawful in the New Testament, since Christ and the Apostle forbade it? Besides," said I, "in that text where it is written, Ye shall swear, what 'ye' was this? Was it 'Ye Gentiles,' or 'Ye Jews'?"*

*To this he would not answer. But one of the priests that were with him answered, "It was to the Jews that this was spoken." Then Dr. Cradock confessed it was so.*

*"Very well," said I, "but where did God ever give a command to the Gentiles to swear? For thou knowest that we are Gentiles by nature."*

*"Indeed," said he, "in the gospel times everything was to be established out of the mouths of two or three witnesses; but there was to be no swearing then."*

*"Why, then," said I, "dost thou force oaths upon Christians, contrary to thy own knowledge, in the gospel-times? And why dost thou excommunicate my friends?" for he had excommunicated abundance both in Yorkshire and Lancashire.*

*\* He said, "For not coming to church." "Why," said I, "ye left us above twenty years ago, when we were but young lads and lasses, to the Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists, many of whom made spoil of our goods, and persecuted us because we would not follow them. We, being but young, knew little then of your principles. If ye had intended to keep your principles alive, that we might have known them, ye should either not have fled from us as ye did, or ye should have sent us your epistles, collects, homilies, and evening songs; for Paul wrote epistles to the saints, though he was in prison. But they and we might have turned Turks or Jews for any collects, homilies, or epistles we had from you all this while. And now thou hast excommunicated us, both young and old, and so have others of you done; that is, ye have put us out of your church before ye have got us into it, and before ye have brought us to know your principles. Is not this madness in you, to put us out before we were brought in? Indeed, if ye had brought us into your church, and when we had been in, if we had done some bad thing, that had been something like a ground for excommunication or putting out again. But," said I, "What dost thou call the Church?"*



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

"Why," said he, "that which you call the steeple-house."  
Then I asked him whether Christ shed His blood for the steeple-house, and purchased and sanctified the steeple-house with His blood. And seeing the Church is Christ's bride and wife, and that He is the Head of the Church, dost thou think the steeple-house is Christ's wife and bride, and that He is the head of that old house, or of His people?"  
"No," said he, "Christ is the head of His people, and they are the Church."  
"But," said I, "You have given the title Church to an old house, which belongs to the people; and you have taught them to believe so." I asked him also why he persecuted Friends for not paying tithes; whether God ever commanded the Gentiles to pay tithes; whether Christ had not ended tithes when He ended the Levitical priesthood that took tithes; whether Christ, when He sent His disciples to preach, had not commanded them to preach freely as He had given them freely; and whether all the ministers of Christ are not bound to observe this command of Christ. He said he would not dispute that.  
Neither did I find he was willing to stay on that subject; for he presently turned to another matter, and said, "You marry, but I know not how."  
I replied, "It may be so; but why dost thou not come and see?"  
Then he threatened that he would use his power against us, as he had done. I bade him take heed; for he was an old man. I asked him also where he read, from Genesis to Revelation, that ever any priest did marry any. I wished him to show me some instance thereof? if he would have us come to them to be married; "for," said I, "thou hast excommunicated one of my friends two years after he was dead, about his marriage. And why dost thou not excommunicate Isaac, and Jacob, and Boaz, and Ruth? for we do not read that they were ever married by the priests; but they took one another in the assemblies of the righteous, in the presence of God and His people; and so do we. So that we have all the holy men and women that the Scripture speaks of in this practice, on our side."  
Much discourse we had, but when he found he could get no advantage over me, he went away with his company.  
With such people I was much exercised while I was there; for most that came to the Castle would desire to speak with me, and great disputes I had with them. But as to Friends, I was as a man buried alive; for though many came far to see me, yet few were suffered to come to me; and when any Friend came into the Castle about business, if he looked towards me they would rage at him.  
At last the Governor came under some trouble himself; for he having sent a privateer to sea, they took some ships that were not enemies' ships, but their friends'; whereupon he was brought into trouble; after which he grew somewhat more friendly to me. For before I had a marshal set over me, on purpose to get money out of me; but I was not free to give him a farthing; and when they found they could get nothing off me, he was taken away again.



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

[Go To Master History of Quakerism](#)

*\* The officers often threatened that I should be hanged over the wall. Nay, the deputy-governor told me once that the King, knowing I had great interest in the people, had sent me thither, that if there should be any stirring in the nation, they should hang me over the wall to keep the people down.*

*There being, a while after, a marriage at a Baptist's house, upon which occasion a great many of them were met together, they talked much then of hanging me. But I told them that if that was what they desired, and it was permitted them, I was ready, for I never feared death nor sufferings in my life; but I was known to be an innocent, peaceable man, free from all stirrings and plottings, and one that sought the good of all men. Afterwards, the Governor growing kinder, I spoke to him when he was going to London to the Parliament, and desired him to speak to Esquire Marsh, Sir Francis Cobb, and some others; and let them know how long I had lain in prison, and for what; and he did so. When he came down again, he told me that Esquire Marsh said he would go a hundred miles barefoot for my liberty, he knew me so well; and several others, he said, spoke well of me. From which time the Governor was very loving to me.*

*There were, amongst the prisoners, two very bad men, that often sat drinking with the officers and soldiers; and because I would not sit and drink with them too, it made them the worse against me. One time when these two prisoners were drunk, one of them (whose name was William Wilkinson, a Presbyterian, who had been a captain), came to me and challenged me to fight with him.*

*Seeing what condition he was in, I got out of his way; and next morning, when he was more sober, showed him how unmanly it was in him to challenge a man to fight, whose principles, he knew, it was not to strike, but if he was stricken on one ear to turn the other. I told him, if he had a mind to fight, he should have challenged some soldiers that could have answered him in his own way.*

*But, however, seeing he had challenged me, I was now come to answer him with my hands in my pockets; and (reaching my head towards him), "Here," said I, "here is my hair, here are my cheeks, here is my back."*

*With this he skipped away from me and went into another room; at which the soldiers fell a-laughing; and one of the officers said, "You are a happy man that can bear such things." Thus he was conquered without a blow. After awhile he took the oath, gave bond, got out of prison; and not long after the Lord cut him off.*

[FOX'S JOURNAL](#)



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

### GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

*There were great imprisonments in this and the former years, while I was prisoner at Lancaster and Scarborough. At London many Friends were crowded into Newgate, and other prisons, where the sickness was [the London plague of 1665], and many died in prison. Many also were banished, and several sent on ship-board by the King's order.*

*Some masters of ships would not carry them, but set them on shore again; yet some were sent to Barbadoes, Jamaica, and Nevis, and the Lord blessed them there. One master of a ship was very wicked and cruel to Friends that were put on board his ship; for he kept them down under decks, though the sickness was amongst them; so that many died of it. But the Lord visited him for his wickedness; for he lost most of his seamen by the plague, and lay several months crossed with contrary winds, though other ships went on and made their voyages.*

*At last he came before Plymouth, where the Governor and magistrates would not suffer him nor any of his men to come ashore, though he wanted necessaries for his voyage; but Thomas tower, Arthur Cotton, John Light, and other Friends, went to the ship's side, and carried necessaries for the Friends that were prisoners on board.*

*The master, being thus crossed and vexed, cursed them that put him upon this freight, and said he hoped he should not go far before he was taken. And the vessel was but a little while gone out of sight of Plymouth before she was taken by a Dutch man-of-war, and carried into Holland.*

*When they came into Holland, the States sent the banished Friends back to England, with a letter of passport, and a certificate that they had not made an escape, but were sent back by them.*

*In time the Lord's power wrought over this storm, and many of our persecutors were confounded and put to shame.*

*After I had lain prisoner above a year in Scarborough Castle, I sent a letter to the King, in which I gave him an account of my imprisonment, and the bad usage I had received in prison; and also that I was informed no man could deliver me but him. After this, John Whitehead being at London, and having acquaintance also with Esquire Marsh, he went to visit him, and spoke to him about me; and he undertook, if John Whitehead would get the state of my case drawn up, to deliver it to the master of requests, Sir John Birkenhead, who would endeavor to get a release for me.*

*So John Whitehead and Ellis Hookes drew up a relation of my imprisonment and sufferings, and carried it to Marsh; and he went with it to the master of requests, who procured an order from the King for my release. The substance of the order was that "the King, being certainly informed that I was a man principled against plotting and fighting, and had been ready at all times to discover plots, rather than to make any, etc., therefore his royal pleasure was that I should be discharged from my imprisonment," etc.*



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1673

Facing a threat from the Dutch, the [Quaker](#)-dominated government of [Rhode Island](#) issued orders to the towns to put the colony in a posture of defence, and authorized the appointment of military commanders.<sup>3</sup> Meredith Baldwin Weddle, in *WALKING IN THE WAY OF PEACE: QUAKER PACIFISM IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY* (NY: Oxford UP, 2001), and in “Early Quaker Peace Testimony” in Mullett’s *NEW LIGHT ON GEORGE FOX*, has inferred that in accordance with “their own understanding of the peace testimony,” the Friends of that colony were prepared to aid in fighting defensively, for security. According to such an understanding of the Quaker Peace Testimony of 1660, although as children of the light they must practice nonviolence and abstain from “carnal weapons,” they could support the magistrate in his wielding of the sword for purposes of domestic order and security, for instance, for the protection of innocent white women and children.

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

August 13, Wednesday (Old Style): The General Assembly of [Rhode Island](#) allowed exemption from military service on the basis of conscience (during WWI and WWII, however, the state of Rhode Island and Providence Plantation’s citizens would be imprisoned by the US federal government, on the basis of conscience):

Noe person nor persons (within this Collony), that is or hereafter shall be persuaded in his or their Conscience, or Consciences (and by him or them declared) that he nor they cannot nor ought not to trayne, to learne to fight, nor to war, nor kill any person nor persons ... shall at any time be Compelled against his or their Judgment and Conscience to trayne, arme, or fight, to kill any person ... at the command of any officer of this Collony, civil or military ... nor shall suffer any punishment, fine, distraint, pennalty, nor imprisonment....

MILITARY CONSCRIPTION

The exemption from military activity on the basis of conscience extended even to such quasi-military activities as standing unarmed watch in order to give alarm. Those whose consciences would not allow this could not be compelled to stand watch. Instead, they could be compelled only to come to the aid of other noncombatants:

Such said persons who cannot fight nor destroy men it beinge against their Conscience, and is not against their Conscience to doe and perform civill service to the Collony though not martill service, and can preserve (so farr as in them lies) lives, goods and cattell ... then it shall be lawful for the civill officers ... to require such said persons ... to conduct or convey [noncombatants in need of assistance] out of the



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

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danger.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



## [90] An act for y<sup>e</sup> Better Regulating y<sup>e</sup> Militia

& for Punishing offend<sup>ers</sup> as Shall not Conform to y<sup>e</sup> Laws there unto Relating

*Bee it Encted* by y<sup>e</sup> hon<sup>ble</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Gouer<sup>er</sup> Councill & house of Representatives in this P<sup>re</sup>sent Sesssions assembled & by y<sup>e</sup> Authority thereof it is hereby Enacted y<sup>t</sup> aft<sup>r</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Publication of this Act y<sup>t</sup> if any p<sup>er</sup>son or persons Listed Und<sup>r</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Com<sup>mand</sup> of any Cap<sup>t</sup> or Commad<sup>er</sup> in Cheif of y<sup>e</sup> Militia Shall or do not appear Compleat in armes (Viz<sup>th</sup>) w<sup>th</sup> A Good & Sufficient muskett or Fuze a Sword or Bayenet, Catooch box or Bandelers w<sup>th</sup> twelve Bulets fitt for his Peice half a Pound of Powder & Six good Flints Upon y<sup>e</sup> Precise Training Days already p<sup>re</sup>fixt as well as when there R<sup>es</sup>p<sup>er</sup>ctive Cap<sup>ts</sup> or Com<sup>mand</sup>ers in Cheif Shall call them Togeather Either by Allarum or any oth<sup>er</sup> time or times as Shall by their s<sup>d</sup> Command<sup>ers</sup> be thought fitt & Expedient for his maj<sup>ties</sup> Interest During y<sup>e</sup> Times of Warr & if any p<sup>er</sup>son or p<sup>er</sup>sons Listed &c Shall neglect their Res<sup>er</sup>p<sup>er</sup>ctive Dutys & due Obedience & not appear in Manner Afores<sup>d</sup> Shall forfeit for Each neglect on y<sup>e</sup> Days Appointed for Training or Oth<sup>er</sup> Meetings in Armes y<sup>e</sup> Sum of Thre Shillings in money w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Due Fees Arising thereon & for non Appearance or neglect on any Larum y<sup>e</sup> Sum of five Shilling w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Due Fees Ariseing thereon to be taken by Distraint or otherwise as y<sup>e</sup> fines for non apperance on y<sup>e</sup> Training Days are to be Taken

....

[92] *And Bee it Further Enacted*

That y<sup>e</sup> Res<sup>er</sup>p<sup>er</sup>ctive Cap<sup>t</sup> & Com<sup>mission</sup> officers of Each Res<sup>er</sup>p<sup>er</sup>ctive Company or Train band in this Colony have full Pow<sup>er</sup> & authority during y<sup>e</sup> time of their being in Armes on y<sup>e</sup> training Days or on Allarums or Upon any oth<sup>er</sup> occasion w<sup>h</sup>soev<sup>er</sup> to Punish any Private Sentinall y<sup>t</sup> Shall Misbehave him self w<sup>th</sup> Laying him Neck & Heels or Riding y<sup>e</sup> wooden horse or A fine not Exceeding fore Shillings at y<sup>e</sup> Discrefion of s<sup>d</sup> Commision Officers notw<sup>th</sup>standing y<sup>e</sup> Afore recited Acts Relateing y<sup>e</sup> militia it Shall be in y<sup>e</sup> pow<sup>er</sup> & Authority of y<sup>e</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> & Com<sup>mission</sup> officers of Each Res<sup>er</sup>p<sup>er</sup>ctive train Bands in this Colony if any P<sup>er</sup>sons as they Shall Iudg realy Conscientious being w<sup>th</sup>in their list & y<sup>t</sup> they Cannot bare arm's in y<sup>e</sup> Times of Allarums &c y<sup>t</sup> if y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> p<sup>er</sup>sons being So Conscientious be any ways Serviceable in makeing Discoverys or Riding upon any Expedition or any thing Elce y<sup>t</sup> may be Iudged Conuenient for y<sup>e</sup> Preseruati<sup>on</sup> of his maj<sup>estys</sup> Interest y<sup>t</sup> it Shall be then in y<sup>e</sup> Pow<sup>er</sup> of s<sup>d</sup> Cap<sup>ts</sup> or Com<sup>mission</sup> officers as afores<sup>d</sup> to remit y<sup>e</sup> fine or fines Imposed for their not appearing in Arms according to y<sup>e</sup> Afore p<sup>re</sup>mised Act



**QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

**QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

**NOBODY COULD GUESS WHAT WOULD HAPPEN NEXT**





## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

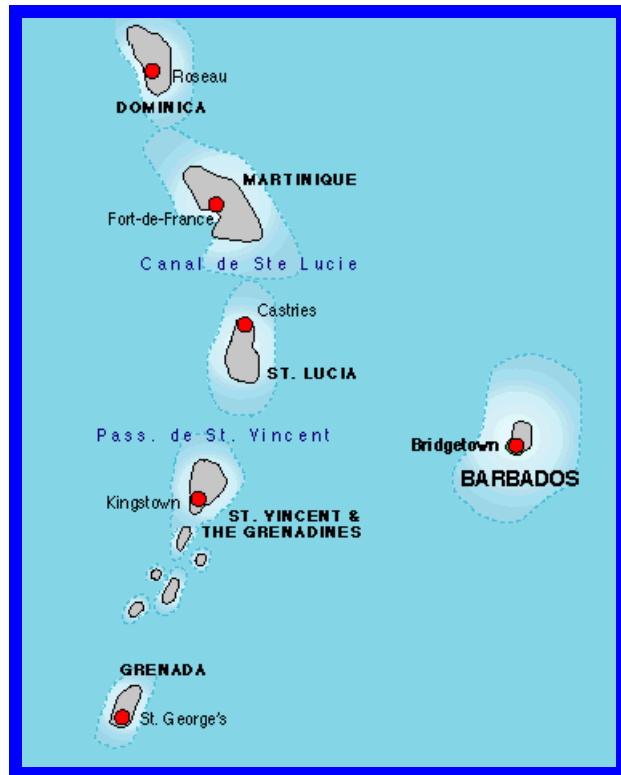
## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1674

➡ Governor Richard Kelgwin of [St. Helena](#) was seized by disgruntled settlers and soldiers, only to be rescued upon the chance arrival of an East India Company fleet. He was replaced as governor by Captain Gregory Field.

Between this year and 1693, on the island of Barbados under the regime of Governor Jonathan Atkins, over 300 [Quakers](#) would be fined more than a total of £10,000 for offenses such as refusing to support either the established Church or the island's militia. This governor characterized the island's Quakers as "most repugnant to all laws and orders."



CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

March: The [Plymouth](#) court appointed [John Smith](#), despite his marriage with a [Quaker](#), as a lieutenant of the [Dartmouth](#) militia company.

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY



It was, however, as the first military commander of Dartmouth that he may be said to be especially distinguished. In 1673-4 he was appointed by Governor Winslow as Lieutenant of the Military Company of Dartmouth. A militant Quaker is something of an anomaly. I fancy that Deborah, his wife, had passed on



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

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before John became a soldier. I doubt if she would have stood by him as loyally as he did by her in the matter of the Quaker meetings at Plymouth, nor "defended and approved" his acceptance of a military commission. His second wife, Ruhamah Kirby, was, perhaps, less rigid in her Quakerism, or more amenable.

**VIEW THE PAGE IMAGES**



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

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GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1675

June 11, Friday (Old Style): The women and children of the promontory known as [Mount Hope](#) in the bay of [Rhode Island](#) were taken across the bay for sanctuary in the [Narragansett](#) country. Braves started appearing more frequently in the neighborhood of the smaller outlying hamlets. There was a report that the [Wampanoag](#) near [Swansea](#) ([Swanzy](#)) were under arms.



The English, who were of course under arms, were of course greatly alarmed that any other than themselves would be under arms. Even Quaker adherents of the Peace Testimony were preparing for the coming race war:

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

In 1675, King Philip's War erupted, between native Americans and the English of the United Colonies of Massachusetts and Plymouth. A 14-month war of exceptional loss of life, much of it fought on Rhode Island soil....

It is conventional wisdom that the Quaker government participated in the war only with great reluctance and minimal measures. But contradictory evidence modifies this view. While it is clear that large-scale troop mobilisations did not occur ... the Quaker government directed military activities of both an offensive and defensive nature....

At the beginning of the war, in June 1675, the Quaker governor was John Easton, supported by five Quaker assistants and at least four Quaker deputies. All of the men were early and substantial leaders within the Rhode Island meeting. The [Newport Monthly Meetings](#), for example were held at Governor [William Coddington](#)'s house, where indeed George Fox attended [Yearly Meeting](#) in 1672.

The legislative records, noting the "dangerous hurries with the Indians,"<sup>4</sup> show that the government engaged in mobilising councils of war in the towns, ordering ammunition, mounting "great guns" and transporting Plymouth soldiers.<sup>5</sup> Quakers were





## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

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### GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

specifically commissioned to oversee watches in Rhode Island, to evaluate whether to fund a garrison in Providence, to procure and manage the deployment of four boats, each with five or six men, and to patrol the waters of Narragansett Bay.<sup>6</sup> The Assembly appointed a major to command the military forces of the colony, thereby centralizing the war power. Governor Coddington signed the major's commission "to use your utmost endeavor to kill, expulse, expell, take and destroy all and every the enemies of this his Majesty's Collony."<sup>7</sup> [Meredith Baldwin Weddle, "Early Quaker Peace Testimony," in Mullett's NEW LIGHT ON GEORGE FOX, pages 92-93]

#### "KING PHILLIP'S WAR"

June 23, Wednesday (Old Style): A white boy shot and killed a red native who was looting one of the abandoned [Swansea](#) homes. The trap, if it was a trap, was sprung. The next day after that offing, the escalation would be on its merry way, with one white being offed at Swansea, two being offed at Miles' Garrison, two being offed at [Rehoboth](#), and six being offed at Mattapoiset.<sup>8</sup>

#### "KING PHILLIP'S WAR"

At some point in this timeframe, Friend John Easton would relate, a letter had been received in [Rhode Island](#) from the governor of the Plymouth colony, John Winslow, requesting "our help with sum boats if thay had such ocaion and for us to looke to our selfs." Captain James Cudworth communicated that the Governor's intention in making this request was to "Cum upon the indians" by land, down the neck of the [Mount Hope](#) peninsula, and that the Rhode Island boats were "to atend," blockading the Mount Hope peninsula so that the Wampanoag would not be able to escape the Plymouth troops simply by taking to their canoes. On this day Governor [William Coddington](#) of Rhode Island, a [Quaker](#), agreed to do this: "I intend (God willing) to get our boats and watch the shore to oppose the common enemy, all of us being Englishmen and subjects of our King and proposing to serve one and the same end." One may infer from this pledge that the Quaker Peace Testimony was not seen as applying to interracial conflicts — that blood was thicker than principle.

#### THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY



5. Friend [Walter Clarke](#)'s letter to the magistrates at Providence, 19th day of 9th month, 1675
6. RECORDS OF THE COLONY OF RHODE ISLAND...Volume 2, pages 531-537, passim
7. RECORDS OF THE COLONY OF RHODE ISLAND...Volume 2, page 538
8. The "score" at this point: 8 out of 10 Commandments still operational.





## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM



August 24 (24/6M), Tuesday (Old Style), 1675: A group of [Rhode Island](#) Quakers authored a curious document, a copy of which has recently been recovered from among the papers of Governor John Winthrop, Jr. of Connecticut, in which they were alleging there to be among them some who were falling away from the Peace Testimony by resorting to “***Fighting, Killing Blood-shed Murther with Carnall Weapons.***” Along the way they described what their Peaceable Kingdom of God was supposed to be like — a place “***where Strife, Envy, Pride, Covetousness, are not***”:

***Fighting, Killing Blood-shed Murther with Carnall Weapons, rendering Evil for Evil, are not; Revenge, Robbing for Conscience sake; watching with Guns or Swords to kill the Bodys of Men, though Enemies; Offending, or defending with Carnal weapons of whatsortsoever to preserve att Liberty Body or Estate are not.***

### THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

The problem these faithful [Quakers](#) who were authoring this document faced, obviously, was that those influential Quakers of Rhode Island who were endangering them by placing trust in “***Carnall Weapons, in the Kingdom of Contention, & Strife (as Guns Swords &c.) to defend their own, or others Bodys, Lives, or Estates, by threatning to Wound; or kill, or by wounding or killing, the Bodyes of their Enemys,***” so far falling away from this ideal of the Peaceable Kingdom of God, were Quaker officials of the Rhode Island government which was purporting to represent them. These government types who were cooperating in the prosecution of the ongoing race war obviously were greatly endangering these Quaker nonviolencers on their isolated farm homesteads, by creating the sort of hostile environment in which the [Wampanoag](#) and [Narragansett](#) could be expected to become agitated against, and to attack, English in general on the basis of the color of their skin, rather than carefully distinguishing between warlike English and harmless English adherents of the Peace Testimony.

### “KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

[GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM](#)

December 12, Sunday (Old Style): The combined armies of the Massachusetts colony and the Plymouth colony marched into “Ponham’s Country,” which is now the area around [Warwick, Rhode Island](#), but failed to capture headman Ponham.

[“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”](#)



At least one [Quaker](#) was a high officer among these armed men:



“The usual interpretation of the actions and inactions of the Rhode Island government has been that its members were inhibited by the pacifist scruples of the Quakers among them. Historians have not cited, nor have I found, evidence upon which to base this belief.... Such reading back of later Quaker understandings of the peace testimony obscures not only other wartime motives but the nature of the peace testimony as it was understood in that particular time and place. Third, in many respects the government activities do not appear to have been constrained. ... There were Quakers who bore arms during the war. Captain Weston Clarke, who was sent to relieve Warwick, Lieutenant Robert Westcott, who was killed in the Great Swamp Fight, and Abraham Mann of Providence, who was wounded are three examples.”



– Meredith Baldwin Weddle, [WALKING IN THE WAY OF PEACE: QUAKER PACIFISM IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY](#). England: Oxford UP, 2001, pages 172–173, page 204

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM



December 18, Saturday (Old Style): The army of the United Colonies came together. They bivouacked that night during a bitter snowstorm, in an open field without blankets near [South Kingstown](#).

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"

The Reverend [Roger Williams](#) wrote Governor John Winthrop, Jr. that it was necessary to attack the [Narragansett](#) because they were "barbarous men of Bloud." He had taken pains to consult with God and had been listening to the "mind and voice of the most high amongst us," and had assured himself that those among the [Quakers](#) who were "contrary" to war were simply mistaken as to God's will.

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

Near a native stonework known as "Queen's Fort" on the border of Exeter and [North Kingstown](#) in [Rhode Island](#), said to have been the stronghold of sachem Quaipen and her adherents, on this day the native named Peter who would betray the native fort in the Great Swamp Fight was captured by the English.

December 19, Sunday (Old Style): Forces of the United Colonies assaulted a sanctuary which the [Narragansett](#) tribespeople had set up in order to avoid turning over their wives and children to the whites as hostages, in the "Great Swamp," a swamp in what is now [South Kingstown](#), [Rhode Island](#). In an attempt to assimilate this battle to the battle which ended the Pequot War, which had occurred in a swamp near Fairfield on July 13, 1637, both of these battles would come to be referred to as "The Great Swamp Fight." This particular slaughter would excite a rather crude piece of doggerel:

'Tis fear'd a thousand Natives young and old,  
Went to a place in their opinion cold.

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"

The bloody-minded Reverend [Cotton Mather](#) would remember this Great Swamp Fight as the tailgate party at which the [Narragansett](#) tribe had been "Berbikew'd," his spelling. (Get a clue: he was a Puritan and the land had been purified. –What could possibly be offensive about ethnic cleansing?)

It had been at 5 AM that the white soldiers had formed up after their night in the cold snow without blankets, and set out toward this [Narragansett](#) stronghold. They had arrived at the edge of the Great Swamp, an area around [South Kingstown](#), at about 1 PM. The Massachusetts troops in the lead were fired upon by a small band of native Americans and pursued without waiting for orders. As the natives retreated they came along across the frozen swamp to the entrance of the fort, which was on an island of sorts standing above the swamp, and consisted of a triple palisade of logs twelve feet high. There were small blockhouses at intervals above this palisade. Inside, the main village sheltered about 3,000 men, women, and children. The Massachusetts troops



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had been enticed to arrive at precisely the strongest section of the palisade where, however, there was a gap for which no gate had yet been built. Across this gap the natives had placed a tree trunk breast height, as a barrier to check any charge, and just above the gap was a blockhouse. Without waiting for the Plymouth and Connecticut companies, the Massachusetts soldiers charged the opening and swarmed over the barrier. Five company commanders were killed in the charge but the troops managed to remain for a period inside the fort before falling back into the swamp. The Massachusetts men, now joined by Plymouth, gathered themselves for a 2d charge. Meanwhile, Major Treat led his Connecticut troops round to the back of the fort where the palisade had not been finished. Here and there the posts were spaced apart and protected only by a tangled mass of limbs and brush. The men charged up a bank under heavy fire and forced their way past the palisade. As they gained a foothold inside, the second charge at the gap also forced an entrance and the battle raged through the Indian village. It was a fight without quarter on either side, and was still raging at sunset when Winslow ordered the wooden lodges put to the torch. The flames, whipped by the winds of the driving



snowstorm, spread quickly. Winslow decided that the army had to fall back to the shelter of Smith's Trading Post in Coccumscossoc ([Wickford](#)), where some resupply ships might have arrived. The English gathered their wounded, the worst being placed on horseback, and fell back toward Wickford. It would not be until 2 AM that the leading units would stumble into the town. Some, losing their way, would not get shelter until 7 AM. This three-hour battle was the end of the Narragansett Campaign. The English suffering 20 killed and 200 wounded (80 of whom who later die from their wounds, there being 40 English corpses interred in one common trench in Wickford) and the [Narragansett](#) likewise suffered high casualties although about a thousand did escape.

At least one armed white man who was killed while attempting to kill others was a [Quaker](#) and an officer:



"The usual interpretation of the actions and inactions of the Rhode Island government has been that its members were inhibited by the pacifist scruples of the Quakers among them. Historians have not cited, nor have I found, evidence upon which to base this belief.... Such reading back of later Quaker understandings of the peace testimony obscures not only other wartime motives but the nature of the peace testimony as it was understood in that particular time and place. Third, in many respects the government activities do not appear to have been constrained. ... There were Quakers who bore arms during the war. Captain Weston Clarke, who was sent to relieve Warwick, Lieutenant Robert Westcott, who was killed in the Great Swamp Fight, and Abraham Mann of Providence, who was wounded are three examples."

— Meredith Baldwin Weddle, *WALKING IN THE WAY OF PEACE: QUAKER PACIFISM IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY*. England: Oxford UP, 2001, pages 172-173, page 204



THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

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(Presumably Friend Robert Westcott, like the Reverend [Roger Williams](#), had taken pains to consult with God and had been listening to the “mind and voice of the most high amongst us,” and had assured himself that [Quakers](#) who were “contrary” to war were simply mistaken as to God’s will! —You must lie in your blood, you “barbarous men of Bloud”!)

(Presumably, since Friend Abraham Mann of [Providence](#) who was wounded during the Great Swamp Fight was a white man, he was then tenderly cared for by the [Quaker](#) caretakers on [Aquidneck Island](#), who tenderly cared for those who had been wounded in the fight, if they were white men!)

While the [Narragansett](#) were not completely crushed there can be no question that the Great Swamp Fight was the turning point in the war. If the tribe had been able to join the [Wampanoag](#) at full strength in the spring the war would have lasted much longer. The Narragansett would have a few more victories in 1676, would burn [Rehoboth](#) and [Providence](#), and in March would ambush Captain Michael Pierce, but for all practical purposes they were out of the war.

In the course of this single race battle with the English, the [Narragansett](#) would lose almost 20% of its entire population, and massacre and starvation would soon be killing off most of the remainder. By 1682 fewer than 500 would remain of the original estimated 10,000 souls who had existed as of 1610. After 1682 this remnant would be allowed by the English to settle with the Eastern Niantic on a reservation at Charlestown RI. The Narragansett tribal registry currently list over 2,400 members, most of whom reside in [Rhode Island](#).<sup>9</sup>

9. In [Rhode Island](#) especially, after the population disaster of “[King Phillip’s War](#)”, many native women would form new households with black men. Rhode Island would be boasting the largest black population in New England and a significant proportion of these blacks would be free, so in many cases this was their best available option. These unions would result in a new category of person, the “mustee,” who was considered to be a native American by himself or herself but not by the “white people” who were *de facto* making all such distinctions. You may therefore run into some hot arguments if you cite these population statistics, from whites who will attempt to insist to you that “it’s all just a bunch of n-----s making pretenses,” quote unquote. (You’ll have to live in Rhode Island for awhile, and argue cases of land title and cases of casino gambling, to get the full flavor of this.)



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Most contemporary accounts of this second of the “great swamp fights” have been based upon a couple of letters by the white army’s chaplain, the Reverend Joseph Dudley, and one by Captain James Oliver, commander of the 3d Company of the Massachusetts regiment:



*May it please your Honnr Mr Smiths 15, 10, 75*

*I am comanded by the Generall to give your Honnor account of our proceeding since our last frm Pautuxet in the Sabath evening we advanced the whole body from Mr Carpenters with Intent to surprise Ponham & his Party at about 10 or 12 Miles Distance having information by oue Warwick scouts of his seat but the darkness of ye Night Diffucutly of our Passage & unskillfulness of Pilots we passed the whole night & found ourselves at such Distance yet from ym yt we Diverted & Marched to Mr Smiths, found our sloops from Seaconck arrived since which by ye help of Indian Peter by whom your Honnor had the Information formerly of ye number & resolution of ye Naragansetts, we have burned two of their towns viz; Ahmus who is this summer come down amongst them & ye old Queens quarters consisting of about 150 Many of them large wigwams & seized or slayn 50 Persons in all our prisoners being about 40 Concerning whom the generall prayes your advice concerning their transportation and Disposall all which was performed without any loss save a slight wound by an Arrow in Lieut. Wayman’s face, the whole body of them we find removed into their great swamp at Canonicus his quarters where we hope with the addition of Connecticut, when arrived we hope to coop them up, this day we Intend the removall or spoyle of yr Corn & hope to Morrow a March toward them, our soldiers being very chearful are forward noywithstanding great Difficulty by weather & otherwise, abovsd Peter whom we have found very faithful will Make us believe yt yr are 3000 fighting Men many unarmed Many well fitted with lances we hope by cutting off their forage to force them to a fayre battle In ye Mean time I have only to present the Genralls humble service to your & to beg you Intense prayers for this so great Concern and remayn your*

*Honnors Humble Servant Jos: Dudley*

*Goodale nor Moor arrived we fear want of shot*

*My humble service to Madam Leveret Brother and Sister Hubbard & Dudley*

*Amongst our Prisonrs & Slayn we find 10 or 12 Wampanoags*





## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

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**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**



*Mr Smith's, 21, 10, 1675*

*May it please your honour*

*The comming of the Connecticut force to Petaquamscott, and surprisal of six and slaughter of five on Friday night, Saturday we marched towards Petaquamscott, though in snow, and in conjunction about midnight or later, we advanced: Capt. Mosley led the van, after him Massachusetts, and Plimouth and Connecticut in the rear; a tedious march in the snow, without intermission, brought us about two of the clock afternoon, to the entrance of the swamp, by the help of Indian Peter, who dealt faithfully with us; our men, with great courage, entered the swamp about twenty rods; within the cedar swamp we found some hundreds of wigwams, fortified in with a breastwork and flankered, and many small blockhouses up and down, round about; they entertained us with a fierce fight, and many thousand shot, for about an hour, when our men valiantly scaled the fort, beat them thence, and from the blockhouses. In which action we lost Capt. Johnson, Capt. Danforth, and Capt. Gardiner, and their lieutenants disabled, Capt. Marshall also slain; Capt Seely, Capt. Mason, disabled, and many other officers, insomuch that, by a fresh assault and recruit powder from their store, the Indians fell on again, recarried and beat us out of, the fort, but by the great resolution and courage of the General and Major, we reinforced, and very hardly entered the fort again, and fired the wigwams, with many living and dead persons in them, great piles of meat and heaps of corn, the ground not permitting burial of their store, were consumed; the number of their dead, we generally suppose the enemy lost at least two hundred men; Capt. Mosely counted in one corner of the fort sixty four men; Capt. Goram reckoned 150 at least; But, O! Sir, mine heart bleeds to give your honor an account of our lost men, but especially our resolute Captains, as by account inclosed, and yet not so many, but we admire there remained any to return, a captive women, well known to Mr. Smith, informing that there were three thousand five hundred men engaging us and about a mile distant a thousand in reserve, to whom if God had so pleased, we had but been a morsel, after so much disablement: she informeth, that one of their sagamores was slain and their powder spent, causing their retreat, and that they are in a distressed condition for food and houses, that one Joshua Tift, an Englishman, is their encourager and conductor. Philip was seen by one, credilbly informing us, under a strong guard.*



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*After our wounds were dressed, we drew up for a march, not able to abide the field in the storm, and weary, about two of the clock, obtained our quarters, with our dead and wounded, only the General, Ministers, and some other persons of the guard, going to head a small swamp, lost our way, and returned again to the evening quarters, a wonder we were not prey to them, and, after at least thirty miles marching up and down, in the morning, recovered our quarters, and had it not been for the arrival of Goodale next morning, the whole camp had perished; The whole army, especially Connecticut, is much disabled and unwilling to march, with tedious storms, and no lodgings, and frozen and swollen limbs, Major Treat importunate to return to at least Stonington; Our dead and wounded are about two hundred, disabled as many; the want of officers, the consideration whereof the General commends to your honor, forbids any action at present, and we fear whether Connecticut will comply, at last, to any action. We are endeavoring, by good keeping and billeting our men at several quarters, and, if possible removal of our wounded to Rhode Island, to recover the spirit of our soldiers, and shall be diligent to find and understand the removals on other action of the enemy, if God please to give us advantage against them.*

*As we complete the account of dead, now in doing, The Council is of the mind, without recruit of men we shall not be able to engage the main body.*

*I give your honor hearty thanks  
for your kind lines, of which  
I am not worthy  
I am Sir, your honors  
humble servant  
Joseph Dudley*

*Since the writing of these lines, the General and Council have jointly concluded to abide on the place, notwithstanding the desire of Connecticut, only entreat that a supply of 200 may be sent us, with supply of commanders; and, whereas we are forced to garrison our quarters with at least one hundred, three hundred men, upon joint account of colonies, will serve, and no less, to effect the design. This is by order of the council.*

*Blunderbusses, and hand grenades, and armour, if it may, and at least two armourers to mend arms.*



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### GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM



Narragansett 26th 11th month 1675

After a tedious march in a bitter cold that followed the Dec. 12th, we hoped our pilot would have led us to Ponham by break of day, but so it came to pass we were misled and so missed a good opportunity. Dec. 13th we came to Mr Smith's, and that day took 35 prisoners. Dec 14th, our General went out with a horse and foot, I with my company was kept to garrison. I sent out 30 of my men to scout abroad, who killed two Indians and brought in 4 prisoners, one of which was beheaded. Our army came home at night, killed 7 and brought in 9 more, young and old. Dec 15th, came in John, a rogue, with pretense of peace, and was dismissed with this errand, that we might speak with Sachems. That evening, he not being gone a quarter of an hour, his company that lay hid behind a hill killed two Salem men within a mile from our quarters, and wounded a third that he is dead. And at a house three miles off where I had 10 men, they killed 2 of them. Instantly, Capt. Mosely, myself and Capt Gardner were sent to fetch in Major Appleton's company that kept 3 miles and a half off, and coming, they lay behind a stone wall and fired on us in sight of the garrison. We killed the captain that killed one of the Salem men, and had his cap on. That night they burned Jerry Bull's house, and killed 17. Dec. 16th came that news. Dec 17th came news that Connecticut forces were at Petasquamscot, and had killed 4 Indians and took 6 prisoners. That day we sold Capt. Davenport 47 Indians, young and old for 80l. in money. Dec 18th we marched to Petaquamscot with all our forces, only a garrison left; that night very stormy; we lay, one thousand, in the open field that long night. In the morning, Dec. 19th, Lord's day, at 5 o'clock we marched. Between 12 and 1 we came up with the enemy, and had a sore fight three hours. We lost, that are now dead, about 68, and had 150 wounded, many of which recovered. That long snowy cold night we had about 18 miles to our quarters, with about 210 dead and wounded. We left 8 dead in the fort. We had but 12 dead when we came to the swamp, besides the 8 we left. Many died by the way, and as soon as they were brought in, so that Dec. 20th we buried in a grave 34, next day 4, next day 2, and none since. Eight died at Rhode Island, 1 at Petaquamscot, 2 lost in the woods and killed Dec. 20, as we heard since; some say two more died. By the best intelligence, we killed 300 fighting men; prisoners we took, say 350, and above 300 women and children. We burnt above 500 houses, left but 9, burnt all their corn, that was in baskets, great store. One signal mercy that night, not to be forgotten, viz. That when we drew off, with so many dead and wounded, they did not pursue us, which the young men would have done, but the sachems would not consent; they had but ten pounds of powder let.



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*Our General, with about 40, lost our way, and wandered till 7 o'clock in the morning, before we came to our quarters. We thought we were within 2 miles of the enemy again, but God kept us; to him be the glory. We have killed now and then 1 since, and burnt 200 wigwams more; we killed 9 last Tuesday. We fetch in their corn daily and that undoes them. This is, as nearly as I can, a true relation. I read the narrative to my officers in my tent, who all assent to the truth of it. Mohegans and Pequods proved very false, fired into the air, and sent word before they came they would so, but got much plunder, guns and kettles. A great part of what is written was attested by Joshua Tefte, who married an Indian woman, a Wampanoag. He shot 20 times at us in the swamp, was taken at Providence Jan'y 14, brought to us the 16th, executed the 18th. A sad wretch, he never heard a sermon but once these 14 years. His father, going to recall him lost his head and lies unburied.*

*A list of Major Saml Appleton souldjers yt were slayne & wounded the 19th Decemb. '75, at the Indians fort at Naragansett*

*In the Company of killed wounded*

*Major Appleton 4 18  
Capt. Mosely 6 9  
Capt. Oliver 5 8  
Capt. Davenport 4 11  
Capt. Johnson 4 8  
Capt. Gardiner 7 10  
Capt. Prentice 1 3*

*31 67*

*Of the officers, Capts. Davenport, Johnson, and Gardiner were killed, and Lieutenants Upham, Savage, Swain, and Ting were wounded.*

*Of the Connecticut troops 71 were killed.*

*Capt. Gallup- 10  
Capt. Marshall- 14  
Capt. Seeley- 20  
Capt. Mason- 9  
Capt. Watts- 17*

[Edward DeWolf](#) was one of the volunteers who surrounded the Swampy Fort, to whom the State of Connecticut granted the township of Narragansett, now Voluntown, as a reward for their services (however, presumably he continued to reside in Lyme).



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## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

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**1676**

March 10, Tuesday (1675, Old Style): The [Plymouth](#) court fined 18 potential militiamen for “not goeing forth being pressed,” which is to say, for refusing to serve in the local military. Nine of these 18 were [Quakers](#) of Sandwich and Scituate:

- Friend Daniel Butler
- Friend Zacharia Jenkins
- Friend Ephraim Allen
- Friend William Allen
- Friend Zachariah Colman
- Friend Joseph Colman
- Friend Thomas Colman
- Friend John Rance
- Friend John Northy

Three other [Quakers](#) also were refuseniks, but evidently had refused even to make an appearance before this court:

- Friend Israel Gaunt
- Friend Increase Allen
- Friend Obadiah Butler

[CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE](#)

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## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

[Go To Master History of Quakerism](#)

According to the Reverend William Hubbard's A NARRATIVE OF THE TROUBLES WITH THE INDIANS IN *NEW-ENGLAND*, FROM THE FIRFT PLANTING THEREOF IN THE YEAR 1607, TO THIS PRESENT YEAR 1677. BUT CHIEFLY OF THE LATE TROUBLES IN THE TWO LAFT YEARS, 1675, AND 1676. TO WHICH IS ADDED A DIFCOURFE ABOUT THE *WARRE* WITH THE PEQUODS IN THE YEAR 1637, published in 1677, on this day a [Concord](#) man was killed while going after hay.

["KING PHILLIP'S WAR"](#)

Presumably, then, this would be one of the 13 town residents who are listed in the statistics as having died during this year:

Marriages   Births   Deaths

1656	3	11	—
1657	3	11	3
1658	3	6	3
1659	2	10	4
1660	6	11	3
1661	2	12	6
1662	4	14	4
1663	5	14	4
1664	4	11	2
1665	7	13	6
1666	2	22	6
1667	8	15	6



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Marriages Births Deaths

1668	4	21	5
1669	4	24	5
1670	2	21	2
1671	6	22	7
1672	5	20	3
1673	6	29	6
1674	3	20	5
1675	5	21	11
1676	4	13	13
1677	11	22	6

~~March 26, Sunday (Old Style): American attacks were staged on the English settlements at Longmeadow, Marlborough, and Simsbury. Mendon and Wrentham were evacuated. Although the citizens of Marlborough had become war refugees, it was decided that due to the strategic location a garrison of soldiers would need to maintain themselves in a fortified house there.~~

### "KING PHILLIP'S WAR"

After the Plymouth force had staged its assault on the principal village of the [Narragansett](#) in the Great Swamp near [South Kingstown, Rhode Island](#), the surviving Narragansett—who had to this point been neutral—of necessity had joined with the surviving Wampanoag. That Great Swamp Fight had taken the lives, by some accounts, of some 300 braves and almost 400 women and children. During the following spring the merged groups were seeking their vengeance. Captain Michael Peirce of Scituate led a detachment in pursuit of Miantonomi's son, the sachem Canonchet, at Quisnicket near [Pawtucket](#), but within the original limits of Bristol County (this happened near what is now Lincoln Woods Park in [Lincoln, Rhode Island](#)). They had marched to [Taunton](#), and then along the Old Seacunke Road to [Rehoboth](#) (East Providence), and then had come north along the east side of the Seekonk. On this day a war party led by chief sachem Canonchet successfully ambushed and overwhelmed Captain Pierce's company of approximately 63 or 65 Englishmen and 20 native Cape Cod auxiliaries on the banks of the [Blackstone River](#) in present-day [Central Falls](#) somewhere near

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Lonsdale, at a ford in the river in a heavily wooded area.<sup>10</sup> Several of the native American guides from Cape Cod were able to escape alive by various subterfuges. Actually, it seems the American natives lost more warriors in this fight than the English. Supposedly, nine of the white warriors were captured and would be conveyed to a spot in [Cumberland](#) that now goes under the name “Nine Men’s Misery,” and there killed.<sup>11</sup>



A messenger had been sent to [Providence](#) for aid, before the ambush, but had been, according to tradition, too pious to interrupt a church service in progress when he arrived. After he had waited outside the church for hours while the long service proceeded, his message was too late the relief force being able only to bury the scalped bodies. (A few days later Canonchet would be captured and executed.)

10. It would appear that at least some of the white soldiers who were cut down fighting back-to-back in that “double-double ring” were [Quakers](#) who had abandoned their Peace Testimony for the duration of the race war — because Benjamin Thompson would memorialize them as such in his canto “New-Englands Tears For Her Present Miseries”:

Here Captious ones, without their Queries lie,  
The Quaker here, the Presbyterian by.  
The Scruple dormant lies of thee and thou,  
And most as one to Deaths dominion bow.

Among the fallen fighters whom we imagine probably to have been armed Quakers were:

- Friend Stephen Wing, Jr. of Sandwich
- Friend Samuel Bourman or Bowerman of Barnstable
- Friend John Sprague of Duxbury

### THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

11. According to Sidney Rider the common accounts of the episode are based mainly on legend. For instance, the [Cumberland](#) monument, which happens to be the first ever erected to American white fighters, states that these victims were the “pursued,” as if they had been seeking to avoid this, when actually they were very much the pursuers and had been out looking for a fight. The location now identified by this name on the grounds of the Edward J. Hayden library on Diamond Hill Road is highly questionable as having any relation to the events as they actually happened. Bicknell reports that the skulls of the nine victims were found in the 1960s in the basement of the Rhode Island Historical Society on Brook Street in [Providence](#), where they had been stored after being recovered in an 1800s antiquarian dig.

Among the skulls, that of Benjamin Buckland of Rehoboth was easy to identify, because he (like headman *Taoyateduta* in Minnesota in a subsequent race war) had a double set of teeth.



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May 23, Tuesday (Old Style): Josiah Winslow wrote that “The people in all our towns (Scituate excepted) are very desirous to be ranging after the enemy.” It seems likely that in referring to Scituate, he was referring to the refusal of the 18 potential militiamen of March 10th, for he adds that in the inflamed context of the times, after the native Americans had killed four English at [Taunton](#), and burned a house and a barn, “not a man from Scituate would stir to remove them.” We note that although Winslow might have chosen to use words suggesting that these refuseniks were cowards, or were selfish, he chose instead to employ neutral terms which carry no such freight.

[QUAKERS](#)

[“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”](#)

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## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

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## [90] An act for y<sup>e</sup> Better Regulating y<sup>e</sup> Militia & for Punishing offend<sup>ers</sup> as Shall not Conform to y<sup>e</sup> Laws there unto Relating

*Bee it Encted* by y<sup>e</sup> hon<sup>ble</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Gouer<sup>er</sup> Councill & house of Representatives in this P<sup>re</sup>sent Sesssions assembled & by y<sup>e</sup> Authority thereof it is hereby Enacted y<sup>t</sup> aft<sup>r</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Publication of this Act y<sup>t</sup> if any p<sup>er</sup>son or persons Listed Und<sup>r</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Co<sup>m</sup>mand of any Cap<sup>t</sup> or Commad<sup>er</sup> in Cheif of y<sup>e</sup> Militia Shall or do not appear Compleat in armes (Viz<sup>th</sup>) w<sup>th</sup> A Good & Sufficent muskett or Fuze a Sword or Bayenet, Catooch box or Bandelers w<sup>th</sup> twelve Bulets fitt for his Peice half a Pound of Powder & Six good Flints Upon y<sup>e</sup> Precise Training Days already p<sup>re</sup>fixt as well as when there Rspective Cap<sup>ts</sup> or Co<sup>m</sup>mand<sup>ers</sup> in Cheif Shall call them Togeather Either by Allarum or any oth<sup>er</sup> time or times as Shall by their s<sup>d</sup> Command<sup>ers</sup> be thought fitt & Expedient for his maj<sup>ties</sup> Interest During y<sup>e</sup> Times of Warr & if any p<sup>er</sup>son or p<sup>er</sup>sons Listed &c Shall neglect their Respective Dutys & due Obedience & not appear in Manner Afores<sup>d</sup> Shall forfeit for Each neglect on y<sup>e</sup> Days Appointed for Training or Oth<sup>er</sup> Meetings in Armes y<sup>e</sup> Sum of Thre Shillings in money w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Due Fees Arifing thereon & for non Appearance or neglect on any Larum y<sup>e</sup> Sum of five Shilling w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Due Fees Arifeing thereon to be taken by Distraint or otherwise as y<sup>e</sup> fines for non apperance on y<sup>e</sup> Training Days are to be Taken

....

[92] *And Bee it Further Enacted*  
That y<sup>e</sup> Respective Cap<sup>t</sup> & Co<sup>m</sup>ission officers of Each Respective Company or Train band in this Colony have full Pow<sup>er</sup> & authority during y<sup>e</sup> time of their being in Armes on y<sup>e</sup> training Days or on Allarums or Upon any oth<sup>er</sup> occasion w<sup>h</sup>soev<sup>er</sup> to Punish any Private Sentinall y<sup>t</sup> Shall Misbehaue him self w<sup>th</sup> Laying him Neck & Heels or Riding y<sup>e</sup> wooden horse or A fine not Exceeding fore Shillings at y<sup>e</sup> Discrefion of s<sup>d</sup> Commision Officers notw<sup>th</sup>standing y<sup>e</sup> Afore recited Acts Relateing y<sup>e</sup> militia it Shall be in y<sup>e</sup> pow<sup>er</sup> & Authority of y<sup>e</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> & Co<sup>m</sup>ission officers of Each Respective train Bands in this Colony if any P<sup>er</sup>sons as they Shall Iudg realy Conscientious being w<sup>th</sup>in their list & y<sup>t</sup> they Cannot bare arm's in y<sup>e</sup> Times of Allarums &c y<sup>t</sup> if y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> p<sup>er</sup>sons being So Conscientious be any ways Serviceable in makeing Discoverys or Riding upon any Expedition or any thing Elce y<sup>t</sup> may be Iudged Conuenient for y<sup>e</sup> Preferuation of his maj<sup>estys</sup> Interest y<sup>t</sup> it Shall be then in y<sup>e</sup> Pow<sup>er</sup> of s<sup>d</sup> Cap<sup>ts</sup> or Co<sup>m</sup>ission officers as afores<sup>d</sup> to remit y<sup>e</sup> fine or fines Imposed for their not appearing in Arms accord<sup>ing</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> Afore p<sup>re</sup>mised Act





## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

[Go To Master History of Quakerism](#)

1678

A complaint was made to the Plymouth court, that in Sandwich the [Quakers](#) were refusing to contribute to the maintenance of the town minister and the town church.

[CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE](#)

The petition to the court also instanced that the Sandwich Quakers had been verbally sharp with the non-Quakers, that their literature was deceiving “the hearts of the simple,” and that “wandering” Quakers had “crept in.” The outcome of this complaint would be that in the future no Quaker would be listed in the town records as a member of this town, and thus no Quaker would be entitled to have any share during the distribution of town lands.<sup>12</sup>

This year marked the completion of the observations of the Reverend William Hubbard in regard to the history of the “New Plymouth” colony.

[CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF ENGLISH AND AMERICAN LITERATURE](#)

### READ HUBBARD TEXT

**Chapter LXXVII. A continuation of the History of New Plymouth, from the year 1633, until the year 1678.**

June 3, Monday (Old Style): The Reverend Samuel Nowell explained to the Massachusetts troops for whom he was chaplain, that “The Lord is a Man of War.” Those [Quakers](#) with their ideas of not resisting evil are merely wierdos:

It is a strange piece of dotage befallen this crazy-headed age,  
that men should not use the sword.

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

12. We can be quite certain that, had the [Quakers](#) been more willing to participate in the killing of native Americans during the race war of 1675/1676, this petition could not have been submitted, because as the Quakers attempted to respond to this hostile attack by their town neighbors, they responded by offering an explanation of their Peace Testimony. They had not gone to war alongside their neighbors, they attempted to explain, as a consequence of their spiritual prudence — they had had a selfish interest in the well-being of their own souls, which had prevented them from participating in the killing. It had not been for the well-being of the Indians, that they had refused to go off to kill them, but because “they well know that the Eternall well being of their immortall soules is concerned in it.” They also warned their non-Quaker neighbors that, in persecuting Quakers, they were placing themselves at risk of suffering the wrath of almighty God: there is “nothing more certaine than that he will avenge their cause.” Indeed, unfortunate events had already occurred in the lives of some of their accusers (a number of examples were cited), revealing that “their do doeing provoakes the Lords anger.” The Quakers resented being lumped together with a bunch of non-Quaker cowards who had not participated in the killing “for their owne perticuler intrest which at most could be but the feare of the losse of their outward life.” (It should be noted that one of these contemptible non-Quakers who had neglected to go off to war out of personal cowardice had been John Smith, Jr., son of the local minister.)

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)






## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1681

King [Phillip](#)'s head had been rotting atop a pole in Plymouth for about five years (and would remain there for approximately another fifteen). His teenage son, the next in line to be sachem of the [Wampanoag](#)—this grandson of the [Massasoit](#) *Ousamequin* Yellow Feather<sup>13</sup> whose name we seldom even bother to record—was serving the duration of his life in overseas slavery.<sup>14</sup> [“King Phillip’s War”](#) was a matter of memory. At this point the paths of two persons of differing race and culture passed in the forest of [Rhode Island](#), and one discharged his weapon at the other.

In her *THE NAME OF WAR: KING PHILIP’S WAR AND THE ORIGINS OF AMERICAN IDENTITY* (NY: Knopf, 1998, pages 182-3), Jill Lepore takes most seriously the warning issued by the Reverend [Cotton Mather](#) in 1692,  “...Our Indian wars are not over yet,” and is willing to deal at length with materials that for instance contemporary Quakers may use in their ruminations on 20th-Century renditions of their Peace Testimony:

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

13. *Massasoit* is not a name, but a hereditary title, like *sachem*. Its meaning is approximately equivalent to *Shahanshah*.

14. In all likelihood the teenager had been sold in the West Indies for approximately £3.



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

### GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

In 1681, five years after King Philip's War had ended, two men met in the woods outside Providence. One was English, the other Indian. Both carried guns. When the Englishman, Benjamin Henden, saw the Indian (whose name was never mentioned), he ordered him to halt, but the Indian "would not obey his word, and stand at his Command." Furious, Henden raised his gun and fired, "with an Intent to have killed him." Luckily for the Indian, Henden was a lousy shot and missed his target entirely. And luckily for Henden, the Indian was not a vengeful man. "Notwithstanding the said violence to him offered did not seek to revenge himselfe by the like return ; although he alsoe had a gunn and might have shott at Henden againe if he had been minded soe to have done." Instead of shooting Henden, the Indian man "went peaceably away," stopping only long enough to use "some words by way of Reproof ; unto the said Hernden [sic] blaming him for that his Violence and Cruelty, and wondering that English men should offer soe to shoot at him and such as he was without cause."

Had these same two men met in the same woods five or six years earlier, when King Philip's War was still raging, it is unlikely that both would have survived the encounter unharmed. Henden, if he had traveled at all in Massachusetts, was probably familiar with the law passed in that colony in 1675 dictating that "it shall be lawful for any person, whether English or Indian, that shall finde any Indian travelling or skulking in any of our Towns or Woods ... to command them under their Guard and Examination, or to kill and destroy them as they best may or can." But that law was, of course, no longer in effect (and never was in Rhode Island), and for his anachronistic and misplaced aggression, Henden landed himself in court, condemned for his "late rash turbulent and violent behavior." The case even led the Rhode Island General Assembly to pass "an act to prevent outrages against the Indians, precipitated by a rhode islander shooting an indian in the woods." In the first place, as the Assembly declared, agreeing with Henden's intended victim, Henden had "noe Authority nor just cause" to command the Indian to halt. "Noe person," the Assembly proclaimed, "shall presume to doe any such unlawfull acts of violence against the Indians upon their perills." And more importantly, Henden and others like him must learn to "behave themselves peaceably towards the Indians, in like maner as before the ware."

#### PROVIDENCE

I very much appreciate this because it so well illustrates the influence of testimony. One person's moderation, one person's individual lived example –to wit, the unnamed native's declining to return fire after an aggressor had discharged his firearm (and thus effectively for a period of about a minute disarmed himself), this anonymous person's having contented himself with a verbal reproach after his life had been so unnecessarily endangered– became magnified in [Rhode Island](#) into a movement toward de-escalation of the race violence.

A model for us all!

During this same year, at [Mount Hope](#) one day, a man was held down and the brand **P** burned into



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GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

his forehead. This was not the mark of

Phillip

the sachem *Metacom* of Mount Hope, but stood instead, curiously, for the term of art

Pollution<sup>15</sup>

— because this white man, named Thomas Saddeler, had been observed to have been taking his mare to “a certaine obscure and woodey place, on Mount Hope,” and to have there been engaging in sexual intercourse with her.<sup>16</sup>



“As the star of the Indian descended,  
that of the Puritans rose ever higher.”  
— Tourtellot, Arthur Bernon, *THE CHARLES*,  
NY: Farrar & Rinehart, 1941, page 63



15. Bear in mind in regard to this term **pollution** that the concept **perversion** would not formally enter out medical terminology until 1842, when it would be defined in Dunglison’s *MEDICAL LEXICON* as one of the four modifications of function in disease, the other three modifications of function being **augmentation**, **diminution**, and **abolition**.


16. Although we don’t have a record of what happened to the mare, in such cases we know the abused animal was always offed. No way would they have left the mare to the mercy of this Tommy and, also, no way would any other white man have been willing to take charge of it.



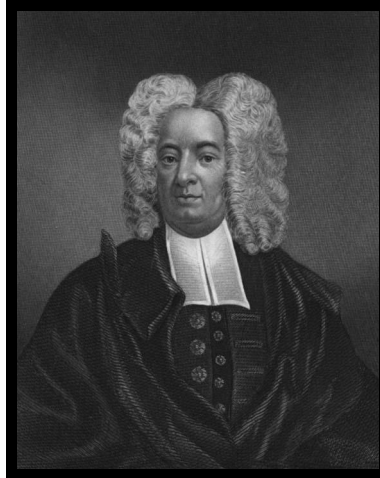
## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

### GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

As the Reverend [Cotton Mather](#) would put the matter in 1692, 

*We have shamefully Indianized in all these abominable things.... Our Indian wars are not over yet.*



As Jill Lepore has more recently phrased the matter, relying upon a heightened level of sarcasm and self-awareness,



After fourteen months of bloodshed, followed by three years of intermittent fighting, the colonists were right back where they started, as "Heathenish," as Indian, as ever. Philip's death was only a hollow victory. Depravity still soiled New England.... Tempted by the devil, corrupted by the Indian wilderness, Englishmen were still degenerating into beasts.

What was a poor white man to do?



Here, then, was the solution to the colonists' dilemma ... wage the war, and win it, by whatever means necessary, and then write about it, to win it again. The first would be a victory of wounds, the second a victory of words.



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

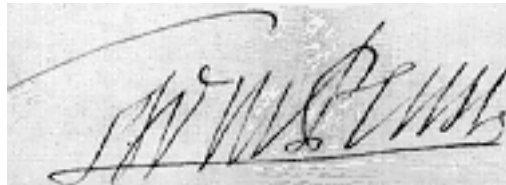
[GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM](#)

1682

September: Friend [William Penn](#) arrived in Pennsylvania with what one might be willing to term a negative attitude toward Quaker participation in or enjoyment of the recreational arts, as found in his NO CROSS, NO CROWN: “How many plays did Jesus Christ and His Apostles recreate themselves at? What poets, romances, comedies, and the like did the Apostles and Saints make, or use to pass away their time withal? I know, they did redeem their time, to avoid foolish talking, vain jesting, profane babblings, and fabulous stories.”

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

This new Proprietor of Pennsylvania, who would be remaining in the New World until 1684, proposed that his colony rely primarily upon indentured labor, limiting slavery and beginning to treat any slaves already present on the scene as indentured servants who might anticipate being granted their freedom upon completion of their 14th year of faithful service.



Among the “Laws agreed upon in England” prior to the establishment of the Pennsylvania colony was an agreement that Quaker nonviolence would not extend to any refusal of the police function of government: “That all prisons shall be workhouses for felons, vagrants and loose and idle persons; whereof one shall be in every county.”

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

Pennsylvania was the first colony to make sodomy a non-capital offense, limiting punishment to whipping, forfeiture of 1/3 of one’s estate, and six months of hard labor. (Such benevolence would only last for the first couple of decades. The law would be amended in 1700 to a punishment of life imprisonment or castration.) In this year John Fenwick “surrendered his lands to [William Penn](#).”

There is a rather unflattering reference to Friend [William Penn](#) in a 1975 book WEST JERSEY UNDER FOUR FLAGS by Ralph K. Turp, Ed. D., J.D. (Dorrance, 1975) Note that the dividing line between what was West Jersey and East Jersey has its southern point in Little Egg Harbor, which makes Atlantic City on the West Jersey side of the line! It’s often said that history is written by the victors. In this case the losers in the deal were not only the Indians but the Dutch who had explored the area in 1609, establishing Fort Nassau in 1624 (in Gloucester County, just south of present-day Camden), and the Swedes who had started the colony of New Sweden in the Delaware Valley in 1638 (Fort Nassau had been destroyed by the Indians the year before). Mr. Turp appears to be a descendant of the Swedes who settled in New Sweden so he has an “alternative” view of

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the history of Quaker settlement in this area. Not necessarily the “real” story, but one can look between the extremes of the winners’ and the losers’ stories. The Lenape Indians apparently had three major settlements along the Delaware:

- the Minsi or Minisink up near the corner of present-day PA, NY, and NJ, a name which perhaps means “people of the mountain” (their totem was the panther)
- the Unami of Turtle Town just north of the present Trenton on the PA side
- the Unalachtigo of Turkey Town near the present Bridgeton

The rest of the land was used for hunting and gathering. In the summer the Lenape would come to the shore to gather and preserve shellfish, also making a kind of money out of the shells. They had agriculture in the settlements but the concept of buying marked-out parcels of land was probably pretty foreign to them.



When the Europeans came and gave the native people goods and assumed that the Europeans then owned exclusive-use rights to the land, it probably didn’t really mean the same thing to all sides. We don’t how many



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such exchanges took place, but the scene under the tree is symbolic, as it incorrectly implies two parties and



one treaty. Over a 70-year period there would have been lots of occasions, lots of peoples, lots of languages, lots of concepts of ownership, differing surveys, some written, some by handshake, some friendly, some hostile. By the time Friend [William Penn](#) arrived he was getting deeds from other European settlers who had possibly before then made negotiations with the native people, and, in the case of the land Penn and Friends took over from John Fenwick, those prior negotiations included guns, gunpowder, and rum. New Sweden was the first substantial European settlement in the Delaware Valley, and it only lasted for about 17 years, being defeated in 1655 by the Dutch, under Peter Stuyvesant of New Amsterdam, New Netherlands. As a result of wars between the Dutch and the English, New Netherlands passed to English control in 1664. Charles II passed it along to his brother James (who was Catholic) and James sold the New Jersey parts on to George Carteret and John Berkeley (one of them had been a hero in a battle in **old** Jersey, and the province got its name from that — early New Jersey coins from the 1780s use the name Nova Caesaria, Caesaria having been the Roman name for the island of Jersey. Berkeley sold his proprietary rights over West Jersey to Friend Edward Byllynge via John Fenwick since Byllynge was in some legal difficulties. In 1674 a Quintipartite Deed passed the West Jersey lands to a number of Quakers including Penn. So Penn had this financial interest in West Jersey as early as 1674, as well as later getting Pennsylvania (1681) and a part interest even in East Jersey. Quakers started coming in great numbers in 1678, going further up the Delaware to New Beverly, later called Bridlington, later called Burlington (just south of present-day Trenton).

Friend [William Penn](#)'s Preface to the First Frame of Government for Pennsylvania:

*There is hardly one frame of government in the world so ill-designed by its first founders that in good hands, [it] would*



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*not do well enough.... Governments rather depend upon men than men upon governments. Let men be good and the government cannot be bad: if it be ill, they will cure it. But if men be bad, let the government be never so good, they will endeavor to warp it and spoil it to their turn.*

Party politics also might have had to do with the 1674 mix-up: Fenwick had served the Puritan Oliver Cromwell, Byllynge was obviously well-connected to the Royalist/Catholic James, and that might be why according to Turp he was “barred by the English courts from holding title in, or dealing in, real estate.” King Charles’s leanings toward France and Catholicism led Parliament to pass laws limiting the rights of Catholics and other Dissenters (such as Diggers, Quakers, etc.).

### William Penn’s Own Account of the Lenni Lenape or Delaware Native Americans

*The Natives I shall consider in their Persons, Language, Manners, Religion and Government, with my sense of their Original. For their Persons, they are generally tall, straight, well-built, and of singular Proportion; they tread strong and clever, and mostly walk with a lofty Chin: of Complexion, Black, but by design, as the Gypsies in England: They grease themselves with Bears-fat clarified, and using no defence against Sun or Weather, their skins must needs be swarthy; Their Eye is little and black, not unlike a straight-look’t Jew. The thick Lip and flat Nose, so frequent with the East-Indians and Blacks, are not common to them; for I have seen as comely European-like faces among them of both, as on your side of the Sea; and truly an Italian Complexion hath not much more of the White, and the Noses of several of them have as much as the Roman.*

*Their Language is lofty, yet narrow, but like the Hebrew; in Signification full, like Short-hand in writing; one word serveth in the place of three, and the rest are supplied by the Understanding of the Hearer: Imperfect in their Tenses, wanting in the Moods, Participles, Adverbs, Conjunctions, Interjections: I have made it my business to understand it, that I might not want an Interpreter on any occasion: And I must say, that I know not a Language spoken in Europe, that hath words of more sweetness or greatness, in Accent and Emphasis, than theirs; for Instance, Octorocken, Rancocas, Oriction, Shakamaxon, Poquessin, all of which are names of Places, and have Grandeur in them: Of words of Sweetness. Anna, is Mother, Issimlus, a Brother, Netap, Friend, usque oret, very good; pone, Bread, metse, eat, matta, no, hatta, to have, payo to come; Sepassen, Passion, the Names of Places; Tamany, Siccnae, Menanse, Secatareus, are the names of Persons. If one ask them for anything they have none, they will answer, matta ne hatta which to translate is, not I have, instead of I have not.*

*Of their Customs and Manners there is much to be said; I will begin with Children. So soon as they are born, they wash them in Water, and while very young, and in cold Weather to Chuse, they Plunge them in the Rivers to harden and embolden them. Having wrapt them in a Clout, they lay them on a straight thin Board, a little more than the length and breadth of the Child, and swaddle it fast upon the Board to make it straight; wherefore all Indians have flat Heads; and thus they carry them at their Backs. The Children will go very young, at nine Moneths commonly; they wear only a small Clout round their Waiste, till they are big; if Boys, they go a Fishing till ripe for the Woods, which is about Fifteen; then they hunt, and after given some Proofs of their Manhood, by a good return of Skins, they may Marry, else it is a shame to think of a Wife. The Girls stay with*



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*their Mothers, and help to hoe the Ground, plant Corn and carry Burthens; and they do well to use them to that Young, they must do when they are Old; for the Wives are the true Servants of their Husbands: otherwise the Men are very affectionate to them.*

*When the Young Women are fit for Marriage, they wear something upon their Heads for an Advertisement, but so as their Faces are hardly to be seen, but when they please: The Age they Marry at, if Women, is about thirteen and fourteen; if Men, seventeen and eighteen; they are rarely elder.*

*Their Houses are Mats, or Bark of Trees set on Poles, in the fashion of an English Barn, but out of the power of the Winds, for they are hardly higher than a Man; they lie on Reeds or Grass. In Travel they lodge in the Woods about a great Fire, with the Mantle of Duffels they wear by day, wrapt about them, and a few Boughs stuck round them.*

*Their Diet is Maze, or Indian Corn, divers ways prepared: sometimes Roasted in the Ashes, sometimes beaten and boyled with Water, which they call Homine; they also make Cakes, not unpleasant to eat: They likewise have several sorts of Beans and Pease that are good Nourishment; and the Woods and Rivers are their Larder.*

*If an European comes to see them, or calls for Lodging at their House or Wig-wam they give him the best place and first cut. If they come to visit us, they salute us with an Itah which is as much to say, Good be to you, and set them down, which is mostly on the Ground, close to their Heels, their Legs upright; maybe they speak not a word more, but observe all Passages: If you give them anything to eat or drink, well, for they will not ask; and be it little or much, if it be with Kindness, they are well pleased, else they go away sullen, but say nothing.*

*They are great Concealers of their own Resentments, brought to it, I believe, the Revenge that hath been practiced among them; in either of these, they are not exceeded by the Italians. A Tragical Instance fell out since I came into the country; A King's Daughter thinking her self slighted by her Husband, in suffering another Woman to lie down between them, rose up, went out, pluck't a Root out of the Ground, and ate it, upon which she immediately dyed; and for which, last Week he made an Offering to her Kindred for Atonement and liberty of Marriage; as two others did to kindred of their Wives, that dyed a natural Death: For till Widowers have done so, they must not marry again. some of the young Women are said to take undue liberty before Marriage for a Portion; but when married, chaste; when with Child, they know their Husband no more, till delivered; and during their Moneth, they touch no Meat, the eat, but with a Stick, lest they should defile it; not do their Husbands frequent them, till that time be expired. But in Liberality the excel, nothing is too good for their friend; give them a fine Gun, coat, or other thing, it may pass twenty hands, before it sticks; light of Heart, strong Affections, but soon spent; the most merry Creatures that live, Feast and Dance almost perpetually; they never have much, nor want much: Wealth circulateth like the Blood, all parts partake; and though none shall want what another hath, yet exact Observers of Property.*

*Some Kings have sold, other presented me with several parcels of Land; the Pay or Presents I made them, were not hoarded by the particular Owners, but the neighboring Kings and their Clans being present when the Goods were brought out, the Parties chiefly concerned consulted, what and to whom they should give them? To every King then, but the hand of a Person for that work appointed, is a proportion sent, so sorted and folded, and with that Gravity, that is admirable. Then the King sub-divideth it in like manner*



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*among his Dependents, they hardly leaving themselves an Equal share with one of their Subjects: and be it on such occasion, at Festivals, or at their common Meals, the Kings distribute, and to themselves last. They care for little, because they want but little; and the Reason is, a little contents them: In this they are sufficiently revenged on us; if the are ignorant of our Pleasures, they are also free from our Pains. They are not disquieted with Bills of Lading and Exchange, nor perplexed with Chancery-Suits and Exchequer-Reckonings. We sweat and told to live; their pleasure feeds them, I mean, their Hunting, Fishing, and Fowling, and this Table is spread every where; they eat twice a day, Morning and Evening; their Seats and Table are the Ground. Since the European came into these parts, they are grown great lovers of strong Liquors, Rum especially, and for it exchange the riches of their Skins and Furs: If they are heated with Liquors, they are restless till they have enough to sleep; that is their cry, Some more, and I will go to sleep; but when Drunk, one of the most wretchedest Spectacles in the World, {often Burning and sometimes killing one another, at which time the Christians are not without danger as well as fear.} {Bracketed words later edited out}*

*In sickness impatient to be cured, and for it give anything, especially for their Children, to whom they are extremely natural; they drink at those times a Teran or Decoction of some Roots in spring Water; and if they eat any flesh, it must be of the Female of any Creature; If they dye, they bury them with their Apparel, be they Men or Women, and the nearest of Kin fling in something with them, as a token of their Love; Their Mourning is blackening of their faces, which they continue for a year; They are choice of the Graves of their Dead; for least they should be lost by time, and fall to common use, they pick up the Grass that grows upon them, and heap up the fallen Earth with great care and exactness.*

*These poor People are under a dark Night in things relating to Religion, to be sure, the Tradition of it; yet they believe in God and Immortality, without the help of Meaphysicks; for they say, There is a great King that made them, who dwells i a glorious Country to the Southward of the, and that the Souls of the good shall go thither, where they shall live again. Their Worship consists of two parts, Sacrifice and cantico. Their Sacrifice is their first Fruits; the first and fattest Buck they kill, goeth to the fire, where is all burnt with a Mournful Ditty of him that performeth the Ceremony, but with such marvelous Fervency and Labour of Body, that he will even sweat to a foam. The other part is their Cantico, performed by round-Dances, sometimes Words, sometimes Songs, then Shouts, two being in the middle that begin, and by Singing and Drumming on a Board direct the Chorus: Their Postures in the Dance and very Antick and differing, but all keep measure. This is done with equal Earnestness and Labour, but great appearance of Joy.*

*In the Fall, when the Corn cometh in, they begin to feast one another; there have been two great Festivals already, to which all come that will: I was at one myself; their Entertainment was a green Seat by a Spring, under some shady Trees, and twenty Bucks, with hot Cakes of new Corn, both Wheat and Beans, which they make up in a square form, in the leaves of the Stem, and bake them in the Ashes: And after that they fell to Dance, But they that go, must carry a small Present in their Money, it may be six Pence, which is made if the Bone of a Fish; the black is with them as Gold, the white, Silver; they call it Wampum.*

*Their Government is by Kings, which they call Sachema, and those by Succession, but always on the Mothers side; for Instance, the Children of*





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*him that is now King, will not succeed, but his Brother by the Mother, or the Children of his Sister, whose Sons (and after them the Children of her Daughters) will reign; for no Woman inherits; the Reason they render for this way if Descent, is, that their Issue may not be spurious.*

*Every King hath his Council, and that consists of all the Old and Wise men of his Nation, which is perhaps two hundred People; nothing of Moment is undertaken, be it War, Peace, Selling of Land or Traffick, without advising from them; and which is more, with the Young Men too. 'Tis admirable to consider, how Powerful the Kings are, and yet how they move by the Breath of their People.*

*I have had occasion to be in council with them upon Treaties for Land, and to adjust the terms of Trade; their Order is thus: The King sits in the middle of an half Moon, and hath his Council, the Old and Wise on each hand; behind them, or at little distance, sit the younger Fry, in the same figure. Having consulted and resolved their business, the King ordered one of them to speak to me; he stood up, came to me, and in the Name of his King saluted me, then took me by the hand, and told me, That he was ordered by his King to speak to me, and that now it was not he, but the King that spoke, because what he should say, was the King's mind. He first pray'd me, To excuse them that they had not complied with me the last time; he feared, there might be some fault in the Interpreter, being neither Indian nor English; besides, it was the Indian Custom to deliberate, and take up much time in Council, before they resolve; and that if the Young People and Owners of the Land had been as ready as he, I had not met with so much delay. Having thus introduced his matter, he fell to the Bounds of the Land they had agreed to dispose of, and the Price, (which now is little and dear, that which would have bought twenty Miles, not buying now two.) During this time that this Person spoke, not a man of them was observed to whisper or smile; the Old, Grave, the Young, Reverend in their Deportment; they do speak little, but fervently, and with Elegancy: I have never seen more natural Sagacity, considering them without the help, (I was agoing to say, the spoil) of Tradition; and he will deserve the Name of the Wise, that Outwits them in any Treaty about a thing they understand.*

*[this paragraph is a later addition] when the Purchase was agreed, great Promises past between us of Kindness and good Neighborhood, and that the Indians and English must live in Love, as long as the Sun gave light. Which done, another made a Speech to the Indians, in the Name of all of the Sachamakers or Kings, first to tell them what was done, next, to charge and command them, To Love the Christians, and particularly live in Peace with me, and the People under my Government: That many governors had been in the River, but that no Gouvernour had come himself to live and stay here before; and having now such a one that had treated them well, they should never do him or his any wrong. At every sentence of which they should, and said, Amen, in their way.*

*The Justice they have is Pecuniary: In case of any Wrong or evil Face, be it Murther it self, they Attone by Feasts and Presents of their Wampum, which is proportioned to the quality of the Offence or Person injured, or of the Sex they are of: for in case they kill a Woman, they pay double, and the Reason they render, is, That she breedeth Children, which men cannot do. 'Tis rare that they fall out, if Sober; and if Drunk, they forgive it, saying It was the Drink, and not the Man, that abused them.*

*We have agreed, that in all Differences between us, Six of each side shall end the matter: Don't abuse them, but let them have Justice, and you win them: The worst is, that they are the worse for the Christians, who have*



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

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### GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

*propagated their Vices, and yielded them Tradition for ill, and not for good things. But as low an Ebb as they are at, and as glorious as their Condition looks, the Christians have not out-liv'd their sight with all their Pretensions to an higher Manifestation: What good then might not a good People graft, where there is so distinct a Knowledge left between Good and Evil? I beseech God to incline the Hearts of all that come into these parts, to out-live the Knowledge of the Natives, by a fixt Obedience to their greater Knowledge of the Will of God; for it were miserable indeed for us to fall under the just censure of the poor Indian Conscience, while we make profession of things so far transcending.*

*[this paragraph a later addition] For their Original, I am ready to believe them of the Jewish Race, I mean, of the stock of the Ten Tribes, and that for the following Reasons; first, They were to go to a Land not planted or known, which to be sure Asia and Africa were, if not Europe; and he that intended that extraordinary Judgment upon them, might make the Passage uneasie to them, as it is not impossible in it self, from the Easter-most parts of Asia, to the Wester-most of America. In the next place, I find them of like Countenance and their Children of so lively Resemblance, that a man would think himself in Dukes place or Berry-street [the heart of the Jewish center] in London, when he seeth them. But this is not all, they agree in Rites, they reckon by Moons: they offer their first Fruits, they have a kind of Feast of Tabernacles; they are said to lay their Altar upon twelve Stones; their Mourning a year, Customs of Women, with many things they do not now occur. So much for the Natives.*





**QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

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**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

This is what would become of [Friend](#) William's meetinghouse in Chester, Pennsylvania:



**FIGURING OUT WHAT AMOUNTS TO A “HISTORICAL CONTEXT” IS WHAT THE CRAFT OF HISTORICIZING AMOUNTS TO, AND THIS NECESSITATES DISTINGUISHING BETWEEN THE SET OF EVENTS THAT MUST HAVE TAKEN PLACE BEFORE EVENT E COULD BECOME POSSIBLE, AND MOST CAREFULLY DISTINGUISHING THEM FROM ANOTHER SET OF EVENTS THAT COULD NOT POSSIBLY OCCUR UNTIL SUBSEQUENT TO EVENT E.**



**QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

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**1687**

Peter Dashwood, a Barbados [Quaker](#), refused to participate in the military and was twice obliged “to ride the wooden horse with a musket at each leg.”

**CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE**

**THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**



**QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

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**1688**

September: It is quite clear, from a letter written from England by Governor [William Penn](#) to his deputy-governor Blackwell in Philadelphia, that the Quaker testimony against war did not extend to any refusal to suppress crime by the exaction of a death penalty: “[T]he murderous woman’s sentence should proceed, the case being notorious and barbarous.” (This [hanging](#) we are here considering, however, seems to have been the only execution which would take place in Pennsylvania during the 17th Century.)

**THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

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1693

The Yearly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) held in London, this year, needed to deal with the touchy issue, that there were some [Quaker](#) ship-masters who were known to have been carrying guns on board their vessels. Could such practice be compliant with the Quaker Peace Testimony?

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

A complaint being made about some ship-masters, who profess the Truth and are esteemed Quakers, carrying guns in their ships, supposing thereby to defend and secure themselves and their ships, contrary to our principle and practice, and to the endangering of their own and others' lives thereby; also giving occasion of more severe hardships and sufferings to be inflicted on such Friends as are pressed into ships of war, who, for conscience sake, cannot fight or destroy men's lives; it is therefore recommended to the monthly and quarterly meetings whereunto such ship-masters belong, to deal with them in God's wisdom, and tender love, to stir them up and awaken their consciences; that they may seriously consider how they injure their own souls in so doing, and what occasion they give to make the Truth and Friends to suffer by their declension, and acting contrary thereunto through disobedience and unbelief, placing their security in that which is altogether insecure and dangerous: which we are really sorry for, and sincerely desire their recovery, and safety from destruction, that their faith and confidence may be in the arm and power of God.

The CHRISTIAN SOLDIERS PENNY BIBLE instructed the troops that:

The Christian Soldier should love his Enemies;  
yet hate and destroy them as Enemies to God and his Country.

“Run that by me again, Chaplain please?”

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1702

On Long Island in [New York](#), a public Friend who was traveling from place to place giving ministry was guilty of speaking out against the Church of England and was clapped in jail. While Friend Samuel Bownas (1676-1753) was imprisoned, he was visited by an English-speaking native headman (“an Indian King”) and three of his sub-chiefs. They wanted to find out what were the differences between his brand of Christianity and the other sorts. The [Quaker](#) minister was able to expound to them, among other things, upon the our Peace Testimony, and found them to be a surprisingly receptive audience:

[The Christians who are not Quakers] held it *lawful* to kill and destroy their enemies; but we cannot think that good and right in us; but rather endeavour to overcome our enemies with courteous and friendly offices and kindness, and to assuage their wrath by mildness and persuasion, and bring them to consider the injury they are doing to such as can't in conscience revenge themselves again. He assented, *that this was good: but who can do it?* said he; *when my enemies seek my life, how can I do other than use my endeavour to destroy them in my own defence?* My answer was, That unless we were under the government of a better spirit than our enemies, we could not do it; but if we are under the government of the good Spirit, which seeks not to destroy men's lives, but to save them, and teaches us to do good for evil and to forgive injuries, then we can submit to *Providence*, putting our trust in the great God to save us from the violence and wrath of our enemies. The King said, *Indeed this is very good; but do you do thus when provoked by your enemies?* I said, sundry of our Friends have done so, and been saved from the rage of their enemies, who have confessed our Friends to be good men. Ay, said he, *they are good indeed; for if all came into this way, there would be no more need of war, nor killing one the other to enlarge their kingdoms, nor one nation want to overcome another.* I then asked him, if this was not a right principle; and what would much add to the happiness of mankind? They all four said, *it was very good indeed; but feared few would embrace this doctrine.* I said, all things have their beginnings; and 'tis now our duty to embrace this truth, hoping that others by this example may do the same. They lifted up their eyes as a token of their assent, shewing by their words their desire that this good spirit might prevail in the world: *Then, said they, Things will go well.*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS  
THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY



**QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

**QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

**1703**

Some non-[Quakers](#) in Philadelphia had a slanderous publication issued in London, attempting to insinuate a link between the dominant religious and political group in the Pennsylvania colony and the [piracy](#) that was threatening the Atlantic sea-lanes of commerce:

These Quakers have a neat way of getting money, by encouraging of pirates when they bring in a good store of gold, so that his [[William Penn](#)'s] government hath been a sure retreat for that sort of people: — insomuch, that when several of Avery's men were here, the Quaking justices were for letting them live quietly, — and so pirates for the most part have been set at liberty, and admitted to bail one after another; nay, on the very frontiers of the country, [Lewistown] and at the mouth of the river [New Castle], a whole knot of them are settled securely.

**THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

June: [Friend](#) John Smith, summoned to militia service in Massachusetts at age 22, refused on religious grounds.

**RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS**

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## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

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# [90] An act for y<sup>e</sup> Better Regulating y<sup>e</sup> Militia & for Punishing offend<sup>ers</sup> as Shall not Conform to y<sup>e</sup> Laws there unto Relating

*Bee it Encted* by y<sup>e</sup> hon<sup>ble</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Gouer<sup>er</sup> Councill & house of Representatives in this P<sup>re</sup>sent Sessions assembled & by y<sup>e</sup> Authority thereof it is hereby Enacted y<sup>t</sup> aft<sup>r</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Publication of this Act y<sup>t</sup> if any p<sup>er</sup>son or persons Listed Und<sup>r</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Co<sup>m</sup>mand of any Cap<sup>t</sup> or Commad<sup>er</sup> in Cheif of y<sup>e</sup> Militia Shall or do not appear Compleat in armes (Viz<sup>th</sup>) w<sup>th</sup> A Good & Sufficient muskett or Fuze a Sword or Bayenet, Catooch box or Bandelers w<sup>th</sup> twelve Bulets fitt for his Peice half a Pound of Powder & Six good Flints Upon y<sup>e</sup> Precise Training Days already p<sup>re</sup>fixt as well as when there Rspective Cap<sup>ts</sup> or Co<sup>m</sup>mand<sup>ers</sup> in Cheif Shall call them Togeather Either by Allarum or any oth<sup>er</sup> time or times as Shall by their s<sup>d</sup> Command<sup>ers</sup> be thought fitt & Expedient for his maj<sup>ties</sup> Interest During y<sup>e</sup> Times of Warr & if any p<sup>er</sup>son or p<sup>er</sup>sons Listed &c Shall neglect their Respective Dutys & due Obedience & not appear in Manner Afores<sup>d</sup> Shall forfeit for Each neglect on y<sup>e</sup> Days Appointed for Training or Oth<sup>er</sup> Meetings in Armes y<sup>e</sup> Sum of Thre Shillings in money w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Due Fees Arising thereon & for non Appearance or neglect on any Larum y<sup>e</sup> Sum of five Shilling w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Due Fees Arising thereon to be taken by Distraint or otherwise as y<sup>e</sup> fines for non apperance on y<sup>e</sup> Training Days are to be Taken

....

[92] *And Bee it Further Enacted*  
That y<sup>e</sup> Respective Cap<sup>t</sup> & Co<sup>m</sup>ission officers of Each Respective Company or Train band in this Colony have full Pow<sup>er</sup> & authority during y<sup>e</sup> time of their being in Armes on y<sup>e</sup> training Days or on Allarums or Upon any oth<sup>er</sup> occasion w<sup>h</sup>soev<sup>er</sup> to Punish any Private Sentinall y<sup>t</sup> Shall Misbehaue him self w<sup>th</sup> Laying him Neck & Heels or Riding y<sup>e</sup> wooden horse or A fine not Exceeding fore Shillings at y<sup>e</sup> Discrefion of s<sup>d</sup> Commision Officers notw<sup>th</sup>standing y<sup>e</sup> Afore recited Acts Relateing y<sup>e</sup> militia it Shall be in y<sup>e</sup> pow<sup>er</sup> & Authority of y<sup>e</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> & Co<sup>m</sup>ission officers of Each Respective train Bands in this Colony if any P<sup>er</sup>sons as they Shall Iudg realy Conscientious being w<sup>th</sup>in their list & y<sup>t</sup> they Cannot bare arm's in y<sup>e</sup> Times of Allarums &c y<sup>t</sup> if y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> p<sup>er</sup>sons being So Conscientious be any ways Serviceable in makeing Discoverys or Riding upon any Expedition or any thing Elce y<sup>t</sup> may be Iudged Conuenient for y<sup>e</sup> Preferuation of his maj<sup>estys</sup> Interest y<sup>t</sup> it Shall be then in y<sup>e</sup> Pow<sup>er</sup> of s<sup>d</sup> Cap<sup>ts</sup> or Co<sup>m</sup>ission officers as afores<sup>d</sup> to remit y<sup>e</sup> fine or fines Imposed for their not appearing in Arms accord<sup>ing</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> Afore p<sup>re</sup>mised Act

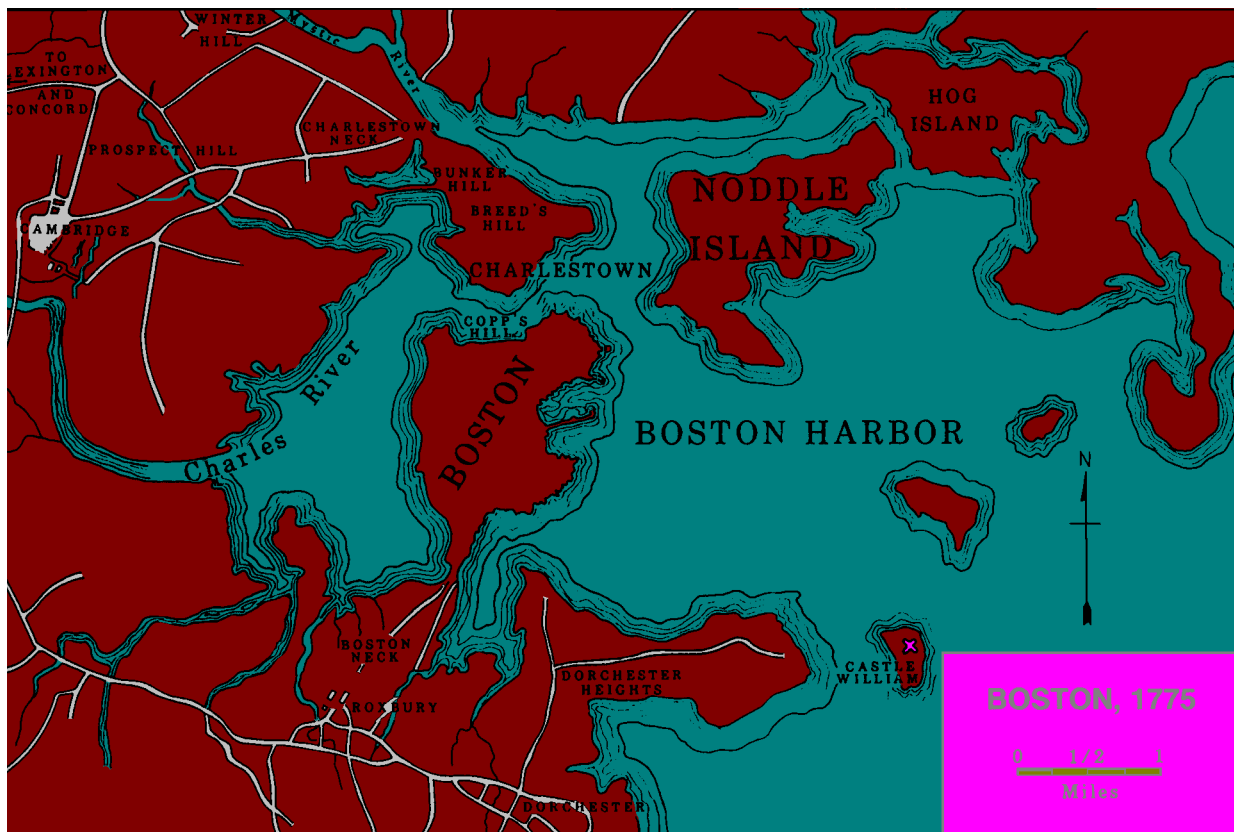
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## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

[GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM](#)**1704**

January: Friend John Smith and another young militia refuser, Thomas Maccomber, were fined in Bristol. When they refused to pay their fines as an alternative to militia service, the magistrate attempted to hire them out at obligated labor for a period of four years. When no-one was willing to purchase this labor contract, the magistrate decided to keep them in the fort at Boston (Fort William on Castle Island?) and work them as “pioneers” for long enough to exact their fine and the incidental expenses. When questioned by the judge, Colonel Nathaniel Byfield, the two young men indicated that “it was not obstinacy, but duty to God, according to their consciences, and religious persuasions, which prevailed with them to refuse to bear arms or learn war.” While in the fort for a period in excess of four months, the two refusers received decent treatment.

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

[John Evelyn](#)'s diary entries for this month:



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

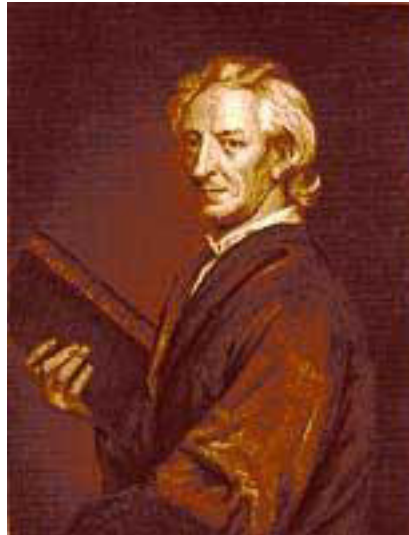
### GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

January : I ... The season was so very dark & Clowdy (as it had ben for many days) that the Doctor was f[a]ine to breake off his discourse abruptly, preaching out of his written notes: as they now generally did all over England & not as formerly, (& [as] yet in all other Countrys) they preach'd Memoriter, which whether so well, I leave to others to Judge: Reading much hindring Action, which we in English pulpits are defective in: In the meane time written sermons being more studied & methodical, have likewise greate advantages:

The Duke of Marlbery returned to Holland to concert matters with the States: The King of Spaine, landing at Portsmouth, came to Windsor where he was magnificently received by the Queen: & behav'd himself so nobly as every body was taken with his gracefull deportmen[t], after 2 days (having presented the greate Ladys & others with very valuable Jewells) he went back to Portsmouth & immediately Imbark[ed] for Spain with our Naval Guard.<sup>17</sup>

January 16, Sunday (1703, Old Style): ...My Lord Tressurer gave my Gr[and]Son, the office of Treasurer of the Revenue of the stamp parchment & paper: Sallary 300 pounds per annum.

January 19, Wednesday (1703, Old Style): [The publique fast, after the dreadfull storme, the Churches so crowded as few could get into them.]



April: A fleet of men-of-war anchored at Plymouth seized and attempted to impress as British navies 2 local [Quaker](#) sailors, Friends John Smith and Thomas Anthony. However, when there was a confrontation at sea with a French vessel, these men refused to perform any service. While they were being [flogged](#), Friend John Smith prayed aloud for his persecutors. Finally, after a trip to England and back, after 13 months, these resistant impressed sailors would be released back at the port of Plymouth.

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

17. This is the Archduke Charles, later the Emperor Charles VI (1711); his father, the Emperor Leopold I had passed his claim to the Spanish throne to this son who styled himself King Charles III of Spain.





## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

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1705

May: Friends John Smith and Thomas Anthony, [Quaker](#) sailors who had been impressed for service on a British man-of-war but had refused to provide any warlike assistance, were released at their home port of Plymouth. Recuperation from their 13 months of hardship at sea would be difficult.<sup>18</sup>

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

[CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE](#)

[John Evelyn](#)'s diary entry:

*Very fine weather: The Baily of Westminster, hanged himselfe, he had an ill report, & indeede never was it known that so many made away with themselves as of these late yeares & age among us, among both men of quality & others:...*



18. John Smith had been born in 1681 in Dartmouth, Massachusetts. After this experience with military induction he relocated to Philadelphia and settled in Kennett Township, Chester County, Pennsylvania. His parents “professed the truth in the latter years” (presumably this means that the elder Smiths also became Friends). John Smith married first Ann Pusey, daughter of Caleb Pusey, on March 5, 1706/1707. In 1713 he relocated again, to East Marlborough, where the Society of Friends held meetings in his home (this would become the Londongrove Monthly Meeting). He married a second time, on August 6, 1726, with Dorothy Windle, and they had five children. He would write an account that would be published at least by 1800, entitled A NARRATIVE OF SOME SUFFERINGS FOR HIS CHRISTIAN PEACEABLE TESTIMONY BY JOHN SMITH, LATE OF CHESTER COUNTY, DECEASED, in which he would describe his resistance to being inducted in 1703 and again in 1705, and the abuse he had endured for this.

I have a record of a Thomas Anthony who was born to Joseph Anthony and Mary Waite Anthony on May 10, 1686 in Portsmouth, Rhode Island and died on April 26, 1707. Is this perhaps the other of the two impressed American sailors?



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

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1730

At about this point [Joseph Nichols](#) was born near the border between [Maryland](#) and Delaware, in the vicinity of the town of Dover.

The Yearly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) held in [London](#), this year, for some reason found it important to reiterate the [Quaker](#) Peace Testimony:

It hath been a weighty concern on this meeting, that our ancient and honorable testimony against being concerned in bearing arms, or fighting, may be maintained; it being a doctrine and testimony agreeable to the nature and design of the Christian religion, and to the universal love and grace of God. This testimony, we desire may be strictly and carefully maintained, by a godly care and concern in all to stand clear therein; so shall we strengthen and comfort one another.

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

January: On [St. Helena](#), despite all their wood collection for the distillation of [arrack](#), and for the fueling of their huge limekiln to enable new construction, there was a petition for the destruction of goats over a 10-year period. They really expected that this alone would be enough to re-establish the island's long-lost expanses of woodland. Their wishful fantasies would continue.

The Quaker Peace Testimony was not extended in Pennsylvania to the nonprosecution of criminals. Thus, when [Friend](#) David Lloyd (1656-1731), an adherent of the testimony, needed to deal with the situation of a burglar who had been sentenced to [hang](#), he was able to write that this man "justly deserves to die ... it may be of ill consequence to spare him."<sup>19</sup>

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

19. It must be noted that the [Quaker](#) case for nonviolence in Pennsylvania was considerably weakened by this support for [capital punishment](#).



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

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**1740**

January 19: The Quakers of Pennsylvania, responding to demands for the creation and funding of an obligatory militia, pointed out that there was a subtle differentiation to be made between military violence and police violence. To kill “a burglar who broke into our houses, plundered us of our goods, and perhaps would have murdered too, if he could not have otherwise accomplished his ends” would be to kill someone who was violating “laws human and divine,” whereas to kill a soldier would be to kill someone who supposed himself to be acting “in the discharge of his duty” and in “obedience to the commands of his sovereign.” –Very different, to kill someone who knew he was doing wrong, versus someone who was supposing incorrectly that he was doing right! –OK, you understand now, right?<sup>20</sup>

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

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20. It is to be noted that the [Quaker](#) case for nonviolence in Pennsylvania was being considerably weakened by their support for [capital punishment](#).





**QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

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**1741**

November 21, Saturday (Old Style): Friend Samuel Chew, a [Quaker](#) magistrate of Pennsylvania on his way to becoming a non-Quaker, demanded to be informed how his fellow Quaker magistrates could be easy in their consciences when they “forcibly put another to death, after his hands are tied behind him,” for a crime, when they remained uneasy in their consciences about the military killing of people who were in “unlawful resistance.” This was entirely too much: soon the other members of his Duck Creek monthly meeting would publicly disown him for this considered opposition to state-sanctioned coldblooded murder.

**COLDBLOODED MURDER**

**CAPITAL PUNISHMENT**

**THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**



**QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

**QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

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**1742**

August 7, Saturday (Old Style; 27th day of 5th month, 3d day, Quaker style): [Nathanael Greene](#) was born in Potowomut, [Rhode Island](#). His mother was Mary Motte Greene and his father Nathanael Greene was a prosperous farmer and ironmaster, and a public Friend (Quaker preacher). (Note that General Nathanael Greene was not closely related to the other Greene from Rhode Island to achieve fame during the Revolution, Colonel [Christopher Greene](#).) From boyhood, Nathanael would work at his father's mills and forge, making primarily anchors. From his childhood forward, he would walk with a noticeable limp. He would make miniature anchors and other toys for sale in [Newport](#), and use part of the proceeds to purchase books. He would become self-educated under the guidance of the grammarian Lindley Murray, a young lawyer working for John Jay's law firm in New-York, and of [Ezra Stiles](#), who would become president of Yale College. He was a birthright Quaker member of the East Greenwich Monthly Meeting. After observing a military parade in Connecticut he would become an avid peruser of military works — something which would be of significant concern for the [Peace Testimony](#) of his meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#).



**QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

**QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

**1747**

December 30, Wednesday (Old Style), evening: Reading from [Friend](#) Samuel Smith's (1720-1776) NECESSARY TRUTH &C response to his pamphlet PLAIN TRUTH; OR, SERIOUS CONSIDERATIONS ON THE PRESENT STATE OF THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA AND PROVINCE OF PENNSYLVANIA, in which Friend Samuel took the position that no war, whether aggressive or whether limited to purposes of national defense, was legitimate, [Benjamin Franklin](#) was so pleased that he took this response to William Bradford and struck a deal with him for 500 copies to be printed for £3.10.0 and handed out gratis — except that 50 copies were to be retained for Franklin to hand out on his own.

Clearly, Franklin was of the opinion that such a writing, when read by non-Quakers, would only serve to convince them of the validity of his own warlike attitudes, and persuade them that for the good of the entire colony the qualms of the Quakers needed to be disregarded.

**THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

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**1748**

The treaty of Aix-La-Chapelle ended King George's War between England and France, AKA the War of the Austrian Succession. Unexpectedly, England returned the captured French fortress in Nova Scotia, Louisbourg, to the forces of the French king. England had made a trade, of this fortress captured by the New Englanders in 1745 for the city of Madras in India. The people of the English colonies in New England were, of course, outraged, and it is an open question how much this single incident (although suppressed) may have contributed to the forming revolutionary sentiments of the colony. At this point an attempt was made to impress a husbandman of the village of Yarmouth on Cape Cod, Hatsell O'Kelley, into military service. When he refused to serve, a distress was placed upon his property in the amount of £10, and a search was made for something to confiscate. When no such property could be confiscated, he was sentenced instead to six months confinement in the Barnstable County lockup. He would need, later, to compensate the town for the cost of this prosecution. To close out the affair, the [Quaker](#) monthly meeting at Sandwich then raised enough money to buy O'Kelley out of his confinement.

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

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1757

The Yearly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), held in London, this year considered it appropriate to emphasize that the Quaker Peace Testimony went so far as even to preclude any willingness to allow one's mind to become preoccupied with thoughts of the possibility of violence. That sort of frame of mind was not to be a [Quaker](#) mentation:

We think it necessary earnestly to recommend to monthly meetings, to keep a watchful eye over their members, in this important branch of our Christian testimony; and where any inclination toward such practices appears, that timely admonition and suitable counsel be given, in the spirit of love and meekness. And as we are called out of wars and fightings, so let them be as seldom as possible the subjects of our conversation; but let a holy care rest upon us, to abide in that power which gives dominion over the hopes and fears that arise from the concerns of an unstable world, and tend, as they are admitted into the mind, to lessen the trust on that Rock which is immovable.

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)



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## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

[GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM](#)**1758**

The Massachusetts General Court exempted [Quakers](#) from further official harassment for following the peace testimony and failing to participate in the military — provided of course that they would disregard their [Peace Testimony](#) by hiring someone else to kill people in their stead.



RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS





## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1775

The Deputy-Governor of [Rhode Island](#) ordered a census of all hunting guns. The [Providence](#) monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) refused to cooperate, alleging that since this census was obviously a war measure, it was in conflict with their Peace Testimony.<sup>21</sup> No steps would be taken against the local Quakers and their consciences.

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

During the American Revolution there were some Americans who considered it necessary to guard the shoreline of the mainland, and [Nantucket Island](#), against seizure of property by British foraging parties based on [Aquidneck Island](#) in [Narragansett Bay](#). We don't know how effective this fighting was in protecting American property from the British, but Quakers of course refused to contribute to the cost of such protection, and therefore there were 496 cases of seizure of the goods of peace-testimony Quakers in [Rhode Island](#) by local revolutionary authorities. In 1778 the property thus distrained from members of New England [Yearly Meeting](#) by local American authorities amounted to £2,473, while in 1779 the total distraint rose to £3,453. For instance, here are some of the revolutionary seizures made of property of ancestors of [Quaker](#) families of [Providence](#) monthly meeting:

- In 1775, local revolutionary authorities seized a dictionary belonging to Friend Thomas Lapham, Jr. of [Smithfield](#).
- In 1775, local revolutionary authorities seized 5 pairs of women's shoes belonging to Friend Paul Green of [East Greenwich](#).
- In 1776, local revolutionary authorities would seize the fire tongs of Friend Stephen Hoxsie of [South Kingstown](#), as he was the guardian of John Foster but John had not mustered during an alarm.
- Between 1777 and 1782, local revolutionary authorities would seize 7 cows, 5 heifers, and 2 table cloths belonging to Friend Simeon Perry of South Kingstown.
- In 1777, local revolutionary authorities would seize a mare worth £30 belonging to Friend John Foster of South Kingstown.
- In 1777, local revolutionary authorities would seize 3 felt hats belonging to Friend John Carey of [East Greenwich](#).
- In 1780, local revolutionary authorities would seize a silver porringer belonging to Friend Isaac Lawton of [Portsmouth](#).
- Between 1780 and 1782, local revolutionary authorities would seize 29 boxes of spermaceti candles, 20 yards of white linen sheeting, 14 yards of kersey, 16 sides of sole leather, a 3-year-old heifer, and 2 stacks of hay belonging to Friend [Moses Brown](#) of [Providence](#).
- In 1781, local revolutionary authorities would seize 9 sheep and 2 steers belonging to Friend Amos Collins of South Kingstown.
- In 1781, local revolutionary authorities would seize 2 ox chains and an ax belonging to Friend George Kinyan of [Rhode Island](#), because he had not been appearing at militia trainings.

21. One notices instantly that Quakers had guns and that guns are multi-purpose devices, useful not only for killing animals but also for threatening and/or killing other humans — and one notices instantly that the Quaker response to this census involved their noncooperation rather than their immediate destruction of these multi-purpose devices (taking them out to the woodshed and whacking at them with the kindling hatchet would also have been an effective response to the problems posed by weaponry).



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

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### GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

In addition to property seizures, in three cases a Quaker man who refused to participate in militia activities would be jailed. One of these men was Friend David Anthony of [East Greenwich](#). In each case the Friends would conduct an investigation to determine whether the person had acted in the spirit and manner of Friends, and if he had, would go to the General Assembly at [Providence](#) to petition the “tender consciences” of the lawgivers for his freedom.

Not all [Rhode Island](#) Quakers refused to participate in the civil unrest of the period but those who did participate in any way were always rigorously and promptly [disowned](#). Between 1775 and 1784, the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) would disown a total of 147 Quakers who had become involved in one way or another with the civil disruption. Among those [disowned](#) was, upon his own request, Major General [Nathanael Greene](#). (Less tolerance, in fact, was shown for those who deviated from the Peace Testimony than for those Friends who continued to hold slaves.)

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

John Hall’s engraving of [William Penn](#) supposed negotiating session with the headman Tamanend and the elders of the Lenape tribe, based upon the 1771 painting by [Benjamin West](#) now in the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in Philadelphia, was published by John Boydell in London. As a result of the engraving process, of course, West’s composition is reversed. This would become the basis for Friend Edward Hicks’s multiple renderings of the scene in the PEACEABLE KINGDOM series. We note that the rowboat full of standing Quakers typically in the background to the right of the Hicks versions is not in the engraving; it is from another engraving, made in 1830 by T.H. Mumford, entitled “Penn Landing at the Blue Anchor Inn.”<sup>22</sup>

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

25th, 7th Month: “Jeremiah Thomas hath listed as a soldier, which being directly opposite to the peaceable principle we profess, we do disown him to be any longer under our care as a member of our Society, and order a copy of this Minute to be read by our Clerk at the close of a First Day Meeting at [Portsmouth](#) between this and our next Monthly Meeting and make return to the Meeting.”

RHODE ISLAND

QUAKER DISOWNMENT

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

[Captain James Cook](#)’s *Resolution* returned to England at the completion of a 2d world adventure. During 3 years of exploration of the southern waters of the terrestrial globe the expedition had lost but 4 men — an unprecedented feat.

22. We should bear in mind that in all likelihood there never was a single event anything like what has been portrayed in this art. Had there been any actual purchases, there would obviously be written documents. Nothing like this appears in biographies of [William Penn](#), nor is there any contemporary written documentation. The story presented by [Benjamin West](#) is uncharacteristic of treaty proceedings of the 17th century. Three of the personages depicted in this group, James Logan, Thomas Lloyd, and Thomas Story, were not on this continent during the period of this alleged negotiation process. Penn was still holding various “friendship conferences” such as had occurred in 1681, in 1682, and even into 1683. The story told by [Voltaire](#), published in English in 1773, that “The first step he took was to enter into an alliance with his *American* neighbors; and this is the only treaty between those people and the Christians that was not ratified by an oath and was never infring’d,” is evidently a concoction, and it would appear that the reason why this is the only white treaty **never infringed upon** is, actually, that it is the only white treaty **never entered into**. We simply needed to invent at least one context of fidelity, in order to better be able by contrast to depict all our other contexts of infidelity!

[HDT](#)

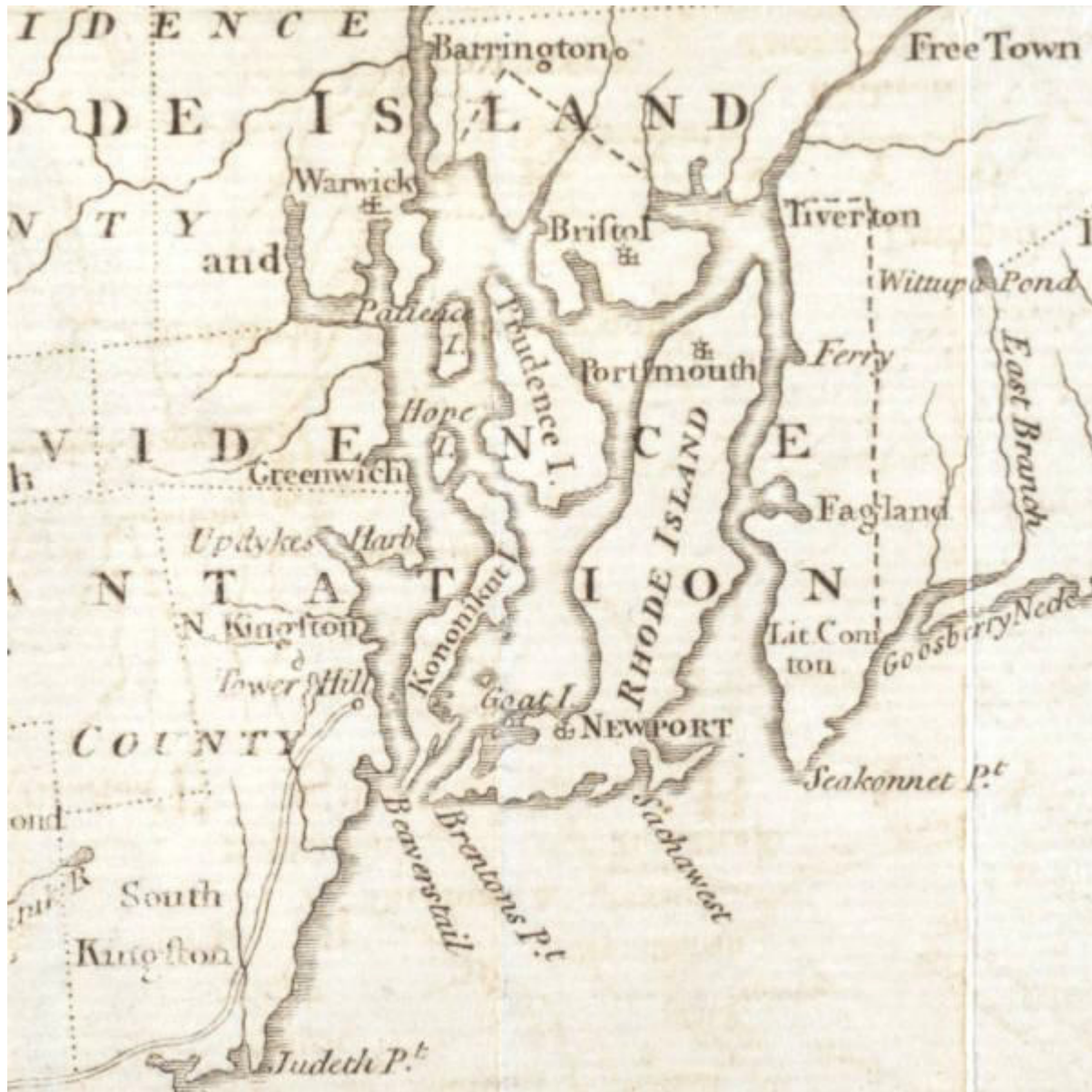
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**1776**

Late in the year, the conscription practices of the Massachusetts General Court were amended to exclude [Quaker](#) conscientious objectors who had been members before April 19, 1775.



Some Quakers, however, terming themselves “Free Quakers,” affiliated themselves with the conflict, and there are some records of [Friends](#) in the Boston Meeting being accused of an unspecified “misconduct” which was probably the bearing of arms on one side or the other of the insurrection. The sympathies of some Friends lay with the revolutionaries, and the sympathies of others lay with the authorities. During the hostilities, for



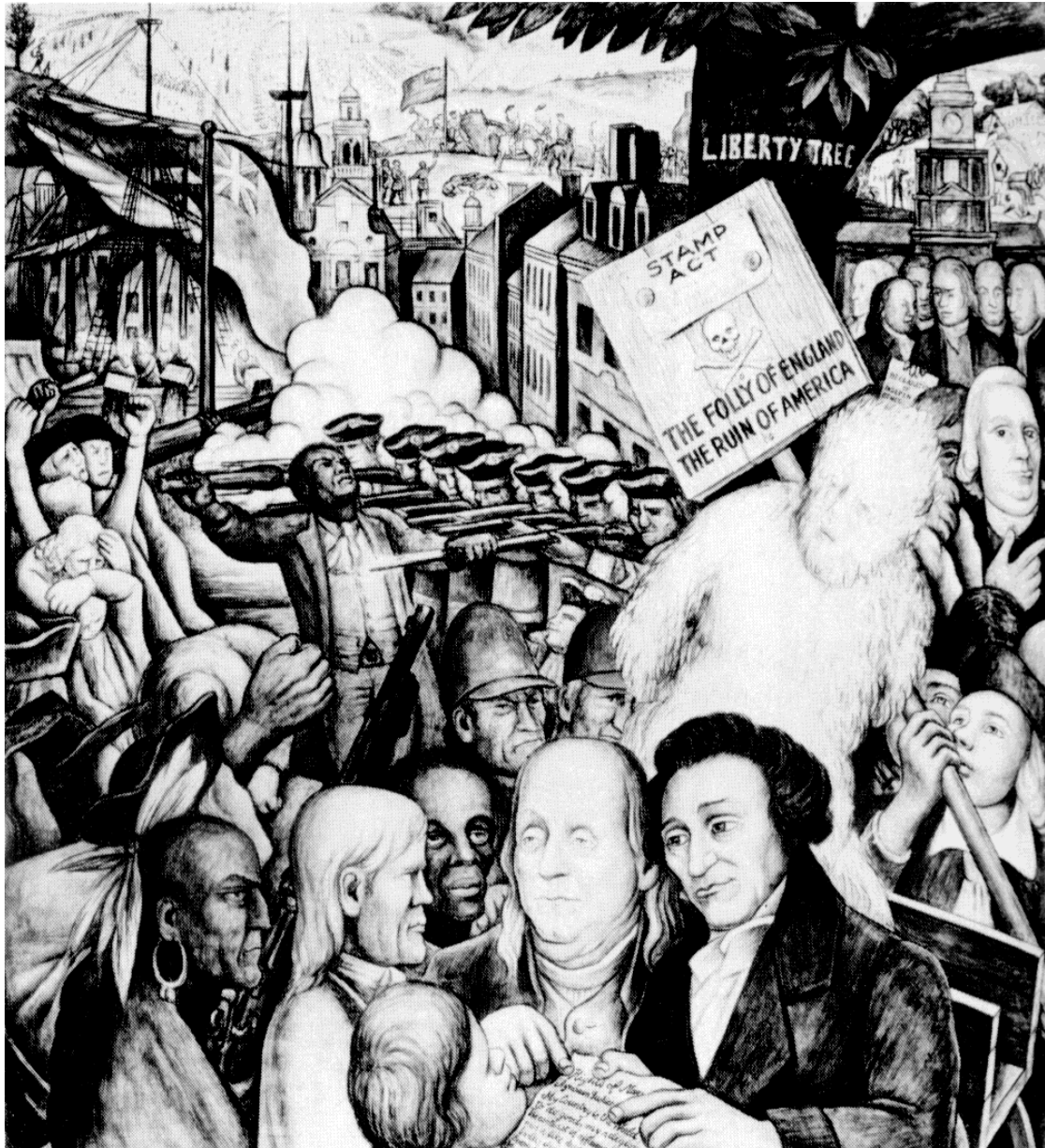
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instance, one Boston merchant, Friend Daniel Silsbe or Silsbury, emigrated to London.



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### GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

During the Revolutionary War, Friend [Benjamin Say](#) of Philadelphia would disregard the [Quaker Peace Testimony](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) and serve in uniform in the Continental Army:

Magee, 316 Chestnut Street, Phila.



Friend Jane,—I have brought thee a  
Staff and a Hat, which I hope will prove  
serviccoable in these times.



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During the Revolutionary War, Flushing, Paumanok Long Island was occupied by the British. Local [Quakers](#) would not participate in the war effort and a number of them suffered the confiscation of property as punishment. Flushing Meeting spoke out against members who aided the British or accepted military service. Consequently, the Friends meetinghouse was seized by the army and used for various purposes including a hospital, stable, and storage. It is believed that the army burned the original benches and picket fence as their



firewood, since this was in short supply. With this meetinghouse unavailable, [New York Yearly Meeting](#) moved its gatherings to Westbury, never to return. Monthly meetings in New York and other areas were



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formed, and Flushing Meeting became merely a local monthly meeting (which it remains today).



The American colonies were in revolt, and loyalties were divided. With all the pressures, divided loyalties were to be found even within the [Religious Society of Friends](#). As an example of how [Quaker disownment](#) was used as a tool in this incendiary situation, here is a disownment that was announced in this year at the Fairfax, [Maryland](#) monthly meeting:

"W.R. who by birth had a right of membership in our Religious Society but through levity and a disregard to that principle which would preserve if adhered to, he hath been seduced and drawn away with the Spirit of the Times so far as to enlist and join in the active part of war, leaving his place of abode to that end, and having given us no opportunity to treat with him on this sorrowful occasion, we, agreeable to our antient practice, think it requisite to deny him the right of membership among us, which is hereby confirmed by our monthly meeting and he so to stand until by due contrition he condemns his conduct which we can but desire on his behalf."

As an example of an acknowledgement of disownment due to warlike activity, here is a statement that was duly received and placed on file in this year by that same meeting:

"Whereas I the subscriber have several times stood Centry in a military manner and having considered the same, I see it to be wrong, for which misconduct I am sorry, and hope to be more careful for the future, desiring that Friends would accept this my acknowledgment and continue me under their care as my future conduct shall render me worthy. J.L."<sup>23</sup>

23. These are per Morse, BALTIMORE YEARLY MEETING, page 59.



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

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### GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

On Paumanok Long Island, Friend [Elias Hicks](#) was standing steadfast and refusing to participate in the American Revolution or

*“use any coercive force  
or compulsion  
by any means whatever;  
not being overcome  
by evil,  
but overcoming  
evil  
with the good.”*

### THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

He well knew that any suggestion that we attempt to kill the Devil with a gun or a sword could have been a suggestion sponsored only by the Devil himself. Instead he chose to make his contribution to the cause of American liberty by paying visits to [Quaker](#) slavemasters on *Paumanok* “Long Island,” entreating them to strike a direct blow for human freedom by [manumitting](#) their black [slaves](#).

As you can see, even [Quakers](#) have such cannon:



**This cries out for explanation but first you need to think about it because there are several levels at which explanation must be attempted.**



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

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### GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

10th, 1st Month: When the [Yearly Meeting](#) for Sufferings met in [Portsmouth](#), the [Quakers](#) had scruples about the use of paper currency that had been issued in the colonies, because these bills had been issued “for the purpose of carrying on war.”

[CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE](#)

It was considered that it was “a Duty required of them to guard carefully about contributing thereto in any manner.”

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

[RHODE ISLAND](#)

On the following screen is a sample piece of colonial currency prepared for Massachusetts by Paul Revere, that gives us a good idea of what the Quakers were finding so troubling. The figure holding a cutlass is accompanied by a motto from Publilius Syrus, *Ense petit placidam, sub Libertate Quietem* “By the sword we seek peace, but peace only under liberty.”

30th, 3d day, 1st Month: “The Preparative Meeting of [Portsmouth](#) informs that Joseph Brownell son of Thomas hath been acting in warlike matters as assisting in building a fortification, etc., whereupon we appoint Job Shearman and Daniel Fish, 2nd to labour with said Brownell and endeavour to bring him to a sense of his outgoings and make report to our next Monthly Meeting.”

[RHODE ISLAND](#)

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27th, 2nd Month: “Daniel Fish reported to this Meeting that as Job Shearman was deceased he took a Friend with him and laboured with Joseph Brownell son of Thomas, respecting his outgoing and that he appeared to be disposed to make satisfaction. Therefore said matter is referred to next month Meeting under the care of Daniel Fish, 2nd, and John Hadwen.”

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

The women’s meeting at the [Rhode Island](#) Monthly Meeting collected £13, 7s for the poor.

[QUAKER DISOWNMENT](#)

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)



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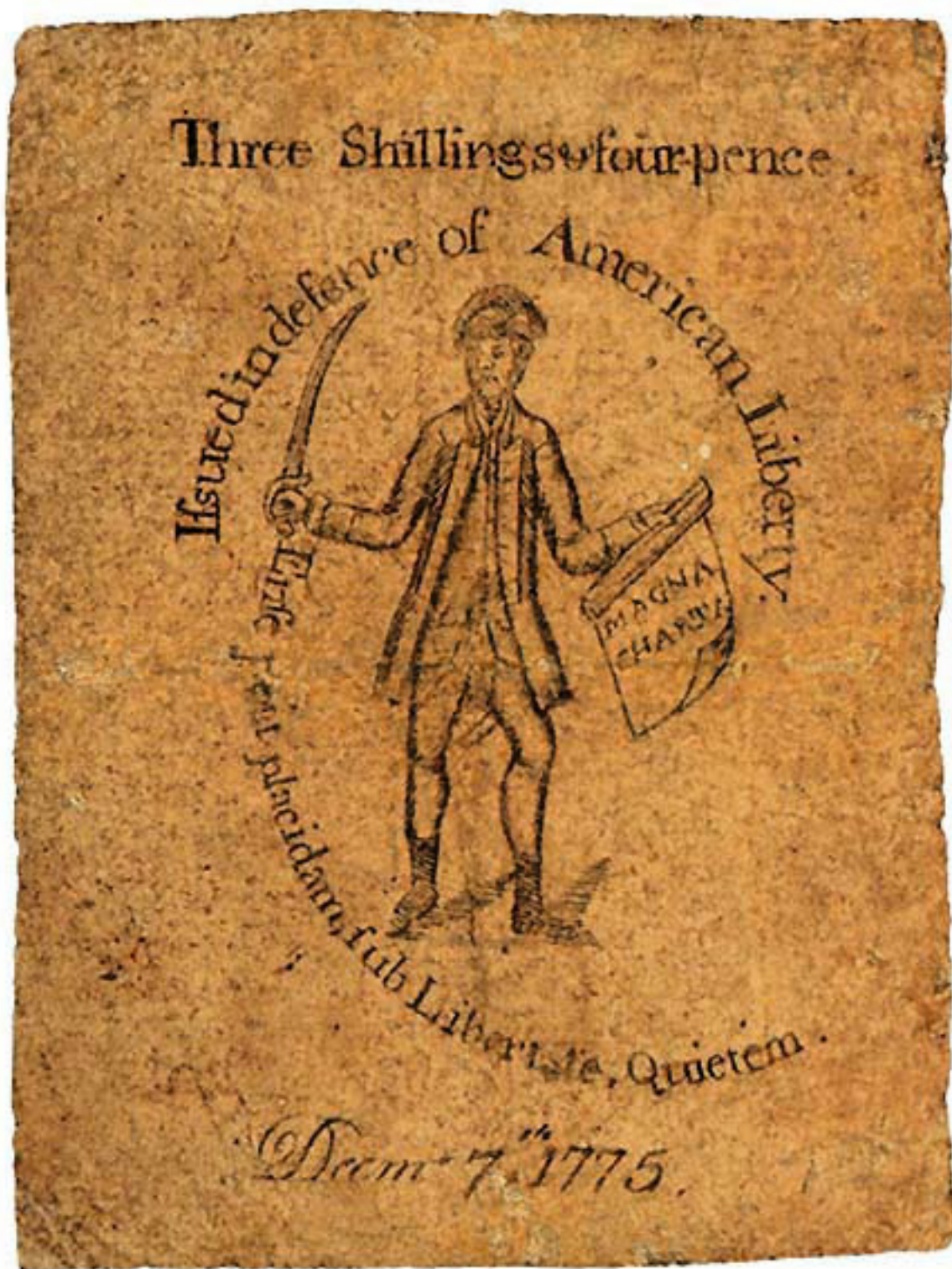
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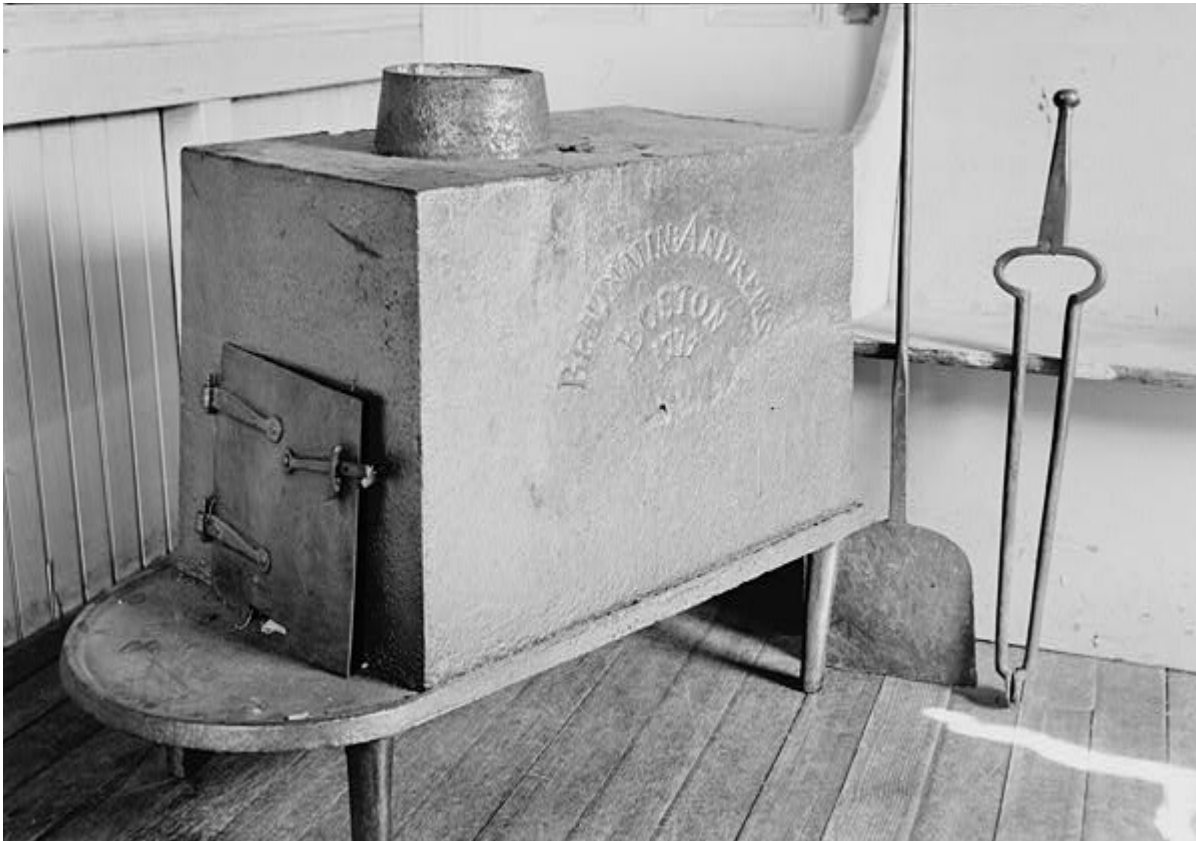
### GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

March: At the men's meeting for business of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) at [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#), "Smithfield Lower House Preparative Mtg. [[Saylesville](#)] informing that Stephen and Jephtha Wilkinson, sons of Jeremiah, have attended Training for Military Exercise — and but seldom attended friends meetings — Wherefore this meeting appoints Benja. Arnold, Wm. Buffum & Thomas Lapham Jr. to labor with them for said Transgressions — and report to next Assembly."

[QUAKER DISOWNMENT](#)

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

This is the cast-iron stove that we had installed in the Saylesville meetinghouse for use during the winters, at about this point in time or perhaps a few years earlier:







## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

[GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM](#)

26th, 3rd Month: The Constitution of South Carolina.

[READ THE FULL TEXT](#)

“The Preparative Meeting of [Newport](#) inform that Job Townsend, 2nd hath appeared in train band under arms, whereupon we appoint James Wanton and John Gould to labor with Townsend and endeavour to bring him to a sense of his misconduct and report to next Monthly Meeting.”

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May: Panic swept [Charleston, South Carolina](#) when a British armada carrying more than 3,000 British regulars was sighted offshore. Oh, this is bad, this is very bad.

A call for American independence from Britain, the [Virginia](#) Declaration of Rights was drafted by George Mason (1725-1792) and amended by Thomas Ludwell Lee (*circa* 1730-1778) and by the Virginia Convention. Mason wrote “*That all men are born equally free and independant [sic], and have certain inherent natural right, of which they cannot, by any compact, deprive or divest their posterity; among which are the Enjoyment of Life and Liberty, with the Means of acquiring and possessing Property, and pursueing [sic] and obtaining Happiness and Safety.*” [Thomas Jefferson](#) would draw from this document when a month later he worked over an early draft of the [Declaration of Independence](#). In 1789 it would be accessed not only by [James Madison, Jr.](#) in drawing up the Bill of Rights to the US Constitution but also by the *Marquis de Lafayette* in drafting the French Declaration of the Rights of Man.



But that was in [Virginia](#) and applied to people who were safely pro-war. For people who were anti-war



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

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### GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

there weren't all that many rights available in America:



Pennsylvania Quakers ... experienced significant harassment for their pacifism and neutrality. Their numbers were already greatly reduced by the disciplinary renaissance of the 1750s, and they faced a real schism from "Free Quakers," who both supported the Revolution and rejected pacifism. As a result "orthodox" Friends found themselves hunted down in a colony they had founded and long governed. In May 1776 a stone-throwing mob forced Philadelphia Friends to observe a fast day that the Continental Congress had proclaimed. A Berks County mob shackled and jailed Moses Roberts, a Quaker minister, until he posted a \$10,000 bond guaranteeing his "good" behavior. Philadelphia patriots also exiled seventeen Friends to Virginia in 1776 for nearly two years so they would not interfere with revolutionary activities. Patriots celebrating the surrender of Cornwallis in October 1782 ransacked Quaker homes that had not displayed victory candles.

Clearly, there were in [Rhode Island](#) a few Quaker men who were attempting to avoid persecution by the usual coterie of Those-Who-Aren't-With-Us-Are-Against-Us "patriots." For, at the men's meeting for business of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) at [Smithfield](#), "*Two of the Committee to labour with Stephen & Jephtha Wilkinson for attending Training etc. report that they have labored with them and they appear to have frequented Trainings for Military service and endeavour to justify the same, and seldom attended friends meetings, and gave but very little satisfaction for their said conduct. Therefore this Meeting puts them from under their care, until they shall condemn said conduct to the Satisfaction of friends, which we desire they may be enabled to do — Jona Arnold is desired to inform them of their denial, Right of appeal and report to next monthly Mtg. to which time the drawing of a Testimony of their denials [sic], in order to be published, is referred. — L. Lapham, Clerk.*"

QUAKER DISOWNMENT

28th, 5th Month: The committee appointed by the Preparative Meeting of [Newport](#) to deal with Friend Job Townsend, 2nd having reported no success in dealing with him as an armed member of the local revolutionary militia, the [Quakers disowned](#) him "to be any longer a member of our Society."

RHODE ISLAND

QUAKER DISOWNMENT

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

June: At the men's meeting for business of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) at [Smithfield](#), [Rhode Island](#), "Jona. Arnold reports that he informed Stephen & Jephtha Wilkinson according to appointment — and the matter of publishing their denials [sic] was considered in this meeting, and Jona. Arnold & Job Scott are appointed to draw Testimonies of their Denials and bring to next monthly meeting."

QUAKER DISOWNMENT

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

### GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

July: At the men's meeting for business of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) at [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#), "Jona. Arnold & Jephtha Wilkinson's Deniels [sic] which was read and referred to next monthly meeting for Consideration."

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

[QUAKER DISOWNMENT](#)

30th, 7th Month: "The Preparative Meeting of [Portsmouth](#) inform that Gideon Shearman (son of John Shearman) and Seth Thomas (son of Joseph Thomas) have enlisted as soldiers, which is a transgression of the rules of our Society. Therefore we do disown them to be any longer under our care as members thereof, and order a copy of this minute to be read publicly at the close of a First Day Meeting at Portsmouth. Jacob Mott 2nd is desired to read the same and make report at our next Monthly Meeting."

[RHODE ISLAND](#)

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[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

August: At the women's meeting for business of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) at the upper meetinghouse in [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#), "Patience Wilkinson hath been laboured with on account of her having an Illegitimate Child and not appearing in a State of Mind Suitable to Make Satisfaction therefore this meeting Disowns her from membership. [Jemimah Wilkinson](#) hath been laboured with for not attending Meeting and not using the plain language, finding no amendment this meeting puts her from under there [sic] care. (Both daughters of Jeremiah Wilkinson). Mary Brown and Mary Olney are to draw a Denial against Patience and Jemimah Wilkinson and bring to Next Monthly Meeting."

[QUAKER DISOWNMENT](#)

Meanwhile, at the corresponding men's meeting, "The testimonies of Stephen & Jephtha Wilkinson's Deniels Referd [sic] to this meeting was Considered; and Being Drawn Seperate [sic], and Dated from this meeting, were approved of & signed by the clerk. The women's meeting Informs that they have rec'd Sarah Buffum (wife of Jedediah) a member of our Society and Disowned Patience and Jemima [sic] Wilkinson (Daughters of Jeremiah)."

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

September: In Massachusetts, a selective service draft was instituted. Three young [Quaker](#) men of Worcester County were imprisoned for adhering to the Peace Testimony, until the General Court ordered their release.

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

27th, 8th Month: "Jacob Mott reported in writing that by reason of indisposition he had not read the Minutes against Gideon Shearman and Seth Thomas and now desired to be excused from reading the Minutes. Therefore Samson Shearmen is desired to take care that they be read, and make report to next Monthly Meeting."

[RHODE ISLAND](#)

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## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

### GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

29th, 10th Month: At the Preparative Meeting of [Portsmouth](#), “One of the visitors from [Newport](#) informed that Benjamin Stanton had been on a cruise in a private vessel of war which being directly contrary to the peaceable principle we profess, we do disown him.”

[RHODE ISLAND](#)

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## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1777

January: A resident of the [New York](#) colony, John Cumming (this is **not** the Dr. John Cuming of Concord, Massachusetts), went to the city of [New-York](#) to determine how best he might handle his delicate political situation, his delicate political situation being that he was a Loyalist rather than a revolutionary. While in the city he refused a commission in the British army.

People were trying to kill each other at the Assumpsick Bridge in Trenton, New Jersey.

At the women's meeting for business of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) at the upper meetinghouse in [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#), "*Benjamin Arnold informs this meeting that he hath read the denials of Jemimah and Patience Wilkinson agreeable to appointment.*"



JEMIMAH WILKINSON

QUAKER DISOWNMENT

Three more [Quaker](#) men of Worcester County, Massachusetts were imprisoned for adhering to the Peace Testimony.

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

1st, 2nd Month: "*John G. Wanton and Robert Taylor of [Newport](#) have signed a declaration called the Test Act, which being contrary to the peaceable principles we profess, therefore for the clearing of our Christian testimony we do disown them.*"<sup>24</sup>

RHODE ISLAND

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24. Subscription to this Test Act, since it involved the provision of a substitute soldier or the making of an adequate payment for the obtaining of such a substitute soldier, was held to constitute personal participation in conflict and therefore was in violation of the peaceable principles of the [Religious Society of Friends](#).

QUAKER DISOWNMENT

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

### GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

April: A new militia law in [Rhode Island](#) withdrew protection from [Quaker](#) men who refused to perform “alternative service.” Quaker refuseniks should be replaced by soldiers hired at town expense — and then the town should seize Quaker property in the amount of that expense. (In response to this, the Meeting for Sufferings of the Religious Society of Friends would desist from all compliance with community demands, for instance ceasing to issue the certificates of membership in the Religious Society of Friends that the military had been relying upon in determining whether or not a refusenik was actually a member.)

Friend David Anthony of Greenwich monthly meeting was imprisoned. The New England Meeting for Sufferings would take the matter up with the Rhode Island General Assembly and he would be released, spending but nine weeks in prison for his observance of the Peace Testimony.

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

Our national birthday, Friday the 4th of July: At Portsmouth, [New Hampshire](#), Americans were invited by Captain Thompson to lunch on board a Continental frigate.

In Philadelphia, stones were being thrown through the windows of [Quaker](#) homes because, being adherents of the Peace Testimony, these people were unable to honor American military prowess by closing their businesses on the holidays declared in celebration of victories.

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

The first religious sermon about Independence Day was delivered in Boston by the Reverend William Gordon, before the General Court of Massachusetts.

### GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE



### GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

August: St. Leger gathered his forces at Three Rivers before proceeding toward Rome, [New York](#).

Four [Quaker](#) men of East Hoosack, Massachusetts were imprisoned for adhering to the Peace Testimony, until the General Court ordered their release.

[CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE](#)

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)





## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

### GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

9th, 10th Month: [Mary Rotch](#) was born in a [Quaker](#) family on [Nantucket Island](#) — William Rotch, Jr. and Elizabeth Rodman Rotch. There were five older siblings, Sarah Rotch (Arnold), William Rodman Rotch, Joseph Rotch, Thomas Rotch, and Mary Rotch (Fleeming) (Emerson). (The father William Rotch, Jr. was a well-to-do shipowner and merchant in the whaling trade. At one point during the Revolutionary War, he would render innocuous a shipment of bayonets by pitching them into the harbor.)

### THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

[Patrick Henry](#) got married a 2d time, with Dorothea Spotswood Dandridge.



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

### GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

October 17, Friday: [Moses Greenleaf Junior](#) was born in Newburyport, Massachusetts to Lydia Parsons Greenleaf in the absence of [Captain Moses Greenleaf](#), who was then in the Revolutionary army.<sup>25</sup>

In the Convention of Saratoga, [New York](#), General Burgoyne handed over his sword to the American revolutionary forces under General Gates on the Hudson River, formally surrendering his forces to Gates.

25. Per Vital Records of Newburyport, Massachusetts to the end of the year 1849, in the list of births, on page 168 under family name Greenleaf: "Moses, s. Moses and Lydia, Oct. 17, 1777."

The Reverend Jonathan Greenleaf (a younger brother of [Moses Greenleaf](#)) would be born on September 4, 1785 in Newburyport and would die in Brooklyn, New York on April 24, 1865. He would be licensed to preach in 1814, and would be pastor at Wells, Maine, in 1815-1828. He would then take charge of the Mariner's Church, Boston, remove to New York in 1833, and edit the Sailor's Magazine. He would also be secretary of the Seamen's Friend Society, initially in Boston and then in New York, until 1841. He would in 1843 organize the Wallabout Presbyterian Church in Brooklyn, and would be its pastor until his death. Bowdoin College would in 1824 award him the degree of MA, and Princeton College would in 1863 award him the degree of DD. The reverend would publish SKETCHES OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF MAINE (Portsmouth, New Hampshire, 1821); HISTORY OF NEW YORK CHURCHES (New York, 1846); and GENEALOGY OF THE GREENLEAF FAMILY (1854).

Professor Simon Greenleaf (another younger brother of [Moses Greenleaf](#)): would be born on December 5, 1783 in Newburyport and would die in Cambridge, Massachusetts on October 6, 1853. He would remove with his father to Maine when a child, and in 1801 begin the study of law in New Gloucester, Maine, with Ezekiel Whitman, afterward chief justice of the state. In 1806 he would begin to practice in Standish, but in the same year would remove to Gray. He would go to Portland in 1818, and in 1820, after the admission of Maine to the Union, and the establishment of a Supreme Court, would become its reporter, holding the office till 1832. He would be appointed Royal Professor of Law in the Harvard Law School in 1833, and in 1846, on the death of Judge Story, would be transferred to the Dane professorship. He would resign in 1848. The professor would be for many years president of the Massachusetts Bible society. Harvard would in 1834 award him the degree of LLD. His works would be ORIGIN AND PRINCIPLES OF FREEMASONRY (Portland, 1820); FULL COLLECTION OF CASES, OVERRULED, DENIED, DOUBTED, OR LIMITED IN THEIR APPLICATION (1821; 3d ed., by E. Hammond, New York, 1840, afterward expanded to 3 vols.); REPORTS OF CASES IN THE SUPREME COURT OF MAINE, 1820-'31 (9 vols., Hallowell and Portland, 1822-1835; digest, Portland, 1835; revised ed., 8 vols., Boston, 1852); TREATISE ON THE LAW OF EVIDENCE (3 vols., 1842-1853; 14th ed., with large additions by Simon Greenleaf Croswell, 1883); EXAMINATION OF THE TESTIMONY OF THE FOUR EVANGELISTS, BY THE RULES OF EVIDENCE ADMINISTERED IN COURTS OF JUSTICE, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE TRIAL OF JESUS (1846; London, 1847); and an enlarged edition of William Cruise's DIGEST OF THE LAWS OF ENGLAND RESPECTING REAL PROPERTY, adapted to American practice (3 vols., 1849-1850). He would also publish his inaugural discourse on entering upon his professorship (Boston, 1834), and one on the life and character of Joseph Story (1845).

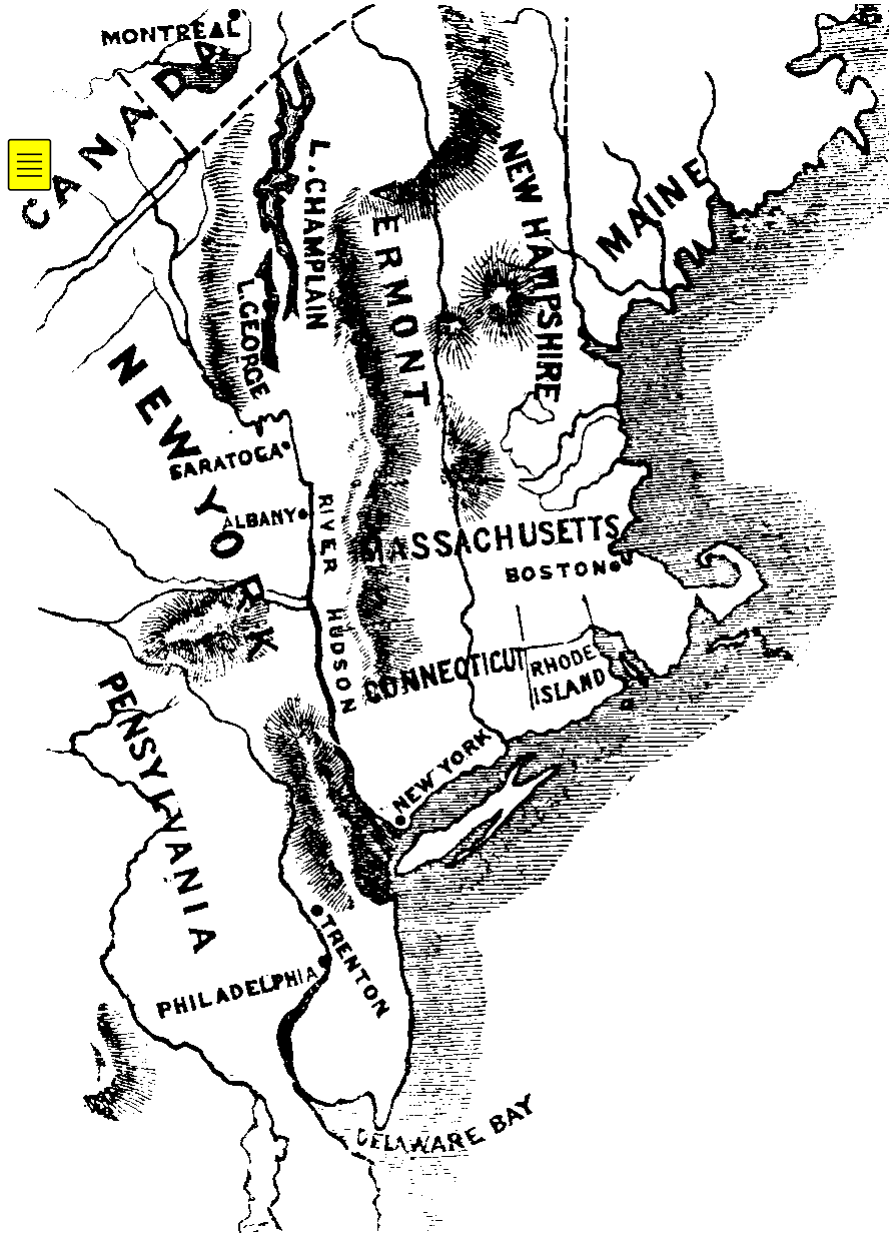
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[William Dorrell](#) was one of the 3,500 redcoats present at the surrender, a 6-footer at about the age of 25.



Quaker conscripts, a total of 14, were taken to Colonel [George Washington](#)'s winter encampment at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania and there muskets were tied onto their backs because they declined to hold them in their hands. They did not deviate from the peace testimony, but insisted and continued to insist that this whole thing about warfare, and about the spirit of war that inspired it, was a whole lot of foolishness, and eventually their tormenters gave up and these cowardly resisters were sent back home to resume their lives as productive citizens.

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"Even of those great conflicts, in which hundreds of thousands have been engaged and tens of thousands have

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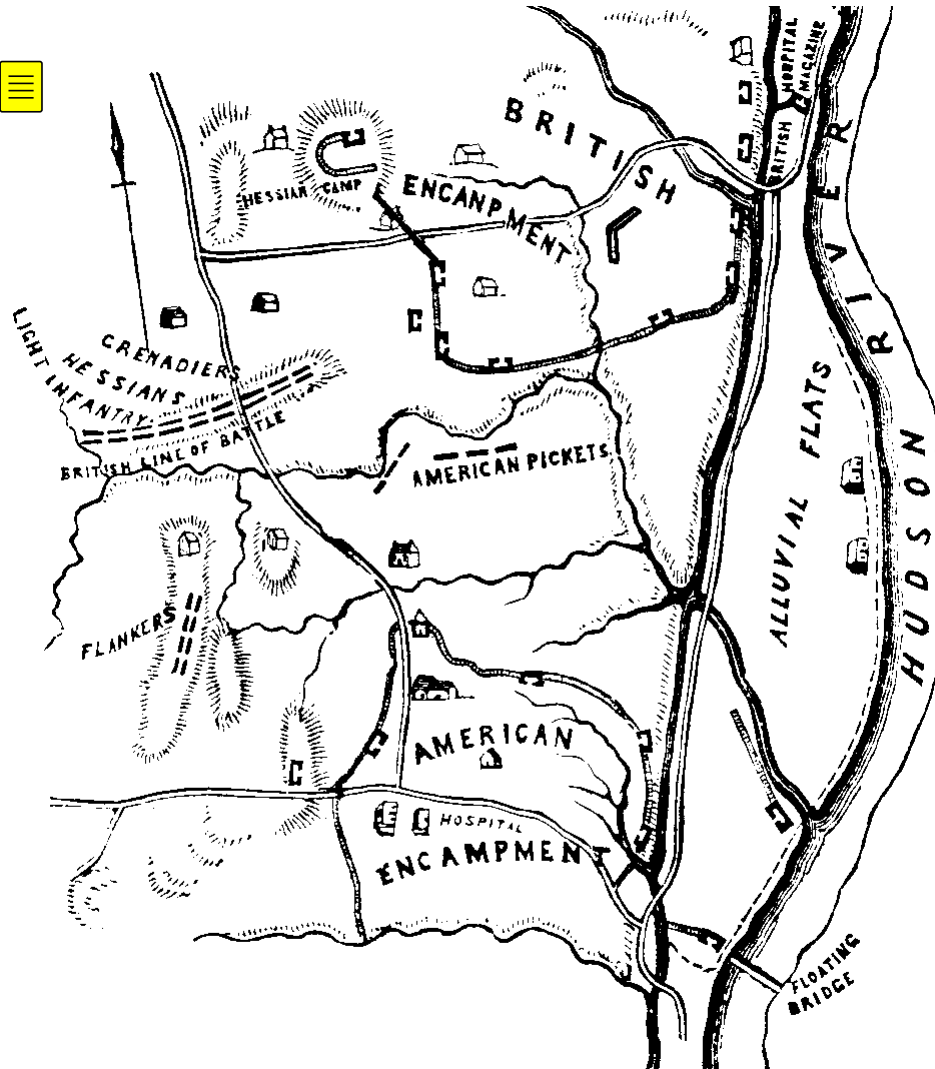
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fallen, none has been more fruitful of results than this surrender of thirty-five hundred fighting-men at Saratoga. It not merely changed the relations of England and the feelings of Europe towards these insurgent colonies, but it has modified, for all times to come, the connection between every colony and every parent state."

—Lord Mahon.





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"Brilliant generalship in itself is a frightening thing – the very idea that the thought processes of a single brain of a Hannibal or a Scipio can play themselves out in the destruction of thousands of young men in an afternoon."

– Victor Davis Hanson, *CARNAGE AND CULTURE: LANDMARK BATTLES IN THE RISE OF WESTERN POWER* (NY: Doubleday, 2001)





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Of the four great powers that now principally rule the political destinies of the world, France and England are the only two whose influence can be dated back beyond the last century and a half. The third great power, Russia, was a feeble mass of barbarism before the epoch of Peter the Great; and the very existence of the fourth great power, as an independent nation, commenced within the memory of living men. By the fourth great power of the world I mean the mighty commonwealth of the western continent, which now commands the admiration of mankind. That homage is sometimes reluctantly given, and accompanied with suspicion and ill will. But none can refuse it. All the physical essentials for national strength are undeniably to be found in the geographical position and amplitude of territory which the United States possess; in their almost inexhaustible tracts of fertile, but hitherto untouched, soil; in their stately forests, in their mountain-chains and their rivers, their beds of coal, and stores of metallic wealth; in their extensive sea-board along the waters of two oceans, and in their already numerous and rapidly increasing population. And, when we examine the character of this population, no one can look on the fearless energy, the sturdy determination, the aptitude for local self government, the versatile alacrity, and the unresting spirit of enterprise, which characterize the Anglo-Americans, without feeling that he here beholds the true moral elements of progressive might.

Three quarters of a century have not yet passed away since the United States ceased to be mere dependencies of England. And even if we date their origin from the period, when the first permanent European settlements, out of which they grew, were made on the western coast of the North Atlantic, the increase of their strength is unparalleled, either in rapidity or extent. The ancient Roman boasted, with reason, of the growth of Rome from humble beginnings to the greatest magnitude which the world had then ever witnessed. But the citizen of the United States is still more justly entitled to claim this praise. In two centuries and a half his country has acquired ampler dominion than the Roman gained in ten. And, even if we credit the legend of the band of shepherds and outlaws with which Romulus is said to have colonized the Seven Hills, we find not there so small a germ of future greatness, as we find in the group of a hundred and five ill-chosen and disunited emigrants who founded Jamestown in 1607, or in the scanty band of the Pilgrim Fathers, who, a few years later, moored their bark on the wild and rock-bound coast of the wilderness that was to become New England. The power of the United States is emphatically the "Imperium quo neque ab exordio ullum fere minus, neque incrementis tote orbe amplius humana potest memoria recordari." - Eutropius.

Nothing is more calculated to impress the mind with a sense of the rapidity with which the resources of the American Republic advance, than the difficulty which the historical inquirer finds in ascertaining their precise amount. If he consults the most recent works, and those written by the ablest investigators of





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the subject, he finds in them admiring comments on the change which the last few years, before those books were written, had made; but when he turns to apply the estimates in those books to the present moment, he finds them wholly inadequate. Before a book on the subject of the United States has lost its novelty, those states have outgrown the description which it contains. The celebrated work of the French statesman, De Tocqueville, appeared about fifteen years ago. In the passage which I am about to quote, it will be seen that he predicts the constant increase of the Anglo-American power, but he looks on the Rocky Mountains as their extreme western limit for many years to come. He had evidently no expectation of himself seeing that power dominant along the Pacific as well as along the Atlantic coast. He says: "The distance from Lake Superior to the Gulf of Mexico extends from the 47th to the 30th degree of latitude, a distance of more than 1200 miles, as the bird flies. The frontier of the United States winds along the whole of this immense line; sometimes falling within its limits, but more frequently extending far beyond it into the waste. It has been calculated that the Whites advance every year a mean distance of seventeen miles along the whole of this vast boundary. Obstacles, such as an unproductive district, a lake, or an Indian nation unexpectedly encountered, are sometimes met with. The advancing column then halts for a while; its two extremities fall back upon themselves, and as soon as they are reunited they proceed onwards. This gradual and continuous progress of the European race towards the Rocky Mountains has the solemnity of a Providential event: it is like a deluge of men rising unabatedly, and daily driven onwards by the hand of God.

"Within this first line of conquering settlers towns are built, and vast estates founded. In 1790 there were only a few thousand pioneers sprinkled along the valleys of the Mississippi: and at the present day these valleys contain as many inhabitants as were to be found in the whole Union in 1790. Their population amounts to nearly four millions. The city of Washington was founded in 1800, in the very center of the Union; but such are the changes which have taken place, that it now stands at one of the extremities; and the delegates of the most, remote Western States are already obliged to perform a journey as long as that from Vienna to Paris.

"It must not, then, be imagined that the impulse of the British race in the New World can be arrested. The dismemberment of the Union, and the hostilities which might ensue, the abolition of republican institutions, and the tyrannical government which might succeed it, may retard this impulse, but they cannot prevent it from ultimately fulfilling the destinies to which that race is reserved. No power upon earth can close upon the emigrants that fertile wilderness, which offers resources to all industry and a refuge from all want. Future events, of whatever nature they may be, will, not deprive the Americans of their climate or of their



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inland seas, or of their great rivers, or of their exuberant soil. Nor will bad laws, revolutions, and anarchy be able to obliterate that love of prosperity and that spirit of enterprise which seem to be the distinctive characteristics of their race, or to extinguish that knowledge which guides them on their way.

"Thus, in the midst of the uncertain future, one event at least is sure. At a period which may be said to be near (for we are speaking of the life of a nation), the Anglo-Americans will alone cover the immense space contained between the Polar regions and the Tropics, extending from the coast of the Atlantic to the shores of the Pacific Ocean; the territory which will probably be occupied by the Anglo-Americans at some future time, may be computed to equal three quarters of Europe in extent. The climate of the Union is upon the whole preferable to that of Europe, and its natural advantages are not less great; it is therefore evident that its population will at some future time be proportionate to our own. Europe, divided as it is between so many different nations, and torn as it has been by incessant wars and the barbarous manners of the Middle Ages, has notwithstanding attained a population of 410 inhabitants to the square league. What cause can prevent the United States from having as numerous a population in time?

"The time will therefore come when one hundred and fifty millions of men will be living in North America, equal in condition, the progeny of one race, owing their origin to the same cause, and preserving the same civilization, the same language, the same religion, the same habits, the same manners, and imbued with the same opinions, propagated under the same forms. The rest is uncertain, but this is certain; and it is a fact new to the world, a fact fraught with such portentous consequences as to baffle the efforts even of the imagination."

Let us turn from the French statesman writing in 1535, to an English statesman, who is justly regarded as the highest authority on all statistical subjects, and who described the United States only seven years ago, Macgregor tells us-

"The States which, on the ratification of independence, formed the American Republican Union, were thirteen, viz.:-

"Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

"The foregoing thirteen states (the whole inhabited territory of which, with the exception of a few small settlements, was confined to the region extending between the Allegheny mountains and the Atlantic) were



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those which existed at the period when they became an acknowledged separate and independent federal sovereign power. The thirteen stripes of the standard or flag of the United States, continue to represent the original number. The stars have multiplied to twenty-six, [Fresh stars have dawned since this was written.] according as the number of States have increased.

"The territory of the thirteen original States of the Union, including Maine and Vermont, comprehended a superficies of 371,124 English square miles; that of the whole United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, 120,354; that of France, including Corsica, 214,910; that of the Austrian Empire, including Hungary and all the Imperial States; 257, 540 English square miles.

"The present superficies of the twenty-six constitutional States of the Anglo-American Union, and the district of Columbia, and territories of Florida, include 1,029,025 square miles; to which if we add the northwest, or Wisconsin territory, east of the Mississippi, and bounded by Lake Superior on the north, and Michigan on the east, and occupying at least 100,000 square miles, and then add the great western region, not yet well-defined territories, but at the most limited calculation comprehending 700,000 square miles, the whole unbroken in its vast length and breadth by foreign nations, comprehends a portion of the earth's surface equal to 1, 729,025 English, or 1,296,770 geographical square miles."

We may add that the population of the States, when they declared their independence, was about two millions and a half; it is now twenty-three millions.

I have quoted Macgregor, not only on account of the clear and full view which he gives of the progress of America to the date when he wrote, but because his description may be contrasted with what the United States have become even since his book appeared. Only three years after the time when Macgregor thus wrote, the American President truly stated:—

"Within less than four years the annexation of Texas to the Union has been consummated; all conflicting title to the Oregon territory, south of the 49th degree of north latitude, adjusted; and New Mexico and Upper California have been acquired by treaty. The area of these several territories contains 1,193,061 square miles, or 763,559,040 acres; while the area of the remaining twenty-nine States, and the territory not yet organized into States east of the Rocky Mountains, contains 2,059,513 square miles, or 1,318,126,058 acres. These estimates show that the territories recently acquired, and over which our exclusive jurisdiction and dominion have been extended, constitute a country more than half as large as all that which was held by the United States before their acquisition. If Oregon be excluded from the estimate,



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there will still remain within the limits of Texas, New Mexico, and California, 851,595 square miles, or 545,012,720 acres; being an addition equal to more than one-third of all the territory owned by the United States before their acquisition; and, including Oregon, nearly as great an extent of territory as the whole of Europe, Russia only excepted. The Mississippi, so lately the frontier of our country, is now only its center. With the addition of the late acquisitions, the United States are now estimated to be nearly as large as the whole of Europe. The extent of the sea-coast of Texas on the Gulf of Mexico is upwards of 400 miles; of the coast of Upper California, on the Pacific, of 970 miles; and of Oregon, including the Straits of Fuca, of 650 miles; making the whole extent of sea coast on the Pacific 1620 miles; and the whole extent on both the Pacific and the Gulf of Mexico, 2020 miles. The length of the coast on the Atlantic, from the northern limits of the United States, round the Capes of Florida to the Sabine on the eastern boundary of Texas, is estimated to be 3100 miles, so that the addition of seacoast, including Oregon, is very nearly two-thirds as great as all we possessed before; and, excluding Oregon, is an addition of 1370 miles; being nearly equal to one-half of the extent of coast which we possessed before these acquisitions. We have now three great maritime fronts—on the Atlantic, the Gulf of Mexico, and the Pacific, making, in the whole, an extent of sea-coast exceeding 5000 miles. This is the extent of the seacoast of the United States, not including bays, sounds, and small irregularities of the main shore, and of the sea islands. If these be included, the length of the, shore line of coast, as estimated by the superintendent of the Coast Survey, in his report, would be 33,063 miles.”

The importance of the power of the United States being then firmly planted along the Pacific applies not only to the New World, but to the Old. Opposite to San Francisco, on the coast of that ocean, lie the wealthy but decrepit empires of China and Japan. Numerous groups of islets stud the larger part of the intervening sea, and form convenient stepping-stones for the progress of commerce or ambition. The intercourse of traffic between these ancient Asiatic monarchies, and the young Anglo-American Republic, must be rapid and extensive. Any attempt of the Chinese or Japanese rulers to check it, will only accelerate an armed collision. The American will either buy or force his way. Between such populations as that of China and Japan on the one side, and that of the United States on the other — the former haughty, formal, and insolent, the latter bold, intrusive, and unscrupulous — causes of quarrel must, sooner or later, arise. The results of such a quarrel cannot be doubted. America will scarcely imitate the forbearance shown by England at the end of our late war



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with the Celestial Empire; and the conquests of China and Japan, by the fleets and armies of the United States, are events which many now living are likely to witness. Compared with the magnitude of such changes in the dominion of the Old World, the certain ascendancy of the Anglo-Americans over Central and Southern America, seems a matter of secondary importance. Well may we repeat De Tocqueville's words, that the growing power of this commonwealth is, "Un fait entierement nouveau dans le monde, et dont l'imagination elle-meme ne saurait saisir la portee." [These remarks were written in May 1851, and now, in May 1853, a powerful squadron of American war-steamers has been sent to Japan, for the ostensible purpose of securing protection for the crews of American vessels shipwrecked on the Japanese coasts, but also evidently for important ulterior purposes.]

An Englishman may look, and ought to look, on the growing grandeur of the Americans with no small degree of generous sympathy and satisfaction. They, like ourselves, are members of the great Anglo-Saxon nation, "whose race and language are now overrunning the world from one end of it to the other." And whatever differences of form of government may exist between us and them; whatever reminiscences of the days when, though brethren, we strove together, may rankle in the minds of us, the defeated party; we should cherish the bonds of common nationality that still exist between us. We should remember, as the Athenians remembered of the Spartans at a season of jealousy and temptation, that our race is one, being of the same blood, speaking the same language, having an essential resemblance in our institutions and usage's, and worshipping in the temples of the same God. All this may and should be borne in mind. And yet an Englishman can hardly watch the progress of America, without the regretful thought that America once was English, and that, but for the folly of our rulers, she might be English still. It is true that the commerce between the two countries has largely and beneficially increased; but this is no proof that the increase would not have been still greater, had the States remained integral portions of the same great empire. By giving a fair and just participation in political rights, these, "the fairest possessions" of the British crown, might have been preserved to it. "This ancient and most noble monarchy" [Lord Chatham] would not have been dismembered; nor should we see that which ought to be the right arm of our strength, now menacing us in every political crisis, as the most formidable rival of our commercial and maritime ascendancy.

The war which rent away the North American colonies of England is, of all subjects in history, the most painful for an Englishman to dwell on. It was commenced and carried on by the British ministry in iniquity and folly, and it was concluded in disaster and shame. But the contemplation of it cannot be evaded by the historian, however much it may be abhorred. Nor can any military event be said to have exercised more important



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influence on the future fortunes of mankind, than the complete defeat of Burgoyne's expedition in 1777; a defeat which rescued the revolted colonists from certain subjection; and which, by inducing the courts of France and Spain to attack England in their behalf, ensured the independence of the United States, and the formation of that transatlantic power which, not only America, but both Europe and Asia, now see and feel.

Still, in proceeding to describe this "decisive battle of the world," a very brief recapitulation of the earlier events of the war may be sufficient; nor shall I linger unnecessarily on a painful theme.

The five northern colonies of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and Vermont, usually classed together as the New England colonies, were the strongholds of the insurrection against the mother-country. The feeling of resistance was less vehement and general in the central settlement of New York; and still less so in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and the other colonies of the south, although everywhere it was formidably active. Virginia should, perhaps, be particularized for the zeal which its leading men displayed in the American cause; but it was among the descendants of the stern Puritans that the spirit of Cromwell and Vane breathed in all its fervor; it was from the New Englanders that the first armed opposition to the British crown had been offered; and it was by them that the most stubborn determination to fight to the last, rather than waive a single right or privilege, had been displayed. In 1775, they had succeeded in forcing the British troops to evacuate Boston; and the events of 1716 had made New York (which the royalists captured in that year) the principal basis of operations for the armies of the mother-country.

A glance at the map will show that the Hudson river, which falls into the Atlantic at New York, runs down from the north at the back of the New England States, forming an angle of about forty-five degrees with the line of the coast of the Atlantic, along which the New England states are situate. Northward of the Hudson, we see a small chain of lakes communicating with the Canadian frontier. It is necessary to attend closely to these geographical points, in order to understand the plan of the operations which the English attempted in 1777, and which the battle of Saratoga defeated.

The English had a considerable force in Canada, and in 1776 had completely repulsed an attack which the Americans had made upon that province. The British ministry resolved to avail themselves, in the next year, of the advantage which the occupation of Canada gave them, not merely for the purpose of defense, but for the purpose; of striking a vigorous and crushing blow against the revolted colonies. With this view, the army in Canada was largely reinforced. Seven thousand veteran troops were sent out from England, with a corps of artillery abundantly supplied, and led by select. and experienced officers. Large quantities of military stores were also furnished for the equipment of the Canadian volunteers, who were expected to join the expedition. It was intended that the force thus collected should march southward by the line of the lakes,





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and thence along the banks of the Hudson river. The British army in New York (or a large detachment of it) was to make a simultaneous movement northward, up the line of the Hudson, and the two expeditions were to unite at Albany, a town on that river. By these operations all communication between the northern colonies and those of the center and south would be cut off. An irresistible force would be concentrated, so as to crush all further opposition in New England; and when this was done, it was believed that the other colonies would speedily submit. The Americans had no troops in the field that seemed able to baffle these movements. Their principal army, under Washington, was occupied in watching over Pennsylvania and the south. At ally rate it was believed that, in order to oppose the plan intended for the new campaign, the insurgents must risk a pitched battle, in which the superiority of the royalists, in numbers, in discipline, and in equipment, seemed to promise to the latter a crowning victory. Without question the plan was ably formed; and had the success of the execution been equal to the ingenuity of the design, the re-conquest or submission of the thirteen United States must, in all human probability, have followed; and the independence which they proclaimed in 1776 would have been extinguished before it existed a second year. No European power had as yet. come forward to aid America. It is true that England was generally regarded with jealousy and ill-will, and was thought to have acquired, at the treaty of Paris, a preponderance of dominion which was perilous to the balance of power; but though many were willing to wound, none had yet ventured to strike; and America, if defeated in 1777, would have been suffered to fall unaided.

In Lord Albemarle's "Memoirs of the Marquis of Rockingham" is contained the following remarkable state paper, drawn up by King George III himself respecting the plan of Burgoyne's expedition. The original is in the king's own hand.

#### "REMARKS ON THE CONDUCT OF THE WAR FROM CANADA.

"The outlines of the plan seem to be on a proper foundation. The rank and file of the army now in Canada (including the 11th Regiment of British, M'Clean's. corps, the Brunswick's and Hanover), amount to 10,527; add the eleven additional companies and four hundred Hanover Chasseurs, the total will be 11,443.

"As sickness and other contingencies must be expected, I should think not above 7000 effectives can be spared over Lake Champlain; for it would be highly imprudent to run any risk in Canada.

"The fixing the stations of those left in the province may not be quite right, though the plan proposed may be recommended. Indians must be employed, and this measure must be avowedly directed, and Carleton must be in the strongest manner directed that the Apollo shall be ready by that day, to receive Burgoyne.

"The magazines must be formed with the greatest expedition, at Crown Point.

"If possible, possession must be taken of Lake George,



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and nothing but an absolute impossibility of succeeding in this, can be an excuse for proceeding by South Bay and Skeenborough.

"As Sir W. Howe does not think of acting from Rhode Island into the Massachusetts, the force from Canada must join him in Albany.

"The diversion on the Mohawk River ought at least to be strengthened by the addition of the four hundred Hanover Chasseurs.

"The Ordnance ought to furnish a complete proportion of entrenching tools.

"The provisions ought to be calculated for a third more than the effective soldiery, and the General ordered to avoid delivering these when the army can be subsisted by the country. Bourgoyne certainly greatly undervalues the German recruits.

"The idea of carrying the army by sea to Sir W. Howe, would certainly require the leaving a much larger part of it in Canada, as in that case the rebel army would divide that province from the immense one under Sir W. Howe. I greatly dislike this last idea."

Burgoyne had gained celebrity by some bold and dashing exploits in Portugal during the last war, he was personally as brave an officer as ever headed British troops; he had considerable skill as a tactician; and his general intellectual abilities and acquirements were of a high order. He had several very able and experienced officers under him, among whom were Major-General Phillips and Brigadier-General Frazer. His regular troops amounted, exclusively of the corps of artillery, to about seven thousand two hundred men, rank and file. Nearly half of these were Germans. He had also an auxiliary force of from two to three thousand Canadians. He summoned the warriors of several tribes of the Red Indians near the western lakes to join his army. Much eloquence was poured forth, both in America and in England, in denouncing the use of these savage auxiliaries. Yet Burgoyne seems to have done no more than Montcalm, Wolfe, and other French, American, and English generals had done before him. But, in truth, the lawless ferocity of the Indians, their unskillfulness in regular action, and the utter impossibility of bringing them under any discipline, made their services of little or no value in times of difficulty: while the indignation which their outrages inspired, went far to rouse the whole population of the invaded districts into active hostilities



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against Burgoyne's force.



Burgoyne assembled his troops and confederates near the river Bouquet, on the west side of Lake Champlain. He then, on the 21st of June, 1777, gave his Red Allies a war-feast, and harangued them on the necessity of abstaining from their usual cruel practices against unarmed people and prisoners. At the same time he published a pompous manifesto to the Americans, in which he threatened the refractory with all the horrors of war, Indian as well as European. The army proceeded by water to Crown Point, a fortification which the Americans held at the northern extremity of the inlet by which the water from Lake George is conveyed to Lake Champlain. He landed here without opposition; but the reduction of Ticonderoga, a fortification about twelve miles to the south of Crown Point, was a more serious matter, and was supposed to be the critical part of the expedition. Ticonderoga commanded the passage along the lakes, and was considered to be the key to the route which Burgoyne wished to follow. The English had been repulsed in an attack on it in the war with the French in 1758 with severe loss. But Burgoyne now invested it with great skill; and the American General, St. Clair, who had only an ill equipped army of about three thousand men, evacuated it on the 5th of July. It seems evident that a different course would have caused the destruction or capture of his whole army; which, weak as it was, was the chief force then in the field for the protection of the New England states. When censured by some of his countrymen for abandoning Ticonderoga, St. Clair truly replied, "that he had lost a post, but saved a province." Burgoyne's troops pursued the retiring Americans, gained several advantages over them, and took a large

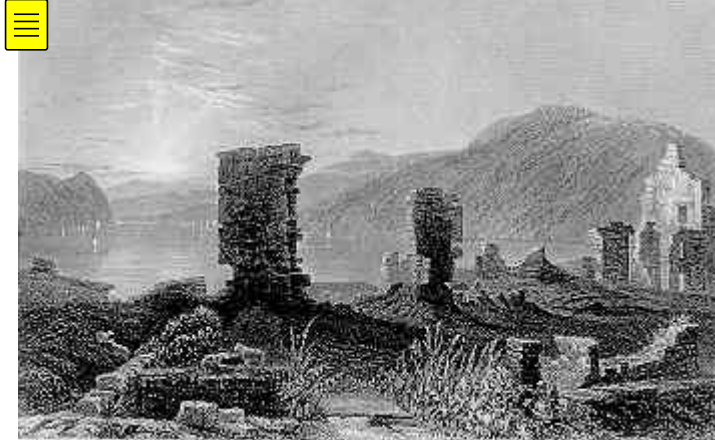
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part of their artillery and military stores.



The loss of the British in these engagements was trifling. The army moved southward along Lake George to Skenesborough; and thence, slowly, and with great difficulty, across a broken country, full of creeks and marshes, and clogged by the enemy with felled trees and other obstacles, to Fort Edward, on the Hudson river, the American troops continuing to retire before them.

Burgoyne reached the left bank of the Hudson river on the 30th of July. Hitherto he had overcome every difficulty which the enemy and the nature of the country had placed in his way. His army was in excellent order and in the highest spirits; and the peril of the expedition seemed over, when they were once on the bank of the river which was to be the channel of communication between them and the British army in the south. But their feelings, and those of the English nation in general when their successes were announced, may best be learned from a contemporary writer. Burke, in the "Annual Register" for 1777, describes them thus:-

"Such was the rapid torrent of success, which swept everything away before the northern army in its onset. It is not to be wondered at, if both officers and private men were highly elated with their good fortune, and deemed that and their prowess to be irresistible; if they regarded their enemy with the greatest contempt; considered their own toils to be nearly at an end; Albany to be already in their hands; and the reduction of the northern provinces to be rather a matter of some time, than an arduous task full of difficulty and danger.

"At home, the joy and exultation was extreme; not only at court, but with all those who hoped or wished the unqualified subjugation, and unconditional submission of the colonies. The loss in reputation was greater to the Americans, and capable of more fatal consequences, than even that of ground, of posts, of artillery, or of men. All the contemptuous and most degrading charges



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which had been made by their enemies, of their wanting the resolution and abilities of men, even in their defense of whatever was dear to them, were now repeated and believed. Those who still regarded them as men, and who had not yet lost all affection to them as brethren, who also retained hopes that a happy reconciliation upon constitutional principles, without sacrificing the dignity or the just authority of government on the one side, or a dereliction of the rights of freemen on the other, was not even now impossible, notwithstanding their favorable dispositions in general, could not help feeling upon this occasion that the Americans sunk not a little in their estimation. It was not difficult to diffuse an opinion that the war in effect was over; and that any further resistance could serve only to render the terms of their submission the worse. Such were some of the immediate effects of the loss of those grand keys of North America, Ticonderoga and the lakes."

The astonishment and alarm which these events produced among the Americans were naturally great but in the midst of their disasters none of the colonists showed any disposition to submit. The local governments of the New England States, as well as the Congress, acted with vigor and firmness in their efforts to repel the enemy. General Gates was sent to take the command of the army at Saratoga; and Arnold, a favorite leader of the Americans, was dispatched by Washington to act under him, with reinforcements of troops and guns from the main American army. Burgoyne's employment of the Indians now produced the worst possible effects. Though he labored hard to check the atrocities which they were accustomed to commit, he could not prevent the occurrence of many barbarous outrages, repugnant both to the feelings of humanity and to the laws of civilized warfare. The American commanders took care that the reports of these excesses should be circulated far and wide, well knowing that they would make the stern New Englanders not droop, but rage. Such was their effect; and though, when each man looked upon his wife, his children, his sisters, or his aged parents, the thought of the merciless Indian "thirsting for the blood of man, woman, and child," of "the cannibal savage torturing, murdering, roasting, and eating the mangled victims of his barbarous battles," [Lord Chatham's speech on the employment of Indians in the war.] might raise terror in the bravest breasts; this very terror produced a directly contrary effect to causing submission to the royal army. It was seen that the few friends of the royal cause, as well as its enemies, were liable to be the victims of the indiscriminate rage of the savages; [See in the "Annual Register" for 1777, page 117, the "Narrative of the Murder of Miss M'Crea, the daughter of an American loyalist."] and thus "the inhabitants of the open and frontier countries had no choice of acting: they had no means of security left, but by abandoning their habitations and taking up arms. Every man saw the necessity of becoming a temporary soldier, not only for his own security, but for the protection and defense of those



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connections which are dearer than life itself. Thus an army was poured forth by the woods, mountains, and marshes, which in this part were thickly sown with plantations and villages. The Americans recalled their courage; and when their regular army seemed to be entirely wasted, the spirit of the country produced a much greater and more formidable force."

While resolute recruits, accustomed to the use of firearms, and all partially trained by service in the provincial militias, were thus flocking to the standard of Gates and Arnold at Saratoga; and while Burgoyne was engaged at Fort Edward in providing the means for the further advance of his army through the intricate and hostile country that still lay before him, two events occurred, in each of which the British sustained loss, and the Americans obtained advantage, the moral effects of which were even more important than the immediate result of the encounters. When Burgoyne left Canada, General St. Leger was detached from that province with a mixed force of about one thousand men, and some light field-pieces, across Lake Ontario against Fort Stanwix: which the Americans held. After capturing this, he was to march along the Mohawk river to its confluence with the Hudson, between Saratoga and Albany, where his force and that of Burgoyne were to unite. But, after some successes, St. Leger was obliged to retreat, and to abandon his tents and large quantities of stores to the garrison. At the very time that General Burgoyne heard of this disaster, he experienced one still more severe in the defeat of Colonel Baum with a large detachment of German troops at Benington, whither Burgoyne had sent them for the purpose of capturing some magazines of provisions, of which the British army stood greatly in need. The Americans, augmented by continual accessions of strength, succeeded, after many attacks, in breaking this corps, which fled into the woods, and left its commander mortally wounded on the field: they then marched against a force of five hundred grenadiers and light infantry, which was advancing to Colonel Baum's assistance, under Lieutenant-Colonel Breyman; who, after a gallant resistance, was obliged to retreat on the main army. The British loss in these two actions exceeded six hundred men: and a party of American loyalists, on their way to join the army, having attached themselves to Colonel Baum's corps, were destroyed with it.

Notwithstanding these reverses, which added greatly to the spirit and numbers of the American forces, Burgoyne determined to advance. It was impossible any longer to keep up his communications with Canada by way of the lakes, so as to supply his army on his southward march; but having by unremitting exertions collected provisions for thirty days, he crossed the Hudson by means of a bridge of rafts, and, marching a short distance along its western bank, he encamped on the 14th of September on the heights of SARATOGA, about sixteen miles from Albany. The Americans had fallen back from Saratoga, and were now strongly posted near Stillwater, about half way between Saratoga and Albany, and showed a determination to recede no farther.

Meanwhile Lord Howe, with the bulk of the British army that had





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lain at New York, had sailed away to the Delaware, and there commenced a campaign against Washington, in which the English general took Philadelphia, and gained other showy, but unprofitable successes. But Sir Henry Clinton, a brave and skillful officer, was left with a considerable force at New York; and he undertook the task of moving up the Hudson to cooperate with Burgoyne. Clinton was obliged for this purpose to wait for reinforcements which had been promised from England, and these did not arrive till September. As soon as he received them, Clinton embarked about 3000 of his men on a flotilla, convoyed by some ships of war under Commander Hotham, and proceeded to force his way up the river, but it was long before he was able to open any communication with Burgoyne.

The country between Burgoyne's position at Saratoga and that of the Americans at Stillwater was rugged, and seamed with creeks and water-courses; but after great labor in making bridges and temporary causeways, the British army moved forward. About four miles from Saratoga, on the afternoon of the 19th of September, a sharp encounter took place between part of the English right wing, under Burgoyne himself, and a strong body of the enemy, under Gates and Arnold. The conflict lasted till sunset. The British remained masters of the field; but the loss on each side was nearly equal (from five hundred to six hundred men); and the spirits of the Americans were greatly raised by having withstood the best regular troops of the English army. Burgoyne now halted again, and strengthened his position by fieldwork's and redoubts; and the Americans also improved their defenses. The two armies remained nearly within cannon-shot of each other for a considerable time, during which Burgoyne was anxiously looking for intelligence of the promised expedition from New York, which, according to the original plan, ought by this time to have been approaching Albany from the south. At last, a messenger from Clinton made his way, with great difficulty, to Burgoyne's camp, and brought the information that Clinton was on his way up the Hudson to attack the American forts which barred the passage up that river to Albany. Burgoyne, in reply, on the 30th of September, urged Clinton to attack the forts as speedily as possible, stating that the effect of such an attack, or even the semblance of it, would be to move the American army from its position before his own troops. By another messenger, who reached Clinton on the 5th of October, Burgoyne informed his brother general that he had lost his communications with Canada, but had provisions which would last him till the 20th. Burgoyne described himself as strongly posted, and stated that though the Americans in front of him were strongly posted also, he made no doubt of being able to force them, and making his way to Albany; but that he doubted whether he could subsist there, as the country was drained of provisions. He wished Clinton to meet him there, and to keep open a communication with New York. Burgoyne had over-estimated his resources, and in the very beginning of October found difficulty and distress pressing him hard.

The Indians and Canadians began to desert him; while, on the other hand, Gates's army was continually reinforced by fresh



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bodies of the militia. An expeditionary force was detached by the Americans, which made a bold, though unsuccessful, attempt to retake Ticonderoga. And finding the number and spirit of the enemy to increase daily, and his own stores of provision to diminish, Burgoyne determined on attacking the Americans in front of him, and by dislodging them from their position, to gain the means of moving upon Albany, or at least of relieving his troops from the straitened position in which they were cooped up.

Burgoyne's force was now reduced to less than 6000 men. The right of his camp was on some high around a little to the west of the river; thence his entrenchment's extended along the lower ground to the bank of the Hudson, the line of their front being nearly at a right angle with the course of the stream. The lines were fortified with redoubts and field-works, and on a height on the flank of the extreme right a strong redoubt was reaped, and entrenchment's, in a horse-shoe form, thrown up. The Hessians, under Colonel Breyman, were stationed here, forming a flank defense to Burgoyne's main army. The numerical force of the Americans was now greater than the British, even in regular troops, and the numbers of the militia and volunteers which had joined Gates and Arnold were greater still.

General Lincoln, with 2000 New England troops, had reached the American camp on the 29th of September. Gates gave him the command of the right wing, and took in person the command of the left wing, which was composed of two brigades under Generals Poor and Leonard, of Colonel Morgan's rifle corps, and part of the fresh New England Militia. The whole of the American lines had been ably fortified under the direction of the celebrated Polish General, Kosciusko, who was now serving as a volunteer in Gates's army. The right of the American position, that is to say, the part of it nearest to the river, was too strong to be assailed with any prospect of success: and Burgoyne therefore determined to endeavor to force their left. For this purpose he formed a column of 1500 regular troops, with two twelve-pounders, two howitzers, and six six-pounders. He headed this in person, having Generals Philips, Reidesel, and Fraser under him. The enemy's force immediately in front of his lines was so strong that he dared not weaken the troops who guarded them, by detaching any more to strengthen his column of attack.

It was on the 7th of October that Burgoyne led his column forward; and on the preceding day, the 6th, Clinton had successfully executed a brilliant enterprise against the two American forts which barred his progress up the Hudson. He had captured them both, with severe loss to the American forces opposed to him; he had destroyed the fleet which the Americans had been forming on the Hudson, under the protection of their forts; and the upward river was laid open to his squadron. He had also, with admirable skill and industry, collected in small vessels, such as could float within a few miles of Albany, provisions sufficient to supply Burgoyne's army for six months. He was now only a hundred and fifty-six miles distant from Burgoyne; and a detachment of 1700 men actually advanced within forty miles of Albany. Unfortunately Burgoyne and Clinton were



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each ignorant of the other's movements; but if Burgoyne had won his battle on the 7th, he must on advancing have soon learned the tidings of Clinton's success, and Clinton would have heard of his. A junction would soon have been made of the two victorious armies, and the great objects of the campaign might yet have been accomplished. All depended on the fortune of the column with which Burgoyne, on the eventful 7th of October, 1777, advanced against the American position. There were brave men, both English and German, in its ranks; and in particular it comprised one of the best bodies of grenadiers in the British service.

Burgoyne pushed forward some bodies of irregular troops to distract the enemy's attention; and led his column to within three quarters of a mile from the left of Gates's camp, and then deployed his men into line. The grenadiers under Major Ackland, and the artillery under Major Williams, were drawn up on the left; a corps of Germans, under General Reidesel, and some British troops under General Phillips, were in the center, and the English Light Infantry, and the 24th regiment, under Lord Balcarres and General Fraser, were on the right. But Gates did not wait to be attacked; and directly the British line was formed and began to advance, the American general, with admirable skill, caused General Poor's brigade of New York and New Hampshire troops, and part of General Leonard's brigade, to make a sudden and vehement rush against its left, and at the same time sent Colonel Morgan, with his rifle corps and other troops, amounting to 1500, to turn the right of the English. The grenadiers under Ackland sustained the charge of superior numbers nobly. But Gates sent, more Americans forward, and in a few minutes the action became general along the center, so as to prevent the Germans from detaching any help to the grenadiers. Morgan, with his riflemen, was now pressing Lord Balcarres and General Fraser hard, and fresh masses of the enemy were observed advancing from their extreme left, with the evident intention of forcing the British right, and cutting off its retreat. The English light infantry and the 24th now fell back, and formed an oblique second line, which enabled them to baffle this maneuver, and also to succor their comrades in the left wing, the gallant grenadiers, who were overpowered by superior numbers, and, but for this aid, must have been cut to pieces.

The contest now was fiercely maintained on both sides. The English cannon were repeatedly taken and retaken; but when the grenadiers near them were forced back by the weight of superior numbers, one of the guns was permanently captured by the Americans, and turned upon the English. Major Williams and Major Ackland were both made prisoners, and in this part of the field the advantage of the Americans was decided. The British center still held its ground; but now it was that the American general Arnold appeared upon the scene, and did more for his countrymen than whole battalions could have effected. Arnold, when the decisive engagement of the 7th of October commenced, had been deprived of his command by Gates, in consequence of a quarrel between them about the action of the 19th of September. He had



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listened for a short time in the American camp to the thunder of the battle, in which he had no military right to take part, either as commander or as combatant. But his excited spirit could not long endure such a state of inaction. He called for his horse, a powerful brown charger, and springing on it, galloped furiously to where the fight seemed to be the thickest. Gates saw him, and sent an aide-de-camp to recall him; but Arnold spurred far in advance, and placed himself at the head of three regiments which had formerly been under him, and which welcomed their old commander with joyous cheers. He led them instantly upon the British center; and then galloping along the American line, he issued orders for a renewed and a closer attack, which were obeyed with alacrity, Arnold himself setting the example of the most daring personal bravery, and charging more than once, sword in hand, into the English ranks. On the British side the officers did their duty nobly; but General Frazer was the most eminent of them all restoring order wherever the line began to waver, and infusing fresh courage into his men by voice and example. Mounted on an iron-gray charger, and dressed in the full uniform of a general officer, he was conspicuous to foes as well as to friends. The American Colonel Morgan thought that the fate of the battle rested on this gallant man's life, and calling several of his best marksmen round him, pointed Frazer out, and said: "That officer is General Frazer; I admire him, but he must die. Our victory depends on it. Take your stations in that clump of bushes, and do your duty." Within five minutes, Frazer fell mortally wounded, and was carried to the British camp by two grenadiers. Just previously to his being struck by the fatal bullet, one rifle-ball had cut the crupper of his saddle, and another had passed through his horse's mane close behind the ears. His aide-de-camp had noticed this, had said:

"It is evident that you are marked out for particular aim; would it not be prudent for you to retire from this place?"

Frazer replied:

"My duty forbids me to fly from danger;"

and the next moment he fell. Burgoyne's whole force was now compelled to retreat towards their camp; the left and center were in complete disorder, but the light infantry and the 24th checked the fury of the assailants, and the remains of the column with great difficulty effected their return to their camp; leaving six of their cannons in the possession of the enemy, and great numbers of killed and wounded on the field; and especially a large proportion of the artillery men, who had stood to their guns until shot down or bayoneted beside them by the advancing Americans.

Burgoyne's column had been defeated, but the action was not yet over. The English had scarcely entered the camp when the Americans, pursuing their success, assaulted it in several places with remarkable impetuosity, rushing in upon the entrenchment's and redoubts through a severe fire of grape-shot and musketry. Arnold especially, who on this day appeared



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maddened with the thirst of combat and carnage, urged on the attack against a part of the entrenchment's which was occupied by the light infantry under Lord Balcarres. But the English received him with vigor and spirit. The struggle here was obstinate and sanguinary. At length, as it grew towards evening, Arnold, having forced all obstacles, entered the works with some of the most fearless of his followers. But in this critical moment of glory and danger, he received a painful wound in the same leg which had already been injured at the assault on Québec. To his bitter regret he was obliged to be carried back. His party still continued the attack, but the English also continued their obstinate resistance, and at last night fell, and the assailants withdrew from this quarter of the British entrenchment's. But in another part the attack had been more successful. A body of the Americans, under Colonel Brooke, forced their way in through a part of the horse-shoe entrenchment's on the extreme right, which was defended by the Hessian reserve under Colonel Breyman. The Germans resisted well, and Breyman died in defense of his post; but the Americans made good the ground which they had won, and captured baggage, tents, artillery, and a store of ammunition, which they were greatly in need of. They had by establishing themselves on this point, acquired the means of completely turning the right flank of the British, and gaining their rear. To prevent this calamity, Burgoyne effected during the night an entire change of position. With great skill he removed his whole army to some heights near the river, a little northward of the former camp, and he there drew up his men, expecting to be attacked on the following day. But Gates was resolved not to risk the certain triumph which his success had already secured for him. He harassed the English with skirmishes, but attempted no regular attack. Meanwhile he detached bodies of troops on both sides of the Hudson to prevent the British from recrossing that river, and to bar their retreat. When night fell, it became absolutely necessary for Burgoyne to retire again, and, accordingly, the troops were marched through a stormy and rainy night towards Saratoga, abandoning their sick and wounded, and the greater part of their baggage, to the enemy.

Before the rear-guard quitted the camp, the last sad honors were paid to the brave General Frazer, who expired on the day after the action.

He had, almost with his last breath, expressed a wish to be buried in the redoubt which had formed the part of the British lines where he had been stationed, but which had now been abandoned by the English, and was within full range of the cannon which the advancing Americans were rapidly placing in position to bear upon Burgoyne's force. Burgoyne resolved, nevertheless, to comply with the dying wish of his comrade; and the interment took place under circumstances the most affecting that have ever marked a soldier's funeral. Still more interesting is the narrative of Lady Ackland's passage from the British to the American camp, after the battle, to share the captivity and alleviate the sufferings of her husband, who had been severely wounded, and left in the enemy's power. The American historian,



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Lossing, has described both these touching episodes of the campaign, in a spirit that does honor to the writer as well as to his subject. After narrating the death of General Frazer on the 8th of October, he says that "It was just at sunset, on that calm October evening. that the corpse of General Frazer was carried up the hill to the place of burial within the 'great redoubt.' It was attended only by the military members of his family and Mr. Brudenell, the chaplain; yet the eyes of hundreds of both armies followed the solemn procession, while the Americans, ignorant of its true character, kept up a constant cannonade upon the redoubt. The chaplain, unawed by the danger to which he was exposed, as the cannon-balls that struck the hill threw the loose soil over him, pronounced the impressive funeral service of the Church of England with an unfaltering voice. The growing darkness added solemnity to the scene. Suddenly the irregular firing ceased, and the solemn voice of a single cannon, at measured intervals, boomed along the valley, and awakened the responses of the hills. It was a minute gun fired by the Americans in honor of the gallant dead. The moment the information was given that the gathering at the redoubt was a funeral company, fulfilling, at imminent peril, the last-breathed wishes of the noble Frazer, orders were issued to withhold the cannonade with balls, and to render military homage to the fallen brave.

"The case of Major Ackland and his heroic wife presents kindred features. He belonged to the grenadiers, and was an accomplished soldier. His wife accompanied him to Canada in 1776; and during the, whole campaign of that year, and until his return to England after the surrender of Burgoyne, in the autumn of 1777, endured all the hardships, dangers, and privations of an active campaign in an enemy's country. At Chambly, on the Sorel, she attended him in illness, in a miserable hut; and when he was wounded in the battle of Hubbardton, Vermont, she hastened to him at Henesborough from Montreal, where she had been persuaded to remain, and resolved to follow the army hereafter. Just before crossing the Hudson, she and her husband had had a narrow escape from losing their lives in consequence of their tent accidentally taking fire.

"During the terrible engagement of the 7th October, she heard all the tumult and dreadful thunder of the battle in which her husband was engaged; and when, on the morning of the 8th, the British fell back in confusion to their new position, she, with the other women, was obliged to take refuge among the dead and dying; for the tents were all struck, and hardly a shed was left standing. Her husband was wounded, and a Prisoner in the American camp. That gallant officer was shot through both legs. When Poor and Learned's troops assaulted the grenadiers and artillery on the British left, on the afternoon of the 7th, Wilkinson, Gates's adjutant-general, while pursuing the flying enemy when they





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abandoned their battery, heard a feeble voice exclaim 'Protect me, sir, against that boy.' He turned and saw a lad with a musket taking deliberate aim at a wounded British officer, lying in a corner of a low fence. Wilkinson ordered the boy to desist, and discovered the wounded man to be Major Ackland. He had him conveyed to the quarters of General Poor (now the residence of Mr. Neilson) on the heights, where every attention was paid to his wants.

"When the intelligence that he was wounded and a prisoner reached his wife, she was greatly distressed, and, by the advice of her friend, Baroness Reidesel, resolved to visit the American camp, and implore the favor of a personal attendance upon her husband. On the 9th she sent a message to Burgoyne by Lord Petersham, his aide-de-camp, asking permission to depart. 'Though I was ready to believe,' says Burgoyne, 'that patience and fortitude, in a supreme degree, were to be found, as well as every other virtue, under the most tender forms, I was astonished at this proposal. After so long an agitation of spirits, exhausted not only for want of rest, but absolutely want of food, drenched in rains for twelve hours together, that a woman should be capable of such an undertaking as delivering herself to an enemy, probably in the night, and uncertain of what hands she might fall into, appeared an effort above human nature. The assistance I was able to give was small indeed. I had not even a cup of wine to offer her. All I could furnish her with was an open boat, and a few lines, written upon dirty wet paper, to General Gates, recommending her to his protection.' The following is a copy of the note sent by Burgoyne to General Gates — 'Sir, — Lady Harriet Ackland, a lady of the first distinction of family, rank, and personal virtues, is under such concern on account of Major Ackland, her husband, wounded and a prisoner in your hands, that I cannot refuse her request to commit her to your protection. Whatever general impropriety there may be in persons of my situation and yours to solicit favors, I cannot see the uncommon perseverance in every female grace, and the exaltation of character of this lady, and her very hard fortune, without testifying that your attentions to her will lay me under obligations. I am, sir, your obedient servant, J. Burgoyne.' She set out in an open boat upon the Hudson, accompanied by Mr. Brudenell, the chaplain, Sarah Pollard, her waiting-maid, and her husband's valet, who had been severely wounded, while searching for his master upon the battle-field. It was about sunset when they started, and a violent storm of rain and wind, which had been increasing since the morning, rendered the voyage tedious and perilous in the extreme. It was long after dark when they reached the American out-posts; the sentinel heard their oars, and hailed them. Lady Harriet



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returned the answer herself. The clear, silvery tones of a woman's voice amid the darkness, filled the soldier on duty with superstitious fear, and he called a comrade to accompany him to the river bank. The errand of the voyagers was made known, but the faithful guard, apprehensive of treachery, would not allow them to land until they sent for Major Dearborn. They were invited by that officer to his quarters, where every attention was paid to them, and Lady Harriet was comforted by the joyful tidings that her husband was safe. In the morning she experienced parental tenderness from General Gates, who sent her to her husband, at Poor's quarters, under a suitable escort. There she remained until he was removed to Albany."

Burgoyne now took up his last position on the heights near Saratoga; and hemmed in by the enemy, who refused any encounter, and baffled in all his attempts at finding a path of escape, he there lingered until famine compelled him to capitulate. The fortitude of the British army during this melancholy period has been justly eulogized by many native historians, but I prefer quoting the testimony of a foreign writer, as free from all possibility of partiality. Botta says:

"It exceeds the power of words to describe the pitiable condition to which the British army was now reduced. The troops were worn down by a series of toil, privation, sickness, and desperate fighting. They were abandoned by the Indians and Canadians; and the effective force of the whole army was now diminished by repeated and heavy losses, which had principally fallen on the best soldiers, and the most distinguished officers, from ten thousand combatants to less than one-half that number. Of this remnant, little more than three thousand were English.

"In these circumstances, and thus weakened, they were invested by an army of four times their own number, whose position extended three parts of a circle round them; who refused to fight them, as knowing their weakness, and who, from the nature of the ground, could not be attacked in any part. In this helpless condition, obliged to be constantly under arms, while the enemy's cannon played on every part of their camp, and even the American rifle-balls whistled in many parts of the lines, the troops of Burgoyne retained their customary firmness, and while sinking under a hard necessity, they showed themselves worthy of a better fate. They could not be reproached with an action or a word, which betrayed a want of temper or of fortitude."

At length the 13th of October arrived, and as no prospect of assistance appeared, and the provisions were nearly exhausted, Burgoyne, by the unanimous advice of a council of war, sent a messenger to the American camp to treat of a convention. General Gates in the first instance demanded that the royal army



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should surrender prisoners of war. He also proposed that the British should ground their arms. Burgoyne replied,

"This article is inadmissible in every extremity; sooner than this army will consent to ground their arms in their encampment, they will rush on the enemy, determined to take no quarter."

After various messages, a convention for the surrender of the army was settled, which provided that

"The troops under General Burgoyne were to march out of their camp with the honors of war, and the artillery of the entrenchment's, to the verge of the river, where the arms and artillery were to be left. The arms to be piled by word of command from their own officers. A free passage was to be granted to the army under Lieutenant-General Burgoyne to Great Britain, upon condition of not serving again in North America during the present contest."

The articles of capitulation were settled on the 15th of October; and on that very evenings a messenger arrived from Clinton with an account of his successes, and with the tidings that part of his force had penetrated as far as Esopus, within fifty miles of Burgoyne's camp. But it was too late. The public faith was pledged; and the army was, indeed, too debilitated by fatigue and hunger to resist an attack if made; and Gates certainly would have made it, if the convention had been broken off. Accordingly, on the 17th, the convention of Saratoga was carried into effect. By this convention 5790 men surrendered themselves as prisoners. The sick and wounded left in the camp when the British retreated to Saratoga, together with the numbers of the British, German, and Canadian troops, who were killed, wounded, or taken, and who had deserted in the preceding part of the expedition, were reckoned to be 4689.

The British sick and wounded who had fallen into the hands of the Americans after the battle of the 7th, were treated with exemplary humanity; and when the convention was executed, General Gates showed a noble delicacy of feeling. which deserves the highest degree of honor. Every circumstance was avoided which could give the appearance of triumph. The American troops remained within their lines until the British had piled their arms; and when this was done, the vanquished officers and soldiers were received with friendly kindness by their victors, and their immediate wants were promptly and liberally supplied. Discussions and disputes afterwards arose as to some of the terms of the convention; and the American Congress refused for a long time to carry into effect the article which provided for the return of Burgoyne's men to Europe; but no blame was imputable to General Gates or his army, who showed themselves to be generous as they had proved themselves to be brave. Gates, after the victory, immediately dispatched Colonel Wilkinson to carry the happy tidings to Congress. On being introduced into the hall, he said,

"The whole British army has laid down its arms at



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Saratoga; our own, full of vigor and courage, expect your order. It is for your wisdom to decide where the country may still have need for their service."

Honors and rewards were liberally voted by the Congress to their conquering general and his men,

"and it would be difficult (says the Italian historian) to describe the transports of joy which the news of this event excited among the Americans. They began to flatter themselves with a, still more happy future. No one any longer felt any doubt about their achieving their independence. All hoped, and with good reason, that a success of this importance would at length determine France, and the other European powers that waited for her example, to declare themselves in favor of America. There could no longer be any question respecting the future; since there was no longer the risk of espousing the cause of a people too feeble to defend themselves."

The truth of this was soon displayed in the conduct of France. When the news arrived at Paris of the capture of Ticonderoga, and of the victorious march of Burgoyne towards Albany, events which seemed decisive in favor of the English, instructions had been immediately dispatched to Nantz, and the other ports of the kingdom, that no American privateers should be suffered to enter them, except from indispensable necessity, as to repair their vessels, to obtain provisions, or to escape the perils of the sea. The American commissioners at Paris, in their disgust and despair, had almost broken off all negotiations With the French government; and they even endeavored to open communications with the British ministry. But the British government, elated with the first successes of Burgoyne, refused to listen to any overtures for accommodation. But when the news of Saratoga reached Paris, the whole scene was changed. Franklin and his brother commissioners found all their difficulties with the French government vanish. The time seemed to have arrived for the House of Bourbon to take a full revenge for all its humiliations and losses in previous wars. In December a treaty was arranged, and formally signed in the February following, by which France acknowledged the Independent United States of America. This was, of course, tantamount to a declaration of war with England. Spain soon followed France; and before long Holland took the same course. Largely aided by French fleets and troops, the Americans vigorously maintained the war against the armies which England, in spite of her European foes, continued to send across the Atlantic. but the struggle was too unequal to be maintained by this country for many years: and when the treaties of 1783 restored peace to the world. the independence of the United States was reluctantly recognized by their ancient parent and recent enemy, England.



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"A victory described in detail is indistinguishable  
from a defeat."

— Jean-Paul Sartre





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1778

Per [New York](#)'s 1st Militia Act, all persons working either for the new state government or for the new national structure were exempt from conscription. If, however a [Quaker](#) needed to obey the Peace Testimony, the price of his exemption from military service would be £10 per year. Non-commissioned coroners were exempted from this year through 1782. The owner of a mill was automatically exempted but ferrymen would need to obtain a license from the governor or the commander-in-chief before being considered exempt.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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Friend Isaac Grey's A SERIOUS ADDRESS TO SUCH OF THE PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS, ON THE CONTINENT OF NORTH-AMERICA, AS PROFESS SCRUPLES RELATIVE TO THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT: EXHIBITING THE ANCIENT REAL TESTIMONY OF THAT PEOPLE, CONCERNING OBEDIENCE TO CIVIL AUTHORITY. WRITTEN BEFORE THE DEPARTURE OF THE BRITISH ARMY FROM PHILADELPHIA, 1778, BY A NATIVE OF PENNSYLVANIA. TO WHICH ARE ADDED, FOR THE INFORMATION OF ALL RATIONAL ENQUIRERS, AN APPENDIX, CONSISTING OF EXTRACTS FROM AN ESSAY CONCERNING OBEDIENCE TO THE SUPREME POWERS, AND THE DUTY OF SUBJECTS IN ALL REVOLUTIONS, PUBLISHED IN ENGLAND SOON AFTER THE REVOLUTION OF 1688 (Philadelphia: Printed by R. Bell, next door to St. Paul's Church, Third Street. Just published and now selling at Bell's book-store, in Third-Street, Philadelphia, price five shillings, the original edition (with an introduction by the author, not in the other edition, containing matters of importance to the Society) of the Serious address to such of the people called Quakers. ...). This amounted to a argument in favor of paying your taxes whether or not they are destined to be used by the government for purposes of warfare.<sup>26</sup>

When the 1st edition was bought up by the [Quakers](#) in order to suppress this publication and Friend Isaac had a 2d edition printed, this resulted in [disownment](#) by New Garden Monthly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#).

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...[T]he present revolution is the work of the Lord, and according to the plan and design of his providence, and [the precedents and observations I have cited] tend to prove the safety and propriety of a submission to the powers which now rule: But it may be objected in justification of the present scruples and refusal by some, that the present powers and government are usurped and contrary to law: To this it may be answered that the same objection would have held good under every revolution which has heretofore been brought about, as they must no doubt have been contrary to the authority of the preceding powers, and by their friends and adherents been deemed usurpations, which might also have been alleged against the present constitution of Great Britain...

It appears to me that it is for those who choose not to have any hand in the formation of governments, to take governments such as they find them, and comply with their laws, so far as they are clear of infringing religious rights and matters of faith

26. The argument of this pamphlet may be of interest to those Thoreauvians who persist in supposing (incorrectly) that Henry refused to pay his \$1 Massachusetts poll tax because it was destined to be used by the government for purposes of the war on Mexico.





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toward God: It cannot perhaps be found that friends, ever since they were a people, ever refused to assist in the support of government, but have ever held it right and necessary to comply with the laws of the various governments under which they lived; for as, according to our own repeated declarations as a society.... the "setting up and putting down Kings and Governments is God's peculiar prerogative, for causes best known to himself, and that it is not our work or business to have any hand or contrivance therein, nor to be busy bodies in matters above our stations." Whether then can such a people, by any means, undertake to weaken or oppose the present government, seeing these things are allowed to belong only unto God, is a matter worthy of consideration.... Let us then, I beseech of us, attend to the abovementioned profession and declaration, and see that if we are to have no hand in such matters, it may be uniform, if not on one side, neither on the other; for our declaration is that we have no hand "either in the setting up or pulling down," neither by this way or that way, as a religious society, there is no distinction made of what King or of what government, if not as to one, so neither as to another: if not by encouraging, so neither by discouraging.

...[I]t may not be amiss to add something on the subject of the payment of taxes. For this purpose, I shall produce an epistle of George Fox... where he advises,

All friends everywhere, who are dead to all carnal weapons, and have beaten them to pieces, stand in that which takes away the occasion of wars, which saves men's lives, and destroys none, nor would have others; and as for the rulers that are to keep peace, for peace sake, and for the advantage of truth, give them their tribute; but to bear and carry weapons to fight with, the men of peace, (who live in that which takes away the occasion of wars) they cannot act in such things, under the several powers, but have paid their tribute, which they may do still for peace sake, and not hold back the earth, but go over it, and in so doing friends may better claim their liberty.

William Penn, in an address to the high court of parliament, anno 1671... tells them that

We both own and are ready to yield obedience to every ordinance of man, relating to human affairs, and that for conscience sake; and that in all revolutions, we have demeaned ourselves with much peace and patience, disowning all contrary actings; and that we have lived most peaceably under all the various governments that have been since our first appearance;

which could not have been said with propriety, unless they had submitted to the civil ordinances of men, as above declared.



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Thomas Story, in his journal... speaking concerning a law made to enforce the bearing of arms, which he disapproved, yet in the course of the debate, which he had with the judge of a court, says,

I began with the example of Christ himself for the payment of a tax, though applied by Cæsar unto the uses of war, and other exigencies of his government

and was going to show the difference between a law that directly and principally affects the person in war, requiring personal service, and a law which only requires a general tax, to be applied by rulers as they see cause;

for though we as a people readily pay such taxes impartially assessed, yet as the kingdom of Christ is not of this world, his servants will not fight, though they may and ought to pay taxes, according to the example of Christ their head:

And what that instance and example was, he relates... where he says that

The Lord Jesus Christ obeyed all the righteous laws both of Jews and Romans, so far as his condition in this world subjected him to them: For though he was and is the peaceable Savior, and came not destroy men's lives, but to save them, yet in obedience to the laws of men, where not opposite to or interfering with the laws of God, he wrought a miracle to pay a poll-tax, where in strictness the law did not require it of him, nor of his disciples; for having Roman privileges by virtue of an old league between the Jews and Romans, whereby they were as children and not strangers, nevertheless to obviate all occasion of offense, he submitted to it, though only an ordinance of men, and his apostles likewise, as an example to his church through all ages then to come.

Though this example is generally well known, it may not be improper here to recite it, which was thus:

And when they came to Capernaum, they that received tribute-money, came to Peter, and said, does your master pay tribute? He said yes. And when he was come into the house, Jesus prevented him, saying, what thinks you, Simon? Of whom do the kings of the earth take custom or tribute; of their own children or of strangers? Peter said to him, of strangers. Jesus said to him, then are the children free. Notwithstanding, lest we should offend them, go you to the sea, and cast a hook, and take up the fish that first comes up, and when you have opened his mouth, you shall find a piece of money: That take, and give to them for me and you. — Matthew 17:24-27.

It is here remarkable that our Savior appears to have revolved in his mind the whole nature of the case, and of the demand that



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was made; for upon Peter's informing the tax-gatherers that his master paid tribute, our Lord took occasion to remind him by a gentle reprehension, that he had gone further in his reply than he was bound to do, or than was requisite from the nature of their condition and circumstances; and immediately upon Peter's entering the house, prevented his speaking by making use of a very strong and lively argument to convince Peter that he had been quite as quick as was necessary; and that instead of being bound to pay the tax, they were, according to the custom of the country, exempt and free; yet notwithstanding this freedom and privilege, or without the least objection to the use to which they money might be applied, though the Romans were in general heathen idolaters, and about that time, as appears from history, actually engaged in war on several sides, and the character of their emperor Tiberius marked as debauched, unjust, cruel, tyrannic, sanguinary, and inhuman. Yet Christ our Lord, though clothed with majesty and power above all the laws and powers of this world, and was thereby able to have subdued all things unto himself, and made them subservient to his will, was so tender of giving uneasiness to the powers that then bore rule that he ordered Peter, by producing an astonishing miracle, as we have read, to comply and pay the tax for this very striking reason, "lest we should offend."

Thomas Story beforementioned, in his journal... says, "That the sufferings of the faithful in Christ, in all ages, have not arose from the breach of any laws relating only to civil government, which they do readily observe and conscientiously obey." And in the same page adds, "That as there always is and must be, in the nature of things, a great and necessary charge attending government, (a kingdom or state being but as one great house or family, and no private or particular family can subsist without charge) for that cause, all are to pay tribute, as justly (or equally) imposed by the legislature."

The said author, in a conference had with the Czar of Muscovy, says,

Though we are prohibited arms and fighting in person, as inconsistent (we think) with the rules of the gospel of Jesus Christ; yet we can, and do, by his example, readily and cheerfully pay unto every government, and in every form, where we happen to be subjects, such sums and assessments as are required of us by the respective laws under which we live. For when a general tax was laid by the Roman Czar, upon his extensive empire, and the time of payment came, the Lord Jesus Christ [according to scripture, Matthew 25, as recited by Thomas Story] wrought a miracle to pay a tax, where yet it was not strictly due; we, by so great an example, do freely pay our taxes to Cæsar, who of right has the direction and application of them, to the various ends of government, to peace or to war, as it pleases him, or as need may, according to the constitution or laws of his kingdom.



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William Penn... says, "That since we are as large contributors to the government as our antagonists, we are entitled to as large protection from it." Now this saying could not have been true, unless they paid all the public taxes, in common with other men, which no doubt their antagonists did; and by analogous conclusion, if we, under the present dispensation, refuse to contribute to the government under which we live, how can we expect to be entitled to its protection, not only at present, but in case the Almighty should see meet further and fully to establish it?

The said author... in answer to some objections made against the society, observes among other things, that it was said, "The Quakers will not support civil government," etc. To which he answers, "This is also untrue upon experience; for what people, (says he) under government, pay their taxes better than they do."

Samuel Bownas, in the account of his life, relates an epistolary argument he had with one Ray, a priest, who charged friends with an inconsistency in that, while they actually paid and even collected tax for the purposes of carrying on a war against France with vigor: They yet refused to pay tithes and militia assessments. To which Samuel Bownas replies,

We are still of the same mind with Robert Barclay, that wars and fightings are inconsistent with the gospel principles, and still lie under sufferings with respect to the militia, being careful to walk by the rule of Christ's doctrine; and yet do not think ourselves inconsistent in actively complying with the law of taxes, in rendering unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and he may do therewith what pleases him.

Where it may be well to observe, that he there speaks of taxes as due unto Cæsar; thereby no doubt meaning the power that for the present bears rule, whether Emperor, Protector, King, or Congress.

From what has been observed, I think it may plainly appear, that friends heretofore have been so far from censuring or condemning their members on such occasions, that they have rather encouraged the payment of taxes, (except those in lieu of personal service) and advised a submission to the powers that bore rule, under the various governments and revolutions in which they lived; but if this be doubted, or any thing has been advanced that is not conformable to the truth, it will be well for any one to point out the same; but if they are consistent with reason, justice, and truth, it will be well to be cautious how any thing is acted opposite thereto; and while we declare that we cannot have a hand in public revolutions, (as belonging unto God) by promoting and encouraging, we may beware of taking an active part by opposing and discouraging, whether as to non-payment of taxes, or other civil acts; and then of consequence none can, with propriety or consistency, be censured or condemned concerning the same, especially in cases where no precedent for censure or condemnation can be found in the



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history or proceedings of friends.

As it is queried by some, whether Friends paid their taxes under the government of Oliver Cromwell, although there is as great or greater reason to conclude they did, than there is to suppose or prove that they did not; yet it may be observed that the practice of friends, ever since the time of George Fox, has been to keep a particular account of the sufferings they sustained, and the amount thereof, when it was on a conscientious or religious account, which have been recorded, and transmitted down to us from time to time: Now as it never yet has appeared in the accounts of friends sufferings, that anything was taken from them on account of taxes, even under Cromwell's government, the committee of safety, or any of the then powers, which, if on a religious account, they had refused to pay, would have amounted to a very considerable sum, equal, if not superior, to any recorded by them, and would no doubt have been taken particular notice of among their other sufferings; but as nothing of this kind appears, it is therefore more than probable, and may be very safely concluded, that they submitted in these respects to the several governments, of what kind soever, under which they lived; and that they paid their taxes for the support of those governments, in common with other men, according to their uniform practice as a people.

To the above testimony of the dead, let us attend also to one of the living, an anonymous author, though well known to be Timothy Davis, a worthy friend and minister of the gospel; in a letter to some of his intimate friends on the subject of paying taxes to the present government, printed at Watertown, about two years ago, and sold by B. Edes, near the Bridge, has fully declared his sentiments in the following manner:

...

The matter now under consideration is serious. Many valuable members of society, both public and private, at this time, in different places, do not think themselves called or bound to join in the refusals and scruples which some make, and many more who have not yet fully considered the matter will probably be of the same mind; if this be allowed, which I believe may safely be done, will it not be exceeding hard that they should be denied the privileges of that society, in whose ways they have been educated, and whose religious principles they profess and hold, and to which they are closely attached? In time past, though there was diversity of sentiments with regard to some matters, yet we bore one with another without censure, in that spirit of condescension and brotherly regard, which is peculiarly characteristic of the followers of the Lamb, and shall we now, in very similar cases, give up that Christian temper, cast one another off, and produce a separation, when love and union might be preserved as well as in former days, and for which there is probably as much occasion as ever there was since the foundation of the province.

If indeed we think it proper as a society to maintain an opposition to the present powers of government, in civil as well



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as religious respects, it may preclude the use of the present observations, or at least render any service, which might be expected from them, very improbable; but as that would appear to be so contrary to the profession we have made, as well as inconsistent with our established principles, that I presume it cannot really be the case: I have therefore taken the freedom of laying these observations before us for our serious consideration.

Never was there a people more deeply interested in the event of public proceeding, than we now are. We are considerably numerous in various parts of the continent, and particularly so in this State. We are not only interested ourselves, but future generations may likewise be deeply affected by the part we now act. I wish us therefore so to conduct, as that Jew nor Gentile, or the church of Christ, either at this or any future time, may have just occasion of offence.

Now, notwithstanding what has been offered, as there may be some who may allege that their scruples and non-compliance with the demands of the present government, as to civil affairs, arises from a principle of conscience, which I am sensible is a very delicate point to touch upon, yet as I have no other end in view, but the good of society, as well as individuals, I would therefore beg them to consider that conscience, according to the general idea annexed to it, is a very sacred thing. Let us therefore be cautious how we apply it to common, civil, and merely human affairs, lest we make the plea for it upon more important occasions of too light estimation: It is deeply expedient for us to consider its nature, or what we are to understand thereby in religious affairs, and what are the proper and fit objects and subjects thereof, which may be necessary to claim and assert as independent of the power of the civil magistrate: For this purpose let us observe Robert Barclay's sentiment of the matter, who, in the latter part of the 5th and 6th proposition, after speaking of the light of Christ, and the light of man's natural conscience, says,

To the light of Christ then in the conscience, and not to man's natural conscience, it is that we commend men: This, not that, it is, which we preach up and direct people to, as to a most certain guide unto eternal life.

From hence we may safely infer, that no objection arising from any thing short of the light of Christ, can be sufficient to operate with the professors of Christ our Lord, as a Christian church, in their proceedings and determinations; so that it essentially behooves them, certainly to know that it is altogether from the illumination and power thereof, and not at all from the other, that they are actuated: This appears to be absolutely and indispensably necessary for the right and true support of a pure Christian testimony, and which I heartily wish may be deeply and sufficiently attended to by all the active members of society; for in vain is it to endeavor to lift up a standard to the nations, unless in and by that power alone which is able to strengthen for the work; without which pure and





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unmixed qualification it will prove too large and too heavy, so that being beaten and driven by the winds, it will fall to the ground, to the shame and confusion of those who attempted to erect and support it.

The said author, in the 14th proposition of the apology, treating of the power of the civil magistrate, said,

The question is first, whether the civil magistrate has power to force men in things religious, to do contrary to their consciences, and if they will not, to punish them in their goods, liberties and lives? This (says he) we hold in the negative. But secondly, as we would have the magistrate to avoid this extreme of encroaching upon men's consciences; so, on the other hand, we are far from joining with or strengthening such libertines, as would stretch the liberty of their consciences to the prejudice of their neighbors, or the ruin of human society. We understand therefore by matters of conscience, such as immediately relate betwixt God and man, or men and men, as to meet together to worship God in that way which they judge is most acceptable unto him; and not to incroach upon or seek to force their neighbors, otherwise than by reason, or such other means as Christ and his apostles used, viz. preaching, and instructing such as will hear and receive it; but not at all for men under the notion of conscience, to do anything contrary to the moral and perpetual statutes generally acknowledged by all Christians; in which case the magistrate may very lawfully use his authority.

The doctrine here preached is excellent both for those in, as well as those under authority, as it may clearly appear from thence that "in things religious," such as he there mentions, he apprehends the magistrate has no just power, and that conscience may safely be pleaded; but observe the care and caution with which he writes, and how positively he excludes from that sacred claim "any thing that is acted contrary to the moral and perpetual statutes generally acknowledged by all Christians." But it may be asked, what are those moral and perpetual statutes? I at once take it for granted that the laying and paying of taxes for the support of human and civil governments, and acknowledging the authority of the same, are material parts; seeing they have been very generally assented and submitted unto by Christians of all sects and denominations, at and from the personal appearance of our Lord Jesus Christ, in all countries, and under all revolutions, down to this very day; and without which "human society" could not be supported, but inevitably verge into confusion and ruin: From which I would as concisely as possible, according to the worthy author's manner, and nearly in his own words, lay down a position, and then draw and prove what I apprehend to be an undeniable and conclusive argument, as follows:

- Position: That it is unlawful and improper to counteract the



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moral and perpetual statutes generally acknowledged by Christians.

- But the laying and paying of taxes for the support of human and civil governments, and acknowledging the authority of the same, are of those moral and perpetual statutes, etc.
- Therefore it is unlawful and improper to counteract them.

If the cause of refusal and non-compliance were a matter of mere faith and conscience toward God, the case would be exceedingly different, and there would probably be no dissent; but as it appears to be only of civil concern, and relates solely to human affairs, it is therefore apprehended not censurable by the church, or properly cognizable thereby:

And here I cannot but remark one reason why I believe many among us are led into a mistake, and scruples arise against paying of taxes for want of a well informed judgment. It is a received opinion among us, that all wars without distinction are sinful: Hence arises this scruple against paying of taxes for the support of war; but this is not the genuine doctrine of our ancient friends, as will fully appear in the following extract from the writings of Isaac Pennington, where speaking to what he very properly styles "a weighty question concerning the magistrates protection of the innocent," it is to be observed that this enlightened author views magistracy and defensive war as the same thing, or, if I may use a simile as one building (though consisting of diverse parts) standing on the same foundation. The question is as follows:...

Whether the magistrate, in righteousness and equity, is engaged to defend such, who (by the peaceableness and love which God has wrought in their spirits, and by that law of life, mercy, good-will, and forgiveness, which God, by his own finger, has written in their hearts) are taken off from fighting, and cannot use a weapon destructive to any creature

Answer:

Magistracy was intended by God for the defense of the people; not only of those who have ability, and can fight for them, but of such also who cannot, or are forbidden by the love and law of God, written in their hearts so to do. Thus women, children, sick persons, aged persons, and also priests in nations (who have ability to fight, but are exempted by their function, which is not equivalent to the exemption which God makes by the law of his spirit in the heart) have the benefit of the law, and of the magistrates protection, without fighting for the defense of either.

Now if magistracy be appointed by God, and if it be magistrates duty to defend such, who are either not able, or cannot for conscience sake defend themselves; is it possible any can be right who lay waste this ordinance, or speak of such defense as



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sinful? If any man be appointed by God to defend my life, is it possible that God can authorize me to call him a sinner for doing his duty? or is it possible that I can, consistent with my duty, refuse him that tribute which is absolutely necessary to enable him thus to defend me? But had I much greater abilities to speak to this subject than I am conscious of, no reasoning of mine could be of equal authority with the author above quoted. Hear him therefore again... where, treating on this peaceable principle professed by the society, he says,

I speak not this against any magistrates or peoples defending themselves against foreign invasions, or making use of the sword to suppress the violent and evil-doers within their own borders; for this the present state of things may and does require, and a great blessing will attend the sword, when it is uprightly borne to that end, and its use will be honorable; and while there is need of a sword, the Lord will not suffer that government, or those governors, to want fitting instruments under them for the management thereof, who wait on him in his fear to have the edge of it rightly directed; but yet there is a better state which the Lord has already brought some into, and which nations are to expect and travel towards.

A candid and judicious author, to wit, Richard Finch, in a treatise called Second Thoughts concerning War... after the above quotation, further adds,

It is evident that this great man holds forth plainly the divine economy I have hinted at above. We see it was his judgment that men using the sword, in this gospel day, may be God's instruments; and that herein, though not come to the better state or summit of Christian perfection, they may yet be good enough to use or direct the sword to be used religiously in God's fear: When perhaps many would think that religion in all, instead of using the sword, would if regarded, lead directly from the use of it; but it seems this writer, though a great advocate of our doctrine, thought otherwise; and I profess myself to be his proselyte, though at present, if there are a few persons so pious, I should almost as soon expect to find the philosophers stone, as a whole army of such warriors: And I am persuaded a due regard to what may be urged upon his and my principle, will require more benevolence and reflection of mind than can be expected from unthinking bigotry.

Again the same author,

I admire the wisdom and charity of this writer, in his prudent and generous concessions, though some may think he thereby gives his cause away; but I believe them so essential to the preservation of it, that what he writes is the very truth, and that without such concessions it will be impossible to maintain our ground against a keen adversary. All attempts to explain and defend our



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doctrine, which go upon the literal sense of the precept, or consider defensive war as a thing in itself wicked, how specious soever worked up or received by shallow judges, instead of honoring and serving, have injured a good cause by multiplying many if not needless absurdities and contradictions upon all such ill-judged attempts to state and clear the controversy.

The same author....:

The sword then which in tenderness of conscience you can not draw, may in another (whom for wise reasons it has not pleased God to lead in the manner he has done you) become the outward providential means to preserve you and others, as well as himself; upon which principle his arms may protect thy person and property, and thy virtue and piety be a defense and blessing upon his arms.

Again....:

King William the Third was a great warrior, and a great blessing to England, as he interposed for its deliverance in a trying time, when the liberty of the subject, under a specious solemnity of preserving it, was secretly undermined; and the great duke of Marlborough, instead of being convinced of our principle, was a glorious instrument in a warlike way. From what has been laid down we may strongly conclude, that though a measure of divine grace, according to scripture, is given to every man, yet there may be an infinite diversity in degrees, and all things considered, it seems even impossible that it should by the giver, in every age and person, be designed to make precisely the same discoveries, and exalt to the same degrees of knowledge and perfection.

The above doctrine corresponds with a matter of fact, wherein the apostle Paul himself was nearly interested: It was at the time when upwards of forty of the Jews had "bound themselves under a curse, saying that they would neither eat nor drink till they had killed Paul" (Acts 23:16-24):

And when Paul's sister's son heard of their lying in wait, he went and entered into the castle, and told Paul. Then Paul called one of the centurions unto him, and said, Bring this young man unto the chief captain: for he has a certain thing to tell him. So he took him, and brought him to the chief captain, and said, Paul the prisoner called me to him, and prayed me to bring this young man to you, who has something to say to you. Then the chief captain took him by the hand, and went with him aside privately, and asked him, What is that you has to tell me? And he said, The Jews have agreed to desire you that you would bring down Paul tomorrow into the council, as though they would enquire somewhat of him more perfectly. But do not you yield unto them: for there lie in wait for him of them more than forty men,



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

### GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

which have bound themselves with an oath, that they will neither eat nor drink till they have killed him: and now are they ready, looking for a promise from you. So the chief captain then let the young man depart, and charged him, See you tell no man that you has showed these things to me. And he called unto him two centurions, saying, Make ready two hundred soldiers to go to Cesarea, and horsemen threescore and ten, and spearmen two hundred, at the third hour of the night. And provide them beasts, that they may set Paul on, and bring him safe to Felix the governor.

It is evident here that the apostle's life was preserved through the interposition of the chief captain; and Paul hesitated not to put himself under his protection, although he had been previously assured of the Lord's particular providence and protection; the Lord having stood by him, and said, "Be of good cheer, Paul, for as you has testified of me in Jerusalem, so must you bear witness also at Rome."

Upon the whole, much more might be produced to show that it is perfectly consistent with the doctrines of Christianity, and the practice of friends to acknowledge allegiance to the government that God, in the course of his providence, has thought proper should take place, and to conscientiously pay our proportion of taxes for the support thereof; but it is hoped the above is sufficient with every unprejudiced mind.

June 13, Saturday: General John Sullivan had arrested two brothers of the [Quaker](#) faith for refusing to participate in any manner in military activities, and their case had been brought before the colony of [Rhode Island](#) and Providence Plantations's Council of War. When Quaker elders had appeared before the Council, it had only been to inform the Council that they would cooperate in no manner.

### CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

They would not, for instance, sign any certificates that this person or that person was a member of the Society and therefore entitled to exemption from military service. Exasperated in the face of such intransigence, Deputy Governor Jabez Bowen, the chairman of the Council of War, wrote to Friend [Moses Brown](#):

I call upon you Moses and the whole Society of Friends ... to show the shadow of injustice or inequity in the law.

### THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1779

The Philadelphia [Yearly Meeting](#) of the Religious Society of Friends warned its members against “seeming” to give approval to war by the witnessing of militia demonstrations and marches. Do not be a spectator at such events, for such spectatorship is a complicit activity!

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

The Pennsylvania assembly also declared that for a [Quaker](#) to accept the Continental paper currency in trade was a dereliction of the Peace Testimony.<sup>27</sup> In New England, however, Friend [Moses Brown](#) was taking the attitude that money in itself being morally neutral, a distinction could not be forced between different forms of money — and generally the New England Quakers would be following his leading.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

August: Friend Samuel Wetherell, Jr. (1736-1816), a cloth manufacturer of Philadelphia who considered the Revolution to be defensive, and who considered defensive war to be not only permitted, but morally obligatory, was for these errors in his judgment [disowned](#) by the [Religious Society of Friends](#).

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

Fall: An attempt was made to conscript for the Revolutionary army a farmer of Brooklyn, Connecticut who “openly denounced all kinds of carnal warfare as contrary to the gospel,” whereupon he fled into the woods.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

There he was pursued by his neighbors “as hounds would a fox,” and eventually his hiding place was discovered and he was bound, placed in a wagon, and taken to [Providence, Rhode Island](#) to be turned over to the Revolutionary soldiers.

In the course of the night, however, he got hold of a knife, cut himself loose, and escaped to the woods.

He would manage to survive the winter in his new hiding place.

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

27. Any number of Quakers were attempting to refuse to accept the paper money, on the ground that it had a war taint upon it. The Continental revolutionaries would sometimes confiscate all the property of such a currency abstainer. In the case of Friend John Cowgill, not only were his livestock seized, but his children were kicked out of their school, and he was taken under military escort to Dover, [Maryland](#) — where he was paraded through town in a cart with a placard attached to his back.



HDT

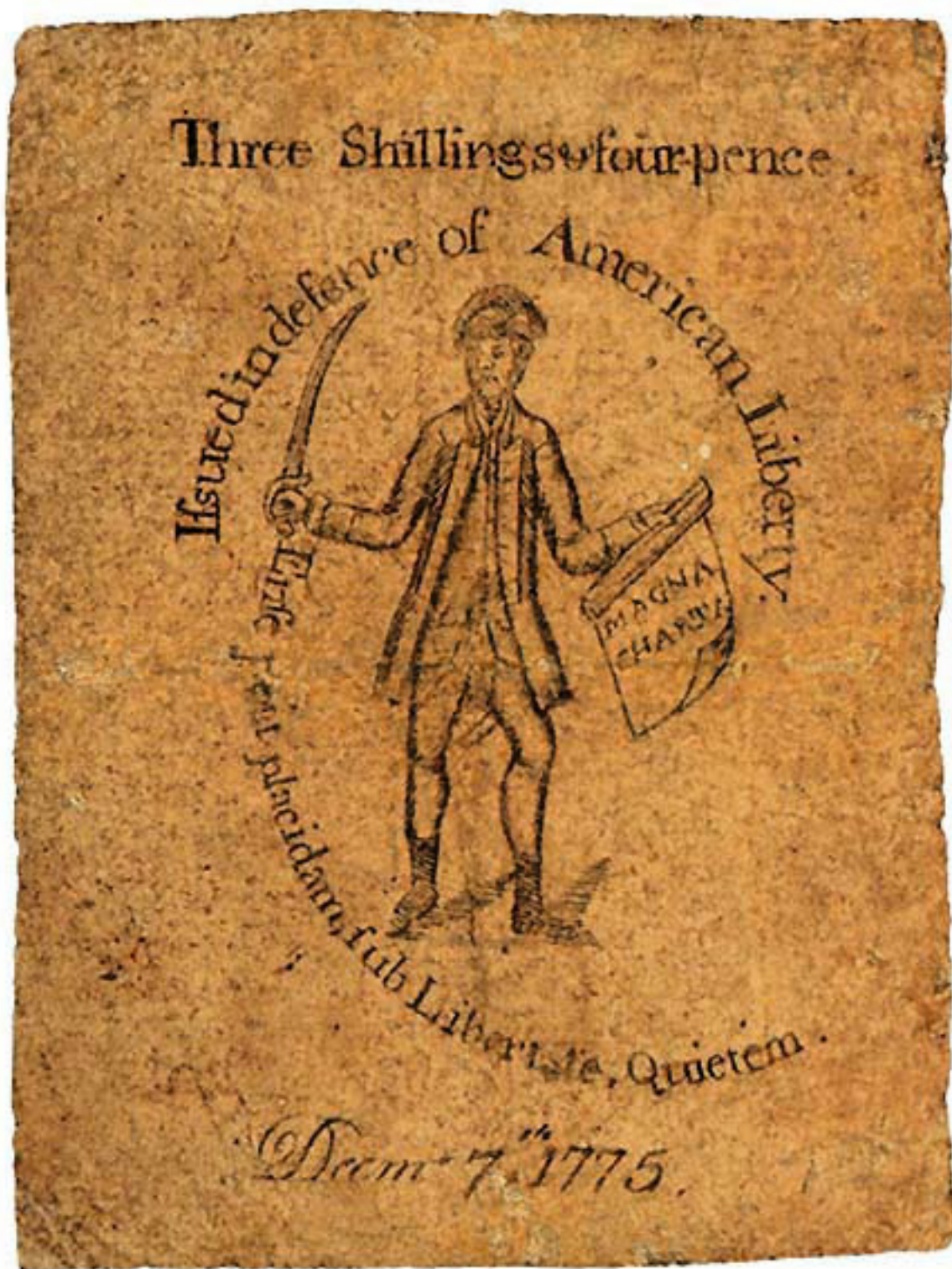
WHAT?

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December: General [George Washington](#) ordered 1,400 Continentals to join the forces of General Benjamin Lincoln defending [Charleston](#).

[James Madison, Jr.](#) was elected to a 3-year term in the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

In Virginia, the sheriff went to the home of Friend Robert Hunnicutt of Blackwater monthly meeting on account of his “testimony against war” and consequent refusal to pay war taxes, and seized one of his [slaves](#). The sheriff selected a 6-year-old to seize –not worth nearly as much as an adult– so he wouldn’t need to make change.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

(What was a [Quaker](#) doing, with black slaves? –Don’t ask.)

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY



**QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

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**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

**1780**

On account of Mother Ann Lee's pacifism and her refusal to take an oath of allegiance, she was imprisoned for a few months by the American government on the charge of treason.

**CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE**

(This was not the first time, nor would it be the last, that an inability to assent to the value of war would be regarded as treasonous.)

**MILITARY CONSCRIPTION**

**THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

**“HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE” BEING A VIEW FROM A PARTICULAR POINT IN TIME (JUST AS THE PERSPECTIVE IN A PAINTING IS A VIEW FROM A PARTICULAR POINT IN SPACE), TO “LOOK AT THE COURSE OF HISTORY MORE GENERALLY” WOULD BE TO SACRIFICE PERSPECTIVE ALTOGETHER. THIS IS FANTASY-LAND, YOU’RE FOOLING YOURSELF. THERE CANNOT BE ANY SUCH THINGIE, AS SUCH A PERSPECTIVE.**



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

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### GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

Judge William Potter had manumitted his slaves and was providing a sanctuary for “The Universal Friend” ([Jemimah Wilkinson](#)) and her band of followers at “the Old Abbey” on his estate at Little Rest (the village of [Kingston](#)) about a mile to the north of [South Kingstown, Rhode Island](#). To house his guests he made such large additions to his already large mansion (14 new rooms) that he was obliged to undertake a mortgage he would not be able to maintain. According to a record that has survived, the Judge’s daughter Susannah Potter “died in the arms of The Friend.” Dr. Joshua Babcock of [Westerly](#), a friend of Benjamin Franklin, had become one of her followers. She remained on friendly terms with [Stephen Hopkins](#), former governor of Rhode Island, a cousin. (She was also related to [Esek Hopkins](#), first commodore of the American navy.) She had influence among the [Quakers](#) of Cape Cod. Since she was not an advocate of the Quaker Peace Testimony, she was able to speak at a “Free Quaker” meeting of the disowned Friends, in Philadelphia.



### THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

Jemimah came to be known not only as “The Universal Friend” but also, inside her band of disciples, as “Beft-Friend.” Upon one occasion in New Milford, Connecticut, she would proclaim a 30-day fast on bread and water — and her disciples would obey. (What are beft-friends for? :-)

In [New York](#), a 2d Militia Act revision obligated “Associated Exempts” —that is, militia members between the ages of 50 and 60— to cross state borders if ordered to do so out of military necessity. It increased the amount [Quaker](#) adherents of the Peace Testimony would be required to pay for conscientious exemption status, from £10 to £80. Public school teachers were, however, to be made exempt so long as they were actively employed for the full year.

### THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

Fall: Meetings of [Free Quakers](#) began in private homes in Philadelphia, in Chester County of Pennsylvania, and in West River, [Maryland](#). Off your enemies — Christ would surely have voted for that!<sup>28</sup>

### THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

28. The jest at the time was that what the Free Quakers were free of was Quakerism.



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY


## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1781

[Friend John Dalton](#)'s early years had been heavily influenced by [Friend Elihu Robinson](#), an instrument maker and meteorologist. At the age of 15, Friend John joined his older brother Jonathan in running a [Quaker](#) school at Kendal, near the family home in Cumberland, England.

The Yearly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) held in [London](#), this year considered it necessary once again to emphasize that the [Quaker Peace Testimony](#) was incompatible with any [Quaker](#) vessel being armed:

It is recommended to the several quarterly and monthly meetings, that all concerned in armed vessels be dealt with according to the minute of 1744;  and it is recommended to Friends everywhere, to take into their serious consideration the inconsistency of any under our profession suffering their temporal interest to induce them in any manner to contribute to the purposes of war.

Friend [Benjamin Say](#), a physician of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, was among those known as the “fighting Quakers,” who upon being [disowned](#) by the [Religious Society of Friends](#) on account of their disregard of the [Quaker Peace Testimony](#), initiated the formation of the society entitled “The Monthly Meeting of Friends, railed by some Free Quakers, distinguishing us from the brethren who have [disowned](#) us.”<sup>29</sup>

Friend Samuel Wetherill wrote these words upon being [disowned](#) by Philadelphia Monthly Meeting:

We wish only to be freed from every species of ecclesiastical tyranny, and mean to pay a due regard to the principles of our forefathers, and to their rules and regulations so far as they apply to our circumstances, and hope, thereby, to preserve decency and to secure equal liberty to all. We have no design to form creeds or confessions of faith, but humbly to confide in those sacred lessons of wisdom and benevolence, which have been left us by Christ and His apostles, contained in the holy scriptures; and appealing to that divine principle breathed by the breath of God into the hearts of all, to leave every man to think and judge for himself, according to the abilities received, and to answer for his faith and opinions to him, who “seeth the secrets of all hearts,” the sole Judge and sovereign Lord of conscience.<sup>30</sup>

29. There's this jest, that a Free Quaker was someone who was free of Quakerism. This wasn't the way they thought of themselves, of course, but we don't have a record that any of these people came back to Quakerism when the bloodshedding came to be over and the Ten Commandments reasserted themselves as guides to our conduct.

30. “An Address to those of the People called Quakers, who have been [disowned](#) for Matters Religious and Civil”





## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

[GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM](#)

1782

The botanist [Michel-Guillaume-Jean de Crèvecoeur](#),<sup>31</sup> in his LETTERS FROM AN AMERICAN FARMER (Stone, ed., page 160), had some alarming things to say about women's use of [opium](#) on [Nantucket Island](#):

A singular custom prevails here among the women, at which I was greatly surprised and am really at a loss how to account for the original cause that has introduced in this primitive society so remarkable a fashion, or rather so extraordinary a want. They have adopted these many years the Asiatic custom of taking a dose of opium every morning, and so deeply rooted is it that they would be at a loss how to live without this indulgence; they would rather be deprived of any necessary than forego their favorite luxury. This is much more prevailing among the women than the men, few of the latter having caught the contagion, though the sheriff, whom I may call the first person in the island, who is an eminent physician beside and whom I had the pleasure of being well acquainted with, has for many years submitted to this custom. He takes three grains of it every day after breakfast, with the effects of which, he often told me, he was not able to transact any business. It is hard to conceive how a people always happy and healthy, in consequence of the exercise and labour they undergo, never oppressed with the vapours of idleness, yet should want the fictitious effects of opium to preserve that cheerfulness to which their temperance, their climate, their happy situation, so justly entitle them. But where is the society perfectly free from error or folly; the least imperfect is undoubtedly that where the greatest good preponderates; and agreeable to this rule, I can truly say, that I never was acquainted with a less vicious or more harmless one.

[READ THE FULL TEXT](#)

As a Quaker as well as a researcher into the general past, I can think of a suggestion to make, a suggestion only, as to a novel line of research in regard to this revelation. Nantucket was from a very early point a [Quaker](#) center. And the Quakers of England had been in that era involved in the manufacture and sale of opium products. Nowadays we don't hear much of this, although we hear a whole lot about the involvement of certain Quaker families, such as the [Cadburys](#), in the manufacture and sale of a comparison product, fine chocolate candies. Someday I'd like to know whether any of those Quakers were making any sort of connection between the use of opium, a decided pacifier, and the Quaker Peace Testimony. I'm not jesting.

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

Lawrence Buell characterizes this literary effort thusly on page 55 and pages 127-8 of THE ENVIRONMENTAL

31. He was also known during his lifetime as Hector Saint-John de Crèvecoeur and, in the New World, as J. Hector St. John.





## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

### GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

IMAGINATION: THOREAU, NATURE WRITING, AND THE FORMATION OF AMERICAN CULTURE:<sup>32</sup>



America's first major work of literary agrarianism, Crèvecoeur's *LETTERS OF AN AMERICAN FARMER* (1782), ... begins with images of Farmer James's happy, thriving estate -the proper way of the new world, clearly- and ends with somber autobiographical reminiscence of the loyalist untimely ripped from that estate when revolution struck. Crèvecoeur's visions of agrarian prosperity in the middle colonies are not a homegrown American documentary so much as a European visitor's or immigrant's dream of what might be enacted, ventriloquized first through the letters of a model farmer writing to an English gentleman who had visited him, then in Crèvecoeur's more cosmopolitan authorial voice. We witness American culture and writing at the moment of being dreamed by the European mind. ... One sign of [Henry Thoreau](#)'s yielding that also presaged (and, through his influence, helped to shape) the whole course of American literary naturalism was the opening of a split between pastoral and agrarian sensibility in his work not present in early American literary naturalism. Crèvecoeur and the Virginia planters domesticated the pastoral ideal in an agrarian context, as did Jefferson's Yankee Federalist counterpart [Timothy Dwight](#). Thoreau, however, generally satirized farming as part and parcel of the soul-withering false economy of the work ethic against which he set his own ethos of contemplative play, which approached crop growing in a wilfully fanciful manner: "Shall I not rejoice also at the abundance of the weeds whose seeds are the granary of the birds?" (*WALDEN* 166). His favorite metaphor for necessary labor was the myth of Apollo tending the flocks of King Admetus (*WALDEN* 70; cf. *Journal* 4: 114) - a way of pastoralizing but spurning pasture duty at a single stroke. (It became one of his code phrases for days spent surveying [*Journal* 6: 185].) Thoreau's desire to imagine an actualization of the pastoral idea more as leisure than as work drove him more often to picture the countryman as a Colin Clout than as a Lycidas.

32. It is not clear to me why Buell here refers to him as Farmer James. Although he was known by several names, I was not aware that James had been one of them.



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The *ENCYCLOPEDIA BRITANNICA*, which of course very seldom mentions Thoreau, has this to say in addition:

The passage containing his "melting pot" theory and answering the question "What is an American?" is widely quoted, and historians of the frontier depend heavily on his documented account of the stages by which the log cabin became the opulent farmhouse. Crèvecoeur also provides natural history essays like those of [Thoreau](#), descriptions of nature, Indian legends, poignant tales of the Revolution, and melancholy, sentimental stories of slavery and the disappearance of the red men. His charming style, keen eye, and simple philosophy are universally admired.

[CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF ENGLISH AND AMERICAN LITERATURE](#)



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

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[GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM](#)

**1783**

A group of approximately 200 [disowned](#) former members of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) who, terming themselves Free Quakers, had responded to the call for arms during the American revolution and marched off to serve as a militia company, at this point founded for themselves on Arch Street between 5th and 6th Streets in Philadelphia a brick Georgian mansion-style meetinghouse of their own. The granite tablet that architect Samuel Wetherill set in their north gable reads “in the year of our Lord, 1783, of the Empire 8,” which is an indication that at that point the new country’s condition of being was as yet unclear — that it might have become an imperium rather than a republic. Initially 30 to 50 of these disowned Friends would regularly attended worship meetings in their new meetinghouse and the group would never have more than about 100 members. Over the course of several years, actually, participation would wane until in the mid-1830s there would no longer be enough members even to continue to hold meetings for worship. Their leader was Samuel Wetherell, Jr. (1736-1816), a cloth manufacturer who considered the Revolution to be defensive, and who considered defensive war to be not only permitted, but morally obligatory — and had for this been [disowned](#) in 1779.

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

Also prominent among the disowned Free Quakers were:

Colonel Timothy Matlack  
Colonel Clement Biddle  
William Crispin  
Christopher Marshall  
Peter Thomson  
[Benjamin Say](#)  
“Betsy” Ross  
Thomas Ross, Jr.  
Isaac Grey<sup>33</sup>

33. There’s this jest, that a Free Quaker was someone who was free of Quakerism. This wasn’t the way they thought of themselves, of course, but we don’t have a record that any of these people came back to Quakerism when the bloodshedding came to be over and the Ten Commandments reasserted themselves as guides to our conduct.



**QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

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**1785**

August 23, Tuesday (or 20, Saturday): [Oliver Hazard Perry](#) was born at the Old Perry Homestead in [South Kingstown, Rhode Island](#), of parents who have been characterized, among those inclined to be charitable, as “[Fighting Quakers](#).”<sup>34</sup>

**RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS**

34. A Quaker fighting is like a chicken pissing — if it pisses it must be something else wearing a chicken suit.

The family product who had broken with the Peace Testimony had been Christopher Raymond Perry, who at the age of about 16 during the Revolution had donned the scarlet-and-gold uniform of the “Kingstown Reds.” He gunned down one of his neighbors, Friend Simeon Tucker of Matunuck, Rhode Island, who had refused to contribute to the war effort, whereupon he fled the town. In other words, Oliver Hazard Perry’s ancestor was not so much a Fighting Quaker as he was a murderer and a fugitive. Captured by the British, he languished aboard the prison ship *Jersey* and then among the Scotch/Irish at Newry on the northern coast of Ireland before breaking his parole and escaping disguised as an English sailor — but had improved upon the occasion to the point at which after the war he was able to reappear at the Perry family home, his sins forgiven, with a Scots/Irish bride, Sarah Wallace Alexander.

**PERRYS OF RHODE ISLAND**



**QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

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**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

**1787**

June 27, Wednesday: Credentials of the members of the Federal Convention: State of New Hampshire.

Thomas Say was born in Philadelphia, son of the disowned “Free Quaker” physician, Dr. Benjamin Say, who in this year was co-founding the College of Physicians of Philadelphia.<sup>35</sup>

**THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

35. Thomas was a great-grandson of Friend John Bartram, and during his boyhood would frequently take his butterfly and beetle specimens to his great-uncle Friend William Bartram. Refer to Harry B. Weiss and Grace M. Ziebler’s THOMAS SAY: EARLY AMERICAN NATURALIST (Charles C. Thomas, Springfield, Illinois and Baltimore, Maryland, 1931) or Patricia Tyson Stroud’s THOMAS SAY: NEW WORLD NATURALIST (U of Pennsylvania P, Philadelphia, 1992).



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

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1788

July 3, Thursday: [Dr. John Cuming](#) of [Concord](#) died at the age of 60 after being bled over his objections by the physician of neighboring Chelmsford, and was buried in the Old Hill Burying Ground beneath a headstone carved by Thomas Park (this isn't it).



Dr. Cuming left some clothing and some military equipment to [Waldo Emerson](#)'s father, the Reverend [William Emerson](#) of [Boston](#). He left £300 pounds sterling to [Harvard College](#), the income from which was to endow a chair of physics (medicine), that would be useful as seed money for the establishment of Harvard Medical School with Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse and Surgeon John Warren as its 1st professors. In addition, he left £150 sterling to benefit the [Town School](#) in [Concord](#), and £150 sterling to be distributed among the poor. He also left behind a small sum to ease the anxieties of the Selectmen, with which they could care for Bristo and Jem,





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his two former slaves, should they ever become a burden upon the town.

BRISTER FREEMAN

His benevolent and liberal disposition was manifest in the judicious disposition of his estate. Beside many other legacies, he bequeathed "for the use of the town of Concord three hundred pounds sterling, one moiety thereof to be equally distributed for the benefit of the private schools in the town of Concord, and to be especially under the direction of the Selectmen for the time being; the other moiety thereof to be annually disposed of among the poor of said town, at the discretion of the minister and Selectmen of the town of Concord for the time being – the use of the above sum of money to be for the above purposes and for no other under any pretence whatever." He also made it the residuary legatee of one quarter of his real estate undisposed of at the death of his wife. The whole amounted to £500 lawful money or \$1,666.66. He gave "to the church of Concord, fifty pounds sterling, to be laid out in silver vessels to furnish the communion table" and also twenty five pound sterling to be forever kept as a fund to be disposed of by the minister and deacons for the benefit "of the poor communicants"; and also £20 to the Rev. Dr. Ripley.

He bequeathed "to the University in Cambridge three hundred pounds sterling, the income of the same to be appropriated for a professor of physic" and also made it a residuary legatee in the same manner as he did the town of Concord.<sup>36</sup>

Another class of donations has been made to the town for the relief of the *silent* poor, – those individuals who are needy, but do not wish to throw themselves on the town for support. They are as follows; from

Peter Wright <sup>37</sup>	\$277.42	Abel Barrett <sup>38</sup>	
	\$500.00		
John Cuming	833.33	Jonathan Wheeler <sup>39</sup>	500.00

The town of Concord has also a fund of \$833.33 given by John Cuming, Esq., for the benefit of the "private schools," in the language of his Will, which has been distributed in all the districts but the centre one. Another donation now amounting to \$744.92 was given by John Beaton, Esq.,<sup>40</sup> for the support of

36. [Lemuel Shattuck's 1835 A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;....](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)

37. PETER WRIGHT was a weaver, son of Captain Edward Wright, and died January 15, 1718, aged 53. He bequeathed all his real estate, after the death of his wife and Cousin Elizabeth Hartwell, to the poor of Concord, to be under the direction of the selectmen, and of the minister, who is "to have a double vote to any of the selectmen." What belonged to the town was sold, in 1731, for £500 currency.

38. ABEL BARRETT was brother to Humphrey Barrett just mentioned. He commenced the mercantile business in Concord, but afterwards removed to Boston. He died in Liverpool, England, January 12, 1803.

39. JONATHAN WHEELER was the son of Ephraim Wheeler, and was successively a merchant in Concord, Boston, Baltimore, and England. He died, September 4, 1811, in the city of New York, ten days after his arrival from Europe.

40. JOHN BEATON, Esq. was a native of Scotland, and emigrated to this town, where he acquired a respectable estate as a merchant. He was remarkable for his honesty, integrity, and Christian virtues, and had the unlimited confidence of his fellow citizens. "As honest as John Beaton," was long a current saying, expressive of the character of a strictly honest man. He was Town Treasurer 17 years from 1754, and appointed justice of the peace by the crown, June 6, 1765. He died without issue, June 9, 1776, aged 47.



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

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schools and the poor.<sup>41</sup>

**WALDEN:** Down the road, on the right hand, on Brister's Hill, lived Brister Freeman, "a handy Negro," slave of Squire Cummings once, -there where grow still the apple-trees which Brister planted and tended; large old trees now, but their fruit still wild and ciderish to my taste. Not long since I read his epitaph in the old Lincoln burying-ground, a little on one side, near the unmarked graves of some British grenadiers who fell in the retreat from Concord, -where he is styled "Sippio Brister,"- Scipio Africanus he had some title to be called, -"a man of color," as if he were discolored. It also told me, with startling emphasis, when he died; which was but an indirect way of informing me that he ever lived. With him dwelt Fenda, his hospitable wife, who told fortunes, yet pleasantly, -large, round, and black, blacker than any of the children of night, such a dusky orb as never rose on Concord before or since.

PEOPLE OF  
WALDEN

BRISTO FREEMAN  
BRISTER FREEMAN

41. Ibid.

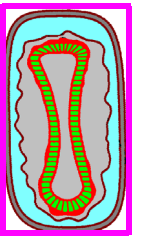


## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

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(Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse, a [Quaker](#), would later be dismissed as a Professor at the Harvard Medical School on account of his principled opposition to war ([the Quaker Peace Testimony](#)) and because he persisted in administering inoculations against the [small pox](#).)



However, below, in a depiction dating to 1783, is the righteous surviving professor, Surgeon John Warren, no deluded Quaker, who righteously **did** believe in war and righteously **did not** believe in vaccination — and was therefore entitled to teach Harvard men to become physicians.)





**QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

**QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

**1790**

The Yearly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) held in [London](#) considered it necessary to point out that the Quaker Peace Testimony was incompatible not only with any [Quaker](#) bearing arms or engaging in fighting, but also with other matters even more indirectly connected with the war spirit, such as the manufacture of arms, the sale of arms, or even making loans of money or equipment to those who do engage in such worldly pursuits. The answers to all of the above are no, no, and no, and we must publicly disown any who cannot grasp that the answers to all of the above are no, no, and no:

If any be concerned in fabricating or selling instruments of war, let them be treated with love; and if by this unreclaimed, let them be further deal with as those whom we cannot own. And we entreat that when warlike preparations are making, Friends be watchful lest any be drawn into loans, arming or letting out their ships or vessels, or otherwise promoting the destruction of the human species.

**THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**



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**1797**

The Yearly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) held in [London](#) in this year chose to celebrate our Quaker Peace Testimony, and express gratification at the manner in which it was assisting Friends to abstain from the spirit of contention which led to the bearing of arms and to engaging in fighting and to doing harm to other humans:

We feel not inclined, though war yet continues to desolate the earth, to repeat our advices on that head, or to resume the subject further than to remark how thankful we ought to be, in that we are still permitted to meet together, as we have done at this time, in brotherly fellowship and mutual condescension; whilst the world around us is tossed with the tempest of discord. O Friends, may be consider it as an incitement to suffer everything which tends to contention to be eradicated from our hearts; and, under the influence of the heavenly Husbandman, to cultivate, with unwearied assiduity and patience, all those dispositions which make for peace; things whereby we may edify one another; yea, things by which we may evince to our fellow-men at large, that we are really redeemed from the spirit of contests, and truly the disciples of a merciful Redeemer, whose holy, pure, and undefiled religion is a system of universal love!

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**1798**

The Yearly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) held in London in this year chose to emphasize all the elaborate implications of [the Quaker Peace Testimony](#), such as that it not only necessitated the refusal of all active compliance with warlike measures, but also of any participation in the war economy:

We desire afresh to press upon all our members, the necessity of a peaceful and innocent demeanor amongst men; and especially, let all be careful not to seek or accept profit by any concern in the preparations so extensively making for war: for how reproachfully inconsistent would it be, to refuse all active compliance with warlike measures; and, at the same time, not to hesitate to enrich ourselves by the commerce and other circumstances dependent on war\_!

**CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE**





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**1799**

At this point, in London, the [Quaker](#) establishment was acquiring the sort of evangelical tilt that would obtain there for over half a century. At London Yearly Meeting, the traveling minister Friend [Hannah Barnard](#) from the United States and a delegation of women Friends urged the yearly meeting hierarchy to agree to an exchange: occasional use of Quaker meetinghouses by ministers of other denominations in exchange for similar access to their churches by ministering Friends. When the all-male group of elders attempted to turn aside this plan, Friend Barnard defended it with such “uncommon tenacity” that she and her delegation were shown the door. Barnard then visited Ireland, finding the Friends there debating matters of war, peace, and the authority of the BIBLE. Specifically, the question the Irish wanted to put to her was: Did God actually command the ancient Israelites to make war on their enemies in the genocidal manner recorded in the Hebrew Scriptures? In the previous year a peasant uprising against English overlords had been suppressed with much bloodshed by the British army. Irish Friends who were people of substance probably favored this imposition of “law and order” despite its imperial flavor, and likely had been pointing at the scriptural massacres as justification for official violence, but other Irish Friends who were not so fortunate were not so bloodthirsty. These incipient liberals wanted to repudiate those literalist readings of the BIBLE where the texts were in conflict with central

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Quaker convictions such as the Peace Testimony.

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These “New Lights” were persuading themselves that it had been a mistake to make doctrinal correctness central to [Quaker](#) faith. They thereby challenged the authority of the new establishment, which was based upon propounding top-down the meaning of BIBLE passages. Barnard joined with the New Lights and traveled among Irish Friends and non-Friends advocating their views. When she was ready to return to the USA,



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Dublin Yearly Meeting certified that she had ministered “to general satisfaction” and petitioned that she might be “favoured to continue” her religious labors. Barnard returned to London and applied to the Meeting of Ministers and Elders for a certificate to continue into Germany. Other, hostile reports of her work and message, from the evangelicals, had also been forwarded to London.



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**1802**



Summer: By mid-year, [Hannah Barnard](#) was disowned by her monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) for possessing a “a Caviling, contentious disposition of mind,” so from this point in time forward it will not be appropriate for us to refer to her as “Friend Hannah.” In Ireland as well, most of these so-called “New Lights” had resigned from the Society or been disowned by their monthly meetings. Remaining faithful to the Peace Testimony, Barnard would organize a Peace Society, and attendance at the meetings of this society would soon become greater than attendance at the Hudson Friends Meeting. The situation in Hudson was famous among the Quakers of her time and there would be a spate of pamphlets and books produced, arguing the merits pro and con.

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1804



October 29, Monday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2 day 29 of 10 M 1804 / Yesterday attended Meeting. — In the forenoon D Buffum delivered an instructing testimony founded on these Words "Go work in my Vineyard & whatsoever is right I will give thee" I think it a favored day, particularly in the afternoon, when my mind was brought into Silent, deep, & serious meditation, on account of the low state of society, how many there are who have been religiously concerned, & seen better times, but now are fast declining as the Spirit of true religion, & become as it were dupes to the world. — My mind was deeply affected on behalf of these, with desires that they might be stirred up to a more lively Zeal for the promotion of Religion in themselves & others. — But more particularly was my feelings awakened for myself, feeling but little Authority to say or do much for that cause which I wished might be promoted. I became truly desirous to dig down deeper into my mind that I might discover the reason of my weakness — & find watchfulness & faithfulness is my great Lack  
Spent the evening agreeably with D. Buffum —

By virtue of the following Militia warrant (if there be any virtue in it) Was this day 29 of Month taken from me. steel watchchains 2 Gilt Seals & 2 Buckle Brushes, worth about 3 Dollars, by James Chappel Constable. —

Warrant

[Newport](#) State of [Rhode Island](#) & [Providence](#) Plantations

[seal]

To the town sergeant or either of the constables in the County of Newport

Whereas Stephen Gould of Newport in the County of Newport, private in the Company of Infantry in said Newport, Commanded, commanded by Charles C Dunham, in the Regiment of Militia, In said County Commanded by Joseph Boss Junr Coln Comodant

Was duly notified to appear at the Company's parade, in said Newport on the 19th day of Sept 1804 with such arms & Equipments as the Acts of Congress & of the Honble General Assembly of the aforesaid State are required. — And Where as Contrary to the Law in this Case made and provided the said Stephen did not appear at said time & place, & hath therefore forfeited the Sum of \$1.50 Cents to the use Directed by Law.— all which will appear by the List of Delinquents, & Warrant of the Captain returned to the undersigned Justice of the peace for the Town of Newport afforesaid, Dated the 29th day of Sept. 1804. Therefore in the



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*Name of the said State you are hereby Commanded forwith of the Goods & Chattels of the Said Stephen Gould within your precinct to Levy by Distress & sale shall thereof, the sum of \$1.50 Cents with 25 Cents for this Writ & also Your Lawful Fees for the Services hereof. & for Want of such Goods and Chattels you are required to take the Boody of the said Stephen Gould & him safely Commit to the Goal in said Newport, where the keeper thereof shall safely keep him till he pay the sums afforesaid, with Legal Fees & costs, or shall be otherwise Discharged by Law Hereof Fail not: but True return make of your Doings thereon, to the undesigned Justice of the peace within Twenty Days from the Date hereof.*

*Given under my hand & seal at Newport afforesaid the 9 day of October 1804 & of Independance the twenty Ninth.*

*Rob't Taylor Justice of the Peace*

*Thus this state which formerly was the most attentative to conciencious people of all on the Continent have now Degenerated into the rigor, while that of Boston & several others have come out of their Old Spirit of persecution & do not so much as call on friends to appear at their Militia Musters,- The suffering of mine has been but very small compared with their of old times. This is the first time I have been called upon since my Apprenticeship & I believe was careful to take as near the worth of the fine as possible.*

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1806

 October 24, Friday: French forces reached the suburbs of Berlin.

At this point what was left of his reason deserted [Timothy Dexter](#). He would continue for two days in this condition.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) instanced in his journal that he had been fined for his failure as a [Quaker](#) to participate under arms in the local militia and that the penalty had been unfairly exacted through the tax seizure of his hat, that had cost him considerably more than that penalty:

*6 day 24 of 10 M / James Chappel has just taken from me an Hat  
what in the 6 M last cost me six Dollars for a Militia fine  
amounting to only 2 Dollars & 5 cents including fees – by order  
of Charles C Dunham the Capt. The warrant dated 6 day of October  
1806 & signed by Robt Taylor Just Peace.*

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CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE





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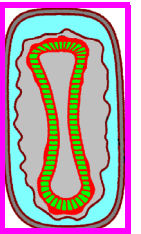
1812

➡ In roughly this timeframe [John White Webster](#) and [George Parkman](#) studied under Professor John Collins Warren at the old [Harvard Medical College](#) on Mason Street in [Boston](#) (Dr. Webster would murder Dr. Parkman, and be hanged).

[HARVARD COLLEGE](#)

Because he was a [Quaker](#) pacifist who had tried to remain positively oriented during the Revolution, and because he practiced [small pox](#) vaccination, Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse was dismissed from this medical faculty.

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)



➡ June 24, Wednesday: The unwieldy Grande Armée of Twenty Nations (Anhalt, Austria, Baden, Bavaria, Croatia, Dalmatia, Denmark, France, Hesse-Darmstadt, Holland, Illyria, Italy, Lippe, Mecklenburg, Poland, Portugal, Prussia, Saxony, Spain, Switzerland, Westphalia, and Wurttemberg) of the Emperor [Napoléon](#), the largest military force assembled to that date, crossing the Niemen River near Kovno (Kaunas), entered [Russia](#) with the objective of intercepting the British navy's main supply of high-quality [cannabis](#) for use as its maritime cordage. — England could not obtain such high-quality maritime cordage from the USA not only because of the state of war that existed between Britain and the USA at this time but also because the hemp farmers of Kentucky were using a “dew-rotting” process of leaching the resin out of the hemp fiber (as opposed to “water-rotting”). For the same reason the US Navy was avoiding the purchase of cordage made from this domestic hemp, and mostly the Kentucky produce was being used for bag fabric and as rope binding for the baled cotton of the Deep South.

At the Middleton Colliery in West Yorkshire, England, John Blenkinsop introduced the public to his coal-powered rack-and-pinion locomotive *Salamanca* capable of pulling heavy loads of coal, replacing the labors of 50 horses and 200 men.



In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), news of the [War of 1812](#) was unwelcome, but the “patriots” organized nevertheless — organized to the extent even of formalizing and placing under discipline a group of “those who were exempt by law from the performance of military duty,” such as the followers of the Peace Testimony of the Quakers (evidently with the idea of obligating them to free corvée labor in general support of the war effort):



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1812. The news of the Declaration of War with Great Britain was received June 24, and was noticed by the tolling of bells and displaying the flags at half mast. The majority here was opposed to the war and to the administration of the general government, but they promptly held meetings and passed spirited resolutions to make united efforts against a foreign enemy. The chartered companies were filled with new members, volunteer associations were formed, and those who were exempt by law from the performance of military duty, were organized into several corps, and officered and disciplined for service.

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### READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*4th day 24th of 6th Mo// The times are such, as, is felt at the heart of every considerate man, every countenance continues to wear a gloom & as they pass the streets look piteously. altho' the Act of warfare has not commenced, yet it has been declared by Congress to exist between this Country & England. Vast numbers of property is exposed on the seas & will doubtless be taken & much property in England will be confiscated which stares many in the face with ruin, & those of more indigent circumstances feel the strong probability of starvation, for the want of buisness to procure food to eat  
My circumstances are streightened. I have nothing but what I earn from day to day, & how I am to pass the coming Winter is yet a sealed thing. I can but feel very keenly at the heart, but am disposed to labor to think as little about the future as may be & receive the present blessing with as much gratitude as I am capable of -*

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1817

 October 2, Friday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*6th day 2nd of 10th M / Have just returned from the Jail where I went to see Adam Anthony who was committed yesterday for refusing to pay a Military fine, he is not a Member of our society but it appears that he is so far convinced of Peace Principles as to refuse to bear Arms - he told me that he had no bed to lay on last night, but made no complaint of his situation. My mind was led into Sympathy with him & desires raised that he may keep on christian ground while standing & conversing with him, I remembered with feeling the sufferings & imprisonments of our Dear Ancient brethren on account of divers testimonies given them to bear. -*

*Adam Anthony the Young man above mentioned was let out of Jail in the course of the day by his Brother who came to town & paid his fine - Adams conduct was such as gave satisfaction & evinced the consistent man - Tho' a number of us offered to be bound for his liberty of the house & yard & saw no impropriety in his having it, yet he declined the offer & seemd desirous of experiencing the ground fully for himself before he did any thing about it, & while the subject was deliberating upon - his Br came in & discharged him-*

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1821



[Friend Jonathan Dymond](#)'s AN INQUIRY INTO THE ACCORDANCY OF WAR WITH THE PRINCIPLES OF CHRISTIANITY; AND AN EXAMINATION OF THE PHILOSOPHICAL REASONING BY WHICH IT IS DEFENDED; WITH OBSERVATIONS ON SOME OF THE CAUSES OF WAR AND ON SOME OF ITS EFFECTS (London).<sup>42</sup>

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)



April 10, Friday, 1857: D.R.'s Shanty ... The more characteristic books were Bradley's Husbandry, Drake's Indians, Barber's Hist. Coll., Zimmermann on Solitude, Bigelow's Plants of Boston, &c., Farmer's Register of the first Settlers of New England, Marshall's Gardening, Vick's Gardener, John Woolman, The Modern Horse Doctor, Downing's Fruits, &c., The Farmer's Library, Walden, Dymond's Essays, Jobb Scott's Journal, Morton's Memorial, Bailey's Dictionary, Downing's Landscape Gardening, etc., The Task, Nuttall's Ornithology, Morse's Gazetteer, The Domestic Practice of Hydropathy, John Buncke, Dwight's Travels, Virgil, Young's Night Thoughts, History of Plymouth, and other Shanty books. ...

42. Another source alleges that the 1st edition of AN ENQUIRY, ETC. was printed in London in 1823 without the author's name, and that a 3rd edition "corrected and enlarged" appeared in 1824. This would be republished in Philadelphia in 1834 with notes by Thomas S. Grimké, and again in 1835, that printing being referred to as the 4th edition. Smith lists the book as having been first published anonymously in 1823, with the 2nd and 3rd editions in 1824, that 4th in America in 1835, with then a reprint in 1843. Smith also lists several others of Dymond's works and various editions. Smith also lists an Anne Dymond, a Henry Dymond, an Alfred Dymond, and a Mary Dymond, of what relationship to Jonathan not stated.



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**“EMANCIPATION IN THE ... INDIES....”** : In 1821, according to official documents presented to the American government by the Colonization Society, 200,000 slaves were deported from Africa. Nearly 30,000 were landed in the port of Havana alone. In consequence of the dangers of the trade growing out of the act of abolition, ships were built sharp for swiftness, and with a frightful disregard of the comfort of the victims they were destined to transport. They carried five, six, even seven hundred stowed in a ship built so narrow as to be unsafe, being made just broad enough on the beam to keep the sea. In attempting to make its escape from the pursuit of a man-of-war, one ship flung five hundred slaves alive into the sea. These facts went into Parliament. In the islands, was an ominous state of cruel and licentious society; every house had a dungeon attached to it; every slave was worked by the whip. There is no end to the tragic anecdotes in the municipal records of the colonies. The boy was set to strip and to flog his own mother to blood, for a small offence. Looking in the face of his master by the negro was held to be violence by the island courts. He was worked sixteen hours, and his ration by law, in some islands, was a pint of flour and one salt herring a day. He suffered insult, stripes, mutilation, at the humor of the master: iron collars were riveted on their necks with iron prongs ten inches long; capsicum pepper was rubbed in the eyes of the females; and they were done to death with the most shocking levity between the master and manager, without fine or inquiry. And when, at last, some Quakers, Moravians, and Wesleyan and Baptist missionaries, following in the steps of Carey and Ward in the East Indies, had been moved to come and cheer the poor victim with the hope of some reparation, in a future world, of the wrongs he suffered in this, these missionaries were persecuted by the planters, their lives threatened, their chapels burned, and the negroes furiously forbidden to go near them. These outrages rekindled the flame of British indignation.



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JONATHAN DYMOND,

“EXAMPLE AND TESTIMONY OF THE EARLY CHRISTIANS ON THE  
SUBJECT OF WAR” (1821)

EXAMPLE AND TESTIMONY

OF

The Early Christians

ON THE SUBJECT OF

WAR.

BY JONATHAN DYMOND

[1821]

(as excerpted by the Tract Association of Friends  
from Dymond’s book on war and Christianity)

During a considerable period after the death of Christ, it is certain that his followers believed he had forbidden war; and that, in consequence of this belief, many of them refused to engage in it, whatever were the consequences whether reproach, or imprisonment, or death. These facts are indisputable; “It is as easy,” says a learned writer of the seventeenth century, “to obscure the sun at mid-day, as to deny that the primitive Christians renounced all revenge and war.” Christ and his apostles delivered general precepts for the regulation of our conduct. And to what did their immediate successors apply the pacific precepts which had been delivered? They applied them to war: they were assured that the precepts absolutely forbade it. This belief they derived from those very precepts on which we have insisted: they referred expressly to the same passages in the New Testament, **and from the authority and obligation of those passages**, they refused to bear arms.<sup>43</sup> A few examples from their history will show with what undoubting confidence they believed in the unlawfulness of war, and how much they were willing to suffer in the cause of peace.

43. “I say unto you, that ye resist not evil.” “Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbor, and hate thine enemy; but I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you.” — Matt. v.39, &c. “Blessed are the peace-makers: for they shall be called the children of God.” — Matt. v.9. “Have peace one with another.” — Mark ix.50. “See that none render evil for evil to any man.” — 1 Thess. v.15. “God hath called us to peace.” -1 Cor. vii.15. “Follow after love, patience, meekness.” — “Be gentle, showing all meekness unto all men.” — “Live in peace.” “Let all bitterness and wrath, and anger and clamor, and evil speaking, be put away from you with all malice.” “Avenge not yourselves.” — “If thine enemy hunger feed him: if he thirst give him drink.” — “Recompense to no man evil for evil.” — “Overcome evil with good.”





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Maximilian, as it is related in the Acts of Ruinart, was brought before the tribunal to be enrolled as a soldier. On the proconsul's asking his name, Maximilian replied: "I am a Christian, and cannot fight." It was, however, ordered that he should be enrolled, but he refused to serve, still alleging **that he was a Christian**. He was immediately told that there was no alternative between bearing arms and being put to death. But his fidelity was not to be shaken: "I cannot fight," said he, "if I die." He continued steadfast to his principles, and was consigned to the executioner.

The primitive Christians not only refused to be enlisted in the army, but when any embraced Christianity while already enlisted, they abandoned the profession at whatever cost. Marcellus was a centurion in the legion called Trajana. While holding this commission, he became a Christian; and believing, in common with his fellow Christians, that war was no longer permitted to him, he threw down his belt at the head of the legion, declaring that he had become a Christian, and that he would serve no longer. He was committed to prison; but he was still faithful to Christianity. "It is not lawful," said he, "for a Christian to bear arms for any earthly consideration;" and he was, in consequence, put to death. Almost immediately afterward, Cassian, who was notary to the same legion, gave up his office. He steadfastly maintained the sentiments of Marcellus, and, like him, was consigned to the executioner. Martin, of whom so much is said by Sulpicius Severus, was bred to the profession of arms, which on his acceptance of Christianity, he abandoned. To Julian the Apostate, the only reason that we find he gave for his conduct was this: — "I am a Christian, and therefore I cannot fight." The answer of Tarachus to Numerianus Maximus is in words nearly similar: "I have led a military life and am a Roman; and because I am a Christian I have abandoned my profession of a soldier."

These were not the sentiments, and this was not the conduct of isolated individuals who might be actuated by individual opinion or by their private interpretations of the duties of Christianity. Their principles were the principles of the body. They were recognized and defended by the Christian writers, their contemporaries. Justin Martyr and Tatian talk of soldiers and Christians as distinct characters; and Tatian says that the Christians declined even military commands. Clemens of Alexandria calls his Christian contemporaries the "followers of peace," and expressly tells us "that the followers of peace used none of the implements of war." Lactantius, another early Christian, says expressly, "It can **never** be lawful for a righteous man to go to war." About the end of the second century, Celsus, one of the opponents of Christianity, charged the Christians **with refusing to bear arms even in case of necessity**. Origen, the defender of the Christians, does not think of denying the fact; he admits the refusal, and justifies it, **because war was unlawful**. Even after Christianity had spread over almost the whole of the known world, Tertullian, in speaking of a part of the Roman armies, including more than one-third of the standing legions of Rome, distinctly informs us that "not a Christian could be found among them."

All this is explicit. The evidence of the following fact is, however, yet more determinative and satisfactory. Some of the arguments which at the present day are brought against the advocates of peace, were then urged against these early Christians; and **these arguments are examined and repelled**. This indicates investigation and inquiry, and manifests that their belief of the unlawfulness of war was not a vague opinion hastily admitted and loosely floating among them, but that it was the result of deliberate examination, and a consequent firm conviction that Christ had forbidden it. The very same arguments which are brought in defence of war at the present day, were brought against the Christians sixteen hundred years ago; and, sixteen hundred years ago, they were repelled by these faithful contenders for the purity of our religion. It is remarkable, too, that Tertullian appeals to the precepts from the Mount, in proof of those principles on which we insist:--**that the dispositions which the precepts inculcate are not compatible with war, and that war, therefore, is irreconcilable with Christianity**.



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If it be possible, a still stronger evidence of the primitive belief is contained in the circumstance, that some of the Christian authors **declared that the refusal of the Christians to bear arms** was a fulfillment of ancient prophecy. The peculiar strength of this evidence consists in this,--that the fact of a refusal to bear arms is assumed as notorious and unquestioned. Irenaeus, who lived about the year 180, affirms that the prophecy of Isaiah, which declared that men should turn their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks **had been fulfilled in his time**; “for the Christians,” says he, “have changed their swords and their lances into instruments of peace, and **they know not how to fight.**” Justin Martyr, his contemporary, writes, — “That the prophecy is fulfilled, you have good reason to believe, for we, who in times past killed one another, **do not now fight with our enemies.**” Tertullian, who lived later, says: “You must confess that the prophecy has been accomplished, as far as **the practice of every individual is concerned** to whom it is applicable.”<sup>44</sup>

It is therefore indisputable, that the Christians who lived nearest to the time of our Saviour believed, with undoubting confidence, that he had unequivocally forbidden war; and they openly avowed this belief; and that, in support of it, they were willing to sacrifice, and did sacrifice, their fortunes and their lives.

[Professing] Christians, however, afterward became soldiers, and when?--When their **general** fidelity to Christianity became relaxed; when **in other respects**, they violated its principles; when they had begun “to dissemble,” and “to falsify their word,” and “to cheat;” when “Christian casuists” had persuaded them that they might “**sit at meat in the idol’s temple;**” when [professing] Christians accepted even **the priesthoods of idolatry**. In a word, they became soldiers when they had ceased to be Christians.

The departure from the original faithfulness was, however, not suddenly general. Like every other corruption, war obtained by degrees. **During the first two hundred years, not a Christian soldier is upon record.** In the third century, when Christianity became partially corrupted, Christian soldiers were common. The number increased with the increase of the general profligacy; until at last, in the fourth century, [nominal] Christians became soldiers without hesitation. Here and there, however, an ancient father, still lifted up his voice for peace; but these, one after another, dropping from the world, the tenet that **war is unlawful** ceased at length to be a tenet of the [professing] church.

Let it always be borne in mind by those who are advocating war, that they are contending for a corruption which their forefathers abhorred; and that they are making Jesus Christ the sanctioner of crimes, which his primitive followers offered up their lives because they would not commit.

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**Extracted from Dymond’s book “An Inquiry into the Accordancy of War with the Principles of Christianity” (London, 1821)**

### READ ABOUT WAR

44. These examples might be multiplied. Enough, however, have been given to establish our position, and the reader who desires further or more immediate information, is referred to JUSTIN MART. in Dialog. cum. Tryph. ejusdemque Apolog. 2 -- ad Zenam: TERTULL. de corona militis. -- Apolog. cap 21 and 37. -- lib. de Idol. c. 17, 18, 19. -- ad Scapulum cap. 1. adversus Jud. cap. 7 and 9. -- adv. Gnost. 13. -- adv. Marc. c. 4. -- lib. de patient, c. 6. 10: ORIG. cont. CELSUM lib. 3, 5, 8. — — In Josuam, hom. 12. cap. 9. -- in Mat. cap. 26. Tract 36: CYPR. Epist. 56 -- ad Cornel. Lactan. de just. lib. 5. c. 18. lib. 6. c. 20: AMBR. in Luc. 22. CHRYSOST. in Matt. 5. hom. 18. -- in Matth. 26. hom. 85. -- lib. 2. de Sacerdotio. 1 Cor. 13: CROMAT, in Matt. 5. HIERON ad Ocean. -- lib. Epist. p. 3. tom. 1. Ep. 2: ATHAN. de Inc. Verb. Dei: CYRILL. ALEX. lib. 11. in Johan. cap. 25, 26. See also ERASMUS, Luc. cap. 3, and 22. Ludov. Vives in Introd. ad Sap: I FERUS lib. 4 Comment in Matth. 7 and Luc. 22.



**QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

**QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

**1823**



[Friend Jonathan Dymond](#)'s AN INQUIRY INTO THE ACCORDANCY OF WAR WITH THE PRINCIPLES OF CHRISTIANITY; AND AN EXAMINATION OF THE PHILOSOPHICAL REASONING BY WHICH IT IS DEFENDED; WITH OBSERVATIONS ON SOME OF THE CAUSES OF WAR AND ON SOME OF ITS EFFECTS (Philadelphia: Tract Association of Friends, between 1823 and 1825). [Bound in with this volume, eventually, as it now exists as a book on the shelf of a research library, would be A LETTER TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES TOUCHING THE MATTER OF SLAVERY / BY THEODORE PARKER, a tract which would be issued in Boston in 1848 by J. Munroe.] Thomas Hancock remarked that this volume "completed succeeded in overthrowing the delusive and pernicious doctrines of Paley, with regard to 'expediency' as a rule of conduct either for states or individuals."

**WILLIAM PALEY**

**THEODORE PARKER**

**THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**



**QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

**QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

**AN INQUIRY INTO  
THE ACCORDANCY OF WAR  
WITH THE  
PRINCIPLES OF CHRISTIANITY,  
AND  
AN EXAMINATION OF THE PHILOSOPHICAL REASONING BY WHICH IT IS DEFENDED.  
WITH OBSERVATIONS ON SOME OF THE CAUSES OF WAR AND ON SOME OF ITS EFFECTS.  
BY JONATHAN DYMOND.**

Contempt prior to examination, however comfortable to the mind which entertains it, or how ever natural to great parts, is extremely dangerous; and more apt than almost any other disposition, to produce erroneous judgments both of persons and opinions.-PALEY.

**PHILADELPHIA: URIAH HUNT & SON, No. 62 NORTH FOURTH STREET  
JACOB SMEDLEY, JR., 304 ARCH STREET.  
COLLINS & BROTHER, NEW YORK.  
EPHRAIM MORGAN & SON CINCINNATI.  
CUSHING & BROTHER, BALTIMORE.<sup>1</sup>**

1. Another source alleges that the 1st edition of AN ENQUIRY, ETC. was printed in London in 1823 without the author's name. The 3rd edition "corrected and enlarged" was published in 1824. It was republished in Philadelphia in 1834 with notes by Thomas S. Grimké, and again in 1835, that being referred to as the 4th edition.

**READ THIS BOOK**




**QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

**QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

**1825**

 [Friend Jonathan Dymond](#)'s OBSERVATIONS ON THE APPLICABILITY OF THE PACIFIC PRINCIPLES OF THE NEW TESTAMENT TO THE CONDUCT OF STATES, AND ON THE LIMITATIONS WHICH THOSE PRINCIPLES IMPOSE ON THE RIGHTS OF SELF-DEFENCE<sup>45</sup> argued against any recourse to force, even in self-defense. It was from this treatise that the Reverend Samuel Joseph May obtained his characterization of the ethos of the opponent to the philosophy of nonresistance, "that it is lawful to do evil that good may come."



**THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

45. The Reverend Samuel Joseph May would publish the initial American edition of this work.



**QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

**QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

**1829**

 [Friend Jonathan Dymond](#)'s ESSAYS ON THE PRINCIPLES OF MORALITY was printed posthumously in London.<sup>46</sup>

**READ THIS BOOK**

**WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE**  
**THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

46. The ESSAYS ON THE PRINCIPLES OF MORALITY including an essay on War. A very large number of editions would follow. A New-York edition would appear in 1834, and another in 1844. The "Essay on War" has many times been reprinted by itself, and John Bright has prepared an introduction. In 1896 the Book Committee of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends put out the edition ESSAYS ON THE PRINCIPLES OF MORALITY: AND ON THE PRIVATE AND POLITICAL RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS OF MANKIND / BY JONATHAN DYMOND which is here reproduced in its entirety.






QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1831

 The charges for board and tuition at the [Yearly Meeting School](#) for young [Quaker](#) scholars in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) had been dropping steadily, and at this point had been cut in half, to \$50 per year. A north wing had been added in the rear of the original building, the “Classical Building,” as indicated, to house an “academic department” (now known as the Upper School).





## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

### GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

John Comly published, in Philadelphia in two volumes, THE WORKS OF THAT EMINENT MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL, [JOB SCOTT](#), LATE OF [PROVIDENCE](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#).

#### JOB SCOTT WORKS I

#### APPENDIX

#### SALVATION BY CHRIST

#### FURTHER CONSIDERED

#### OPENINGS OF TRUTH

#### JOB SCOTT WORKS II

#### TENDER CAUTION

#### ONE TRUE GOD

#### ON PERSEVERANCE

#### REWARD / PUNISHMENT

#### ON BAPTISM

#### LIBERTY / NECESSITY

The Reverend [Henry C. Wright](#)'s later books would attribute his conversion to pacifism to a chance encounter he had at this point in time with some old [Quaker](#) man of [Providence](#). According to Wright's later account of the conversation, the old man's persuasive ploy in regard to the Peace Testimony of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) was to twit or tease him: were he to kill someone in self-defense, obviously as a Christian he would need to do so "with love," no? (However, it is unlikely that Wright's conversion to pacifism was so sudden and single-caused as he later would make it out to have been, for in fact in the previous year he had begun a notebook on peace and war, and in this notebook we find that he was already thinking that Jesus's injunctions not to retaliate or do harm to others in response to their harmfulness to you were injunctions which applied not only to individuals but also to governments. For so long as governments maintained themselves by force, he had been theorizing, it would be improper for the Christian even to cast a ballot.)

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)




QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1834

 In New-York, Harper & Brothers put out a new edition of [Friend Jonathan Dymond](#)'s ESSAYS ON THE PRINCIPLES OF MORALITY, AND ON THE PRIVATE AND POLITICAL RIGHTS OF MANKIND. At Harvard College in 1837, student [David Henry Thoreau](#) would consult this volume while preparing an essay for Professor Edward Tyrrell Channing's class.

PRINCIPLES OF MORALITY

The London publishing house of Harvey and Darton reprinted extracts from Friend Jonathan's ESSAYS ON THE PRINCIPLES OF MORALITY ... retitled as THE CHURCH AND THE CLERGY: SHOWING THAT RELIGIOUS ESTABLISHMENTS DERIVE NO COUNTENANCE FROM THE NATURE OF CHRISTIANITY AND THAT THEY ARE NOT RECOMMENDED BY PUBLIC UTILITY: WITH SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE CHURCH ESTABLISHMENT OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND, AND ON THE SYSTEM OF TITHES / BY JONATHAN DYMOND.

READ THIS BOOK

Also, Friend Jonathan's AN INQUIRY INTO THE ACCORDANCY OF WAR WITH THE PRINCIPLES OF CHRISTIANITY: AND AN EXAMINATION OF THE PHILOSOPHICAL REASONING BY WHICH IT IS DEFENDED, WITH OBSERVATIONS ON SOME OF THE CAUSES OF WAR AND ON SOME OF ITS EFFECTS / BY JONATHAN DYMOND, PHILANTHROPOS / PUBLISHED BY WILLIAM BROWN, PRINTER.

READ THIS BOOK

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE

ESSENCES ARE FUZZY, GENERIC, CONCEPTUAL;  
ARISTOTLE WAS RIGHT WHEN HE INSISTED THAT ALL TRUTH IS  
SPECIFIC AND PARTICULAR (AND WRONG WHEN HE CHARACTERIZED  
TRUTH AS A GENERALIZATION).



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

### GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM



March 8, Saturday: [William Lloyd Garrison](#) reviewed, in [The Liberator](#), the 1st American edition of [Friend Jonathan Dymond](#)'s ESSAYS ON THE PRINCIPLES OF MORALITY, AND ON THE PRIVATE AND POLITICAL RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS OF MANKIND. BY JONATHAN DYMOND ... WITH A PREFACE BY THE REV. G. BUSH [1796-1859] (NY: Harper & Brothers). Terming Friend Jonathan "the Lord Bacon of our times," Garrison recommended the power and perception of this book as "almost super-human." This British Friend's thoughts finally were reaching their American audience!

### READ THIS BOOK

It was in this manner that Friend Jonathan's thoughts on "Civil Obedience" (Essay III, Chapter 5) and [the Quaker Peace Testimony](#) reached an American audience. The page header for one of the pages of the chapter on "Civil Obedience" (Essay III, Chapter 5) was "RESISTANCE TO THE CIVIL POWER," and at that point the author was observing that "satisfactory knowledge may be deduced respecting **resistance** to the civil power," that the true and original Christian will, where appropriate, such as in regard to "acts of bloodshed and violence, or instigations to such acts," decline to participate. This would constitute a "resistance to ... civil power" based upon "non-compliance":

When the first Christians refused obedience to some of the existing authorities, — they did not resist. They exemplified their own precepts, — to prefer the will of God before all; and if this preference subjected them to evils, to bear them without violating other portions of His will in order to ward them off.

### WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*7th day 8th of 3rd M / I do not remember to have been more seriously struck than I was this Morning on reading in the [Newport](#) Paper Notices of the death of Catherine T Jordan aged 29 Years in Hudson where She lived with her husband — & also of Catherine F Bailey aged 26 wife of Saml Bailey & daughter of our next door neighbour E Pascal Faisnear — With Catherine Jordan I have known & been acquainted from her childhood — she was when a child a dilligent Attender of Friends Meeting in [Newport](#) & seldom Missed being there with her Mother on First days & she & her Husband are intimate acquaintances of our Son John in Hudson — Hannah T Bailey we have also known from her infancy & was a very pleasant pretty & clever girl & play Mate with John living side by side we were in habits of intimacy Both were in the bloom & blush of life both called away at an early age & well may we say, in the Midst of life we are in death — Man cometh up like a flower & is cut down, & to whom shall we seek for Succor but from Thee O God. — This language with several passages of Scripture have dwelt much on my Mind thro' the day. — I have also noticed in this evenings paper the decease of Doctor Gustavas Baylies who I well remember as a practitioner in [Newport](#) when I was a boy, The paper says he was 70 Years old, but from his appearance then I should think he was older. — he Died at Newtown on Lng Island. —*

### RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

[GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM](#)



December 20, Saturday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*7th day 20 of 12 M / My mind has been favoured this Morning with  
a degree of life for which I desire to be thankful*

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

According to a notice in the [Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle](#) etc. of Portsmouth, England for February 16, Monday, 1835 and in the [Caledonian Mercury](#) of Edinburgh, Scotland for February 19, Thursday, 1835, on this day the British troop-ship containing [Captain John Thoreau](#) of the 37th Regiment of Foot was departing from the island of Jamaica in the Caribbean, intending to head for the harbor of Portsmouth, England: “The *Athol*, troop-ship, Mr. Karley, Master-Commander, arrived on Sunday, in 23 days from New Providence. She left Jamaica Dec. 20, and brought home a company of the Royal Artillery” and in addition four passengers including “Capt. Thoreau of the 37th Regiment.”<sup>47</sup>

We need not inquire as to whether Captain John and scholar David Henry were relatives by blood, as that might have been the case or might not have been the case but in any event matters not, not a whit, neither to them nor to us. What we need to ask of ourselves is whether or not we might be persuaded that a strong disjunction exists between the life of such a military person living upon expectation of eventual arrival in a home port and/or upon expectation of eventual promotion to a next higher ranking, on the one foot, and the sort of life that was here being recommended to us by this [Harvard College](#) teenage scholar. —Because, if such a strong disjunction might be made out to exist, then also, the advice being offered to us above might be made out to be at least in part an expression of a [Peace Testimony](#): that this recommended feminine enjoyment of “life as it passes” is more consistent with a peaceable life than with the much admired manly spit-and-polish blood-and-guts way of the warrior.

[David Henry Thoreau](#)’s Harvard College assignment was to write an essay on the topic “The different ideas we form of men whose pursuit is Money, Power, Distinction, Domestic Happiness, Public Good.” Quoting Alexander Pope’s “Essay on Man,” Thoreau’s reaction, in part, was:

Aristocrats may say what they please, liberty and equal rights are and ever will be grateful, till nature herself shall change; and he who is ambitious to exercise authority over his fellow beings, with no view to their benefit or injury, is to be regarded as actuated by peculiarly selfish motives. Self-gratification must be his sole object. Perhaps he is desirous that his name may be handed down to posterity, that in after ages something more may be said of him, than that he lived, and died. He may be influenced by still baser motives; he may take delight in the enjoyment of power merely, and feel a kind of satisfaction at the thought that he can command and be obeyed. It is evident then that he, who thus influenced, attains at last the summit of his wishes, will be a curse upon mankind. His deeds may never be forgotten; but is this greatness? If so, may I pass through life unheeded and unknown.

“But grant that those can conquer; these can cheat;

47. 37th (North Hampshire) Regiment of Foot.





**QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

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**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**





**QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

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**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

'Tis phrase absurd to call a villain great."



*When we hear it said of a man that Money is the idol which he worships ... we figure to ourselves one who is continually striving after something which he is destined never to obtain, and who does not enjoy life as it passes, but lives upon expectation. In short, one who has painted to himself an imaginary Elysium, towards which no step in his progress brings him nearer.*






**QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

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**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

**1836**

 3d English edition of [Friend Jonathan Dymond](#)'s ESSAYS ON THE PRINCIPLES OF MORALITY:  
AND ON THE PRIVATE AND POLITICAL RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS OF MANKIND / BY JONATHAN DYMOND  
(Printed for Hamilton, Adams).



Courage is not indicated most unequivocally by wearing swords or by wielding them. Many who have courage enough to take up arms against a bad government have not courage enough to resist it by the unbending firmness of the mind, – to maintain a tranquil fidelity to virtue in opposition to power; or to endure, with serenity, the consequences which may follow.

**THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

**READ A LATER EDITION**

Another edition of Friend Jonathan's AN INQUIRY INTO THE ACCORDANCY OF WAR WITH THE PRINCIPLES OF CHRISTIANITY, &C.

**THE ACCORDANCY OF WAR**

**ESSENCE IS BLUR. SPECIFICITY,  
THE OPPOSITE OF ESSENCE,  
IS OF THE NATURE OF TRUTH.**



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1839



September 14, Saturday: With the Thoreau brothers back in town, [Waldo Emerson](#) heard of their great summer adventure down the Concord River and up the [Middlesex Canal](#) and the Merrimack River, possibly from [Dr. Josiah Bartlett](#), and considered that it must truly have been a learning experience, of a class with being able to grow up as a farm boy rather than a city boy:

*An education in things is not: we are all involved in the condemnation of words, an Age of words. We are shut up in schools & college recitation rooms for ten or fifteen years & come out at last with a bellyfull of words & do not know a thing. We cannot use our hands or our legs or our eyes or our arms. We do not know an edible root in the woods. We cannot tell our course by the stars nor the hour of the day by the sun. It is well if we can swim & skate. We are afraid of a horse, of a cow, of a dog, of a cat, of a spider. Far better was the Roman rule to teach a boy nothing that he could not learn standing. Now here are my wise young neighbors who instead of getting like the wordmen into a railroad-car where they have not even the activity of holding the reins, have got into a boat which they have built with their own hands, with sails which they have contrived to serve as a tent by night, & gone up the river Merrimack to live by their wits on the fish of the stream & the berries of the wood. My worthy neighbor Dr Bartlett expressed a true parental instinct when he desired to send his boy with them to learn something. the farm, the farm is the right school. The reason of my deep respect for the farmer is that he is a realist & not a dictionary. The farm is a piece of the world, the School house is not. The farm by training the physical rectifies & invigorates the metaphysical & moral nature.*

Between this day and the 17th, [Waldo Emerson](#) manifested to his journal that his readings about the [Peace Testimony](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) had left him in the approximate state of awareness of a 9-year-old boy playing with a sabre made out of a stick:

*I do not like to speak to the Peace Society if so I am to restrain me in so extreme a privilege as the use of the sword & bullet. For the peace of the man who has forsworn the use of the bullet seems to me not quite peace, but a canting impotence: but with knife & pistol in my hands, if I, from greater bravery & honor, cast them aside, then I know the glory of peace.*



**QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

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**1846**

The reprinting, in Boston, of [Friend Jonathan Dymond](#)'s DYMOND ON WAR or CAUSES OF WAR as Publication Number LVII by the American Peace Society).

**READ THIS BOOK**

**THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**  
**WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE**



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1847

January 15, Thursday: The [Religious Society of Friends](#) of Pennsylvania and [New Jersey](#), etc., authorized the Clerk of their meeting to send a petition to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled, expressing the society's condemnation of the current war against our neighbor Mexico:

The memorial of the Representatives of the Religious Society of Friends, commonly called Quakers, in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, &c.,

Respectfully represents:

That firmly believing as we do in the truth and divine authority of the Christian religion as set forth and explained in the precepts of our Lord and his apostles, and exemplified in their lives and conduct, we are constrained to consider all wars, whatever their ostensible object may be, as originating in the unbridled passions of men, which it is the one great object of our holy religion to regulate and control; and as irreconcilable with the tenor and spirit of the gospel, which was ushered in by the angelic anthem of Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men. The injunction of our blessed Redeemer, "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you, and persecute you," is of primary and perpetual obligation, and contains a prohibition of the passions and feelings in which wars are unavoidably prosecuted, too forcible and direct to be shaken by argument or entangled by sophistry; and that his petition for his persecutors when expiring on the cross, "Father forgive them for they know not what they do," furnishes an illustration too clear to be mistaken of the genuine spirit of Christianity.

Situated as the people of the United States under the favor of an all bountiful Providence happily are, with a country possessing almost every variety of climate and soil, and which by its varied extensive and increasing productions offers to foreign nations much greater advantages from peaceful commerce than they can possibly expect from hostile aggression, we are under strong and peculiar obligation to appreciate the blessings we enjoy, and to manifest our gratitude to the Giver of every good and perfect gift, by cultivating peace among ourselves, and promoting the virtue and happiness of all who fall within the sphere of our influence.

There is probably no other nation on the surface of the globe, which possesses in an equal degree with the people of the United States, the means and the opportunity of holding up to the world, the example of a nation devoting its energies and resources entirely to the improvement of its moral and social condition, and to the maintenance of peace throughout the world; and commensurate with that opportunity must be our condemnation, if we suffer it to pass unimproved.

Entertaining these sentiments in relation to war in general, and of the duty incumbent on the people of the United States, we



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### GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

trust we shall not be charged with being actuated by party or political motives, or with hostility to the government under which we live, when we express our unwavering conviction, that the contest now waged with a neighboring nation, when examined by the standard which the religion of our Lord and Savior has given us, forms no exception to the character of wars at large, and must fall under like condemnation.

Deploring as we do, the deterioration of morals incident to national contests, and the sufferings of our fellow men dying in camps, with few of those alleviations which their condition demands, or bleeding on the field amidst the confusion and uproar of contending armies, and the numbers thus hurried without preparation to their everlasting account; regretting that the bounties of a munificent Providence, and the hard-earned productions of the laboring classes should be wasted and melted away in the profuse expenditures of war; believing that the best interests of our beloved country would be essentially promoted by the restoration of peace, and that no injuries past or prospective which could be sustained while the relations of peace are maintained can be compared with the evils unavoidably resulting from war; and fervently desiring that the rulers of this great and growing republic may experience, in the administration of its numerous and complicated concerns, a portion of the wisdom which comes from above, "and which is first pure, then peaceable, gentle and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits," we respectfully but earnestly solicit the government to adopt with the least possible delay, efficient measures to stop the effusion of blood, and restore to the North American continent the blessings of peace.

Signed on behalf and by direction of a meeting of the representatives of the Religious Society of Friends in Pennsylvania, &c., held in Philadelphia, the 15th of the First month, 1847.

William Evans, Clerk

WAR ON MEXICO

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1852

March 6, Saturday: [Henry Thoreau](#) recollected a conversation he had had with a young Englishman in the Citadel of [Québec](#), about the preparations for war that surrounded them, during which he had failed to suppress half a smile, and had verbally expressed some of his surprise. This ruddy young man, who possibly was a chaplain in the army, detected that his visitor was not all that much impressed by all this “primed and cocked” for war tomfoolery — and suggested in derogation that perhaps Thoreau was of the sort that embraced the [Peace Testimony](#) of the [Quakers](#).



March 6, Saturday: Hontan hunting moose (*original*) in Canada in 1686 says – facing a cruel north wind in winter – “one of my soldiers told me that it was necessary to have blood of *eau-de-vie*, body of brass–& eyes of glass, to resist a cold so sharp (*âpre*)”

LAHONTAN

3 Pm to Harringtons.

Old Mr Joe. Hosmer chopping wood at his door. He is full of meat had a crack with him. I told him I was studying lichens pointing to his wood. He thought I meant the wood itself. Well he supposed he'd had more to do with wood than I had. Now said he there are two kind's of white oak. Most people would'nt notice it. When I've been chopping, say along in march after the sap begins to start, Ill sometimes come to an oak that will color my axe steel blue like a sword blade– Well that oak is fine grained & heavier than the common –and I call it blue white-oak– for no other blues my axe so. Then there are two kinds of black oak – or yellow-bark – one is the mean black oak or bastard. Then there's a kind of red-oak smells like urine 3 or 4 days old.– It was really respectable in him that he avoided using the vulgar name of this oak– In an old man like him – it was a true delicacy. Of this red oak he told me a story. There was old Mr Joe Derby– He came after houses were built– He settled near the present Derby place– Well his mantel tree was very large of red oak –hewn square– they used wood in those days. And in course of time it had become charred with heat & you could break coals off it. He could remember the house – it was more than a hundred years old. Well when they pulled it down old Mr Derby told him that he split it up and put {*One-half page missing*} ... been the track of an otter near the clam-shell hill –for it looks too large for a mink– nearly an inch & a half in diameter & nearly round. Occasionally it looked as if a rail had been drawn along through the thin snow over the ice with faint foot prints at long intervals. I saw where he came out of a hole in the ice & track him 40 rods to where he went into another. Saw where he appeared to have been sliding.

Found 3 or 4 *Parmelias* (*caperata*) in fruit on a white oak on the high river bank between Tarbels & Harrington's {*One-half page missing*} ... I remember a few words that I had with a young Englishman in the citadel who politely undertook to do the honors of Quebec to me – whose clear glowing English complexion I can still see – perhaps he was a chaplain in the army– In answer to his information I looked round with a half suppressed smile at those preparations for war– Quebec all primed & cocked for it – and at length expressed some of my surprise. Perhaps you hold the opinions of the Quakers he replied. I thought, if there was any difference between us, it might be that I was born in modern times.





**QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

**QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

**1855**

According to THE RECORDS OF THE COLONY OF NEW PLYMOUTH IN NEW ENGLAND, THE STORY HOW SAMUEL GORTON FOUGHT IN THE PEQUOT WAR, published in this year or the following one in Boston by Nathaniel Bradstreet Shurtleff, [Samuell Gorton](#) had taken part in the 1637 extermination of the Pequot. (If this source be accurate, and it also be accurate as has been alleged, that later on in life Gorton would find himself in sympathy with [the Quaker Peace Testimony](#) as this testimony was pioneered in 1661 by Friend George Fox and others — then these two circumstances would presumably indicate that Gorton was under the influence of the Friends rather than vice versa.)



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

[GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM](#)

1856

Charles Plummer Tidd, in search of excitement, emigrated to Kansas with the party of Dr. Calvin Cutter of Worcester.



(After joining John Brown's party at Tabor in 1857 he would become one of the followers of "Shubel Morgan" who returned to Kansas in 1858 to raid into Missouri. During the Winter 1857-1858 encampment of the Brown forces in the Iowa Territory, he would "ruin" a [Quaker](#) girl and the other members of the team would need to sneak him away from Springdale IA during the night. Nevertheless, the group would obtain some recruits not overly impressed with the Peace Testimony of George Fox from among the residents of this town, such as the brothers [Barclay Coppoc](#) and [Edwin Coppoc](#).

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

Tidd and John E. Cook would be particularly warm friends. He opposed the attack on Harpers Ferry but nevertheless took part both in the raid on the planter Washington's home and on the federal arsenal itself, escaped, and made his way on foot toward the northwestern part of Pennsylvania. He and John Brown's son Owen Brown would find work and safety, under assumed names, on an oil well in the vicinity of Crawford County PA. He would visit Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Canada and take part in the planning for the rescue of [Aaron D. Stevens](#) and Albert Hazlett while the Mason Commission of the Congress was presuming him to have been killed in the fighting at Harpers Ferry. On July 19, 1861 he would be able to enlist under the name "Charles Plummer" and would become a 1st Sergeant of the 21st Massachusetts Volunteers. On February 8, 1862 he would die of fever aboard the transport *Northerner* during the battle of Roanoke Island, a battle he had particularly wished to take part in because ex-Governor Henry A. Wise of Virginia, the nemesis of the Harpers Ferry raiders, was in command of the Confederates. Charles Plummer Tidd's grave is #40 in the National Cemetery in New Berne NC.)



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

[GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM](#)

1857

The mulatto Lewis Sheridan Leary went to Oberlin, Ohio to live.



(He would marry there and make the acquaintance of John Brown in Cleveland. To go to Harpers Ferry, he would leave behind his wife with a 6-month-old child at Oberlin, she being in ignorance of the purpose of his trip. He was given funds to go from Oberlin to Chambersburg in the company of his nephew [John Anderson Copeland, Jr.](#), a student at Oberlin College. He would get isolated along with his nephew and John Henry Kagi



in the armory called Hall's Rifle Works. When the three men would make a run for it, heading down to the Shenandoah River, they would get themselves caught in a crossfire, and after Kagi had been killed and Leary shot several times, he would be taken, his wounds so severe that he would die the following morning. He would be able to dictate messages to his family and is reported as saying "I am ready to die." The Leary child would subsequently be educated by James Redpath and Wendell Phillips.)

Charles Plummer Tidd joined John Brown's party at Tabor, Kansas.



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

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[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

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## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

### GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

November: There was an Underground Railroad line, the “stations” of which were Salem in Southeastern Iowa, Tabor, Lewis, Des Moines, Grinnel, Iowa City, West Liberty, Springdale, the [Quaker](#) community outside Iowa City, Tipton, Dewitt, and Clinton. During the early winter John Brown hiked crosscountry from Tabor to Springdale with his group (Brown’s son Owen Brown, John Edwin Cook, John Henry Kagi, William H. Leeman, Charles Moffett, Luke F. Parsons, Richard Realf, Richard Richardson, [Aaron D. Stevens](#), and Charles Plummer Tidd, plus some runaway slaves). The trip had required 25 days. A [Quaker](#) elder is reported to have said to Brown, “Thou art welcome to tarry among us but we have no use for thy guns.” Friend John Painter, later the founder of Pasadena, California, was the only local [Quaker](#) we now know to have had knowledge of the violence of Brown’s plan. He said, “Friend, I can’t give thee money to buy powder and lead but here’s \$20 toward thy expenses.”

### THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

William and Delilah Maxson of North Liberty, a community about three miles to the northeast of Springdale, who were not Quakers, agreed to provide board for the group in their substantial home at the rate of \$1.50 per week per person, not including laundry or extra candles, and to take payment not in cash but in the wagons and teams the group had been using to transport rifles and pikes. William Maxson was aware of the violence of Brown’s plan, but not being a Quaker, he had no objection. The Maxsons and the escaped slaves slept in the large cellar, and John Brown had a room on the main floor for the short intervals during which he was in town that winter, and the white men with him slept in the garret. Maria Todd, who would become the wife of Elza Maxson, also slept in that cellar during that winter. The Maxsons and [Aaron D. Stevens](#) were spiritualists. A mock legislature was staged on Tuesdays and Thursdays in the big west room of the Maxson home until so many neighbors attended that they needed to convene at the community’s brick schoolhouse. Parliamentary rules were enforced and the topics engaged with included war, partisan politics, human enslavement, political and civil rights for American blacks, college education and civil rights for women, banking laws, prohibitory liquor laws, mechanics, theology, natural philosophy, and, of course, spiritualism. During the winter the forenoons were spent in military studies and [Stevens](#), known as Colonel Whipple, led drills in which the men carried wooden swords and pikes and maneuvered on the front lawn. The evenings were given over to reading in books such as PLUTARCH’S LIVES, writing letters, and debating. John Henry Kagi offered instruction in shorthand. That winter, [Stevens](#) was a frequent visitor at the home of Moses Varney. His daughter, Anna Varney Phelps, would tell of sitting on Stephens’ knee while, with tears rolling down his cheeks, he would sing in his beautiful tenor, “Will they miss me at home, Mother? Will they miss me?”



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

### GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

November: During the winter encampment of Captain Brown's forces in the Iowa Territory, Charles Plummer Tidd "ruined" a [Quaker](#) girl (something about which the local Quakers do not like to speak) and the other members of the team needed to sneak him away from Springdale IA during the night. Nevertheless, the group was able



to obtain some recruits not overly impressed with the Peace Testimony of Friend [George Fox](#) from among the residents of this town, such as the brothers [Barclay Coppoc](#) and [Edwin Coppoc](#).



### THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

(Charles Plummer Tidd would become one of the followers of "Shubel Morgan" who would return to Kansas in 1858 to raid into Missouri. He and John Edwin Cook would be particularly warm friends. He opposed the attack on Harpers Ferry but nevertheless would take part both in the raid on the planter Washington's home and on the federal arsenal itself, escape, and make his way on foot toward the northwestern part of Pennsylvania. He and Owen Brown would find work and safety, under assumed names, on an oil well in the vicinity of Crawford County, Pennsylvania. He would visit Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Canada and take part in the planning for the rescue of [Aaron D. Stevens](#) and Albert Hazlett while the Mason Commission of the Congress was presuming that he had been killed in the fighting at Harpers Ferry. On July 19, 1861 he would be able to enlist under the name "Charles Plummer" and would become a 1st Sergeant of the 21st Massachusetts Volunteers. On February 8, 1862 he would die of fever aboard the transport *Northerner* during the battle of Roanoke Island, a battle he had particularly wished to take part in because ex-Governor Henry A. Wise of Virginia, the nemesis of the Harpers Ferry raiders, was in command of the Confederates. You may view Charles Plummer Tidd's grave as #40 in the National Cemetery in New Berne, [North Carolina](#).)



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

[Go To MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM](#)

December 18, Friday: [Friend Daniel Ricketson](#) in Concord, to his journal:



*Took tea with Thoreau and spent the evening with him and his father's family. Parker Pillsbury, the anti-slavery lecturer, there. Took Channing's room for lodging, hard bed, poor sleep. Cleared this P.M.*







## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

[GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM](#)

### Carleton Mabee's BLACK FREEDOM

Americans at large often held the abolitionists responsible for the war. They argued that the abolitionists' long agitation, strident as it often was, had antagonized the South into secession, thus beginning the war, and that the abolitionists' insistence that the war should not end until all slavery had been abolished kept the war going. In 1863 the widely read New York Herald made the charge devastatingly personal. It specified that by being responsible for the war, each abolitionist had in effect already killed one man and permanently disabled four others. ... While [William Lloyd Garrison](#) preferred voluntary emancipation, during the war he came to look with tolerance on the abolition of slavery by military necessity, saying that from seeming evil good may come. Similarly, the Garrisonian-[Quaker](#) editor, Oliver Johnson, while also preferring voluntary emancipation, pointed out that no reform ever triumphed except through mixed motives. But the Garrisonian lecturer Pillsbury was contemptuous of such attitudes. Freeing the slaves by military necessity would be of no benefit to the slave, he said in 1862, and the next year when the Emancipation Proclamation was already being put into effect, he said that freeing the slaves by military necessity could not create permanent peace. Parker Pillsbury won considerable support for his view from abolitionist meetings and from abolitionist leaders as well. Veteran Liberator writer Edwin Percy Whipple insisted that "true welfare" could come to the American people "only through a **willing** promotion of justice and freedom." [Henry C. Wright](#) repeatedly said that only ideas, not bullets, could permanently settle the question of slavery. The recent Garrisonian convert, the young orator Ezra Heywood, pointed out that a government that could abolish slavery as a military necessity had no antislavery principles and could therefore re-establish slavery if circumstances required it. The Virginia aristocrat-turned-abolitionist, [Moncure Daniel Conway](#), had misgivings that if emancipation did not come before it became a fierce necessity, it would not reflect true benevolence and hence could not produce true peace. The Philadelphia wool merchant, [Quaker Alfred H. Love](#), asked, "Can so sublime a virtue as ... freedom ... be the offspring of so corrupt a parentage as war?" The long-time abolitionist [Abby Kelley](#)—the speak-inner and Underground Railroader—predicted flatly, if the slave is freed only out of consideration for the safety of the Union, "the hate of the colored race will still continue, and the poison of that wickedness will destroy us as a nation." Amid the searing impact of the war—the burning fields, the mangled bodies, the blood-splattered hills and fields—a few abolitionists had not forgotten their fundamental belief that to achieve humanitarian reform, particularly if it was to be thorough and permanent reform, the methods used to achieve it must be consistent with the nature of the reform. ... What abolitionists often chose to brush aside was that after the war most blacks would still be living in the South, among the same Confederates whom they were now trying to kill.

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)



**QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

**QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

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**1862**

[Friend Alfred H. Love](#)'s AN APPEAL IN VINDICATION OF PEACE PRINCIPLES, AND AGAINST RESISTANCE BY FORCE OF ARMS (Philadelphia: Maas and Vogdes).

**THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

Professor [William Henry Harvey](#)'s *PHYCOLOGIA AUSTRALICA* (London: Volume 4, plates 181-240). Also, his "Notice of a collection of algae made on the northwest coast of North America, chiefly at Vancouver's Island, by David Lyall, Esq., M.D., R.N., in the years 1859-1861," in [Journal of the Linnaean Society Bot.](#) (6:157-177). Also, [Friend William](#)'s religious views as expressed in correspondence with his friend Josiah Gough were published in the form CHARLES AND JOSIAH: OR FRIENDLY CONVERSATIONS BETWEEN A CHURCHMAN AND A [QUAKER](#) (Dublin: Hodges, Smith and Co. Grafton-Street; London:—Bell and Daldy).

**CHARLES AND JOSIAH**



**QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

**QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

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**1863**

Friend Alfred Henry Love was drafted into the Union army and refused to hire a substitute.

**THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**




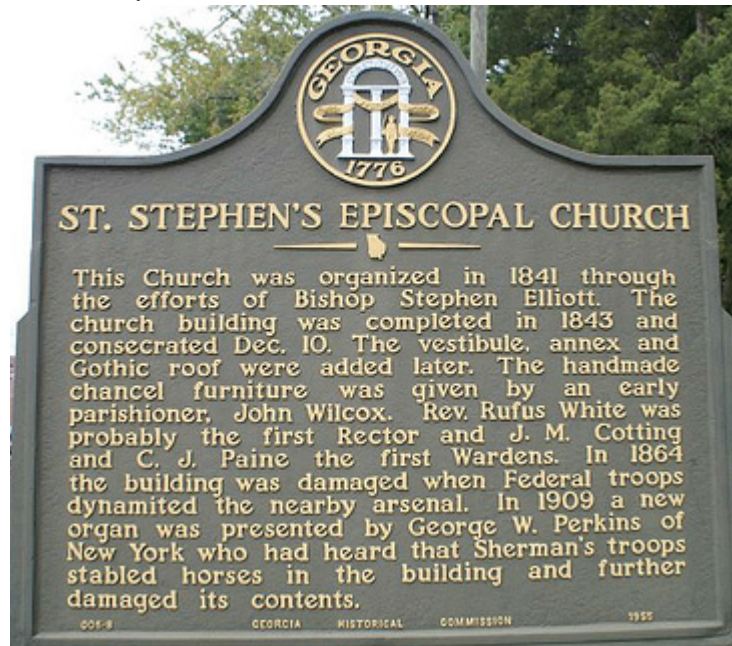
## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

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1864

 The Episcopal church structure in Georgia that had been established through the efforts of Bishop [Stephen Elliott, Jr.](#) was damaged when Federal troops led by General William Tecumseh Sherman stabled their horses in it, and dynamited a nearby arsenal.<sup>48</sup>



No mention would be made of the Civil War in Flushing Monthly Meeting minutes, even at the height of the conflict. Flushing [Quakers](#) joined with New York [Yearly Meeting](#) in resisting the payment of war taxes, although they declared this to be not an act of disloyalty to the Union but instead merely an expression of their loyalty to the Quaker Peace Testimony.

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

48. This is not the Professor [Stephen Elliott](#) of South Carolina whose botany textbook Henry Thoreau consulted, but his son.



**QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

**QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

**1865**

December: In a reaction against the compromising tactics adopted by the American Peace Society during the civil war, a Universal Peace Union was launched in Boston, planned by the Reverend [Adin Ballou](#), [Henry C. Wright](#), [Friend Alfred Henry Love](#), [Friend Lucretia Mott](#), [Elizabeth Buffum Chace](#), and [William Lloyd Garrison](#). This group favored amending the US Constitution to remove the power to make war.

**THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

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**1866**

Publication of [THE FIGHTING QUAKERS](#). This book recounts the services of three Quaker soldiers during the US Civil War. The two brothers, Edward and John Ketcham, were in a dilemma about whether to enlist or remain home with their aged and widowed mother and maintain the farm. It was determined that one should enlist and they cast lots. Fate allowed Edward to join the 120th New York Infantry as a lieutenant. Yet, the urge to serve overwhelmed John and he arranged matters at home and joined his cousin's, Captain Nehemiah Hallock Mann's, company as a lieutenant in the 4th New York Cavalry. The book consists of letters from brother to brother, sons to mother, and excerpts from Edward's diary which are pieced together by Duganne's commentary. Covered in the book are the battle of Chancellorsville, the march to Gettysburg, the cavalry fights at Aldie, Middleburg, and Upperville, and the battle of Gettysburg in which Edward is killed. John finds and buries him on the battlefield and is in position to witness Pickett's charge. John is captured at Raccoon Ford later in 1863, while Captain Mann is killed in fighting near Front Royal during August 1864 (this has been reprinted in 1995 with a new introduction and biographical sketches of each of the soldiers).

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

The 1st official meeting of the Universal Peace Union, in [Providence, Rhode Island](#). The founding members included Joshua P. Blanshard, Reverend [Adin Ballou](#), [Henry C. Wright](#), [Friend Alfred Henry Love](#), and [Friend Lucretia Mott](#). The group pledged itself to remove the causes of war, and to discountenance all resorts to deadly force, "never acquiescing in present wrongs." There was to be no further compromising of the principles of love and nonviolence, but instead immediate disarmament and a general treaty among nations, marked by arbitration and by an unconditional submission to an international tribunal. Imperialism, compulsory military training, memorials and war demonstrations, war taxes, capital punishment, the spread of white imperialism in Africa, the exclusion of Asian immigration, and the continued denial of rights to native Americans were denounced. For many years the annual meetings of this group would take place at Mystic Grove, Connecticut, and attendance would grow over the years toward 10,000.

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)



**QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

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**1888**

[Friend Alfred Henry Love](#) was the Vice Presidential nominee of the National Equal Rights Party as the running mate of Belva Ann Lockwood.

[Friend](#) Joseph Rowntree wrote these words when London Yearly Meeting was considering adopting a Christian creed:

I wish to emphasize the thought that the general welfare of the Society of Friends the world over, will not be advanced by one Yearly Meeting following exactly in the footsteps of another, but by each being faithful to its own convictions and experience. This may not result in a rigid uniformity of either thought or action, but it is likely to lead to something far better - to a true and living unity.... It would be an incalculable evil if the energy of the Society were to be turned away from the homely but most profitable training of Christian work to the dreary region of theological discussion. But such must, I think, inevitably be the case if this Creed is pressed upon the London Yearly Meeting.<sup>49</sup>

49. "Memorandum on the Declaration of Christian Doctrine issued by the Richmond Conference, 1887"





## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

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GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1892

W.D. O'Connor's THE CARPENTER, a sequel to his 1866 THE GOOD GRAY POET in which he even more straightforwardly portrayed Walt Whitman as a Christ figure.<sup>50</sup>

Whitman managed an oblique reference to the hanged Friend [Mary Dyer](#) in his NOVEMBER BOUGHS, in a snippet anent the [Hicksite](#)/Orthodox split among Friends, as an assertion regarding there having been “no persecution worth mentioning” of Friends in America subsequent to her hanging:

### “The Separation”

**Note. — The Separation.** — The division vulgarly call'd between Orthodox and Hicksites in the Society of Friends took place in 1827, '8 and '9. ...A reviewer of the old dispute and separation made the following comments on them in a paper ten years ago: “It was in America, where there had been no persecution worth mentioning since Mary Dyer was hang'd on Boston Common, that about fifty years ago differences arose, singularly enough upon doctrinal points of the divinity of Christ and the nature of the atonement. Whoever would know how bitter was the controversy, and how much of human infirmity was found to be still lurking under broad-brim hats and drab coats, must seek for the information in the Lives of Elias Hicks and of Thomas Shillitoe, the latter an English Friend, who visited us at this unfortunate time, and who exercised his gifts as a peacemaker with but little success. The meetings, according to his testimony, were sometimes turn'd into mobs. The disruption was wide, and seems to have been final. Six of the ten yearly meetings were divided; and since that time various sub-divisions have come, four or five in number. There has never, however, been anything like a repetition of the excitement of the [Hicksite](#) controversy; and Friends of all kinds at present appear to have settled down into a solid, steady, comfortable state, and to be working in their own way without troubling other Friends whose ways are different.”

(It is to be noted that Walt Whitman forwards the notion that Friend [Mary Dyer](#) was hanged on Boston Common despite the fact that there is no preserved historical evidence whatever that she had not been hanged at the usual place for such events — at the municipal gallows on the Boston Neck.)

Had he made a more careful study of the records of Revolutionary persecution of male Friends, persecution in which our Peace Testimony was taken to be equivalent to traitorous Loyalism to the Crown, of course Whitman would have been able to forward no such simplistic opinion.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

50. NOVEMBER BOUGHS, published in this year of Walt Whitman's death, contains additional material on the [Hicksite](#) split among Friends:



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

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### GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

Walt Whitman also mentioned, in NOVEMBER BOUGHS, a collection of 5,000 poems that had been donated to [Brown University](#):

#### “Five Thousand Poems”

There have been collected in a cluster nearly five thousand big and little American poems — all that diligent and long-continued research could lay hands on! The author of ‘Old Grimes is Dead’ commenced it, more than fifty years ago; then the cluster was pass’d on and accumulated by C. F. Harris; then further pass’d on and added to by the late Senator Anthony, from whom the whole collection has been bequeath’d to Brown University. A catalogue (such as it is) has been made and publish’d of these five thousand poems — and is probably the most curious and suggestive part of the whole affair. At any rate it has led me to some abstract reflection like the following.

I should like, for myself, to put on record my devout acknowledgment not only of the great masterpieces of the past, but of the benefit of **all** poets, past and present, and of **all** poetic utterance — in its entirety the dominant moral factor of humanity’s progress. In view of that progress, and of evolution, [Page 1185] the religious and aesthetic elements, the distinctive and most important of any, seem to me more indebted to poetry than to all other means and influences combined. In a very profound sense **religion is the poetry of humanity**. Then the points of union and rapport among all the poems and poets of the world, however wide their separations of time and place and theme, are much more numerous and weighty than the points of contrast. Without relation as they may seem at first sight, the whole earth’s poets and poetry — *en masse* — the Oriental, the Greek, and what there is of Roman — the oldest myths — the interminable ballad-romances of the Middle Ages — the hymns and psalms of worship — the epics, plays, swarms of lyrics of the British Islands, or the Teutonic old or new — or modern French — or what there is in America, Bryant’s, for instance, or Whittier’s or Longfellow’s — the verse of all tongues and ages, all forms, all subjects, from primitive times to our own day inclusive — really combine in one aggregate and electric globe or universe, with all its numberless parts and radiations held together by a common centre or verteber. To repeat it, all poetry thus has (to the point of view comprehensive enough) more features of resemblance than difference, and becomes essentially, like the planetary globe itself, compact and orbic and whole. Nature seems to sow countless seeds — makes incessant crude attempts — thankful to get now and then, even at rare and long intervals, something approximately good.



**QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

**QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

**1906**

[Friend Alfred Henry Love](#) was nominated for the [Nobel Peace Prize](#) by 8 United States Senators and Professor Hannis Taylor. In the wisdom of the committee the prize was awarded instead to US President Theodore Roosevelt, a swashbuckler had never hid the swash of his buckle. How such a man could be considered suitable for a peace prize is, of course, beyond comprehension — unless the sort of peace they had in mind was the peace of the grave.

**THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

In THE ROUGH RIDERS in 1899 (his account of the aggression which led to the establishment of the permanent US naval facility on Cuban soil at Guantánamo Bay), he had described an engagement with the enemy: “By this time we were all in the spirit of the thing and greatly excited by the charge, the men cheering and running forward between shots, while the delighted faces of the foremost officers, like Captain C.J. Stevens, of the Ninth, as they ran at the head of their troops, will always stay in my mind.”



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

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**1910**

The family of [Margaret Louise Higgins Sanger](#) and [William Sanger](#) relocated from Hastings into New York because the husband was dissatisfied with his architectural work as a draftsman and was seeking to become a painter (the wife returned to nursing to help support the family). The Sangers would become immersed in Greenwich Village culture, joining a circle of intellectuals, activists, and artists that included Max Eastman, John Reed, Upton Sinclair, Mabel Dodge, and Emma Goldman.

[Eugenics](#) Record Office, Cold Spring Harbor.

Charles Davenport's HEREDITY IN RELATION TO [EUGENICS](#).

In "Contribution to the Theory of Periodic Reaction," [Alfred J. Lotka](#) initiated the [Lotka-Volterra predator-prey logistic model](#) that has proven so useful in [ecology](#).

[Dr. David Starr Jordan](#)'s suspicion that Rome had fallen because of the degeneration of its people, plus his Unitarian Universalist conviction that the United States of America needed, in order to avoid what happened to Rome, to install government compulsory sterilization of the less fit among us, plus, on the basis of a similar reasoning process founded in the scientific fact of evolution, a fear that the tendency of war was to remove from the human gene pool the strongest rather than the weakest among us, led to his being chosen as president of the World Peace Foundation.

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)  
[WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE](#)





**QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

**QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

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Republication, by the Unitarian Universalists, of Dr. Jordan's 1901/1902 THE BLOOD OF THE NATION:  
A STUDY OF THE DECAY OF RACES THROUGH SURVIVAL OF THE UNFIT.

**SURVIVAL OF THE UNFIT**

**EUGENICS**



**QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

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**1913**

June 29, Sunday: It would be reported in the Advocate of Peace issue of August and September that “[Alfred H. Love](#), President of the Universal Peace Union since its formation, in 1866, died at his home, 1820 Park Ave., Philadelphia, June 29. Mr. Love had been a woolen commission merchant in Philadelphia since 1853, being the senior member of A.H. Love & Co. He had been editor of the Bond of Peace, The Voice of Peace, The Peacemaker and Court of Arbitration since 1866. He was official visitor of prisons in Pennsylvania for forty-three years. Mr. Love’s devoted interest in all things pertaining to international peace has been a conspicuous feature of many of the peace conferences. His acquaintance was wide and his interest in all humanitarian movements keen.”

**THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

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1914

[Welch's Concord grape Juice](#) has another publicity windfall when Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy, forbade the use of alcoholic beverages aboard Navy ships and suggested instead Welch's Concord Grape Juice, giving rise to the term, "Daniels' Grape Juice Navy."

By this point [Cadbury's](#) Dairy Milk had become the firm's biggest line. During World War I this formerly [Quaker](#) firm would proclaim itself in support of its nation's war effort, entirely disregarding the Quaker Peace Testimony. More than 2,000 of its male employees would enlist in the British armed forces –or so it would brag– and the firm would send books, warm clothes, and of course [chocolates](#) to the front lines. The company would augment the Government's allowances to the Dependents of its workers who had become warriors. At the end of the war the former employees who had become warriors would either be invited to return to their previous jobs, or be sent for education, or be looked after in convalescent homes at company expense.



(That the firm was on a morally slippery slope should have been apparent — for during World War II it would become a weapons contractor, and afterward it would brag about such warlike activity.)

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

[Marijuana](#) smoking had been appearing in the United States, among laborers in towns along the [Mexican](#) border, and was spreading along the Gulf Coast. Between this year and 1931, 29 states, most of them west of the Mississippi, would be prohibiting its nonmedical use. However, this anti-drug legislation would initially receive only limited media attention.

US forces occupied Vera Cruz and a fleet arrived off Tampico in consequence of hostile acts by [Mexicans](#). After pressuring the [Mexican](#) President to resign, Venustiano Carranza attempted to supplant him but became engaged in a civil war with one of his former lieutenants, Pancho Villa.

[US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS](#)

In the US, 27 state and city laws prohibited the smoking of [opium](#).





## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

### GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

The federal Harrison Act treated [cocaine](#) as more dangerous than [opium](#), classifying it (incorrectly) as a narcotic. Fears over [cocaine](#) use, particularly by blacks, had led by this point to regulatory laws in 46 states of the United States of America — whereas only 29 states had enacted such regulatory laws in regard to [opiates](#). In result of this legal situation, [cocaine](#) use would become surreptitious, and the substance would be used primarily by bohemians and musicians, and in the urban ghettos. Ostensibly a tax measure designed to control the marketing of [opium](#), this required all persons authorized to handle or manufacture narcotic drugs to register, pay a fee, and keep a record of the drugs in their possession. The act did not prohibit the supply of opiates to users by registered physicians “in the course of their professional practice.” Subsequent Supreme Court decisions and government enforcement policies would, however, restrict the right of doctors to prescribe opiates.



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

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GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1915

When [World War I](#) broke out in Europe, the Reverend [A.J. Muste](#), inspired by the Christian mysticism of the [Quakers](#), became a pacifist.

A group of Hicksite Friends, belonging chiefly to Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, initiated Woolman School adjoining Swarthmore College.

Professor of Bible [Elbert Russell](#) had since 1895 been the target of numerous evangelical “Holiness Friends” protests on account of his introduction of modernist methods of Bible study. His faculty adversary William Orville Mendenhall, Ph.D., D.D., was for a decade a mathematics professor (who would go on to become the president of Whittier College in California but would be forced out there during World War II because although he wanted to allow conscientious objectors as students, his Board of Directors desired instead to make the college a training center for recruits to the Women’s Army Auxiliary Corps). Russell resigned amid controversy over an attempt to force the resignation of the president of Earlham based upon issues of [Quaker](#) religious life on campus for students. He relocated from Indiana to [Baltimore](#), where he would divide his time between Johns Hopkins University and preaching, principally at the Eutaw Street Monthly Meeting (until taking a position at Woolman School in 1917).

### THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

*The committee of the board made some suggestions of changes in practice and policy but in the main stood by the president. A friend of mine on the board was genuinely distressed by the situation, but confessed that they did not know what else to do; they could get another head of the Biblical Department but did not know where they could get another president. Professor David W. Dennis made an effort at reconciliation as late as commencement time. He got President Kelly<sup>51</sup> and me together along with mutual friends, but the differences proved irreconcilable. President Kelly defended and justified his policy of minimizing the Quaker influence in the college, and I insisted that it must be made fundamentally a Quaker institution. I protested that I had no personal feelings that would prevent our cooperation; but he said that I had impugned his personal and financial integrity and that there could be no reconciliation unless I withdrew part of my charges before the board. I had made the charges, I asserted, at the request of the board for a statement of criticisms currently made against the administration. I had stated them as criticisms actually made; he had been exonerated by the board. I was willing to leave it there; but on the question of the policy of the college, I saw nothing to be done but for the question of policy to be fought out in the church, to see whether a board of trustees could be secured favorable to a thoroughly Quaker college. In the light of experience I have regretted that I did not pursue a different method in some ways. The division of sentiment in the faculty and among Friends left scars that hampered the college for many years. All the principal parties in the*

51. Robert Lincoln Kelly had been a student of Professor John Dewey at the University of Chicago, and specialized in child psychology.



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*conflict left Earlham before many years passed and found fields of conspicuous usefulness elsewhere. President Kelly resigned in 1917 and not long afterward left the Society of Friends.<sup>52</sup>*

July 25, Sunday: [Elbert Russell](#) delivered an address on “Jesus and Militarism” at the [Friends’](#) National Peace Conference at Winona Lake, Indiana.

### THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

52. He would serve as executive secretary of the Council of Church Boards of Education, where he would author in 1924 THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION IN AMERICA: A STUDY OF ONE HUNDRED SIXTY-ONE THEOLOGICAL SCHOOLS IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA, and then as executive secretary of the American Association of Colleges, where he would author in 1940 THE AMERICAN COLLEGES AND THE SOCIAL ORDER.



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

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[GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM](#)

1916

[Elbert Russell](#)'s CHRISTIAN LIFE (the First William Penn Lecture, 62 pages, W.H. Jenkins, printer) and JESUS AND MILITARISM; AN ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE [FRIENDS](#)' NATIONAL PEACE CONFERENCE, WINONA LAKE, INDIANA, JULY 25, 1915 (18 pages; Peace Association of Friends in America).

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

October 23, Monday: [John R. Kellam](#) was born in Duluth, [Minnesota](#). His family was not Quaker and in fact he would be reared as a member of the Presbyterian Church and would attend its Sunday School, taught by Frank Crassweller.

I didn't have any Quaker ancestors that I knew of, yet, I was convinced before I ever met any Friends so I recognized that we had a lot of feelings in common.

My mother was not political enough to have her own philosophy of pacifism. She was a very intelligent woman, a school teacher in Oregon before she was married to my father. She loved children and served their education needs before she began to raise me and my older brother. She was strongly in favor of the vote for women. But as for my being a soldier, she thought that maybe I would be under still more hazards than if I were somewhere tucked away in the army and not in the front line somewhere. That was the flavor of her interest. I would guess that most of the Gold Star Mothers and the mothers of sons who came home without some serious injury would feel the same, that they would prefer their sons not get involved in foreign wars.

My father had orthodox views about patriotism. He'd been in the Navy four years and he had tremendous pride in this country and most of that pride came from the fact that we were a big middle class society in this country. He forgot about the Indians and he forgot about the black people. He was uncertain whether other races were equal to us mentally, morally and in other ways. He once asked me, very seriously, if I thought that black people were as good as white people. I said that I didn't know enough of them to be sure but I'd not heard of any reason that convinced me that they were any different on a general level. They might have different traits of character. They might have different capabilities, but as citizens of this country, their rights would have to be perfectly equal. No group should be getting after any other group to deal out disadvantage. So I looked to see what my dad had to say about that. Well, he started to walk away and I asked him what about his ideas. He said that he just wanted to know how I felt about it! Then he just walked away.

My mother and father were very strong characters.

Well, they were both raised in the same Presbyterian church in the hometown in Heron Lake, Minnesota.<sup>53</sup>

They knew absolutely what they thought was right and what they thought was wrong. If new situations came up it didn't take them

53. That's in Jackson County on one of the earliest railroad lines. A whole bunch of grain elevators sprang up along it where the harvest could be gathered and shipped east. Plankinton is 170 miles west of there, in South Dakota.



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very long to figure out which side of the line they fell in. Of course life was simpler in respect to moral dilemmas than it is now. One thing they had to agree on before they decided they were willing to put their lives together and make a family, for his previous family was broken by his wife's death, since they both were very strong emotionally —they had lively tempers at times and things could make them very indignant— they decided that they'd better have a lifetime compact together, that when either one of them was upset, very angry about anything, the other was going to remind himself or herself not to become angry at the same time — to be patient and be soft and be quiet, to try to be helpful without insisting, but to let it blow over, as everything usually does.

One time we [my father, my brother, and I] were out in the woods when there was still snow on the ground and we came across a rabbit in a trap. The trap had caught its foot and the rabbit had done a lot of thrashing around. It had mangled its leg very badly and the rabbit was suffering. Death by freezing is slow so the obvious thing to do was to put the poor creature out of his misery. Thinking that this might be a way of introducing me to hunting, they let me have a chance to do this little act of mercy myself. For this I had a twenty-two rifle. It couldn't have been farther away than the end of this room. It took me something like seven or eight shots before I could hit that rabbit at all. I could either aim straight but couldn't fire off the shot, or if I was shooting, it missed. This seemed peculiar both to me and to them. Finally it became so ridiculous that I sort of grabbed mental hold of myself and said, This is stupid! Get done with it. So I went right for the rabbit's head and he flopped and that was the end of it. He was out of his misery. I was relieved and at the same time I was disgusted because I had caused the end of a life, and I revolted from it. I thought that was a rotten feeling to have, but not quite as rotten as if the rabbit had been a nice, uninjured, healthy one. But even so, it kind of bothered me from time to time as I thought back at that. When I was old enough to go out deer hunting, I said, No thank you, I'm not going to touch that. They could bring home a deer apiece and feel very unalloyed happiness about it. I couldn't understand how different I was.

By the time I was nine or ten years old, one of my third or fourth grade classmates, Ellsworth Blood, enjoyed war games. He had little toy soldiers and a few little tanks and artillery pieces. He arranged them in a battle ground, but he couldn't get me interested and so he was frustrated. Outdoors he would put two laths together and make swords. He got the neighborhood kids to play war in the back yard. So maybe there was an insidious influence among certain kids, but I don't know if there's any such effect on young men twice that age or older.

I had saved about a thousand dollars from my work as a child in my father's drugstore, delivering at five cents per delivery, whether it was half a block or a dozen blocks away, medications and many other things. And later on I worked for thirty-five cents an hour, then forty or forty-five, I had saved up a whole thousand dollars, having spent very little of it. My mother



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sometimes worried that I didn't know the value of money because I didn't ever spend any! Ha-ha-ha-ha! Anyway, that was gone at the war's end, by the time I was released, about fifteen months later. The war ended in August and at the end of November, 1946, the last day of November, I was released, broke and owing.



At this early point, it seems appropriate to provide a brief three-page synopsis of Friend John's life:

John R. Kellam was born into a Presbyterian family of Duluth, Minnesota on October 23, 1916. His father was a pharmacist and his mother a teacher. Because a "birth spoon" or "palate forceps" was used during his birth, he would have a physically challenged childhood. Armistice Day, November 11, 1918 is his first long-term memory, because he remembers being on his father's shoulders in a crowd as they watched men working on an excursion train that had slipped off the tracks, trying to pry the locomotive's front wheels back onto the rails. He remembers the "flack!" sound that the wheels made when they finally slipped back into place. When John was nine or ten he saw a skinned black bear had been hung from a tree, looking for all the world like a human being, with a sign on it: "Death to



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Catholics Jews and Niggers." When he was ten or eleven he saw the burned remains of a Ku Klux Klan cross on the bluff above his home town. Despite his youth, these things had an impact on him. At sixteen he started study at the University of Minnesota, in architecture, and "thoughtlessly" he registered for the Reserve Officer Training Corps basic 2-year course that was required of all male students at such a land-grant college. He began to have doubts about the military at age nineteen while he was training with his coast artillery gunnery battalion at Fort Sheridan, while they were at a firing range on the beach learning how to use their officers' pistols. At first they shot at targets that were simply concentric circles, the one in the center blacked in. He was getting eights and nines out of a possible ten points, and it was rather easy for him to do. Then they moved on to man-sized targets with heads and shoulders and a blob to represent the heart. Suddenly a thought struck home. "They're getting us ready to kill people."

Little by little such doubts grew. He started daydreaming about easy outs, such as the quartermaster corps, jobs where he wouldn't have to kill people himself. It took him a while to recognize the hole he had dug himself into, and how hard it was going to be to climb back out of that hole. He was still puzzling this out as he went on to study city planning at MIT in 1939. He got involved in hot discussions with his fellow graduate students, and began to think of himself as a pacifist. Discussions he had with a female student from New York who was a Communist (the American Communist party line at this time, just prior to the invasion of Poland, was pacifistic) made him realize that he wasn't a political pacifist like her, but a religious one. When he confessed to her that he supposed killing people, injuring them, destroying property or damaging to be always regrettable, and in all or most cases simply wrong, she instantly broke off with him. She didn't even want to associate with such a person.

It was during the summer of 1940, while he was mapping the land uses of the town of Southbridge MA, that he gradually become aware that he simply could not be "properly part of any war." He sent off for some Government Printing Office pamphlets describing something he had heard about, "conscientious objection." The pamphlets gave him all sorts of useful information, about how to apply for this status, and what it meant. It sounded pretty good. He had no way to know that these official pamphlets were official lies, that the story they told was a "just so" story that bore no relation whatever to what actually was going on in America's draft boards.

On April 4, 1941 John posted his letter of resignation of his reserve army officer's commission to the War Department in Washington DC. The officer he spoke to said "You are no doubt of no use to us at all. You'll hear from us." Soon he received a letter accepting his resignation but reminding him be sure to register for the draft. He went to the Selective Service Office and filled out their special form 47. The [draft board](#) classified him 1A, available to be drafted. He would need to file an appeal and be investigated by the FBI. (Now, upstairs at his house, he





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has a copy of this massive investigative file of his life.)

In September 1941 John began to attend the Quaker meeting at Florida Avenue in the District of Columbia. (Lest you suppose he was joining the Friends in order to avoid the draft, be aware that during World War II, 89-91% of all eligible Quakers of draft age would go into the Armed Forces.)

During the summer of 1942, John visited the training school of the Army medics, and found out that their true mission was not to save lives or mend broken bodies but to patch men up so that they could do some more killing. The motto of the Army Medical Corps, which he saw mounted in large letters on the side of a building, was "To Preserve Fighting Strength"! He realized then, that he wouldn't be able to get himself out of this simply by becoming a medic.

Early in 1943 John became a Quaker. During the first year of existence of the Friends' Committee on National Legislation, when they had only four people, John worked for them. At that point, there were only a few young American Quakers who were willing to hold with the Peace Testimony.

### THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

Finally John's draft board decided that the conscientious objectors on their list were an embarrassment to them. It was no more Mr. Nice Guy — they began to get serious about their efforts to threaten him into an olive-drab uniform. After awaiting trial for awhile in a damp, dark Toledo jail, John prepared in January 1945 for his big day in court. He was to have been represented by local attorney Arthur Kline, but this lawyer was warned just before the trial that, for reasons of personal advancement, no local attorney would be able to represent a draft evader in any proper and vigorous manner before the court. Due to the political climate, this would be too dangerous for the defense attorney. John was told in court that he could not represent himself, but had to accept a court-appointed defense counsel, who was given only 10 minutes to prepare. He was tried before Judge Klobe, was convicted, was sentenced to the maximum five years in federal prison, plus a fine of a thousand dollars (the judge's opinion was that this was the most egregious case he had ever heard), and was packed off to Milan MI where the warden, Mr. Lemuel F. Fox, was also the chairperson of the prison draft board. There, finally, he was reclassified correctly as 4E, a conscientious objector. Since the prison shops did war work, John wasn't able to participate in any manner. Realizing that even if he swept the floors, he'd be freeing some other prisoner to do war work, he made himself into what is known as an "absolutist."

Although the war ended in August 1945, no consideration whatever of "good behavior" was either asked for or received, and John was held in Lewisburg until late November 1946, when the government found it politically convenient to release him. {What a difficult person! —John had even refused to request parole!} John went back to Washington DC and lived for awhile in a house



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owned by his Friends Meeting on Florida Avenue. It would take several years to rebuild his life. In 1947 former war prisoner and convicted felon John R. Kellam was accepted as a worker for the [American Friends Service Committee](#) –which was queerly unprejudiced against him although they were well aware of his record of draft dodging– in a subsistence-wage building project called PennCraft. In 1950 he would be able to move his family to Providence and begin to engage in the profession for which he had trained, working for the city government. Over many years, he would have always to fear that somebody at work might find out about him and get hostile, and that his job might blow up in his face and he suddenly be unable to take care of his family.

In 1975, when John's Vietnamese refugee son, Tuoc Q. Phan, became eligible for citizenship, he was allowed to make a citizenship declaration in which he did not promise to give military service. John felt immensely grateful for this, since it helped him personally feel more welcome in the country of his birth.

On December 31, 1981 John was able to retire from his career as a city planner at the age of 65 years and two months, go on pension, and devote himself full-time to his work and his studies.

John died of cancer on July 25, 2012 at his home in Providence in the attendance of his family.

## NO-ONE'S LIFE IS EVER NOT DRIVEN PRIMARILY BY HAPPENSTANCE





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1917

Spring: Americans were hysterical to demonstrate that they were patriotically more eager to kill someone they did not know, than anyone other American lad could possibly be. The situation has been described by [Friend Elbert Russell](#) in his autobiography:

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

[WORLD WAR I](#)

*The entry of the United States into the World War against Germany and her allies created an atmosphere at Johns Hopkins in which a pacifist was not always comfortable. On the Sunday afternoon before Congress was to vote on President Wilson's recommendation to declare war, a big meeting of protest was held in the Academy of Music. President David Starr Jordan was the speaker. There were rumors that some of the prowar citizens would try to break up the meeting, and Dr. Richard Hoge, who conducted the Sunday afternoon forums, promised the management of the Academy that in case of attempted violence the meeting would adjourn.*

*I was among those invited to sit on the platform as sponsors of the meeting. The Academy was packed to the top of the galleries. Dr. Jordan had spoken but a short time when there was a commotion at the door, and a group of young men came rushing down the aisles carrying the U.S. flag. There were indignant protests from the galleries, but Dr. Hoge asked the audience quietly to disband in order to keep faith with the management. The mob was made up chiefly of members of the Fourth National Guard, who had met at their Armory and decided that it would be patriotic to break up the meeting. They brushed aside the fifty-odd policemen on guard at the Academy, who made no resistance. Not one of the Baltimore papers condemned the mob. Some seemed quite proud of the red-blooded patriotism of the young men who would not brook conventional restraints in such an emergency. Ten years afterward the leader of the mob wrote President Jordan a letter apologizing for his action and confessing that the former's attitude had been correct and that at the time he himself did not know what it was all about.*

*After the declaration of war there was a great stampede to convert the university to war work. It was a distinct shock, therefore, to many to have Secretary Weeks, who gave the convocation address in June, tell the university that the greatest service it could do the country was to go on training scholars, technicians, and leaders, since the war could last but a few years at most and then the country would suffer if there was a generation without qualified leaders.*



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**1918**

The minister (!) at the [Moses Brown School](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) resigned from his post at this [Quaker](#)-funded school in order to enlist in the US military (!) and take part in [World War I](#). (Meine Gott, whatever happened to [the Quaker Peace Testimony](#)? –Nowadays there happens to be a plaque at the school to honor its students who got killed while attempting to kill the enemy, but happens not to be any plaque to honor any student who had sought to honor our Peace Testimony.)

A “free public campground” was opened at Longmire on the slopes of [Mount Rainier](#) with seasonal entry permits at \$2.50 per auto — and immediately the grounds were overrun by visitors.

[Friend Floyd Schmoe](#), a Conscientious Objector, agreed to join a Red Cross ambulance unit serving at the front in France but never to touch a weapon of any kind. After the armistice but while German armies still occupied Eastern Europe, the Hoover Commission sent him to assist in delivering a trainload of food and clothing to refugees inside Poland. Upon his return to Kansas he would get married with his high school sweetheart, Friend Ruth Pickering, a pianist.



No [Nobel Peace Prize](#) was awarded in this year — there wasn’t anyone to hand it to (the Red Cross having already been the recipient, in the previous year).

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)





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Conscientious objectors in [World War I](#) numbered more than 4,000.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

The US law of conscription was encapsulated during 1918 in Selective Draft Law Cases, 245 US 366. There was less tolerance of conscientious objection than even during the US Civil War. At Alcatraz, 17 of these draft resisters would die of maltreatment.

MILITARY CONSCRIPTION



This is not a photograph of Alcatraz while it was being used to house the American COs who died of maltreatment, but of a British prison in use for the same purpose of the isolation and neutralization of attitudes





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of conscientious objection, in this same period (I do not know of any Brits who died of maltreatment):



“In the course of one year of conscription, 64,693 made application to be excused from combatant status, and of this number, 3,989 desired exemption also from non-combatant duty. Of this number, 99 consented to be sent to France and to engage in reconstruction activities, 1,200 worked on farms, and in other ways their number was reduced to 503, who were given prison sentences.”

“A total of 1,461 [were found to be sincere]. Those found to be insincere numbered 103. The remaining cases



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were disposed of by various means.” Here is a group of WWI conscientious objectors, photographed in prison:



In [Illinois](#) during this year, German-born American Robert Prager failed to stand during our national anthem. Stripped of most of his clothes, he was forced to kiss the American flag. He was bound with strips of cloth torn from an American flag and [lynched](#) before a cheering crowd of some 500 or more people. When those responsible were brought to trial, their defence was the “unwritten law” and the jury acquitted in less than an hour, characterizing what had happened as “patriotic murder.”

[COLDBLOODED MURDER](#)

**FIGURING OUT WHAT AMOUNTS TO A “HISTORICAL CONTEXT” IS WHAT THE CRAFT OF HISTORICIZING AMOUNTS TO, AND THIS NECESSITATES DISTINGUISHING BETWEEN THE SET OF EVENTS THAT MUST HAVE TAKEN PLACE BEFORE EVENT E COULD BECOME POSSIBLE, AND MOST CAREFULLY DISTINGUISHING THEM FROM ANOTHER SET OF EVENTS THAT COULD NOT POSSIBLY OCCUR UNTIL SUBSEQUENT TO EVENT E.**



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**1919**

April 5, Saturday: In Turkey, the fifth session of the trial on the Trebizond massacres was held.

**ARMENIAN GENOCIDE**

Friend Elbert Russell's "A Society of Peace-makers" appeared in the Friends' Intelligencer.

**THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**



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1921

[Dr. Elbert Russell](#)'s THE [QUAKER](#) CHALLENGE TO A WORLD OF FORCE (American Friends Literature Council). Also, his THE CHRISTIAN SUBSTITUTE FOR FORCE: CONDENSATION OF ADDRESS (4 pages; Friends' Peace Committee). His "Dare We Trust Them With It" appeared in the [Friends' Intelligencer](#).

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

*Some Friends raised the ever-recurrent question which arises with every war: "After all, are we sure that this war is not different from other wars? That our testimony against war applies to it as to other wars?" When one of our leading educators raised the question in all sincerity, it shook me pretty thoroughly. I felt constrained to face the question honestly, even though I knew it had arisen with every war in which Friends had been involved. I went home and got down my translation of [Homer](#)'s ILLIAD, and read it through. It reassured me thoroughly. In spirit and objectives our war was like that of the Greeks and Trojans. Only the weapons and means of transportation were different. There was the same deception, the same lying propaganda to deceive the common soldiers; the claim to all virtue for our side; the ascription of all vices to the enemy; the claim of divine aid for our side; the glorification of murder and lying, robbery, and the justification of robbery and adultery in the name of home, country, race, and religion.*

April: To prevent Panama and Costa Rica from going to war in regard to a boundary dispute, US naval squadrons demonstrated in the oceans on both sides of the Isthmus of Panama.

[US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS](#)

[Friend Elbert Russell](#)'s pamphlets "The Christian Substitute for Force: Condensation of Address Delivered by Elbert Russell at New York City, April the Tenth, 1921" and "The Quaker Challenge to a World of Force."

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)



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1923

Mark Twain's "War Prayer," written during the Philippine-American War (1899-1902) but rejected for publication on March 22, 1905 by Harper's Bazaar as "not quiet suited," finally found a sufficiently courageous and truthful publisher — who was able to slip it in as one unobtrusive bit of a volume innocently entitled EUROPE AND ELSEWHERE in such manner that if they were called on it, they could plausibly just go "Oops, sorry."



I have told the whole truth ... and only dead men can tell the truth in this world. It can be published after I am dead.

### The War Prayer



It was a time of great and exalting excitement. The country was up in arms, the war was on, in every breast burned the holy fire of patriotism; the drums were beating, the bands playing, the toy pistols popping, the bunched firecrackers hissing and sputtering; on every hand and far down the receding and fading spreads of roofs and balconies a fluttering wilderness of flags flashed in the sun; daily the young volunteers marched down the wide avenue gay and fine in their new uniforms, the proud fathers and mothers and sisters and sweethearts cheering them with voices choked with happy emotion as they swung by; nightly the packed mass meetings listened, panting, to patriot oratory which stirred the deepest deeps of their hearts and which they interrupted at briefest intervals with cyclones of applause, the tears running down their cheeks the while; in the churches the pastors preached devotion to flag and country and invoked the God of Battles, beseeching His aid in our good cause in outpouring of fervid eloquence which moved every listener. It was indeed a glad and gracious time, and the half dozen rash spirits that ventured to disapprove of the war and cast a doubt upon its righteousness straightway got such a stern and angry warning that for their personal safety's sake they quickly shrank out of sight and offended no more in that way. Sunday morning came - next day the battalions would leave for the front;



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the church was filled; the volunteers were there, their faces alight with material dreams-visions of a stern advance, the gathering momentum, the rushing charge, the flashing sabers, the flight of the foe, the tumult, the enveloping smoke, the fierce pursuit, the surrender! - then home from the war, bronzed heroes, welcomed, adored, submerged in golden seas of glory! With the volunteers sat their dear ones, proud, happy, and envied by the neighbors and friends who had no sons and brothers to send forth to the field of honor, there to win for the flag or, failing, die the noblest of noble deaths. The service proceeded; a war chapter from the Old Testament was read; the first prayer was said; it was followed by an organ burst that shook the building, and with one impulse the house rose, with glowing eyes and beating hearts, and poured out that tremendous invocation - "God the all-terrible! Thou who ordainest, Thunder thy clarion and lightning thy sword!" Then came the "long" prayer. None could remember the like of it for passionate pleading and moving and beautiful language. The burden of its supplication was that an ever - merciful and benignant Father of us all would watch over our noble young soldiers and aid, comfort, and encourage them in their patriotic work; bless them, shield them in His mighty hand, make them strong and confident, invincible in the bloody onset; help them to crush the foe, grant to them and to their flag and country imperishable honor and glory. An aged stranger entered and moved with slow and noiseless step up the main aisle, his eyes fixed upon the minister, his long body clothed in a robe that reached to his feet, his head bare, his white hair descending in a frothy cataract to his shoulders, his seamy face unnaturally pale, pale even to ghastliness. With all eyes following him and wondering, he made his silent way; without pausing, he ascended to the preacher's side and stood there, waiting. With shut lids the preacher, unconscious of his presence, continued his moving prayer, and at last finished it with the words, uttered in fervent appeal, "Bless our arms, grant us the victory, O Lord our God, Father and Protector of our land and flag!" The stranger touched his arm, motioned him to step aside - which the startled minister did - and took his place. During some moments he surveyed the spellbound audience with solemn eyes in which burned an uncanny light; then in a deep voice he said "I come from the Throne - bearing a message from Almighty God!" The words smote the house with a shock; if the stranger perceived it he gave no attention. "He has heard the prayer of His servant your shepherd and grant it if such shall be your desire after I, His messenger, shall have explained to you its import - that is to say, its full import. For it is like unto many of the prayers of men, in that it asks for more than he who utters it is aware of - except he pause and think. "God's servant and yours has prayed his prayer. Has he paused and taken thought? Is it one prayer? No, it is two - one uttered, the other not. Both have reached the ear of His Who heareth all supplications, the spoken and the unspoken. Ponder this - keep it in mind. If you beseech a blessing upon yourself, beware! lest without intent you invoke a curse upon a neighbor at the same time. If you pray for the blessing of rain upon your



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crop which needs it, by that act you are possibly praying for a curse upon some neighbor's crop which may not need rain and can be injured by it. "You have heard your servant's prayer - the uttered part of it. I am commissioned by God to put into words the other part of it - that part which the pastor, and also you in your hearts, fervently prayed silently. And ignorantly and unthinkingly? God grant that it was so! You heard these words: 'Grant us the victory, O Lord our God!' That is sufficient. The whole of the uttered prayer is compact into those pregnant words. Elaborations were not necessary. When you have prayed for victory you have prayed for many unmentioned results which follow victory - must follow it, cannot help but follow it. Upon the listening spirit of God the Father fell also the unspoken part of the prayer. He commandeth me to put it into words. Listen! "O Lord our Father, our young patriots, idols of our hearts, go forth to battle - be Thou near them! With them, in spirit, we also go forth from the sweet peace of our beloved firesides to smite the foe. O Lord our God, help us to tear their soldiers to bloody shreds with our shells; help us to cover their smiling fields with the pale forms of their patriot dead; help us to drown the thunder of the guns with the shrieks of their wounded, writhing in pain; help us to lay waste their humble homes with a hurricane of fire; help us to wring the hearts of their unoffending widows with unavailing grief; help us to turn them out roofless with their little children to wander unfriended the wastes of their desolated land in rags and hunger and thirst, sports of the sun flames of summer and the icy winds of winter, broken in spirit, worn with travail, imploring Thee for the refuge of the grave and denied it - for our sakes who adore Thee, Lord, blast their hopes, blight their lives, protract their bitter pilgrimage, make heavy their steps, water their way with their tears, stain the white snow with the blood of their wounded feet! We ask it, in the spirit of love, of Him Who is the Source of Love, and Who is ever-faithful refuge and friend of all that are sore beset and seek His aid with humble and contrite hearts. Amen. (After a pause) "Ye have prayed it; if ye still desire it, speak! The messenger of the Most High waits." It was believed afterward that the man was a lunatic,



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because there was no sense in what he said.

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## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

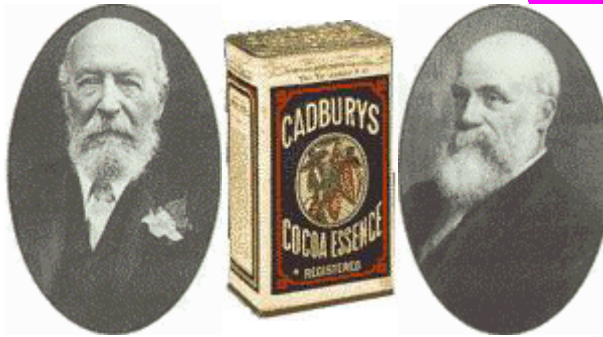
## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

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1939

In England, the formerly [Quaker](#) chocolate company, [Cadbury](#), as it had during World War I, would during [World War II](#) entirely disregard the Quaker Peace Testimony by in every way possible contributing to its nation's war effort. The company had become just another war contractor and would manufacture all sorts of war equipment, such as milling machines for rifle factories and pilot seats for Defiant fighter planes. The workers ploughed up its football pitches for crops, and the company's St John's Ambulance unit would be a first responder during German air raids. After an air attacks, the employees would distribute cups of hot [cocoa](#) to rescue workers.

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(The company would later boast about this curious mixture of legitimate relief activity with illegitimate belligerent activity. It had done nothing of which it felt it needed to be ashamed, either in relief of the slaughter or in furtherance of that slaughter.)

At the [Quaker Moses Brown School](#) for boy scholars on top of the hill in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), radical changes in governance were in the works. Here is how this new arrangement would be described in Friend Eric Kristensen's "An Outline of Moses Brown School's History," prepared for the Ad Hoc Subcommittee of the Permanent Board on Financing Moses Brown School Renovations:

Yearly Meeting records the following in Minute 52: "Rufus M. Jones presented the request of the Committee on Moses Brown School and Lincoln School to add four members from outside the Yearly Meeting membership, such appointment to be made by the School Committee itself and to consist of local interested people, representative of the alumni, the parents, and other Providence friends of the School." Minute 54 records that "The Committee on Moses Brown School and Lincoln School is given permission to add to its present number four additional members, who may or may not be Friends." (page 10)



**QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

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**1940**

[A.J. Muste](#) became Executive Secretary of the [Fellowship of Reconciliation](#), a position he would fill until 1953.



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**1941**

In Princeton, [New Jersey](#) (which initially had been largely [Quaker](#) but had then become over the years largely Presbyterian, with the local Friends meeting “laid down” as of 1878), a local monthly meeting was formally re-established. (Initially, this group would be meeting at the local YWCA and on the campus of [Princeton University](#), but eventually the monthly meeting would reconstitute itself at its historic Stony Brook property outside town, and a Friends School would also have constituted itself on those premises.)

Hope High School, which had been erected in a corner of the [Moses Brown School](#) bequest that had been seized by the city of [Providence, Rhode Island](#) by eminent domain in the realignment of Hope Street so that the street would continue directly into East Avenue, the older high school building that it had superseded became at this point the headquarters for the 6th Army corps, for the duration of [World War II](#). Hey, [Quaker](#) peaceniks pacifist cowards, this has got nothing whatever to do with you, so you keep over on your farm!



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During this year this school of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) would lose a number of its teachers to the military draft, and the possibility of the students continuing to transit directly from their high school education into their college education was accepted to be just about nil.<sup>54</sup>

#### THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

An article in the [Sunday Journal](#) characterized [Dexter Asylum](#) on Hope Street as a “well-meaning legacy of a bygone day which has made time stand still.”



Pardon me, I've lived in Rogue Island for long enough to know what such a sentence signals locally. What it signals is “Hey, there's a bunch of money here lying around loose, that maybe we can steal!” It's the vibes of the wounded. It's blood in the water. Cue sharks.

54. The official school accounts make it clear that for the duration of the war, the Quaker Peace Testimony was entirely outside the bounds of the thinkable, both for the students and for their teachers. Their thoughts were consumed with ways to maneuver so that their military draft obligations would fit as neatly as possible into their overall personal life trajectories.

#### THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY



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Howard H. Brinton asserted categorically in SOURCES OF THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY (Wallingford PA: Pendle Hill Historical Studies, #2) that “The [Quakers](#) remained in their homes during Indian raids and were unmolested while the remainder of the population sought the protection of stockades.” (Such an assertion is at best, of course, a pious exaggeration, and as the author must have recognized, needs to be characterized historically as a just-so misrepresentation of the record. Meredith Baldwin Weddle, in WALKING IN THE WAY OF PEACE: QUAKER PACIFISM IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, recites the historical evidences for the existence of Quaker blockhouses, etc. which on their face easily and totally refute such tall tales. But inaccuracy is not the worst part. Basically, the Quaker historian Brinton was suggesting here –and suggesting very falsely– that to embrace the Quaker Peace Testimony can be the easy way out in that it can lead one directly to security. In making such a nefarious suggestion, of course, he was doing our Peace Testimony the ultimate disservice — he was suggesting not very subtly to prospective warriors among our young people, that it is alright to take the easy way out.)

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

September: The German physicist Werner Heisenberg, in uniform, visited his old mentor Niels Bohr (who was in part of Jewish heritage) in Copenhagen, and the two had a conversation about [possible new atomic weapons](#) that possibly might decide the world war — were the war to continue long enough for the inherent difficulties in this to be overcome. Heisenberg shocked Bohr by arguing that if this could produce a German victory, a German victory would best advance the cause of human civilization.

Both physicists were fearful of being overheard by government handlers, and so they spoke to each other in generalities, with considerable vagueness. Many years later, when they tried to reconstruct their conversations, it became clear that the conditions under which they had met had interfered with their ability to understand each other. For instance, did or did not Heisenberg have moral trepidations? Did he or did he not make



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miscalculations that deterred Germany from attempting to develop an atomic weapon, and were or were not the miscalculations intentional? –And so on and so forth. Even by the date of this writing, 2011, the analysis continues.

US warships protecting convoys to Europe began to attack German submarines.

### US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS

[John R. Kellam](#), who would be working in [Washington DC](#) for 3 years, moved from Cambridge, Massachusetts to Silver Spring, [Maryland](#) and began to attend the [Quaker](#) meeting at 2111 Florida Avenue NW in the District of Columbia, a Foxcroft-stone structure surrounded by embassies, chanceries, and military missions.<sup>55</sup> (Lest you suppose John was joining the Friends in order to avoid the draft, be aware that during [World War II](#), 89-91% of all eligible Quakers of draft age would serve in the Armed Forces.)



55. The meetinghouse had been erected particularly to accommodate President Herbert Hoover (who had been adopted and reared by a [Quaker](#) family), during his presidency from 1929 through 1932, and had been presented to the Friends by a Rhode Island Quaker. Friend John was informed that when the President had attended, a few Secret Service agents in business suits had sat near him in the little section reserved in advance for the group.





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Fall: The case of draft resistor [John R. Kellam](#) was transferred to the Selective Service Board of Silver Spring, [Maryland](#), which classified him as 1-A available for draft.



He would have to file an appeal and undergo an examination by the Federal Bureau of Investigation:



I had tried to convince that [draft board](#) chairman that he should stop being in a position where he was sending young men into the huge fray to be killing and injuring and getting injured and killed themselves.



I said, "That's a huge party that none of these young men should be in! It would be great if the young men of the whole world would tell their own governments NO! And I'm doing my little bit toward that."

Well, I appealed the 1A classification and so automatically my

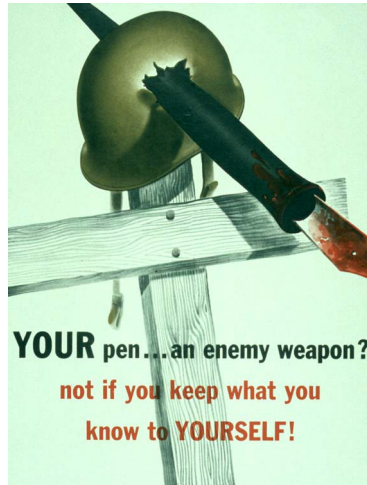


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file went to the [FBI](#) and they did a big survey of my background.



They even went to Frank Crassweller, my old Sunday School teacher, and asked him about me. And where did they find him? In the Duluth draft board office being their chairman! My chum had been, all through school from fifth grade on, a nephew of his, Robert Crassweller. But I found my [FBI](#) file later on — I had access to it. I could see who said what about me. I saw a summary of the whole [FBI](#) file, written by a hearing officer, John H. Skeen of the US Attorney's office, Maryland district, in Baltimore. I copied every word of it. I have it upstairs, in the back end of a file drawer. When I found out that Frank Crassweller was chairman of that draft board, I wrote to my chum, Robert Crassweller, who was by then working for the State Department in Washington.

I wrote, "What in the world has ever gotten into your Uncle Frank, who was such a wonderful teacher of Christian ethics in that Sunday School, Presbyterian Church of Duluth, of our neighborhood? How could he possibly accept the duties of a draft board member, let alone be chairman? I just don't understand how he could do it! It seems to me that a lot of the things that he said to us in Sunday School would mean that he would have had to decline any commission if it were offered for him to do that kind of a thing."

Bob's only reply was, "Well, there are quite a number of things about Uncle Frank that are beyond understanding."

Ha-ha-ha! And Bob's own father was a lawyer, too.

When the [FBI](#) asked Frank Crassweller what he thought of my claim of being a [conscientious objector](#), filing this form 47, and trying to justify it, he stated, according to the hearing officer's summary, "that registrant is definitely a conscientious objector and he believes the registrant should be classified in this grouping. He pointed out that registrant was registered with Local Board No. 1 in Duluth before moving to Silver Spring, Maryland, and at that time he and other members of the Duluth Draft Board considered registrant to be a conscientious objector. He considers registrant to be trustworthy, sincere and highly reliable."



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Now that was an interesting thing to read! That [FBI](#) report.  
Ha ha!

I went to the Bureau of Prisons in Washington one time after I had been transferred to the Silver Spring draft board and they had started to lean on me. I went to ask a number of questions. When they found out what I was there for and what kinds of feelings I had, they sent me to the supervisor of classifications of the whole prison system. So in his office I got the answers to all these questions about how jobs are doled out to the various kinds of inmates, who has control and how is it exercised, which inmate does which job, and how much choice does any of the inmates have about what he does, and so forth. He was very obliging and he became aware that I was really casing the place in advance, trying to understand as much as possible of what I was getting into. So he asked me a few questions and I didn't mind. I would just as soon avoid leading him to any conclusions about me, but I wasn't sure I was going to be able to because I knew what I was trying to stand for and not stand for and it was up to the government to make up its mind as to what to do about it. So learning as much as possible about the prisons would mean that I might be better able to calculate what my appropriate activities should include and which ones excluded. He seemed to be affably amused and wished me luck as I was leaving him. I thanked him for all the information I'd gotten and he invited me to put in more questions to him if I thought of anything that I still hadn't asked about. He was very obliging. This was a full year or two before I was tried for refusing induction. I think I went in there just about the right time.

It was at this point that I was fired for being a conscientious objector. There was one time, only one in my life, that such a thing happened. I was working for the National Capital Park and Planning Commission at Silver Spring, Maryland. A politician, E. Brooke Lee, had become its chairman. He had been the only candidate of his party to be defeated for an elected job, so his friends had appointed him to be our chairman. One day he surprised me by a generous compliment about my technical work on a design for revised traffic routing in a neighborhood near some property of his. I had thought myself outside of his notice, being very non-political as I was. Then, a week or two later, a political flunky appeared at my home a few minutes after I had returned from work one Friday evening, with a terse letter signed by the chairman notifying me that I had been terminated "for the good of the service." The Director of Planning, Fred W. Tuemmler, knew nothing of it but soon called me back to say the chairman had learned from the Silver Spring draft board chairman that I was registered as a CO, and that was the only reason. Well, Selective Service regulations required all information about registrants to be kept confidential by draft boards, so my betrayal was perfectly illegal. My boss, Mr. Tuemmler, was stunned and angry, and told me he had very nearly talked himself out of his own job, protesting that abusive termination. But Mr. Lee had enough political power so that he didn't need to be legally right, and his close friendship



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with the draft board chairman extended that principle to him as well. My sudden firing threw me for a loop, and it was quite a few days before I decided to take advantage of unemployment to complete the writing of my Master's thesis for MIT.  
(I've never lost a job except that once, so on balance I guess I've been pretty lucky.)



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1942

[Elbert Russell](#)'s THE HISTORY OF [QUAKERISM](#) (New York: Macmillan Company).<sup>56</sup> The Quaker group initiated by Friend Elbert in [Durham, North Carolina](#) would swell with the addition of [conscientious objectors](#) working at the Duke Hospital during [World War II](#).

[Dr. David Tillerson Smith](#) became president of the North Carolina [Tuberculosis](#) Association.

At the [Moses Brown School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) on top of the hill in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), a summer session was added so that students who would be seniors in the following year could complete their studies before being drafted and going off into "service" in the US military during [World War II](#). At night the city of [Providence](#) was blacked out, to make it harder for the German bombers to fly all the way across the Atlantic Ocean and bomb Providence the way they were flying all the way across the English Channel and bombing London. Military searchlights criss-crossed the skies.

The US Navy began to make use of Rear Admiral Ralph Waldo Christie's<sup>57</sup> expensive new Mark 14 proximity torpedoes in live combat situations. Field commanders reported back again and again from the battle zones: "This new torpedo doesn't go off." The Bureau of Ordnance, of course, refused to credit such reports. At the Newport Torpedo Station on what little still remained above water level of what had once been [Goat Island](#) in the harbor of [Newport](#), production of the deficient devices continued apace.



56. This book would receive the [Mayflower Cup](#) award of the [North Carolina](#) Literary and Historical Association for works of nonfiction by local authors.


57. Commander, US Submarine Force, Southwest Pacific (ComSubSoWesPac).

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An American pilot on his first bombing mission over Europe, Paul W. Tibbets, Jr., felt “sick with thoughts of the civilians who might suffer from the bombs dropped by his machine” and, as he watched the black pellets drop away under his aircraft (he later confided), was going “My God, women and children are getting killed!” However, his bombs missed their target on this initial mission and pilot Tibbets was forced to take stock of himself. He came to realize that he had been so “intent on what was going to happen on the ground” that he hadn’t been able to do his “job right.” In the future, as in the “[Enola Gay](#)” B29 he would name after his mother, at 32,000 feet over [Hiroshima](#) on August 6, 1945 , he would be able to behave more responsibly.

[WORLD WAR II](#)

This war-addled pilot would even develop a posture in regard to the sort of [conscientious objection](#) exemplified by Friend [John R. Kellam](#): “Every man ought to pay the price to live in this country. And that





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means helping to defend it.”



Meanwhile, back home, the US Army's Chemical Warfare Services was beginning mustard gas experiments on approximately 4,000 servicemen. The experiments would continue until 1945 and would make use of Seventh Day Adventist [conscientious objectors](#) who had gotten themselves maneuvered, during draft-board persecution, into volunteering as [human guinea pigs](#) (in order to prove to the authorities, of course, that they were patriotic, and demonstrate, to the authorities, that they were manly men rather than cowards).

[GAS WARFARE](#)

Here's an interesting point in comparison. According to the records, a total of 3,166 civilian prisoners from Dachau and Mauthausen classified as “unfit to work” would be transported during this period to the Hartheim Schloss mental health establishment near Linz in Austria, just over the [German](#) border, to be executed by gassing. The centerpiece of the SS's euthanasia campaign, this would be the only Nazi institution from which there would be zero survivors. Something like 10,000 mentally retarded or crippled German children would be taken there to be executed, with their ashes spread over the waters of the Danube and Traun rivers. The brains of a total of 772 children from Vienna alone would be pickled in individual glass jars. The Hartheim Schloss staff of about 80 persons received extra pay plus a nice alcohol allowance. Today, the grounds of what had been Hartheim Schloss contain apartment buildings. There is a plaque on the wall of an entrance hall, to remind the 22 families who live there of sad events that had transpired.

The point in comparison which I would like to raise is based on the fact that this euthanasia campaign in Austria was directed by Dr. Rudolf Lonauer of Linz, a psychiatrist, and during May 1945 at the end of [World War II](#), while the chickens were coming home to roost so to speak, Dr. Lonauer would euthanize himself. That being the case, why on earth is it, do you suppose, that Colonel Tibbets failed to euthanize himself? –When it comes to matters such as these, is being on the winning side that much different from being on the losing side?

Inquiring minds want to know.

**BETWEEN ANY TWO MOMENTS ARE AN INFINITE NUMBER OF MOMENTS, AND BETWEEN THESE OTHER MOMENTS LIKEWISE AN INFINITE NUMBER, THERE BEING NO ATOMIC MOMENT JUST AS THERE IS NO ATOMIC POINT ALONG A LINE. MOMENTS ARE THEREFORE FIGMENTS. THE PRESENT MOMENT IS A MOMENT AND AS SUCH IS A FIGMENT, A FLIGHT OF THE IMAGINATION TO WHICH NOTHING REAL CORRESPONDS. SINCE PAST MOMENTS HAVE PASSED OUT OF EXISTENCE AND FUTURE MOMENTS**





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**HAVE YET TO ARRIVE, WE NOTE THAT THE PRESENT MOMENT IS ALL THAT EVER EXISTS — AND YET THE PRESENT MOMENT BEING A MOMENT IS A FIGMENT TO WHICH NOTHING IN REALITY CORRESPONDS.**

Summer: It was probably at this point (he's still certain of the season, but not exactly of the year) that [John R. Kellam](#) visited his older brother, in training at Carlyle Barracks in Pennsylvania, and learned a thing or two about the ethos of warfare:

I noticed that on one of the buildings was mounted, in large metal letters, the motto of the medical corps, the army medical corps: To Preserve Fighting Strength. Not to save lives, not to prevent the injured GIs from dying, but to patch them up so they could go out and do some more killing. I suppose for some younger COs who hadn't done as much thinking as I'd been through, it was possible for them to let themselves be drawn into the Army Corps on the promises that they wouldn't be asked to do the killing directly. But there it was, in bold relief! The only and official reason for having an army medical corps is to prevent the loss of fighting strength where possible.

At this point, six months after the Japanese and the German declarations of war upon the United States of America, declarations which had been eagerly sought by [President Franklin Delano Roosevelt](#) by every means under his control, the Commander in Chief bragged to Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau about his personal trickiness: "You know I am a juggler, and I never let my right hand know what my left hand does ... and furthermore I am perfectly willing to mislead and tell untruths if it will help win the war."<sup>58</sup>



As Friend [John R. Kellam](#) now insists upon reminding people lest they forget and again let down their guard,

### Quaker Peace Testimony

### "Stack of the Artist of Kouroo" Project

58. I can well imagine that any number of people are going to be outraged at the manner in which this Kouroo Contexture categorizes Franklin Delano Roosevelt as having been a moral cripple. How can I be allowed to describe an American war president in such terms? I conceive, however, that in the interest of an honest historical analysis, no other course is possible — the man proudly, repeatedly condemned himself out of his own mouth. As a point in comparison, in Ken Kesey's "One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest" the point-of-view character (ably portrayed in the movie by Jack Nicholson) was a self-admitted child molester who remained amused by his own behavior, and our sympathy with his lobotomization is distanced by the realization that he was an extremely dangerous person who under no circumstances could be allowed access to children. In analyzing the record of this US president it is similarly necessary for us, Republican or Democrat, to distance ourselves, and bear in mind historically that it had been an extremely tragic error that we had ever allowed a man of this low character to assume a position of higher responsibility than, say, some town's dogcatcher or accountant.



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The first casualty of war is the truth.





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**1943**

The worship group of [Quakers](#) that had been meeting monthly in the Social Room at the Duke University Divinity School in [North Carolina](#) would during this year become the [Durham independent monthly meeting](#), organized as an independent monthly meeting under the sponsorship of the Friends Fellowship Council.



Clerks of Meeting	
1943-1947	Edward K. Kraybill
1947-1948	William Van Hoy, Jr.
1949-1949	John de J. Pemberton, Jr.
1950-1951	Harry R. Stevens
1951-1952	John A. Barlow
1952-1957	<a href="#">Susan Gower Smith</a>
1957-1960	Frances C. Jeffers
1960-1961	Cyrus M. Johnson
1961-1965	Peter H. Klopfer
1965-1967	Rebecca W. Fillmore
1967-1968	<a href="#">David Tillerson Smith</a>
1968-1970	Ernest Albert Hartley
1970-1971	John Hunter
1971-1972	John Gamble
1972-1974	Lyle B. Snider (2 terms)
1974-1975	Helen Gardella
1976-1978	Cheryl F. Junk
1978-1980	Alice S. Keighton
1980-1982	John B. Hunter
1982-1984	Edward M. Arnett



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1984-1986	<a href="#">Calhoun D. Geiger</a>
1986-1988	John P. Stratton
1988-1990	J. Robert Passmore
1990-1992	Karen Cole Stewart
1992-1995	Kathleen Davidson March
1995-1998	Nikki Vangsnes
1998-2000	Co-clerks J. Robert Passmore & Karen Cole Stewart
2000-2002	Amy Brannock
2002-2002	Jamie Hysjulien (Acting)
2002-2005	William Thomas O'Connor
2005-2007	Terry Graedon
2007-2009	Anne Akwari
2009-2012	Joe Graedon
2012-2013	Marguerite Dingman
2013-	Co-clerks Cathy Bridge & David Bridge



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

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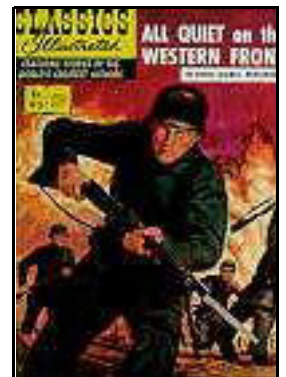
[Go To MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM](#)

[Dr. David Tillerson Smith](#) again was president of the North Carolina [Tuberculosis](#) Association.

Despite being a “birthright” [Quaker](#) and therefore, at least hypothetically, subject to the [Peace Testimony](#) of the Religious Society of Friends, [Richard Milhous Nixon](#) served as a reserve officer on active duty with the US Navy, building jungle airstrips in the South Pacific (his primary wartime activity seems, in retrospect, to have been playing poker, at which he must have been quite good since he would accumulate a significant “war chest” toward his subsequent California political aspirations).



Lew Ayres, the Hollywood actor who had in 1930 appeared in “All Quiet on the Western Front” (and at the end took a sniper bullet through his helmet, upon which butterflies alighted), registered as a [conscientious objector](#). He was instantly fired by L.B. Mayer of MGM and wound up in a [WWII](#) labor camp. From there he would enter the Army as a noncombatant and serve more than three years in the medical corps — for repeated rescue of wounded soldiers he would receive 3 battle stars for courage under fire.



Friend [John R. Kellam](#) worked at the [Friends'](#) Committee on National Legislation for the first year of its existence. At the time there were four staff members at the FCNL, including one part-time volunteer.<sup>59</sup>

There was a young Friend in the [Washington DC](#) Friends' Meeting

59. From my many conversations with Friend John, I am confident that he has never harbored any suspicion whatever, that the savagery with which he was treated by the draft system on account of his conscientious objection in being held in a maximum security prison incommunicado until considerably after the end of the war, was in any way connected with the fact that he was working during wartime, in Washington, for the FCNL, and publishing his Quaker witness against participation in war. (I offer this observation because I myself am not so unsuspicious as he.)



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at Florida Avenue named Milan Lambertson. I think he came from Kansas. He had registered as a conscientious objector and he hadn't known anybody who was, so I knew how that was! I went about three years alone after deciding how I felt about war and to keep out of it. At least at first I was just keeping out of the shooting end of it. Later on I became more thorough about it. But he had come to the same general feeling that he just couldn't help in the killing and destruction of war. The trouble was that his father was Congressman Lambertson of that state and when his father learned about it, he was personally affronted by any son of his who took such a draft dodging stand. He looked at his son almost violently saying that, if his son persisted in this, a congressman couldn't run for dog catcher back home with any chance of winning. Milan was plucky enough, so I believe that he did tell his father that the whole family had been less happy since his father had gone into politics than they ever were before that. Life had changed since the move to Washington particularly in ways that weren't good for the whole family. So he, Milan, wouldn't be too sorry if his father couldn't be elected dog catcher anywhere! Well, Milan came under a lot of pressure and he swerved from his determination just enough so that with his father influencing he got his draft board to assign him to 1AO, which means you are in the army but as an objector to the combat. He was going to be a noncombatant. So he got sent into a medical infirmary in the army down in Florida or it may have been Georgia. He, being new, was put on the night shift. In charge of the infirmary he had to pass out medications as authorized even though he wasn't a pharmacist. One night, he wrote to me occasionally in the army, he had been whiling away the time in the infirmary when everything was quiet learning how to use the typewriter. He typed out various things like "Now is the time for all good men to come to the aid of their party." He found himself typing this phrase: "Yours are the hands that heal the hands that go out to kill another man." He was helping the army to get people back into combat. It embarrassed him and disgusted him. Seeing this on the typewriter paper showed him that he had gone too far. He shouldn't have allowed himself to be sent into the army even for noncombatant duty. Knowing that story from him in the letter had a strengthening effect. I was very glad he wrote that.

He spent his whole life in the ministry after he was out of the army. He had first one church and then another. He was assigned to be a pastor in many churches. He had a family and he was adequately supported. Not too many people in his congregations differed with him to the point where it ever became much of an issue anymore, so I was glad for that.



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Early in the year: [John R. Kellam](#) became a [Quaker](#).



At that point, there were only a few young American Quakers who were willing to hold with the Peace Testimony. In fact, for every one Quaker youth who was declaring himself to be a [conscientious objector](#) to war, there were nine other Quaker youths who were putting on one or another US military uniform! (Which is to say that in consideration of percentages, during the [World War II](#) period 89-91% of all eligible American Quaker males of draft age would be going into the US Armed Forces.)

I started meeting at Florida Avenue in the District of Columbia, in September 1941, three months before Pearl Harbor. I was on my way to one of the Young Friends' meetings Sunday evening at about seven o'clock when the news of Pearl Harbor came over my car radio. Only a few others arriving there had heard it.



**Who would have thought  
they'd sneak up on us?**

–But what did it actually mean, in such a year as 1943, to be a [Quaker](#) and fully to live up to the obligations which that imposed? To provide you with some background on that sort of question, here is a statement that would be issued during that year, with London under heavy attack, by the London Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends:

All thoughtful men and women are torn at heart by the present situation. The savage momentum of war drags us all in its wake. We desire a righteous peace. Yet to attain peace it is claimed





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that, as Chungking, Rotterdam and Coventry were devastated, so the Eder and Moehne dams must needs be destroyed and whole districts of Hamburg obliterated. The people of Milan and Turin demonstrate for peace but the bombing continues. War is hardening our hearts. To preserve our sanity, we become apathetic. In such an atmosphere no true peace can be framed; yet before us we see months of increasing terror. Can those who pay heed to moral laws, can those who follow Christ submit to the plea that the only way is that demanded by military necessity?

True peace involves freedom from tyranny and a generous tolerance; conditions that are denied over a large part of Europe and are not fulfilled in other parts of the world. But true peace cannot be dictated, it can only be built in co-operation between all peoples. None of us, no nation, no citizen, is free from some responsibility for this situation with its conflicting difficulties.

To the world in its confusion Christ came. Through him we know that God dwells with men and that by turning from evil and living in his spirit we may be led into his way of peace. That way of peace is not to be found in any policy of "unconditional surrender" by whomsoever demanded. It requires that men and nations should recognise their common brotherhood, using the weapons of integrity, reason, patience and love, never acquiescing in the ways of the oppressor, always ready to suffer with the oppressed. In every country there is a longing for freedom from domination and war which men are striving to express.



### War Elegy XI

(The Internment, Waldport, Oregon; January, 1943)

by William Everson

To sunder the rock that is our day,  
In the weak light  
Under high fractured cliffs,  
We turn with our hands the raw granite;  
We break it with iron.  
Under that edge it suffers reduction.  
Harsh, dense and resistant,  
The obdurate portions  
Flaw and divide.

We wait suspended in time  
Locked out of our lives we abide, we endure  
Our temporal grievance diminished and slight



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In the total awareness of what obtains,  
Outside, in the bone-broken world.  
Confronting encroachment the mind toughens and grows.  
From this exigency both purpose and faith achieve coherence:  
Such is our gain.  
We perceive our place in the terrible pattern,  
And temper with pity the fierce gall,  
Hearing the sadness,  
The loss and the utter desolation,  
Howl at the heart of the world.

September: The [draft board](#) was on the lookout for anything that would enable them not to classify [Friend John R. Kellam](#) as a 4E [conscientious objector](#). But, it would seem, the draft board was not all of one mind:



They didn't want to have a conscientious objector in their list. This is when I saw, in [Baltimore](#), John H. Skeen, at the hearing in September 1943. He took notes all during this hearing and then he sent me a copy of his notes, his own transcript of his notes. He wouldn't have been encouraged to do anything other than what he was legally bound to do because they weren't supposed to give any registrant any more advantage against the government than necessary.

WORLD WAR II





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October 23, Saturday: Friend [John R. Kellam](#)'s article "Can Pacifists Cooperate" was printed in The Friend, a bi-weekly religious and literary journal published in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. It is reproduced here from the issue of Tenth Month 28, 1943. Vol. 117. No. 9.<sup>60</sup>

### CAN PACIFISTS COOPERATE?

By John Roderick Kellam

[\[click inside the square\]](#)

60. From my many conversations with [Friend](#) John, I am confident that he has never harbored any suspicion whatever, that the savagery with which he was treated by the draft system on account of his conscientious objection in being held in a maximum security prison incommunicado until considerably after the end of the war, was in any way connected with the fact that he was working during wartime, in Washington, for the FCNL, and publishing his Quaker witness against participation in war. (I offer this observation because I myself am not so unsuspicious as he.)



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December 12, Sunday: [German](#) Submarine U-172 was sunk by aircraft (VC-19) from escort carrier *Bogue* (CVE-9), and destroyers *Badger* (DD-126), *Dupont* (DD-152), *Clemson* (DD-186), and *Ingraham* (DD-694) in the mid-Atlantic, at 26 degrees 19 minutes North, 29 degrees 58 minutes West.

On 12th day of 12th month the [Quaker](#) monthly meeting in [Durham, North Carolina](#) was organized as an independent monthly meeting. During [WWII](#), [conscientious objectors](#) who were serving in Civilian Public Service at Duke Hospital were attending the Meeting and honoring the [Peace Testimony](#) of the Religious Society of Friends, adding to its numbers and spiritual depth. In its early years, evening meetings for worship were held in various members' homes, in the social room of Duke Divinity School, in York Chapel, and by 1953 in the basement of Duke University Chapel. The first gathering for worship had been held on 14th day of 11th month 1937 in the home of [Lieuetta and Elbert Russell](#) because President William Preston Few of Duke University, in whose early history both Quakers and Methodists played an active role, had asked Dean Russell of the university's Divinity School, as a Quaker, to reach out to other Friends among the faculty and students. [Susan Gower Smith](#), medical researcher at the Medical Center, and her husband, [David Tillerson Smith](#), professor of microbiology and pathology in the School of Medicine, had been present at that initial meeting. In 1955 Friends would move a small temporary building the Smiths had obtained for the Meeting to land it had purchased on Alexander Avenue, making First Day morning meetings for worship finally possible. The goal of having a permanent meetinghouse would materialize a year later with the dedication of the 1st brick meetinghouse on the 12th day of 9th month, 1956. The temporary building would then provide a place for First Day School, and later it would become the initial classroom of the Carolina Friends School Early School. The first permanent meetinghouse, as well as the survival of the Meeting itself, depended almost entirely on the faith, foresight, financial support, and sustaining presence of the Smiths. At that time there were only a dozen families involved in the Meeting and an average attendance of only twelve persons. Yet many concerns occupied the thoughts and time of the Meeting during its early years: the elimination of racial prejudice, the rehabilitation of prisoners in North Carolina, advocacy for the aged in the community, and aid to individuals in distress due to wars and physical displacement. Over time the meeting would grow, establishing connections with the world of Friends and witnessing to the surrounding community and wider world. On 14th day of 11th month 1954, the Meeting would join the North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative), called conservative because Meetings in this Yearly Meeting were maintaining the original silent form of worship and other traditions of early Friends. With racial integration and the promotion of Quaker values their top priorities, Susan and David Smith, Martha and Peter Klopfer, and Chapel Hill Friends would in 1962 join together to form the Carolina Friends School Corporation, with the blessing of Durham and Chapel Hill Meetings. For the first couple of years Carolina Friends School classes would be held solely on the Durham Friends Meeting campus. In 1966 the first grade would move to the Orange County campus on land provided by Martha and Peter Klopfer and Susan and David Smith. With a 2-room brick addition funded by the Smiths, the Early School complex would serve Carolina Friends School for more than 35 years before being removed to make way for the new meetinghouse. During 12th month 1968, Durham Friends Meeting and other meetings in the general area would meet in Durham to form what would become the Piedmont Friends Fellowship. The aim of this organization would be to deal with the special needs of unprogrammed meetings in this region, particularly regarding Friends' response to the continued war in Vietnam. Active in draft counseling during the Vietnam War, the Meeting would in 1969 contribute to the establishment of Quaker House in Fayetteville and later its military counseling service and an unprogrammed meeting. The first resident directors there would be from the Meeting (two families presently in the Meeting have served as resident directors as well). In 1975 the Piedmont Friends Fellowship would become affiliated with Friends General Conference. Thus the Meeting would come to have connections with two branches of unprogrammed Friends, the Wilburite Friends through the Yearly Meeting and the Hicksite branch through the Piedmont Friends Fellowship and Friends General Conference (this is unusual among Conservative Friends). The 1980s would bring an increase in attendance, particularly in the number of families with children, and consequently



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a need for more adequate Early School and First Day School facilities. In 1987 members of Durham Meeting would begin a spiritual process of discernment and planning to meet these needs. In collaboration with Carolina Friends School, a new Early School building shared by First Day School would be completed during 9th month 2001. After a long period of discernment, the Meeting would in 10th month 1993 approve a minute supporting same gender marriage by affirming the Light in all spiritual, emotional, and physical relationships between individuals that are characterized by love, support, growth, and sincerity and in which faith, hope, and truth abide. Further expanding its campus, the Meeting would during 6th month 2004 complete the new larger meetinghouse, ushering in a new period of growth. A few years later the restoration of the historic meetinghouse would be complete with a renovated kitchen to support a growing program for youth. Today there are 330 active members and attenders in the Meeting and 116 children and young people, who, with their families, have contributed to the Meeting's growth and vibrancy in recent years. The Meeting's many committees have become more active, and new ones, such as Earthcare Witness, have been added. Through all the years the Meeting has lent support to the Friends Committee on National Legislation and the American Friends Service Committee, both with financial contributions and the service of many meeting members as volunteers and staff. Two members of the Meeting served as Peace Education directors in the American Friends Service Committee's Southeastern Region. In these ways and through the varied leadings of individual members and committees, the Meeting has remained faithful to the movement of Spirit, centering down together in the silence, and seeking guidance from the Light within.



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1944

March: Although Friend [Bayard Rustin](#), as an accredited member of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) and adherent of the Society's peace testimony, was entitled to do alternative service as a [conscientious objector](#) rather than serve in the uniformed armed services, he found himself unable to accept alternative service because so many young men, not members of a recognized peace church, were receiving harsh prison sentences for refusing to be drafted. He was therefore found guilty of violating the Selective Service Act and sentenced to three years in the federal penitentiary at Ashland, Kentucky.

[MILITARY CONSCRIPTION](#)



(While under incarceration, he would of course set about to resist the culture of prison racial segregation.)





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October: While Friend [John R. Kellam](#) was working at city planning in Toledo, [Ohio](#), the draft board there “didn’t want any CO to be on their record.”







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So they reclassified me to 1A.



**WORLD WAR II**



150 American POWs who were constructing an airfield on the island of Palawan in the Philippines for the [Japanese](#) heard an air-raid alarm and were herded by their guards into an underground shelter. It was a trick and the guards poured gasoline down. 142 were either burned to death or shot as they tried to climb out (8 managed to sneak out a door at the rear and get away).

**WORLD WAR II**



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1945

January: After one night in the Cleveland jail, and after awaiting trial for awhile in the damp, dark Toledo jail,<sup>61</sup> draft refuser [John R. Kellam](#) prepared for his big day in court. He was to have been represented by local attorney Arthur Kline, but this lawyer had counseled his client in advance that, for reasons of personal advancement, no local attorney would be able to represent a draft evader in any proper and vigorous manner before the court. Due to the political climate, this would be too dangerous for the defense attorney. Therefore John was obliged to represent himself, without benefit of in-court counsel and representation.<sup>62</sup> He was tried before Judge Klobe, was convicted, was sentenced to the maximum five years, plus a fine of a thousand dollars (the judge's opinion was that this was the most egregious case he had ever heard), and was packed off to a minimum-security prison in Milan, Michigan, where the warden, Mr. Lemuel F. Fox, was also the chairperson of the prison [draft board](#):



WORLD WAR II

The last draft board that ever considered me reclassified me correctly in 4-E, as a [conscientious objector](#) — at last! I never met any of them, but they were the three top officers in the Milan, Michigan, minimum security prison that I went to first from Toledo, just north of Detroit, maybe fifty or sixty miles north of Toledo.

I wasn't willing to do war work in their shop and their jobs were all geared to the war effort and any inmate was

61. While an inmate in the Toledo jail awaiting trial for draft refusal, John met an man with brain damage due to the grand mal seizures of his epilepsy: "Nobody was spending a dime more for electrical energy than they could get away with. The food was horrible and everything was as bad as you would expect in the middle ages. People visiting couldn't even see the inmates through all the dark screening and hardware cloths and dense black, that old screening with tiny holes in those screens — I don't think a flea could have gotten through there. I got up early one morning and I heard a fellow grumbling and moaning and I thought the fellow was sick or something. So before I could inquire, at the risk of waking up other inmates, I heard him say, 'How come some folks neva goes to jail and others allus lands in jail? That's me.'

Then there was a silent period and a deep sigh and I heard the same voice saying, 'If I would of knew what I know now I wouldn't of did what I done.'

Well, I wondered how he had gotten himself into jail. It didn't seem as if he had enough intellect to pull off any caper that was clever. So I visited him later in the day and we got to talking. I said, 'Everybody in here is different and in for a completely different kind of a thing.'

I told him what I was in there for.

'Oh, geez,' he said, 'that's tough.'

He recognized that I was in there for trying to be good. He said,

'I'm not very smart. I thought I could make some dollar bills and pass 'em off. I never had a good job but this might get me a few bucks.'

So he was counterfeiting currency but he didn't have plates that were worth anything and I don't know what kind of pictures he was drawing to try to make them look like dollar bills, but it was, I gathered, a very crude job of counterfeiting. He didn't have any real plates to print from, they didn't have very good machines in those days, but then I didn't see any of his work! But he never got started more than a few days before he'd get grabbed. And it had happened repeatedly.

'I've been spending half my life in places like this. I don't even get started before they grab me.'

Apparently he just wasn't smart enough to get by with any quantity at all before he'd get caught."

62. A study of this period in our history should begin with Sibley, Mulford Q. and Philip E. Jacob, CONSCRIPTION OF CONSCIENCE: THE AMERICAN STATE AND THE CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR, 1940-1947 (Ithaca NY: Cornell UP, 1952).



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interchangeable at the will of the administration of the prison from one job to another. Even if I were only a janitor, or was in the kitchen, I'd be replacing someone who was in the shops to do war work. They tried to find some kind of work that I might find acceptable and maybe even interesting – something that wouldn't appear to be connected too closely to the war effort that all prison shops were engaged in. But this interchangeability of inmates meant that I was in an organization where everyone possible was supposed to be in war work and whatever I did, somebody else wouldn't be needed for because I was doing it. So it just became quite obvious to me that I could not accept any kind of occupational duty in that institution or in any prison, for that matter. If I could do war work, I might as well do it in the army! I was there because I wouldn't! Ha-ha-ha! Well, and they couldn't get me out of there to go into Civilian Public Service for the same reason, that I would feel wrongfully engaged in any CPS camp run by churches, by government or anybody at all as part of the whole war system. I didn't belong in the war system in any capacity whatsoever. Any job considered essential during that time would be helping to kill people.

Lee Stern was a very tender soul, and he and I had some very nice conversations. While we were talking one time, a big cockroach came across the floor and I stepped over there and raised my foot. Lee Stern said, "Oh, please!"

I put my foot down and looked at him and I said, "Well, what do you think we should do with this cockroach? In view of their spreading disease like crazy –"

His answer was, "Well, we could play with him."

He didn't want any living thing to be destroyed. I had never given a second thought to it. But he had an extremely thoroughgoing respect for every kind of life....

Dr. Henry Hitt Crane was a minister in Detroit, Michigan. He had heard there were a bunch of COs at Milan. He had a great big church and he was well known as a powerful minister. He decided one time that he'd go and see what COs they had in that prison at Milan – it wasn't too far from Detroit – and see what he could do to be of service to those inmates. Also he'd see how the officers in charge were doing about COs. So he wrote to the bureau of prisons saying that he was going to drive over to Milan, Michigan, and talk to all the COs they had there. A slow letter came a week or two later that if you desire to visit the prison, you first have to make application on the required forms and we will consult the bureau's head office in Washington to see if you would be allowed to do this. Well, he fired back a letter saying that he was not to be told by them what he could and could not do.

"I'm telling you that I'm going to do it on that date. Please be ready."

He said that he would want to meet with all of the COs there, assembled together in whatever conference room would be available. He gave the time of his expected arrival. Well, whatever flurry of correspondence there was within the bureau of prisons, he was told that they would be ready for him to come.

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They gave him the red carpet treatment. They set up a conference room and they gave him a list of the COs that they had and with a few exceptions he could have them all come.... I was in that conference and Dr. Crane learned a lot about all the COs, what their various statuses were and where their families were. He got a lot of addresses and he wrote letters to families who were close enough to visit and others who were not close enough to visit. He was very friendly and serviceable. As for Corbett Bishop, he had to go up to Corbett's hospital cell where he was being force-fed through the tube. Corbett later told me about this Dr. Crane. It was just before Corbett went into not functioning to take care of his own output. But he was just about ready to do that. Dr. Crane asked him how soon this was likely to happen. Well, Corbett said it might be a few hours, it might be a few days, he didn't know yet.

"Whenever the spirit leads me I'm going to follow the spirit," said Corbett. Then he lapsed into his Alabama accent and he said, "As a matter of fact, my back teeth are floating right now!"



Well, before long Corbett and I were in close proximity, separated by just maybe one vacant cell between, and I got kind of acquainted with him after I'd been taken down to that hospital during a fast. Locked in cells, we never did get to see each other's faces.

I could not reach a shower, so I was taken by wheelchair to the one near a ward room, and set on a chair within the curtain. After I got soaked, the water turned suddenly scalding hot as someone turned the cold valve shut. I heard my voice ring out once before my feet lifted to the wall and propelled me and the curtain out backward to the open tiled floor. One or more inmates were being yelled at by a supervisor. I got towelled dry, and was not put into the shower stall again. A practical joke, probably.<sup>63</sup>

I got into the fast shortly after a prison censor had taken offense at some of the things I wrote to my wife who was still living in Toledo before moving to Washington DC, back home to



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live with her mother some more. After Roosevelt died I wrote to Carol saying a number of things I had respected him for as he did whatever he could to get this country out of the awful depression. I didn't know yet that he had made things a lot worse deliberately during Hoover's lame duck days, after the election and before the March 4th inauguration. It wasn't January 20th then. It was March 4th and that was a pretty long time in which Roosevelt and his banking friends did some maneuvers that got the country into worse condition so that this charging knight in armor could come in and save the whole country from the "Hoover depression." What he did was to adopt a lot of the



1932



1934



1941

policies that Hoover had tried to get Congress to help with, but they wouldn't do it for him. But they did it right away for Roosevelt. Anyway, Roosevelt used ruses in getting this country into the shooting war by plotting with Churchill, since before Churchill was prime minister, using the heads of state code both ways; he gave that privilege to Churchill when he shouldn't have. And he was figuring out how best to induce [Japan](#) to attack us in some outpost or other, like Guam or the Philippines or some other island base, not dreaming that Japan could come as far as past Midway and all the way down to Honolulu with the big attack.

Well, there was a code clerk in the London embassy under John F. Kennedy's father, Ambassador Joseph Patrick Kennedy. This code clerk, Tyler Kent, felt resentful of the perfidious nature of these communications between Roosevelt and Churchill about how to get Japan to mount some kind of an attack on us. They figured out how to do it together, by building up the US trade with Japan over a year and a half of time so that Japan would have about 90% of all its foreign trade with us, the United States. And that would balance an unusually large proportion, around 10%, of all our foreign trade. Previously, Japan had much less of its foreign trade with us. A necessary balance of currency could be maintained. We could get Japan heavily

63. The last time I saw Corbett Bishop was in Washington. He came to the FCNL office in order to tell me that he was out and he wasn't likely to have any more trouble from Selective Service because they had washed their hands of him and he was too old for them to be interested in him anymore. They'd harassed him enough so they were satisfied. Cat and mouse harassment. And climbing around on his shoulders was a great big raccoon. He was on a chain leash and was thoroughly domesticated and was interested in meeting other people, anybody that Corbett was willing to have him meet was fine with him! Ha-ha-ha! It was wonderful getting acquainted with an animal that was different than I'd ever known before. Later on, oh maybe five or so years after that meeting, I learned that Corbett Bishop was dead. Some kind of a quarrel had happened and somebody down in Alabama had been offended by somebody else and in the melee Corbett was mortally injured.



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dependent on us, without our becoming too heavily involved with Japan. Then, all of that trade could be shut off suddenly, like turning a faucet quickly enough to cause a water hammer in the pipes. Japan's economy could receive a very serious jolt, insulting them for their tripartite link with Germany and Italy, bringing up revengeful reactions. Hopefully, this would provoke them to retaliate by some military attack, probably on a minor outpost of the US in the western Pacific. Then, with public approval, Congress could be persuaded to declare war on Japan, and in short order FDR expected a quick victory to take Japan out of the "axis powers." But, more immediately, our declaration would obligate Germany and Italy to declare war on us which is exactly what Roosevelt and Churchill wanted. Until that happened, any US declaration against Germany would be too hard to win from Congress. We couldn't do more than be a mere supplier of weapons and war materials in convoys to Britain. And at the same time Roosevelt was assuring the parents of young Americans that they would not be sent to fight in foreign wars, "except in case of attack." Tyler Kent was incensed at this secret deception in direct violation of the American public's strong desire to stay out of war. A powerful determination arose in him, by hindsight somewhat recklessly, to see if he could "blow the whistle" on Franklin Roosevelt.

Tyler arranged that, on his annual stateside furlough, he would be seeing the chairman, Tom Connolly, of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate. They were the leaders for setting foreign policy for the United States which the State Department, under the president, would be implementing. That's the way things were in those days. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee did have that power to design our foreign policies. So this young coding clerk thought this was the most perfidious thing he could imagine happening, worse than anything he'd ever heard of. He resented having to translate through the codes machine, the messages both ways between these two leaders. He could easily understand that Churchill was loyally defending his own homeland from Hitler's forces by every possible means, fair or foul, as his proper duty. But FDR was deceiving all America against this nation's determination to stay isolated from direct military action far away from the Western Hemisphere and our homeland. Therefore, Tyler considered one of these leaders corrupt and infuriating. He assumed, mistakenly, that Connolly would not have been informed about Roosevelt's crooked deal with Churchill.

So, Connolly blew the whistle back at Tyler Kent. He told Roosevelt about it. Roosevelt told Churchill that he wanted Kent arrested and tried in secret by a British tribunal and sent away long enough so that the war would probably be over before he ever saw daylight again outside that prison. So he was secretly tried and sentenced to prison on the Isle of Wight for seven years. He did about five years of his sentence. Tyler's mother, Mrs. Anne H.P. Kent, noticed that the publicity about it was squelched in the American press almost as soon as it began in June 1940, and was distraught and wanted to get her son out of that British prison and brought over to this side because, as





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an embassy employee, he was supposed to have immunity under British law. If he did anything that violated British law, he was supposed to be brought over here and tried in our courts for it. After all, we were buddies with Britain! But she wanted him tried in open court so that his reasons for doing what he did, even without statutory protection for whistleblowers, could be exposed. He had a conscientious reason for doing what he was doing. Well, Roosevelt and Churchill weren't going to allow that. She came, Tyler Kent's mother, to the Florida Avenue (Quaker) Meetinghouse to a specially called meeting sometime in 1942, to see if there was anybody there -she'd been meeting with various church groups all around the Washington area- anybody there who might have an idea on how she could get her son tried as he should have been under American law in open court. This is supposed to be a democracy and she thought it could be a democracy even in wartime. Of course what she didn't realize was that it wasn't one. The people are supposed to believe that they are still in one, but as a practical matter, when the chips are down, there isn't any such thing in America. It's a conversational democracy. That's about all it can be during the war effort.

We got the whole story of how Mrs. Kent's son had gotten into this terrible trouble and how he had been betrayed and how Roosevelt had been so perfidious, plotting to get us into war and at the same time assuring every American parent that he wasn't going to send their sons into any foreign war, "except in case of attack." He gave himself that little out, while he was arranging for us to be attacked. He was calculating how to get [Japan](#) to do it. Well, when foreign trade with Japan between July 1941 and September 1941 went from a bustling trade to a tiny trickle within just two months, that threw the Japanese empire's whole financial system into such a chaos that they suddenly had only about 10% of their world trade left and they had a war in China to feed with it. So they felt that we had been pretty sneaky. Japanese concepts of revenge were strong. So they outdid themselves by sinking so many of our ships at Pearl Harbor. They had phenomenal luck, and the Americans not dreaming that anything like that could be done by Japan, didn't defend. They didn't really keep track, although there was some important information from decoded Japanese messages that Admiral Husband E. Kimmel and Lieutenant General Walter Short were sacrificed for not using. Naturally, they were underinformed about those intercepted messages indicating the preparations for the attack.

The [FBI](#) had a perfectly easy job to get me convicted. They didn't have to lift a finger outside of the truth. I'd signed the whole statement acknowledging what I'd refused to do when they'd offered me the oath of induction into the army and they knew before that, it was on the record on file. My whole Selective Service file was full of it. I knew exactly who and what I was and they'd even interviewed a whole lot of people about me and found out that it was all hanging together. So, my having admitted exactly what I did and setting things straight in context in an order of time, they didn't have to lie in court,





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under oath to the judge in order to win their case. It wasn't their case anyway. Selective Service was insulted by my behavior in refusing.



So, I began to wonder seriously about the **FBI**. Judge Klobe had an animus. He had one week earlier been bawled out in his own courtroom, before he could stop the guy, by a Jehovah's Witness person who didn't claim to be conscientiously opposed to all war. Let the war of Armageddon come around and he would have been the best warrior in the world! But he was a minister of the Gospel and therefore, by law, he claimed to be exempt from the draft. But all of Jehovah's Witnesses are ministers, even their kids. So the government wasn't having any of what sounded like nonsense. Anyway Judge Klobe was still smarting from that incident. He didn't let me open my mouth for one word. When he and his prosecutors had scared out my attorney who was all prepared to defend me as well as possible in court – the attorney, by the way, was the chairman of the Toledo City Planning Commission, and he liked my work! – I was getting nicely settled in the job, assistant city planning engineer. He thought that my work was fine. They were very dismayed when the draft caught up with me and sent me to Cleveland and I had to refuse. I'd given them as much warning of it as I could.

Arthur Kline was his name, the attorney who was there to defend me. But through the court system, the federal court system there, they said that if he tried to defend this draft dodger, they'd see to it that he got mighty few bits of lawyering to do in Toledo anymore. And he knew they could do it so he called me to let me know that he had his law practice to defend. So I went to my boss, the city planning engineer, the head of the staff, and I told him what Arthur Kline had said.

"Well," he said, "Arthur has been a close friend of mine for all the years I've been in this job, maybe a dozen years, and I think he should keep on being the man of principle I always thought he was. Don't you let him off the hook! He doesn't have an ethical right to abandon you just because he's been threatened by some monsters in prosecution uniforms."

So he wanted his very good friend to be held to his duty for me.

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But I didn't feel all right about that. I was very appreciative of Arthur Kline's willingness to defend me. He was one of the better known lawyers in town. When I couldn't have him and I had no way of finding anybody else, I didn't want to hang him with all that kind of responsibility that had been ripped away from him really by some ruthless people who were in a position to know better about ethics and law.

I had two very long fasting periods. One was after communication had been cut off and no more mail could go between me and Carol unless I agreed to write about only what the prison authorities would approve of. I was force-fed for some time, just as Corbett Bishop was. The gunk that they poured into us was extremely constipating. So there were some trials involved in that. He was either released or transferred out of there so I didn't see him anymore. Then I was ultimately transferred to Lewisburg because



Milan didn't want to monkey with me anymore. Ha-ha! I was a pretty strange egg in Milan. They considered me a bad influence because the whole population knew that there was a guy who wasn't working and he's not eating, that they're force feeding him, and that kind of thing gets mentioned all over the place because there were inmate orderlies even in that section of Milan. So they thought as long as I was there, I wasn't a very good influence on the population that had all kinds of speculations about me and about the officials' frustration over me. For a while, I was getting some scuttlebutt out of inmates saying that I was likely to be sent to Leavenworth or to some extreme medical center near there in the midwest, from which I might never emerge alive. Those were the inmate rumors. Of course inmate rumors are sometimes on the button and sometimes very wild mythology. I had to accept all of it with that kind of a grain of salt.

I mentioned a chess player, a former Navy petty officer. There was another chess player I found who was very interesting. I think his name was Gruber, or perhaps Grober. He was a man from New York City, I forget what borough he came from, but I think he got into federal prison for tax evasion. There were a number of people who were white collar criminals and sometimes they claimed, maybe correctly, that their accountants had gotten them into such trouble. Sometimes they hired crooked accountants so they could take those chances and lost. Well, Mr. Gruber had another problem and that's why I met him in the hospital at Lewisburg. He had multiple sclerosis. He was in a wheelchair but he sometimes walked very uncertainly on a couple of canes. They didn't have the elbow canes yet in those days so he was in danger of falling on the hard terrazzo floors. He usually stayed in his



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wheelchair whenever he had to go more than just a very few steps. He played chess with others. He was an intellectual who failed to get a real education. He only had business training for whatever business he had been in. It might have been wholesaling of some sort. I can't remember any thing more specific than that. He thought he'd gotten multiple sclerosis from somebody, a woman that he had had an affair with—the one and only time, he said, that he had ever cheated on his wife— and he found out later that that woman had MS and hadn't told him or maybe didn't know it but anyway he got it. After a few years of its incubation it hit him so he was going to be downhill sooner or later. It might in some cases take three or four years and in some cases it might be ten or fifteen years. So he certainly rued the day when he did a little cheating on the side.

I have from my files a letter that I wrote to Carol two months after I arrived in Milan, Michigan. "My Dearest Cary, This handwriting will be a bit worse than my usual because of having sprained my right thumb catching a softball on the roof yesterday afternoon. Perhaps I'll be able to make this legible holding the pencil between two fingers and going slowly." Then this next letter looks quite a bit different, because I had broken the end phalange of the thumb of my right hand, catching a ball up on the roof of the cellblock during recreation. I reached up to get the ball and it somehow hit the end of my thumb and bent it backward. So it wasn't just a sprain. The end bone was broken, and so I had to have my thumb put way back as far as it would go so that the bone fragments would be together and then cast in there. So with my hand in that kind of a cast, I couldn't write, so I had to write with my left hand. I did that for six weeks. After the six weeks when my hand could come out of its shell, my thumb was still very straight and I could not bend it very much and I couldn't even hold a pen for a while. I tried to write another letter with my left hand and it wouldn't! It seemed to have a will of its own, as if saying, Well, now you've got the right thumb out of its cast and you'll have to go back to it because I'm tired! Ha-ha! So even though it was a great strain at first, I had to write the next letter with my right hand, even though it was so stiff and unhandy! But Carol wrote to me on a typewriter. She was doing stenographic work in the office of the U.S. News and World Report magazine in Washington while I was in Milan and Lewisburg.

Ironically, after the [Japanese](#) surrender had been accepted in Tokyo Bay it would be revealed that during this same month, there was a possibility that Japan might have surrendered even before the [A-bomb](#), a prospect that President Franklin Delano Roosevelt had simply been disdaining to follow up on. The following would allegedly be published on August 19, 1945 in the Chicago Tribune and the Washington DC Times Herald, on page 1:

BARE PEACE BID  
U.S. REBUFFED  
7 MONTHS AGO

-----  
BY WALTER TROHAN  
Chicago Tribune Press Service



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Washington, D.C. Aug. 19 - [1945]

Release of censorship restrictions in the United States makes it possible to announce that [Japan's](#) first peace bid was relayed to the White House seven months ago.

Two days before the late President Roosevelt left for the Yalta conference with Prime Minister Churchill and Dictator Stalin, he received a Japanese offer identical with the terms subsequently concluded by his successor, President Truman.

The Jap offer, based on five separate peace overtures was relayed to the White House by Gen. MacArthur in a 40-page communication. The American commander, who had just returned triumphantly to Bataan, urged negotiations on the basis of the Jap overtures.

All Acting for the Emperor

Two of the five Jap overtures were made thru American channels and three thru British channels. All came from responsible Japanese, acting for Emperor Hirohito.

President Roosevelt dismissed the general's communication, which was studded with solemn references to Deity, after a casual reading with the remark, "MacArthur is our greatest general and our poorest politician."

The MacArthur report was not taken to Yalta. It was preserved in the files of the high command, however, and subsequently became the basis of the Truman-Attlee Potsdam declaration calling for surrender of Japan.

News Kept Secret

This Jap peace bid was known to THE TRIBUNE soon after the MacArthur communication reached here. It was not published, however, because of THE TRIBUNE'S established policy of complete cooperation with the voluntary censorship code.

Now that peace has been concluded on the basis of the terms MacArthur reported, high administration officials prepared to meet expected congressional demands for explanation of the delay. It was considered certain that charges would be hurled from various quarters of congress that the delay cost thousands of American lives and casualties, particularly in such costly offensives as Iwo Jima and Okinawa.

It was explained in high official circles that the bid relayed by MacArthur did not constitute an official offer in the same sense as the final offer, which was presented thru Japanese diplomatic channels in Bern and Stockholm for relay to the to the for major allied powers.

War Lords Feared

No negotiations were begun on the basis of this bid, it was said, because it was feared that if any were undertaken the Jap war lords, who were presumed to be ignorant of the feelers, would visit swift punishment on those making the offer.

It was held possible that the war lords might assassinate the emperor. Officials said Mr. Roosevelt felt that the Japs were not ripe for peace, except for a small group, who were powerless to cope with the war lords, and that peace could not come until the Japs had suffered more.

The offer, as relayed by MacArthur, contemplated surrender of everything but the person of the emperor. Japanese quarters



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making the offer suggested that the emperor become a puppet in the hands of American forces.

Full Surrender Offered

Jap proposals in the MacArthur communication contemplated:

1. Full surrender of Jap forces on sea, in the air, at home, on island possessions, and in occupied countries.
2. Surrender of all arms and munitions.
3. Occupation of the Jap homeland and island possessions by allied troops under American direction.
4. Jap relinquishment of Manchuria, Korea and Formosa, as well as all territory seized during the war.
5. Regulation of Jap industry to halt present and future production of implements of war.
6. Turning over of Japanese the United States might designate war criminals.
7. Release of all prisoners of war and internees in Japan proper and in areas under Japanese control.

Meanwhile [Mrs. John R. Kellam](#) would return to Washington DC to live with her mother, work — and wait out her pregnancy with her husband an imprisoned felon. She would work as a secretary for the United States News until about a month before their daughter Susan would be born on August 30, 1945.

August 30, Thursday: The Royal Navy reached [Hong Kong](#).

Byelorussia and Syria ratified the Charter of the United Nations.

[General Douglas MacArthur](#) arrived in [Japan](#). Landings by the occupation forces began in the Tokyo Bay area, spearheaded by the 4th Marines, under cover of the guns of the 3rd Fleet plus Naval and Army aircraft. The surrender of the Yokosuka Naval Base was accepted by Rear Admiral R.B. Carney and Rear Admiral O.C. Badger and a headquarters for the Commander 3rd Fleet was established there.

**WORLD WAR II**

[John R. Kellam](#)'s and [Agnes Carol Zens Kellam](#)'s first child, [Susan Kellam](#), was born on the couple's 1st wedding anniversary.

When Carol came back from Toledo, to Washington to live with her mother up on River Road NW, she returned to attend Friends Meeting in Washington. As soon as they knew she was back, they welcomed her very warmly and asked her what she needed and so on. The baby was imminent, due in August, which was almost eight months after I went into prison. She didn't have a crib yet, and suddenly a crib appeared, having been shipped in for her by various younger and older Friends from Florida Avenue Meeting who chipped in. There were many other ways in which Friends helped Carol all the way through that period and beyond and until I got home. Even beyond that, they helped to get me settled. They found that another member, Frederick Libby, could use another employee in the National Council for Prevention of War. He was one of the most active members in the ministry to that meeting. In fact he spoke too often! He was just full of feelings



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and ideas and ways of trying further to get wars put into the background of history. His office had been right across Eighteenth Street from the State Department Office which is now the Executive Office Building of the President. So they had several big posters displayed in rotation in the windows and new ones coming out with lettering large enough to be read from the windows of the US Department of State. The staff realized that even with the war going on, here was this little pacifist agency continuing to work to get some improvements in the world that would let wars be less likely or obsolete. There were some hotheads who would take various means and occasionally destructive means, letting that organization know that they didn't approve because everybody had to be for the war. While we were in the war it was only the people with adverse political ideas that would be so stubborn as to say that the war was bad. And such a "good war" was going on!

September 2, Sunday: There had been no actual fighting for a number of days (very few warriors are eager to be the very last warrior to die in a given war). On this day [Japanese](#) officials came aboard the battleship USS *Missouri* (BB-63) at anchor in Tokyo Bay to sign formal articles of unconditional surrender. [General of the Army Douglas MacArthur](#) signed for the Allied Powers, and Fleet Admiral C.W. Nimitz signed for the United States. Representatives of [China](#), Great Britain, the USSR, Australia, Canada, France, Netherlands, and New Zealand added their signatures to the celebration. It is estimated that roughly 50,000,000 human beings died in the course of [World War II](#) including 20,000,000 Soviets, 7,000,000 [Germans](#), 6,000,000 [Chinese](#), 6,000,000 Poles, 6,000,000 Jews, 3,000,000 [Japanese](#), 1,500,000 Yugoslavs, 511,000 from the British Commonwealth nations, 420,000 Greeks, 363,000 Americans, 240,000 Dutch, 36,000 Indians, 27,000 Finns, and untold thousands from other cultures. At the end of the ceremony, [General MacArthur](#) announced, "These proceedings are closed." Army forces were disembarked at [Yokohama](#) from a naval task force under the command of Rear Admiral J.L. Hall.

In related ceremonies, [Japanese](#) troops on Truk in the Caroline Islands, on Pagan and Rota Islands in the Marianas Islands, and in the Palau Islands were meanwhile surrendering to other United States Naval and Marine officers on board other naval vessels at various locations.

On this same day, Ho Chi Minh proclaimed the independence of [Vietnam](#) to a crowd of 500,000 in Hanoi by quoting from the text of the American Declaration of Independence, which had been supplied to him by our



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OSS — “We hold the truth that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, among them life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. This immortal statement is extracted from the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America in 1776. These are undeniable truths.” Ho declared himself president of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and would pursue American recognition but would repeatedly be ignored by President [Harry S Truman](#).



During the WWII period 1941 to 1945, a total of some 2,700 or more Liberty Ships had been constructed in 18 shipyards, as general cargo carriers. One of these had been designated the SS Henry D. Thoreau. The last datapoint that we presently possess is a radio news announcement during this month: that cargo vessel was in the Caribbean, it was caught in a storm, and its highly explosive deck cargo had broken loose.



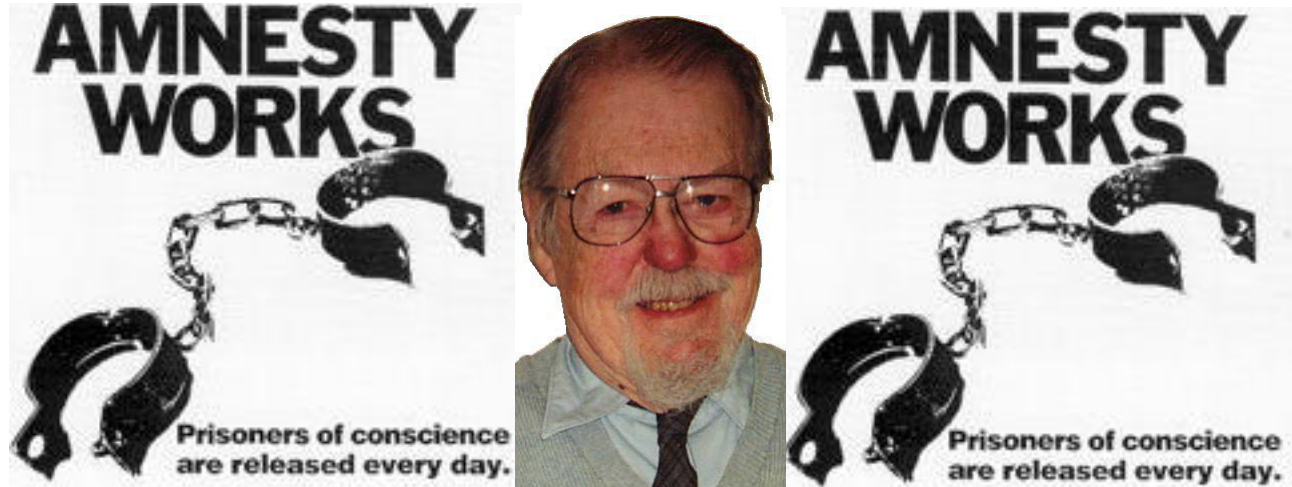


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The warlords of America would not release their prisoners of conscience right away, but as it seems, under the circumstances Friend [John R. Kellam](#) of the good behavior would probably not need to serve out his total five-year “legal maximum” prison sentence:



After the war ended, I spent the last fifteen months of my sentence, which was originally five years, at Lewisburg.



The only library books I saw at Lewisburg were ones a former sea captain had brought me, THE AMERICAN EPHEMERIS AND NAUTICAL ALMANAC because he had discovered –he was an orderly in the hospital ward, and he found out– that I was doing some exercises in math so he brought me these books full of tables, astronomical tables, which delighted me and I spent a lot of time – I even figured out all of the elements of the orbit for a fictitious planet, which I called Imp, for Impossible. I think I put it somewhere between Venus and Earth in order to have its own orbit. I wasn’t particularly concerned about perturbations of the orbits of either Venus or Earth but just to see how it would rotate around, or revolve around the Sun, what its own year would be and how large it was likely to be and how much gravitation it probably would have in that position and so forth. I made a lot of assumptions which were not factually based but anyway it was an instructive sort of fiddling around.

There was a man who had lost his power to walk because of feeling very oppressed and violated. This was an Indian, an American Indian, another inmate at Lewisburg, who had resisted routine inoculation for whatever disease, inoculations that were given



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to any inmate whose history wasn't firm that he had had such an inoculation recently enough. He resisted on the basis that his Indian religious faith was very strong against taking anything into his body that was not generated inside his body from normal food. Anything injected would be a poison and would have dire side-effects. It was not to be permitted, but the prison authorities had insisted and against his most strenuous physical resistance they had injected some kind of vaccine into one of his buttocks where it would be absorbed in a way that medical science says is proper. He was so violated in opposition to his conscience and his religious spirituality that he lost all power in that leg on that side and he simply could not walk. He had no strength left. The doctors dismissed this as so much hysteria and of course every prisoner is supposed to conform to whatever demands are made by the authorities over all the inmates. We should not presume to question their judgment because they were in control and virtually owned us for the duration of our sentences. Now this man was in a private room at the time and he soon was thrown out into the ward. He was bedridden so his food was brought to him on a tray and put on his little side table. There didn't seem to be any other disability but he was absolutely convinced that he could not walk. To me this indicated the complete insensitivity of the prison officials to any matters of religious conscience. They were completely indifferent to him as they were to me. It all fit.



While I was at Lewisburg, there was a fellow from Tunbridge, [Vermont](#) who came to visit me. He was a medium large fellow with a bushy beard and a very deep voice. He had a whole air of self



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confidence and he was happy to be himself. He had refused military service. I don't recall that he was a member of any church, or at least any of the peace churches, but he looked like a fellow who always knew precisely where he stood and didn't have to think very much about how to react to situations. He seemed to have been born wise. I liked him as soon as he introduced himself and we sat and talked together. He seemed to be finding out how firm and settled I was. I don't know if he had any early struggles at all. He just looked like someone who never had.<sup>64</sup>



Winter: Because the proud papa and “absolutist” war prisoner [John R. Kellam](#) was refusing to do any prison work at the minimum-security prison in Milan, Michigan that might free someone else to kill, he was placed in “administrative segregation”:

#### CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

So I was labeled as an absolutist. I was sent to administrative segregation. There were two others [other draft refusers] in that segregation row at the top of that cell block; one, Leroy Shafer, was two cells to my right, as I would look out through the bars. On my left was a young Quaker, John Stokes, who came from an old Philadelphia area family. He was very quiet, in contemplation of his inclination to join the Roman Catholic Church. I remember his describing all of the major religions as built essentially of legends and symbolism, none much more or less productive of pacifist ideals carried into action. Another, Wally Nelson, was in the second cell to my left, next to a man to be executed. We had cinderblock walls between us — the bars were open and we could hear each other. To my right, between Leroy and me, there was a German prisoner of war, Gerhart Gutzat, a tank corps sergeant from Rommel's army. He'd been captured by the Americans or the British as they were chasing the Germans and being chased by them, alternately back and forth along the north rim of Africa. Gerhart was a graduate of Hitler's youth corps before he got drafted into their army and assigned to duty in the Afrika Korps. He was not enjoying his incarceration any

64. Probably about five or six years ago I was going through Tunbridge, Vermont and I remembered that this fellow had said that he had spent all of his childhood there. I wondered if he was still alive, so I tried to look him up. When I found a librarian there, she told me who would likely know his name — the sheriff. So I found the sheriff in town and told him that I had met the man in Lewisburg Penitentiary as another [conscientious objector](#) to the war. He knew right away who I was talking about and so I found that he had lived a good life and that his latter years were spent down in Nicaragua on some kind of a service mission to a community. Then he had returned to Tunbridge and eventually died somewhere in his seventies. I always wished that I had looked him up earlier. I would like to have met him again.



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more than we were so I let him find out as much as he was pleased to find out about me. LeRoy Schafer who was on the other side of him in the next cell at the end, a young Brethren from Durand, Michigan, did the same. LeRoy was a different kind of a CO in some ways than I was. We were all different! Ha-ha! But thoroughly respecting each other and glad that each other had stayed out of all the killing.

Well, this tank corps officer was a little bit younger than I and he'd been through a lot of combat. He'd seen terrible things. I think he was being perfectly loyal, understanding what he did and the way he was raised so that he really couldn't pretend to understand our viewpoint. But he was personally friendly and he could speak English just well enough so that we got along fine. Then one day that awful copy of LIFE Magazine came through. Every week we had been passing that magazine along with all the pictures and so on. The old kind of LIFE Magazine full of pictures. This was the issue that announced to all Americans and others wherever LIFE Magazine went, abroad, the concentration/extermination camps discovered in Germany, Austria and Poland and with pictures of mounds of dead bodies and of fewer survivors in pitiful condition.

So this was in the winter and early spring of '45 that I got to know Gerhard Gutzat, the tank corps officer who was a POW. He'd been in British war prison and then was transferred over here and was put into any opening that they had in our prison system. The COs in prison didn't help with making space available for POWs! (Ha-ha-ha!) But anyway, that was interesting. I saw this LIFE Magazine that came down the row, which first was given to the condemned prisoner who was on death row. He was three cells to my left, two other guys in between, including one I never did get to know very well.<sup>65</sup> Wally Nelson was pretty quiet. The other one was one of the angry, uneducated criminal types that had been in violence. I guess it was because they didn't know any better. They weren't having any of this nonsense from anybody who was in jail for trying to be good! Ha-ha-ha-ha-ha-ha! That was out of their world too far!

Anyway, when I saw this LIFE Magazine, I kept thinking as I read about all this horrible concentration camp system, what's Gerhart going to think when he sees this? Does he know anything about this going on? I wonder, I wonder, I wonder. So, before I gave it to him, I said, "Gerhart, I have the new LIFE Magazine, which I have seen and I'm ready to pass it to you but I should warn you first, it's unlike any previous issue that was ever printed by LIFE Magazine. You've seen a variety of them already, but this tells a terrible story and I warn you it's pretty rough to look at."

"Well," he said, "from what I've seen in the war, there's nothing

65. The condemned man had had two or three execution dates set and then postponed. One day when his case had been in court, but they didn't take him on that appeal, two guards came in and shouted his name and marched over to the front of his cell and started talking smart about his having lost his appeal and making cracks about how they were probably going to "fry" him after all. They brought with them a length of chain and very noisily they wound this chain up and around his door, through the bars various ways, and put a padlock on it. Well, this condemned prisoner was telling the guards how absolutely ridiculous they were being with this phony security chain and he asked if the warden knew that they were cutting up like this. So he and the guards had a very strong dislike of each other which seemed to be very personal.... I remember it as if it was yesterday. It's amazing how some experiences don't fade at all.



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very rough that I could be surprised about."

"Well," I said, "all right, Gerhart, but I think you're going to be surprised about this."

So I handed it to him. I said, "If you don't want to talk to me about this, that's all right and maybe you'd prefer that, but if you would like to talk to me at all about it, I'm willing and it's been shocking to me. So, we'll see what you think."

There was silence for a long time, much longer than any previous time when he'd been passing a magazine over to the CO, Leroy, in the far cell. Then he said, "John?"

"Yes, Gerhard?"

He said, "There is something about this war that I never realized."

I said, "I'm glad you didn't know anything about this before but I'm sorry you have to know about it now."

He said, "That isn't what I meant. Until now, I didn't think any military organization in the world was as skillful at concocting propaganda as it shows the American military organization has been to get all of this into LIFE Magazine. I don't know how they did it, these piles of bodies. They've gotta be fake!"

"Well," I said, "Gerhart, I'm afraid they are not. I don't think it would be possible for any organization ever to become skillful enough to create this kind of a humbug propaganda. This can't be false."

For one thing, I thought, if this is a false story, LIFE Magazine is dead! But they want to keep on publishing. It's a lucrative publication. They make a lot of money through subscriptions. I told him, "They'll probably get a few people cancelling their subscriptions because it's too rough and they don't want their children to see it, or they don't believe it, just as you don't believe it. You don't think it really happened, do you?"

He said, "No! It couldn't have happened!"

So, after a while I said to him, "Gerhart, I would be interested if you would care to tell me why you think it could not have happened."

"That's simple enough," he said. "If anybody in Germany, or occupied areas in Central Europe, had tried to organize this kind of a crime of exterminating a whole big group of people, Hitler wouldn't have stood for it! Such a person or group would have been put down immediately. Their career in any organization run by the Third Reich would be over! They would have completely discredited themselves. Nothing like this could happen in Germany! Or any occupied area controlled by Germany!"

I said, "Gerhart, I wish it could be true the way you believe but the way this is presented it's an awfully hard thing for me not to believe."

Well, Gerhart lived for one purpose, and this isn't about me now, but it's part of my experience. His family in the free city of Danzig in the metropolitan area east of Pomerania in Poland had been overrun by the Russians, and many of the German people in the small towns were killed. The Russians wanted that area to develop as vacant land would be developed. They were absolutely ruthless and had no respect for civilians. "So," he said, "My family all got murdered. I'm the only one left that I





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know of. Since before I went into the army, having been in the part of Poland that the Russians didn't get to control, I was not in that and I am the only survivor as far as I know. After this whole war is over, if I ever get repatriated back to Germany, I'm going to make it the business of my life for as long as it takes to find out who it was, probably among the Russians, that are responsible for my family all having been killed. I'm going to get revenge for that if it's the last thing I ever do."

I said, "Gerhart, it's an awful thing to live for, just to get that done. In a big war, even in a little one, there are all kinds of hateful things that happen. If people spent the rest of their lives still fighting that war in one way or another, it would never be possible for wars to cease. We've got to forget any vengeful feelings we might have had after the awful things that happen. Because otherwise there's no way out of this for the world."

Well, I didn't convince him.



There was one notable conscientious objector particularly at Milan just then and his name was Corbett Bishop. He was from Alabama and he didn't cooperate at all with any draft board or any war official of any kind. He'd been in and out of prison several times, cat and mouse, and he had thought his way through so thoroughly that he didn't feel that he should pick up his food and put it in him. He also didn't take care of his own excrement so they tied a diaper on him. He was certainly a much more thoroughgoing absolutist than I ever dreamed of being. We were aware that he was in the prison hospital in a little single



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patient cell. He was being fed by tubes through his nose, into



his stomach, a thick kind of grainy food substance, not too unlike a malted milk except that it wasn't cold, it wasn't ice-creamy, but it was nourishing enough. So they were keeping him alive for quite a long while. He had been transferred to Milan in a sedan with two officers, he was in the back seat, and he wouldn't agree not to run away, so they had leg irons on him and handcuffs, ha-ha-ha! And there was an accident. Their car went out of control and down a ditch and up into a field, a cultivated farm field and it had rolled over. The two guards who were taking him to another prison were bruised up a little bit, but they got out of the car. There weren't any seatbelts in those days. Corbett was jammed down between the back seat and the back side of the front seat, a one bench front seat, and it had jammed back on him so he was pretty tightly squeezed in there. Maybe that's why he wasn't any more injured than he was. They came over and asked him if he was all right. He didn't answer. He just looked at them, but he wasn't communicating with them before. They had even offered to take the leg irons and handcuffs off if he'd walk in to have lunch with them at the stop, but he wasn't giving any cooperation to them or to anyone whatsoever in any position of authority over him. He didn't recognize that authority at all but they were demanding information from him as to how his body felt. When he kept on this non-cooperative basis, as before, they said, "Oh come on for God's sake, Corbett, answer us will you please? We're concerned about you! You're not supposed to get banged up while you're in our charge. If you are we've got to get you to a hospital and get you attended to. So will you please let us know how you are?"

So he said, "All right, fellas, don't worry, I'm O.K."

They let him out of that jammed position and he sat up and the bruises, if there were any, were very slight. But, he went right back into his regular completely passive role and they somehow got back on the road and got the car fixed up and continued the trip. He was duly delivered. Ha-ha-ha-ha!...



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Anyway, at Milan, Michigan, I had declined a haircut. I had been letting my hair grow. I didn't think I should ask for or accept any unnecessary services from the prison. I wasn't offering the prison any of my energies and I didn't want to take from the prison any more energies than I had to. But somebody decided I needed a haircut. It was offered to me and I declined and it was offered to me another time or two! I still declined. So one of the guards decided he'd had enough nonsense with this fella. He said to me, "Come on, you're getting a haircut!"

"I didn't ask for one and I don't feel entitled to it."

"Well, but you are. Are you coming?"

"No."

So he took hold of my shoulder and I went down on the floor. He grabbed my hair and dragged me out by the hair, out of the doorway of the cell, down the corridor and into the little anteroom beyond the big lever that closed all the doors at once. He sat on me and another guard appeared and did a very quick job with the clippers and pretty soon there was a pile of hair on the floor. So they swept those up and said that I could stay here if I wanted to or go back to my cell. Anyway, they were beginning to let the inmates out to go up the stairs to the roof for an exercise period. So I picked myself up and I don't remember if I went up on the roof or back to my cell.<sup>66</sup>

After recreation we were all expected to close our own cell doors. A CO named Wally Nelson walked in to his cell and we heard various doors clanging and then the guard at the end, where the big lever was, yelled down to cell number eight,

"Shut the door!" Quick as a wink Wally said, "I don't close cell doors! I wouldn't close them on anybody else and I won't close them on myself."

So the guard came down and flung his door shut. I thought it was going to break the door. With all that heavy steel it made a terrible noise. So Wally didn't go up for recreation until they said he was going to agree to close his own cell door first. I don't know what the ultimate outcome was of all that. But you could just feel the principle crackling.

I'd like to tell you about a serious dream I had at Milan, Michigan. It was a couple of months before Franklin Roosevelt died. I was thinking over what I knew of Tyler Kent's story. The

66. [T]here was another hair-dragging that I saw. The CO's name was Larry Gara. He was at Lewisburg and he had had a tooth infection for several days that kept on getting worse. He had asked to see the dentist and they put him off. It got even worse so he was pretty miserable with pain in the jaw. So on the way to breakfast he decided that he was hurting too much to enjoy any breakfast anyway. The route that they took, being marched through the halls, went right past the dentist office so he stepped out of line and sat down on the waiting bench outside the dentist office. The guards were immediately alarmed at anything out of the way. They tried to pick him up off the bench and get him marching again. His legs went limp to jelly and he slid to the floor and one of the guards who had quite a reputation for roughing up inmates, grabbed his hair and yanked him along the floor, terrazzo floors that were pretty well polished, it must have been a good two hundred feet sliding down that long corridor lying down, and dropped his head in front of the elevator and pushed the button.

I was taking a walk around the center area between the two rows of beds in the hospital ward that I was in, so I walked out there to the hall to watch what was going on, just out of ordinary curiosity, and this guard who had been dragging Larry came over to me and barked at me that I should get back in the ward. As far as he could tell, I didn't hear a word of it. I just stood there mildly looking on, so he grabbed me by an elbow, pulled it up tight and I went down on the floor. My feet weren't obeying him and neither was the rest of me. So he suddenly flipped around there and yelled to another guard who was with him, "See what they give us?" — as though he were the one being harassed by me. I just stayed there listening, not moving, and then the elevator door opened and he grabbed Larry somehow, maybe by the collar or something, threw him into the elevator and the door closed. The action was all over and nothing else was happening so I picked myself up and continued walking around the ward. That guard's name was Steininger.



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dream was about my being a visitor in a long line of visitors to the White House. We were given the usual tour. It wasn't until decades later that I would really go through the White House. But in my dream, it was while the war was still going on, Roosevelt was still president and we had actually been ushered into the Oval Office for a few minutes and Roosevelt made some pretty little speech to us. Then we were ushered out. I was in the tail end of the procession going out and I hesitated in the doorway. Roosevelt said, "Do you have something you wanted to say to me?"



I said, "Well, I'm not sure I want to say this to you but I feel extremely critical of you for what I know of your messages to and from Churchill trying to get this country attacked by Japan so that we could declare war on them and then war against Germany could begin, they being part of the tripartite."

I proceeded to tell him exactly what I thought of the kind of perfidious performance that I was aware of on his part. I told him how it confirmed very strongly and deeply my own determination not to be a part of any war whatever, for any government, under any pretext. That dream was so vivid through my waking that it has stayed with me ever since. What I welcomed it for most of all was that it reconfirmed for me the depth of my own commitment, my own convictions about war and peace. I knew that it wasn't some contrived surface attitude and this really was a welcome revelation for me. I have the same attitude precisely even in my dreams, despite all the rest that dreaming does in terms of crazy fantasy! But this was not crazy at all.



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1946

Spring: The [Conscientious Objectors](#) serving as orderlies at various mental hospitals created a National Mental Health Foundation. [Eleanor Roosevelt](#), a sponsor, would be active in inspiring many prominent citizens to join her in advancing this new organization's objectives. The American Friends Service Committee withdrew from the Civilian Public Service program.



CPS Camp No. 41, a mental hospital unit of [Conscientious Objectors](#) at Eastern State Mental Hospital in Williamsburg, Virginia, would be operated instead by the Selective Service System until it would close during July.

[WORLD WAR II](#)



Dangerous war prisoner [John R. Kellam](#), on account of his [Quaker conscientious objection](#) to all warfare, was transferred from the Milan, Michigan minimum-security prison to the maximum-security Lewisburg Penitentiary in Pennsylvania, at which the warden was Mr. William H. Hiatt. What an unsettling, unpatriotic belief to hold during wartime, when other people are dying for their country! A deep thinker who also was present at that time was Robert M. Lindner, the prison psychologist, author of the 1944 book REBEL WITHOUT A CAUSE which would be made into a film in 1955, scripted first for pouty Marlon Brando but finally recast for pouty James Dean. This coffee-table pseudopsychology book of Dr. Lindner's purported to be his objective scientific account of how he had successfully "regressed" a "criminal psychopath" to the age of six months, and gotten the man to "remember" that he had been traumatized by witnessing his parents in an act of sexual congress.<sup>67</sup>

I was in the back seat of a car with leg irons on, from Milan, Michigan to half-way across Pennsylvania – it was almost five hundred miles, whatever it is, and it took all of a long day. There were no freeways then so we slogged through the middle of every city and town. They only took one break and that was for lunch. And they asked me if I'd like to go in and have a good lunch with them. They were allowed to treat me at government

67. Nowadays, of course, any mental health professional having any pretense to respectability would distance himself or herself from such claims made on behalf of their profession. While in the prison, Friend John would have opportunity to observe the loose manner in which Dr. Lindner conducted his profession, and considered it to be particularly revealing when the psychologist took an opportunity to characterize the historical Jesus as having been a epileptic "simpering pseudo-mystic."



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expense for a lunch that I'd be otherwise missing.  
I said, "Well I'll be willing to consider it, maybe."



They said, "We'd have to have your assurance that without any leg or hand restraints you would not try to escape. We don't want to chase you or shoot you or have an escape attempt on our hands. But we know what you're in for. We know that whatever the prison authorities have had by way of inconvenience, it hasn't been by any means, a bad or perfidious action on your part. So if you give us your word, we'll take you in. You are not wearing prison garb so you will not stand out in a crowd. As far as they're aware, we're just three guys coming in to have some lunch. We'll get back in the car and resume our trip afterward. We'd be able and we are authorized to trust you that far. Would you agree?"

"Well," I said, "I don't think that I belong under your authority as your captive. I have never acknowledged the validity of the system that has kidnapped me and is still holding me. I don't think that I should give you any such word, because if I did, I'd have to live up to it. But if I saw an opportunity to run back to my family, I would feel morally free to take it."





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"Well," they said, "All right, we're going to have to leave you in the car with the leg irons on and we'll have to handcuff you too. We'll have to lock the car in a way that you could not get out of even with hobbling. One of us is going to have to go in to lunch and bring a lunch out to the other because you're far more likely to escape from one of us than from two. But we don't particularly like it that we can't go in to enjoy a lunch together, the two of us, if not the three."

"Well, I'm sorry about that but that's the way I feel."

Eventually we got to Lewisburg and I was processed in without cooperating in that process either. Ha-ha!



The place where I got put in Lewisburg first was a segregation section where I met [Bayard Rustin](#) and other notable war resisters and other types of COs. From there I was transferred



to what they called the Blue Room, the Psychiatric Ward. There was quite a motley bunch of prisoners in there and some orderlies. One poor guy of maybe eighteen or twenty who was in pretty bad condition, didn't have normal responses to anybody else. The man in charge of that part of Lewisburg was Robert M. Lindner, Ph.D. Do you remember the book, *REBEL WITHOUT A CAUSE*? He was the author, a psychologist, not a psychiatrist. But he was running a ward that was supposed to be the nearest thing to a psychiatric ward that the hospital had. But you'd wonder why a psychologist would be in charge of it. He didn't have enough credentials for that. It's like saying that an optometrist is able to do the delicate eye surgery for cataracts! Well, anyway, one day I heard outside of the room I had, the door was ajar, and out in the center space around which were a lot of little rooms, instead of having the beds all in the center space, I heard the noisiest shouting. I thought that young fellow was going berserk, except that his voice was not that low. So I wandered out through the door and looked out and there in the doorway of this poor guy's room was Robert M. Lindner. His shoulders were hunched down and his jaw was jutting out. He was bawling this young guy out and it looked as though Robert M.





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Lindner was feeling personally insulted.

In the next few days I learned from a prison inmate psychiatrist, a Jewish German refugee who was really qualified but who was in for income tax evasion (ha-ha-ha-ha!), and he was in a white coat, and he had a little rubber triangle inside a stainless steel rod hooked around his neck so he looked like a doctor equipped to examine reflexes. From him I learned that Lindner had taken offense at this kid who had been grossly mistreated sexually as a child by his mother. He was psychologically, thoroughly, all messed up. Well, Lindner had caught him masturbating. But why Lindner had to take offense at that, you wouldn't expect a professional to have it grate on his nerves at all. He should have seen everything. I had watched Lindner after he halfway calmed down and went out. As he went through the outer door of the "Blue Room" into the hospital general hallway, I could hear Lindner muttering some awfully angry things under his breath. So he was really personally disturbed by this young kid. So I wondered, how does he get off writing such a book that was supposed to be so authentic? And the public sees it as a best seller.

He came in one time and tried to convince me that Jesus was a simpering pseudo-mystic, an epileptic, and he gave a number of quick diagnostic terms that were supposed to mean that Jesus was not the kind of a person you'd trust with any veracity at all, that he was a completely addled person of no consequence.

I asked him from what source came his knowledge of the historic Jesus. I said, "Did you get it through your own religious affiliations, if you have any?" And he said, "I'm Jewish, but that's not a part of Judaism."

"Well," I said, "any real knowledge of Jesus should have a lot of Judaism in it because Jesus was a Jew. He came to help all Jews be better Jews."

Lindner decided he didn't want to go on with that conversation. About a month or two after I was transferred to Lewisburg, I was out of the private room and out of the "Blue Room" of the regular hospital and in the ward, in one of the rows of beds, I became aware that one of the inmates in a private room was middle-aged, or perhaps even elderly, a black man who had a very heavy torso and very spindly legs, showing atrophy from disuse. The only way he ever moved out of that room was by wheelchair. It became his turn for me to visit him, as I did, occasionally, visit everybody in sight. I learned what he was willing to volunteer to me. Among those things was the fact that he had been injured at some point in his criminal activities in a way that had almost destroyed the nerves passing through one shoulder. Those nerves were held in place, he said, by metal clips because otherwise they were vulnerable to more injury. He had to be careful how he slept at night and he had to warn people how to move him and how not to move him because he would get terrible spasms as those nerves might be affected by certain motions. While I was getting somewhat acquainted with him, I noticed that his bare arms and lower legs were very scaly with whitish grey scales that seemed to be very loose so I asked him if that was part of the condition.





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"Oh," he said, "no, that's because they haven't felt as though they dared to give me a bath. For a long time – I haven't had a bath in months! I'm filthy."

Well we talked about other matters and later on we returned to that.

I said, "Well, it's not healthy for you. You've got to bathe occasionally, but maybe you don't need it as often as the rest of us because you're not as active, but you shouldn't have a lot of dead skin simply floating on the surface of your body and you need to be really clean once in a while!"

He said, "Oh, don't I know it!"

So maybe the second or third time I visited him was when we gravitated to that again. Not only did he appear that way, but he was quite odorous, as you might expect!

I said, "Do you suppose, since nobody else is available, it might be possible for us together to be careful enough so that you could get in and out of the shower. If you have enough strength in your legs to keep standing in there without collapsing, why don't we try it and see if you really can get yourself clean, with or without any help from me."

So that did get attempted and we were successful. The only part he needed me to reach was the middle of his back. He could take care of everything else. We got him very carefully back into his wheelchair and back into his room. We did it again after two or three weeks and that time I had enough presence of mind to get his wheelchair cleaned up so that he wouldn't be sitting in his own dead skin particles! He was very appreciative that he had found somebody who was willing to take that much helpful interest in him, by doing something that even the doctor didn't ask any of the inmate orderlies to help with. He was moved out of the hospital after a while and I don't know whether he was transferred elsewhere and went into the general population, but as an invalid in a wheelchair, I don't see where else they could have put him at Lewisburg. What happened to him is only a matter of speculation because the grapevine wasn't forthcoming.

There was one occasion when I was told that a certain inmate wanted to meet me and had something to talk to me about. I found out which room he was in and it was one of the private rooms in that wing of the hospital. When I went in there, it turned out that he was a tall, wiry black man of maybe thirty-five or forty who had had a pretty rough life outside pursuing whatever crimes he was in and he had noticed me as a young man of somewhere around thirty and it had occurred to him what fun it would be to have sex with me.

"Well," I said, "I don't think that's going to happen!"

He said, "What would you do if I decided to insist on it?"

I said, "Well, I think this meeting is just about over, but I can tell you that I have no idea what I would do or what would happen but I have half an idea that whatever happens is probably not going to be very pleasant for either of us."

I just waited to see what next he would say and he didn't seem to get his thoughts together about that so I said, "O.K, so long. I might see you sometime and maybe not."

I didn't feel I owed anything to the administration of the prison



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any more than on any other occasion, so I never mentioned that to anybody. Apparently he appreciated my not ratting on him right away. I didn't get him into any trouble. He got whatever he was there for attended to and then went back out into the general population and I never saw him again or heard from him again. So that was that.

I just thought of a very interesting fellow I met in the "Blue Room." He had been a naval petty officer and his work was shoreside. He had been on vessels before but he had a desk job in the Navy Department. One day after I had played chess with him quite a few times – he was very grateful to find someone who would play the game with him – although I had rarely played it and didn't really know much about it except that the knights go two up and one over and the bishop goes on his own color diagonally across the board as far as he wants to or as far as he can and the king and queen have their small motions and that was about as much as I knew about it. But anyway, it seemed to help him that someone even of my meager ability could move pieces because that let him think about the game. That day he said he needed to think about something as interesting as chess because otherwise he was going crazy thinking about the way he got in there. Another navy officer who was a good close friend of his had come to his desk and he said, "I've got a problem at home. My son is not willing to think of a military career. I'm not too happy about that and I would be happy if he would come into the navy but he says he's opposed to war and he's going to register as a conscientious objector. I've tried to talk him out of it but I don't want to be too heavy on him and I'm wondering how he could do what he feels he has to do with the least amount of damage to his future life."

So this navy officer with whom I'd gotten acquainted, hearing that, told his friend, well maybe his son had better get himself copies of all the Selective Service regulations and see what might be in the minds of the Selective Service people he meets. It might tell him what their responsibilities are and he knows what he feels his responsibilities are and maybe he could soften whatever blow is going to come to him because of his attitudes. He said, "Everybody is entitled to this. We don't have to agree with him, in fact I don't, but he had better look things up and make himself as aware as possible."

So his friend got the boy to go over to the government printing office and get himself copies of those regulations. The boy went to his draft board and they found out that he was extremely knowledgeable about their business. He was a bright guy – a quick study! So they asked him, "Who told you this was the way it was supposed to be done?"

And they got him to blurt out that he'd read it in Book 4 of the regulations, which is correct. Some of them knew enough of their own regulations to verify it. Ha-ha! So they said, "Where'd you get those?"

He said, "Over at the printing office."

"Who told you that they'd be there?"

"My father learned about it from another fellow at the navy department."

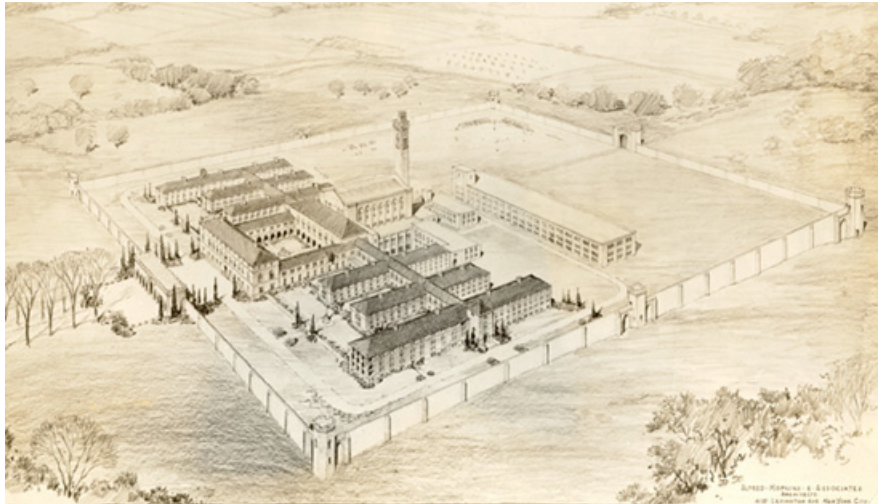


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Well they looked that all up and they got those two officers and they trumped up charges about their doing illegal kinds of draft counseling. The [FBI](#) decided to claim that there was a ring of draft dodger counselors working and these two were the ring leaders. They concocted this big cock and bull story about it and they got these two officers fired by the navy, discredited, their pensions rescinded and cancelled. They were middle aged men, well on their way towards a pension. Besides they charged them in federal court and he was imprisoned in Lewisburg.



There was maximum publicity about it so their families felt ruined. And here this guy was. His friend had gone somewhere else. They were far separated and he was left wondering how in the world he'd gone so far astray as to disgrace himself so utterly. He really didn't understand. So in between chess games when we were talking I said, "The war makes victims out of everybody on this side and on the opposite sides. Everybody is forced to do things they wouldn't have chosen. We are pressured by propaganda into professing kinds of patriotism whether we feel them or not and once in a while they need a big scapegoat. By your friend innocently coming to you, that set the cards up so that the [FBI](#) could use you as a handy scapegoat. For the sake of the war, you have been imprisoned, in order to inhibit other people from exercising the freedoms they're used to. The army guys get traumatized by everything they have to go through even when they are not injured. The families of killed veterans are told that their boys were very glorious for what they "gave." Even the Gold Star Mothers are propagandized into accepting their loss with pride. Can you think of any way in which people are not victimized by war? It's just the roll of the dice. If it hadn't been you this guy had gone to, it would have been somebody else. Or it might have been someone else's son who discovered that he was a [conscientious objector](#). I look around at the Bureau of Prisons. They are having to cope with all kinds of COs of every sort. There seems to be no common denominator among us. They can't count on what we can do and what we can't do. We are all different just as people on the outside are



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different. So you caught a particularly fast foul ball that was batted into your corner, it was just a matter of chance and you just weren't as lucky as everybody else around. It could have hit anybody."

Explaining it that way as just a way that war operates, to hit everybody in various ways, he seemed to understand that kind of an explanation and he calmed down a good deal.



Well, when I finally got out, a year and a half later, Carol said that she had had a letter from a woman somewhere who said that her husband had met me at Lewisburg. We had had some talks that settled him into having enough strength to last the war out and seemed to clear him of all the mystery of how he got in there. And he says that he probably would have killed himself. She credited me with having helped him to cope with his fear. That was amazing. I told Carol I remembered the fellow's personality. I even have a mental picture of his face, but I can't remember his name. I guess I thought I'd never see him again. Now, why isn't it that way with Dr. Lindner or Warden Hiatt or the guard named Steininger? And a lot of others!

My file that has Carol's name on upstairs would still have that letter that she got from that man's wife. There was a lot of time spent in my observing his state of extreme consternation and unjustified guilt — he felt that he had betrayed his whole family by being idiotic in some way. He couldn't quite figure out why it happened. But I think that the military people thought they needed some kind of a *cause célèbre*, somebody who could plausibly have been hung with guilt even though in normal times what he did would be considered perfectly reasonable and not at all disloyal. After all, the Congress had set up the system so that it could be regulated in a way that would work.

That draft board offered me release from prison if I would go into the Civilian Public Service, the CPS. But I explained why I declined to the person who came to me about it, after they had decided to make this offer. I think it was the assistant warden who came to talk to me about it. He was one of the three on the draft board, along with the warden and some senior officer.

I said that I had been a visitor to quite a few Civilian Public Service camps. I saw some of the young men who were satisfied to sit out the war doing whatever they were asked to do. I saw



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a number of others who were very dissatisfied because the fact that they were there made it possible for those agencies of government, the weather service and other agencies, to discharge some of their regular employees so that the army could draft them. And if those COs weren't there to take their place, those boys might well have stayed in their useful government service but not in war duty. So it was a source of extreme dismay to those COs to feel that they had made it possible for somebody else to be sent out to join the killing. Quite a few of them left the CPS camps and they went to the camps that were run directly by the military, government camps, without the peace churches being in charge. Some of the COs in the other camps run by Quaker, or Brethren, or Mennonite service committees were feeling very bitterly critical of the churches for doing the government's bidding by having charge of concentration camps for slave labor by COs. They didn't even get the tiny army wages because the attitude of the country wouldn't have stood for it. So, it was even worse than military slavery because churches were in between as the delegated slave masters. Boys from the peace churches were conscripted. I used to see Mennonites come through Silver Spring on a bus and they were on the way to draft board offices to get processed and some of them were simply put in spurious classifications and sent home to wait it out. In terms of warfare, the Mennonites were sometimes considered to be more of a lost cause to the Army than young Quakers. The military attitude about the Quakers was that because some of them were willing to go into war, then the rest of them ought to be also willing.

I was approached and asked if I would be interested in applying for parole. I had looked up the practice of paroling prisoners and essentially it seemed like a system where you take the inmate's word as binding that he's going to be a good person and keep out of trouble and you take a chance on him and let him out and see if he can fly right and not do any more crimes but, I thought that certainly didn't fit this present situation. I said, "I got into trouble trying to be a good man, trying not to destroy people or property. And that's why I'm here. It seems ridiculous for me to promise to be a good boy now! We might have another war! It's not up to me! I'll keep on trying to be a good person, regardless! But, as to applying for the privilege of freedom by giving you my word to be good, being good is what got me in here."

All this I was telling the Warden of Lewisburg Penitentiary.

"So, I figure that whenever the political situation is such that the people over you have no more reason to keep me here, they might decide to let me go."

I thought, I haven't heard that we have turned into bad Germans and are destroying useless people, like maybe me, and unless the government does that kind of thing, I'll be free sometime.

One day at Lewisburg, the Catholic Chaplain came into the hospital ward. There were about twenty-two beds, eleven on each side, a large open space in the middle, and he looked around and he asked something of somebody and then he looked at me and he came straight over to me. He introduced himself as the Catholic





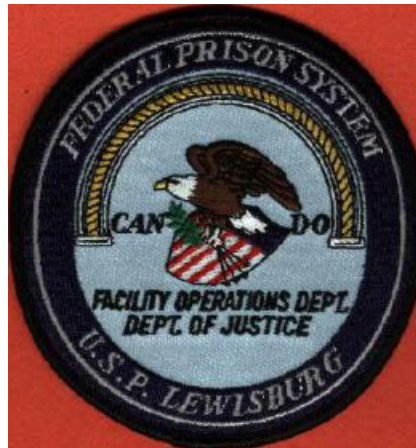
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Chaplain at Lewisburg and revealed his simplified understanding of my status in that place. Then he said that before he was at Lewisburg, he was a chaplain in the army. I felt my interest rising a bit at that. So we talked, generally, and there were some other fellows who sauntered over nearby and stood around. This wasn't a private setting so they were welcome to listen and they didn't seem to make much comment but they listened very carefully to what this priest and I were talking about. And then this priest began to become a little pointed. By degrees he got to his point:

"I understand you're here for refusing military service. You must be missing the importance of putting down those Godless dictators who are threatening the whole Christian world."



I replied to the effect that, "They are succeeding, perhaps, in making most Christians abandon the whole message of Jesus about how to deal with our enemies. We are returning all kinds of evil for evil, as war causes everyone on both sides to resemble each other closely. What do you think Jesus would be telling us, and them, just now?"

So then I asked him, "What is there in Christian ethics that would possibly justify a bunch of priests telling a larger bunch of very young men not to be morally concerned about killing each other wholesale? What was there in Jesus' teachings that would justify that? Don't you suppose that Jesus Christ would be opposed to our doing that to each other?"

We had just a little more give and take before he suddenly decided that his watch told him that he was late, or almost late, to his next appointment, so he got out of there pretty fast. As soon as he was out of hearing, some of these men, convicts all, standing around, were beginning to laugh and oh, they thought that was a great show! They congratulated me for having given this so and so a good argument because he deserves it. I asked, "What's the matter with him? Why were you so glad that maybe he was embarrassed over what we talked about?"

And they told me, "What a devil he is in priest's robes!"

They said that there wasn't an inmate in this whole place that hasn't been warned against confessing anything to him because he'll trot up to the warden and tell him about it. He will



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violate his own priestly duties doing that. Oh, they called him all kinds of dirty names and they were so pleased that I had apparently sort of put him down, but gently. Ha-ha! I'd asked him questions that he didn't try to answer!

There was one old man who'd been in the Lewisburg prison hospital occasionally for some minor illnesses. He was up in years. He must have been somewhere around sixty or sixty-five and he came in seeming more depressed than I'd seen him before. Each time he came in he seemed more depressed so I asked the former Merchant Marine sea captain, Laurent Brackx, who brought me the books from the library, "What's the matter with this tall, thin fellow? He seems to be down in the dumps more than ever. Every he comes in here he looks worse."

"Oh, he's getting short. His sentence is almost up."

So he would be going out pretty soon. Well, the day came when he went out. We saw him from the hospital windows going out from the front door of the building, the gatehouse in the thirty-foot wall. The way he was trudging looked as if he was on his way to his execution instead of on his way to freedom. But he had spent so much of his life in prisons and jails of all kinds and he'd gotten so old that he didn't know how he was going to cope with the outside world. It scared him and depressed him to think that he was going to be on his own responsibility and he didn't have a sense of responsibility or how to take care of himself on the outside. So out he went and about ten days later in he came! Some marshal was conducting him to the building's front door again and we soon found out, because everybody saw him come in and everyone in the whole place knew through the grapevine that he was back. Well, they all expected him to be a lot happier than he was. He seemed to have a big burden lifted off his back. What had happened was that as soon as he was out, he had a ticket to somewhere, he got off at a city that had a sister city on the other side of a river, in another state, like Kansas City, Missouri and Kansas City, Kansas, across the state line, and as soon as he got there he left the bus station and looked at every car and as soon as he found a car with the keys in the ignition, he got in it. He could remember just enough about driving that he got it to the bridge and went over the river into the other state and if he happened to know where the police station was, he parked that car in front of the police station and sat in it. Pretty soon the theft of that car went out on the wire services and some policeman going out on his beat happened to see the license plate, took out his police sheet and saw that the plates fit. So he went over to the guy and said, "Is this your car?"

He said, "No, I stole it!"

"Where'd you steal it from?"

"The other side of the bridge."

He mentioned the name of the state over there. The policeman asked, "Well, why'd you steal it and what's it here for?"

Well, he didn't profess to know why and just let the officer do what he wanted to do and he took him into the station. So some other policeman took the car back. It wasn't damaged, but they charged him with stealing an automobile and taking it across a state line. And that was a federal offense, so they had him up





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in federal court and he was sentenced. He didn't object and he didn't try to defend himself at all. They looked up his record and learned that he'd just come out of Lewisburg. They considered his age and they said, "Looks like you're going back to Lewisburg."

"O.K."

Well they said that maybe they ought to send him to some other place, and he didn't look as pleased about that! Lewisburg was his home and he didn't like to be put out, so they accommodated him again. Poor guy! He just couldn't make it on the outside.

There was another prisoner named Gene McCann. He had been called The Boy Wonder of Wall Street in his day. He was some kind of a broker for stocks. He was also some kind of a manipulator and he made an awful lot of money using other people's money without their consent. So, he made quite a pile in a hurry. Back in the thirties it wasn't as easy, maybe, and he got caught for securities and exchange violations. He got put in Lewisburg. He felt that he was only trying to do what the country had permitted all the robber barons to do. To get rich quick was the epitome of American success so why were they bothering him? He felt put upon. It got to be pretty strong paranoia. He began to wonder if all the people in the beds and all the orderlies who came in and the people with the food carts that came in three times a day were really looking for ways of getting him. So he took to the underside of his bed and on the floor he'd keep on writing writs to Judge Learned Hand of the Supreme Court of New York. But he didn't have good handwriting, so before he had retreated into his hole under his bed he'd been socializing some with us, and he'd seen that I had been re-establishing my handwriting. College had been pretty hard on it, taking notes! Ha-ha! So, I had relearned the alphabet and I was writing very neatly. Well, he got the idea that maybe I could go about practicing while copying his scrawls to make his writs legible. At one time some of his writs had been in Judge Learned Hand's court and the Judge said that he wasn't going to wear out his eyes trying to read this awful scrawl. Unless he could learn how to write, or get his manuscripts made legible, he wasn't going to read another thing from him. So I wrote maybe half a dozen in three or four months and they all got into Judge Learned Hand's possession and he denied almost all of them, but he gave partial relief in one or two. So, it felt as if I was getting to be a jailhouse lawyer! Ha-ha! But all I was doing was a copying job, just as if I'd had a typewriter, making things legible. So I didn't know whether Gene McCann had anything really convincing to offer the Judge, but if he had the right to get the Judge to read something, then I shouldn't refuse to help him exercise that right.

Carol and I corresponded quite frequently until it was shut off by censorship, when they didn't like what I said about the President. The President's war was still going on and I was sounding to them almost treasonous. Some of the guards, when they didn't have other things to do, would set up a table in a hallway and one of those tables was often in front of our cages. They would go through inmate letters to make sure there wasn't something in them about other inmates or about the prison

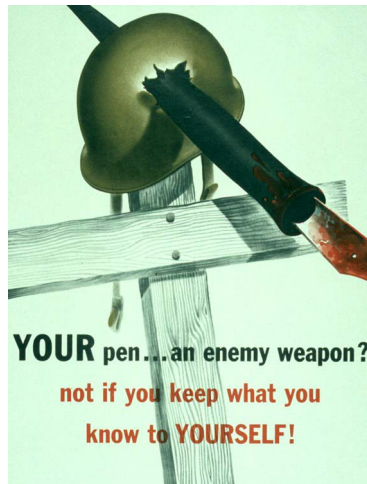


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system, criticizing it, and some of the guards even took offense at political ideas that were contrary to their own. They would report through channels to the warden that so-and-so's correspondence has these things in it. There were five letters that got returned to me at one time and those were letters going on three or four weeks. They were all addressed to my wife and I was writing them as freely as if there was no censorship. I didn't recognize their right to censor what she wrote or what I wrote. I felt that I had been kidnapped from home and family and friends for reasons which were connected with a war which was as rotten as any other war in its effect on people. I didn't want to recognize the validity of my incarceration. Carol and I had talked about the idea that maybe our correspondence might not be agreeable to some people in the official hierarchy in the prison.



I remember seeing one man at Lewisburg. He'd brought in his pocket three or four strawberries. When he got inside, and I guess they trusted him enough not to search him, he distributed these strawberries, one to each of a few other inmate friends in the prison. They were ripe, luscious looking strawberries. They must have tasted wonderfully. But for that, either some guard saw or heard, or some snitch went to a guard and the guy was thrown in the hole. It was a bare cell, sometimes with padding around the walls, a concrete floor with a little hole in the middle of it and not even a toilet in there. The hole would be used for that. There was no light coming through the door at all. That was "the hole," so he spent a while in solitary, supposedly thinking how wrong he'd been to do whatever the officials took offense at. For dealing out a few strawberries to friends, and he was a farmworker on the outside of the walls, but anything he brought in that wasn't officially sanctioned was, by definition, contraband. He was being punished as though he'd brought in a bag full of heroin. Ha-ha-ha-ha! There was one sweet little guy, a virgin and looking very innocent. He was a Jehovah's Witness, I guess upper teens, and he'd gotten into prison somehow. I think he wasn't a CO but I'm not sure. Well, anyway, he'd gotten gang raped by a bunch of



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old, hardened convicts one day and really injured. He was in the hospital for awhile getting treated for the roughness of that. And then he had the duty to testify against those guys in court. They were still in the population in the prison. So he was really beset with fears. He didn't know who these guys had as confederates in other departments or in the hospital or wherever, so he was extremely vulnerable. It was so worrisome that he became ill from it. I think eventually he was released because he was simply going to pieces in there. If he hadn't really done anything wrong except to claim what his religious leadership said he was, they were punishing the innocent, by any common sense way of looking at it. But he was one of these "pretty boys." These old guys I guess must have pretended that he was female. George Bernard Shaw said that in schools no child was protected from the others as he would have been in prison. But prison protection wasn't always effective either.

There was a band leader named Bratcher<sup>68</sup> who had the next bed to mine for a while. I don't remember his first name, but he had the nickname of Washie because his band played late at night to entertain people who came to hear his band at the Washington Hotel, just across the street from the Treasury Department.

Well, he was the leader of a little band he had organized. They were entertaining people in the hotel, evenings. These were very late—they went on from nine or ten o'clock to one or two o'clock in the morning—so he slept all the rest of the morning. They would work on their music during the afternoon and get to the hotel in the middle of the evening and start entertaining folks. A lot of government officials would go there, sometimes with their wives and families and it was a kind of a nightclub. He used patriotic themes of one kind or another, but he didn't bore people too much with that. He thought they were doing pretty good music but he had a hard time staying awake sometimes in order to perform adequately in leading his band. So, he took some Benadryl tablets sometimes, under doctor's prescription, and I don't know whether it was always with legitimate access, but there was enough officialdom participating in this entertainment, the audience crowd, so that it was considered to be helping the morale of the government. So, he was given some deferments because they felt that this was an essential occupation.

Anyway, on somebody's representation he came under suspicion. Somebody who knew that he was using "bennies" to keep awake with said that he was taking it in order to show certain symptoms that might make him unacceptable for military duty. So the suspicion was that he was a draft dodger. If you wanted to get a drug addict, anybody had to say that he was doing drugs in order to escape from the draft. He would immediately be under suspicion and anything could happen to him. So, he was brought up on charges and he tried to defend himself. He had a pretty good income so he had a good lawyer, but the lawyer didn't prevail, so he found himself in the federal penitentiary. And he was mad! He was terribly provoked. He had a good thing going and it was earning him a lot of money and now they took it all

68. Everett Malcolm Bratcher, as later research revealed.



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away. It cost him a lot for legal fees besides. He was extremely angry about that. He came into that hospital with some real ailments. I don't know whether he had some withdrawal symptoms or what, but he was almost eating himself up with his own anger. All the other inmates quickly realized that he had this terrible chip on his shoulder and unless they really enjoyed tangling with somebody like that they had best let him alone. He and I tangled only once, but he was tangling repeatedly with some of the others. Others kept out of his way completely. He would get a sudden impulse that he was uncomfortable in some way.

One cold night he got up and flipped around his desk into the little aisle about this wide between the heads of our beds and the little side tables we had between each bed and the next and the window wall. And he went to the window right behind his bed and he threw it up, all the way to the half sash. Well, in streamed the bitter winter weather. This was just about a year before I was released and the weather was already cold at the beginning of that winter. The room cooled down in a hurry. He wasn't saying anything or doing anything in his bed so about fifteen or twenty minutes later people were starting to grouse around the room. I slipped out of bed and went around and put the window halfway down, quietly, thinking that if I slammed it all the way down, Washie might go into a tizzy. I didn't know why he wasn't freezing to death in his own bed! He was that close to the same window. I hadn't even reached my bed again, having gone around the other end of the row, when he bounded out of bed, yelled at me and punched me in the stomach and I went down. All of a sudden two guys came up from the other side of the room and started banging him around, slammed him in his bed and told him to stay there or he'd be beaten up a lot worse. Then they came over to me and got me up and checked me out to see if I was hurt any worse than being out of breath. He was threatened with a whole lot more if he ever did anything like that again. I could see that he was not prison wise at all and he'd better wise up or he might get himself killed in there.

[O]ne night, a couple of weeks later, after things had simmered down and he seemed to get a little more reasonable, I suddenly lost my vision from the center line to the left, both eyes at once. Everything was clear from the center to the right but everything was a blue-grey haze from the center to the left. It was the same in both eyes. I realized that I had had that once before, about two hours before I had a migraine headache. It was bothering me during the evening and when the doctor made his last rounds he came past my bed. Somebody else had told him he'd better see me and mentioned this peculiar vision problem. So he came over and said, "Is something ailing you?"

I said, "I had this loss of vision on the left side of each eye about a half hour or so ago and now I've got this very strong headache and I think it's migraine and if it is I'm going to have a tough time trying to sleep tonight. It's pretty strong and I've had it before."

"Well," he said, "What have you been taking for it?"

I said, "I had some Cafergot."

They were tablets containing caffeine and ergotamine, a tartrate



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combination in a tablet. "They don't have any of that here, he said, but I know one thing that will let you sleep and by the morning you'll be all over it because migraines are that short. I'll give you one."

The prison doctor substituted [codeine](#) most effectively. It was in a tiny pill, very small, and I said that I didn't know if I should take that. "Isn't that addictive?"

"Oh," he said, "one won't do it. You won't have another migraine for a long time probably. It's only occasional with most people."

It was so with me. I don't think I've had it more than four or five times in my life.

So he gave me this one little tablet and I downed it with some water, being assured by the doctor that it's the repeated taking of this that gets people hooked. He said that I wouldn't have any tendency for that. So I took it and I didn't remember much more before I was out and waking up in the morning. As I woke up I realized that Washie Bratcher was staring at me from his bed and as soon as he saw that I was definitely awake he swung his legs over and he leaned over and he said,

"John, were you pretending to be asleep last night?"

"No!" I said, "I really had a good night's sleep!"

He said, "No, I don't mean that. Right after you had that pill, two minutes later I called your name to see if you were pretending to be asleep and you didn't respond at all! I can't believe it works that fast!"

Well, the result was so swift that Washie was intrigued to the point of exasperation, poor guy! I thought, he must know something about these addictive drugs if he knows that it takes a lot more than that to put you out. I'd never had it before so it would probably hit me a whole lot faster and harder than it would hit him. I think he may have abused himself with illicit drugs to the point that gave him a high tolerance, so he couldn't believe that a tiny narcotic tablet could give anyone such quick relief, into sound sleep, from a fully developed migraine headache. He must have been experimenting with a whole lot more than these bennies. Ha-ha-ha! There was something of a drug culture even that long ago. Ha-ha!

Well, after I left Lewisburg and he had meanwhile gone somewhere else, I'd lost sight of him, somehow he found out where I was. I was in Washington for a while after my release. I lived in a house that our Friends' Meeting owned on Kalorama Road, not far from Florida Avenue. I got some kind of a card from him that had some handwriting on it that was normal but there was just one sentence that sounded like a bit of his old bitterness. He had been trying to get re-established somehow in life and something had bothered him intensely. So I wrote to him and I said, "I've been thinking about you from time to time ever since we were adjacent to each other at Lewisburg some time back. If you sometimes are in the same frame of mind as you seemed to be very strongly while you were there, it might be a very nice idea if you would find somebody you can really trust who has some technical knowledge of these things to help you with whatever is bothering you. If it's circumstances around here that seem



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to go bad and you react very strongly more than most people would, well that's one thing. Or if you're taking anything that ought to be under prescription you might get some really good help but make sure that it isn't somebody who will rat on you to the authorities. Some people might be able to tell you the name of somebody who is really good along this line. Then once you're sure of who it is and a person of really fine reputation, you might really need to trust that person thoroughly and let him help you to a better life."

I got one letter from him acknowledging mine and saying that it sounded like very wise advice, and he was going to take it. But I never had any other feedback from him later. He was a handy scapegoat but not without possibly some real guilt on his part for being a "druggie."

I met a beekeeper, or a student of beekeeping I should say, at Lewisburg, by the name of Bernard Royals. He had taken advantage of his access through the administration at Lewisburg to a correspondence school. Many prisoners are students through the International Correspondence Schools, ICS. He was in there, having been implicated in a murder. There were two or three other companions. He was from one of the Carolinas, I believe. As he put it to me, he shouldn't have been with these fellows and he had had warnings about their being bad fellows, but he was somewhat younger than they were and he thought they were pretty jolly and adventuresome but he had no idea that they would be stupid enough to commit a murder. Just for the sake of robbing a few things out of a convenience store somewhere on the roadside. Well, they were challenged by the owner and one of them pulled out a gun that nobody else knew he had and shot the owner, who was also a sheriff, and killed him. All four were sent up for murder because they were all involved in this death of the storekeeper. Royals was only the driver of the car. Another one was also horror-struck at what his friend had done. Anyway, he had been studying beekeeping. He was going to be a farmer after he got out. He was going to find some out of the way place that was big enough so that he could have a number of hives and be harvesting honey and selling it. He thought maybe he could make a living doing that if he had enough hives. What he knew about beekeeping, he was glad to have a listener like me to tell his new understandings to, about how they behave, how you use smoke to keep them gentle and do things that you have to do with a hive, even while it's occupied.

There was one fellow who was small and wiry but looked like he had been greatly weakened and I got acquainted with him at the hospital in Lewisburg. He had been broken up in a motorcycle accident. He had flown over the handlebars in a very awkward way and he had lost an eye, had skull concussions, fractures, had broken some of his limbs and had a large damage in his crotch area. So he had had some expert surgery to put various delicate things back together again. Telling me about it, he even offered to let me see the surgeon's handiwork. I told him that I didn't need that and I'd just as well not remember seeing it. I didn't have strong enough clinical interest to be any less than horrified at what I'd probably be seeing! He was having





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difficulty having the right shape of glass eye put in that side. He was quite a fellow, an interesting fellow of very low intellect and very low education, but struggling along, trying to live as well as he could in spite of being very missing in some departments of his thinking.... He had been put back together in so many different ways all over his frame, but he still had a certain amount of old spunk left in him. He was very grateful really that, in spite of his criminal behavior, the prison system was still handling his medical difficulties in a way that was more fortunate for him than he felt he had ever deserved.

One of the fellows came into the prison hospital having a peculiar kind of alcohol poisoning. There was no alcohol available to inmates and the whole prison system didn't have any alcohol inside it, not even in the warden's own house. So how did this fellow get so drunk? It turned out that while he was in the hospital, the investigation showed that he had been doing some painting work and some surfaces needed to be shellacked. So he had gone into a closet and had been breathing in the fumes from his shellac, which has alcohol as a thinner. He was painting various surfaces in that closet and keeping the door closed because he was really an alcoholic craving that smell. They shouldn't have had him painting with shellac at all! He had passed out before they found him. So he was needing hospital service for a while!

There was one great big fellow, an orderly in the prison hospital. All the inmates called him "Tiny." They had to make his clothes specially for him out of large pieces of cloth. I don't think I ever saw a fellow with that big and long a belt. If he leaned over, his shirt tail would come completely out. I didn't learn until later just how much he weighed when he came into that hospital, but he came in in order to go under medical control for losing weight. He wanted to get down to some reasonable level. So he was there for most of a year. He was on a regimen with controlled diet. His doctor's goal was one pound per day, which is pretty rapid. Finally he came to the point where he was boasting and so was his doctor of his having lost two hundred pounds in exactly two hundred days. He was a tall, big framed fellow and he still weighed about two hundred forty. That meant he was almost too big to walk when he first came in. He had to watch his mental attitude and his emotional instabilities because it was costing him something to lose that. He had a feeling of anxiety all the time. The doctor had warned him about that. So he kept himself right side up and he made it. Another inmate, who grew up in Iceland, impressed me most favorably. His name, Austvaldur Bragi Brynjolffson, was Danish, I would guess. In his late twenties, probably, he was imprisoned as an army combat veteran who got into trouble as a suspected murderer in a Paris hotel after he had been in continuous daily combat for between 45 and 50 days across northern France from the landing onto the Normandy coast almost to Belgium. So exhausted that he was given R&R (rest and recreation) in Paris, he could remember quite a wild time until he got awakened with a terrible hangover by a French gendarme who demanded to know





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why a dead woman had been found in the adjoining hotel room. He could remember nothing at all about the previous day or two; so he was turned over to army officers for summary court-martial and convicted by circumstantial evidence. He hoped he wasn't guilty, but feared the gendarmes' guesses might be correct. After some time in a very cruel British P.O.W. camp he was transferred into the US to get medical treatment and to do some years in prison at Lewisburg. In our adjoining hospital ward beds, we soon got acquainted. Openly friendly he was, although deeply preoccupied with the possibility that he may have disgraced himself as the only Icelfander who ever committed a murder, in their thousand-year history since the island was first settled or its parliament (the "Althing") was formed in 930 AD.<sup>69</sup>

Austvaldur requested a visit by another Icelfander who was a religious minister of a church in Cleveland; and that man came to offer counsel and emotional support for him in such desperate circumstances, and perhaps later to help facilitate the young man's eventual repatriation and rehabilitation after the war. I hope his brief visit and friendship with me may have been helpful, and I have often thought of him and wondered whether he ever recovered enough to have a good life again, back home. I have long been interested in Iceland for other reasons, so perhaps opportunity might open to learn what may have become of him.

November 30, Saturday: At the Lewisburg Penitentiary in Pennsylvania, a prison guard named Steininger came with a box to the cell of prisoner of conscience [John R. Kellam](#) — and Friend John found that he was being released from this maximum-security prison directly into civilian life in an America at peace.



He would be able to reunite with his wife [Agnes Carol Zens Kellam](#) and see his 15-month-old daughter [Susan Kellam](#) for the 1st time. They would live for awhile in a residence owned by their Florida Avenue Friends' Meeting in [Washington DC](#), a house situated on nearby Kalorama Road. Another daughter, Wendy, would be born in 1947.

He was the one who was assigned to come to my cell on the day that I was released and get me prepared to go out. So he put all my clothes on me after telling me that I was on my way out. So I guess I acknowledged in some way that I wasn't very excited. He said, "Don't you believe me?" I said, "I'll believe you if I see the outside first."

69. It is a fact that into the 1940s murder was quite rare in Iceland. Only two cases of homicide were registered on the island between 1920 and 1940. Unfortunately, there has been an increase and while Iceland is still considerably behind most Western societies, in the 1990s the murder rate reached 6-7 (one or two such cases per year for the entire island).

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## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

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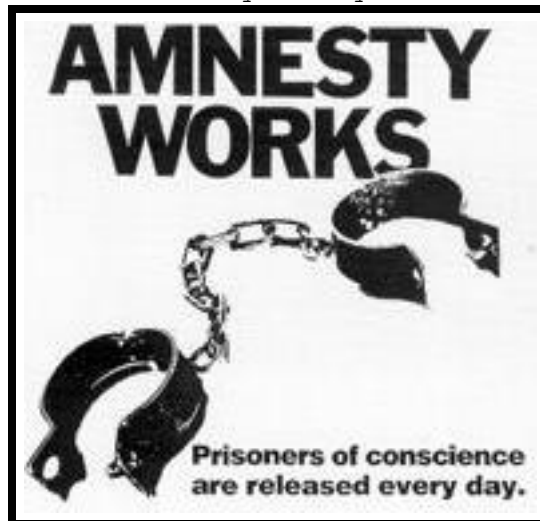
So he realized then that he had to do everything between here and there. So he put me in a wheelchair after he'd put my clothes on. It was winter, almost winter, in late November, after Thanksgiving. We didn't go through the usual signing out. He had a box that I found out later on was my own personal belongings that I'd taken into there. I had a small shoebox with a few things in it that I had been working on as a tentative hobby in prison and that's here. I found myself with these things in my lap sitting in a wheelchair outside the front of the prison.



I was willing to go home as soon as I found myself at liberty to go but I wasn't going to put my family in jeopardy by trying to escape.

Well, this guard had a passenger car there and he said, "I'm going into Lewisburg town on some errands. I could drop you off at the train station. You've got a train ticket to Washington DC in your pocket."

I was to go back to Washington DC to my family. But he said, "As far as I'm concerned you can sit here overnight or you can walk to town or you can accept a ride from me. Whatever you want to do, you're a free man now." So I said, "In that case I'd be glad of a ride into town. Thank you very much."



And on the way I said, "Mr. Steininger, I've been wondering about you over the last year or so, particularly since I saw Larry Gara come down the hall with his hair in your hand. You seem like a reasonable fellow but I find it hard to put that together



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with what you were doing that day!"

"Oh," he said, "that happened after I had taken this job here. I left Byberry in Philadelphia, Byberry Hospital, it's a mental hospital, it was originally called the hospital for the insane, I think, and that was a good job. But I had more money if I took this job. So I took it. I realized right away, almost, that this was a terrible job for me to have. It didn't suit me at all. So I was just about to quit when the President in Washington issued an executive order freezing us in our essential occupations and a lot of other people in hundreds of other occupations all over the country. And I was stuck. I couldn't legally leave my job unless the prison officials were willing to let me go. But they could hold me and they did. So, I was trying desperately to get fired."

He said he went AWOL one time and went back to work at Byberry, but soon the [FBI](#) came to tell him that his choice was to go back to Lewisburg as a guard, or else be sent to be a prisoner there. One of the easiest ways to get any guard fired was to have him abusing prisoners. So, he said, "I figured if I got tough enough, not doing any real damage, but insulting prisoners and musing them up enough they'd decide I was no good as a guard and they'd fire me. I'd have been happy to go back to Byberry and have been an orderly there as an assistant for patient care. I loved that job!" So, Larry was one of those who got in the way and the opportunity to misbehave was right in front of him. He was trying to lose his job! And they allowed it.

Getting out was very traumatic. Suddenly there were cars whizzing around in a way that I didn't remember. Traffic was much heavier. People had quicker tempers and shorter patience. All the friends we had in Washington, and in the Friends Committee on National Legislation, where I worked for the first year of its life, 1943, accompanied and brought my wife and daughter to the railway station to meet me. They had been told, somehow, probably by the warden's office, which train they thought I would be on. There must have been fifteen or twenty people. So we had quite a party that evening. Raymond Wilson had his group and Jeanette Hadley was with us. Sam Levering was down in Virginia so he wasn't among them. There were just the four of us in FCNL at that time. All four names are signed on that poster at the far end of the room. I'm the only survivor among the four. There are only four posters signed. We each got one of them.

It was interesting that no one since then, until yourself [the interviewer, Friend [Caroline B. Webster](#)], has ever systematically drawn me out on my wartime experience. The war was in many ways so awful that I think the whole world would like to forget it. I can understand that. It's like pulling teeth for the Holocaust Museum staff and Sam Spielberg to be interviewing the few survivors of the extermination camps to tell their stories. They are collecting them and it's almost too late because in another ten or twenty years the last of them will be gone.

There's one reason why I'm not more impressed with the unusualness of this kind of sacrifice, and that is that I've



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grown up in a country that is chock full of windfalls and wipeouts. I had a wipeout there and I had to recover from it. It took quite a few years before I was on my feet again and even able to support a family and do a little saving in order to prevent becoming either a public charge or an expense to my own descendants, if I ever reached old age. The judge who had sentenced me announced that he was going to give me the absolute maximum penalty because he felt that I was one of the worst of all the draft dodgers. So he prescribed five years of imprisonment and in addition, he said, a fine of one thousand dollars. Looking back, I think he probably kicked himself all over the next day or two when he reviewed and found out that he could have said ten thousand. The other nine I wouldn't have had because I didn't own that much. But if he was trying to make a greater example of me he could have said more. He had been bawled out by a Jehovah's Witness one week earlier in his own courtroom. Jehovah's Witnesses were mostly considered to be spurious ministers because the whole congregation claimed to be ministers. Judges were not likely to credit that, especially since those ministers had decided that they were to be exempted as much as anybody who had done doctorate work in ministry before taking a congregation. Ha-ha! Anyway, this Jehovah's Witness got up and declared himself a minister and that he was entitled to be exempt from any war, except Armageddon. He said, "If Armageddon comes you'll see how much of a soldier I'll be - I'll be one of the best fighters in the country! But not for any other kind of a war!"

Well, by definition he wasn't a CO because he wasn't opposed to all wars! Ha-ha-ha! To get legalistic about it, that is! Ha-ha-ha! Anyway, he said some things that were very upsetting to the judge. It characterized the judge's authority as being nonexistent. Now, you don't do that to judges without consequences! So the judge threw the book at him and I guess from what my lawyer who wanted to defend me told me, that judge probably decided that any other draft dodger who came before him was going to get the book too. Ha-Ha-Ha! The judge was super patriotic for one additional reason and that was because of the J.W.'s tirade! The war makes victims of all of us including that judge. He had to suffer the indignity of being called down by some young whippersnapper claiming to be a minister of the Gospel. Ha-ha! Poor guy! Some people just haven't any respect for the black robes of a judge! Ha-ha-ha-ha!

Well, the fine was partly collected. They got the car which I had told Carol belonged to her because I wasn't going to be able to use it probably for the rest of its life as a five year sentence was possible and seemed likely. And it did come. So, she should have the car's title transferred to her and use it for as long as she might be able to support a car and gain any convenience from it. Well, the judge gave the [FBI](#) the duty to go collect it and I don't know whether they got the key to it from Carol or whether they simply hot-wired it and drove it away. They could probably have gotten the Pontiac company to give them a key for that car. Anyhow, we never saw it again. Oh, let's see, that was an eight-year-old car at the time so it only had



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maybe three or four hundred of those days' valued dollars left in it. The car, in 1936, had cost my mother nine hundred and thirty-six dollars. We had been all the way out west and back and when she was not going to be able to keep a car anymore, she gave it to us when Carol and I were married. So it went to the government as part payment on the thousand dollar fine. Then they went after my checking and savings account at the Co-Op Credit Union in Toledo. I think they may have gotten a hundred dollars out of that checking account. The savings account they didn't tap and the credit union went broke. It failed and it wasn't decided how much they could pay per dollar to all their depositors. The federal government was not able to collect any of that money because it was all in escrow, in other court proceedings. They never did get any of it. Eventually, after several more years when I got out, and while I was at PennCraft, working for the [American Friends Service Committee](#), the Credit Union paid something like seventy-five or eighty cents on the dollar to all depositors. So we got most of that back and the federal government never got a dime. Ha-ha-ha! I never thought they were entitled to my contributing! I didn't think they were entitled to the possession of my body during those twenty-two and a half months. They were another kind of a kidnapper and if they had left the way open, I would have felt free to take to my heels and get back to my family, ignoring the fact that they might pick me up again. I felt no responsibility whatever to a war-corrupted court or a war-corrupted law enforcement machinery, especially one whose officers were willing to lie about me outrageously under oath in a courtroom. Justice was stood on its tail. So the courts, the public, the COs, the GIs, GI parents and friends, and all the other people in the country and in a way even the profiteers who were avariciously gathering up the dollars from the war material procurement machinery were corrupted and therefore in a way victimized by the war. I don't think the country had anybody in it who wasn't victimized in some fashion. The whole world suffered. I was released, broke and owing.



The first time I drove a car, I wondered if I would even remember



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enough about it not to make horrible blunders in this terrible press of traffic. I was astonished to find out within the first day or two that I could accommodate. I was still in my earliest thirties and so I found it was like riding a bicycle, you never really lose the knack! But I did have to watch a whole lot more carefully and I was very nervous for quite a while until I was more confident that I could do it without some terrible blunders of inattention. I remember the first time I went out from a friend's home, somewhere in the Northwest section of Washington, walking about three blocks to pick up a newspaper and some little items like toothpaste or maybe some ice cream, the things that you'd get in a drugstore, and paid some money that Carol gave me for that trip, and to get the proper change and bring it back to the house seemed very strange to be doing that under nobody's supervision! Freedom is almost traumatically strange after being out of circulation for even less than two years!

But I was relatively fortunate. I had a sense of mission to support and sustain me. That was extremely important. Carol and I had discussed in advance a lot of the "what ifs" and "what might happens" – what if they don't let us correspond freely? A tight censorship might even cut us off from each other in every way. If they refuse to let us have our letters delivered to each other, we might have to give it up and not keep kicking against the bricks of misfortune that that involves. Her mother didn't understand that at all. She became extremely critical of me – and Carol was living with her.

We live in a country where freedom and democracy is believed to be real by our public but when we are experienced enough we find out that sometimes it isn't so real. Even presidents after a short time in office find out who their real bosses are, and it's not the electorate. So some of freedom and democracy, even in this country, is illusion. We have a lot of work to do to perfect it.

I had worked for the Friends Committee on National Legislation for more than a year, from 1943 up until I was married, in August 1944, and I think FCNL continues to be just as faithful and just as strong in speaking truth to power as it ever has been. They have a larger staff, they are speaking with a stronger voice and under the same kind of special guidance as they began with. I think FCNL has not become any weaker even though the other lobbying powers that beset government people, elected and appointed, have become even stronger than they were back when FCNL started. They are strong in rough proportion to the money involved and Congress bows abjectly before the power of money. The Reverend Thomas E. Ahlburn, of the Benevolent Congregation Church in Providence, now retired, is a minister friend of mine who was very much with me and others in the equal housing opportunity legislative movement in Rhode Island. One day Tom picked me up and gave me a ride downtown. We talked a bit and somehow the subject came up of church and state separation, and shouldn't that work both ways. I said that I think this may be one of the very few ways in which communication isn't and shouldn't be a two-way street. I think religious bodies and other kinds of civic groups should always be telling government



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-just as individuals should- how they think government ought to behave. Government should be very careful never to tell the religious groups how they should behave. This means it's a one-way street of attempted influence. That is properly a one-way street. Well, Tom said, that's the first time I've ever heard it explained like that. He said, there's something in this for me to think about. He had heard something he hadn't expected to and he thought maybe it was right.





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1947

February 21, Friday: Edwin Herbert Land demonstrated his new camera which would come to be known as the “Polaroid” (this would come to be capable of taking color photographs, in 1963).

Lord Inverchapel, British Ambassador in Washington DC, informed the US Department of State that the United Kingdom would no longer provide financial aid to shore up the governments of Greece and Turkey; further efforts to prevent Soviet shipping from using the Dardanelles would be at the cost of the United States of America. Undersecretary of State Dean Acheson would meet with Congressmen to explain his “domino theory” –that the leg bone was connected to the ankle bone– that if Greece and Turkey were allowed to fall, Communism would spread like cancer into Iran and then India. Not since the days of Rome and Carthage had human civilization experienced such a crisis! –The Congressmen would be greatly impressed at the sophistication of this sort of talk.

The [American Friends Service Committee](#) reported that it had completed a survey of what Friends did during [World War II](#), and had found record of 5,953 Quaker men who had served in the military, of 654 such as [Calhoun D. Geiger](#) who had received 1-O classifications and served in the alternative Civilian Public Service program, of 713 who had received 1-A-O classifications and served within the military in noncombatant positions, and of 57 who had followed the Peace Testimony to the point of being imprisoned as [conscientious objectors](#). In other words, in addition to Friend [John R. Kellam](#) and Friend [Bayard Rustin](#), there had been a grand sum total of 55 others who had refused to assist the federal government in any capacity at all during the period in which that federal government had been engaging in warfare.



And, there had been 5,953 American [Quakers](#) who had disregarded their example while they had been sacrificing themselves to the federal penal system. –An overwhelming majority of American Quakers had been gun-carrying Quakers.

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October 26, Sunday: The [Nobel Peace Prize](#) for 1947 was awarded jointly to the [American Friends Service Committee](#) and the British Friends Council for their relief work in Europe after [World War II](#).

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In the face of raids from Pakistan, Maharajah Hari Singh, the ruler of Jammu and Kashmir, ceded his lands to [India](#). The mostly Moslem province was admitted into [India](#), provoking outrage in Pakistan.

British troops withdrew from Iraq.

Four Democratic senators and about 30 film industry notables made a nationwide broadcast called "Hollywood Fights Back." Led by Humphrey Bogart and Lauren Bacall, it attacked the House of Representatives's [Un-American Activities Committee](#), denying that there was Communist infiltration in American films and questioning "the right of Congress to ask any man what he thinks on political issues."

### UNAMERICANISM

December 10, Wednesday: In the auditorium of the University of Oslo, Gunnar Jahn, Director of the Bank of Norway, awarded the diplomas and medals of the [Nobel Peace Prize](#). After his speech, Miss Margaret A. Backhouse, representing the British [Friends Service Council](#), and Professor Henry J. Cadbury, representing the [American Friends Service Committee](#), which shared the prize, responded with brief speeches of acceptance.

### The Nobel Peace Prize for 1947

by Gunnar Jahn

Chairman of the Nobel Committee

The Nobel Committee of the Norwegian Parliament has awarded this



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year's Peace Prize to the Quakers, represented by their two great relief organizations, the Friends Service Council in London and the American Friends Service Committee in Philadelphia.

It is now three hundred years since [George Fox](#) established the Society of Friends. It was during the time of civil war in England, a period full of the religious and political strife which led to the Protectorate under Oliver Cromwell - today we would no doubt call it a dictatorship. What then happened was what so often happens when a political or religious movement is successful; it lost sight of its original concern: the right to freedom. For, having achieved power, the movement then refuses to grant to others the things for which it has itself fought. Such was the case with the Presbyterians and after them with the Independents. It was not the spirit of tolerance and humanity that emerged victorious.

George Fox and many of his followers were to experience this during the ensuing years, but they did not take up the fight by arming, as men customarily do. They went their way quietly because they were opposed to all forms of violence. They believed that spiritual weapons would prevail in the long run - a belief born of inward experience. They emphasized life itself rather than its forms because forms, theories, and dogmas have never been of importance to them. They have therefore from the very beginning been a community without fixed organization. This has given them an inner strength and a freer view of mankind, a greater tolerance toward others than is found in most organized religious communities.

The Quaker movement originated in England, but soon afterwards in 1656, the Quakers found their way to America where they were not at first welcomed. In spite of persecution, however, they stood fast and became firmly established during the last quarter of the century. Everyone has heard of the Quaker, [George Fox](#), who founded Philadelphia and the colony of Pennsylvania. Around 1700 there were already fifty to sixty thousand Quakers in America and about the same number in England.

Since then the Quakers have lived their own lives, many of them having to suffer for their beliefs. Much has changed during these three hundred years. Outward customs, such as the dress adopted by the early Quakers, have been discarded, and the Friends themselves now live in a society which is outwardly quite different from that of the seventeenth century. But the people around them are the same, and what has to be conquered within man himself is no less formidable.

The Society of Friends has never had many members, scarcely more than 200,000 in the entire world, the majority living in the United States and in England. But it is not the number that matters. What counts more is their inner strength and their deeds.

If we study the history of the Quakers, we cannot but admire the strength they have acquired through their faith and through



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their efforts to live up to that faith in their daily life. They have always been opposed to violence in any form, and many considered their refusal to take part in wars the most important tenet of their religion. But it is not quite so simple. It is certainly true that the Declaration of 1660 states: "We utterly deny all outward wars and strife and fightings with outward weapons, for any end and under any pretence whatsoever. And this is our testimony to the whole world." But that goes much further than a refusal to take part in war. It leads to this: it is better to suffer injustice than to commit injustice. It is from within man himself that victory must in the end be gained.

It may be said, without doing injustice to anyone, that the Quakers have at times been more interested in themselves and in their inner life than in the community in which they lived. There was, as one of their own historians has said, something passive about their work: they preferred to be counted among the silent in the land. But no one can fulfill his mission in this life by wanting to belong only to the silent ones and to live his own life isolated from others.

Nor was this attitude true of the Quakers. They too went out among men, not to convert them, but to take an active part with them in the life of the community and, even more, to offer their help to those who needed it and to let their good deeds speak for themselves in appealing for mutual understanding.

Here I can only mention some scattered examples which illustrate such activity. The Quakers took part in creating the first peace organization in 1810 and since then have participated in all active peace movements. I would mention Elizabeth Fry,<sup>70</sup> John Woolman,<sup>71</sup> and other Quakers active in the fight against slavery and in the struggle for social justice. I would mention the liberal idealist John Bright,<sup>72</sup> his forty-year fight against the principles of war and for the principles of peace, his opposition to the Crimean War,<sup>73</sup> and his struggle against Palmerston's<sup>74</sup> policies. Many other examples could be mentioned to show how their active participation in community work, in politics if you prefer, increased during the nineteenth century.

Yet it is not this side of their activities - the active political side - which places the Quakers in a unique position. It is through silent assistance from the nameless to the nameless that they have worked to promote the fraternity between nations cited in the will of [Alfred Nobel](#). Their work began in the prisons. We heard about them from our seamen who spent long years in prison during the Napoleonic Wars.<sup>75</sup> We met them once again during the Irish famine of 1846-1847. When English naval units bombarded the Finnish coast during the Crimean War,<sup>76</sup> the

70. Elizabeth Gurney Fry (1780-1845), English Quaker philanthropist and minister interested in prison reform.

71. John Woolman (1720-1772), American Quaker preacher and abolitionist.

72. John Bright (1811-1889), English statesman and orator; of Quaker stock; member of Parliament (almost continuously 1843-1889).

73. The Crimean War (1853-1856): Russia vs. Turkey, England, France, and Sardinia.

74. Henry John Temple Palmerston (1784-1865), English statesman; in office almost continuously from 1809 to 1865 as secretary of war, foreign secretary, home secretary, or prime minister.

75. Napoleonic Wars: 1803-1815.



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Quakers hurried there to heal the wounds of war, and we found them again in France after the ravages of the 1870-1871 war.<sup>77</sup>

When the First World War broke out, the Quakers were once more to learn what it was to suffer for their faith. They refused to carry arms, and many of them were thrown into prison, where they were often treated worse than criminals. But it is not this that we shall remember longest. We who have closely observed the events of the First World War and of the inter-war period will probably remember most vividly the accounts of the work they did to relieve the distress caused by the war. As early as 1914, the English Quakers started preparation for relief action. They began their work in the Marne district in France and, whenever they could, they went to the very places where the war had raged. They worked in this way all through the war and when it ended were confronted by still greater tasks. For then, as now, hunger and sickness followed in the wake of the war. Who does not recall the years of famine in Russia in 1920-1921 and Nansen's appeal to mankind for help? Who does not recall the misery among the children in Vienna which lasted for years on end? In the midst of the work everywhere were the Quakers. It was the Friends Service Committee which, at Hoover's<sup>78</sup> request, took on the mighty task of obtaining food for sick and undernourished children in Germany. Their relief corps worked in Poland and Serbia, continued to work in France, and later during the civil war in Spain<sup>79</sup> rendered aid on both sides of the front.

Through their work, the Quakers won the confidence of all, for both governments and people knew that their only purpose was to help. They did not thrust themselves upon people to win them to their faith. They drew no distinction between friend and foe. One expression of this confidence was the donation of considerable funds to the Quakers by others. The funds which the Quakers could have raised among themselves would not have amounted to much since most of them are people of modest means.

During the period between the wars their social work also increased in scope. Although, in one sense, nothing new emerged, the work assumed a form different from that of the wartime activity because of the nature of the problems themselves. Constructive work received more emphasis, education and teaching played a greater part, and there were now more opportunities of making personal contact with people than there had been during a time when the one necessity seemed to be to supply food and clothing. The success achieved among the coal miners in West Virginia provides an impressive example of this work. The Quakers solved the housing problems, provided new work for the unemployed, created a new little community. In the words of one of their members, they succeeded in restoring self-respect and confidence in life to men for whom existence had become devoid of hope. This is but one example among many.

76. Finland was a Russian grand duchy at the time of the Crimean War.

77. The Franco-Prussian war (July 19, 1870-January 28, 1871).

78. Herbert Hoover (1874-1964), president of the U. S. (1929-1933); during and after World War I headed U. S. food administration and war relief commissions.

79. Spanish Civil War (1936-1939).



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The Second World War did not strike the Quakers personally in the same way as did that of 1914. Both in England and in the U.S.A. the conscription laws allowed the Quakers to undertake relief work instead of performing military service; so they were neither cast into prison nor persecuted because of their unwillingness to go to war. In this war there were, moreover, Quakers who did not refuse to take an active part in the war, although they were few compared with those who chose to help the victims of war. When war came, the first task which confronted them was to help the refugees. But the difficulties were great because the frontiers of many countries were soon closed. The greater part of Europe was rapidly occupied by the Germans, and the United States remained neutral for only a short time. Most of the countries occupied by the Germans were closed to the Quakers. In Poland, it is true, they were given permission to help, but only on condition that the Germans themselves should choose who was to be helped, a condition which the Quakers could not accept. Nevertheless, they worked where they could, first undertaking welfare work in England and after that, behind the front in many countries of Europe and Asia, and even in America. For when America joined the war, the whole Japanese-American population, numbering 112,000 in all, of whom 80,000 were American citizens, was evacuated from the West Coast. The Quakers went to their assistance, as well as opposed the prevailing anti-Japanese feeling from which these people suffered.

Now, with the war over, the need for help is greater than ever. This is true not only in Europe, but also and to the same degree in large areas of Asia. The problems are becoming more and more overwhelming - the prisoners who were released from concentration camps in 1945, all those who had to be repatriated from forced labor or POW camps in enemy countries, all the displaced persons who have no country to which they can return, all the homeless in their own countries, all the orphans, the hungry, the starving! The problem is not merely one of providing food and clothing, it is one of bringing people back to life and work, of restoring their self-respect and their faith and confidence in the future. Once again, the Quakers are active everywhere. As soon as a country has been reopened they have been on the spot, in Europe and in Asia, among countrymen and friends as well as among former enemies, in France and in Germany, in India and in Japan. It is not easy to assess the extent of their contribution. It is not something that can be measured in terms of money alone, but perhaps some indication of it may be given by the fact that the American Committee's budget for last year was forty-six million Norwegian kroner. And this is only the sum which the American Committee has had at its disposal. Quakers in all countries have also taken a personal and active part in the work of other relief organizations. They have, for instance, assisted in the work of UNRRA<sup>80</sup> in a number of places such as Vienna and Greece.

80. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) was established in 1943 to aid areas freed from the Axis powers; it was discontinued in Europe in 1947 and its work taken over by the FAO and the IRO.





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Today the Quakers are engaged in work that will continue for many years to come. But to examine in closer detail the individual relief schemes would not give us any deeper insight into its significance. For it is not in the extent of their work or in its practical form that the Quakers have given most to the people they have met. It is in the spirit in which this work is performed. "We weren't sent out to make converts," a young Quaker says: "we've come out for a definite purpose, to build up in a spirit of love what has been destroyed in a spirit of hatred. We're not missionaries. We can't tell if even one person will be converted to Quakerism. Things like that don't happen in a hurry. When our work is finished it doesn't mean that our influence dies with it. We have not come out to show the world how wonderful we are. No, the thing that seems most important is the fact that while the world is waging a war in the name of Christ, we can bind up the wounds of war in the name of Christ. Religion means very little until it is translated into positive action."<sup>81</sup>

This is the message of good deeds, the message that men can find each other in spite of war, in spite of differences in race. Is it not here that we have the hope of laying foundations for peace among nations, of building it up in man himself so that the settling of disputes by force becomes impossible? All of us know that we have not yet traveled far along this road. And yet - when we witness today the great willingness to help those who have suffered, a generosity unknown before the war and often greatest among those who have least, can we not hope that there is something in the heart of man on which we can build, that we can one day reach our goal if only it be possible to make contact with people in all lands?

The Quakers have shown us that it is possible to translate into action what lies deep in the hearts of many: compassion for others and the desire to help them - that rich expression of the sympathy between all men, regardless of nationality or race, which, transformed into deeds, must form the basis for lasting peace. For this reason alone the Quakers deserve to receive the Nobel Peace Prize today.

But they have given us something more: they have shown us the strength to be derived from faith in the victory of the spirit over force. And this brings to mind two verses from one of Arnulf Överland's<sup>82</sup> poems which helped so many of us during the war. I know of no better salute:

The unarmed only  
can draw on sources eternal.  
The spirit alone gives victory.

**THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

81. The translation of this passage is taken from The Friends' Quarterly (April, 1948) 75.

82. Arnulf Överland (1889-1968).





## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

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1948

[Friend Floyd Schmoe](#) visited [Japan](#) (while at the Friends meeting in [Tokyo](#), one of the people he met was a female student named Tomiko). He led a group of volunteers to Hiroshima. In an effort called “Houses for Hiroshima,” they would spend 5 years building houses for the survivors of the bombings of [Hiroshima](#) and [Nagasaki](#).

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

Back in the USA the cartoonist Al Capp was satirizing people like the Schmoes who were mindful of the needs of others:



The name “shmoo” apparently was chosen because of America’s simpleton, “Joe Schmoe.” Capp’s shmoos, like the ultimately victimizable Joe, only lived to help others. If they sensed you were hungry, they would offer themselves to be eaten. Everything about them was nothing but helpful: after you ate one you could use its whiskers for toothpicks, and its skin made fine leather, and its eyes made great buttons. This comic campaign against human altruism would continue until 1952. If there was anything an American child wanted, it was not

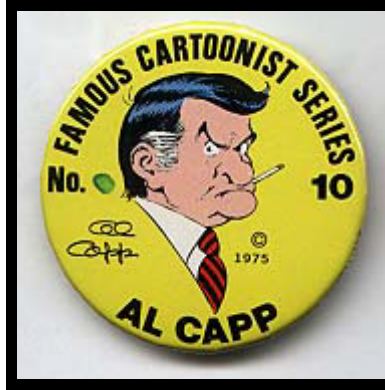


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### GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

to be regarded by other children as a mere simpleminded, undemanding “shmoo.”



In particular this was a problem for Quaker children. It is not clear why Capp had such contempt for decent altruism, nor is it clear why we responded so fully to him (my own personal suspicions are that this had more than a little to do with America's postwar position of [hegemonic atomic supremacy](#), and the stance it soon adopted of “world cop” international bullying).



Eventually, however, and not a moment too soon, in November 1977, this humorist would be forced into retirement due to some unfortunate sex publicity.

It would seem that none of this American public contempt for altruism, expressed through the daily comic satire of the shmoo, ever had any impact whatever on the Schmoes. They knew what they were doing and why.

The Truman Renovation of the [White House](#) began. During these 4 years the project would completely reconstruct the interior plus, underneath, create two new concealed levels.

Cherry Blossom Princesses were selected from every State of the Union and the Territories. From these

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princesses, a queen was chosen to reign during the [Japanese](#) Cherry Blossom Pageant of [Washington DC](#).







## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

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1950

[Kenneth L. Carroll](#)'s "[Joseph Nichols](#) and the [Nicholites](#) of Caroline County" ([Maryland Historical Magazine](#) 45, pages 47-61).<sup>83</sup>

The Brooke Grove Foundation was established as the first licensed group home for the elderly near Sandy Spring.

The [Hicksite](#) Friends and the Orthodox Friends merged to form Sandy Spring Friends United. What had that been all about? A Conference of American Friends ([Quakers](#)) in Richmond, Indiana produced the following statement:

Though we meet under the shadow of loyalty oaths, restriction of liberties, conscription, and a governmental policy relying on armed force, we are neither [intimidated] nor fearful. Out of similar conflicts grew Friends' original testimonies, and in the face of these conflicts one of the most searching tests of Friends' principles and way of life today ... will be the extent of our enlightened and dedicated implementation of the peace testimony. Both the inescapable involvement of Friends in a war-making and war-breeding culture and the sense Friends have of responsibility to society lead us to affirm that more is required than the refusal to bear arms, more is demanded than opposition to war. Conscientious objection to evil must be complemented by conscientious projection of God's spirit into affirmative peace action.

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

MILITARY CONSCRIPTION

UNAMERICANISM

83. The Nicholites began in about 1760 with Joseph Nichols of the region of Delaware near the Maryland border. During an escapade one of Joseph's best friends became ill and died, and the experience shook him. Soon he was testifying to friends of a light he had experienced, that was leading to obedience to an "Inward Director." His group would not believe in paid ministers; and may have taken a stand against slavery even before the local Quakers. Their wedding ceremonies were similar to those of the Quakers and marriage outside the group was cause for disownment. Nicholites, like Quakers, opposed fighting during the American Revolution. They referred to each other as Friends and were often referred to by others as "New Quakers." They differed from Quakers in being dubious of the benefit of education — their children seldom learned more than to read and write and some could not sign their names. Nicholites influenced by Friend John Woolman were plain and austere to an extreme, wearing only undyed cloth, not mixing natural colors of yarn in woven cloth, not wearing black leather or using blacking on their shoes, etc. Their furniture was simple and their gardens without flowers. Whenever possible they traveled on foot. Joseph Nichols died during December 1770 after only a few years of ministry, and his widow Mary remarried with Levin Charles and migrated to the Deep River section of Guilford County. The Nicholite group organized itself there during December 1774 to meet monthly at the house of a new leader, James Harriss. Meetings were held in various members' houses and sometimes at nearby Quaker meetinghouses. By 1775 the group had three meetinghouses of their own in the border area of Maryland and Delaware.



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

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1954

Launch of the USS *Nautilus*, a [nuclear-powered submarine](#). President Dwight David Eisenhower was under pressure from the US military to mount a [pre-emptive nuclear strike](#) against the USSR, before it could develop the capability to make an equivalent nuclear response, and struggled to find some way to explain to the other generals that from his point of view such a pre-emptive strike would be –and this is his word– “un-American.”

In [Japan](#), [Sadako Sasaki](#) of [Hiroshima](#), who had been two when we dropped one of our [atomic bombs](#) on her, fell to the ground while preparing for a school foot race. She had developed “A-bomb survivor disease,” the well-known leukemia (everybody immediately understood, she was another goner).

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)



[Friend Floyd Schmoe](#) went to [Korea](#) to rebuild homes destroyed during the war.

Ernest Hemingway received a Nobel Prize (no, it wasn't the Peace Prize).

[Robinson Jeffers](#) edited his deceased wife Una's diaries, and they were published by Theodore Lilienthal and printed at the Ward Ritchie Press as VISITS TO [IRELAND](#).



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

### GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

Summer: A [Quaker](#) committee involving Stephen G. Cary, Chairman, James E. Bristol, Amiya Chakravarty, A. Burns Chalmers, William B. Edgerton, Harrop A. Freeman, Robert Gilmore, Cecil E. Hinshaw, [Milton Sanford Mayer](#), the Reverend [A.J. Muste](#), Clarence E. Pickett, Robert Pickus, and Norman J. Whitney, and [Bayard Rustin](#),<sup>84</sup> was struggling to create a new pamphlet about peace.

### THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

They titled their 71-page tract, which would be immensely influential, SPEAK TRUTH TO POWER: A QUAKER SEARCH FOR AN ALTERNATIVE TO VIOLENCE. It would be the 4th in a series that the American Friends Service Committee was publishing on aspects of US foreign policy.

### SPEAK TRUTH TO POWER

### THE ABOVE, REDONE NOW

This injunction “Speak truth to power” has since become one on which we Quakers have learned to rely.

### ABOUT THE COLD WAR

This document is powerful because it forcefully engaged the American assumptions underlying the Cold War. Its best known section is probably its final one, “An Affirmation.” Here is the first tantalizing paragraph of that final section:

There is a politics of time, but there is also a politics of eternity that man would ignore, but cannot. He plays with the politics of time, sees it, manipulates it, imagines it as of himself alone; but both the politics of time and of eternity are of God. Only the eye of faith perceives the relationship, for it alone glimpses the dimension of eternity. Man sees but dimly, yet enough to know the overarching Power that moves in the affairs of men. Because we are first men of faith, and only secondarily political analysts, we would speak now, finally, of the politics of eternity which has undergirded the whole.

84. Friend Bayard’s name would not appear because, he agreed, as a homosexual who would eventually be convicted of engaging in illicit sexual activities in Los Angeles in 1953, this might well have compromised the work’s acceptance. According to the recollections of the clerk of the committee, Stephen Cary, however, it had been around Rustin and Pickus that the group had coalesced.



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

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This may be the most powerful statement of pacifism as yet achieved in this country, and it would be well worth your while to give it a read from beginning to end.

#### CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

When after the publication of this pamphlet the committee would be asked, how they had managed to come up with their neat injunction, “Speak truth to power,” they would respond that they weren’t sure except that it must have been found **somewhere** in Quaker tradition. The problem then has been, to figure out from **whence** in the Quaker tradition this injunction had been derived. Over the years since 1954, many yellowing Quaker treatises have been scanned without anyone being able to come up with the expected Quaker precedent. (Someone suggested that, since Friend [Milton](#)’s background was Jewish, the source might have been somewhere in his tradition, so Jewish literature also has been scanned — but to no avail.)<sup>85</sup>

We have noticed a story that when Zilu asked [Confucius](#) how to serve a prince, Confucius advised “Tell him the truth, even if it offends him.” So we have posed for ourselves a question, might Mayer have gotten this from Confucius?

We have noticed that in an 1828 essay on the poet [Robert Burns](#) placed in the [Edinburgh Review](#) by [Thomas Carlyle](#), one of the tropes the poet utilized was “How does the poet speak to men with power, but by being still more a man than they?” So we have posed for ourselves the question, might Mayer have been a fan of Burns, or Carlyle?

Recently this puzzle has, I think, been solved! The phrase this committee had picked up in the summer of 1954 has turned out to have originated as a comment by [Mohammed](#) the prophet of Islam — upon whom be peace.



Our key to the puzzle is the surreptitious committee member, Friend [Bayard](#). We just don’t know, at least as yet, exactly how early, or in what manner, he had been able to access this in the Islamic writings, and translate it into a pithy English-language injunction:



- In the Mishkat collection, BOOK OF RULERSHIP AND JUDGMENT, Chapter 1, Section 2, we learn that a man of Mohammed’s time named Jami’i at-Thirmidhi put it on the record that Mohammed had said (such a record of such a saying is referred to in the Islamic tradition as a *hadith*), “The most excellent *jihad* is when one speaks a true word in the presence of a tyrannical ruler.” One of the

85. For background on this, consult H. Larry Ingle’s “‘Speak Truth to Power’: A Thirty Years’ Retrospective,” [Christian Century](#), CII (April 27, 1985), 383-385, and his “Milton Mayer: A Quaker Hedgehog,” [Quaker Theology](#), V (Spring-Summer 2003), 67-81 (especially page 75).





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famous classical commentaries, the *RUH AL-BAYAN*, also refers to this particular *hadith*.

- The injunction had been familiar to Friend Bayard before the summer of 1954, when this group was struggling to create this new pamphlet about peace, for, in John D'Emilio's biography *LOST PROPHET: THE LIFE AND TIMES OF BAYARD RUSTIN* (NY: Free Press, 2003) there appears on page 48 a letter from Bayard to his [Friends](#) monthly meeting in Manhattan, written on August 15, 1942 while this group was considering the possibility that it might begin to provide hospitality and services to American service men in "USO" style:

The primary social function of a religious society is to "speak the truth to power." The truth is that war is wrong. It is then our duty to make war impossible first in us and then in society. To cooperate with the government in building morale seems inconsistent with all we profess to believe.... The greatest service that we can render the men in the armed forces is to maintain our peace testimony.

Since 1942 was years before the use of the injunction in the Quaker pamphlet, clearly, therefore, it would have been Friend Bayard, who already had this injunction "Speak the truth to power," who would provide it during the summer of 1954 to the primary author, Friend Milton.

This saying of Mohammed, this *hadith*, "The most excellent *jihad* is when one speaks a true word in the presence of a tyrannical ruler," is in the grammatical form that is described as a Declaration. The phrase in the title of the Quaker pamphlet, "Speak truth to power," is in the grammatical form that is described as an Injunction. So, how does one go about transforming a Declaration into an Injunction?

Let us practice by permuting the Declaration "The best way to put out a house fire is to throw buckets of water on it." What would be the Injunction that would correspond to this Declaration? We might think of "To put out a house fire, throw buckets of water on it," but that's not short and sharp, so we should shorten and sharpen it. Immediately we think of "Fight fire with water." That does nicely!

That's enough practice, now for the real thing. Let's proceed to transform the Prophet of Islam's Declaration into a pithy English-language Injunction. Mohammed's declaration had been translated in full as "The most excellent *jihad* is when one speaks a true word in the presence of a tyrannical ruler." The injunctive form for that would be "To deal with a tyrannical ruler, say a true word to him or her." That's not really catchy, and as we will see below, Friend Bayard slept on it and came up with "speak the truth to power." To get from Bayard's "speak the truth to power" to Friend Milton's "speak truth to power," all we need to do is drop on the floor an utterly superfluous definite article.

In that letter Friend Bayard had written on August 15, 1942 he had put the phrase within quotation marks, and this of course indicates that he knew very well that the phrase was not original with him. Was there a reason why he might have refrained from providing an attribution? –For sure there was, as he was writing the letter in question to a bunch of Quakers who were mostly in the Christian tradition, who would have been turned off cold had they been informed that "Speak the truth to power" actually derived from the prophet of Islam. I think it is very likely, since when Friend Milton was questioned about "the phrase that he had come up with," he obfuscated by suggesting that maybe it was to be found somewhere in the Quaker tradition. That, to me, indicates precisely one thing: Milton was aware that he really shouldn't say any more on such a subject. He could no more admit to any other white Friend "I got this from Friend Bayard Rustin," who wasn't even being acknowledged as a member of the committee, than Friend Bayard had been able to admit to the Friends in the Christian tradition "I got this from Mohammed, the prophet of Islam." There were ample reasons why for the benefit of the peace work in a generally Christian and Jewish context, such a provenance needed to be kept in



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the dark at the back of the closet.

We may note in this context, that during June 2002 there has been quite a tempest in a teapot at Harvard University. Zayed Yasin, a Harvard senior chosen as one of three student orators for that year's graduation, decided to urge his fellow students to apply the Islamic concept of *jihad* to their lives. He intended by his oration, which he wanted to entitle "American *Jihad*," to redeem this word *jihad* for American audiences by informing his Harvard community that within Islam there was a use for this term which was both benevolent and righteous. The "greater *jihad*," in Islam, is a spiritual struggle within the person, in which the person strives to become the proper and decent sort of person. Only what is known as the "lesser *jihad*" —the external holy war against unbelievers— might be a proper subject for our disapprobation. Those people who are going around with dynamite strapped to their midsections are truly terrifying — but they should not be allowed to hijack such an important word and make it apply only to their own peculiar form of viciousness. The tempest in the teapot at Harvard commencement was over whether or not this senior would be allowed to deliver his commencement oration, with its provocative title "American *Jihad*." (Now of course the matter is done and over with, without any harm, but the incident has reinforced what a sensitive word this word is.)

The "speak truth to power" injunction in the title of this peace pamphlet seems interestingly ambiguous. If one were to approach it from the perspective of might makes right, which of course is the perspective most commonly useful in the real world, the phrase might indicate that when one is confronted by powerful people, one had better tell them the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth without evasion or distortion, because such folks aren't forced to and aren't about to put up with evasions and distortions, and most definitely have the ability to punish one upon their displeasure. If one approaches it from the perspective that power creates its own reality, in such manner that the inheritors get to own the official truth, however, the phrase might indicate that when one is confronted by powerful people, one ought to defy their official truth, and accept whatever consequences follow from having spoken disturbing and irritating words which they desire not to be forced to hear. Thus, unfortunately, it is the sort of phrase with which a number of quite different people could agree, and does not in itself perform a critical discriminative function. —But then, one supposes, most language is subject to such limitations. We need, therefore, when we use this injunction, to make certain that our hearers are not misreceiving our communication.



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**1955**

March 2, Wednesday: The text for the pamphlet “Speak Truth to Power: a [Quaker](#) search for an alternative to violence” was submitted to the Executive Board of the American Friends Service Committee and approved for publication. Credit for this would be distributed among Stephen G. Cary, Chairman, James E. Bristol, Amiya Chakravarty, A. Burns Chalmers, William B. Edgerton, Harrop A. Freeman, Robert Gilmore, Cecil E. Hinshaw, [Milton Mayer](#), the Reverend [A.J. Muste](#), Clarence E. Pickett, Robert Pickus, and Norman J. Whitney.

**THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

Queerly, the name of [Bayard Rustin](#) would not be mentioned.

**SPEAK TRUTH TO POWER**

**THE ABOVE, REDONE NOW**



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

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### GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

September 19, Monday: When I reached age 18 in the Year of our Lord 1955 and went downtown to register at the Bank of America building in the central crossroads of San Jose, [California](#) with the military [draft board](#), since I was no longer in any particular physically disabled by my ongoing deformity and could therefore not apply for a medical exemption from service, put down “Conscientious Objector” on the form — and was rebuffed.<sup>86</sup>



I had taken this severe illness as a challenge. I had made myself a set of weights out of scrap iron and rebar and concrete hardened in pails, and had worked out every day, and had developed a set of exercises to help me compensate for the lordotic curvature of my lumbar spine. I had become immensely strong about the legs and, although the top half of my body bobbed up and down as I walked, and although I was a ridiculous sight from the rear, I was no longer in any real way to be considered “handicapped” or “disabled.” I had promoted myself in life, by my own struggle, from being handicapped to being merely disgustingly deformed. I had graduated from benign condescension to endless abuse. The officials at the draft board therefore said to me “You are a physically fit student entering college, and therefore the proper draft classification for you is not CO but 2S, which means Student Deferred. Later on —after you have learned something about the way the real world works— you can decide whether you want to take such a drastic step as becoming a CO, [conscientious objector](#), and being sent to prison. First you go off to college and learn something about reality, **then** you come back here and we will talk some turkey.”

So I went “Oh, well, OK, whatever.” At the age of 18 I wasn’t exactly opposed to having a grace period of a few years in which to mature, and re-examine my own attitudes. That didn’t seem, to me, at the time, like any sort of bad idea. I didn’t grasp that I had just stepped into a most carefully prepared trap.

ASSLEY

86. What if they gave a war and nobody came?



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When I went to the local [draft board](#), to register in accordance with law at the age of 18, and take the physical examination, I told them that I wanted to apply for conscientious objector status and they responded that since I was then in the process of registering at San Jose State College, and would in all likelihood shortly be a college student, the issue was moot. Any decision I might make in regard to [conscientious objection](#) ought to be put off until I had clearer ideas on the subject, I was only going to get my big ass in a sling and risk a possible prison sentence, and anyway their college student deferment superseded the conscientious objection deferment. Which is to say, I was going to be classified “2S” in the end anyway, whether I managed to establish myself as a “CO” or not, so why risk getting sent to prison? Why buy trouble for myself?

At that point my father, Benjamin Bearl Smith, told me that if I persisted in asking for a conscientious objector standing, I could kiss college good-bye as he would simply throw me out onto the street as a worthless piece of unworthy trash unwilling to defend the nation which had given me my very life. At this point I took the physical examination, which was exceedingly perfunctory, and passed. I should explain that I had had a case of [bovine tuberculosis](#) at the age of six or seven, and my lumbar spine had collapsed, so that my spine was both lordotic and scoliotic in configuration. To put the matter succinctly, although I was physically capable, my tailbone stuck out in back of me like a miniature erection, I had a hollow in the small of my back at my spine that I could carry an orange in, underneath my belt, without anyone noticing, and my buttocks and hips and calves were huge huge huge lumps of muscle. I was so out of balance that I needed that excess muscle in order merely to walk around. My upper torso bobbed up and down on the spring of my spine as I walked. My left shoulder was depressed, I walked on the outside edges of my shoes with my toes wide apart, my feet had no arches whatever, and my head projected forward from my neck (these all were secondary accommodations to my twisted spine, postural accommodations which enabled me to physically function).

So I allowed myself to be classified “2S” in 1955 as a college freshman. That would cause a whole lot of problems later, of course, in 1961 when I ran out of funds in graduate school and my “2S” standing lapsed. When I would go back to that draft board asking for a change to “CO” standing, they would tell me that for me to have obtained from them a “2S” student deferment for five or six years while actually being a conscientious objector constituted criminal fraud, and that I could be tried and convicted and imprisoned for this crime I had already committed. At this point, they would say, if I persisted in applying for a “CO” standing, I would most definitely be sent to a federal criminal prison for a term of, I forget how many years they alleged, five or ten years or whatever, not as a conscientious objector but as a perpetrator of a past fraud upon the government of the United States.

ASSLEY



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**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

**1956**

At the Anniversary dinner of the [War Resisters League](#) the speakers were Dave Dellinger, William Worthy, and Dorothy Day.

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By this point a supportive relationship had been developed between the [Durham](#) Friends Meeting and the [North Carolina](#) Yearly Meeting (Conservative), concurrent with the construction of a meetinghouse on Alexander Avenue. A gift of lumber for construction was accepted from the conservative yearly meeting's Rich Square Meeting of Woodland, North Carolina and a loan was obtained from the Friends General Conference (Hicksite) Meetinghouse Fund.



[ELBERT RUSSELL](#), [QUAKER](#): AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY (Jackson, Tennessee: Friendly Press). The final chapter of this had been created by his son Dr. Josiah Cox Russell, Professor of Medieval History at the University of New Mexico.

The Hollywood film “Friendly Persuasion” (Gary Cooper, Dorothy McGuire, Marjorie Main, Anthony Perkins) provided what was alleged to be the story of a family of [Quakers](#) in Indiana during the Civil War and tells us something or other, allegedly, about the [Quaker Peace Testimony](#). This effort had been authored, without credit, by a blacklisted writer, Michael Wilson. It received six Academy Award nominations, including those for Best Picture, Best Director, and Best (Adapted) Screenplay. In an early period of cold war thaw,





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President Ronald Reagan would present a copy of the film to Soviet Premier Mikhail Gorbachev.



One Quaker has delivered his reaction to this film, on the internet, as:

That film teaches more about our Quaker Peace Testimony in a "real life setting" than any film or book I know. Though set in the Civil War era, it spoke to conditions today for the many who live in war zones as well as those of us whose war zones are our own lives. ... I, for one, agree with the criticism that was made of this movie as demonstrating Quaker ideals of peace. (It still might be a good movie from some people's points of view, or a good movie for children, depending on one's ideas about these things.) I disliked the way Quaker ideals were portrayed in the movie from the first time I saw it; I thought it was a travesty. Later I was very pleased to see an excellent (IMO) discussion of this in, I think, Friends Journal. Later Chuck Fager, whose ideas and writings I respect a lot, wrote (probably in his newsletter) that he sort of agreed but found the arguments less than compelling. But to me they ARE compelling. It is a long time since I thought about this, but as I remember, EVERY character is shown reneging on his ideals of pacifism; now I am willing to accept the idea that it is certainly realistic that in any particular chosen time period or in a particular family or small section of society that this might indeed happen and probably has; but this is NOT shown in a way to say how difficult the keeping of pacifist view is; it is shown, in the case of the mother, as somewhat comic -(a sexist view also; the mother is taken less seriously than the men); every time a POTENTIALLY serious conflict arises, it is deflected in one way or another. The really crucial scene, in which the father has the chance to shoot the young man who is on the other side of the war and has been caught nearby, and doesn't -which is treated as the crucial scene, with slow pauses, long shots of agonized faces and decision-making, etc.-



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is completely vitiated by the fact that the young man IS UNARMED and the QUAKER HAS THE GUN. True, it is nice he chooses not to use it, but there have been many examples (at least I believe there has) in which an person NOT religiously devoted to pacifism has refused to shoot his enemy, some even in situations in which that person is in real danger, as the Quaker in the movie is not. If this is all that pacifism means, well, that is still better than non-pacifism, but it trivializes the more serious philosophical questions, and makes Quakers look especially marginal, though charming.



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**1958**

[Friend Floyd Schmoe](#) went to the Middle East to help reopen water wells that had been damaged during the [Egyptian](#)/Israeli wars.

[Friend Milton Mayer](#)'s THE REVOLUTION IN EDUCATION.

[Dr. David Tillerson Smith](#) was awarded the Southern [Tuberculosis](#) Conference Medal for distinguished service.

[Kenneth L. Carroll](#)'s "Talbot County [Quakerism](#) in the Colonial Period" ([Maryland Historical Magazine](#) 53, pages 326-370).

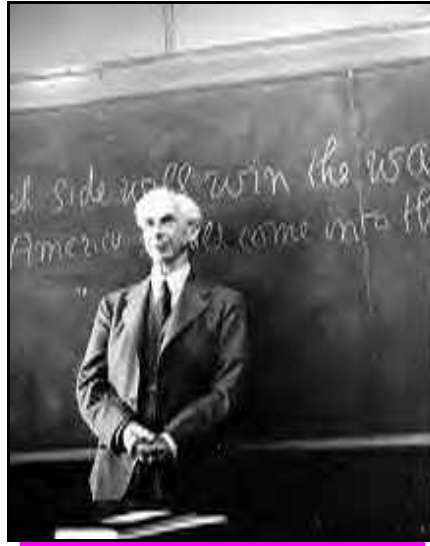
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## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

### GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

From this year into 1963, Lord [Bertrand Russell](#) would be serving the cause of peace as president of a [Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament](#) and of a Committee of 100, and in consequence, with his 4th wife Edith Finch Russell would be imprisoned for inciting civil disobedience (their sentence would, because of the severity of the harm which they had inflicted, be commuted to one week).



### THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

A statue of [Sadako Sasaki](#), who had in the previous year died of the [A-bomb](#) disease leukemia, holding aloft a golden crane, was dedicated at [Hiroshima](#) Peace Park.



An initial cruise under North Pole ice was accomplished by 4-year-old US [atomic submarine](#) *Nautilus*.

NASA began its space program by putting a US satellite into orbit (something about “throw weight” was really causing us to turn on and tune in).



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Peter George's novel about nuclear war, RED ALERT, was published under a pseudonym in the United Kingdom as TWO HOURS TO DOOM: A NOVEL OF SUSPENSE (the plotline of this novel would become the basis for the 1964 Stanley Kubrick black comedy film *Dr. Strangelove or: How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb*).<sup>87</sup>



87. In the novel there is no Doomsday Device. Also, the ending in the novel differs from the movie — the President of the United States of America offers to allow the Premier of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to destroy Atlantic City, New Jersey in exchange for the Soviet target of our sole remaining onrushing B-52, but then this bomber fails in its mission and Atlantic City is thereby preserved.



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**1960**

April: Universal military conscription was imposed in North [Vietnam](#). The tour of duty was indefinite.<sup>88</sup>

**MILITARY CONSCRIPTION**



Eighteen distinguished nationalists in South [Vietnam](#) sent a petition to President Ngo Dinh Diem advocating that he reform his rigid, family-run, and increasingly corrupt government. Diem would ignore such cautions and instead shut down several opposition newspapers, arresting journalists and intellectuals.

88. What if they gave a war and nobody came?





**QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

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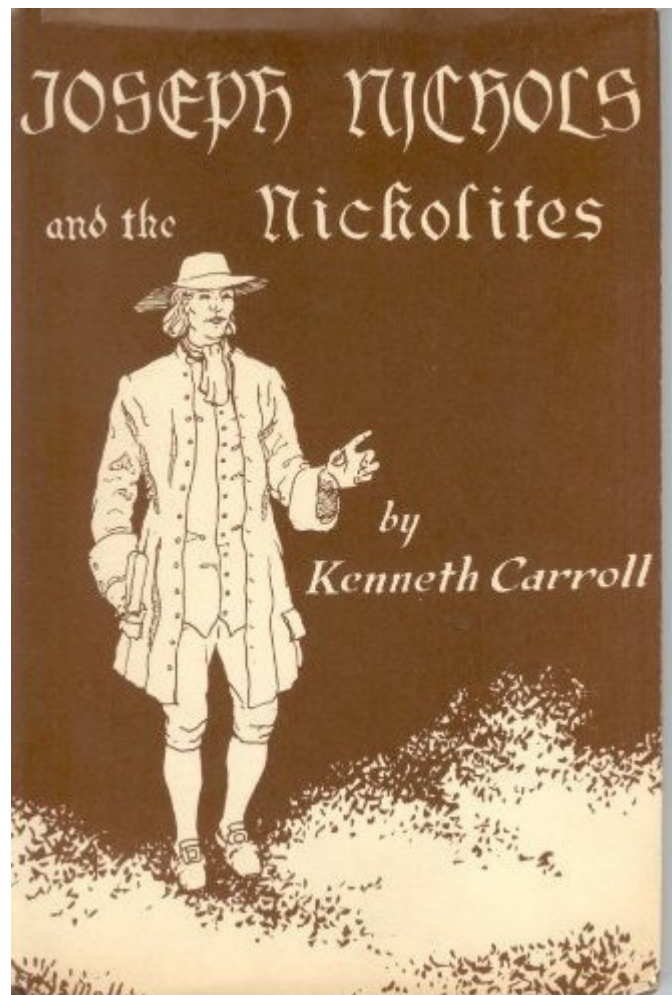
**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

**1962**

Robert Doherty's [ALFRED H. LOVE](#) AND THE UNIVERSAL PEACE UNION.

**THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

[Kenneth L. Carroll](#)'s "Toward a Commonly Received New Testament" ([Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library](#) 44, pages 327-349). Also, his [JOSEPH NICHOLS](#) AND THE [NICHOLITES](#): A LOOK AT THE [NEW QUAKERS](#) OF [MARYLAND](#), DELAWARE, [NORTH](#) AND SOUTH CAROLINA (Easton, Maryland: Easton Publishing Company).





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**1963**

As an example of continuity in [Quaker](#) practice, here is a [disownment](#) that was announced at the Somerset, [Ohio](#) monthly meeting:

"Since K.J. violated our Christian testimony against military service by serving in the air force, and since he manifests no disposition to condemn his deviation, he is now disowned by this meeting."<sup>89</sup>

**THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

89. Somerset Monthly Meeting (Ohio Yearly Meeting), Minutes.



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1965

March: [Former President Harry S Truman](#) received award as “The Outstanding Television Personality of the Year” from the American Cinema Editors Association.

Former President Truman was not a person known for changing his mind about much of anything, and there is no reason to suspect that he no longer harbored the sympathy that all draft dodgers belonged in prison as criminals all the time. However, during this year the US law of military conscription was being amplified in the cases “US v. Seeger 380 US 163” and “380 US 163.” US v. Seeger had been heard in October 1964 and during this month the decision was announced — before the [Vietnam War](#) was expanded and the draft became a source of strain and division.

In this Seeger case, the central question was whether the claims of a [conscientious objector](#) could be recognized even if said Difficult Person didn’t believe in a Higher Being as required by law, as for instance in the case of an agnostic member of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) who was an adherent of the Quaker Peace Testimony.



[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

The administration suggested that such people simply could not be recognized but Seeger was arguing that theology was irrelevant and his claim for objector status should not be denied so long as his religious beliefs led him sincerely to object to participation in all wars — and the Supremes, taking notice of the fact that eminent theologians of the day were unsure what role a Supreme Being played in religious belief and doctrine, agreed with him. It would be enough, the justices would hold in this case, “that the beliefs which prompted [Seeger’s] objection occupy the same place in his life as the belief in a traditional deity holds in the lives of his friends, the [Quakers](#).”

[MILITARY CONSCRIPTION](#)



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### GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

August 31, Tuesday: President Lyndon Baines Johnson signed a law criminalizing the burning of one's Selective Service draft card. Although such a gesture might result in a 5-year prison sentence and a \$1,000 fine, this attempt at freedom of speech in America would become rather common during anti-war rallies because often it could succeed in attracting the attention of the media.<sup>90</sup>

Out in the Rose Garden of the White House, the President declared the beginnings of Project Head Start a success and announced expansion of the program to provide year-round opportunities for 350,000 children, summer programs for another 500,000 and followup contacts for those limited to summer sessions.

November 2, Tuesday: Outside the Pentagon in [Washington DC](#), making a personal protest against the war in [Vietnam](#), [Friend Norman Morrison](#) handed off his 1-year-old daughter Emily, or put her down, and then immolated himself.<sup>91</sup>

November 14, Sunday-16, Tuesday: In the Ia Drang Valley, the first major battle between US infantry and regulars of the North [Vietnamese](#) Army. The 1st Cavalry Division, Airmobile, used helicopters to move to the battle zone and there, supported not only by heavy artillery but also by B-52 pattern bombing, they engaged in two days of firefights until the NVA melted into the jungle. 79 Americans were killed and 121 wounded, while NVA losses were guesstimated to have been 2,000.

According to the [TIME Magazine](#) issue for November 19, 1965, "One week to the day after [Quaker](#) Norman Morrison burned himself to death outside the Pentagon, Roman Catholic Roger LaPorte, 22, a student at Manhattan's Hunter College, doused his clothes with gasoline and set himself aflame on a street corner outside United Nations headquarters."

90. Draft card burnings marked growing resistance to the US war in Vietnam; millions joined in demonstrations, draft counseling, tax resistance, [civil disobedience](#), or other forms of protest.

91. This Baltimore [Quaker](#) was the husband of Anne Corpening Welsh, a member of the [Durham, North Carolina](#) monthly meeting of Friends (their wedding had been the 1st to be performed in the new meetinghouse, on September 7, 1957). Friend Norman's self-annihilation would apparently spawn other such gestures. For instance, a couple of weeks later a non-Quaker would immolate himself in front of the United Nations in New York City as a protest against the war in [Vietnam](#), and in 2006 a peace activist would immolate himself at the Millennium Flame sculpture on the Kennedy Expressway near downtown Chicago as a protest against wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. Perhaps, therefore, it is time for us to take a look at the origins of [Quaker](#) self-martyrdom, something which goes way, way back, all the way back at least to Boston — for when Friend [Mary Dyer](#) traveled there from the safety of her [Aquidneck Island](#) home in the [Narragansett Bay](#) to preach yet again, after once already having been excused and warned by the Puritans only at the foot of the hanging tree on Boston Common, she had well known what fate she was choosing for herself.





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**1966**

[A.J. Muste](#) led a group of pacifists to [Saigon](#) where, for trying to demonstrate for peace, they were arrested and deported. Then, later in the year, he flew with a small team of religious leaders to [Hanoi](#) and met with Ho Chi Minh.

**CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE**

**THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**



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January 12, Wednesday: During his State of the Union address before Congress, President Lyndon Baines Johnson attempted to wax philosophic by commenting that —although of course the war in [Vietnam](#) was unlike America's previous wars— “Yet, finally, war is always the same. It is young men dying in the fullness of their promise. It is trying to kill a man that you do not even know well enough to hate ... therefore, to know war is to know that there is still madness in this world.”



In other words, all wars are the same in that they are all pieces of human craziness that we shouldn't engage in — except that we can notice that this one that we're presently engaged in, although of course it is also a piece of human craziness, we can notice, somehow is slightly different from those previous ones that we shouldn't have engaged in. Also, there shouldn't be such craziness in the world, but there is, and so, what are you going to do, as long as there is craziness we all have to get crazy like this.



**Hey, hey, LBJ!**

In other words, we had ourselves a President who, although somehow he was canny enough to be able to put himself in charge of us, was also so stupid that he simply wasn't able to put thoughts together in his head. And, we were so stupid that we were able to listen to him drivel on in this incoherent manner — and get all **impressed**.

June 4, Saturday: A 3-page anti-[Vietnam](#)-war advertisement signed by 6,400 American teachers and professors appeared in the New York Times.



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**1967**

February 8-10: American religious groups staged a nationwide “Fast for Peace.”

**VIETNAM**



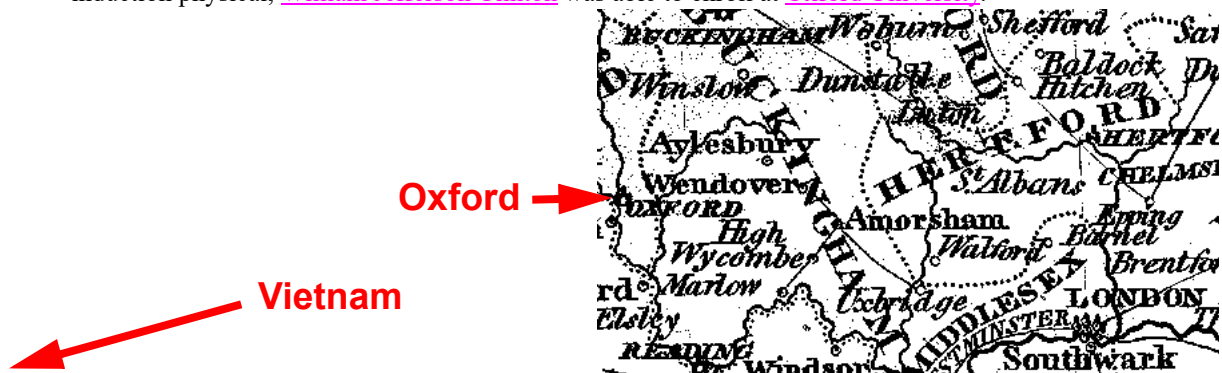
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Go To Master History of Quakerism

1968

Fall: Because the Hot Springs [draft board](#) continued unaccountably to postpone his preliminary interview and pre-induction physical, [William Jefferson Clinton](#) was able to enroll at [Oxford University](#).



During this year, resistance to the [Vietnam](#) draft was becoming quite popular. For instance, here is a poster featuring singer [Joan Baez](#) (left) and her sisters, encouraging young men to engage in draft resistance in what might be described as a most forthright manner.<sup>92</sup>



92. "Girls Say Yes to Boys Who Say No," National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution.



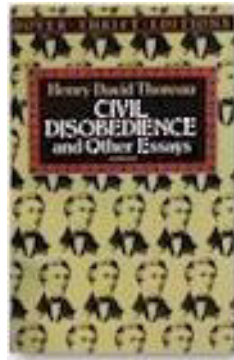
**QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

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**1969**

Hannah Arendt's *CRISES OF THE REPUBLIC* (NY: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich) attempted an evaluation of Thoreauvian civil disobedience as a mere form of [conscientious objection](#).



I have not myself as yet worked up the courage to peruse this treatment by Arendt, but according to Anita Haya Patterson's *FROM EMERSON TO KING: DEMOCRACY, RACE, AND THE POLITICS OF PROTEST* (NY: Oxford UP, 1997, page 190):



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In her critique of Thoreau's essay set forth in *CRISES OF THE REPUBLIC*, Arendt denies Thoreau the public status of a civil disobedient because, she argues, his claims of conscience are inherently unpolitical, and as such can never be made public. According to Arendt, "[conscience] is not primarily interested in the world where the wrong is committed or the consequences that the wrong will have for the future course of the world ... because it trembles for the individual self and its integrity." Indeed, she continues, once conscientious objection has been made public, it represents one, indistinguishable opinion in a marketplace of public opinion in which only large numbers of coinciding consciences will have any political significance. What Arendt insists is that conscience, like philosophy, must first be heard of in newspapers as public opinion in order to have any realizable effect:

No doubt ... conscientious objection can become politically significant when a number of consciences happen to coincide, and the conscientious objectors decide to enter the market place and make their voices heard in public. But then we are no longer dealing with individuals, or with a phenomenon whose criteria can be derived from ... Thoreau. What has been decided in *foro conscientiae* has now become part of public opinion, and although this particular group of civil disobedients may still claim the initial validation -their consciences- they actually rely no longer on themselves alone. In the market place, the fate of conscience is not much different from the fate of the philosopher's truth: it becomes an opinion, indistinguishable from other opinions. And the strength of opinion does not depend on conscience, but on the number of those with whom it is associated (*CRISES OF THE REPUBLIC*, pages 67-8).

Arendt's dismissal of Thoreau's premise that the private claims of conscience can be exhibited in public also dismantles his contention that civil disobedients should band together and form a visible, public collectivity or corporation that simultaneously recognizes its individual, conscientious members and represents, as Thoreau puts it, a corporation **with** a conscience. Moreover, Arendt's insistence that civil disobedients are organized in accordance with the principle of voluntary association denies the force of Thoreau's attempt to present the appeal to conscience, and the intimate ties of shared conscience, as a means of resisting the purely volitional, rational, contractual assumption of obligations that are fundamental to Arendt's specific engagement with liberal political philosophy.



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October 15, Wednesday: A “Moratorium” peace demonstration was held in Washington and several US cities.

Demonstration organizers had received praises from North [Vietnam](#)’s Prime Minister Pham Van Dong, who sent his good wishes in a letter to them “may your fall offensive succeed splendidly” — the first occasion on which [Hanoi](#) had seen fit publicly to acknowledge the American anti-war movement. This would of course infuriate American conservatives, including Vice President Spiro Agnew, who lambasted the protesters as only he could, not only as “dupes” of the Communist but also as “an effete corps of impudent snobs who characterize themselves as intellectuals.”<sup>93</sup>



In London, [William Jefferson Clinton](#) organized and led an anti-war demonstration. It wasn’t that he was against war, of course, it was merely that he was opposed to this particular war in which he happened to be asked to serve. He wasn’t opposed out of self-interest, of course, as he was a young man of principle.

93. Our vice president was, of course, not effete, not a snob, not impudent, not a dupe of any Communists, and certainly no intellectual. What he was, he was a regular American crooked politician of an annoyingly ordinary stripe. If my memory serves me right — he would never serve a day in prison for his crimes. Do I misremember?



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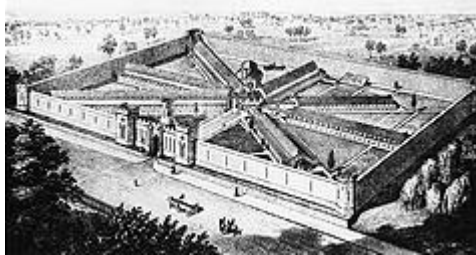
GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1970

During the following decade Chief Justice Warren Burger of the United States Supreme Court would be proselytizing for the conversion of our prisons into what he termed “factories with fences.” (Of course, nobody could figure out what the hell he was talking about, since our factories normally are surrounded by Cyclone fencing already anyhow. :-)

### LEASED PRISONS

The electrical and mechanical systems of the [Eastern State Penitentiary](#) atop Cherry Hill near beautiful downtown Philadelphia were in terrible shape (although its walls were still excellent). Most of the remaining 28 long-term inmates were remanded to the State Correctional Institution at Graterford. However, Philadelphia would discover that during this year and the following one, the “closed” “obsolete” facility would need to be pressed back into service, to house prisoners from the county prison at Holmesburg following a riot there. Friend Mary Ellen Chijioke of the Swarthmore monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) has commented in the 21st Century, “The now-deserted Eastern State Penitentiary in Philadelphia stands a monument to the potentially disastrous consequences of well-meaning reform. [Quakers](#) had been all too aware of the horrors of 18th- and early 19th-Century prisons where only the wealthy could buy the privilege of



privacy. They also had felt the healing effect of quiet contemplation in their own lives. They therefore conceived of a prison that would allow convicts the privacy to reform themselves through meditation. The result was rigid solitary confinement and all its horrors. It’s a classic example of what happens when a new insight into one aspect of a problem is allowed to become the basis for a one-dimensional solution. Making provision for privacy was a good thing; enforcing it 24 hours a day was monstrous. How often do we repeat the pattern when we elevate a specific insight into a universal principle?” (Cherry Hill’s Pittsburgh counterpart, Western State Penitentiary, featured in John Edgar Wideman’s *BROTHERS AND KEEPERS*, may still be in use.)

It had been during the late 1700s that Louisiana had originated its legal conviction that the category “Negro” was to rigorously encompass any person at all, in whom might be detected “any traceable amount” of black ancestry. This decade, however, would see some hard bargaining in the Louisiana state legislature, with the Conservatives holding out for 1/64th as the determining fraction and the “more enlightened” legislators forcing a compromise at 1/32nd. (This compromise fraction would be upheld by the Louisiana State Supreme Court in 1974.)

The US law of military conscription would be amplified during this year in the *Welsh v. US* cases “398 US 333” and “398 US 33.” The question was whether Congress could defer to an individual’s conscience only when the individual’s views stemmed from adherence to religious beliefs. The court would determine that



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Congress could not. “If the exemption [from military service] is to be given application,” Justice John Marshall Harlan would write in his concurring opinion, “it must encompass ... those whose beliefs emanate from a purely moral, ethical, or philosophical source.” Congress could draw no line between religious beliefs and secular beliefs when determining who might be recognized as a [conscientious objector](#). As a result of this decision, the authority of individual conscience, however formed, was elevated in its capacity to refuse the obligation of military service. In theory, we may note, the US Congress might then have rewritten the draft law to eliminate any provision for conscientious objectors, for it remained the law that “government has the right to the military service of all its able-bodied citizens, and may, when an emergency arises, justly exact that service from all.” However, with continuing protests about the justness of the Vietnam war and the equity of the draft, to revise the selective service act was not politically possible.

### MILITARY CONSCRIPTION



**ESSENCES ARE FUZZY, GENERIC, CONCEPTUAL;  
ARISTOTLE WAS RIGHT WHEN HE INSISTED THAT ALL TRUTH IS  
SPECIFIC AND PARTICULAR (AND WRONG WHEN HE CHARACTERIZED  
TRUTH AS A GENERALIZATION).**

May: The first [Quaker](#) House for draft resisters mysteriously burned (this, in a world in which the more cynical among us presume that at a first order approximation, all restaurant fires are arson).



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May 8, Friday: 200,000 people began three days of anti-US protests in Melbourne and Sydney. They also protested against their own government for supporting the US.

Construction workers wearing helmets attacked a [civil disobedience](#) anti-war demonstration in the financial district of New York. 70 were injured. These helmeted conservatives then invaded City Hall to force city officials to raise a flag to full staff that had been at half-staff in mourning for the four students killed at Kent State University.<sup>94</sup>

Seven members of the Black Panther Party, indicted for taking part in a shootout with police, were released by the State of Illinois (there was a lack of evidence that any of them had discharged a firearm).

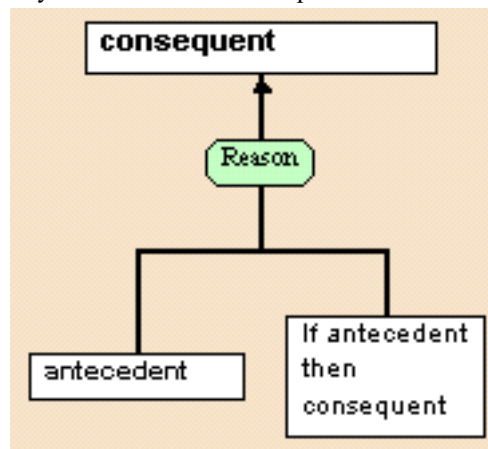
Gymkhana Formule I for tape by Pierre Henry was performed for the initial time, in the Gymnase de Malakoff.

Time's Encomium for synthesized and processed synthesized sound by Charles Wuorinen was performed completely for the initial time, at the State University of New York, Albany.

Piano Sonata no.4 by Lejaren Hiller was performed for the initial time, in Buffalo, 20 years after it was composed.

The POTUS, [Richard Milhous Nixon](#), couldn't sleep, and so he got his valet up at 4AM to go out with him and talk with the anti-[Vietnam](#) students camping out at the Lincoln Memorial. Exiting the safety of the White House without the awareness of his Secret Service security detail, he tried to chat up the young protesters with talk about football. In the course of the event he informed everyone who would listen that, having been raised as a [Quaker](#), he was about as much of a pacifist as anyone could possibly be.

Now for a little lesson in logic. Many arguments are based on a simple "if... then" structure. These arguments are so common and useful they have been awarded a special Latinate name, *modus ponens*.



In addition to the phrase "*modus ponens*," logicians have special technical words for the various features of these arguments. The "If... Then" premise is called a **conditional**, and the two truth claims, the beginning one and the end one, are called the **antecedent** and the **consequent**:

Main Premise (**antecedent**)

94. US Attorney General John Mitchell would announce in 1971 that there wasn't going to be any federal grand jury investigation of the killings at Kent State. The State of Ohio would agree in 1979 to the settlement of a civil lawsuit over the killings. They would agree to pay \$600,000 to the parents of the students killed, and to nine students who had been injured but survived, and in addition \$75,000 for legal and other expenses. Although Governor James Rhodes and 27 National Guardsmen who were defendants in the case would sign a statement that the killings "should not have occurred," no-one would ever offer any sort of apology.





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Helping Premise (**If antecedent, then consequent**)

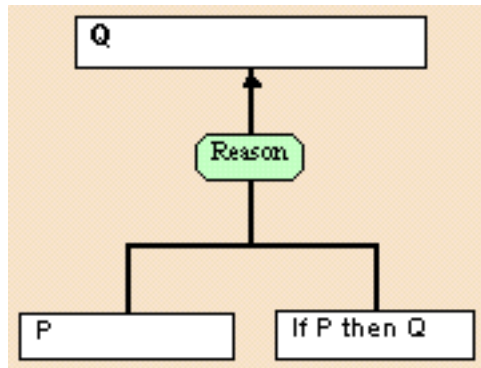
Conclusion (**consequent**)

The solid connection between premises and conclusion is known as **deductive validity**. If both premises are true, then the argument is **sound**. In the next, generalized, illustration, the letters P and Q are used to stand for the distinct claims expressed in whole sentences.

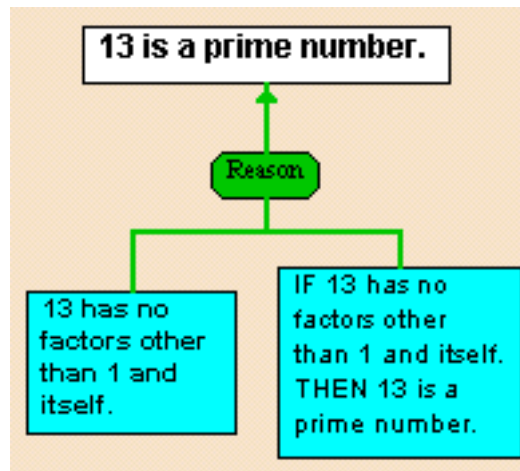
Main Premise (P)

Helping Premise (If P then Q)

Conclusion (Q)



Consider the following example of an argument purporting to have valid logical structure and purporting to be dealing in true assertions:



Obviously, the above is a proper use of the *modus ponens* form of logic. Now let's consider another one:

President Richard Milhous Nixon was proclaimed to be a Quaker.

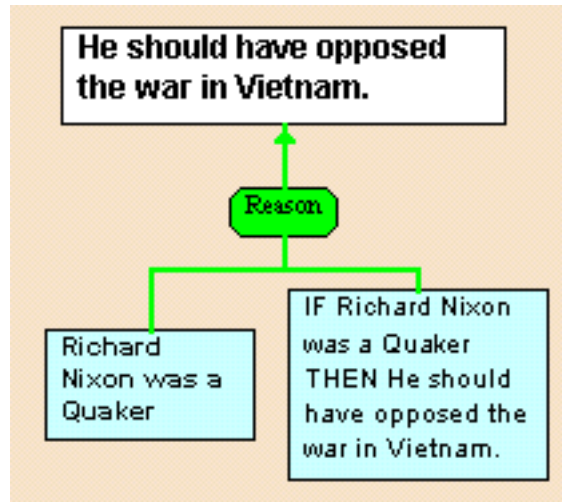
A Quaker would have opposed the war in Vietnam.

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Therefore, Friend Richard opposed the war in Vietnam.



Although they are about very different topics, these two arguments have the same basic structure: Notice that the claim P occurs twice: once in the main premise, and once after the **If** part of the helping premise. The claim Q also occurs twice: once after the **then** part of the helping premise, and once in the conclusion.

The nice thing about *modus ponens* arguments is that their conclusions are quite as good as their premises. The **connection** between premises and conclusion is solid. This means that all you really have to do in order to evaluate a *modus ponens* argument is check for the sense in which the premises are true. In this *modus ponens* argument, if the premises are both at least probably true, the reasoning must be strong and the conclusion must be established. As always, if there is a sense in which at least one of the premises is not true, the reasoning may well be incorrect and lead to spurious conclusions. Contrariwise, if the conclusion is obviously false, then one or the other of the premises was also, in some important sense, false. The inference above is an improper one because there was a very real sense in which Richard Nixon, although he had been raised by a Quaker mother in a Quaker church, and although he was never officially disowned by that church, should not be considered to have been a Quaker.



RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS





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"[President Richard Milhous Nixon] will, with time, be a landmark in the history of quiet, determined desperation."

— Murray Kempton



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**1973**

January 27, Saturday: The final American soldier to die in combat in [Vietnam](#) was Lieutenant Colonel William B. Nolde, who was killed on this day.

The Paris Peace Accords were signed by the US, North and South [Vietnam](#), and the Viet Cong. Under the terms, the US agreed to immediately halt all military activities and to withdraw all remaining military personnel within 60 days. The North Vietnamese agreed to an immediate cease-fire and to the release of all American POWs within 60 days. The estimated 150,000 North Vietnamese soldiers already in South Vietnam would be allowed to remain. Vietnam was still divided. South Vietnam was considered to be one country with two governments, one led by President Nguyen Van Thieu and the other by the Viet Cong, pending future reconciliation.

Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird announced that the draft was ended, in favor of voluntary enlistment.

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(The draft was history. The [draft board](#), however, was not history — mandatory registration would continue.)





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March 29, Thursday: Tekin Ariburun replaced Cevdet Sunay as President of Turkey ad interim.

Over 15,000 Saudi Arabian troops entered Kuwait to help defend it against Iraqi incursions.

The final remaining American troops withdrew from [Vietnam](#) as the North Vietnamese released the last 67 prisoners-of-war they held. Former POWs presently in the United States told of physical and psychological [torture](#) practiced on them by their captors. President [Richard Milhous Nixon](#) declared that “the day we have all worked and prayed for has finally come.” During 15 years of military involvement, over 2,000,000 Americans had served in Vietnam with 500,000 seeing actual combat and 47,244 being killed in action (including 8,000 airmen). There had been in addition 10,446 non-combat deaths and 153,329 had been seriously wounded (including 10,000 amputees). In addition, more than 2,400 of the Americans being hopefully listed as POWs/MIAs were still unaccounted for and presumably should be added either to the 47,244 combat deaths or to the 10,446 non-combat deaths. America’s longest war was concluded by its first defeat.



What if they gave a war and nobody came?



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

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1977

January 21, Friday: President Jimmy Carter issued Proclamation 4483, granting pardon for certain [violations of the Selective Service Act](#) committed between August 4, 1964 and March 28, 1973:<sup>95</sup>

[VIETNAM](#)

Acting pursuant to the grant of authority in Article II, Section 2, of the Constitution of the United States, I, Jimmy Carter, President of the United States, do hereby grant a full, complete and unconditional pardon to: (1) all persons who may have committed any offense between August 4, 1964 and March 28, 1973 in violation of the Military Selective Service Act or any rule or regulation promulgated thereunder; and (2) all persons heretofore convicted, irrespective of the date of conviction, of any offense committed between August 4, 1964 and March 28, 1973 in violation of the Military Selective Service Act, or any rule or regulation promulgated thereunder, restoring to them full political, civil and other rights.

This pardon does not apply to the following who are specifically excluded therefrom:

(1) All persons convicted of or who may have committed any offense in violation of the Military Selective Service Act, or any rule or regulation promulgated thereunder, involving force or violence; and

(2) All persons convicted of or who may have committed any offense in violation of the Military Selective Service Act, or any rule or regulation promulgated thereunder, in connection with duties or responsibilities arising out of employment as agents, officers or employees of the Military Selective Service system.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this 21st day of January, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and seventy-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and first.





## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

[GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM](#)

**1988**

[Kenneth L. Carroll](#) became Clerk of the Third Haven, [Maryland](#) monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) (he would serve in that capacity until 2001).

At the age of 92, Tufts University awarded [Friend Floyd Schmoe](#) an Honorary Doctorate of Humane Letters.<sup>96</sup> Also, the [Japanese](#) government presented him with the Hiroshima Peace Prize and he was made an Honorary Citizen of that nation.<sup>97</sup> The award came with a cash prize of some \$5,000 and the problem would arise of how to dispose of this since it would have been unseemly to have personally benefitted. The Schmoe would need to cast about for some way to make an appropriate use of this money. Floyd would decide to petition the city of [Seattle WA](#) to allow him to use the money, and his own labors, to transform a tiny weedy and rocky garbage-strewn piece of city property at the north end of Seattle's University Bridge overlooking Lake Union into a "peace park," one in commemoration of those who had died as a consequence of our 1945 [A-bomb](#) that was a near miss on the city of [Hiroshima](#) (a direct hit, however, on the Catholic cathedral, and on a POW camp known to contain many Americans).

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

[SADAKO SASAKI](#)

96. Eat your heart out, all you other folks who never managed to finish your dissertation.

97. It is to be noted that when another foreigner, Reginald Horace Blyth, who had similarly been awarded the Emperor's Order of the Sacred Treasures in the 4th Class, had asked in 1957 to be made a citizen of Japan — that request had been turned aside.



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

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**1990**

January 14, Sunday: The 25 children at Junior Meeting for Business in the First Day School of the Friends Monthly Meeting of [Durham, North Carolina](#) signed a letter they would post to various officials of the Quaker Oats Company:

Dear Mr. Smithburg,

We are a group of children in Durham [Friends Meeting](#). We have been greatly disturbed by your recent commercials showing Popeye describing himself as a Quaker or Quaker man and using violence against aliens, sharks, and Bluto. These actions are contrary to Quaker beliefs. Members of the Society of Friends believe that violence should be avoided at all costs. We think that all living creatures have some of God in them. We are fearful of young impressionable viewers associating Quakerism with senseless violence. We feel that anyone calling him- or herself a Quaker should act like one and stick to Quaker philosophy. We suggest that Popeye display his strength in a more Quakerly manner, for example by rescuing children from a fire, supporting a breaking dam, or making friends with the aliens. Courage and strength can be shown in peaceful and helpful ways.

Sincerely,

The Children of  
Durham Friends Meeting<sup>98</sup>

**POPEYE THE QUAKER MAN**

98. Carol Passmore's "Popeye the Quaker Man" in LIGHTING CANDLES IN THE DARK, A Publication of Friends General Conference of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers), 1992.

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## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

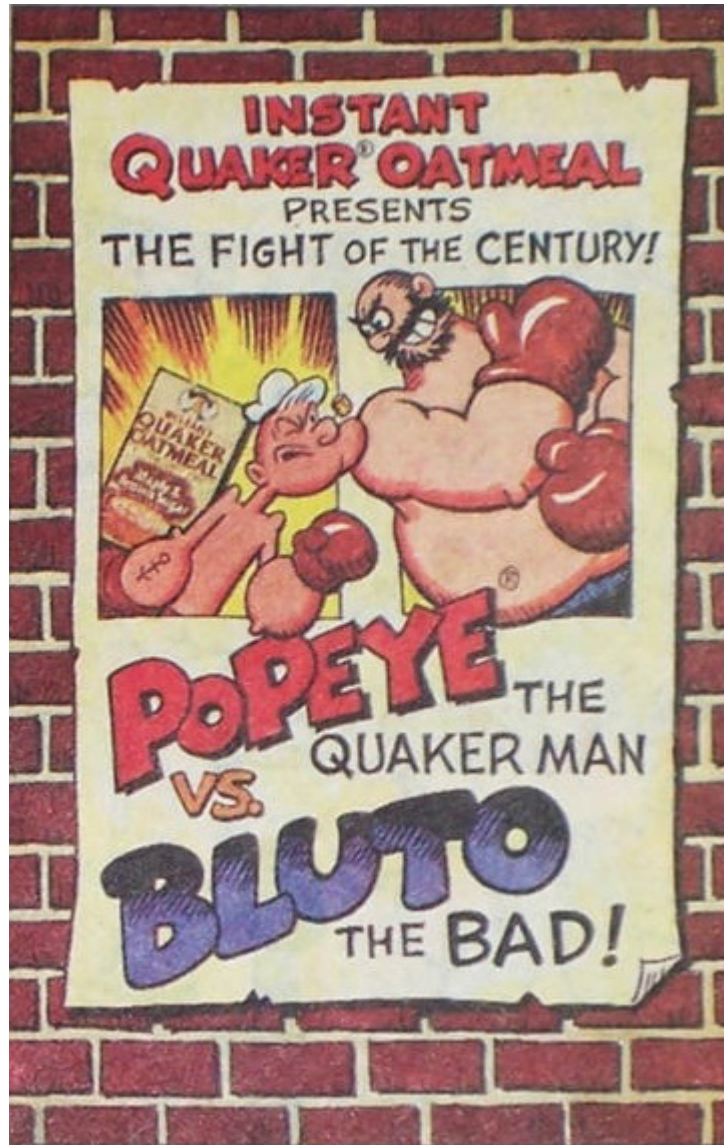
## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

### GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

April 25, Wednesday: The Hubble Space Telescope began its low Earth orbit. As in the original telescope of Galileo, a design miscalculation would make its images fuzzy.<sup>99</sup>

This was Michael D. Schaffer, writing on “Popeye the Quaker Man” in the Inquirer:

### To The Friends, A Quaker Popeye Is Quite Offensive



### POPEYE THE QUAKER MAN

The runty, raspy-voiced cartoon swab with the bulging forearms and the flashing fists has run into gentle but determined opposition from the spiritual kin of William Penn. If members of the Religious Society of Friends -the Quakers-

99. “Get it right the first time” is just as appropriate a motto for cosmology as it is for theology.



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

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have their way, Popeye the Sailor will become Popeye the Pacifist.

Popeye, who once used spinach to turn himself from weakling to superhero, last year went to work for Quaker Oats Co., pitching the firm's instant oatmeal.

In cartoon strips packaged with boxes of Instant Quaker Oatmeal, Popeye proclaims himself, "Popeye the Quaker Man." Last winter, he identified himself the same way in television ads touting the instant oatmeal.

Although he uses the term Quaker man, Popeye still punches his way out of trouble, and that greatly disturbs the real Quakers, who believe in nonviolence.

"If Popeye is to be portrayed as a Quaker man, then he must behave as a Quaker man, and Quaker men do not go about resolving dispute and conflict by means of violence," said Elizabeth Foley, development and media coordinator for Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.

### THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

Friends also are offended by the cartoon portrayal of Olive Oyl, Foley said.

"She is constantly portrayed as a passive female who stands on the sideline and cheers as Popeye commits acts of violence," Foley said. "Quaker women were responsible for beginning the suffrage movement in this country. Alice Paul, a Quaker woman from Moorestown, N.J., wrote the Equal Rights Amendment."

Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, the local Quaker equivalent of a diocese, has instructed its general secretary to seek a meeting with Frank Morgan, the president of Quaker Oats Co.

The Quakers want to see Quaker Oats, which has no connection with the Society of Friends, use ads in which "Popeye, Bluto and Olive Oyl work for the good of all," Foley said.

If representatives of the Friends meet with Morgan, they plan to show him an alternative ad, developed by children at the First Day (Sunday) School of Willistown Monthly Meeting in Chester County, that shows Popeye and Bluto cooperating to build a homeless shelter.

Caldwell said that he was "concerned that we have not had a timely response" from Morgan. "We're not seeking to discredit Quaker Oats," Caldwell said. "We're offering collaboration."

The Chicago-based company told the Quakers in early March that the television ads had completed their run and that the "Popeye the Quaker Man" reference would be deleted if the spots were used again. Similar changes will be made in the comic strips if they are used again, the company informed the Quakers.

A spokeswoman for Quaker Oats said yesterday that company officials were in the midst of planning for the next fiscal year and that no decision had been made on the future of Popeye. The company regrets any offense to the Quakers, according to the spokeswoman.



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**QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

**QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

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**1991**

The [Japanese](#) “bubble economy” burst due to a sudden and complete failure of trust in the credibility of old-boy accounting and the transparency of insider dealings. Stock prices would decline for a full decade, quite erasing trillions of dollars of wealth. (It’s this sort of thing that can’t happen in the United States of America, where we do insist upon credibility in arms-length accounting and transparency in financial dealings.)

A made-for-TV movie starring Stacy Keach, “Mission of the Shark,” depicted the ordeal of the men of the USS [Indianapolis](#) abandoned in the shark-infested waters off [Okinawa](#) toward the end of [WWII](#) after their unprotected sitting-duck ship had been (but of course) targeted by a submarine with a “fan” of five torpedoes and sank in 12 minutes.

[Friend Floyd Schmoe](#) created a tiny Peace Park at the north end of [Seattle WA](#)’s University Bridge overlooking Lake Union, in commemoration of those who had died in our bombing of [Hiroshima](#). The Quaker, age 95, had

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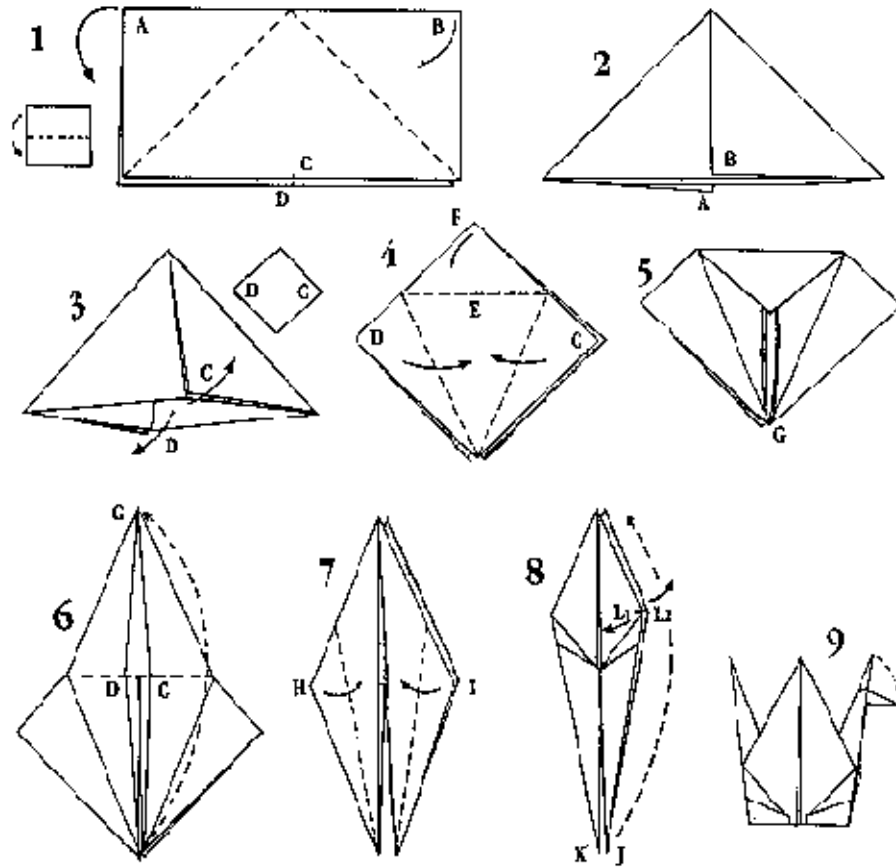
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not only applied for permits, raised funds, and organized volunteers, but himself had accomplished much of the bulldozing, raking of gravel, planting of trees, and grass mowing. The park contained a statue of a girl who had been killed by leukemia 12 years after we dropped our [World War II atomic bombs](#) on [Japan](#). The bronze figure of [Sadako Sasaki](#) held aloft a crane *origami*.



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Schoolchildren would often hang colorful paper cranes on this statue.



The Friends School began in the rented First Day School building of the monthly meeting of the Religious Society of Friends near Princeton, [New Jersey](#) was permitted to begin to make use of the Schoolmaster's House on the [Quaker](#) Stony Brook property. At some point, also, the local meeting granted permission for the school to erect a new building on the property. The trustees of the monthly meeting granted \$50,000 to the



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school as seed funding for a capital campaign.

May: US Marine Eric Larson, Gulf War [conscientious objector](#), was formally charged with “desertion in time of war,” an offense punishable by execution in front of a [firing squad](#), and became the first of our conscientious objectors since WWI to thus face a death sentence for taking his stand. Some 2,500 military personnel would apply for CO status during this military operation.



19 survivors of a Saudi Arabian oil tanker explosion found safe harbor in [St. Helena](#).



**QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

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**1994**

A joint [Nobel Peace Prize](#) was awarded to Yasser Arafat, Shimon Peres, and Yitzhak Rabin.

[Friend Floyd Schmoe](#) had been a nominee for this year.

**THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

[Kenneth L. Carroll](#)'s "[George Fox](#) and America" in NEW LIGHT ON GEORGE FOX 1624-1691, PAPERS BY TWELVE BRITISH AND AMERICAN SCHOLARS, edited by Michael Mullett (York, England: Ebor Press, 59-68).

September 20, Tuesday: In regard to the [Enola Gay](#) exhibit, Peace groups met with [Smithsonian National Air and Space Museum](#) Director Martin Harwit. The Reverend John Dear submitted ten suggestions and the [Fellowship of Reconciliation](#) issued a press release: "The basic tone, we would argue, should be that the atomic bombing ... was a grave mistake and that the only way to ensure that it never happens again is to dismantle every nuclear weapon and every weapon of mass destruction that we possess and learn non-violent ways to resolve international conflict."

**WORLD WAR II**



## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

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**1995**

[Friend Floyd Schmoe](#) was at the age of 100 again nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize. At some point he commented during an interview that “You feel hopeless sometimes, but the only answer to hopelessness is to have optimism to expect things to be better — to hope that you in some way can make them better.”

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

In the [Durham monthly meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#):

Clerks of Meeting	
1943-1947	Edward K. Kraybill
1947-1948	William Van Hoy, Jr.
1949-1949	John de J. Pemberton, Jr.
1950-1951	Harry R. Stevens
1951-1952	John A. Barlow
1952-1957	<a href="#">Susan Gower Smith</a>
1957-1960	Frances C. Jeffers
1960-1961	Cyrus M. Johnson
1961-1965	Peter H. Klopfer
1965-1967	Rebecca W. Fillmore
1967-1968	<a href="#">David Tillerson Smith</a>
1968-1970	Ernest Albert Hartley
1970-1971	John Hunter
1971-1972	John Gamble
1972-1974	Lyle B. Snider (2 terms)
1974-1975	Helen Gardella
1976-1978	Cheryl F. Junk
1978-1980	Alice S. Keighton
1980-1982	John B. Hunter



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1982-1984	Edward M. Arnett
1984-1986	<a href="#">Calhoun D. Geiger</a>
1986-1988	John P. Stratton
1988-1990	J. Robert Passmore
1990-1992	Karen Cole Stewart
1992-1995	Kathleen Davidson March
1995-1998	Nikki Vangsnes
1998-2000	Co-clerks J. Robert Passmore & Karen Cole Stewart
2000-2002	Amy Brannock
2002-2002	Jamie Hysjulien (Acting)
2002-2005	William Thomas O'Connor
2005-2007	Terry Graedon
2007-2009	Anne Akwari
2009-2012	Joe Graedon
2012-2013	Marguerite Dingman
2013-	Co-clerks Cathy Bridge & David Bridge



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**1996**

Friend Floyd Schmoe was again nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize.

**THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**



**QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

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**1997**

For the 4th time [Friend Floyd Schmoe](#) was nominated for the [Nobel Peace Prize](#).

**THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**







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**1998**

LEADINGS ALONG THE WAY: STORIES FROM THE LIFE OF [CALHOUN D. GEIGER](#) (120 pages, Hillsborough NC, self-published).

[WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE](#)

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

In the [Durham monthly meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#):

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[Kenneth L. Carroll](#)'s TOUCHED BY GOD IN [QUAKER](#) MEETING (Pendle Hill Pamphlet #338. Wallingford, Pennsylvania: Pendle Hill Publications <<http://www.pendlehill.org/bookstore/catalog/>>; the author describes his 1st encounter with the [Durham, North Carolina](#) Friends meeting, while he was an undergraduate student of religion and history in 1953 at Duke University).

It has been said that a good meeting for worship comforts the afflicted and afflicts the comfortable. It may do even more than these two things as, in the living silence or through the vocal ministry, we experience a sense of direction or redirection, feel our consciences awakened or made more sensitive, or find within us a yearning for the triumph of God's will in our own lives and in the world around us.... In the autumn of 1946 I attended my first Quaker meeting for worship, finally discovering some Friends present (after two unsuccessful efforts). At that time the Durham, N.C., Meeting was held only on the second and fourth Sundays, and not being aware of that fact I had come on the preceding fifth and first Sundays – hoping to find a religious approach and type of worship which might



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prove meaningful and alive to me. This was at the end of a spiritual pilgrimage which had, at first, taken me away from the church in which I was raised and then led me to a rejection of organized or institutionalized religion as such. I became convinced that religion is purely personal, with there being no need for a religious community. Ultimately I came to see that I was wrong, that for me there is a real need for a religious community – for the help, guidance, fellowship, encouragement, etc., that are so vital for a satisfying religious life. This discovery led me to sample a variety of religious approaches: Protestantism in many delicious flavors, Roman Catholicism, and even Reform Judaism. None of those spoke to my condition, so that there still remained the Quakers for me to visit. I knew about the Quaker peace testimony, which I found appealing, but had no real understanding of their worship – waiting in expectant silence until God spoke to them before speaking to each other. Also, at this time when much of the world was marked with despair and almost overwhelmed by a sense of hopelessness and helplessness (given the great destruction and collapse brought on by World War II), I too was wrestling with the questions “What can a person do in a world that needs so much help, so much healing, so much rebuilding?”

The meeting for worship was rather small, about twenty or twenty-five people sitting in a circle in the middle of the Social Room at the Duke Divinity School building. Without a signal, and almost without notice, those present slipped from their initial joy in seeing each other into a silence that soon became a living silence. Although totally unused to such an approach to worship I found myself increasingly a part of what was happening. Well along in the hour the silence was broken for the first (and only) time when an elderly, white-haired man with a gentle South Carolina accent uttered a brief message that came from his heart, and that spoke to most if not all of us, for it rang of experience, reality, and sincerity. This professor of medicine at the Duke Medical School told us how he, too, had been troubled by the question of what he as an individual could do to help in this world and age that cried out in so many ways for attention and action. He, too, had felt overwhelmed by the enormity of the needs, experiencing almost a spiritual “paralysis.” Yet, in the preceding week, he had received a great deal of help and encouragement as he had read a biography of [Elizabeth Fry](#) who had accepted the situation of women in English prisons as a challenge and then gave her life to meeting the need she had found. As he had read this and then meditated on her work it had become increasingly clear to [David Smith](#) that he was not called to take on all the world’s problems. He now knew that he was called to meet those individual needs that



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called out to him for action.



This simple message, arising out of a living silence, stemming from what he had himself experienced, and delivered in a quiet way, spoke to my condition and my needs. I now knew that the Quaker meeting for worship, based upon silent waiting and entered into in holy expectancy, was what I had been seeking all those months of going from one church to another. Truly in this, my first, meeting for worship God had reached out to touch me.

August 27, Thursday: David Dellinger, like Friend [John R. Kellam](#) a [World War II conscientious objector](#), at this point aged 83, was arrested while demonstrating at a [nuclear reactor](#).

The plunging Russian economy caused a massive selloff of stocks worldwide.

Mohamed Rashed Daoud al-Owhali was arraigned in federal court in New York for taking part in the Nairobi embassy bombing.

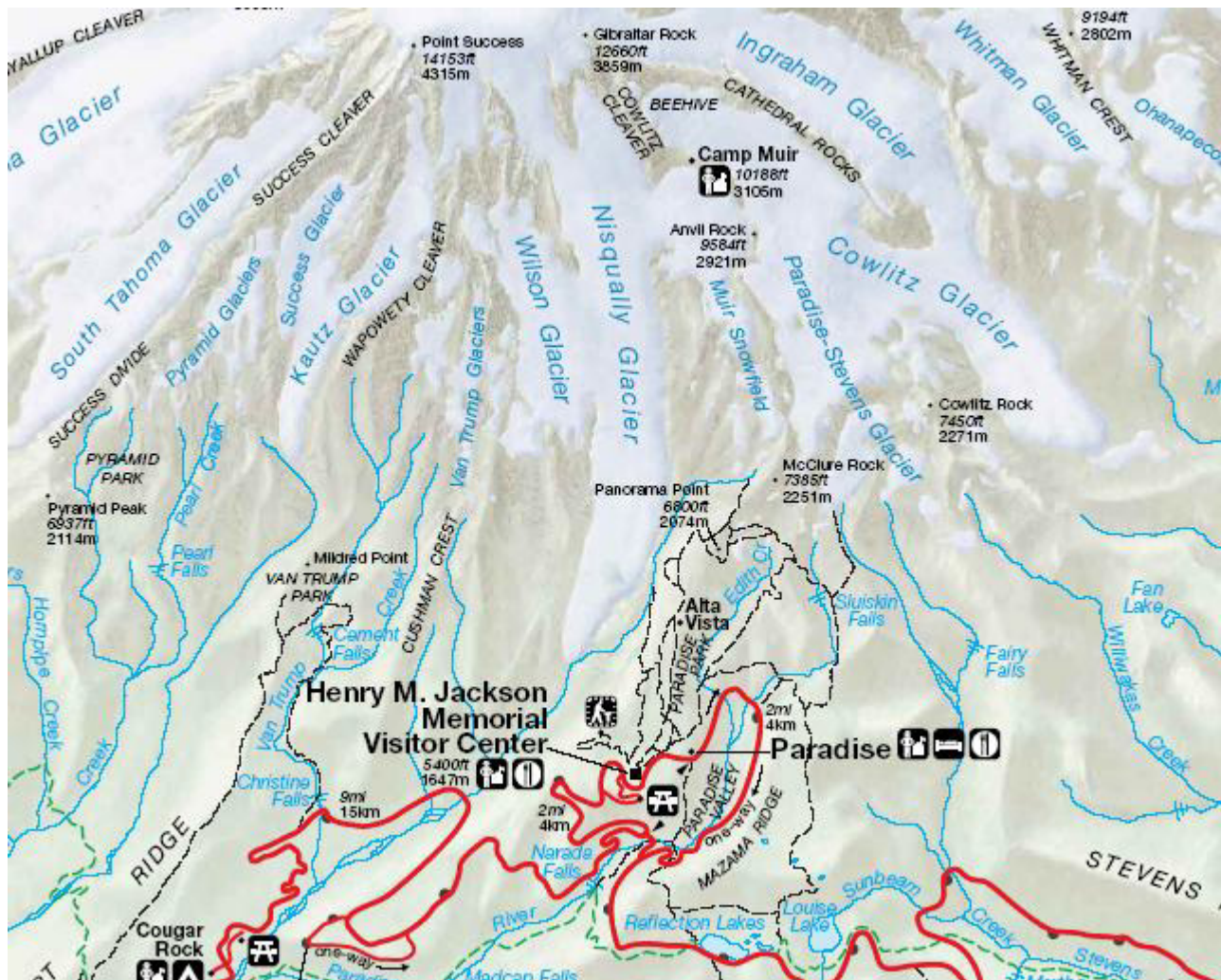
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## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

[GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM](#)**1999**

March 2, Tuesday: When [Friend Floyd Schmoie](#) was interviewed on the 100th birthday of [Mount Rainier National Park](#), his comment was that he would rather talk about his service to peace around the world and proudly displayed the flashily gilded and enameled medal that Emperor *Hirohito* had given him in recognition of his work in [Japan](#). A YEAR IN PARADISE was being reissued in paperback by his [Seattle](#) publisher, The Mountaineers.

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)





## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

[GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM](#)

2001

March: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#) interviewed Friend [John R. Kellam](#) as a World War II [conscientious objector](#) (CO)<sup>100</sup> and adherent of the [Quaker](#) Peace Testimony:



### THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): John, it's a pleasure to be here and thank you very much for allowing me to interview you

100. John Kellam has been acknowledged as a conscientious objector in two books about other matters principally: First, UPHILL FOR PEACE by E. Raymond Wilson, in which he wrote of John's service on the original staff of the Friends' Committee on National Legislation, FCNL, during its first year (1943-1944). Second, SINCE YOU WENT AWAY: WORLD WAR II LETTERS FROM AMERICAN WOMEN ON THE HOME FRONT by Judy Barrett Litoff and David C. Smith.

John writes, "Judy was an active Providence Friend when they published the letters in 1991. Almost all of those letters were between military men of various ranks and their wives or fiancées, or other sweethearts left at home. She presented a balancing story of Carol's correspondence with me during the first few months of 1945 when I was at Milan, Michigan. I was glad that Carol's loyal helpfulness to me and her own sense of commitment for peace and against all warfare, got so well acknowledged by Litoff and Smith."



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regarding your experience as a World War II conscientious objector. We might begin with your description of what you knew about the history of conscientious objection to war prior to the Second World War.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Way back in childhood, my mother had mentioned the [American Friends Service Committee](#) which was doing relief work following World War I. And on that basis, regardless of the politics involved on either side of the recent war, she knew something of the Quakers and of the Church of the Brethren and she knew that they were two of the few historic peace churches in this country. And she showed considerable respect for that. I think I had heard that quite a few of their young men, as members, refused to do military duty, even in war time. They took various kinds of consequences for it. So that was a general background of knowledge. I also knew that the founder of the American Civil Liberties Union, ACLU, in 1920, Roger Baldwin, had been a conscientious objector in World War I, along with a few others, maybe a thousand or two at most, and had gotten into prison. I don't believe there was alternative service arranged the way it was for World War II. At least my memory for hearing about it doesn't go back that far. So I knew what most young Americans knew about alternatives to simply going into military service and taking whatever orders come in a war.

I had thoughtlessly gone into ROTC at the University of Minnesota, which, because they had contracted with the United States way back, maybe a hundred years before, was a land grant college. The United States government gave them a few thousand acres of land for a university, on condition that they let their male youth be trained for military service in case of war. It was Minnesota Territory on that side of the Mississippi River then, even before Minnesota was organized as a state. So they were a land grant college, and, being physically fit, I could not escape getting into the basic course of ROTC. That was two years. It was like an additional college course, except that there was a uniform involved, drilling on a drill field, learning how to handle weapons in the armory, and so on. And while I was in that basic course while taking a college course in architecture, a five year course, by the way, I learned that the advance corps of ROTC did a lot of mathematically analytical work in coast artillery gunnery. Rather heedlessly and thoughtlessly I got interested. I wondered how they dropped a projectile in a certain particular spot way out on the ocean from a coast artillery shore emplacement and it intrigued me in a technical sense. And I wasn't really thinking what kinds of destruction of people and property could be happening when the projectile blew up at the other end of the trajectory.

I entered the university when I was sixteen. Even though I may have been a little more of a thinking person than most people get to be by the age of sixteen, I was still very thoughtless,





## QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

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enough so that I went into ROTC with just plain curiosity as my attraction.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): Well I can see the connection between wondering how to make a projectile and how to make a skyscraper! [John became a city planner, by profession.]

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): I was a little bit like Werner Von Braun. According to a musical comedian, Tom Lehrer, he put them up but who knows where they come down. "It's not my department," said Werner Von Braun. Ha-Ha-Ha! Anyway, I look back at those as my early days of indiscretion. And I came out of that, two years of advance corps, with a second lieutenant's commission from the Army. Even at the age of twenty I accepted that. I wasn't yet older than childhood, because young men weren't adults until their twenty-first birthday in this country. But I don't think that's much of an excuse.

Anyway, there was a raggle-taggle bunch of anti-war people on campus, and occasionally as we were marching to or from a parade ground through a neighborhood for maybe half a mile we would see some of these people holding signs that looked like labor organization picket signs. They were picketing ROTC and they wanted the university to get rid of ROTC. But of course the state was obligated to the United States to continue it.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): What year was this?

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): I was at the university from 1933, in October, to 1938 in June. I guess it was September, and I was still sixteen for a month after I entered the university. But anyway, there was just a little glimmering of consciousness about the fact that war and militarism could possibly be refused, or at least protested openly.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): It came to you, personally.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Yes, but not very forcefully. I pretty much ignored it.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): Well, yes. It's pretty terrible. It goes against everything our family stands for, all our standards!

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Yes. One of the talking points our ROTC instructors used was that we had won World War I, we had downed the Kaiser, and militarism was going to be under check. And the assumption was that the League of Nations would be able to do its business. Besides that, there was the insurance that this country was giving ourselves that by continuing readiness for



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national emergency, we would probably inhibit any other countries from becoming overt enemies of ours and making attacks on us that would need to be repelled. So ROTC was part of a big insurance system to prevent our getting into any more wars, particularly world wars. Well, that sounded good to me. I could enjoy whatever the contents were of ROTC courses, feeling this kind of assurance that we were helping to prevent war in the world. That seemed like a good thing to do. I had seen several dramatic war movies depicting the bloody struggle that was intended to end all war.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): Yes, I remember sometime in the middle of the second world war, I was about ten years old, I asked my mother – I was shocked when she told me that there had been a world war before this one and I said "How could such a terrible thing happen a second time?" And she said, "Well, we didn't think it ever would again." But, anyway, this is your interview!

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Apparently you followed me by about fifteen years.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): I was born in 1935.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Oh yes, well mine was 1916, so that's nineteen years. I was in graduate school as a city planner at MIT in 1939 to 1941. In the summer of 1940 I was at Southbridge, Massachusetts making a map of existing land uses and preparing a zoning ordinance and map for the town under the supervision of the Dean of City Planning at M.I.T. who had private contracts during the summers when classes weren't in session. During that summer of 1940 World War II exploded forth. Germany overran part, or most, of Poland and came through the low countries into France. The Vichy government was being set up in France, a puppet government under Hitler, Mussolini was strutting around with macho militarism in Italy as the second part of the tri-partite group and Tojo was doing similarly in Japan as the third leg of that wobbly stool. Ha-ha! Anyway, I was horrified. Another World War blossoming out so rapidly. I had no idea of how the mistaken settlements after World War I had set the stage for a resumption of world war. That wasn't in the propaganda I got from our country's leadership. The League of Nations was supposed to be able to prevent that, we thought, and we hoped that the United Nations, or by whatever name it would be called, later on, after World War II, being somewhat better organized, would not have any fatal blunders in its set up to let more wars happen, here and there all over the world, even nuclear wars possibly. Well, that insurance concept flew right out of my mind. I was very frustrated and I thought that the whole public of America had been taken in by propagandists with false hopes engendered in almost all of us. Either they didn't know what they were talking about or they didn't know how to organize it. Or, there wasn't



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the will and the war profiteers had worked their way into future profits they were poised for. And I felt that the whole public, not only of America, but of Central Europe, England, and many parts of the world were exploited for the sake of a few people who were getting extremely rich from being well poised to take advantage of wars. That was secondary to the idea that war itself is absolutely immoral. The way it causes suffering wholesale, whatever the weaponry, it was getting worse through the generations. It was wrong. And it forced everybody in by conscription and that also was wrong. Conscription was passed, I think, during that summer of 1940.

There was an isolationist group led by Charles Lindbergh and that was quite a strong controversy on the merits until he made his extremely blundering speech in which he revealed his basic anti-Semitism blaming American Jews for being one of three groups who were likely to get us into this war, to not allow us to be isolated from Europe for its duration. So, I was in the America First organization for a while, just simply as a loyal member corresponding and vibrating in my own way about things. But I was feeling more and more lonely because I didn't know much of other people anywhere who agreed with me. I didn't know that there was a Friends Meeting in Cambridge, a Quaker meeting. That was right up the road from MIT, near Harvard Square.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): America First, was that something that Lindbergh supported, patriots? I'm not sure what that was.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): He initiated it with a few close friends. They supported the idea of the war short of getting into it, without shooting. They were isolationists in the military sense. At the same time being friendly with Britain, because for all we knew, Hitler's legions might invade and conquer Britain and that would be an awful disaster that would take maybe hundreds of years to undo. The Third Reich was very confidently pointing to a thousand years of domination in world affairs from Europe. The Third Reich was to last at least that long. Pretty scary. Well, the more I thought about that, this seemed like a party that they were inviting all of us into and the more of us who said No, we wouldn't go, the less vicious, by little increments, the war would be. And the more people who said No, the fewer other people would get killed. I also worried a little about the fact that in my ROTC training at summer camp I had qualified as an expert with the pistol and as a marksman with a rifle having extremely high grades, good hand and eye coordination and very keen sight. So that I could put a bullet just about any place I wanted to, if I wanted to. I was aghast at the idea that I might be propagandized into wanting to.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): That's a wonderful statement. That sounds like it crystallized in your mind, like a decision you made.



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Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Yes, and a large part of that decision was made in the Southbridge Public Library where I was doing reading of newspapers, and of war history and whatever else I could find that would help me develop my own thinking about that. I was twenty-four then. Twenty-six had been the upper age limit to be called up in a draft. At least unless things got too desperate. And if America lost too much of its young population of males they might get to the point where they could be drafting, thirty, thirty-five and even forty year olds. There was no limit, apparently, to how ugly the war could get. Russia in World War I and also during this war was losing mightily and it was really cutting into their future population. Thinking about all their families and the suffering of survivors, all the misery of the injuries and the dying experience, it was just too horrible to join. I didn't know how much worse I would make it become with my expert marksmanship. One distinguished veteran who died here this summer killed more than one hundred "enemy" people with bullets and grenades and lived with regrets and bad memories into old age. His obituary was a good reminder about why I had to avoid doing anything like he had to do.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): You were quite a reader and you informed yourself in libraries and so forth. Were you alone in this thing or were you talking with anyone?

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Well, I knew that there must be thousands of others but I didn't know any of them. So, in that sense I was lonely even while knowing that I wasn't by any means unique.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): So, now you were twenty-four years old. What year would that be?

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Well, that would be the summer of 1940 when I was almost twenty-four and felt that I was having moral discoveries, not merely determinations on moral grounds, but with logical, political, social inputs from all of my reading. It all seemed to feed my own attitude.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): Well, your heart. It rang true.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Yes, I felt quite integrated. My mind was following my heart. It helped me form the justifications I would need to express. My residence was then in Cambridge at MIT's Graduate House, an old hotel building overlooking the Charles River basin where Massachusetts Avenue crosses the river. In the summer I was in a boarding house in Southbridge, Massachusetts while doing summer work for Professor Adams of MIT in city planning. For my second year, the year after that summer, I had brought my mother East with me because she had been living with my brother and he was married in the summer. So after that she



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came East and I moved to Bexley Hall next door to the Harvard Coop, MIT branch, facing the School of Architecture across Massachusetts Avenue. We had a nice little studio apartment and it worked out fine.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): Oh, my, I've never heard of anyone doing that in recent time, taking your Mom to college! That's wonderful. People did those kinds of things in those days.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): [Perusing Caroline's list of questions] I hadn't really had any real counseling on the subject of conscientious objection to war. As soon as I could I got a whole collection of pamphlets from the Government Printing Office, detailing all the workings of the Selective Service System that had been published, and they were available for purchase from the Government Printing Office by anybody who wanted them. So I saw what was in there about conscientious objectors and how they were supposed to be treated. I didn't really suspect that the actualities were very different from these rules.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): So this information was within the Selective Service.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Yes, as soon as the Selective Service got set up a set of books came out. Each of them was, oh, maybe an eighth of an inch thick, eight or nine volumes, telling just what all the local board procedures were, how they were to be set up, how they were to have registrants fill out personal histories on some forms. And, sandwiched in in various places were what they should do about men claiming to be conscientious objectors.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): Sandwiched in?

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Yes, that was a minor part of the whole set-up. But, they were to consider every other possible classification, except 4-E, which is a CO's classification. 1-A was available for military service and there were all kinds of temporary deferments for certain family situations or in case of a family with several sons that had all but one son in the service, that one was to be deferred, and so forth, and I read all these details of procedure, and they were supposed to see if they could put a claimant CO into some other classification instead. If they couldn't fit him in anywhere else, then they might have to consider giving him 4-E. 4-F was for physical or mental defectives. 4-E was a person who was fit but they didn't put it that way. They thought he was so morally deficient that he wouldn't understand that his duty to his country was to offer himself to be killed. Or to do the killing. Ha-ha-ha!



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Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): E for expendable.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Oh, yes, and so was anybody else. We really find out how much freedom there is in our citizenship by what happens to us in wartime. How much control the government can assume over what we do and how we will respond to situations, how we will fail or accept to obey military orders. It isn't ourselves obligating ourselves in patriotism. It's the government telling us how we are obligated. My government presumes to define for me who or what I am. Our conscience belongs to the government. If we flinch about how many people we are getting to kill, if we don't like doing it, and have qualms of conscience about it, the government tells us well, let us worry about it and you do your job. You do what we tell you to do. You don't have a choice and so therefore your conscience should not hurt you. Ha-ha-ha!

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): A Catch-22!

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Oh, yes! That's what American freedom amounts to in wartime.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): If anybody is free in wartime.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Oh, yes. Everybody is conscripted in one way or another. People tilling freedom gardens, victory gardens, people patrolling their neighborhoods to make sure that the black blinds are down and no light is escaping into the streets from inside their houses, the people being organized to save all their bacon grease and all the fats from the kitchen, bring their cans full of fat into the grocery store to be recycled.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): I remember that.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): It's amazing how much the whole American community is organized for war. Everything's changed for the war effort. Everybody has to contribute to the war effort. Buy liberty bonds, well, liberty bonds were World War I. War bonds were WWII.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): Yes, I had a war bond when I was just a little girl. My parents paid \$18.75 for it and ten years later I got \$25.00.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): That was a reasonable rate of inflation. I would rather throw money away than buy one of those. But on the other hand, the huge inflation that follows any big war deflates the value of every dollar so that the huge war debt gets repudiated.



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Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): So we're all duped.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): We're all duped, in every way more importantly than the financial. Oh, yes. Our treasury is in a subtle way confiscated by degrees – gradual confiscation. People supplying all the materials, as businesses do in a war, were able to make so much money hand over fist that the inflation doesn't begin to compensate for that profiteering. So those who are already rich get richer in real dollars while ordinary people get cheated out of theirs. It's part of the system. I think it's the real economic engine that promotes warfare and lets us send most of our male youth into slaughter every time when war can be contrived by the military/industrial complex.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): It really must be studied.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Think of how many of our recent and future enemies we have sold war material to in huge quantities.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): Yes, one of the hardest things to do is to clean up your own portfolio. Most peoples' investments are, in one way or another, connected to war.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Yes, it's very hard to have any wealth at all, any deferred spending, saved up without it getting into hurtful areas of misuse. I do as clean investing as I can while still realizing that any investing I do is still tainted very heavily with things I could be guilty about. I have one utility stock from my hometown and it's a good electric power utility, very well managed, very low rates compared with most of the country and yet it turns out a very good total return and about half of it comes in dividends.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): From the hometown of your boyhood, you mean?

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Yes, from Duluth, Minnesota. Minnesota Power and Light supplies electricity to all of northern Minnesota and part of Wisconsin, near Superior. They even have a mine mouth generating plant in the center of North Dakota, about four hundred thirty five miles west of Duluth. They built America's first high voltage direct current line to take energy from that mine mouth plant all the way into Duluth because direct current doesn't lose itself in the sky. The wires don't heat up and lose energy into the sky the way alternating current does in long transmission lines. Alternating is the way to go locally at low voltages, up to 300. For voltages up into three and four hundred thousands, towers are very tall and they reach about 700 feet in a span. The wire cables droop down within about thirty-five feet of the ground. They might make a farmer's hair stand on end sometimes.





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So, I was saying that I didn't have any counseling. I did talk to some people. I talked a lot of the time trying to convince people that my attitude was better than theirs was. But the prevailing jingoism, patriotism had most people inhibited about considering any other viewpoint as being valid.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): You have to dig deep, the way you did.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Yes. My boss in Boston city planning was Frank Malley. He was director of the planning organization there and I worked in that office for a while. One noon he and I were discussing my viewpoint and the usual one.

"Well," he said, "John, you've done a lot of thinking, a lot of it's very logical and you're trying to live a moral life, but just remember this: don't ever underestimate the power of propaganda." He said, "Most people feel they owe agreement to the prevailing sentiments all over the country and as the war gets tougher the non-conformist viewpoints become more vulnerable to the pressure of the propaganda. War hysteria gets to be so much that you may find yourself deeply penalized."

"Yes," I said, "I think that's another aspect, that's the evil in all warfare and it's making victims of different sorts of the whole population."

There are a thousand different ways people can become victims of war. So if I'm one kind of a victim that's sort of unusual, everybody else is some other kind of victim and some of them don't even realize it. And some families are told and told and told that they should take great pride in their sons or their uncles being killed in a war. The Gold Star Mothers are supposed to be proud of what their sons sacrificed. The truth is that they were sacrificed!

I think it was the winter of forty or forty one when I came to the idea that I couldn't any longer carry that military commission. It was out of character with everything I believed in. I thought I was going to be an increasing embarrassment to myself to have it. So I sent in my resignation to the War Department in Washington, to the highest ranking reserve officer corps person that I knew about. Nothing happened, so I went down to Washington a few months later. I went to the munitions building on Constitution Avenue —this was before the Pentagon was built— and I went from office to office trying to find out where my letter would be waiting for action. And as I suspected it was still down near the bottom of somebody's piled high inbox. As long as I carried a commission, I was not subject to the draft, because I could be called to active duty at any moment. So I found where it was and I talked to the officer who was holding it up. I asked him to consider how valuable I was from



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his point of view. Was I, in any sense, an asset to the Reserve Officer Corps or the Army? I had a viewpoint so strong that I could not kill anybody in a war, or ruin anybody's property in a war or in peace time either, for that matter, and I would have to say No!

I said, "Is there any advantage to the Army of your not getting this resignation letter considered and accepted and my commission as a Second Lieutenant cancelled? How much am I useful to you? I'm in this attitude and I'm pretty certain it's a lifetime one. I'm not going to be coerced come what may."

"Well," he said, "you are no doubt of no use to us at all!" He had picked my letter (it was dated April 4, 1941) out of his box before that and had scanned it while we were talking. He said, "I think I can get this acted on within a week or ten days and you'll hear from us."

I said, "Thank you very much, Sir!" And I turned and walked out, but I didn't salute him! Ha-ha-ha-ha!

Not long after that I was back in Cambridge. This was during my second year in graduate school. I received the letter accepting my resignation of the army commission and the letter reminded me that now I would have to register with Selective Service. So I went over to the Selective Service office in Cambridge and asked what Conscientious Objectors do to get properly certified in the correct classification. Well, he said, fill out this special form 47. So I filled that out and turned it in. As I was leaving the building, just going around the corner of that little brick building, I saw two cars come together one block away right in front of me. So I trotted down there. Somebody ran through the stop sign and hit the side of another car. They were both still in the middle of the intersection. By and by while waiting for the police to come, traffic began to pile up. The car wouldn't operate, the one that had been hit on its side. So a group of us pushed the car over to the nearby curb and then its brake having been disarranged, the man tried to pull his emergency brake on and it didn't work and the car went with one wheel over the curb, just a couple of feet and stopped. We let it rest there and a rear wheel was right against the curb so it wasn't going to go anywhere. Pretty soon the police came and I watched them and one of the police officers knew the fellow who had run the stop sign, the one who was at fault. They greeted each other in a friendly fashion and then pretty soon I saw someone who had also been in the neighborhood who said he had also seen this accident happen, but when he started to tell the police officer, the officer cut him off saying, Ah, that's just your opinion! And I thought, Oh-oh! There's bias working here. The wrong man's going to lose his license maybe. So I kept observing everything and then this car was taken off to a garage that was only about a block away around the corner to get fixed. So I followed it over there and I talked to this driver, a Mr. Linehan.



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I said, "I saw what happened back there and it looks like you're in for getting an undeserved penalty because the other driver and one of the police officers are buddy-buddy."

I said I wished that I could take some photographs of that intersection to show what had happened, while evidence was still there, now that the crowd has gone away. He said, "Well, I've got a camera here." And he showed me his camera and it was just a duplicate of my own camera, a Jiffy Kodak. So I went back to that corner which was beside a three story tenement house and I got on its roof and took photographs showing very clearly the skid marks and identifying buildings. So I went home and wrote the whole thing up and when the case came up in court, I was a witness. Since I had been studying traffic, and traffic lighting and stop sign systems and so on, it's part of my city planning, I did a real technical job of this. So when we got into court and I was testifying and the man who was friendly with the crooked cop was trying to get the wrong side to win, I was giving him real trouble because of what I said. So he tried to discredit me in every way possible.

He said, "How did you happen to be where you were when this accident occurred?" "Well," I said, "I'd been just inside the draft board and had come around that corner..." And he said, "What were you in the draft board for?" "Oh, I went in to fill out a form." "What form?" I said, "Oh, this is as far as I will go because everything that happens between a registrant and the draft board is confidential by law. I don't have to tell you anything more than I have, but the draft board people can confirm that I was there if you need that."

Well, the judge declared a lunch recess, a little early I thought, and when he came back and reconvened the court, along towards one o'clock, he made an announcement saying, "I'm prepared to qualify Mr. Kellam as an expert witness in this case and I should warn everybody that I believe everything he says." It turned out he was the chairman of that draft board. He had made his own inquiries of the office. Ha-ha-ha-ha! And he understood perfectly that I was a credible witness and that I realized my right to have my information kept in confidence by that board. So this all came out correctly. Mr. Linehan qualified for no penalty and his insurance company was not the one to pay for the damage. The fellow who caused the accident took his own consequences for running through the stop sign. I would have done a lot better with that draft board if I hadn't moved away from Cambridge to a job down in Washington for three years and then moved to Toledo to a new job in planning.

The Toledo draft board was very much otherwise inclined. They didn't want any CO to be on their record. So they reclassified me to 1A. Oh, I had been reclassified about eight different times, different kinds of classifications, by various boards by then.



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Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): Why was that?

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Well, they were trying to see if I could fit into any other of these classifications to avoid 4E if possible. And at one point my mother's physical condition – she had Parkinson's Disease and she had had it for several years and it was causing her gait to shuffle almost to a stop and she was having a lot of trouble controlling her hands and her head was wobbling and all that. So, at one induction station there was a psychiatrist, Dr. Stanley Rioch of Rockville, Maryland, who had discovered that I was a CO and he asked me if there was any condition that I knew of, or any circumstance, that might prevent me from giving dependable service to the United States Army. I'd passed the physical part of the exam and I said, "Well, I'm physically O.K. but I've got an attitude about war that makes it absolutely impossible at all to be of any value to any army. As a matter of fact it's the cause of my having resigned and insisted on the acceptance of that resignation of a commission in the US Army which I got from ROTC in my earlier days in college. I hadn't done much thinking and I really didn't know myself back then."

He tried to get me rejected on that account. He had asked me about allergies and so what it came back to was that I had had a little prune juice and banana vapor allergy when I was much younger but it had disappeared, as I told him, but he wanted to take that very seriously. I asked him why. He said, "That combined with your attitude of firm conscientious objection means to me that you should not be taken into the army. They shouldn't want you."

"Well," I said, "That sounds pretty good to me!" ha-ha-ha!

My mother was physically dependent upon me. She couldn't drive a car. She couldn't walk without assistance. She was to have a wheelchair sometime in the future and there was no treatment effectively in those days. My brother was already by that time into dental corps in the army. He had been given a first lieutenant's commission when he finished dental school at the university. We graduated together, by the way, even though he was four years older than I, but he had been two years ahead of me in school. He had been out for a while. Anyway, there was no one in the family for our mother to live with except me. So for a time I had an administrative deferment which wasn't stated to be based upon her physical dependency. But I was told that I would probably not be bothered any more by the draft for the duration and anyway I was getting over age.

At 26 I had had a lot of arguments with all kinds of draft boards by that time, transfer boards. My registration in Cambridge had been given my Duluth, Minnesota address as my permanent address because I thought possibly I would be going back there after



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finishing my graduate work. That's where I was before I went there. Or I might go somewhere else. I didn't know, but anyway I thought the Duluth draft board was likely to be made of the people who knew me best and knew that I'd grown up there. They knew a number of people I'd given as references including one particular man who had been the teacher of my Sunday School class when I was, oh, twelve or fourteen. And of all the people who influenced me in ethics and logic and had some knowledge of law, Frank Crassweller was, I think, my strongest influence. He was an attorney in town in one of the most venerable law firms. He probably was a fairly old person by now. But Frank Crassweller was the strongest influence on my ethical thinking and I wish I had taken his ethical constructs more seriously than I did at the time because I'd come to feel that he had been very influential in the way I had put my own attitudes together.

Much later when I was appealing my 1A classification, which had been given to me erroneously at Silver Spring, Maryland, when I was living in Silver Spring, they were my transfer board while I was attending the Florida Avenue Meeting in Washington, I had tried to convince that draft board chairman that he should stop being in a position where he was sending young men into the huge fray to be killing and injuring and getting injured and killed themselves.

I said, "That's a huge party that none of these young men should be in! It would be great if the young men of the whole world would tell their own governments NO! And I'm doing my little bit toward that."

Well, I appealed the 1A classification and so automatically my file went to the FBI and they did a big survey of my background. They even went to Frank Crassweller, my old Sunday School teacher, and asked him about me. And where did they find him? In the Duluth draft board office being their chairman! My chum had been, all through school from fifth grade on, a nephew of his, Robert Crassweller. But I found my FBI file later on - I had access to it. I could see who said what about me. I saw a summary of the whole FBI file, written by a hearing officer, John H. Skeen of the US Attorney's office, Maryland district, in Baltimore. I copied every word of it. I have it upstairs, in the back end of a file drawer. When I found out that Frank Crassweller was chairman of that draft board, I wrote to my chum, Robert Crassweller, who was by then working for the State Department in Washington.

I wrote, "What in the world has ever gotten into your Uncle Frank, who was such a wonderful teacher of Christian ethics in that Sunday School, Presbyterian Church of Duluth, of our neighborhood? How could he possibly accept the duties of a draft board member, let alone be chairman? I just don't understand how he could do it! It seems to me that a lot of the things that he said to us in Sunday School would mean that he would have had to decline any commission if it were offered for him to do that



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kind of a thing."

Bob's only reply was, "Well, there are quite a number of things about Uncle Frank that are beyond understanding."

Ha-ha-ha! And Bob's own father was a lawyer, too.

When the FBI asked Frank Crassweller what he thought of my claim of being a conscientious objector, filing this form 47, and trying to justify it, he stated, according to the hearing officer's summary, "that registrant is definitely a conscientious objector and he believes the registrant should be classified in this grouping. He pointed out that registrant was registered with Local Board No. 1 in Duluth before moving to Silver Spring, Maryland, and at that time he and other members of the Duluth Draft Board considered registrant to be a conscientious objector. He considers registrant to be trustworthy, sincere and highly reliable."

Now that was an interesting thing to read! That FBI report. Ha ha! He remembered me very well, as he said he did. I made a deep impression! Ha-ha-ha-ha! So that's all I ever found out about his Uncle Frank. I haven't thought about a lot of these things for a long time – they're just sort of tumbling out now!

There are lots of funny things that happen in the middle of a world disaster. There are all kinds of plays on words and saying logical things in a humorously twisting way. During that time there were quite a few people who would have been greatly inconvenienced if they had just forgotten about my existence. If they had tried to just consider me a non-person, as if I'd never walked into their presence, they could have saved themselves a lot of time and effort because they never won their objective with me, trying to get me into that war, or any future war.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): But they kept trying.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Yes, the last draft board that ever considered me reclassified me correctly in 4-E, as a conscientious objector – at last! I never met any of them, but they were the three top officers in the Milan, Michigan, minimum security prison that I went to first from Toledo, just north of Detroit, maybe fifty or sixty miles north of Toledo. That was before I was transferred to Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, I did the rest of the time until I was released. That draft board offered me release from prison if I would go into the Civilian Public Service, the CPS. But I explained why I declined to the person who came to me about it, after they had decided to make this offer. I think it was the assistant warden who came to talk to me about it. He was one of the three on the draft board, along with the warden and some senior officer.

I said that I had been a visitor to quite a few Civilian Public



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Service camps. I saw some of the young men who were satisfied to sit out the war doing whatever they were asked to do. I saw a number of others who were very dissatisfied because the fact that they were there made it possible for those agencies of government, the weather service and other agencies, to discharge some of their regular employees so that the army could draft them. And if those COs weren't there to take their place, those boys might well have stayed in their useful government service but not in war duty. So it was a source of extreme dismay to those COs to feel that they had made it possible for somebody else to be sent out to join the killing. Quite a few of them left the CPS camps and they went to the camps that were run directly by the military, government camps, without the peace churches being in charge. Some of the COs in the other camps run by Quaker, or Brethren, or Mennonite service committees were feeling very bitterly critical of the churches for doing the government's bidding by having charge of concentration camps for slave labor by COs. They didn't even get the tiny army wages because the attitude of the country wouldn't have stood for it. So, it was even worse than military slavery because churches were in between as the delegated slave masters. Boys from the peace churches were conscripted. I used to see Mennonites come through Silver Spring on a bus and they were on the way to draft board offices to get processed and some of them were simply put in spurious classifications and sent home to wait it out. In terms of warfare, the Mennonites were sometimes considered to be more of a lost cause to the Army than young Quakers. The military attitude about the Quakers was that because some of them were willing to go into war, then the rest of them ought to be also willing.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): So you were in more than one prison. How many prisons were you in?

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): After one night in the Cleveland jail, and awaiting trial in the horrible Toledo jail, just the two — Milan, Michigan, from the beginning of 1945 until about May. It was a minimum security facility. It wasn't called a penitentiary.

I was transferred from there to Lewisburg Penitentiary in Pennsylvania, maximum security. They didn't really know how to handle me at Milan. I wasn't willing to do war work in their shop and their jobs were all geared to the war effort and any inmate was interchangeable at the will of the administration of the prison from one job to another. Even if I were only a janitor, or was in the kitchen, I'd be replacing someone who was in the shops to do war work. They tried to find some kind of work that I might find acceptable and maybe even interesting — something that wouldn't appear to be connected too closely to the war effort that all prison shops were engaged in. But this interchangeability of inmates meant that I was in an organization where everyone possible was supposed to be in war





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work and whatever I did, somebody else wouldn't be needed for because I was doing it. So it just became quite obvious to me that I could not accept any kind of occupational duty in that institution or in any prison, for that matter. If I could do war work, I might as well do it in the army! I was there because I wouldn't! Ha-ha-ha! Well, and they couldn't get me out of there to go into Civilian Public Service for the same reason, that I would feel wrongfully engaged in any CPS camp run by churches, by government or anybody at all as part of the whole war system. I didn't belong in the war system in any capacity whatsoever. Any job considered essential during that time would be helping to kill people. So I was labeled as an absolutist. I was sent to administrative segregation.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): Now this is still in Milan. Were you the only conscientious objector?

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Before segregation I met only two or three other COs there, but there were a dozen or two others in the general population. There were two others in that segregation row at the top of that cell block; one, Leroy Shafer, was two cells to my right, as I would look out through the bars. On my left was a young Quaker, John Stokes, who came from an old Philadelphia area family. He was very quiet, in contemplation of his inclination to join the Roman Catholic Church. I remember his describing all of the major religions as built essentially of legends and symbolism, none much more or less productive of pacifist ideals carried into action. Another, Wally Nelson, was in the second cell to my left, next to a man to be executed. We had cinderblock walls between us.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): How did you know about each other?

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): We talked because the bars were open and we could hear each other. To my right, between Leroy and me, there was a German prisoner of war, Gerhard Gutzat, a tank corps sergeant from Rommel's army. He'd been captured by the Americans or the British as they were chasing the Germans and being chased by them, alternately back and forth along the north rim of Africa. Gerhard was a graduate of Hitler's youth corps before he got drafted into their army and assigned to duty in the Afrika Korps.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): Did you make a CO out of him?

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Well, I tried, but moderately, as I didn't want to upset him. He was not enjoying his incarceration any more than we were so I let him find out as much as he was pleased to find out about me. LeRoy Schafer who was on the other side of him in the next cell at the end, a young Brethren from Durand,



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Michigan, did the same. LeRoy was a different kind of a CO in some ways than I was. We were all different! Ha-ha! But thoroughly respecting each other and glad that each other had stayed out of all the killing.

Well, this tank corps officer was a little bit younger than I and he'd been through a lot of combat. He'd seen terrible things. I think he was being perfectly loyal, understanding what he did and the way he was raised so that he really couldn't pretend to understand our viewpoint. But he was personally friendly and he could speak English just well enough so that we got along fine. Then one day that awful copy of LIFE Magazine came through. Every week we had been passing that magazine along with all the pictures and so on. The old kind of LIFE Magazine full of pictures. This was the issue that announced to all Americans and others wherever LIFE Magazine went, abroad, the concentration/extermination camps discovered in Germany, Austria and Poland and with pictures of mounds of dead bodies and of fewer survivors in pitiful condition. This was 1945. It was January 1945, before I reached Milan, having been tried in Toledo for having refused induction in Cleveland. The war with Japan went on until August, 1946, after Hiroshima and Nagasaki were demolished by two nuclear bombs. I was by that time in Lewisburg. I was there until just after Thanksgiving, 1946.

So this was in the winter and early spring of '45 that I got to know Gerhard Gutzat, the tank corps officer who was a POW. He'd been in British war prison and then was transferred over here and was put into any opening that they had in our prison system. The COs in prison didn't help with making space available for POWs! (Ha-ha-ha!) But anyway, that was interesting. I saw this LIFE Magazine that came down the row, which first was given to the condemned prisoner who was on death row. He was three cells to my left, two other guys in between, including one I never did get to know very well. Wally Nelson was pretty quiet. The other one was one of the angry, uneducated criminal types that had been in violence. I guess it was because they didn't know any better. They weren't having any of this nonsense from anybody who was in jail for trying to be good! Ha-ha-ha-ha-ha-ha! That was out of their world too far!

Anyway, when I saw this LIFE Magazine, I kept thinking as I read about all this horrible concentration camp system, what's Gerhard going to think when he sees this? Does he know anything about this going on? I wonder, I wonder, I wonder. So, before I gave it to him, I said, "Gerhard, I have the new LIFE Magazine, which I have seen and I'm ready to pass it to you but I should warn you first, it's unlike any previous issue that was ever printed by LIFE Magazine. You've seen a variety of them already, but this tells a terrible story and I warn you it's pretty rough to look at." "Well," he said, "from what I've seen in the war, there's nothing very rough that I could be surprised about." "All right, Gerhard," I said, "but I think you're going to be surprised about this." So I handed it to him. I said, "If you



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don't want to talk to me about this, that's all right and maybe you'd prefer that, but if you would like to talk to me at all about it, I'm willing and it's been shocking to me. So, we'll see what you think." There was silence for a long time, much longer than any previous time when he'd been passing a magazine over to the CO, Leroy, in the far cell. Then he said, "John?"

"Yes, Gerhard?"

He said, "There is something about this war that I never realized." I said, "I'm glad you didn't know anything about this before but I'm sorry you have to know about it now."

He said, "That isn't what I meant. Until now, I didn't think any military organization in the world was as skillful at concocting propaganda as it shows the American military organization has been to get all of this into LIFE Magazine. I don't know how they did it, these piles of bodies. They've gotta be fake!"

"Well," I said, "Gerhard, I'm afraid they are not. I don't think it would be possible for any organization ever to become skillful enough to create this kind of a humbug propaganda. This can't be false."

For one thing, I thought, if this is a false story, LIFE Magazine is dead! But they want to keep on publishing. It's a lucrative publication. They make a lot of money through subscriptions. I told him, "They'll probably get a few people cancelling their subscriptions because it's too rough and they don't want their children to see it, or they don't believe it, just as you don't believe it. You don't think it really happened, do you?"

He said, "No! It couldn't have happened!"

So, after a while I said to him, "Gerhard, I would be interested if you would care to tell me why you think it could not have happened."

"That's simple enough," he said. "If anybody in Germany, or occupied areas in Central Europe, had tried to organize this kind of a crime of exterminating a whole big group of people, Hitler wouldn't have stood for it! Such a person or group would have been put down immediately. Their career in any organization run by the Third Reich would be over! They would have completely discredited themselves. Nothing like this could happen in Germany! Or any occupied area controlled by Germany!"

I said, "Gerhard, I wish it could be true the way you believe but the way this is presented it's an awfully hard thing for me not to believe. The world's never seen anything like this, although there was a big killing of a whole group by starvation in Armenia shortly after World War I." (long pause)



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Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): Yes, the forced march of nearly two million Armenians in 1915 at the outbreak of the First World War. Six hundred thousand died.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Yes, and we were worried here and not doing much about the starving Armenians when I was three or four years old, as a beginner in Sunday school. I can remember people talking about the starving Armenians. And other people here were saying we should be careful not to waste food because millions of people were starving to death in other parts of the world.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): I remember that. My mother was still saying, "Remember the starving Armenians. Eat everything on your plate!"



Friend [John R. Kellam](#): My mother was saying the same thing exactly. I was not to take onto my plate any more than I could eat. She hoped I would eat plenty, but there shouldn't be any wasted.

Well, Gerhard lived for one purpose, and this isn't about me now, but it's part of my experience. His family in the free city of Danzig in the metropolitan area east of Pomerania in Poland had been overrun by the Russians, and many of the German people in the small towns were killed. The Russians wanted that area to develop as vacant land would be developed. They were absolutely ruthless and had no respect for civilians.

"So," he said, "My family all got murdered. I'm the only one left that I know of. Since before I went into the army, having been in the part of Poland that the Russians didn't get to control, I was not in that and I am the only survivor as far as I know. After this whole war is over, if I ever get repatriated



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back to Germany, I'm going to make it the business of my life for as long as it takes to find out who it was, probably among the Russians, that are responsible for my family all having been killed. I'm going to get revenge for that if it's the last thing I ever do."

I said, "Gerhard, it's an awful thing to live for, just to get that done. In a big war, even in a little one, there are all kinds of hateful things that happen. If people spent the rest of their lives still fighting that war in one way or another, it would never be possible for wars to cease. We've got to forget any vengeful feelings we might have had after the awful things that happen. Because otherwise there's no way out of this for the world."

Well, I didn't convince him. But I did take note, gratefully, of his volunteered acknowledgement that such a genocidal program would, if real, have been most grossly criminal as an act going far beyond "legitimate" warfare. After his eventual repatriation, he would have much to learn about his idol, Hitler's, insane degree of criminality, and his approval of the deliberate murder of so many millions of innocent civilians in his own country and in his own name as its "fuehrer." It might occur to Gerhard, also, that vicious enemies tend to grow more similar to each other, morally, over the time they are engaged in war campaigns.

There was one particularly notable conscientious objector at Milan just then and his name was Corbett Bishop. He was from Alabama and he didn't cooperate at all with any draft board or any war official of any kind. He'd been in and out of prison several times, cat and mouse, and he had thought his way through so thoroughly that he didn't feel that he should pick up his food and put it in him. He also didn't take care of his own excrement so they tied a diaper on him. He was certainly a much more thoroughgoing absolutist than I ever dreamed of being. We were aware that he was in the prison hospital in a little single patient cell. He was being fed by tubes through his nose, into his stomach, a thick kind of grainy food substance, not too unlike a malted milk except that it wasn't cold, it wasn't ice-creamy, but it was nourishing enough. So they were keeping him alive for quite a long while. He had been transferred to Milan in a sedan with two officers, he was in the back seat, and he wouldn't agree not to run away, so they had leg irons on him and handcuffs, ha-ha-ha! And there was an accident. Their car went out of control and down a ditch and up into a field, a cultivated farm field and it had rolled over. The two guards who were taking him to another prison were bruised up a little bit, but they got out of the car. There weren't any seatbelts in those days.

Corbett was jammed down between the back seat and the back side of the front seat, a one bench front seat, and it had jammed back on him so he was pretty tightly squeezed in there. Maybe that's why he wasn't any more injured than he was. They came



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over and asked him if he was all right. He didn't answer. He just looked at them, but he wasn't communicating with them before. They had even offered to take the leg irons and handcuffs off if he'd walk in to have lunch with them at the stop, but he wasn't giving any cooperation to them or to anyone whatsoever in any position of authority over him. He didn't recognize that authority at all but they were demanding information from him as to how his body felt. When he kept on this non-cooperative basis, as before, they said, "Oh come on for God's sake, Corbett, answer us will you please? We're concerned about you! You're not supposed to get banged up while you're in our charge. If you are we've got to get you to a hospital and get you attended to. So will you please let us know how you are?"

So he said, "All right, fellas, don't worry, I'm O.K."

They let him out of that jammed position and he sat up and the bruises, if there were any, were very slight. But, he went right back into his regular completely passive role and they somehow got back on the road and got the car fixed up and continued the trip. He was duly delivered. Ha-ha-ha-ha!

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): And you knew Lee Stern in the prison at Milan.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Oh, yes. He was a very tender soul. During my brief time in the population at Milan, before I had decided not to participate in any of the work program, he and I had some very nice conversations. While we were talking one time, a big cockroach came across the floor and I stepped over there and raised my foot. Lee Stern said, "Oh, please!"

I put my foot down and looked at him and I said, "Well, what do you think we should do with this cockroach? In view of their spreading disease like crazy --"

His answer was, "Well, we could play with him."

He didn't want any living thing to be destroyed. I had never given a second thought to it. But he had an extremely thoroughgoing respect for every kind of life.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): I remember him from my very first entrance into a Quaker meeting. He was the one who was instantly aware of a newcomer and he would take you under his wing and nurture you in the way of Friends. He spent time with me in Rockland Meeting, explaining everything and he took me into their meeting library and showed me which books I should start out reading to learn about Quakerism. He told me above all I should read Rufus Jones.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Oh, yes. Well, Dr. Henry Hitt Crane was



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a minister in Detroit, Michigan. He had heard there were a bunch of COs at Milan. He had a great big church and he was well known as a powerful minister. He decided one time that he'd go and see what COs they had in that prison at Milan – it wasn't too far from Detroit – and see what he could do to be of service to those inmates. Also he'd see how the officers in charge were doing about COs. So he wrote to the bureau of prisons saying that he was going to drive over to Milan, Michigan, and talk to all the COs they had there. A slow letter came a week or two later that if you desire to visit the prison, you first have to make application on the required forms and we will consult the bureau's head office in Washington to see if you would be allowed to do this. Well, he fired back a letter saying that he was not to be told by them what he could and could not do.

"I'm telling you that I'm going to do it on that date. Please be ready." He said that he would want to meet with all of the COs there, assembled together in whatever conference room would be available. He gave the time of his expected arrival. Well, whatever flurry of correspondence there was within the bureau of prisons, he was told that they would be ready for him to come. They gave him the red carpet treatment. They set up a conference room and they gave him a list of the COs that they had and with a few exceptions he could have them all come. I was not in segregation yet because they were still trying to see if there was something they could find for me to do that I'd be willing to do, that they could call a work station. So, I was in that conference and Dr. Crane learned a lot about all the COs, what their various statuses were and where their families were. He got a lot of addresses and he wrote letters to families who were close enough to visit and others who were not close enough to visit. He was very friendly and serviceable. As for Corbett Bishop, he had to go up to Corbett's hospital cell where he was being force-fed through the tube. Corbett later told me about this Dr. Crane. It was just before Corbett went into not functioning to take care of his own output. But he was just about ready to do that. Dr. Crane asked him how soon this was likely to happen. Well, Corbett said it might be a few hours, it might be a few days, he didn't know yet.

"Whenever the spirit leads me I'm going to follow the spirit," said Corbett. Then he lapsed into his Alabama accent and he said,

"As a matter of fact, my back teeth are floating right now!"

Well, before long Corbett and I were in close proximity, separated by just maybe one vacant cell between, and I got kind of acquainted with him after I'd been taken down to that hospital during a fast. Locked in cells, we never did get to see each other's faces.

I could not reach a shower, so I was taken by wheelchair to the one near a ward room, and set on a chair within the curtain. After I got soaked, the water turned suddenly scalding hot as





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someone turned the cold valve shut. I heard my voice ring out once before my feet lifted to the wall and propelled me and the curtain out backward to the open tiled floor. One or more inmates were being yelled at by a supervisor. I got towelled dry, and was not put into the shower stall again. A practical joke, probably.

I got into the fast shortly after a prison censor had taken offense at some of the things I wrote to my wife who was still living in Toledo before moving to Washington DC, back home to live with her mother some more. After Roosevelt died I wrote to Carol saying a number of things I had respected him for as he did whatever he could to get this country out of the awful depression. I didn't know yet that he had made things a lot worse deliberately during Hoover's lame duck days, after the election and before the March 4th inauguration. It wasn't January 20th then. It was March 4th and that was a pretty long time in which Roosevelt and his banking friends did some maneuvers that got the country into worse condition so that this charging knight in armor could come in and save the whole country from the "Hoover depression." What he did was to adopt a lot of the policies that Hoover had tried to get Congress to help with, but they wouldn't do it for him. But they did it right away for Roosevelt. Anyway, Roosevelt used ruses in getting this country into the shooting war by plotting with Churchill, since before Churchill was prime minister, using the heads of state code both ways; he gave that privilege to Churchill when he shouldn't have. And he was figuring out how best to induce Japan to attack us in some outpost or other, like Guam or the Philippines or some other island base, not dreaming that Japan could come as far as past Midway and all the way down to Honolulu with the big attack.

Well, there was a code clerk in the London embassy under John F. Kennedy's father, Ambassador Joseph Patrick Kennedy. This code clerk, Tyler Kent, felt resentful of the perfidious nature of these communications between Roosevelt and Churchill about how to get Japan to mount some kind of an attack on us. They figured out how to do it together, by building up the US trade with Japan over a year and a half of time so that Japan would have about 90% of all its foreign trade with us, the United States. And that would balance an unusually large proportion, around 10%, of all our foreign trade. Previously, Japan had much less of its foreign trade with us. A necessary balance of currency could be maintained. We could get Japan heavily dependent on us, without our becoming too heavily involved with Japan. Then, all of that trade could be shut off suddenly, like turning a faucet quickly enough to cause a water hammer in the pipes. Japan's economy could receive a very serious jolt, insulting them for their tripartite link with Germany and Italy, bringing up revengeful reactions. Hopefully, this would provoke them to retaliate by some military attack, probably on a minor outpost of the US in the western Pacific. Then, with public approval, Congress could be persuaded to declare war on Japan,



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and in short order FDR expected a quick victory to take Japan out of the "axis powers." But, more immediately, our declaration would obligate Germany and Italy to declare war on us which is exactly what Roosevelt and Churchill wanted. Until that happened, any US declaration against Germany would be too hard to win from Congress. We couldn't do more than be a mere supplier of weapons and war materials in convoys to Britain. And at the same time Roosevelt was assuring the parents of young Americans that they would not be sent to fight in foreign wars, "except in case of attack." Tyler Kent was incensed at this secret deception in direct violation of the American public's strong desire to stay out of war. A powerful determination arose in him, by hindsight somewhat recklessly, to see if he could "blow the whistle" on Franklin Roosevelt.

Tyler arranged that, on his annual stateside furlough, he would be seeing the chairman, Tom Connolly, of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate. They were the leaders for setting foreign policy for the United States which the State Department, under the president, would be implementing. That's the way things were in those days. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee did have that power to design our foreign policies. So this young coding clerk thought this was the most perfidious thing he could imagine happening, worse than anything he'd ever heard of. He resented having to translate through the codes machine, the messages both ways between these two leaders. He could easily understand that Churchill was loyally defending his own homeland from Hitler's forces by every possible means, fair or foul, as his proper duty. But FDR was deceiving all America against this nation's determination to stay isolated from direct military action far away from the Western Hemisphere and our homeland. Therefore, Tyler considered one of these leaders corrupt and infuriating. He assumed, mistakenly, that Connolly would not have been informed about Roosevelt's crooked deal with Churchill.

So, Connolly blew the whistle back at Tyler Kent. He told Roosevelt about it. Roosevelt told Churchill that he wanted Kent arrested and tried in secret by a British tribunal and sent away long enough so that the war would probably be over before he ever saw daylight again outside that prison. So he was secretly tried and sentenced to prison on the Isle of Wight for seven years. He did about five years of his sentence. Tyler's mother, Mrs. Anne H.P. Kent, noticed that the publicity about it was squelched in the American press almost as soon as it began in June 1940, and was distraught and wanted to get her son out of that British prison and brought over to this side because, as an embassy employee, he was supposed to have immunity under British law. If he did anything that violated British law, he was supposed to be brought over here and tried in our courts for it. After all, we were buddies with Britain! But she wanted him tried in open court so that his reasons for doing what he did, even without statutory protection for whistleblowers, could be exposed. He had a conscientious reason for doing what he was



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doing. Well, Roosevelt and Churchill weren't going to allow that. She came, Tyler Kent's mother, to the Florida Avenue (Quaker) Meetinghouse to a specially called meeting sometime in 1942, to see if there was anybody there —she'd been meeting with various church groups all around the Washington area— anybody there who might have an idea on how she could get her son tried as he should have been under American law in open court. This is supposed to be a democracy and she thought it could be a democracy even in wartime. Of course what she didn't realize was that it wasn't one. The people are supposed to believe that they are still in one, but as a practical matter, when the chips are down, there isn't any such thing in America. It's a conversational democracy. That's about all it can be during the war effort.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): Now your wife, Carol, was there at that time, at the Florida Avenue Meeting?

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Yes, so this is before I ever got into the toils of the draft. We got the whole story of how Mrs. Kent's son had gotten into this terrible trouble and how he had been betrayed and how Roosevelt had been so perfidious, plotting to get us into war and at the same time assuring every American parent that he wasn't going to send their sons into any foreign war, "except in case of attack." He gave himself that little out, while he was arranging for us to be attacked. He was calculating how to get Japan to do it. Well, when foreign trade with Japan between July 1941 and September 1941 went from a bustling trade to a tiny trickle within just two months, that threw the Japanese empire's whole financial system into such a chaos that they suddenly had only about 10% of their world trade left and they had a war in China to feed with it. So they felt that we had been pretty sneaky. Japanese concepts of revenge were strong. So they outdid themselves by sinking so many of our ships at Pearl Harbor. They had phenomenal luck, and the Americans not dreaming that anything like that could be done by Japan, didn't defend. They didn't really keep track, although there was some important information from decoded Japanese messages that Admiral Kimmel and General Short were sacrificed for not using. Naturally, they were underinformed about those intercepted messages indicating the preparations for the attack.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): That was December 7, 1941. Pearl



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Harbor.



Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Yes. That was three years before I got finished with all my arguing with Selective Service and my eight or nine different classification actions.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): When did you become a Quaker?

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Oh, I became a member early in 1943. I started meeting at Florida Avenue in the District of Columbia, in September 1941, three months before Pearl Harbor. I was on



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my way to one of the Young Friends' meetings Sunday evening at about seven o'clock when the news of Pearl Harbor came over my car radio. Only a few others arriving there had heard it.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): It's amazing. Even I remember where I was.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): So, suddenly we were in the war. Completely. Well, there were various other details that I could remember and I could probably go on for hours. So let's get back on track.

In 1945 I had been transferred to Lewisburg Penitentiary and I was approached and asked if I would be interested in applying for parole. I had looked up the practice of paroling prisoners and essentially it seemed like a system where you take the inmate's word as binding that he's going to be a good person and keep out of trouble and you take a chance on him and let him out and see if he can fly right and not do any more crimes but, I thought that certainly didn't fit this present situation.

I said, "I got into trouble trying to be a good man, trying not to destroy people or property. And that's why I'm here. It seems ridiculous for me to promise to be a good boy now! We might have another war! It's not up to me! I'll keep on trying to be a good person, regardless! But, as to applying for the privilege of freedom by giving you my word to be good, being good is what got me in here." All this I was telling the Warden of Lewisburg Penitentiary.

"So, I figure that whenever the political situation is such that the people over you have no more reason to keep me here, they might decide to let me go." I thought, I haven't heard that we have turned into bad Germans and are destroying useless people, like maybe me, and unless the government does that kind of thing, I'll be free sometime.

After the war ended, I spent the last fifteen months of my sentence, which was originally five years, at Lewisburg. The only library books I saw at Lewisburg were ones a former Merchant Marine sea captain, Laurent Brackx, had brought me, THE AMERICAN EPHEMERIS AND NAUTICAL ALMANAC because he had discovered—he was an orderly in the hospital ward, and he found out—that I was doing some exercises in math so he brought me these books full of tables, astronomical tables, which delighted me and I spent a lot of time—I even figured out all of the elements of the orbit for a fictitious planet, which I called Imp, for Impossible. I think I put it somewhere between Venus and Earth in order to have its own orbit. I wasn't particularly concerned about perturbations of the orbits of either Venus or Earth but just to see how it would rotate around, or revolve around the Sun, what its own year would be and how large it was likely to be and how much gravitation it probably would have in that position and



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so forth. I made a lot of assumptions which were not factually based but anyway it was an instructive sort of fiddling around.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): Wasn't the original idea of a penitentiary to be for the penitents, for them to improve their minds, to be sheltered and protected from their otherwise difficult life of crime and to be raised up to a higher level where they could have the leisure of an experience of scholarship?

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Well, penitent. They were exposed to a quietude of separated existence, to contemplate their evil deeds, to get a handle on why they were evil and why it was a good idea to live a better life. Solitary confinement was the logical end of that kind of philosophy helping people to be penitent. Quakers, I think, innocently but disastrously found a lot of jailbirds going crazy or berserk because of the extreme isolation that turned out to be a form of torture in the jail houses of Pennsylvania.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): Am I right that it was a Quaker idea in history to set aside these penitentiaries for the penitents to improve themselves while being protected?

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Well, the later Quakers who wrote it up decided that the early Quakers who had that idea were horribly mistaken. They didn't know their psychology at all.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): They thought there's that of God in everyone and that God will come forth!

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): I guess there are some Quakers who are so wholly devoted that they think our whole concentration should be on God and what God wants of us and to listen to the inner voice only and principally, twenty-four hours a day.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): Quakers are very devoted no matter what concern they focus on. They were very devoted to the Peace Testimony. Now it turns out that the Peace Testimony is not upheld to a huge degree and even back in the times of the Second World War, the Peace Committee of New England [Yearly Meeting](#) was really quite weak. The Committee did not have a report to the Yearly Meeting in those years. Here is what I was reading yesterday in the New England Quaker archives. In 1943 the annual report of the Peace Committee of New England Yearly Meeting stated:

"The Peace Committee is still in an exploratory, preparatory mode and has no major project to report. They feel the burden of the challenge presented in the morning by the honest account,





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as Rufus Jones calls it, of the state of our society which reveals the fact that few of our Quaker youth maintain the Peace Testimony of our society. There are five times as many of our [Quaker] boys in armed service as there are conscientious objectors."

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): I had the impression that there was a larger proportion of the Friends in the two Baltimore Yearly Meetings, and the Philadelphia [Yearly Meeting](#) than that and maybe New England was concentrating on other aspects of Quakerism. It was June 21, 1945 that the New England Yearly Meeting coalesced from previous groups and became one Yearly Meeting.

My Washington Friends Meeting was one of the so called New and United Meetings that sprang up not within any Yearly Meeting, but wanting to be warmly affiliated with all Friends everywhere. We didn't mind whether they were pastoral Friends or Friends without paid ministers, speaking out of the silence in meetings for worship, as ours does here; so both Baltimore Yearly Meetings, having an area which included Washington DC, kept asking us occasionally whether we would join one of their meetings. We said thanks very much for thinking of us, for inviting us, but we would rather be equally related to all Friends and not to any one group. That would tend to separate us from any of the others. The Society of Friends was still divided and we didn't want it to be divided. Well, both Baltimore Yearly Meetings got wise one year. It was reported in both their meetings that we had declined and why, and some bright Friend got up and said, well, in that case, if they would like to be related to all of us, and this is their territory within ours, both Baltimore Yearly Meetings, why don't we send somebody from our Yearly Meeting to travel with somebody else from the other Baltimore Yearly Meeting and go to Washington together and ask that meeting to join both simultaneously and have half their number assigned to one meeting and half to the other, but without designation, just in a statistical way, so that each Baltimore Yearly Meeting would be a little bigger according to how much half of their membership is. So they did that and they came to us together and they gave us a double invitation and we said, why yes, certainly, of course! And it was done. And then later on, Baltimore Yearly Meeting figured that since they were happily inclusive of all of us and of several other meetings of the sort, that the old division didn't make much sense any more and so why not have one Yearly Meeting? So, it was one Baltimore Yearly Meeting a few years after we joined. We were delighted.

One day at Lewisburg, the Catholic chaplain came into the hospital ward. There were about twenty-two beds, eleven on each side, a large open space in the middle, and he looked around and he asked something of somebody and then he looked at me and he came straight over to me. He introduced himself as the Catholic chaplain at Lewisburg and revealed his simplified understanding





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of my status in that place. Then he said that before he was at Lewisburg, he was a chaplain in the army. I felt my interest rising a bit at that. So we talked, generally, and there were some other fellows who sauntered over nearby and stood around. This wasn't a private setting so they were welcome to listen and they didn't seem to make much comment but they listened very carefully to what this priest and I were talking about. And then this priest began to become a little pointed. By degrees he got to his point: "I understand you're here for refusing military service. You must be missing the importance of putting down those Godless dictators who are threatening the whole Christian world."

I replied to the effect that, "They are succeeding, perhaps, in making most Christians abandon the whole message of Jesus about how to deal with our enemies. We are returning all kinds of evil for evil, as war causes everyone on both sides to resemble each other closely. What do you think Jesus would be telling us, and them, just now?"

So then I asked him, "What is there in Christian ethics that would possibly justify a bunch of priests telling a larger bunch of very young men not to be morally concerned about killing each other wholesale? What was there in Jesus' teachings that would justify that? Don't you suppose that Jesus Christ would be opposed to our doing that to each other?"

We had just a little more give and take before he suddenly decided that his watch told him that he was late, or almost late, to his next appointment, so he got out of there pretty fast. As soon as he was out of hearing, some of these men, convicts all, standing around, were beginning to laugh and oh, they thought that was a great show! They congratulated me for having given this so and so a good argument because he deserves it. I asked,

"What's the matter with him? Why were you so glad that maybe he was embarrassed over what we talked about?"

And they told me, "What a devil he is in priest's robes!" They said that there wasn't an inmate in this whole place that hasn't been warned against confessing anything to him because he'll trot up to the warden and tell him about it. He will violate his own priestly duties doing that. Oh, they called him all kinds of dirty names and they were so pleased that I had apparently sort of put him down, but gently. Ha-ha! I'd asked him questions that he didn't try to answer!

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): Well, there must be many more like him. Did anyone ever put your employment at risk for your CO stand?

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Yes, but there was only one time. I was still at work for the Maryland National Capital Park and



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Planning Commission at Silver Springs, Maryland. A politician, E. Brooke Lee, had become its chairman after he was the only Democrat in Montgomery County to suffer a defeat in the 1942 election, although he was the "county boss" there. So his friends appointed him as our agency chairman. One day he surprised me with a generous compliment for my technical work on a design for a traffic re-routing in an area near his property. I had thought myself out of his notice, being so very non-political. Then, a week or two later, in the spring of 1943, a political flunky appeared at my home a few minutes after I returned home from work one Friday evening, with a terse letter of termination signed by Mr. Lee, citing that this was "for the good of the service." The Director of Planning, Fred W. Tuemmler, knew nothing of it but soon called me back to say the chairman had learned from the Silver Spring draft board chairman that I was registered as a CO, and that was the only reason. But Selective Service regulations required all information about registrants to be kept confidential by draft boards, so my betrayal was perfectly illegal. I was ordered to clean out my desk immediately. On Monday morning I learned that Fred was still feeling stunned and angry – he confided that he had almost talked himself out of his own job, protesting my abusive termination. Mr. Lee, however, had enough political power to avoid any penalty, and his close friend in the draft board chairmanship didn't have to be right either. My sudden, unprincipled firing threw me for a loop, and it was quite a few days later that I decided to complete writing my Master's thesis for M.I.T., taking advantage of unemployment freedom. I never lost a job except that once, so on balance I guess I've been pretty lucky.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): That's quite something to remember Silver Spring for.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): There was one more thing, much worse, that made that place even more memorable. Occasionally I would take public transportation, by bus and streetcar down Georgia Avenue to downtown Washington DC, and at a transfer point at the District line, I noticed, to my acute discomfort, a variety of injured military men on crutches or in wheelchairs, taking the same streetcars between a convalescent facility in a former Women's College in Maryland, and Walter Reed Hospital in DC for treatment. Many of their injuries were very serious – faces badly disfigured, limbs lost or useless, permanent paralysis in some cases. I had to keep outwardly quiet but inwardly I was furious about their victimization by a war supposed to be so "glorious." My mantra was a silent phrase, "And for WHAT?" They had been forced to do similar wrongs to soldiers on the other side, similarly forced. At times, when out of anyone's hearing, I had to let myself explode with angry language about it. I was, moreover, liable to be thrown into prison for refusing to kill or produce such injuries to German, Italian, or Japanese kids who had no other reason to be fighting against me. What could possibly be more rotten in this kind of a world? War victimizes



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everyone.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): The official view was no doubt that your reaction should have been revengeful against the enemies who did that to your countrymen. Were the ex-GIs you met in prison much different in their attitudes about war than your fellow students in graduate school?

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): My reactions are not what any military government would dictate, as my guidance comes from another direction higher up. The inmates who in a few cases had been in military service, were not in general hostile to me, as they had felt that was a strange environment. I met no ex-GI who wanted to trade prison for more military service. Evidently prison is a much lesser hell. They had many stories about bizarre happenings in service. One man had been working with aircraft ammunition, feeding it to machine gunners and bombardiers over targets or in defense of their plane from attack. An order came out during training missions over the US farmlands of Texas and nearby states, that they were not to return to base with any unspent ammo on board. But the day didn't last long enough to shoot it all off or drop all the bombs before they had to return on deadline. Impossible! Until one bright guy found the only solution for the problem. When they started back, all remaining ammo still in crates and boxes could be pushed out the open side door in hopes it would land in fields and not on farmhouses or barns. So, lying on their backs with shoulders braced against bolsters they would kick all unopened crates out the door! What happened below was the responsibility of whoever sent out that order. This procedure was described to me as a daily one for many months. No crewman with an idea for loading less ammo each morning had enough rank to send the idea up the line of command, toward the author of that absurd order.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): Could he have had some reason to favor the makers or sellers of such ammunition?

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Perhaps he had money invested in a plant making ammunition for the Army Air Force. War profiteers had very few political opponents. One of them had been Senator Harry Truman, who, long before becoming president, chaired a Senate Investigation Committee probing the Electric Boat Company for getting orders to build attack submarines during the 1930s for the governments of both Argentina and Chile, while at the same time telling each of them what orders for subs the others had placed with E.B. A two-sided fear was thus exploited to promote more E.B. contracts and profits. Truman had exposed that commercial racketeering, but had kept his high opinion of warfare as a patriotic method of settling international problems. To me it was murderous nonsense on a very great scale.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): After the First World War an

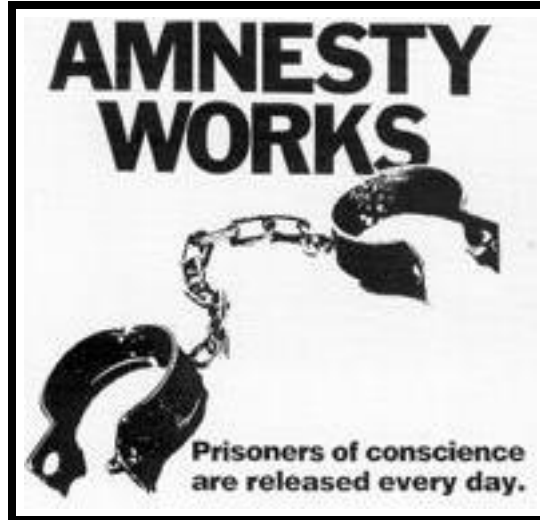


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amnesty for COs was declared to excuse them. Has anything like that occurred for your generation of war refusers?



Friend [John R. Kellam](#): A few years after the "good war" ended, a group of well-known religious leaders from peace churches and several major religious denominations got an appointment with President Truman to see if he would be willing to declare an amnesty for WWII conscientious objectors who had been criminalized because they could not kill or destroy in war. The meeting began with a presentation by one of them, but that was interrupted when Truman said (according to someone who heard it) that he could save time for everyone present by saying that in his opinion, any son of a bitch who wouldn't fight for his country ought to be in jail. After some hesitation, someone said, "Thank you, Mr. President," and they all filed out of the Oval Office. I could believe that, as Truman's reputation for salty language dates from his World War I combat days, so this agreed with his outspoken character. But it sounded to me, when I heard about that meeting, more like what an organized crime leader might say about an underling who would refuse to kill the leader of a rival gang.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): He was considered a loyal hero after the First World War ended, and a model for others to emulate. How soon after your anti-war attitude developed did you meet other COs?

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): About two or three years. I hadn't known other young men resisting the draft until I got among the company of Young Friends in the meeting in Washington and in the Baltimore Yearly Meeting. Then COs began to flock together to some extent. And young women who had the same opinions.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): Had there been any Quakers or COs in your family?



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Friend [John R. Kellam](#): I didn't have any Quaker ancestors that I knew of; yet, I was convinced before I ever met any Friends so I recognized that we had a lot of feelings in common. But I might have had Quakers in my family because we did come from England and Germany, way back in the 1800s, maybe 1860 or 1870, and a few of them earlier. It may be that most Americans had war avoiders among their immigrating forebears.

My father had orthodox views about patriotism. He'd been in the Navy four years and he had tremendous pride in this country and most of that pride came from the fact that we were a big middle class society in this country. He forgot about the Indians and he forgot about the black people. He was uncertain whether other races were equal to us mentally, morally and in other ways. He once asked me, very seriously, if I thought that black people were as good as white people. I said that I didn't know enough of them to be sure but I'd not heard of any reason that convinced me that they were any different on a general level. They might have different traits of character. They might have different capabilities, but as citizens of this country, their rights would have to be perfectly equal. No group should be getting after any other group to deal out disadvantage. So I looked to see what my dad had to say about that. Well, he started to walk away and I asked him what about his ideas. He said that he just wanted to know how I felt about it! Then he just walked away.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): He had to think about it.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): I don't know. He didn't say why. It was a one-sided conversation. But I was prepared to do whatever amount of give and take he wanted! Ha-ha-ha-ha!

Now my mother felt on principle that I was right. But she was concerned about whether I might possibly, by taking a contrary stand to the general public, be getting myself into greater hazard and be less likely to live out a good life than if I had different views and were willing to go along. All she wanted me to be was as safe as possible. But I told Mom that there's an important principle involved here! If we only just go along to keep ourselves safe, the world can keep on going to hell! And we won't be doing anything to prevent it! But she was sort of consumed by her potential fears about my consequences. So I was ignorant enough to feel a little disappointment with her. But I realized better where she was coming from later, when I found out as a parent why she felt that way.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): When did your parents die?

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): My father died in 1935. He was fifty-three years old. That was a good five years before I began to understand myself with respect to war and peace. My mother lived



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until 1951, a year after I moved to Providence here. I had just gotten back into my own profession where I had taken technical training. Her health was generally breaking down. Parkinson's disease was taking all her energy. She was weakened by that so that her immune system was affected. Then her medications were not doing her enough good and probably some harm and she had stomach ulcers. She weakened and weakened until she finally died at age sixty-five. She was born in 1886 in the Dakota Territory. They didn't get statehood until a few years later.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): She was really a pioneer!

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Yes. She was in a town that had one of the very first railroads that made it across the country: Plankinton, South Dakota. Then she moved to the southwest corner of Minnesota. In Jackson County there's a little town called Heron Lake with two thousand people, including all the farmers in the township. She and my father knew each other. He was three years ahead of her in high school. My father then was in the navy from 1903 to 1907, having graduated from the University of Minnesota School of Pharmacy. He became a chief hospital steward in the navy. He had charge of the sick bay on any ship that he was sailing on. But he refused to participate in drilling exercises. He said his duty was to be in charge of the sick bay, which was much more important. He didn't see any patriotic purpose in drilling. If he had, he would have done it! He didn't see how that would help him do his job any better for the navy. So, he was very conscientious! He'd gone through four years of pharmacy school in about two and a half years. He worked in college and earned his way mostly. He went around the world. He said he'd seen one less sunrise than anybody else he knew in Minnesota.

The last time I saw Corbett Bishop was in Washington. He came to the FCNL office in order to tell me that he was out and he wasn't likely to have any more trouble from Selective Service because they had washed their hands of him and he was too old for them to be interested in him anymore. They'd harassed him enough so they were satisfied. Cat and mouse harassment. And climbing around on his shoulders was a great big raccoon. He was on a chain leash and was thoroughly domesticated and was interested in meeting other people, anybody that Corbett was willing to have him meet was fine with him! Ha-ha-ha! It was wonderful getting acquainted with an animal that was different than I'd ever known before. Later on, oh maybe five or so years after that meeting, I learned that Corbett Bishop was dead. Some kind of a quarrel had happened and somebody down in Alabama had been offended by somebody else and in the melee Corbett was mortally injured. He died. I think he was maybe ten years older than I. That would mean that he would be ninety-five by now, but chances were that he would not have been still surviving.



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Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): Did he have no family?

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): No. Just the raccoon. That's the only family I ever heard of.

Anyway, at Milan, Michigan, I had declined a haircut. I had been letting my hair grow. I didn't think I should ask for or accept any unnecessary services from the prison. I wasn't offering the prison any of my energies and I didn't want to take from the prison any more energies than I had to. But somebody decided I needed a haircut. It was offered to me and I declined and it was offered to me another time or two! I still declined. So one of the guards decided he'd had enough nonsense with this fella. He said to me, "Come on, you're getting a haircut!"

"I didn't ask for one and I don't feel entitled to it."

"Well, but you are. Are you coming?"

"No."

So he took hold of my shoulder and I went down on the floor. He grabbed my hair and dragged me out by the hair, out of the doorway of the cell, down the corridor and into the little anteroom beyond the big lever that closed all the doors at once. He sat on me and another guard appeared and did a very quick job with the clippers and pretty soon there was a pile of hair on the floor. So they swept those up and said that I could stay here if I wanted to or go back to my cell. Anyway, they were beginning to let the inmates out to go up the stairs to the roof for an exercise period. So I picked myself up and I don't remember if I went up on the roof or back to my cell.

After recreation we were all expected to close our own cell doors. A CO named Wally Nelson walked in to his cell and we heard various doors clanging and then the guard at the end, where the big lever was, yelled down to cell number eight,

"Shut the door!" Quick as a wink Wally said, "I don't close cell doors! I wouldn't close them on anybody else and I won't close them on myself."

So the guard came down and flung his door shut. I thought it was going to break the door. With all that heavy steel it made a terrible noise. So Wally didn't go up for recreation until they said he was going to agree to close his own cell door first. I don't know what the ultimate outcome was of all that. But you could just feel the principle crackling.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): Yes, Wally Nelson is living down the road from Woolman Hill. When was the last time you saw him?





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Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Ah, so you know him then! I saw him here at Providence Meeting, oh, maybe fifteen years ago. If I remember right, he was just on my side of the cell that was occupied by the man on death row.

The condemned man had had two or three execution dates set and then postponed. One day when his case had been in court, but they didn't take him on that appeal, two guards came in and shouted his name and marched over to the front of his cell and started talking smart about his having lost his appeal and making cracks about how they were probably going to "fry" him after all. They brought with them a length of chain and very noisily they wound this chain up and around his door, through the bars various ways, and put a padlock on it. Well, this condemned prisoner was telling the guards how absolutely ridiculous they were being with this phony security chain and he asked if the warden knew that they were cutting up like this. So he and the guards had a very strong dislike of each other which seemed to be very personal. I wonder if Wally Nelson would remember this incident. I remember it as if it was yesterday. It's amazing how some experiences don't fade at all.

Well, there was another hair-dragging that I saw. The CO's name was Larry Gara. He was at Lewisburg and he had had a tooth infection for several days that kept on getting worse. He had asked to see the dentist and they put him off. It got even worse so he was pretty miserable with pain in the jaw. So on the way to breakfast he decided that he was hurting too much to enjoy any breakfast anyway. The route that they took, being marched through the halls, went right past the dentist office so he stepped out of line and sat down on the waiting bench outside the dentist office. The guards were immediately alarmed at anything out of the way. They tried to pick him up off the bench and get him marching again. His legs went limp to jelly and he slid to the floor and one of the guards who had quite a reputation for roughing up inmates, grabbed his hair and yanked him along the floor, terrazzo floors that were pretty well polished, it must have been a good two hundred feet down the long corridor, and dropped his head in front of the elevator and pushed the button.

I was taking a walk around the center area between the two rows of beds in the hospital ward that I was in, so I walked out there to the hall to watch what was going on, just out of ordinary curiosity, and this guard who had been dragging Larry came over to me and barked at me that I should get back in the ward. As far as he could tell, I didn't hear a word of it. I just stood there mildly looking on, so he grabbed me by an elbow, pulled it up tight and I went down on the floor. My feet weren't obeying him and neither did the rest of me. So he suddenly flipped around there and yelled to another guard who was with him, "See what they give us?" – as though he were the one being harassed by me. I just stayed there listening, not moving, and then the elevator door opened and he grabbed Larry somehow, maybe by the collar



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or something, threw him into the elevator and the door closed. The action was all over and nothing else was happening so I picked myself up and continued walking around the ward.

That guard's name was Steininger. He was the one who was assigned to come to my cell on the day that I was released and get me prepared to go out. So he put all my clothes on me after telling me that I was on my way out. So I guess I acknowledged in some way that I wasn't very excited.

He said, "Don't you believe me?"

I said, "I'll believe you if I see the outside first."

So he realized then that he had to do everything between here and there. So he put me in a wheelchair after he'd put my clothes on. It was winter, almost winter, in late November, after Thanksgiving. We didn't go through the usual signing out. He had a box that I found out later on was my own personal belongings that I'd taken into there. I had a small shoebox with a few things in it that I had been working on as a tentative hobby in prison and that's here. I found myself with these things in my lap sitting in a wheelchair outside the front of the prison.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): So this was your final departure.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Yes, and I was willing to go home as soon as I found myself at liberty to go but I wasn't going to put my family in jeopardy by trying to escape.

Well, this guard had a passenger car there and he said, "I'm going into Lewisburg town on some errands. I could drop you off at the train station. You've got a train ticket to Washington DC in your pocket."

I was to go back to Washington DC to my family. But he said, "As far as I'm concerned you can sit here overnight or you can walk to town or you can accept a ride from me. Whatever you want to do, you're a free man now." So I said, "In that case I'd be glad of a ride into town. Thank you very much."

And on the way I said, "Mr. Steininger, I've been wondering about you over the last year or so, particularly since I saw Larry Gara sliding down the hall lying down with his hair in your hand. You seem like a reasonable fellow but I find it hard to put that together with what you were doing that day!"

"Oh," he said, "that happened after I had taken this job here. I left Byberry in Philadelphia, Byberry Hospital, it's a mental hospital, it was originally called the Hospital for the Insane, I think, and that was a good job. But I had more money if I took this job. So I took it. I realized right away, almost, that this was a terrible job for me to have. It didn't suit me at all. So



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I was just about to quit when the President in Washington issued an executive order freezing us in our essential occupations and a lot of other people in hundreds of other occupations all over the country. And I was stuck. I couldn't legally leave my job unless the prison officials were willing to let me go. But they could hold me and they did. So, I was trying desperately to get fired."

He said he went AWOL one time and went back to work at Byberry, but soon the FBI came to tell him that his choice was to go back to Lewisburg as a guard, or else be sent to be a prisoner there. One of the easiest ways to get any guard fired was to have him abusing prisoners. So, he said, "I figured if I got tough enough, not doing any real damage, but insulting prisoners and musing them up enough they'd decide I was no good as a guard and they'd fire me. I'd have been happy to go back to Byberry and have been an orderly there as an assistant for patient care. I loved that job!"

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): So, Larry was one of those who got in the way and the opportunity to misbehave was right in front of him. He was trying to lose his job! And they allowed it.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): There's a lot of exploitation in the workplace. It does a lot of damage.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Oh, I'm sure. Lots of serious sabotage. In a way it cries out for compassion, and in another way it seems in extremely bad taste. Officials in government do all kinds of crazy, immoral things. It gets covered up more usually than it's exposed and some of it's very clever but you wonder how any of it gets by. The FBI had a perfectly easy job to get me convicted. They didn't have to lift a finger outside of the truth. I'd signed the whole statement acknowledging what I'd refused to do when they'd offered me the oath of induction into the army and they knew before that, it was on the record on file. My whole Selective Service file was full of it. I knew exactly who and what I was and they'd even interviewed a whole lot of people about me and found out that it was all hanging together. So, my having admitted exactly what I did and setting things straight in context in an order of time, they didn't have to lie in court, under oath to the judge in order to win their case. It wasn't their case anyway. Selective Service was insulted by my behavior in refusing.

So, I began to wonder seriously about the FBI. Was it the organization I had thought was so very respectable? I had heard a long lecture by J. Edgar Hoover at the University of Minnesota in 1933 and he was new in the job. He was full of what a wonderful organization that was and he was seeing to it that it was increasing in efficiency and effectiveness, catching only the bad guys, only doing that when their evidence was straight and



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true and sufficient for convictions. If you were innocent, you'd



welcome the FBI coming to ask about anything. If you were guilty, you'd better not see the FBI. And all that was blown away the day of my trial in Toledo federal district court. Judge Klobe had an animus. He had one week earlier been bawled out in his own courtroom, before he could stop the guy, by a Jehovah's Witness person who didn't claim to be conscientiously opposed to all war. Let the war of Armageddon come around and he would have been the best warrior in the world! But he was a minister of the Gospel and therefore, by law, he claimed to be exempt from the draft. But all of Jehovah's Witnesses are ministers, even their kids. So the government wasn't having any of what sounded like nonsense. Anyway Judge Klobe was still smarting from that incident. He didn't let me open my mouth for one word. When he and his prosecutors had scared out my attorney who was all prepared to defend me as well as possible in court – the attorney, by the way, was the chairman of the Toledo City Planning Commission, and he liked my work! – I was getting nicely settled in the job, assistant city planning engineer. He thought that my work was fine. They were very dismayed when the draft caught up with me and sent me to Cleveland and I had to refuse. I'd given them as much warning of it as I could.

Arthur Kline was his name, the attorney who was there to defend me. But through the court system, the federal court system there, they said that if he tried to defend this draft dodger, they'd see to it that he got mighty few bits of lawyering to do in Toledo anymore. And he knew they could do it so he called me to let me know that he had his law practice to defend. So I went to my boss, the city planning engineer, the head of the staff, and I told him what Arthur Kline had said.



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"Well," he said, "Arthur has been a close friend of mine for all the years I've been in this job, maybe a dozen years, and I think he should keep on being the man of principle I always thought he was. Don't you let him off the hook! He doesn't have an ethical right to abandon you just because he's been threatened by some monsters in prosecution uniforms."

So he wanted his very good friend to be held to his duty for me. But I didn't feel all right about that. I was very appreciative of Arthur Kline's willingness to defend me. He was one of the better known lawyers in town. When I couldn't have him and I had no way of finding anybody else, I didn't want to hang him with all that kind of responsibility that had been ripped away from him really by some ruthless people who were in a position to know better about ethics and law.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): So you didn't go back to him? You just let it drop?

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Yes, I may have had one or two more conversations with him about strategy and how I can attempt to be my own counsel since I couldn't have him do it. Of course you know what the old saying is about anybody who tries to be his own lawyer?

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): I don't think I've heard this one.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): He has a fool for a client! Ha-ha-ha! So anyway, the Toledo jail was dark and damp. Nobody was spending a dime more for electrical energy than they could get away with. The food was horrible and everything was as bad as you would expect in the middle ages. People visiting couldn't even see the inmates through all the dark screening and hardware cloths and dense black, that old screening with tiny holes in those screens – I don't think a flea could have gotten through there. I got up early one morning and I heard a fellow grumbling and moaning and I thought the fellow was sick or something. So before I could inquire, at the risk of waking up other inmates, I heard him say, "How come some folks neva goes to jail and others allus lands in jail? That's me."

Then there was a silent period and a deep sigh and I heard the same voice saying, "If I would of knew what I know now I wouldn't of did what I done."

Well, I wondered how he had gotten himself into jail. It didn't seem as if he had enough intellect to pull off any caper that was clever. So I visited him later in the day and we got to talking. I said, "Everybody in here is different and in for a completely different kind of a thing."



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I told him what I was in there for.

"Oh, geez," he said, "that's tough."

He recognized that I was in there for trying to be good. He said,

"I'm not very smart. I thought I could make some dollar bills and pass 'em off. I never had a good job but this might get me a few bucks."

So he was counterfeiting currency but he didn't have plates that were worth anything and I don't know what kind of pictures he was drawing to try to make them look like dollar bills, but it was, I gathered, a very crude job of counterfeiting. He didn't have any real plates to print from, they didn't have very good machines in those days, but then I didn't see any of his work! But he never got started more than a few days before he'd get grabbed. And it had happened repeatedly.

"I've been spending half my life in places like this. I don't even get started before they grab me."

Apparently he just wasn't smart enough to get by with any quantity at all before he'd get caught.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): He'd learned one thing. Johnny-one-note.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Yeah. Ha-ha-ha! He was epileptic too. He'd had some grand mal damage to his brain. He'd been uncontrolled too long.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): He could have been one of these idiot savants.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): But not very savant. He was a crude artist with the currency.

There was one old man who'd been in the Lewisburg prison hospital occasionally for some minor illnesses. He was up in years. He must have been somewhere around sixty or sixty-five and he came in seeming more depressed than I'd seen him before. Each time he came in he seemed more depressed so I asked the sea captain who brought me the books from the library, "What's the matter with this tall, thin fellow? He seems to be down in the dumps more than ever. Every time he comes in here he looks worse."

"Oh, he's getting short. His sentence is almost up."

So he would be going out pretty soon. Well, the day came when he went out. We saw him from the hospital windows going out from



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the front door of the building, to the gatehouse in the thirty-foot wall. The way he was trudging looked as if he was on his way to his execution instead of on his way to freedom. But he had spent so much of his life in prisons and jails of all kinds and he'd gotten so old that he didn't know how he was going to cope with the outside world. It scared him and depressed him to think that he was going to be on his own responsibility and he didn't have a sense of responsibility or how to take care of himself on the outside. So out he went and about ten days later in he came! Some marshal was conducting him to the building's front door again and we soon found out, because everybody saw him come in and everyone in the whole place knew through the grapevine that he was back. Well, they all expected him to be a lot happier than he had been. He seemed to have a big burden lifted off his back.

What had happened was that as soon as he was out, he had a ticket to somewhere, he got off at a city that had a sister city on the other side of a river, in another state, like Kansas City, Missouri and Kansas City, Kansas, across the state line, and as soon as he got there he left the bus station and looked at every car and as soon as he found a car with the keys in the ignition, he got in it. He could remember just enough about driving that he got it to the bridge and went over the river into the other state and if he happened to know where the police station was, he parked that car in front of the police station and sat in it. Pretty soon the theft of that car went out on the wire services and some policeman going out on his beat happened to see the license plate, took out his police sheet and saw that the plates fit. So he went over to the guy and said, "Is this your car?"

He said, "No, I stole it!"

"Where'd you steal it from?"

"The other side of the bridge."

He mentioned the name of the state over there. The policeman asked, "Well, why'd you steal it and what's it here for?"

Well, he didn't profess to know why and just let the officer do what he wanted to do and he took him into the station. So some other policeman took the car back. It wasn't damaged, but they charged him with stealing an automobile and taking it across a state line. And that was a federal offense, so they had him up in federal court and he was sentenced. He didn't object and he didn't try to defend himself at all. They looked up his record and learned that he'd just come out of Lewisburg. They considered his age and they said, "Looks like you're going back to Lewisburg."

"O.K."

Well they said that maybe they ought to send him to some other





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place, and he didn't look as pleased about that! Lewisburg was his home and he didn't like to be put out, so they accommodated him again. Poor guy! He just couldn't make it on the outside.

There was another prisoner named Gene McCann. He had been called The Boy Wonder of Wall Street in his day. He was some kind of a broker for stocks. He was also some kind of a manipulator and he made an awful lot of money using other people's money without their consent. So, he made quite a pile in a hurry. Back in the thirties it wasn't as easy, maybe, and he got caught for securities and exchange violations. He got put in Lewisburg. He felt that he was only trying to do what the country had permitted all the robber barons to do. To get rich quick was the epitome of American success so why were they bothering him? He felt put upon. It got to be pretty strong paranoia. He began to wonder if all the people in the beds and all the orderlies who came in and the people with the food carts that came in three times a day were really looking for ways of getting him. So he took to the underside of his bed and on the floor he'd keep on writing writs to Judge Learned Hand of the Supreme Court of New York. But he didn't have good handwriting, so before he had retreated into his hole under his bed he'd been socializing some with us, and he'd seen that I had been re-establishing my handwriting. College had been pretty hard on it, taking notes! Ha-ha! So, I had relearned the alphabet and I was writing very neatly. Well, he got the idea that maybe I could go about practicing while copying his scrawls to make his writs legible. At one time some of his writs had been in Judge Learned Hand's court and the Judge said that he wasn't going to wear out his eyes trying to read this awful scrawl. Unless he could learn how to write, or get his manuscripts made legible, he wasn't going to read another thing from him. So I wrote maybe half a dozen in three or four months and they all got into Judge Learned Hand's possession and he denied almost all of them, but he gave partial relief in one or two. So, it felt as if I was getting to be a jailhouse lawyer! Ha-ha! But all I was doing was a copying job, just as if I'd had a typewriter, making things legible. So I didn't know whether Gene McCann had anything really convincing to offer the Judge, but if he had the right to get the Judge to read something, then I shouldn't refuse to help him exercise that right.

Carol and I corresponded quite frequently until it was shut off by censorship, when they didn't like what I said about the President. The President's war was still going on and I was sounding to them almost treasonous. Some of the guards, when they didn't have other things to do, would set up a table in a hallway and one of those tables was often in front of our cages. They would go through inmate letters to make sure there wasn't something in them about other inmates or about the prison system, criticizing it, and some of the guards even took offense at political ideas that were contrary to their own. They would report through channels to the warden that so-and-so's correspondence has these things in it. There were five letters that got returned to me at one time and those were letters going



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on three or four weeks. They were all addressed to my wife and I was writing them as freely as if there was no censorship. I didn't recognize their right to censor what she wrote or what I wrote. I felt that I had been kidnapped from home and family and friends for reasons which were connected with a war which was as rotten as any other war in its effect on people. I didn't want to recognize the validity of my incarceration. Carol and I had talked about the idea that maybe our correspondence might not be agreeable to some people in the official hierarchy in the prison.

I went to the Bureau of Prisons in Washington one time after I had been transferred to the Silver Spring draft board and they had started to lean on me. I went to ask a number of questions. When they found out what I was there for and what kinds of feelings I had, they sent me to the supervisor of classifications of the whole prison system. So in his office I got the answers to all these questions about how jobs are doled out to the various kinds of inmates, who has control and how is it exercised, which inmate does which job, and how much choice does any of the inmates have about what he does, and so forth. He was very obliging and he became aware that I was really casing the place in advance, trying to understand as much as possible of what I was getting into. So he asked me a few questions and I didn't mind. I would just as soon avoid leading him to any conclusions about me, but I wasn't sure I was going to be able to because I knew what I was trying to stand for and not stand for and it was up to the government to make up its mind as to what to do about it. So learning as much as possible about the prisons would mean that I might be better able to calculate what my appropriate activities should include and which ones excluded. He seemed to be affably amused and wished me luck as I was leaving him. I thanked him for all the information I'd gotten and he invited me to put in more questions to him if I thought of anything that I still hadn't asked about. He was very obliging. This was a full year or two before I was tried for refusing induction. I think I went in there just about the right time.

There was an FBI man who came to Penn Craft where I was working later on after I had been out of prison a couple of years. He showed his badge and I recognized FBI on it and he asked me if we could talk in some place that wasn't as open as at this barn where some fellow homesteaders were using materials and equipment. So we went up to the house. On the way I told him that with respect to his own official duties there was nothing I could say that could help him. The only thing that I could think of to say that would be constructive and helpful was that I felt he would be a lot happier if he would quit that kind of a job and get into something useful where he wouldn't be adversarial with people, or bothering them as they were trying to live their lives, as if they were criminals. It seemed to me that he would be much better off in any other kind of occupation. I said, "Weren't you ever interested in something else almost



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as much as you are in this?"

"I'd studied a while for the ministry."

"Oh, that would have been wonderful! Why settle for so much less?"

Maybe he wasn't too good at it! According to the congregation!

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): Maybe it wouldn't pay him enough money.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Yes, maybe this was paying him more. Anyway, as an official of the FBI, ever since I became aware of how outrageously the FBI could go astray from the truth, under oath, in court, to lie about a defendant, there hasn't been an FBI man since that has been worth the time of day off my watch. But as a person, I said, "I respect you and I wish you could have a happier life than you could possibly have had with this job."

I still didn't know the worst about J. Edgar Hoover. When the whole press of the country acknowledges the sort of a defective guy he was, even in that position, and how he had lists of enemies and people he'd like to find a way of putting in jail, without caring in advance what they might have done that was contrary to law, I couldn't have respect for that kind of official so corrupted. Hoover wasn't so much of a misfit during the war as he was in peacetime, because the first casualty of war is the truth. One of the best tools in warfare is deception. You're trying to deceive the enemy even if it means deceiving your friends first, having them unwittingly tell the enemy things that are not so.

I remember seeing one man at Lewisburg. He'd brought in his pocket three or four strawberries. When he got inside, and I guess they trusted him enough not to search him, he distributed these strawberries, one to each of a few other inmate friends in the prison. They were ripe, luscious looking strawberries. They must have tasted wonderfully. But for that, either some guard saw or heard, or some snitch went to a guard and the guy was thrown in the hole. It was a bare cell, sometimes with padding around the walls, a concrete floor with a little hole in the middle of it and not even a toilet in there. The hole would be used for that. There was no light coming through the door at all. That was "the hole," so he spent a while in solitary, supposedly thinking how wrong he'd been to do whatever the officials took offense at. For dealing out a few strawberries to friends, and he was a farmworker on the outside of the walls, but anything he brought in that wasn't officially sanctioned was, by definition, contraband. He was being punished as though he'd brought in a bag full of heroin. Ha-ha-ha-ha!



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There was one sweet little guy, a virgin and looking very innocent. He was a Jehovah's Witness, I guess upper teens, and he'd gotten into prison somehow. I think he wasn't a CO but I'm not sure. Well, anyway, he'd gotten gang raped by a bunch of old, hardened convicts one day and really injured. He was in the hospital for awhile getting treated for the roughness of that. And then he had the duty to testify against those guys in court. They were still in the population in the prison. So he was really beset with fears. He didn't know who these guys had as confederates in other departments or in the hospital or wherever, so he was extremely vulnerable. It was so worrisome that he became ill from it. I think eventually he was released because he was simply going to pieces in there. If he hadn't really done anything wrong except to claim what his religious leadership said he was, they were punishing the innocent, by any common sense way of looking at it. But he was one of these "pretty boys." These old guys I guess must have pretended that he was female. George Bernard Shaw said that in schools no child was protected from the others as he would have been in prison. But prison protection wasn't always effective either.

William H. Hiatt was the name of the Lewisburg warden. The Milan warden was Lemuel F. Fox, and he chaired the prison draft board there. The place where I got put in Lewisburg first was a segregation section where I met Bayard Rustin and other notable war resisters and other types of COs. From there I was transferred to what they called the Blue Room, the Psychiatric Ward. There was quite a motley bunch of prisoners in there and some orderlies. One poor guy of maybe eighteen or twenty who was in pretty bad condition, didn't have normal responses to anybody else. The man in charge of that part of Lewisburg was Robert M. Lindner, Ph.D. Do you remember the book, *REBEL WITHOUT A CAUSE*? He was the author, a psychologist, not a psychiatrist. But he was running a ward that was supposed to be the nearest thing to a psychiatric ward that the hospital had. But you'd wonder why a psychologist would be in charge of it. He didn't have enough credentials for that. It's like saying that an optometrist is able to do the delicate eye surgery for cataracts! Well, anyway, one day I heard outside of the room I had, the door was ajar, and out in the center space around which were a lot of little rooms, instead of having the beds all in the center space, I heard the noisiest shouting. I thought that young fellow was going berserk, except that his voice was not that low. So I wandered out through the door and looked out and there in the doorway of this poor guy's room was Robert M. Lindner. His shoulders were hunched down and his jaw was jutting out. He was bawling this young guy out and it looked as though Robert M. Lindner was feeling personally insulted.

In the next few days I learned from a prison inmate psychiatrist, a Jewish German refugee who was really qualified but who was in for income tax evasion (ha-ha-ha-ha!), and he was in a white coat, and he had a little rubber triangle inside a stainless steel rod hooked around his neck so he looked like a doctor



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equipped to examine reflexes. From him I learned that Lindner had taken offense at this kid who had been grossly mistreated sexually as a child by his mother. He was psychologically, thoroughly, all messed up. Well, Lindner had caught him masturbating. But why Lindner had to take offense at that, you wouldn't expect a professional to have it grate on his nerves at all. He should have seen everything. I had watched Lindner after he halfway calmed down and went out. As he went through the outer door of the "Blue Room" into the hospital general hallway, I could hear Lindner muttering some awfully angry things under his breath. So he was really personally disturbed by this young kid. So I wondered, how does he get off writing such a book that was supposed to be so authentic? And the public sees it as a best seller.

He came in one time and tried to convince me that Jesus was a simpering pseudo-mystic, an epileptic, and he gave a number of quick diagnostic terms that were supposed to mean that Jesus was not the kind of a person you'd trust with any veracity at all, that he was a completely addled person of no consequence.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): It sounds like he was a rebel without a cause.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): I wondered about that! And I asked him from what source came his knowledge of the historic Jesus. I said, "Did you get it through your own religious affiliations, if you have any?" And he said, "I'm Jewish, but that's not a part of Judaism."

"Well," I said, "any real knowledge of Jesus should have a lot of Judaism in it because Jesus was a Jew. He came to help all Jews be better Jews."

Lindner decided he didn't want to go on with that conversation.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): Was he a practicing Jew?

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): I have no idea. On that we never conferred. In fact at this I just wrote him off and didn't ask anybody about him.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): I wouldn't wonder. He sounds like a case himself.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): I just thought of a very interesting fellow I met in the "Blue Room." He had been a naval petty officer and his work was shoreside. He had been on vessels before but he had a desk job in the Navy Department. One day after I had played chess with him quite a few times — he was very grateful to find someone who would play the game with him —



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although I had rarely played it and didn't really know much about it except that the knights go two up and one over and the bishop goes on his own color diagonally across the board as far as he wants to or as far as he can and the king and queen have their small motions and that was about as much as I knew about it. But anyway, it seemed to help him that someone even of my meager ability could move pieces because that let him think about the game. That day he said he needed to think about something as interesting as chess because otherwise he was going crazy thinking about the way he got in there. Another navy officer who was a good close friend of his had come to his desk and he said, "I've got a problem at home. My son is not willing to think of a military career. I'm not too happy about that and I would be happy if he would come into the navy but he says he's opposed to war and he's going to register as a conscientious objector. I've tried to talk him out of it but I don't want to be too heavy on him and I'm wondering how he could do what he feels he has to do with the least amount of damage to his future life."

So this navy officer with whom I'd gotten acquainted, hearing that, told his friend, well maybe his son had better get himself copies of all the Selective Service regulations and see what might be in the minds of the Selective Service people he meets. It might tell him what their responsibilities are and he knows what he feels his responsibilities are and maybe he could soften whatever blow is going to come to him because of his attitudes. He said, "Everybody is entitled to this. We don't have to agree with him, in fact I don't, but he had better look things up and make himself as aware as possible."

So his friend got the boy to go over to the government printing office and get himself copies of those regulations. The boy went to his draft board and they found out that he was extremely knowledgeable about their business. He was a bright guy – a quick study! So they asked him, "Who told you this was the way it was supposed to be done?"

And they got him to blurt out that he'd read it in Book 4 of the regulations, which is correct. Some of them knew enough of their own regulations to verify it. Ha-ha! So they said, "Where'd you get those?"

He said, "Over at the printing office."

"Who told you that they'd be there?"

"My father learned about it from another fellow at the navy department."

Well they looked that all up and they got those two officers and they trumped up charges about their doing illegal kinds of draft counseling. The FBI decided to claim that there was a ring of draft dodger counselors working and these two were the ring leaders. They concocted this big cock and bull story about it



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and they got these two officers fired by the navy, discredited, their pensions rescinded and cancelled. They were middle aged men, well on their way towards a pension. Besides they charged them in federal court and he was imprisoned in Lewisburg. There was maximum publicity about it so their families felt ruined. And here this guy was. His friend had gone somewhere else. They were far separated and he was left wondering how in the world he'd gone so far astray as to disgrace himself so utterly. He really didn't understand. So in between chess games when we were talking I said, "The war makes victims out of everybody on this side and on the opposite sides. Everybody is forced to do things they wouldn't have chosen. We are pressured by propaganda into professing kinds of patriotism whether we feel them or not and once in a while they need a big scapegoat. By your friend innocently coming to you, that set the cards up so that the FBI could use you as a handy scapegoat. For the sake of the war, you have been imprisoned, in order to inhibit other people from exercising the freedoms they're used to. The army guys get traumatized by everything they have to go through even when they are not injured. The families of killed veterans are told that their boys were very glorious for what they 'gave.' Even the Gold Star Mothers are propagandized into accepting their loss with pride. Can you think of any way in which people are not victimized by war? It's just the roll of the dice. If it hadn't been you this guy had gone to, it would have been somebody else. Or it might have been someone else's son who discovered that he was a conscientious objector. I look around at the Bureau of Prisons. They are having to cope with all kinds of COs of every sort. There seems to be no common denominator among us. They can't count on what we can do and what we can't do. We are all different just as people on the outside are different. So you caught a particularly fast foul ball that was batted into your corner, it was just a matter of chance and you just weren't as lucky as everybody else around. It could have hit anybody."

Explaining it that way as just a way that war operates, to hit everybody in various ways, he seemed to understand that kind of an explanation and he calmed down a good deal.

Well, when I finally got out, a year and a half later, Carol said that she had had a letter from a woman somewhere who said that her husband had met me at Lewisburg. We had had some talks that settled him into having enough strength to last the war out and seemed to clear him of all the mystery of how he got in there. And he says that he probably would have killed himself. She credited me with having helped him to cope with his fear. That was amazing. I told Carol I remembered the fellow's personality. I even have a mental picture of his face, but I can't remember his name. I guess I thought I'd never see him again. Now, why isn't it that way with Dr. Lindner or Warden Hiatt or the guard named Steininger? And a lot of others!

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): Well, a while back you told me





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you couldn't remember their names either. So maybe the guy whose face you have will soon come to the surface.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): It is possible. My file that has Carol's name on upstairs would still have that letter that she got from that man's wife. There was a lot of time spent in my observing his state of extreme consternation and unjustified guilt – he felt that he had betrayed his whole family by being idiotic in some way. He couldn't quite figure out why it happened. But I think that the military people thought they needed some kind of a *cause célèbre*, somebody who could plausibly have been hung with guilt even though in normal times what he did would be considered perfectly reasonable and not at all disloyal. After all, the Congress had set up the system so that it could be regulated in a way that would work.

From my point of view, the whole Selective Service system was totally wrong. Conscription, I think, is never justified. People should be free to do right things, instead of forced to do wrong things. I don't mind regulation if it's for some benign purpose, but as a tool for doing the greatest possible damage to people and their property, that's what makes it horrible. Now from time to time we get an administration in Washington devoted to the task of helping the richest people become much richer and leaving the poorest people forgotten and behind as though they are supposed to fade away and not bother us anymore.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): And these people are so angry that the intensification of the level of violence that we have come to now with children shooting each other in schools is all part of the high stress from the speed up of society. Everything has gone faster and faster and children feel abandoned by their parents.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Yes, and it's easy to see ten murders a night on the TV.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): We're numb to it. We've become a numb culture!

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): But the young kids think that looks pretty real. They don't always distinguish between reality and somebody's imagination.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): It makes me wonder about these boys who did go to Europe in the '40s and they did kill people. They must have done it in sort of a numb state, I think, that some of those boys really were not just thrilled to kill these people. They might have done it sort of like in a dream. They had to do it and so they did it as though it were not real. And then these movies were made that gave them the impression that



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it was right, and so the thing just perpetuates itself.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Isn't it amazing that some people can go through great adversity and great injury, suffer awful losses and they seem to have their souls refined in the process.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): The Refiner's Fire!

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): There are other people who might endure important losses of a relatively minor sort and they become bitterly angry over it, full of feelings of revenge, trying to get even, several times over. Why is this great contrast between the ways adversities affect people and cause different responses?

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): Well, I like to think it can all be helped. I like to think it came from somewhere way in the beginning and there was loneliness and isolation for a child who then didn't learn, didn't get socialized in good ways and it got worse and worse. Then a child grows up to be so self-centered and selfish, but they could be brought out of it in a community that understood.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): I think it may be an opportunity for some people like Gerhard Gutzat, if they can realize that war itself was the enemy of all of us together. That might let him do some useful work towards the ending of all wars.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): I imagine that what you said to him that day really might have planted a seed. It's too bad, but that is probably someone you would like to have heard from somehow.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Well, I'm getting so old now that a lot of these people are dead, if they weren't quite a bit younger than I. I will soon be gone so I won't get that chance. I was beyond twenty-six before the draft began to get tough.

Selective Service registration lists were kept all during the later [Korean](#) and [Vietnam](#) wars. I knew several young people who didn't register at all, including one son-in-law. And my second wife's sister's grandson when I was visiting out there in Michigan, where they lived, having been told a little of my own history, he came to me at breakfast one morning and said, "Could we take a walk together? There are some things I'd like to ask you about." So I said, "Well, sure." So we took a nice long walk for four or five miles maybe and he drew me out as to why some people are COs and why some other people are not COs and what does the government do about them. We went through a lot of the philosophical and the practical aspects of consequences and all that. And I guess he decided that he wouldn't even register. He



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would see if he needed to do anything particular to get lost. So he was glad to have whatever information I could give him because he was already at a fairly young age, fifteen or sixteen, and was already feeling concerned. His family, my second wife, were part of the Church of the Brethren so they had some peace background. They had family histories so they had the kind of thinking opened for them before they got even to an age to do it. They are luckier than most of us.

I sort of got into it belatedly, but as soon as I realized how I was about war, I wondered why it took so awfully long for me to realize these things that are obvious. I felt foolish for having taken overly long.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): Yes. I did draft counseling during the [Vietnam](#) War and I wondered how did it take me so long but thank God I found the Friends. And that was all I knew, nothing about the other peace churches, the Brethren or the Mennonites. But I met Lee Stern right away and that was a good person to meet, so I got off to a fast start!

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): And Lynn Dodge, also at Milan, was another. I saw his name as a surviving relative in an obituary here in Providence. He was a tender soul too. A few weeks later I called the family and I learned that he was still considered a "black sheep" by many in his family and he had stayed away from that funeral.

There was a band leader named Bratcher<sup>101</sup> who had the next bed to mine for a while. I don't remember his first name, but he had the nickname of Washie because his band played late at night to entertain people who came to hear his band at the Washington Hotel, just across the street from the Treasury Department, where you turn the corner to the left to go down Pennsylvania Avenue towards the Capitol Building. The Treasury is close to the White House. It's on the back of one of our currency bills. On the corner of 14th Street.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): Oh yes.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): You know Washington well enough to visualize that?

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): Oh, yes, I do.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Well, he was the leader of a little band he had organized. They were entertaining people in the hotel, evenings. These were very late—they went on from nine or ten o'clock to one or two o'clock in the morning—so he slept all the rest of the morning. They would work on their music during

101. Everett Malcolm Bratcher, as later research revealed.



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the afternoon and get to the hotel in the middle of the evening and start entertaining folks. A lot of government officials would go there, sometimes with their wives and families and it was a kind of a nightclub. He used patriotic themes of one kind or another, but he didn't bore people too much with that. He thought they were doing pretty good music but he had a hard time staying awake sometimes in order to perform adequately in leading his band. So, he took some Benadryl tablets sometimes, under doctor's prescription, and I don't know whether it was always with legitimate access, but there was enough officialdom participating in this entertainment, the audience crowd, so that it was considered to be helping the morale of the government. So, he was given some deferments because they felt that this was an essential occupation.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): Was he black?

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): No, he was a white fellow, sandy-haired, short man, wore glasses and his beard wouldn't grow much. It was a kind of a brindly beard. Anyway, on somebody's representation he came under suspicion. Somebody who knew that he was using "bennies" to keep awake with said that he was taking it in order to show certain symptoms that might make him unacceptable for military duty. So the suspicion was that he was a draft dodger. If you wanted to get a drug addict, anybody had to say that he was doing drugs in order to escape from the draft. He would immediately be under suspicion and anything could happen to him. So, he was brought up on charges and he tried to defend himself. He had a pretty good income so he had a good lawyer, but the lawyer didn't prevail, so he found himself in the federal penitentiary. And he was mad! He was terribly provoked. He had a good thing going and it was earning him a lot of money and now they took it all away. It cost him a lot for legal fees besides. He was extremely angry about that. He came into that hospital with some real ailments. I don't know whether he had some withdrawal symptoms or what, but he was almost eating himself up with his own anger. All the other inmates quickly realized that he had this terrible chip on his shoulder and unless they really enjoyed tangling with somebody like that they had best let him alone. He and I tangled only once, but he was tangling repeatedly with some of the others. Others kept out of his way completely. He would get a sudden impulse that he was uncomfortable in some way.

One cold night he got up and flipped around his desk into the little aisle about this wide between the heads of our beds and the little side tables we had between each bed and the next and the window wall. And he went to the window right behind his bed and he threw it up, all the way to the half sash. Well, in streamed the bitter winter weather. This was just about a year before I was released and the weather was already cold at the beginning of that winter. The room cooled down in a hurry. He wasn't saying anything or doing anything in his bed so about



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fifteen or twenty minutes later people were starting to grouse around the room. I slipped out of bed and went around and put the window halfway down, quietly, thinking that if I slammed it all the way down, Washie might go into a tizzy. I didn't know why he wasn't freezing to death in his own bed! He was that close to the same window. I hadn't even reached my bed again, having gone around the other end of the row, when he bounded out of bed, yelled at me and punched me in the stomach and I went down. All of a sudden two guys came up from the other side of the room and started banging him around, slammed him in his bed and told him to stay there or he'd be beaten up a lot worse. Then they came over to me and got me up and checked me out to see if I was hurt any worse than being out of breath. He was threatened with a whole lot more if he ever did anything like that again. I could see that he was not prison wise at all and he'd better wise up or he might get himself killed in there.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): Yes, he had a little power problem there!

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Yes, well, one night, a couple of weeks later, after things had simmered down and he seemed to get a little more reasonable, I suddenly lost my vision from the center line to the left, both eyes at once. Everything was clear from the center to the right but everything was a blue-grey haze from the center to the left. It was the same in both eyes. I realized that I had had that once before, about two hours before I had a migraine headache. It was bothering me during the evening and when the doctor made his last rounds he came past my bed. Somebody else had told him he'd better see me and mentioned this peculiar vision problem. So he came over and said, "Is something ailing you?"

I said, "I had this loss of vision on the left side of each eye about a half hour or so ago and now I've got this very strong headache and I think it's migraine and if it is I'm going to have a tough time trying to sleep tonight. It's pretty strong and I've had it before."

"Well," he said, "What have you been taking for it?"

I said, "I had some Cafergot."

They were tablets containing caffeine and ergotamine, a tartrate combination in a tablet. "They don't have any of that here, he said, but I know one thing that will let you sleep and by the morning you'll be all over it because migraines are that short. I'll give you one."

The prison doctor substituted codeine most effectively. It was in a tiny pill, very small, and I said that I didn't know if I should take that. "Isn't that addictive?"



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"Oh," he said, "one won't do it. You won't have another migraine for a long time probably. It's only occasional with most people."

It was so with me. I don't think I've had it more than four or five times in my life.

So he gave me this one little tablet and I downed it with some water, being assured by the doctor that it's the repeated taking of this that gets people hooked. He said that I wouldn't have any tendency for that. So I took it and I didn't remember much more before I was out and waking up in the morning. As I woke up I realized that Washie Bratcher was staring at me from his bed and as soon as he saw that I was definitely awake he swung his legs over and he leaned over and he said,

"John, were you pretending to be asleep last night?"

"No!" I said, "I really had a good night's sleep!"

He said, "No, I don't mean that. Right after you had that pill, two minutes later I called your name to see if you were pretending to be asleep and you didn't respond at all! I can't believe it works that fast!"

Well, the result was so swift that Washie was intrigued to the point of exasperation, poor guy! I thought, he must know something about these addictive drugs if he knows that it takes a lot more than that to put you out. I'd never had it before so it would probably hit me a whole lot faster and harder than it would hit him. I think he may have abused himself with illicit drugs to the point that gave him a high tolerance, so he couldn't believe that a tiny narcotic tablet could give anyone such quick relief, into sound sleep, from a fully developed migraine headache. He must have been experimenting with a whole lot more than these bennies. Ha-ha-ha! There was something of a drug culture even that long ago. Ha-ha!

Well, after I left Lewisburg and he had meanwhile gone somewhere else, I'd lost sight of him, somehow he found out where I was. I was in Washington for a while after my release. I lived in a house that our Friends' Meeting owned on Kalorama Road, not far from Florida Avenue. I got some kind of a card from him that had some handwriting on it that was normal but there was just one sentence that sounded like a bit of his old bitterness. He had been trying to get re-established somehow in life and something had bothered him intensely. So I wrote to him and I said, "I've been thinking about you from time to time ever since we were adjacent to each other at Lewisburg some time back. If you sometimes are in the same frame of mind as you seemed to be very strongly while you were there, it might be a very nice idea if you would find somebody you can really trust who has some technical knowledge of these things to help you with whatever is bothering you. If it's circumstances around here that seem



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to go bad and you react very strongly more than most people would, well that's one thing. Or if you're taking anything that ought to be under prescription you might get some really good help but make sure that it isn't somebody who will rat on you to the authorities. Some people might be able to tell you the name of somebody who is really good along this line. Then once you're sure of who it is and a person of really fine reputation, you might really need to trust that person thoroughly and let him help you to a better life."

I got one letter from him acknowledging mine and saying that it sounded like very wise advice, and he was going to take it. But I never had any other feedback from him later. He was a handy scapegoat but not without possibly some real guilt on his part for being a "druggie."

We meet an awful lot of people in one lifetime. They become near, then they are far away and sometimes they return and sometimes they don't.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): Most of it can't be helped.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Yes, it's all a matter of mostly chance. But there's a lot that people can make of opportunities, but good opportunities and a firm insight into one's own character and the rest seems to be just plain luck!

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): Yes, you have to know what you're doing and do what you can!

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): I conceive of humanity as a whole bunch of little molecules from a gas, occasionally colliding but most of the time passing each other.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): Maybe that's a definition of mysticism.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): I read a very interesting book a couple of weeks ago — "Surfing the Himalayas." The book is about a young man who started surfing on snow, snowboarding, and he goes into the mountains, the biggest mountains, and then he goes overseas and looks for even bigger mountains and winds up in the Himalayas. Sometimes he gets just perfect powder snow and sometimes it isn't so good. But he's living it up on snow with his snowboard. All of a sudden he's coming down a slope real fast and there's an orange saffron-robed monk standing just ahead of him. He's so surprised that he forgets to put his snowboard sideways and brake with his feet and turn away, and he runs into this monk. It's not full force as he's almost stopped and he just has enough momentum left to knock the monk over. The monk picks himself up and dusts the snow off himself,





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and then shows that he's interested in this snowboarder, not for his athletic experience, but as a person who is worth talking with. He proceeds to tell him about the concepts that enlightened monks are aware of. This book develops the whole of Tantric Buddhism, by this monk taking a snowboarder to school, on frequent meetings. In between, the snowboarder is up in the mountains doing his thing. But there is apparently nothing of importance in Tantric Buddhism that this book doesn't mention and describe. Some of their mysticism resembles what we can learn about in Quaker history.

In the Fall of 1940, while at the MIT Graduate School, I attended church oftentimes, a Congregational Church, the head minister of which was a Reverend Carl Heath Kopf. One Sunday before the service, I heard a conversation about his assisting intern minister named Keith Kanaga and how he was a pacifist and that because of this he was not going to be continued as the student minister. So I spoke to the senior minister at the door on my way out, saying that I would very strongly prefer to have the young man continue, having taken a similar stand myself. He suggested that I write Dr. Kopf a letter. So I wrote the letter telling Dr. Kopf how much I valued the service we had been getting from his assisting minister, and how sorry I was to learn he was dismissed. Also, I concurred with Dr. Kopf's expressed sorrow about it during the service. Dr. Kopf wrote back immediately, saying that my letter had reached him in the early mail on a day when he was in a "blue funk," and that it made him feel ever so much better to hear from someone in the congregation of the young man's service and his own appreciation for the young man's stand about war. He asked for us to make an appointment to get together, which we did. When he visited me he seemed to be concerned principally about how firmly I was committed in spite of whatever might befall me as a consequence. When I told him that I didn't know what the consequences might be, but I was in it on a come-what-may basis, and that I didn't think that I was likely to be deterred by any authorities, he seemed relieved. He said that he had similar feelings of reassurance about the assistant minister and the strength of his convictions. So that's another story that precedes my imprisonment that has some bearing on it.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): What year would this have been?

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): This would have been in 1940, after my summer in Southbridge when I had come to realize that I wasn't properly part of any war.

There was a man who had lost his power to walk because of feeling very oppressed and violated. This was an Indian, an American Indian, another inmate at Lewisburg, who had resisted routine inoculation for whatever disease, inoculations that were given to any inmate whose history wasn't firm that he had had such an inoculation recently enough. He resisted on the basis that his



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Indian religious faith was very strong against taking anything into his body that was not generated inside his body from normal food. Anything injected would be a poison and would have dire side-effects. It was not to be permitted, but the prison authorities had insisted and against his most strenuous physical resistance they had injected some kind of vaccine into one of his buttocks where it would be absorbed in a way that medical science says is proper. He was so violated in opposition to his conscience and his religious spirituality that he lost all power in that leg on that side and he simply could not walk. He had no strength left. The doctors dismissed this as so much hysteria and of course every prisoner is supposed to conform to whatever demands are made by the authorities over all the inmates. We should not presume to question their judgment because they were in control and virtually owned us for the duration of our sentences. Now this man was in a private room at the time and he soon was thrown out into the ward. He was bedridden so his food was brought to him on a tray and put on his little side table. There didn't seem to be any other disability but he was absolutely convinced that he could not walk. To me this indicated the complete insensitivity of the prison officials to any matters of religious conscience. They were completely indifferent to him as they were to me. It all fit.

About a month or two after I was transferred to Lewisburg, I was out of the private room and out of the "Blue Room" of the regular hospital and in the ward, in one of the rows of beds, I became aware that one of the inmates in a private room was middle-aged, or perhaps even elderly, a black man who had a very heavy torso and very spindly legs, showing atrophy from disuse. The only way he ever moved out of that room was by wheelchair. It became his turn for me to visit him, as I did, occasionally, visit everybody in sight. I learned what he was willing to volunteer to me. Among those things was the fact that he had been injured at some point in his criminal activities in a way that had almost destroyed the nerves passing through one shoulder. Those nerves were held in place, he said, by metal clips because otherwise they were vulnerable to more injury. He had to be careful how he slept at night and he had to warn people how to move him and how not to move him because he would get terrible spasms as those nerves might be affected by certain motions. While I was getting somewhat acquainted with him, I noticed that his bare arms and lower legs were very scaly with whitish grey scales that seemed to be very loose so I asked him if that was part of the condition.

"Oh," he said, "no, that's because they haven't felt as though they dared to give me a bath. For a long time - I haven't had a bath in months! I'm filthy."

Well we talked about other matters and later on we returned to that.

I said, "Well, it's not healthy for you. You've got to bathe



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occasionally, but maybe you don't need it as often as the rest of us because you're not as active, but you shouldn't have a lot of dead skin simply floating on the surface of your body and you need to be really clean once in a while!"

He said, "Oh, don't I know it!"

So maybe the second or third time I visited him was when we gravitated to that again. Not only did he appear that way, but he was quite odorous, as you might expect!

I said, "Do you suppose, since nobody else is available, it might be possible for us together to be careful enough so that you could get in and out of the shower. If you have enough strength in your legs to keep standing in there without collapsing, why don't we try it and see if you really can get yourself clean, with or without any help from me."

So that did get attempted and we were successful. The only part he needed me to reach was the middle of his back. He could take care of everything else. We got him very carefully back into his wheelchair and back into his room. We did it again after two or three weeks and that time I had enough presence of mind to get his wheelchair cleaned up so that he wouldn't be sitting in his own dead skin particles! He was very appreciative that he had found somebody who was willing to take that much helpful interest in him, by doing something that even the doctor didn't ask any of the inmate orderlies to help with. He was moved out of the hospital after a while and I don't know whether he was transferred elsewhere and went into the general population, but as an invalid in a wheelchair, I don't see where else they could have put him at Lewisburg. What happened to him is only a matter of speculation because the grapevine wasn't forthcoming.

There was one occasion when I was told that a certain inmate wanted to meet me and had something to talk to me about. I found out which room he was in and it was one of the private rooms in that wing of the hospital. When I went in there, it turned out that he was a tall, wiry black man of maybe thirty-five or forty who had had a pretty rough life outside pursuing whatever crimes he was in and he had noticed me as a young man of somewhere around thirty and it had occurred to him what fun it would be to have sex with me.

"Well," I said, "I don't think that's going to happen!"

He said, "What would you do if I decided to insist on it?"

I said, "Well, I think this meeting is just about over, but I can tell you that I have no idea what I would do or what would happen but I have half an idea that whatever happens is probably not going to be very pleasant for either of us."

I just waited to see what next he would say and he didn't seem



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to get his thoughts together about that so I said, "O.K, so long. I might see you sometime and maybe not."

I didn't feel I owed anything to the administration of the prison any more than on any other occasion, so I never mentioned that to anybody. Apparently he appreciated my not ratting on him right away. I didn't get him into any trouble. He got whatever he was there for attended to and then went back out into the general population and I never saw him again or heard from him again. So that was that.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): How can you explain the wisdom that came to you? That was a real traumatic situation that to my way of thinking would have made me go just numb, or have a panic attack! I would have been speechless! I would have had to be fortified with learned creative responses to violence. Had you had any kind of clues or warning that something of this kind could happen?

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): I didn't have a chance to think about how wise or how foolish it was. I was in prison, mostly not in my own control. I didn't decide what I was going to eat, or decide much else. I still had kept more responsibilities than Corbett Bishop had. But I was in for whatever the duration was, doing the best I could and I had accepted the fact that anything could happen that could not be anticipated. So as each situation happened, I did whatever I felt able and meant to do with the expectation that I would have to do my best and let it go at that. Whatever happened. And that was a kind of mode that I was in. So when he came at me with this idea, I just continued as previously, as I would have if some guard had threatened me one way or another. I just said what came to me, hoped for the best, and for a while wondered if there was any more going to happen connected to that. But it was still "come what may" and I was hoping, not only for my own sake, but also for his, that he wouldn't get us into a real fix.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): That's the key, that you considered him as well as you. You had a love for him, as a love for the enemy, rather than a feeling that he was an obnoxious creep. You felt for him as another human being and you felt with compassion.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): One thing that I was aware of was that he was no different from a white man who might be threatening me in the same fashion. He was hung up by his own urges in prison and no decent way of satisfying his strong feelings of masculinity, no women around, so here's a pretty boy. A lot of white prisoners are under those same feelings that they were under overwhelming pressure. It's odd that so many more men than women feel driven by their gonads!



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Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): Well, the male is different from the female.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Yes, somehow it seems unfair. That's only part of the whole background of the experience, and it makes me wonder about that.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): Yes, you wonder if it's all part of the Divine Plan.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): It seems a part of the Plan that's a little less than Divine!

In a way, I saw myself in a role representing principles and truths of religious spirituality in a world that had gone so berserk and violent. I had that strongest feeling that no matter how many others there were, doing the same kind of thing generally, or similar things, there needed to be one more (role). And this role had better be carried off the very best way I knew. Perhaps with luck and guidance it would be better than my best.

Getting out was very traumatic. Suddenly there were cars whizzing around in a way that I didn't remember. Traffic was much heavier. People had quicker tempers and shorter patience. All the friends we had in Washington, and in the Friends Committee on National Legislation, where I worked for the first year of its life, 1943, accompanied and brought my wife and daughter to the railway station to meet me. They had been told, somehow, probably by the warden's office, which train they thought I would be on. There must have been fifteen or twenty people. So we had quite a party that evening. Raymond Wilson had his group and Jeanette Hadley was with us. Sam Levering was down in Virginia so he wasn't among them. There were just the four of us in FCNL at that time. All four names are signed on that poster at the far end of the room. I'm the only survivor among the four. There are only four posters signed. We each got one of them.

It was interesting that no one since then, until yourself, has ever systematically drawn me out on my wartime experience. The war was in many ways so awful that I think the whole world would like to forget it. I can understand that. It's like pulling teeth for the Holocaust Museum staff and Sam Spielberg to be interviewing the few survivors of the extermination camps to tell their stories. They are collecting them and it's almost too late because in another ten or twenty years the last of them will be gone.

There's one reason why I'm not more impressed with the unusualness of this kind of sacrifice, and that is that I've grown up in a country that is chock full of windfalls and



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wipeouts. I had a wipeout there and I had to recover from it. It took quite a few years before I was on my feet again and even able to support a family and do a little saving in order to prevent becoming either a public charge or an expense to my own descendants, if I ever reached old age. The judge who had sentenced me announced that he was going to give me the absolute maximum penalty because he felt that I was one of the worst of all the draft dodgers. So he prescribed five years of imprisonment and in addition, he said, a fine of one thousand dollars. Looking back, I think he probably kicked himself all over the next day or two when he reviewed and found out that he could have said ten thousand. The other nine I wouldn't have had because I didn't own that much. But if he was trying to make a greater example of me he could have said more. He had been bawled out by a Jehovah's Witness one week earlier in his own courtroom. Jehovah's Witnesses were mostly considered to be spurious ministers because the whole congregation claimed to be ministers. Judges were not likely to credit that, especially since those ministers had decided that they were to be exempted as much as anybody who had done doctorate work in ministry before taking a congregation. Ha-ha! Anyway, this Jehovah's Witness got up and declared himself a minister and that he was entitled to be exempt from any war, except Armageddon. He said, "If Armageddon comes you'll see how much of a soldier I'll be - I'll be one of the best fighters in the country! But not for any other kind of a war!"

Well, by definition he wasn't a CO because he wasn't opposed to all wars! Ha-ha-ha! To get legalistic about it, that is! Ha-ha-ha! Anyway, he said some things that were very upsetting to the judge. It characterized the judge's authority as being nonexistent. Now, you don't do that to judges without consequences! So the judge threw the book at him and I guess from what my lawyer who wanted to defend me told me, that judge probably decided that any other draft dodger who came before him was going to get the book too. Ha-Ha-Ha! The judge was super patriotic for one additional reason and that was because of the J.W.'s tirade! The war makes victims of all of us including that judge. He had to suffer the indignity of being called down by some young whippersnapper claiming to be a minister of the Gospel. Ha-ha! Poor guy! Some people just haven't any respect for the black robes of a judge! Ha-ha-ha-ha!

Well, the fine was partly collected. They got the car which I had told Carol belonged to her because I wasn't going to be able to use it probably for the rest of its life as a five year sentence was possible and seemed likely. And it did come. So, she should have the car's title transferred to her and use it for as long as she might be able to support a car and gain any convenience from it. Well, the judge gave the FBI the duty to go collect it and I don't know whether they got the key to it from Carol or whether they simply hot-wired it and drove it away. They could probably have gotten the Pontiac company to give them a key for that car. Anyhow, we never saw it again. Oh, let's



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see, that was an eight year old car at the time so it only had maybe three or four hundred of those days' valued dollars left in it. The car, in 1936, had cost my mother nine hundred and thirty-six dollars. We had been all the way out west and back and when she was not going to be able to keep a car anymore, she gave it to us when Carol and I were married. So it went to the government as part payment on the thousand dollar fine. Then they went after my checking and savings account at the Co-Op Credit Union in Toledo. I think they may have gotten a hundred dollars out of that checking account. The savings account they didn't tap and the credit union went broke. It failed and it wasn't decided how much they could pay per dollar to all their depositors. The federal government was not able to collect any of that money because it was all in escrow, in other court proceedings. They never did get any of it. Eventually, after several more years when I got out, and while I was at PennCraft, working for the [American Friends Service Committee](#), the Credit Union paid something like seventy-five or eighty cents on the dollar to all depositors. So we got most of that back and the federal government never got a dime. Ha-ha-ha! I never thought they were entitled to my contributing! I didn't think they were entitled to the possession of my body during those twenty-two and a half months. They were another kind of a kidnapper and if they had left the way open, I would have felt free to take to my heels and get back to my family, ignoring the fact that they might pick me up again. I felt no responsibility whatever to a war-corrupted court or a war-corrupted law enforcement machinery, especially one whose officers were willing to lie about me outrageously under oath in a courtroom. Justice was stood on its tail. So the courts, the public, the COs, the GIs, GI parents and friends, and all the other people in the country and in a way even the profiteers who were avariciously gathering up the dollars from the war material procurement machinery were corrupted and therefore in a way victimized by the war. I don't think the country had anybody in it who wasn't victimized in some fashion. The whole world suffered.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): That's a very key point. You transformed yourself into being someone who was not a victim. It's about not being a victim.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Well, but the consequences that happened to me, the wipeout, where I was broke and owing whereas I had some savings before - I had saved about a thousand dollars from my work as a child in my father's drugstore, delivering at five cents per delivery, whether it was half a block or a dozen blocks away, medications and many other things. And later on I worked for thirty-five cents an hour, then forty or forty-five, I had saved up a whole thousand dollars, having spent very little of it. My mother sometimes worried that I didn't know the value of money because I didn't ever spend any! Ha-ha-ha-ha! Anyway, that was gone at the war's end, by the time I was released, about fifteen months later. The war ended in August and at the end of





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November, 1946, the last day of November, I was released, broke and owing.

The first time I drove a car, I wondered if I would even remember enough about it not to make horrible blunders in this terrible press of traffic. I was astonished to find out within the first day or two that I could accommodate. I was still in my earliest thirties and so I found it was like riding a bicycle, you never really lose the knack! But I did have to watch a whole lot more carefully and I was very nervous for quite a while until I was more confident that I could do it without some terrible blunders of inattention. I remember the first time I went out from a friend's home, somewhere in the Northwest section of Washington, walking about three blocks to pick up a newspaper and some little items like toothpaste or maybe some ice cream, the things that you'd get in a drugstore, and paid some money that Carol gave me for that trip, and to get the proper change and bring it back to the house seemed very strange to be doing that under nobody's supervision! Freedom is almost traumatically strange after being out of circulation for even less than two years!

But I was relatively fortunate. I had a sense of mission to support and sustain me. That was extremely important. Carol and I had discussed in advance a lot of the "what ifs" and "what might happens" – what if they don't let us correspond freely? A tight censorship might even cut us off from each other in every way. If they refuse to let us have our letters delivered to each other, we might have to give it up and not keep kicking against the bricks of misfortune that that involves. Her mother didn't understand that at all. She became extremely critical of me – and Carol was living with her.

We live in a country where freedom and democracy is believed to be real by our public but when we are experienced enough we find out that sometimes it isn't so real. Even presidents after a short time in office find out who their real bosses are, and it's not the electorate. So some of freedom and democracy, even in this country, is illusion. We have a lot of work to do to perfect it.

I had worked for the Friends Committee on National Legislation for more than a year, from 1943 up until I was married, in August 1944, and I think FCNL continues to be just as faithful and just as strong in speaking truth to power as it ever has been. They have a larger staff, they are speaking with a stronger voice and under the same kind of special guidance as they began with. I think FCNL has not become any weaker even though the other lobbying powers that beset government people, elected and appointed, have become even stronger than they were back when FCNL started. They are strong in rough proportion to the money involved and Congress bows abjectly before the power of money.

The Reverend Thomas E. Ahlburn, of the Benevolent Congregation Church in Providence, now retired, is a minister friend of mine



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who was very much with me and others in the equal housing opportunity legislative movement in Rhode Island. One day Tom picked me up and gave me a ride downtown. We talked a bit and somehow the subject came up of church and state separation, and shouldn't that work both ways. I said that I think this may be one of the very few ways in which communication isn't and shouldn't be a two-way street. I think religious bodies and other kinds of civic groups should always be telling government—just as individuals should—how they think government ought to behave. Government should be very careful never to tell the religious groups how they should behave. This means it's a one-way street of attempted influence. That is properly a one-way street. Well, Tom said, that's the first time I've ever heard it explained like that. He said, there's something in this for me to think about. He had heard something he hadn't expected to and he thought maybe it was right.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): This is the very argument pertaining to the current president's Faith Based Initiatives. That's the FCNL issue that I am concentrating on at this time.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Oh, yes. There's never any government money without strings.

Those strings, I think, would very soon, if not from the very beginning, be violating the whole principle of separating church from state influence, while leaving the reverse wide open.

It's been interesting to see the progression of FCNL since Raymond Wilson retired. He wrote a couple of books. One of them mentions me because it's historical, about the FCNL's work. With a couple of minor errors, it says things that are mostly correct about me! Anyway, I guess he enjoyed having me working for him and I very much enjoyed being with him and, most of the time, with Jeanette Hadley. She was very quick and I was more deliberate. We sort of grated on each other in ways because of a difference in pace. There were times when she was quite impatient with me in ways that I didn't feel were quite justified. I spoke to him only once about that.

I said, "Raymond, you're a deliberate and thoughtful person. You don't flip around with ideas. What you say has a lot of good sense and logic to it and it's very persuasive. It seems to me that Jeanette Hadley has a very different kind of personality than yours as well as than mine. How do you get along so very well with her, and everybody else I know of?"

Raymond said that he'd tried all his life to get along well with a great variety of people, if he was willing to listen to whoever it is and to cope as well as he could with some of those who seemed kind of difficult. I thought that was a wonderful answer.

A few years later, I was working for the [American Friends Service](#)



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Committee in its subsidiary called Friends Service, Incorporated, helping coal miners who wanted to build their own homes in their spare time, when they were only partly employed (they had been completely unemployed earlier). Their fathers built a group of stone houses in the farm adjoining the one that I had gone out to manage. I had only eight homesteaders building their houses, homesteading families. There were fifty in the original group, six and a half times as many. It was a place called PennCraft, in Southwest Pennsylvania.

Friend Caroline Besse Webster: What year was this?

Friend John R. Kellam: I went out there in 1947 and stayed there until 1950. Then I put out my resume and was looking around for a position wanting to get back into my profession of city planning. I worked at PennCraft for subsistence wages and I did truck driving, materials delivering, building techniques teaching, technical and administrative accounting, and later on some land subdivision surveying. I was accounting for dollars spent on materials and manhours of labor that were exchanged by the various homesteaders working on each others' houses at times, keeping two sets of books. Manhours and dollars. The capital for that whole project had been originally contributed by the owners of the big idle coal mines and the mine workers' union. They put in equal amounts and the American Friends Service Committee made this project out of it where the miners borrowed the cost of the materials, did their own labor, built their own houses and paid off for the materials over time on a contract per deed basis. Eventually when they made their last payment, we delivered their deed, meaning that they were the sole owners of the property that they had created.

Well, fresh out of prison, after a very short time with the National Council for Prevention of War, I was told that the American Friends Service Committee was looking for a new project manager at PennCraft. They had a young fellow just starting who within two or three weeks felt overwhelmed by his job so much that even with just a suitcase to carry, leaving a small trunkfull of stuff behind, he went out on the highway and hitchhiked all the way to his home in Minnesota, without notice to anybody. He was made almost sick by his job because it was just too much. I had more technical information about building included in my architectural training, even though I had never had any responsibility on a building job. The only practical experience I had ever had was from climbing all over new construction and watching the workmen, talking with them and seeing how they did things. This, along with talking sometime with the designing architect, was the only practical supplement to my theoretical design, mathematics and mechanical studies in college.

Anyway, I went to PennCraft knowing that this other fellow had left that way. When they hired me, they got in contact with him



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and said that his successor had been acquired and would show up at a certain date. Would he, therefore, knowing that he would not be expected to continue, with that assurance, would he then be willing to come back for a week or two and help to break me in to the job? I would be otherwise just as ignorant of what I was facing as he had been. With his help, I would be more likely to be able to continue for as long as needed at PennCraft. So he did come back and, incidentally, he did pick up his trunk! He stayed with me for just one week. It was the minimum time that he'd had to promise! Maybe ten days, maybe two weeks, but he wasn't sure of that. So I had to learn as fast as possible how to pick up his loose ends. Just as he had, as soon as I realized what was pending, what was facing me, I felt as if I was forty days behind in my work on the first day! He had had that same feeling, so I wondered whether I would really be able to stick to it. But then I had my whole family out there so I had to stick with it no matter how difficult it was. Also I knew that I could go through a difficult experience.

I had more self confidence than I had before prison. But I had been so physically indolent, except for just the walking around daily, and that wasn't overall exercise. Real exercise was the kind of work I had to do, filling that truck full of materials, delivering it, most of it not being dumped on site. It was a dump truck and I could only dump sand and gravel and other bulk things. I couldn't even dump cinder blocks without their breaking, so I had to lift them onto the tailgate and then get down and lift them off the tailgateful and stack the blocks. I found myself doing physical work far beyond my ability to manage and I got exhausted every day. Sometimes I just had to give up, go back into the office and resume bringing man-hours up to date in the accounting books.

Homesteaders were trading labor with each other, working on each other's houses part of the time, whenever there needed to be more hands involved than just one or two, a man and his wife, usually, or an older son. Sometimes I came back to get caught up on my dollar accounting in another set of books and to do some planning and calling to arrange for supplies to pick up, because I just could not do any more physical work that morning, or that whole day, and I had to hope I'd have more strength in the morning.

There was one time I remember when I was in the basement of the big barn that held some of our stock of materials. The whole job just felt so utterly overwhelming that I broke down and cried. Loudly! Thank goodness there wasn't anybody to hear me! If any homesteader had happened by, he would have thought I'd gone crazy. Agh! After that outburst, in which I just spent it all, I just sat there a while, very quietly, and just thought and thought. All the alternatives were bad, even worse than staying on and struggling. I hadn't had time yet to feel any stronger. I felt as if I was becoming weaker instead of stronger, because of my exhaustion. So I thought, well, if I'm going to live



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through this, I'm going to do a little less so that I might be able to gather a little strength. As soon as I might feel a little bit stronger than I did last week, I'd be on my way up and that would give me a glimmer of light at the end of this tunnel. The basement of that barn was absolutely dark way back in and I had picked the darkest spot of all to do my wailing! I thought my mood should have been as black as my surroundings, or vice versa.

Well, I became stronger, but these coal miners were very strong fellows. There was only one of them that had left coal mining to do teaching because he had the right combination of strength and intellect to teach school. But these other fellows were real burly types. Some of them had been descendants of Welsh coal miners and their fathers and grandfathers had been in the coal mines of western Pennsylvania. Those were soft coal mines. They were a rough lot. They could size up a little weakling pretty quickly, and that's what I felt like. Ha-ha-ha! One of these fellows had been in to see me about something or other and he saw some boards that had been in the barn. He thought very suddenly that I had stolen them from the project stock for my personal use, and he said so.

I said, "Come into my office, Jim. I will show you that I have charged these materials out to myself, three boards, ten footers and a couple of dozen bricks. You can count them if you want to. They're all here on the invoice. The invoices are all serially numbered. Any auditor from Philadelphia would know whether I had stolen ten cents worth or not."

Well, he went away as if he was frustrated, so I felt that he had set his cap against me somehow.

One evening a short time later I was in a little sawmill shed preparing some other lumber for use somewhere on the project for one of the other homesteaders who had a full time job and he didn't have very much time left, so I was helping him out a bit. I walked this young coal miner, the son of an older homesteader on the previous project of fifty houses - I had only 14 being built, plus the rehabilitation of the old farmhouse I was living in, a house that had been built in 1812. He came in with a couple of personal friends of his. I didn't recognize them and I don't think I ever saw them later. But he started to bawl me out in front of them. I felt that he was grandstanding to them to show them how tough he could talk. I don't think I should tell you exactly what he said! He was more colorful than anything I'd heard in prison! Anyway, I let him wind down. Ha-ha! James Shaw was his name, and he had a brother building a house next door to him, on the next lot.

I said, "Jim, I've never heard any expression like that one and I've heard quite a bit! (I didn't tell him where!) I've really got to admire a fellow that can put language together that way! You certainly told me where I stand, in your opinion. I've heard



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you completely and I don't think I'll ever forget the kind of language you know how to speak."

Ha-ha-ha-ha-ha! It sort of non-plussed him. He didn't know what to make of a guy who would take the worst insults he could deliver without calling him all kinds of names in return. He'd never met anybody like me.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): So did anybody at PennCraft know that you had been in prison?

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): No. Well, the assumption that I made – and I was never guided on this by anyone else – not even by Hurford Crosman, who was my boss in Philadelphia – I just assumed that this rough bunch of coal miners would be completely following the conventional wisdom about the patriotic duty of people in war. I really didn't want to knock my function in the head by declaring myself openly to this bunch of fellows. It wouldn't help them. It certainly would make my job worse than if they accidentally found out about this. So I didn't say a word about where I had been. Lewisburg was the other side of the world as far as they knew. I don't think they ever knew anybody who had been in a federal prison. They would do petty things that they might occasionally have been jailed for, if the sheriff had known about it, but they weren't into any anti-patriotic crime. I think this would have shocked them.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): They probably would not have believed it!

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): I think Jim Shaw might have found something even worse to say about me or to me than he did that evening.

I was there three years before I got the position I had in Providence in urban renewal, redevelopment and a little later, back in long range city planning. I retired from that after thirty-one and one half years with a pretty nice pension, more than seventy percent of the average of my final three years' salary rate. I arrived in Providence in 1950, with my family, having completed my work at PennCraft. Meanwhile, one of the mayors in the middle years of my career had so put a threatening fright into the city employees that most of them were anteing up handsomely toward the mayor's re-election campaign. The union suddenly found itself able to sign up on the first day over eight hundred of us. Eventually they had about three quarters of the three thousand city employees signed up. Under the labor laws they became our representatives. One of their agreements with the city, working from a position of power, was that the city would buy back our time, back to the day we were each hired, as if we had each been contributing union dues ever since. So, we were full fledged members of the union and we had the regular



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schedule of pensions due us whenever eventually we retired, with minimum age for such retirement. If we retired earlier there would be shavings off that rate, the union kind of standard contract. But this was a big windfall. I think it was enough that it ultimately compensated for the wipe-out I'd had during the war. I was compensated in another way. The effective tax rate for me in the early years was about ten percent income tax. There was no Rhode Island income tax then. The federal income tax took about ten percent of my gross pay and there was no recompense for that. The government was buying bombs all the time and fighting the cold war. I felt that tax was being taken from me for purposes that I could not agree with. If I had decided to, that could have given me a feeling of quite a lot of guilt. I understood very well those people who were in occupations that gave them an income so low that although they could subsist on it, they wouldn't owe any federal taxes going for warfare and planning for future wars threatening everybody else on earth if they didn't do our bidding. If we got mad enough we could annihilate whole countries. We were not that much different from the Germans. A lot of us had the same backgrounds in countries that were chronically at war.

Europe was a big crossword puzzle of ethnic types that had been displaced by war as survivors of greater and smaller holocausts. Well, along came the lottery and Rhode Island looked forward officially to getting about half of its tax money from the lotteries. Some of it was given to the cities. I remember a bumper sticker that said, - "I'm for the lottery - let the fools pay my taxes!" So I thought of a rationalization that was handy. Maybe a tenth of my salary comes federally and state, through city, from taxes that I don't approve of, paid to the federal government that does warfare, but maybe the same tenth of my salary gets paid by this awful, socially destructive state lottery. So maybe my dirty money intake goes to dirty money outgo. The lottery is paying my war taxes! What a handy thought! Ha-ha-ha! True rationalization! But I could live on the clean part of my money and my family wouldn't be suffering any longer on account of my principles. Maybe I really didn't need to knock my future in the head by doing my job well, getting paid in clean and dirty money and letting the dirty part of that money get confiscated by federal taxation that I wished didn't have to go there to buy bombs.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): That sounds like Eastern philosophy.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): I don't know where it came from.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): Where did it lead to?

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Well, I had an interesting career. I put aside enough to pay Social Security and my medical expenses





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through Medicare, and that percentage was rising all the time, from two and a half or three percent to eight percent by the time I was done, in spite of federal income tax rates that were still pretty high even though we weren't fighting any war except the cold war. We were trying to break the whole financial structure of the Soviet Union by going half broke ourselves during those cold war years, wasting an awful lot of our resources in military hardware and other supplies. I put aside enough, even so, to be building equity and beginning to invest. In 1952, only two years later, I got a family windfall when my mother died; and what money was left out of her inheritance from my father came to me and to my brother in equal portions. I received some sixty shares of Norwest Corporation worth then thirty-six dollars a share, and there was about a six thousand dollar cash settlement of her estate. I put that six thousand into buying half of this house, almost. I bought it for a little over thirteen thousand. Now the assessment is one hundred forty-six thousand, seven hundred. Twelve times as many smaller dollars, but they're not that small. When I married Ann, she suggested that we invest in Pax World Fund and that has been the cleanest investment I've had.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): This detail is all very important because people will want to understand about your character, what kind of a person you are, especially any reader who starts out judging you stereotypically as an irresponsible "draft dodger." This is so important for people to know that it was people like you who did what you did.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Yeah, I'd rather not be seen as a simple-minded iconoclast.

I had two very long fasting periods. One was after communication had been cut off and no more mail could go between me and Carol unless I agreed to write about only what the prison authorities would approve of. I was force-fed for some time, just as Corbett Bishop was. The gunk that they poured into us was extremely constipating. So there were some trials involved in that. He was either released or transferred out of there so I didn't see him anymore. Then I was ultimately transferred to Lewisburg because Milan didn't want to monkey with me anymore. Ha-ha! I was a pretty strange egg in Milan. They considered me a bad influence because the whole population knew that there was a guy who wasn't working and he's not eating, that they're force feeding him, and that kind of thing gets mentioned all over the place because there were inmate orderlies even in that section of Milan. So they thought as long as I was there, I wasn't a very good influence on the population that had all kinds of speculations about me and about the officials' frustration over me. For a while, I was getting some scuttlebutt out of inmates saying that I was likely to be sent to Leavenworth or to some extreme medical center near there in the midwest, from which I might never emerge alive. Those were the inmate rumors. Of course inmate rumors are



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sometimes on the button and sometimes very wild mythology. I had to accept all of it with that kind of a grain of salt.

So I finally got sent to Lewisburg, and I told you about the way the travel was. I was in the back seat of a car with leg irons on, from Milan, Michigan to half-way across Pennsylvania — it was almost five hundred miles, whatever it is, and it took all of a long day. There were no freeways then so we slogged through the middle of every city and town. They only took one break and that was for lunch. And they asked me if I'd like to go in and have a good lunch with them. They were allowed to treat me at government expense for a lunch that I'd be otherwise missing.

I said, "Well I'll be willing to consider it, maybe."

They said, "We'd have to have your assurance that without any leg or hand restraints you would not try to escape. We don't want to chase you or shoot you or have an escape attempt on our hands. But we know what you're in for. We know that whatever the prison authorities have had by way of inconvenience, it hasn't been by any means, a bad or perfidious action on your part. So if you give us your word, we'll take you in. You are not wearing prison garb so you will not stand out in a crowd. As far as they're aware, we're just three guys coming in to have some lunch. We'll get back in the car and resume our trip afterward. We'd be able and we are authorized to trust you that far. Would you agree?"

"Well," I said, "I don't think that I belong under your authority as your captive. I have never acknowledged the validity of the system that has kidnapped me and is still holding me. I don't think that I should give you any such word, because if I did, I'd have to live up to it. But if I saw an opportunity to run back to my family, I would feel morally free to take it."

"Well," they said, "All right, we're going to have to leave you in the car with the leg irons on and we'll have to handcuff you too. We'll have to lock the car in a way that you could not get out of even with hobbling. One of us is going to have to go in to lunch and bring a lunch out to the other because you're far more likely to escape from one of us than from two. But we don't particularly like it that we can't go in to enjoy a lunch together, the two of us, if not the three."

"Well, I'm sorry about that but that's the way I feel."

Eventually we got to Lewisburg and I was processed in without cooperating in that process either. Ha-ha!

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): Of course the noble tradition is that the first duty of the prisoner is to escape.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): For prisoners of war, certainly. Gerhard



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Gutzat was supposed to escape if he could, and our GIs in German prisons would give name, rank and serial number only and then be looking for an opportunity to sneak out of there.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): Well, and you were a prisoner of war in your own country!

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Yes, and I felt I had been abducted. I felt there was an invisible rubber band between me and home and home wasn't going to move. I would snap back as though the rubber band was pulling me.

You seem impressed with the details of my memory about things.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): Yes. The details in the story are important.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): A lot of people don't have this sharp and clear and crisp a memory halfway through their eighties. So I'm pretty lucky. On the other hand what we're talking about was an experience which in every detail was so important a part of my living then that the details burned themselves into my memory as a very clear record. It's interesting to have as many old memories as I have in that kind of detail because I think it may be a little unusual at my age. Even in people who don't have any diagnosable mental defects in old age —no dementia— brains do tend to shrink from old age on, in men more than in women, and that's a physical fact. So we lose a little more cognitive sense because of this and slightly more than women do at advanced ages. But some are unusually lucky and some are unusually unlucky. Aside from this particular experience during the war being so etched as a record in my mind I have a pretty good memory for things of long, long ago anyway.

My first memory was for something that happened when I was about three and a half weeks more than two years old. Shortly after I was two years old, and that birthday was in late October 1918, the original Armistice Day occurred. Now I wouldn't have been able to understand the first thing about Armistice Day. But in our neighborhood there was some excitement and something happened so that my father called upstairs from the drugstore — we lived in a flat above— and said that the front of the train is off the tracks over at the station. That was only a half a block away. Lester Park Station in Duluth. This was the train headed up toward the Iron Range in Minnesota. Some wheels were off the track.

My father said, "Let's go over and watch it. They're trying to get it back on."

That's all he had heard. So we all went across the street, down half a block and into the railroad station and beyond and the



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train was off the track. The two little wheels under the front cowcatcher of this old steam train had somehow gotten dislodged and this train with extra cars on it full of people was waiting for people working, trying to get this pair of wheels, heavily weighted down by the springs under this cowcatcher, back on the rails. They had iron wedges and iron poles with wedged tips, curved, working. They'd get to a certain place and the engineer would back up a little bit, slowly, and then there'd be a cracking sound and the wheels would slip off of whatever they were on and down on the ties again. Then they'd try it again a different way. I was fascinated by this. Trains were something that always stayed on the tracks, of course! So this was really odd. In my short memory it even seemed unusual, in view of what little I knew about trains. Well, they finally got the flange of one wheel across the rail and the other flange still up enough so that a tire went **flack!** right into place on top of the rail, both sides at once. After all that struggling they had done, then they were ready to make it go. There was no damage to the railroad, the engine, or any other cars and so they were free to go. The track was all right. There were some ties that had been marked, but pretty soon they got the engine heated up, the steam started to flow and the engine pulled and chugged away until the train was a little speck on the horizon and disappeared.

Well, I guess I didn't think about that very many times, but when I was somewhere around seven or eight years old, we always had dinner together in the evening, with a relief man taking over the drugstore, and this was above the new drugstore that we built a mile away, we were talking about this and that.

I said, "I remember a train that went off the track! They were putting it back on!"

My dad said, "John, where was that?"

I said, "Oh, that was out at the Lester Park station before we moved here." Dad said, "Well, that's right! What more do you remember?"

I said, "There were so many people watching the workmen trying to get this train back on and so I told you I couldn't see. So you lifted me up over your head so I was sitting on the back of your neck with my knees along side your ears. I had my hands clasped in front of your forehead. Way up there, where it was higher than you were, Daddy, I was able to see everything! It was wonderful!"

(I wouldn't have been able to see a thing in between the people – I would have moved in too close and been taken away.)

"Well," he said, "John, are you sure you remember this or did somebody tell you about it later?"



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I said, "I haven't heard anybody say anything about that. I saw it. I was right there!"

He said, "The reason why I'm finding it so hard to realize that it's really your own memory is that that train full of people with wheels off the rails and back on again was on their way to the Iron Range for celebrations of the Armistice on November 11, 1918, when you were too young, I thought, to have remembered the derailling incident."

I have a number of frivolous little stories that I can get to but I'd like to tell you about a serious dream I had at Milan, Michigan. It was a couple of months before Franklin Roosevelt died. I was thinking over what I knew of Tyler Kent's story. The dream was about my being a visitor in a long line of visitors to the White House. We were given the usual tour. It wasn't until decades later that I would really go through the White House. But in my dream, it was while the war was still going on, Roosevelt was still president and we had actually been ushered into the Oval Office for a few minutes and Roosevelt made some pretty little speech to us. Then we were ushered out. I was in the tail end of the procession going out and I hesitated in the doorway. Roosevelt said, "Do you have something you wanted to say to me?"

I said, "Well, I'm not sure I want to say this to you but I feel extremely critical of you for what I know of your messages to and from Churchill trying to get this country attacked by Japan so that we could declare war on them and then war against Germany could begin, they being part of the tripartite."

I proceeded to tell him exactly what I thought of the kind of perfidious performance that I was aware of on his part. I told him how it confirmed very strongly and deeply my own determination not to be a part of any war whatever, for any government, under any pretext. That dream was so vivid through my waking that it has stayed with me ever since. What I welcomed it for most of all was that it reconfirmed for me the depth of my own commitment, my own convictions about war and peace. I knew that it wasn't some contrived surface attitude and this really was a welcome revelation for me. I have the same attitude precisely even in my dreams, despite all the rest that dreaming does in terms of crazy fantasy! But this was not crazy at all.

I met a beekeeper, or a student of beekeeping I should say, at Lewisburg, by the name of Bernard Royals. He had taken advantage of his access through the administration at Lewisburg to a correspondence school. Many prisoners are students through the International Correspondence Schools, ICS. He was in there, having been implicated in a murder. There were two or three other companions. He was from one of the Carolinas, I believe. As he put it to me, he shouldn't have been with these fellows and he had had warnings about their being bad fellows, but he was somewhat younger than they were and he thought they were pretty



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jolly and adventuresome but he had no idea that they would be stupid enough to commit a murder. Just for the sake of robbing a few things out of a convenience store somewhere on the roadside. Well, they were challenged by the owner and one of them pulled out a gun that nobody else knew he had and shot the owner, who was also a sheriff, and killed him. All four were sent up for murder because they were all involved in this death of the storekeeper. Royals was only the driver of the car. Another one was also horror-struck at what his friend had done. Anyway, he had been studying beekeeping. He was going to be a farmer after he got out. He was going to find some out of the way place that was big enough so that he could have a number of hives and be harvesting honey and selling it. He thought maybe he could make a living doing that if he had enough hives. What he knew about beekeeping, he was glad to have a listener like me to tell his new understandings to, about how they behave, how you use smoke to keep them gentle and do things that you have to do with a hive, even while it's occupied.

There was one fellow who was small and wiry but looked like he had been greatly weakened and I got acquainted with him at the hospital in Lewisburg. He had been broken up in a motorcycle accident. He had flown over the handlebars in a very awkward way and he had lost an eye, had skull concussions, fractures, had broken some of his limbs and had a large damage in his crotch area. So he had had some expert surgery to put various delicate things back together again. Telling me about it, he even offered to let me see the surgeon's handiwork. I told him that I didn't need that and I'd just as well not remember seeing it. I didn't have strong enough clinical interest to be any less than horrified at what I'd probably be seeing! He was having difficulty having the right shape of glass eye put in that side. He was quite a fellow, an interesting fellow of very low intellect and very low education, but struggling along, trying to live as well as he could in spite of being very missing in some departments of his thinking.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): Had he come close to death?

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Oh, yes. He must have been very close to it. He had been put back together in so many different ways all over his frame, but he still had a certain amount of old spunk left in him. He was very grateful really that, in spite of his criminal behavior, the prison system was still handling his medical difficulties in a way that was more fortunate for him than he felt he had ever deserved.

One of the fellows came into the prison hospital having a peculiar kind of alcohol poisoning. There was no alcohol available to inmates and the whole prison system didn't have any alcohol inside it, not even in the warden's own house. So how did this fellow get so drunk? It turned out that while he was in the hospital, the investigation showed that he had been doing



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some painting work and some surfaces needed to be shellacked. So he had gone into a closet and had been breathing in the fumes from his shellac, which has alcohol as a thinner. He was painting various surfaces in that closet and keeping the door closed because he was really an alcoholic craving that smell. They shouldn't have had him painting with shellac at all! He had passed out before they found him. So he was needing hospital service for a while!

There was one great big fellow, an orderly in the prison hospital. All the inmates called him "Tiny." They had to make his clothes specially for him out of large pieces of cloth. I don't think I ever saw a fellow with that big and long a belt. If he leaned over, his shirt tail would come completely out. I didn't learn until later just how much he weighed when he came into that hospital, but he came in in order to go under medical control for losing weight. He wanted to get down to some reasonable level. So he was there for most of a year. He was on a regimen with controlled diet. His doctor's goal was one pound per day, which is pretty rapid. Finally he came to the point where he was boasting and so was his doctor of his having lost two hundred pounds in exactly two hundred days. He was a tall, big framed fellow and he still weighed about two hundred forty. That meant he was almost too big to walk when he first came in. He had to watch his mental attitude and his emotional instabilities because it was costing him something to lose that. He had a feeling of anxiety all the time. The doctor had warned him about that. So he kept himself right side up and he made it.

There was a young Friend in the Washington DC Friends' Meeting at Florida Avenue named Milan Lambertson. I think he came from Kansas. He had registered as a Conscientious Objector and he hadn't known anybody who was, so I knew how that was! I went about three years alone after deciding how I felt about war and to keep out of it. At least at first I was just keeping out of the shooting end of it. Later on I became more thorough about it. But he had come to the same general feeling that he just couldn't help in the killing and destruction of war. The trouble was that his father was Congressman Lambertson of that state and when his father learned about it, he was personally affronted by any son of his who took such a "draft dodging" stand. He looked at his son almost violently saying that, if his son persisted in this, a congressman couldn't run for dog catcher back home with any chance of winning. Milan was plucky enough, so I believe that he did tell his father that the whole family had been less happy since his father had gone into politics than they ever were before that. Life had changed since the move to Washington particularly in ways that weren't good for the whole family. So he, Milan, wouldn't be too sorry if his father couldn't be elected dog catcher anywhere! Well, Milan came under a lot of pressure and he swerved from his determination just enough so that with his father influencing he got his draft board to assign him to 1AO, which means you are in the army but as an objector to the combat. He was going to be a noncombatant. So





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he got sent into a medical infirmary in the army down in Florida or it may have been Georgia. He, being new, was put on the night shift. In charge of the infirmary he had to pass out medications as authorized even though he wasn't a pharmacist. One night, he had been whiling away the time in the infirmary when everything was quiet learning how to use the typewriter. He wrote to me occasionally. He typed out various things like "Now is the time for all good men to come to the aid of their party." He found himself typing this phrase: "Yours are the hands that heal the hands that go out to kill another man." He was helping the army to get people back into combat. It embarrassed him and disgusted him. Seeing this on the typewriter paper showed him that he had gone too far. He shouldn't have allowed himself to be sent into the army even for noncombatant duty. Knowing that story from him in the letter had a strengthening effect. I was very glad he wrote that.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): It seems the truth comes to individuals.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Spontaneous revelation, if you work for it.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): These are not group decisions to become conscientious objectors. The group may be behind it, but it's the individual who feels the call. Narrow is the gate and few are chosen.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): I see that as very significant.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): I see that as the communion of two saints.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): He spent his whole life in the ministry after he was out of the army. He had first one church and then another. He was assigned to be a pastor in many churches. He had a family and he was adequately supported. Not too many people in his congregations differed with him to the point where it ever became much of an issue anymore, so I was glad for that.

My brother, whom I think I've already mentioned, was sent to Carlyle Barracks, Pennsylvania. When I visited him there once I noticed that on one of the buildings was mounted, in large metal letters, the motto of the army medical corps: To Preserve Fighting Strength. Not to save lives, not to prevent the injured GIs from dying, but to patch them up so they could go out and do some more killing. I suppose for some younger COs who hadn't done as much thinking as I'd been through, it was possible for them to let themselves be drawn into the Army Corps on the promises that they wouldn't be asked to do the killing directly. But there it was, in bold relief! The only and official reason



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for having an army medical corps is to prevent the loss of fighting strength where possible.

I mentioned a chess player, a former Navy petty officer. There was another chess player I found who was very interesting. I think his name was Gruber, or perhaps Grober. He was a man from New York City, I forget what borough he came from, but I think he got into federal prison for tax evasion. There were a number of people who were white collar criminals and sometimes they claimed, maybe correctly, that their accountants had gotten them into such trouble. Sometimes they hired crooked accountants so they could take those chances, and lost. Well, Mr. Gruber had another problem and that's why I met him in the hospital at Lewisburg. He had multiple sclerosis. He was in a wheelchair but he sometimes walked very uncertainly on a couple of canes. They didn't have the elbow canes yet in those days so he was in danger of falling on the hard terrazzo floors. He usually stayed in his wheelchair whenever he had to go more than just a very few steps. He played chess with others. He was an intellectual who failed to get a real education. He only had business training for whatever business he had been in. It might have been wholesaling of some sort. I can't remember any thing more specific than that. He thought he'd gotten multiple sclerosis from somebody, a woman that he had had an affair with—the one and only time, he said, that he had ever cheated on his wife— and he found out later that that woman had MS and hadn't told him or maybe didn't know it but anyway he got it. After a few years of its incubation it hit him so he was going to be downhill sooner or later. It might in some cases take three or four years and in some cases it might be ten or fifteen years. So he certainly rued the day when he did a little cheating on the side. He didn't believe specifically enough in God as wrathful like some fundamentalist Christians would. He was Jewish so it wasn't that personal and that wrathful a God that was in his own religious viewpoints. I think Judaism doesn't actively teach personal retribution from God for our sins in living dangerously.

The draft board was looking for a way to classify me any way except 4E. They didn't want to have a conscientious objector in their list. This is when I saw, in Baltimore, John H. Skeen, at the hearing in September 1943. He took notes all during this hearing and then he sent me a copy of his notes, his own transcript of his notes. He wouldn't have been encouraged to do anything other than what he was legally bound to do because they weren't supposed to give any registrant any more advantage against the government than necessary.

The Friends Meeting in Washington DC at Florida Avenue were always very encouraging and they were delighted to have any CO come in and be among the Young Friends, attending Meeting, and so on. In fact they were probably getting quite a few new Friends during a war. People were looking for a religious group that agreed with their own individual convictions, so it was a mutual advantage and that's I think why I was so warmly received as



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many other young friends who would occasionally ask for membership later on. One of the young friends, a young woman who later married one of my other friends there, came down the hall while I was looking at the bulletin board and she said, "John, I haven't asked you yet but are you a pacifist?"

"Yes."

"Oh, fine," she said, "I was hoping you would be!"

Ha-ha-ha! That was Elizabeth Wetherald, and the Wetherald family were from Berwyn, Maryland. They had lived in that area doing farming for a very long time and that was becoming suburban and they had retired from farming. Her parents were elderly, fifty-five or sixty, which in those days was elderly. Ha-ha-ha! I can remember back when people over forty were considered to be "over the hill." By forty my father had lost most of his teeth and by forty-five he'd lost the last of them and had full upper and lower plates. My parents didn't think it was so unusual. Here I am eighty five this Fall and I have yet to lose my first permanent tooth. Ha-ha-ha-ha!

When Carol came back from Toledo, to Washington to live with her mother up on River Road NW, she returned to attend Friends Meeting in Washington. As soon as they knew she was back, they welcomed her very warmly and asked her what she needed and so on. The baby was imminent, due in August, which was almost eight months after I went into prison. She didn't have a crib yet, and suddenly a crib appeared, having been shipped in for her by various younger and older Friends from Florida Avenue Meeting who chipped in. There were many other ways in which Friends helped Carol all the way through that period and beyond and until I got home. Even beyond that, they helped to get me settled. They found that another member, Frederick Libby, could use another employee in the National Council for Prevention of War. He was one of the most active members in the ministry to that meeting. In fact he spoke too often! He was just full of feelings and ideas and ways of trying further to get wars put into the background of history. His office had been right across Eighteenth Street from the State Department Office which is now the Executive Office Building of the President. So they had several big posters displayed in rotation in the windows and new ones coming out with lettering large enough to be read from the windows of the US Department of State. The staff realized that even with the war going on, here was this little pacifist agency continuing to work to get some improvements in the world that would let wars be less likely or obsolete. There were some hotheads who would take various means and occasionally destructive means, letting that organization know that they didn't approve because everybody had to be for the war. While we were in the war it was only the people with adverse political ideas that would be so stubborn as to say that the war was bad. And such a "good war" was going on!



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Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): And anybody who objected was reviled.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Oh, yes, as though he were a bosom buddy of Hitler!

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): I remember little children in my neighborhood speaking of the evils of Hitler, Mussolini and Tojo. We knew these names. Little kids learned the worst insults, to call each other "Little Jap!"

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): It was interesting to see how much more easily and quickly little kids could be jerked into war propaganda. It was the thing to do, the thing to be and the thing to parrot. Anyway, Florida Avenue was a very warm family meeting.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): What year did you come to New England?

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): In 1950. One of the reasons I came to Providence was that Hurford Crosman had told me that the Providence Meeting, of which he had been a member years before, was in many ways very similar to the Florida Avenue group of Friends. He thought I would like it here. There was a job opening here a few years later on, in 1950. Hurford had been my boss for three years when I was working at Friends' Service Incorporated, out at PennCraft, near East Millford, Pennsylvania. So when he said that, I was further confirmed in my inclination to take this job offer here in Providence. The man who was hiring me knew all about my having been a war objector. He knew there was a Friends' Meeting here. He was a member of the Episcopal Church. Episcopalians were reputed to be the best people around here! Ha-ha-ha-ha! But the vice chairman of our Providence Redevelopment Agency was an architect who had a lot of Quakers in his own ancestry. So my hiring boss told me that if my war history were somehow to become known, and I didn't need to spread it on the record, he thought it might even improve my standing with the vice chairman; and other people might think it only interesting. Shortly before that I had applied for a planning job in Lexington, Kentucky but when I asked if it would make any difference that I was a war objector, the man who talked to me said he would have to ask around. He got the contrary viewpoint — no we don't want any draft dodgers in here. So he thought it might be better for me to look elsewhere.

Albert Harkness, the architect who was vice chairman of the Providence Redevelopment Agency hiring me, turned out to be the architect who designed our meetinghouse here later on in 1952. I was able to get for him quite a bit of detailed information and specifications for that meetinghouse in Washington. So this Friends Meeting did turn out to be the same kind of warm family



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for Carol and me, and by that time, our two children Susan and Wendy. When we were about to send the girls into the nearest public school, down at India Point on Ives Street, Friends were kind of dismayed because they thought that school had kind of a tough reputation. It was a very old, nineteenth century school building with extremely high ceilings and tall windows. It was built somewhere around half way between the Civil War and the turn of the twentieth century. It was on a plate of asphalt and not a blade of grass anywhere on the playground. There were quite a number of tough kids who bullied little kids. So they thought that we ought to send our older girl to pre-kindergarten, or nursery school, in Lincoln School here, which was then owned by the Yearly Meeting. Friends in our monthly meeting were very much involved with their children at Lincoln School, their daughters. That was a girls' school then. Moses Brown School was by that time no longer co-educational, but had just boys. So, with very substantial scholarship aid from the school, our older daughter, Susan, and her younger sister, Wendy, after a couple of years, went in there. They had almost all of their education at Lincoln. When they were getting into the upper grades in high school, they decided they would like to attend Classical High School in Providence, which has a good academic reputation. So that's where they graduated.

Then there was a period in the mid-1950s when Carol had needed extended hospital care and I was becoming exhausted trying to cope with the parenting and the home. So one day Henry Foster, one of the old Quaker family Friends, came to me and said,

"John, some of us have become alarmed at your looking pretty tired and we think that you are trying to shoulder too much of this alone. Even with some help you've been getting from the Perrys and others, you don't have any help at home. We think you should get yourself either a full time or at least a part time housekeeper. Full time would probably need to be a live-in housekeeper. Part time would be afternoon and evening. But we think that if you don't do that, you are doing yourself some harm physically."

"Well," I said, "I'm just hoping that Carol can be home again before too long and strong enough to do what she would like to do in taking care of her family."

"Well, it looks as if it may be a considerable time longer, and if the cost of housekeeping help is bothering you, there are a number of us who would be happy to chip in together and help you with at least part of that cost."

So I thought, if they are alarmed enough to be chipping in to help us, I'd better consider it very seriously. I can do it for a while and if it doesn't turn out to be too long, I might be able not to call on them for financial assistance. I'd had one or two raises by that time and was hopeful of further advancement, and maybe even promotions in my work. So I got



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myself a part time housekeeper and eventually switched to a full time housekeeper. It wasn't too many months after that that Carol did get home. But we kept that housekeeper for a while until Carol said that her life would be simplified if we let her go. Eventually that worked out. There were other examples of helpfulness that we received from this meeting and from the meeting in Washington earlier.

Over the years in public service, working for the government, and that was what my whole training was for, it was always a sensitive thing to know when it was safe to let anybody know, incidental to other things, about my war experience, and when not to. I tried to keep it out of my work environment as much as I could. And yet, Friends in the Meeting and attenders – casual people – would probably find out from time to time. There was always a possibility that somebody would say it in the wrong context and, who knows, my job might even blow up in my face and I would suddenly be unable to take care of raising and financing a family. It's remarkable that in all of those thirty-one and a half years that I was working as a planner for the city of Providence, nobody once outed me in any way to put my job in jeopardy. People were so kind, so sensitive and careful to never compromise me. It confirmed the wisdom of what my first city planning boss, way back in Duluth, Minnesota in the 1930's, had told me, about ten years later.

The advice of that first planning boss, Aaron B. Horwitz, was against putting any mention of my wartime prison experience into my resume. After prison, when I had a professional job again, I was beginning to send out my resume to various planning agencies, people who might hire me, and ingenuously, I filled in all the blanks. There were no gaps in the calendar record of me on my resume. I sent one to Aaron Horwitz back in Duluth because I was wondering if he might know of some planning opening where I might fit in. Well, he wrote back to me, horrified, that I had put something in my resume that would be a real stopper for a lot of potential employers. He said, It's good to tell only things that are true, of course, but there are situations and many different kinds of lives of people where the whole truth does not need to be stated. This is one of them. He said, My Jewish world community knows of hundreds of others. In some cases life depends upon not letting out more of the truth than is necessary. It's usually possible, while saying only truth, to judiciously leave other things out that don't need to be said. He was, incidentally, a very active Zionist. He was working for a new homeland for world Jewry to have as a country of their own. He was completely dedicated to that need to be answered. Eventually, in 1948, the State of Israel was born. I was working for him from 1938 to 1940. Later on, he and his wife emigrated to Israel and he taught city planning at the University of Tel Aviv, Jaffa. They visited back home here and every time they went back to Israel again they would take a houseful of furniture that they had bought here because wood was in such short supply that furniture was just too expensive. He and his wife, Bertha,



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contributed mightily, as many other Jews did helping the people who were going to be the future citizens of Israel. He was a very wise man and he had a deliberate way of talking. You could just see him sifting through all the angles before he would decide what was appropriate to say. He did this in his professional work and he did it in his personal life. He was probably the most thoughtful person I've ever known. All the time I was in contact with him and in occasional letters later, I always had the feeling that I would like to be as much as possible like him.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): He was a role model for you.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Yes, and of all the role models I ever had, outside of my own parents, he and Frank Crassweller, my Sunday school teacher, were two of the best.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): For how many years were you Frank Crassweller's pupil?

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): I would think it was at least for three years. Then after I came home from the University of Minnesota, in 1938, I became a Sunday school teacher in that same church. Then I went on East fifteen months later to MIT in the Fall of '39. Frank Crassweller's class met in the choir loft alongside of the organ and there were just enough of us to fill all the seats in that space. He kept us interested and thinking and he would challenge us to guess in a certain situation what would be the best thing to do. It was a working class in Christian ethics.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): And later you had to write to his nephew and say how amazed you were that this man had taken a position that was really opposite to conscientious objection to war. Did anyone ever put your employment at risk for your CO status?

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Oh, yes, there was one time, only one. I was still working for the National Capital Park and Planning Commission at Silver Spring, Maryland. A politician, E. Brooke Lee, had become its chairman after being the only candidate of his party to be defeated for an elected job, so his friends appointed him our chairman. One day he surprised me by a generous compliment about my technical work on a design for revised traffic routing in a neighborhood near some property of his. I had thought myself outside of his notice, being very non-political as I was. Then, a week or two later, a political flunky appeared at my home a few minutes after I had returned from work one Friday evening, with a terse letter signed by the chairman notifying me that I had been terminated "for the good of the service." The Director of Planning, Fred W. Tuemmler, knew





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nothing of it but soon called me back to say the chairman had learned from the Silver Spring draft board chairman that I was registered as a CO, and that was the only reason. Well, Selective Service regulations required all information about registrants to be kept confidential by draft boards, so my betrayal was perfectly illegal. My boss, Mr. Tuemmler, was stunned and angry, and told me he had very nearly talked himself out of his own job, protesting that abusive termination. But Mr. Lee had enough political power so that he didn't need to be legally right, and his close friendship with the draft board chairman extended that principle to him as well. My sudden firing threw me for a loop, and it was quite a few days before I decided to take advantage of unemployment to complete the writing of my Master's thesis for MIT. I never lost a job except that once, so on balance I guess I've been pretty lucky.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): That's quite something to remember Silver Spring for.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): There was one more thing, even worse, that made that place even more memorable. Occasionally I would take public transportation, by bus and streetcar to downtown Washington DC, and at a transfer point at the District Line, I noticed, to my acute discomfort, a variety of injured military men on crutches or in wheelchairs, taking the same transit vehicles between the former Women's College in Maryland, to Walter Reed Hospital in DC for treatment. Many of their injuries were very serious – faces badly disfigured, limbs lost or useless, permanent paralysis in some cases. I had to keep outwardly quiet but inwardly I was furious about their victimization by a war supposed to be so "glorious." My mantra was a silent phrase, "And for WHAT?" And they had been forced to do similar wrongs to soldiers on the other side, similarly forced to injure these boys. At times, when out of anyone's hearing, I had to let myself explode with angry language about it. I was, moreover, liable to be thrown into prison for refusing to kill or produce such injuries to German, Italian, or Japanese kids who had no other reason to be fighting against me. What could possibly be more rotten than this kind of world? War victimizes everyone.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): The official view was no doubt that your reaction should have been revengeful against the enemies who did that to your countrymen.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): My reactions are not what any military government would dictate, as my guidance comes from another direction higher up. The inmates who in a few cases have been in military service, were not in general hostile to me, as they had felt that was a strange environment. I met no ex-GI who wanted to trade prison for more military service. They had many stories about bizarre happenings in service. One man had been



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working with aircraft ammunition, feeding it to machine gunners and bombardiers over targets or in defense of their plane from attack. An order came out during training missions over the US farmlands of Texas and nearby states, that they were not to land back at their bases with any unspent ammo on board. But the day didn't last long enough to shoot it all off or drop all the bombs, before they had to return on deadline. Impossible! Until one bright guy found the only solution for the problem. When they started back, all remaining ammo still in the crates and boxes could be pushed out the open side door in hopes it would almost always land in fields instead of on farmhouses and barns. So, lying on their backs and with shoulders against bolsters they would kick all the unopened crates out the door! What happened below was the responsibility of whoever sent out that order. This procedure went on for many months at a time, daily. Apparently no crewman who had the idea that a smaller load might be put aboard each morning, had a high enough rank to pass the idea up the line of command toward the officer who had written the absurd order.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): Could he have had some reason to favor the makers or sellers of such ammunition? Were the ex-GIs you met in prison much different in their attitudes about war than your fellow students in graduate school?

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Yes, at MIT I didn't find any of my fellow students, male or female, in the planning school able to agree with me on my stand to be opposed to war and a non-participant. However, I didn't meet with any enmity among my fellow students. The only two hot arguments I had with anybody in that student body were with people who were not my own classmates in the planning school. One was an undergraduate architectural student there at MIT, Judith Turner, who seemed to be in pretty strong but partial agreement as long as it was fashionable to be an isolationist, trying to keep America out of war for political purposes. She was also a member of a communist cell in Cambridge, centered mostly in Harvard University. People who had, for very idealistic reasons, the idea that Communism was, in the longest run, the best thing for the world. After September 1939, when Poland was overrun by Hitler from the West and by Stalin from the East, those people were all following one communist line – to keep America out of the war. 1939 to 1941 were the years when I was acquainted with her. I went with her just once to a meeting, but very suddenly, when Russia was invaded by the German army in June 1941, she switched and she was all for America getting into the war right away, quick! Her change of mind from being apparently in agreement with me, although it wasn't completely spelled out between us, to being urgently in opposition to my views –because I was still a pacifist!– she couldn't understand this because circumstances had changed. It's only intelligent, she thought. You change with the circumstances. So I told her that the basis of my own pacifism was different from the basis she had had, which was political.



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Mine was religious. I said that I think killing people, injuring them, destroying property or damaging it is always regrettable and in all or most cases, wrong. No amount of political shifting about is going to change that. Well, we had one very long conversation one evening in the winter of 1940-1941. She tried desperately to change my mind, or to convince me that I ought to change my mind, but I was hoping pretty much to get her to see the rest of it, to see why morality is stronger than mere politics.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): Were you in love?

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Well, not really yet. I felt attracted, but I didn't consider myself eligible yet to take on starting a family.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): You were wary!

Friend John R. Kellam: Well, yes, I couldn't let myself pursue an active interest until I was ready to face the responsibilities it would entail.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): Ah, the days when young men were so noble!

Friend John R. Kellam: Well, yes, but young people don't have the experience and the frame of reference to deal with it yet. Well, finally it broke off. We had come to the point where it looked as if we simply had different visions, philosophically, religiously, and in her case, politically. Well, she was absent for a few minutes. I think she wanted a release from our discussion. It was just too strongly earnest. When she came back she said, "John, we are going to have to break off. This could go on all night. It could go forever. On your basis you're right, of course. In fact, you're too damned right! On my basis, I simply can't agree with it. It would be a bother to us and I think we shouldn't bother each other any more."

"Well," I protested, "couldn't we still be good friends?"

She said, "It would be an irritation to me!"

I said, "Well, I still find you very attractive! I wish we could be good friends, even though ... I understand that not everybody can agree on these things. The whole world is full of people who can't agree with me! I can't condemn them all!" I have lots of friends for the rest of my life who don't agree with me as well as some very dear ones that do. Ha-ha-ha!

Well, she just didn't have time to spare for trying to convince somebody who can't be convinced of her own political make-up.



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She needed to be working in concert with others who were really in her family, politically. So, I said, "In that case, I won't impose myself but I hope you'll always think kindly of me even though I couldn't come along with you."

Communism isn't my bag! Ha-ha-ha-ha! Her mother was a card carrying adult Communist from when my friend was just a little girl. I visited them at home one time. They lived just outside New York City, on Long Island.

In a war it's important to get the young men in before they've thought too much. If they kept on drafting for new wars into the ages of thirty and thirty-five, I think there would be a larger proportion of conscientious objectors, having thought enough about it to realize more things.

The other hot argument was with a visiting MIT student from Britain, sent over to study some militarily connected courses. He thought my attitudes quite sadly impractical; his country was simply determined to survive, and so had no alternative but to get on with "this dirty job" of defeating the Third Reich. He could therefore give no consideration to longer range theories of ultimate pacifist morality. "After all," he said, "we're already in this war, completely committed. Your country is already in it with us, and I think you should realize this and turn quickly cooperative, however dirty this job is." I could only say I recognized his reasons for having such a different philosophy than my own.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): Yup, they get 'em young and uneducated.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Oh, yes, and poor, disadvantaged over all. I remember in Shakespeare, in Julius Caesar, "Yond Cassius has a lean and hungry look; He thinks too much: such men are dangerous." They might even be conscientious about some things! Political savants of the old school of faith don't like that.

From what you say about the importance of telling the details of this part of our history, I wish there were thousands of WWII COs still alive and able to tell of their experiences. Hobart Mitchell was a CO, a Connecticut Friend, somewhere between here and Madison who was pretty close to my age, but he's gone now. He wrote a book, I think the name of it was WE COULD NOT KILL. It was a very small book, maybe only a hundred and fifty pages. It's in some meetinghouse libraries. I don't remember whether it was privately published.

I have from my files a letter that I wrote to Carol two months after I arrived in Milan, Michigan. "My Dearest Cary, This handwriting will be a bit worse than my usual because of having sprained my right thumb catching a softball on the roof yesterday afternoon. Perhaps I'll be able to make this legible



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holding the pencil between two fingers and going slowly." Then this next letter looks quite a bit different, because I had broken the end phalange of the thumb of my right hand, catching a ball up on the roof of the cellblock during recreation. I reached up to get the ball and it somehow hit the end of my thumb and bent it backward. So it wasn't just a sprain. The end bone was broken, and so I had to have my thumb put way back as far as it would go so that the bone fragments would be together and then cast in there. So with my hand in that kind of a cast, I couldn't write, so I had to write with my left hand. I did that for six weeks. After the six weeks when my hand could come out of its shell, my thumb was still very straight and I could not bend it very much and I couldn't even hold a pen for a while. I tried to write another letter with my left hand and it wouldn't! It seemed to have a will of its own, as if saying, Well, now you've got the right thumb out of its cast and you'll have to go back to it because I'm tired! Ha-ha! So even though it was a great strain at first, I had to write the next letter with my right hand, even though it was so stiff and unhandy! But Carol wrote to me on a typewriter. She was doing stenographic work in the office of the U.S. News and World Report magazine in Washington while I was in Milan and Lewisburg.

Tyler Kent was arrested May 20, 1940. The British police arrested him. He was released and brought back to this country in very late November, 1945. That was almost exactly one year before I was released from Lewisburg, on November 30, 1946. I didn't hear anything about Tyler Kent then, because he had had just a day or so of publicity before it dried up again. The American press didn't want to hear anything more about Tyler Kent because they were all loyal to the official explanation of how the war had started and they didn't want any "revisionism." Poor Tyler Kent was really a broken man when he came back from almost five and a half years in the Isle of Wight prison in England. That's the island just below England at the edge of the English Channel, the island around which the America's Cup contenders used to race, a very large diamond-shaped island. Anyway, when he came back he was still hoping to get his real story out but the press went into quietus mode again after beginning what they thought was some new publicity about this notorious young man. So he and his mother went back to, I think it was, Savannah, Georgia. He had terrible animus in his mind against Joseph Patrick Kennedy, the father of the later President. He had been the ambassador to Britain at the time Tyler was trying to get his story to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee chairperson. (It was John Connolly.) He wanted to blow the whistle on Franklin Roosevelt for being two-faced about getting into war or not getting into war. The elder Kennedy had waived Tyler Kent's diplomatic immunity so that he could be caught and tried under British law, for mishandling the Prime Minister's secret mail. He had no standing of immunity so that he could be brought back to this country and tried for whatever the President might think he had done wrong by revealing or trying to reveal the correspondence to Connolly. The Senator



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betrayed him, and then the Ambassador, Kennedy, had cancelled his right to diplomatic immunity. That was so unfairly political, done for propagandistic reasons, that Tyler was permanently outraged.

They had an appointment stateside for when Tyler would have his furlough. Well, during a demonstration a few years later, for which I had traveled from Providence down to Washington, a walking demonstration which started at the Florida Avenue Friends Meetinghouse and ended up with a silent vigil at the White House, I took a little time out and went to the office of the Evening Star to see if they had a file on Tyler Kent. And they did. They brought it out and let me look at it. I couldn't touch it. As soon as I was through with one leaf, they'd turn it over for me to read the other leaf. It told something about his political work from Georgia, in which he was writing, editing and publishing a hate sheet against not only Joseph Patrick Kennedy but the entire Kennedy clan. There was nobody in that family who wasn't hated by Kent. So the hate sheet came out and there were samples of it that I saw in that file. I was very dismayed because I was hoping that Tyler Kent might still be a whole person and not so full of hate that he couldn't maybe win his way over decades to get his story understood by everybody. Turning so bitter meant that he discredited himself and almost nobody would listen to a hothead like that. He was just so sore at everybody. So eventually he and his mother felt so rejected by the whole political system of America and so frustrated that truth could not be told anywhere important. They went to Mexico City and lived out their lives down there.

Friend Caroline Besse Webster: I wonder if they went to the Friends' Center there, La Casa de los Amigos.

Friend John R. Kellam: I don't know. She came to our Friends Meeting that time in 1942 only because she was going to all kinds of churches to try to find somebody who might be able to help her to get her son brought back to this country to get him tried on this side rather than tried in secret by a British tribunal. He was still in his twenties, a young fellow.

Friend Caroline Besse Webster: How did you find out that the Kents went to Mexico?

Friend John R. Kellam: I found out all this in the clipping files of the Washington newspaper, the Evening Star. He was sentenced to seven years and I had thought until I just looked here in my records, that he had done the whole seven years then, but he was released after about five and a half years. He came back here in late November of 1945. I think possibly he might have been useful in many ways if he hadn't been so consumed by bitter hatred. He must have had some touch of megalomania in him, expecting to be influential for what he thought was the only



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truth that people should pay attention to in the matter. They all turned him down. War propaganda does that to people so that they can't handle another side of such an important story. FDR really did win the American people over. He was a terrifically skillful politician. I felt critical of him, but I just took him at what I knew his face value was. He just thought it was important to do certain things even if it meant lying to people about it. Governments are full of such people. The book that included a mention of Tyler Kent was *INFAMY: PEARL HARBOR AND ITS AFTERMATH*, by John Toland, 1982. It's far enough away in time from World War II so that some things could be said without Toland getting into the ranks of the would-be revisionists. So he wasn't blowing his own reputation, but in getting ready to write this book, Toland actually went down to Mexico City and interviewed Tyler Kent and his mother before either one of them died. Kent's story Toland took out of the Washington Times Herald December 5, 1945, the New York Post, December 4, 1945, and the New York World Telegram, December 4, 1945. And then another paragraph came from an interview with Kent. I wrote to Toland and told him briefly my story from having met Mrs. Kent and asked him if the Kents were still around. He wrote back saying that they were out of the country but if I wanted to write to Kent I could send a sealed letter to John Toland and he would relay it because he did know their address in Mexico City. That was about ten years ago but I failed to follow up on it any more.

My mother was not political enough to have her own philosophy of pacifism. She was a very intelligent woman, a school teacher in Oregon before she was married to my father. She loved children and served their education needs before she began to raise me and my older brother. She was strongly in favor of the vote for women. But as for my being a soldier, she thought that maybe I would be under still more hazards than if I were somewhere tucked away in the army and not in the front line somewhere. That was the flavor of her interest. I would guess that most of the Gold Star Mothers and the mothers of sons who came home with or without some serious injury would feel the same, that they would prefer their sons not get involved in foreign wars.

World War I began just fifty years after the end of the Civil War. That seemed like ancient history to me when I was a young person. The past is prologue. To a young kid, all of the past before his birth date is prologue, just academic. There were people in those times and they traveled around doing things that they thought were important, but it's all past. Even the Holocaust isn't real to a lot of young Germans.

If people see something violent that's going on, and then something non-violent, which one will they choose to watch? I certainly saw my share of WWI movies during the twenties and thirties. There are lots of well constructed movie plots and while they show to some extent the horrors of combat life and death, they still leave, explicitly or impliedly, justifications for the warfare that was going on and the idealistic propaganda





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that the public accepted for sending their young men into these wars. They left out the similar viewpoints of justification of any other side. Even the Civil War movies which had to be imagined because there was nobody old enough to remember it first hand, in movie making, was all dramatized from one side's point of view for the Northerners, and maybe from the other side's point of view for a few stories, about how it seemed for the South. Quite a few of these movies had quite a lot of content in them glorifying the favored side of this war or that war. That way the culture of war got transmitted to younger and younger generations in this new, very powerful motion picture industry. Their products were very persuasive. War movies could have been used for, what I would consider, real educational value to show us not only the raw horrors of war, but the spurious justifications that are used to get publics into war by their own leaderships working against them and against their natural inclination to shrink from doing that kind of damage to other humans. Very few people nowadays ever see the statements made by General, and then President, Eisenhower shortly before he finished his presidency, about the dangers of the military/industrial complex. To get more personal, on behalf of the whole public together he made the stunning statement that sooner or later the leaders of this world, the political leaders, are going to have to get out of the way and let the people of the world have the peace that they so strongly yearn for. General Eisenhower had his belly full of war, before he finished his military career and before he became president. He was an extremely effective person and he was a terrific hero. They made him president for that. But then the military/industrial complex were very greatly dismayed to be reading what he was stating publicly. I think that anytime where a choice is presented whether someone might continue living or die, there's only one choice for me. That is to help life to continue.

I have had four different situations in my lifetime in which I was called upon either to prevent or help to prevent a suicide. I didn't have to think twice. I found out that I was willing to struggle a lot to prevent one, anyhow, any old time. I just hate to see life ending unless there is absolutely no way of preventing more suffering. Even then I don't like it and won't permit it if there's any alternative. I've known several other people with whom I was not engaged in any such confrontation, who had attempted suicide. They had a lot of good living following that event. My closest chum in middle age, who worked with me on the equal housing opportunity legislative campaign in Rhode Island, was a man who, maybe fifteen years earlier, or twenty, had tried to do himself in because he was so depressed about himself and about the world and the community that he just didn't want to see any more of it. But for him, working with me and all the rest of us who were in that movement, we might not have succeeded in getting the legislation passed, setting up the legal standard for equality of opportunity that all people should have in the housing market. There was a big campaign here, a very hard, intense struggle. The newspaper said that it was



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the most intense and prolonged single political struggle in the history of the state, at least up to that time.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): What were those dates?

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): That was all during the 1960's here until we won in 1968. Other people, with medical assistance, got back from suicide attempts into lives that never were that forlorn again, until old age took them. I've had time to see this. So, you never know how much real good living you might be letting happen if you stop a suicide. A person might be perfectly convinced in the blackest despair and depression that nothing good is ever likely to happen again, in that lifetime. They can be perfectly wrong. If they're right, and they succeed, you never will know.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): Hopefully, there's something in such a person that they have what it takes to respond to the new call to live – and it's like a call and a re-birth, and having been so close to death – at least in their thoughts, that if they can turn around, they're on their way up again.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Yes. I never heard of anyone ever trying to commit suicide, or making it, who had ever expressed the belief that reincarnation happens and therefore they want the next one. That's never in their mind. They're just in too much pain and they can't suffer any more, so they think.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): Yes, and some lives are very hard. The one person I can say I knew who committed suicide, he was saying "I've lost all my friends." It can be the friends who make the difference.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Maybe some very elderly person who didn't keep making younger friends.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): Yes.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): And that's a tragedy.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): We have to strive to be happy, don't we?

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): If we follow our noses with enough sense of curiosity, that keeps leading us forever as long as we have a body meant to walk or ride around in, or even to lie down in.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): Yes, but I guess bad health can be overwhelming. I haven't been there, so far. But I know people



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who have been, have terrible struggles.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): The human race is learning more about everything at a pace that beggars all previous decades – we are learning as much in any ten year period as it took twenty five or forty years to learn earlier. So that rate increasing so much, we live another five years and we'll learn as much as our parents took an awful long time to learn.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): Well, that's a positive way to think of it! That affirms the increase in the speed with which we are living now that's causing all the stress and tension and violence ...

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Well, maybe we're approaching speeds that are faster than we've ever seen before, to the time when we have gotten wise to ourselves as a human race, enough to quit spoiling the rest of the world, doing each other in by the millions, as we have the power to do technically ...

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): It can go either way.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Oh, yeah. But the story isn't ended yet – there's no use walking out five minutes before the end of the movie! And I don't want to see anybody else walking out before the end of their time because they might be surprised, to their delight! But if it were only a movie, I wouldn't get out in the aisle and block their way. Ha-ha-ha-ha!

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): Ha-ha-ha! You'd sit down again, right?

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): If there's a life there at stake, I'll put in a terrific effort if I have to. But, in contrast to that, the huge amount of wholesale killing that goes on in a war, destroying each other's right to exist for the rest of a lifetime – multiply that by the millions – why is it taking so long before everybody gets smarter than that?

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): A lot of things distract us away from thinking about such important things.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): "Getting and spending, we lay waste our powers; Little we see in nature that is ours."

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): Oh, that's Wordsworth, "The World Is too Much with Us."

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): My mother and father were very strong



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characters. They knew absolutely what they thought was right and what they thought was wrong. If new situations came up it didn't take them very long to figure out which side of the line they fell in. Of course life was simpler in respect to moral dilemmas than it is now. One thing they had to agree on before they decided they were willing to put their lives together and make a family, for his previous family was broken by his wife's death, since they both were very strong emotionally -they had lively tempers at times and things could make them very indignant- they decided that they'd better have a lifetime compact together, that when either one of them was upset, very angry about anything, the other was going to remind himself or herself not to become angry at the same time - to be patient and be soft and be quiet, to try to be helpful without insisting, but to let it blow over, as everything usually does.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): "A soft answer turneth away wrath." Did they read the Bible? Where did their wisdom come from?

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Well, they were both raised in the same Presbyterian church in the hometown in Heron Lake, Minnesota.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): Yes, I found it on the map.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Oh, did you? In Jackson County. And Plankinton is only about forty or sixty miles west of there in South Dakota.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): I found that too.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Oh, did you? It's on one of the earliest railroad lines. A whole bunch of grain elevators sprang up along it where the harvest could be gathered and shipped east. I think it's south of the one that goes out to Center, North Dakota to the coal mine where Minnesota Power gets unit trains running back and forth, empty going out to Center and full coming back to Duluth. They never uncouple them.

My father's parents used to go to the Chautauquas in New York State. It was a long way from Duluth, Minnesota. They went by train. It was a camp for religious groups. Then occasionally there would be some fire and brimstone orators and religionists at a camp outside of Heron Lake, Minnesota. There were revival meetings in a big tent. The parents would go to the revival meeting in the evening and the children were supposed to stay home and be quiet and behave themselves. The older kids were supposed to put the younger kids to bed and then go to bed at their bedtime while the parents were out at the revival. My father remembered getting up after his folks thought he was sound asleep and getting out of the window onto the front porch



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roof, and going down the rain leader. He wasn't too heavy for the rain leader so he must have been a rather small boy but wiry enough because he could shinny back up again. The house would be locked. He and a brother would go out to the end of town, which was only three or four blocks from anywhere, and they'd find this great big tent. They knew earlier that that tent was being raised because the whole town knew it by the grapevine. They would lift the edge of the tent and they'd find themselves under the seats, indoor bleachers. So they'd be very quiet in that darkness and they could see between the peoples' legs to the stage where the orator would be talking about the evils of the day and the hell to which all the sinners were going to go and the brimstone that they would be suffering along the way. I guess that was some kind of a salty mix of material that people would be sitting in. These kids would listen to all this fiery oratory and then when the prayer meeting was starting to reach the end, the kids would sneak out of the tent and away before the grownups began coming out. They went home and climbed up the rain leader, crossed the porch roof, into the window and crept into bed. Pretty soon they realized that the images that formed in their minds from the fire and brimstone oratory on the stage was keeping them awake. If they went to sleep, they soon had a nightmare and had to wake up – but they didn't dare scream. They didn't want the folks to know that they had been out there listening to the same stuff! Ha-ha-ha!

This was before my father met my mother. Later when he was in high school, he was already in the last year when she was just in the first year. She knew who he was but at that time was not very impressed with him! But later on she thought he was one of the smartest people in her world and she was glad to be in harness with him, running the store and running the home. They were real good helpmates. I think she had more of a personal religion than he did. He had studied one of the scientific professions, pharmacy. He thought probably a larger proportion of all truths was going to come through science. She felt that the feeling side of religion was more important for her. My father and my brother were outdoorsmen.

My brother, being four years and four months older than I, was able to take to it a lot earlier than I could, so they had lots of good times together and I usually stayed in town. But occasionally all four of us, our mother included, would go out camping somewhere. My Dad and brother did a lot of fishing and they also went hunting for small game, but eventually graduated to deer hunting. Along the way in those years I would occasionally go with them, after I had long enough legs to keep up with them. Sometimes we would stop and have some target practice because my father had a twenty-two rifle, a twenty-two pistol and a thirty-thirty deer rifle. We did target practice with small arms. A twenty-two has a shell less than a quarter of an inch in diameter. Lo and behold, I was, by quite a margin, the best shot of the three of us on the targets. I could much more neatly go through the middle of a target when they didn't



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come close!

They were good shots, but I was very good. I had a steady hand and I had very good eyesight. I could let the bead be right on and steady and squeeze off the shot without disturbing the alignment of the rifle, or even a pistol, much at all. Oh, I could put a 22 calibre bullet right through the middle of a pop bottle cap at maybe fifty or sixty feet. We'd find a convenient fence and set up little pop bottle cap targets across the top of it.

They were very interested in how good a shot I was because I wasn't really interested in hunting at all. But I enjoyed target practice so long as there was assuredly nothing alive beyond it. We'd have very thick brush or an earthen high bank in back of our targets so that there was no danger of shots carrying a long way. Well, and they were very careful with guns, too. They never had an accident.

One time we were out in the woods when there was still snow on the ground and we came across a rabbit in a trap. The trap had caught its foot and the rabbit had done a lot of thrashing around. It had mangled its leg very badly and the rabbit was suffering. Death by freezing is slow so the obvious thing to do was to put the poor creature out of his misery. Thinking that this might be a way of introducing me to hunting, they let me have a chance to do this little act of mercy myself. For this I had a twenty-two rifle. It couldn't have been farther away than the end of this room. It took me something like seven or eight shots before I could hit that rabbit at all. I could either aim straight but couldn't fire off the shot, or if I was shooting, it missed. This seemed peculiar both to me and to them. Finally it became so ridiculous that I sort of grabbed mental hold of myself and said, This is stupid! Get done with it. So I went right for the rabbit's head and he flopped and that was the end of it. He was out of his misery. I was relieved and at the same time I was disgusted because I had caused the end of a life, and I revolted from it. I thought that was a rotten feeling to have, but not quite as rotten as if the rabbit had been a nice, uninjured, healthy one. But even so, it kind of bothered me from time to time as I thought back at that. When I was old enough to go out deer hunting, I said, No thank you, I'm not going to touch that. They could bring home a deer apiece and feel very unalloyed happiness about it. I couldn't understand how different I was. That's a story that relates to the next one.

When I was at Fort Sheridan, Illinois, North of Chicago, about half way to Milwaukee, I suppose, at Highland Park, past Ravinia, I was in the advance corps ROTC at the University. Our battalion was a coast artillery gunnery battalion at the University, but they didn't have any coast artillery at Fort Sheridan, no big offshore guns. But they did have anti-aircraft guns. They used a shell that was somewhere between three and a half and four inches in diameter and maybe eighteen inches long.



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It was about as hefty as a young man could easily throw into the breach of a gun. We shot these guns at towed targets, towed far behind aircraft. We had pistol and rifle marksmanship also on two different ranges. The pistol range was on the beach.

The background of that was all the expanse of Lake Michigan. We had spotters to make sure there were no boats coming anywhere near that range. So it was perfectly safe as far as that goes unless somebody accidentally put out a shot with careless aiming of a pistol maybe. These were I think nine millimeters if I remember right, ammunition. That's heavy enough to kill a man pretty easily. Of course a twenty-two pistol can do the same thing if it hits a vital area. It can easily go through a head, but nine millimeters can put a big hole in anybody.

We had these targets which were at first simply round circles, concentric circles, some of them blacked in with white circles instead of black line circles on a buff background. Well, they were easy and I still was a good shot like I had been in childhood even though there had been maybe a dozen years since I had held any kind of a gun in my hand. I was getting eights and nines. Ten is the perfect bullseye. The circles go all the way out to one. So that went easily.

Then they had – suddenly there were man-shaped targets with a little man-shaped head and shoulder, and a blob in the middle representing a crude heart in the center of the man. They were stylized, just geometric shapes vaguely resembling a human. Well, suddenly it hit me. They're getting us ready to kill humans. What'll I do? I don't want to balk, especially because these are really just cardboard and paper and some small wooden slats to hold the things rigid. If any human were ever in a target under any circumstances, I just could not possibly do any shooting. So I put that off, thinking maybe it will never happen.

I was still very young, I was still eighteen that summer, so all right, I did it and I got a very, very high score. I passed it off as so much paper and wood I was putting holes in. When it came time for the actual qualifying round, it was a different day. I had a different pistol and I noticed that when I was squeezing off the first shot, it was very stiff. The trigger seemed to take a lot of pulling, but I got a nine and I thought that was good enough, not perfect, but maybe I could do better on the rest of them. The second shot I had a hard time squeezing off because it took so much pressure on my finger that my whole hand and my forearm started to get tired all of a sudden, real quick. So I think I got eight that time. I told the sergeant who was overseeing us,

"There's something wrong with this gun. I squeezed it off and only got an eight and a nine. I can do much better than that. I don't think I can get the third shot off because my finger is too tired."





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He sort of pooh-poohed it.

He said, "Well, if you don't want to – here, I'll try it for you – but you're gonna have to accept whatever score I make! Even if it's a four or five!"

"Well," I said, "the alternative is just to quit and not qualify at all! I don't think either one of us wants that."

"All right, if you want me to I'll test it myself this way, but you're going to have to accept any luck it has."

He aimed and he pulled and after a while, like with my hand, his hand started to shake from the effort. He put the pistol down, cocked its safety on, and said,

"You're right! There's something wrong with this gun! I'll get you another one. But, you're going have to go ahead from here and it's not a gun you've ever shot before, so you wouldn't have quite as good a chance of making a good score."

I said, "Is there any alternative?"

"No," he said, "That's the only way I can let you do it."

"O.K."

I got nines and tens the rest of the time. They all squeezed off easily. That's the way I got my expert rating in pistol and I have a little medal that I had to hang on my uniform. In rifle I didn't have any mechanical trouble, so I got to be a sharpshooter in rifle, which is next to expert. What it was worth to me, I was still a good target shooter, but I knew inside of me that I was no good whatsoever at shooting any live animal, let alone a person.

Later on, when Hitler started to get pretty rough over in Europe, I had this idea recur time and again – what if I let my commission go on and I had finished my fourth year in ROTC, a second lieutenant, and I got into a war, I'd be in a lot of legal trouble if I told them then that I couldn't. Then the thought occurred to me, Maybe if I got into some supply system, it would get me out of ever going into combat. Maybe I could set it up that way. Ha-ha! Later on that became a rationalization that I refused and rejected after all. I thought, how stupid it is for me to approach the real answer in such little degrees. It's like cropping a puppy dog's tail one inch at a time. I might as well resign my commission, not think about the quartermaster corps, or any other backwater unit of the army just to try to escape. I might as well bite the whole bullet and tell them, "Nothing doing!"

My earlier experience with that trapped rabbit was completely forgotten or ignored all the way through ROTC. If I had really



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known myself, I would not have gone to that college. There were some other schools of architecture that were not in land grant colleges. When I finally came to the full realization of what I had to do, I thought back and I said to myself, How stupid I have been to go tiptoeing up to the issues so hesitantly. Why did it take me so long to get wise to myself? I was opening my eyes so very slowly, almost afraid of what I was going to see. It wasn't easy. At the same time, when I fully realized, I felt kind of dumb to have refused to recognize the whole truth when it was staring me in the face.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): But what a paradox! Trying to build your career while also having these fearful doubts that you could continue to be a law abiding citizen. There was such a lot at stake. You might be programming yourself to fail. You must have been torn.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Yes. I wished that I, and everyone else, had been raised to be pacifists. Conscientious objection should have been the only alternative to consider.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): At least there might have been more support for the idea.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): While I was at Lewisburg, there was a fellow from Tunbridge, Vermont who came to visit me. He was a medium large fellow with a bushy beard and a very deep voice. He had a whole air of self confidence and he was happy to be himself. He had refused military service. I don't recall that he was a member of any church, or at least any of the peace churches, but he looked like a fellow who always knew precisely where he stood and didn't have to think very much about how to react to situations. He seemed to have been born wise. I liked him as soon as he introduced himself and we sat and talked together. He seemed to be finding out how firm and settled I was. I don't know if he had any early struggles at all. He just looked like someone who never had.

Probably about five or six years ago I was going through Tunbridge, Vermont and I remembered that this fellow had said that he had spent all of his childhood there. I wondered if he was still alive, so I tried to look him up. When I found a librarian there, she told me who would likely know his name — the sheriff. So I found the sheriff in town and told him that I had met the man in Lewisburg Penitentiary as another conscientious objector to the war. He knew right away who I was talking about and so I found that he had lived a good life and that his latter years were spent down in Nicaragua on some kind of a service mission to a community. Then he had returned to Tunbridge and eventually died somewhere in his seventies. I always wished that I had looked him up earlier. I would like to have met him again.



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Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): He sounds like he was well connected with liberationists between Vermont and Nicaragua.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Yes, and still thoroughly well connected with his group up there.

Another inmate, who grew up in Iceland, impressed me most favorably. His name, Austvaldur Bragi Brynjolffson, was Danish, I would guess. In his late twenties, probably, he was imprisoned as an army combat veteran who got into trouble as a suspected murderer in a Paris hotel after he had been in continuous daily combat for between 45 and 50 days across northern France from the landing onto the Normandy coast almost to Belgium. So exhausted that he was given R&R (rest and recreation) in Paris, he could remember quite a wild time until he got awakened with a terrible hangover by a French gendarme who demanded to know why a dead woman had been found in the adjoining hotel room. He could remember nothing at all about the previous day or two; so he was turned over to army officers for summary court-martial and convicted by circumstantial evidence. He hoped he wasn't guilty, but feared the gendarmes' guesses might be correct. After some time in a very cruel British P.O.W. camp he was transferred into the US to get medical treatment and to do some years in prison at Lewisburg. In our adjoining hospital ward beds, we soon got acquainted. Openly friendly he was, although deeply preoccupied with the possibility that he may have disgraced himself as the only Icelandic who ever committed a murder, in their thousand-year history since the island was first settled or its parliament (the "Althing") was formed in 930 AD.

Austvaldur requested a visit by another Icelandic who was a religious minister of a church in Cleveland; and that man came to offer counsel and emotional support for him in such desperate circumstances, and perhaps later to help facilitate the young man's eventual repatriation and rehabilitation after the war. I hope his brief visit and friendship with me may have been helpful, and I have often thought of him and wondered whether he ever recovered enough to have a good life again, back home. I have long been interested in Iceland for other reasons, so perhaps opportunity might open to learn what may have become of him.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): In the 1930s and early 1940s, what was there that counted as an anti-war press? Was there an underground press?

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): There was the Friends Peace Testimony supported in our BOOK OF DISCIPLINE and also the Friends Intelligencer, an old magazine that preceded Quaker Life or Friends Journal.



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Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): But wasn't there any pacifist newspaper or periodical that circulated in the general population?

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): I didn't know of any, back then, but the Pendle Hill pamphlets included some that dealt with pacifism. Once I wrote an article, "Can Pacifists Cooperate?" that got published, late 1943, in two Quaker magazines, [The Friend](#) and (I guess) [The American Friend](#). I was concerned that some COs were urging others toward conformity with one kind of consistent witness despite their normal individuality in response to the war.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): So you had to work very hard to confirm your anti-war stance.

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Yes. It was not a completely constructed philosophy orchestrated with any logical framework that I could just read and say, "Oh, yeah, that's what I believe!" I put together everything that I had ever learned and could remember that was significant to the decision that I was confronted with having to make. MIT was a technical school devoted to helping the government every time a war came along. I had avocations, intellectually. For instance, one time I spent a while in the MIT library with census information on the ratio of male to female live births in various populations. I found out that during a war the predominance, slightly, of females turns into a predominance, slightly, of males born, at least in this country. Instead of 100 females to 96.5 males, it turned around so that males predominated, about 104 to 100 females. It was curious; what could there possibly be about a war that could let the ratio of males to females at conception or at full term switch over?

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): How many wars did you look into?

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): I think it was two or three big wars where this had happened. It happened in World War I, and the Civil War era showed that. I don't recall looking at the Spanish-American War, which was a relatively minor war, although from 1898 to 1902, it did bridge the 1900 US Census.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): Do you think that during the second World War there was the problem of violence on the screen stimulating young people? Did pictures of the war have an adverse influence on the imaginations of young men in civilian life causing violent behavior?

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): By the time I was nine or ten years old,



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one of my third or fourth grade classmates, Ellsworth Blood, enjoyed war games. He had little toy soldiers and a few little tanks and artillery pieces. He arranged them in a battle ground, but he couldn't get me interested and so he was frustrated. Outdoors he would put two laths together and make swords. He got the neighborhood kids to play war in the back yard. So maybe there was an insidious influence among certain kids, but I don't know if there's any such effect on young men twice that age or older.

The other conscientious objectors to all war that I have met include generally three groups: first, most of the Young Friends who met regularly at the Friends Meeting in Washington DC; second, the COs in the two prisons whom I met during the brief periods when I was in the general population, not in administrative segregation or hospital wards; and third, the few that I have been in contact with in my local and regional Friends organizations since regaining my freedom after the war. I call them "groups," but the individual COs I have known anywhere have been without exception of separately developed views, of diverse backgrounds and different levels of education and even of intellectual capacity. Some had supportive parents and others had embarrassed and even defensively hostile parents feeling threatened somehow that their sons would refuse to yield to the political and patriotic pressure of the larger communities they lived in. Yet somehow they had come to sense that warfare is in the purest opposition to our basically constructive and friendly humanness, and that accepting as "duty" the propaganda demanding our willingness to take other lives away under military orders would be an impossibility out of character for themselves. It wasn't so much that we would not forget our respect for other people whose leaders had decided to war against our leaders; but rather that we *could* not do so and then go on enjoying the lives our Creator (or the natural order) had given us, without an intolerable burden of guilt. We would have abandoned our highest responsibility to conscience, or God, or our fellow humans. To our question of how COs justified their unusual stance and decisions, there could be a thousand different answers from them, and I would feel obligated to agree with every one of them.

I must remind myself that the entire ministry for world peace, that I was caught up in, involved thousands of people fully or partially committed in principle, and perhaps many were as uncertain about how to participate as I was. Together, but with individual responses as varied as were our challenges facing us, we must have had some kind of impact upon our warlike cultures, known perhaps only to God, perhaps also to historians and their later readers.

It seems that all of Nature tries to ignore what humans do to the planet, but yielding silently to our gross misbehaviors where necessary. But here on this beautiful Spring day, every tree and plant responds with generous beauty to life forces bringing leaves and blossoms to grace the environment,



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regardless of our appreciation.

Friend [Caroline Besse Webster](#): Other than the draft boards in your home city and in the prison, did any other government authority ever validate your position about that war or wars in general?

Friend [John R. Kellam](#): Only once that I can recall. When our [Vietnamese](#) refugee son, Tuoc Q. Phan, became eligible after five years to apply for his citizenship, the form he was filling in asked if he promised to give military service in defense of America, and at first he was stumped and doubted if he could ever become a citizen. He is faithful to his Buddhist upbringing that teaches kindness instead of cruelty to other people, animals, Nature's Earth, and to avoid doing harm anywhere or to anyone. Also he was instructed in a Catholic high school to be similarly a peacemaker; and beside all that, he lived agreeably with a Quaker pacifist family for a few years in our home. An immigration lawyer in Boston told us that the law provides for a different oath of citizenship he could take that would not compromise these principles. So he studied hard and passed his requirements, and was one of 45 people being naturalized one morning in the courtroom of District Court Judge Ronald Lagueux in Providence. The judge called 44 names and administered the usual oath which they swore to. And then the judge said there was one more applicant who would take a somewhat different oath as a conscientious objector to all war on account of religious training and belief. Then the judge said that this young man is "no less welcome" as he becomes a citizen here than any of the others are! Suddenly I felt immensely grateful that Judge Lagueux had said that, because for about 37 years since Judge Klobe had condemned my character for having claimed to be a CO, I had felt quite a bit less welcome in the country of my birth.



More than he knew, Judge Lagueux validated me as well as the federal law that, before World War II, had legitimized the religious basis for a man's declining to destroy people and property with weapons of warfare. However, reading carefully the text of the revised oath of citizenship as supplied by a friend



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recently,<sup>102</sup> it does not sound like what Judge Lagueux read to our son then being naturalized. Its wording obligates a new citizen to accept whatever judgment may be reached by a draft board or other authority administering a law about military service, however that judgment may violate his dictates of moral conscience or his religious beliefs. It is a clever wording of the "monkey's paw" type; that is, it appears to grant the recognition and respect a person of faith needs, but it does so in a form that may be useful when the need arises.

102. "I hereby declare, on oath, that I absolutely and entirely renounce and abjure all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty of whom or which I have heretofore been a subject or citizen; that I will support and defend the Constitution and laws of the United States of America against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; that I will bear arms on behalf of the United States when required by law; that I will perform noncombatant service in the Armed Forces of the United States when required by the law; that I will perform work of national importance under civilian direction when required by the law; and that I take this obligation freely without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion; so help me God. In acknowledgement whereof I have hereunto affixed my signature."





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April 20, Friday: [Floyd Schmoe](#) died at a Kenmore, Washington adult care center. This [Quaker](#) had reached the age of 105, which in and of itself is something of an accomplishment in this dangerous world of ours. (Refer to Alex Tizon's "Sharing Hope for Peace," [The Seattle Times](#), March 30, 1997; Paula Bock's "Northwest People: No Waiting," [The Seattle Times](#), September 14, 1997; Marc Ramirez's "A Prime Activist: Creator of Seattle Peace Park is Dead at 105," [The Seattle Times](#), April 24, 2001; Ray Rivera's "Floyd Schmoe's Lifetime of the Heart Remembered," [The Seattle Times](#), April 30, 2001.)

# Be All You Can Be



**Shmoo**



**Schmoe**



**Schmuck**

# Be Like a Schmoe

Friend Floyd used to like to say "You feel hopeless sometimes, but the only answer to hopelessness is to have optimism to expect things to be better — to hope that you in some way can make them better."

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)



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July: The Navy Department announced that the service record of deceased Captain Charles B. McVay III has been amended to exonerate him for the loss of his ship the USS [Indianapolis](#) (CA-35) and the lives of those who perished as a result of her sinking by torpedoes from a Japanese submarine in wartime. This was done by Secretary of the Navy Gordon R. England at the request of New Hampshire Senator Bob Smith after the dishonored man committed suicide with his service revolver. (Neither such a correction in a personnel folder, nor even a Presidential pardon, however, could conceivably expunge a conviction by court-martial from an officer's record — and the other survivors of this disaster are still seeking a presidential order that would expunge their skipper's conviction itself from the official record.)

### WORLD WAR II

Strangely, although Friend [John R. Kellam](#) has been acknowledged as a legitimate conscientious objector (CO) and adherent of the [Quaker](#) Peace Testimony, not only in E. Raymond Wilson's UPHILL FOR PEACE but also in Judy Barrett Litoff and David C. Smith's SINCE YOU WENT AWAY: WORLD WAR II LETTERS FROM AMERICAN WOMEN ON THE HOME FRONT, to date there has been no similar effort to obtain an exoneration for him from the US federal government or to compensate him for his experiences as a WWII prisoner of conscience!

### THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

Go figure.

In 1972 the US and 143 other nations had ratified a Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention, the world's first treaty to ban an entire class of weapons. The treaty had banned possession of deadly biological agents except for defensive research. With no mechanism for its enforcement and no program for its verification, the treaty had proven to be a toothless tiger. Signing the treaty had merely provided some propaganda cover for the Soviet Union — which just at that point, we now know from the testimony of defectors, had been radically expanding its program of offensive biowarfare.



At this point, our representatives stood up and walked out of a London conference, since a 1994 protocol designed to strengthen the Convention by providing for on-site inspections was to be discussed — and we were opposed to any such strengthening!

A United Nations Agreement to Curb the International Flow of Illicit Small Arms was drafted, and was approved by everyone except the United States of America.

An international plan was created for cleaner energy. All the other industrialized nations — Canada, Japan, Russia, Germany, France, Italy, and the United Kingdom — signed up. The United States of America refused.



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**2002**

January 15, Tuesday: The Public Broadcasting System presented a TV program about WWII [conscientious objectors](#). A number of commercial stations, despite the obligation which they had assumed to present public programming, refused to allow this to be broadcast:





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November: For voicing concerns over homeland security legislation during his election campaign, Vietnam veteran and triple amputee Max Cleland had been being shamelessly and endlessly derogated as “unpatriotic.” Although polls indicating showing him as ahead of Republican candidate Saxby Chambliss turned out to have been in error, a former worker in the Georgia warehouse of the Diebold corporation would report that the company had installed “patches on its machines before the state’s 2002 gubernatorial election that were never certified by independent testing authorities or cleared with Georgia election officials.” During the 2002 midterm elections e-voting would continue to produce such disturbing glitch-induced results, that eventually exit polling would be discontinued.

After a 32-page Homeland Security Bill ballooned to nearly 500 pages overnight and was railroaded through the Senate and Congress, it was immediately signed into law. Representative Ron Paul (Republican, Texas) pointed out that the bill expanded “the federal police state,” while Senator Patrick J. Leahy (Democrat, Vermont) described it as representing “the most severe weakening of the Freedom of Information Act” to have come about in 36 years.

Following months of intensive lobbying by the family members of September 11th victims, an independent commission to investigate the 9/11 attacks was finally formed. Henry Kissinger was initially chosen to head the commission, but would later be replaced by Governor Thomas Kean. “This was not something that had to happen,” Kean would later observe in regard to the 9/11 attacks.

A Reuters news report:

WEST CHESTER, PA – [Bayard Rustin](#), chief organizer of the 1963 march on Washington that culminated with [Martin Luther King](#)’s “I Have a Dream” speech, is one of the most famous figures to emerge from this quaint 203-year-old town near Philadelphia.



But local school officials are not sure the black pacifist credited with introducing [Mahatma Gandhi](#)’s techniques of nonviolent protest to the U.S. civil rights movement would make a good role model for high school students at a time when the United States is pursuing its “war on terrorism.”

The West Chester Area School Board, which oversees public schools in a predominantly white suburban area 25 miles west of Philadelphia in southeastern Pennsylvania, voted in May to name its third high school after Rustin. The new school is scheduled to house 1,300 students, beginning in 2005.

“The process was fair and the choice was appropriate,” said school board Vice President Thomas Wolpert, who described Rustin as a “great leader of the civil rights movement.”



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But some board members later objected, saying they had learned that Rustin was a World War II conscientious objector who spent three years in federal prison rather than serve in the US armed forces or perform alternative civilian service.

"It's a dishonor to all veterans who died in that war," said June Cardosi, a school board member who is pushing to have the new high school named instead after a landmark farm.

Rustin, who died in 1987 at the age of 75, also was a homosexual and belonged to a communist youth organization while a college student in New York City in the 1930s.

That, too, has ruffled feathers in the West Chester area, a largely Republican community whose residents recently hosted President Bush and made national headlines by opposing a federal court order to remove a Ten Commandments plaque from the local county courthouse.

#### WAR RECORD

But the official bone of contention is his war record, which critics say makes him an unacceptable "convicted felon."

School board members have reported receiving complaints about the plan to name the school after Rustin, saying hundreds of residents have signed petitions against the move. Last month, the board asked a special committee to investigate Rustin's background and make a recommendation within 90 days.

"I knew he was black. I knew he was involved in civil rights stuff," said board member Joseph Green, a Republican Party committeeman who initially voted for Rustin but had second thoughts after hearing about his days in prison.

"One of the things a high school has to do in America in the 21st century is distribute selective service registration cards to high school seniors who are boys," Green said.

"And I don't know if it's appropriate to have as a role model someone who violated the laws on selective service and was incarcerated for that felonious violation."

The West Chester school board could consider its committee's recommendation next month, but has not given any timetable for a decision. A documentary about Rustin's life is due to air on U.S. public television in January.

The school board's decision outraged Rustin admirers including the local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Chester County Democratic Committee, gay rights groups and peace activists, who are all now rallying to support his name.

"You'd think the school board would be honored to have



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a building named after him," said West Chester NAACP President Doris Bond, who does not believe board opposition to the Rustin name stems from his days in prison as a war resister.

"I believe that's the safest reason," said Bond, who suspects the opposition has more to do with Rustin's race and sexuality. "This is just a prejudiced, small-minded town."

Something all agree on is that Rustin was a civil rights giant, though he was one whose deeds often went unsung because of his sexuality, his communist past and his years in prison.

Raised by his grandmother as a Quaker, Rustin received activist training in the 1930s from the American Friends Service Committee, the US Quaker humanitarian organization that would later share the Nobel Peace Prize with its British counterpart for assisting European war refugees.

In 1956, he advised Martin Luther King on how to use Gandhi-style nonviolent civil disobedience during a bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama. The boycott made King a national figure and King made nonviolence the hallmark of his leadership.

At the time, Rustin already was a seasoned activist who in 1942 co-founded the Congress on Racial Equality, a group that saw the nonviolent resistance methods of Gandhi and [Henry David Thoreau](#) as a vehicle for the U.S. civil rights struggle.

Rustin also helped organize resistance to segregation on interstate buses and trains in the South during the 1940s, spending more than three weeks on a chain gang for defying [North Carolina](#)'s discriminatory Jim Crow laws.



In 1944, Rustin went to prison as a war resister rather





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than accept the alternative service option provided to Quaker conscientious objectors by the U.S. government. He said his act was in solidarity with unaffiliated war resisters to whom alternative service was not offered. A decade later, he was arrested for being a homosexual.

#### BIGGEST ACHIEVEMENT

Rustin's biggest achievement was as coordinator of the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, which brought 250,000 people to Washington to hear King declare his dream of racial harmony at the defining moment of the civil rights movement.

"If you look at the history of social justice movements in the United States, Bayard Rustin is the most prominent figure of all time to come out of West Chester," said West Chester University history professor William Kashatus.

"There's no greater figure to have come out of West Chester or Chester County or maybe even this part of our state," added Kashatus, himself a Quaker pacifist.

But even among his allies, Rustin often walked a lonely path. He opposed affirmative action, black studies programs and identity politics. Instead, his social-democratic vision was of a broad new alliance of racial minorities, trade unions, liberals and religious groups.

He also weathered criticism from some leftists over his steady support for the state of Israel.

In later life, Rustin became a monitor of human rights in Latin America, the Caribbean, Africa and Eastern Europe.

"For all of his accomplishments, he touched so many people's lives in so many different areas that we all can lay claim to him as being a leader for our causes," said Jerry Dowdall, director of the Chester County Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual and Transgender Alliance.





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**2003**

Thomas F. Curran's *SOLDIERS OF PEACE: CIVIL WAR PACIFISM AND THE POSTWAR RADICAL PEACE MOVEMENT* (New York: Fordham UP).

Few students of American history know [Alfred H. Love](#), the eloquent pacifist who refused induction into the Union army in 1863 and went on to found and lead the Universal Peace Union (UPU) until his death in 1913. Readers of William Lloyd Garrison's *Liberator* will remember that Love frequently appeared in its pages during the Civil War years. Robert Doherty's 1962 dissertation ("Alfred H. Love and the Universal Peace Union") remains the closest biographical study, but Thomas F. Curran's book should introduce a new generation to Love's work.

Curran presents Love as a perfectionistic pacifist who, in opposing the Union war effort, dared a more radical peace witness than earlier reformers such as Garrison or the American Peace Society, who deplored violence at the same time that they sympathized with Union war aims. Curran argues that after the war Love attracted to his cause a variety of persons (Shakers, Rogerene Quakers, Garrisonians, feminists, Hopedale leader Adin Ballou, members of the American Peace Society, and influential figures who could be enlisted as titular vice presidents). Love's causes were many: pacifism, stipulated arbitration for international and labor disputes, disarmament, creation of an international court, woman suffrage, prison reform, abolition of capital punishment, and converting Native Americans to nonviolent Christianity. Curran argues (pp. 13-16) that the UPU was a restorationist Christian movement that was both "humanitarian" (or reforming) and "tribalistic" (aloof from those who fell below its high standards). Ultimately, Curran contends, the pacifists' tribalism stymied their efforts to convert Americans to peace, and the UPU further made success unlikely by adopting such a wide range of objectives. Nevertheless, Curran insists, the UPU provided the ideological link between antebellum pacifism and the radical peace movements that would emerge in response to World War I.

Fanny Garrison Villard, daughter of William Lloyd Garrison and a moving force behind the creation of the most radical World War I American pacifist group (the Women's Peace party) would undoubtedly be surprised to learn that Curran credits Love, not her father, as the inspiration for radical twentieth-century pacifism. Abolitionists in W. L. Garrison's New England Non-Resistance Society would also be surprised with Curran's contention that "no other nineteenth-century American peace organization" but the UPU "made a significant connection to the peace movement by tying the issues of equality and social justice to the cause of peace" (p. 174). Curran stresses the distinctions between Love and those who came before him, but Love borrowed earlier ideas (such as the government of God, women's rights, opposition to capital punishment, and literal



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obedience to the Sermon on the Mount) from Garrison at the same time that he continued themes (such as stipulated arbitration, an international court, and the recruitment of prestigious if not particularly pacifistic titular vice presidents) pioneered by the American Peace Society.

Given the disparate makeup of the UPU, as well as the fact that members drifted in and out of the organization, it is hard to conclude that the UPU as a whole was too "tribalistic" to effect reform. Curran's charge may hold true for Love (and is a theme developed in more detail by Doherty). In the end, it was Love who provided not only the heart and head of the UPU; he also represented its institutional continuity. He was a man of courage, daring to defy his draft board in 1863 and being burned in effigy in 1898 for opposing war with Spain. Love could be arrogant, but, given that his ambition was to establish world peace, it is hard to believe that the absence of a sweet disposition was the critical factor in falling short of his goal.

— Valarie H. Ziegler, DePauw University, Greencastle, Indiana

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY



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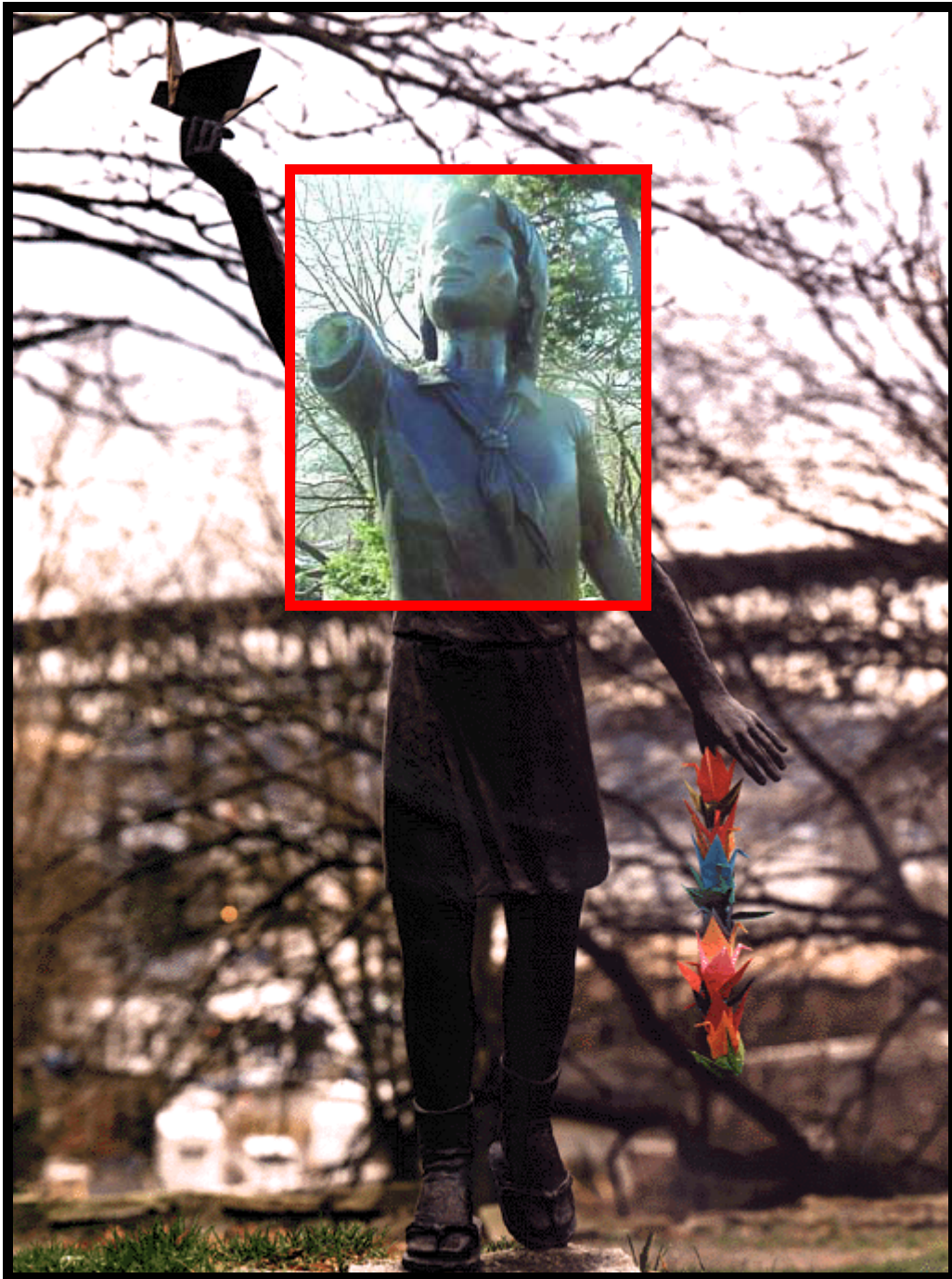
December: At [Seattle WA](#)'s tiny Peace Park, some sick American patriot sawed off an arm of the statue of [Sadako Sasaki](#), a girl who survived our [atomic bombing](#) of [Hiroshima](#) only to be killed by leukemia a dozen years later. Some \$4,000 would be raised with which to restore this statue, on which, as shown, schoolchildren had often been hanging colorful paper cranes.



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**WORLD WAR II**  
**THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**



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**2004**

August 6, Friday: At [Seattle WA](#)'s Peace Park on this, the 59th [Hiroshima](#) Day, there was an unveiling ceremony for the statue of [Sadako Sasaki](#) from which some sick American patriot had in the previous year sawed off an arm.



**ATOM BOMB**  
**WORLD WAR II**





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Wouldn't you like to fold from a piece of paper an *origami* crane?



**THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

HDT

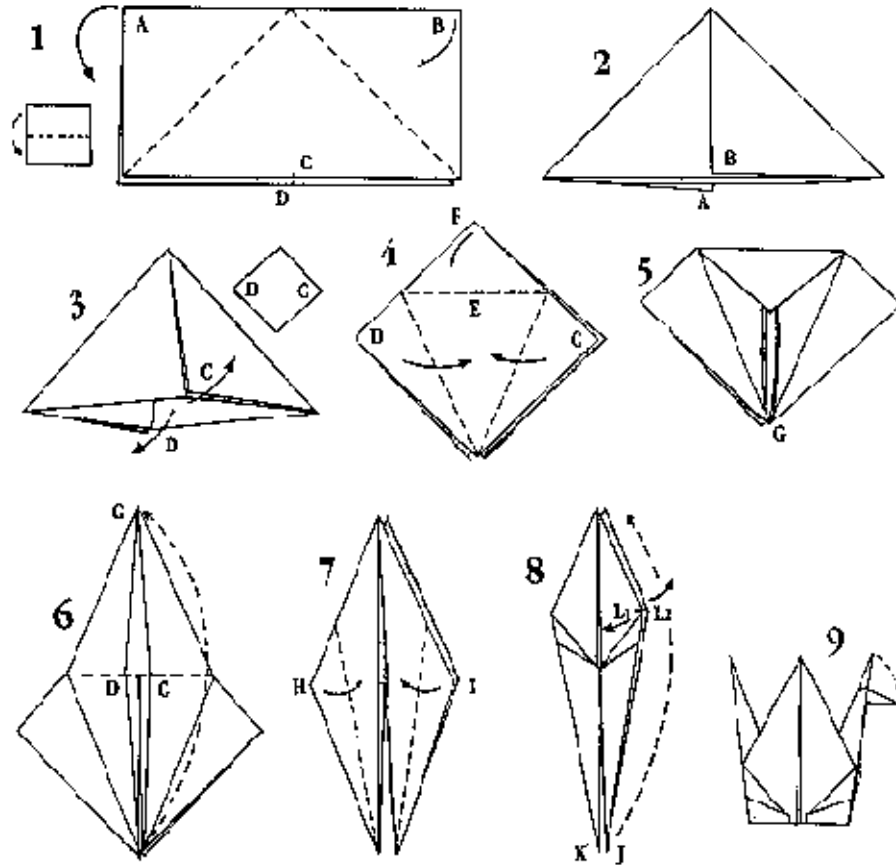
WHAT?

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As this piece is being put on the Internet, as of February 28, 2006, the latest C-SPAN news from [Hiroshima](#) is that the people of that city seem to **still** be suffering health effects of the bombing that took place so long ago. The average age of a *hibakusha* (a survivor) is now 72. In their old age, of course their cancer incidence is rising as would have been anticipated in any elder population, but the question is whether the difference their rate of elder cancer, which seems higher than in a comparable non-exposed population, rises to the level of statistical significance.





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2006

September 5, Tuesday: The [Providence, Rhode Island](#) newspaper, the “[ProJo](#),” published a column by Dave McCarthy entitled “Westerly trust acquires cemetery” which seriously misrepresented the history of the Quaker faith. McCarthy claimed in this article that:

Quakers signed the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution, pushing issues of equality, tolerance, religious freedom and separation of church and state.

I have since corresponded with the [Providence Journal](#), pointing out that our “[Declaration of Independence](#),” so called, was in fact a declaration of war, and that no matter how one chops one’s logic, declaring war on someone is usually considered to be counterindicated per [the Quaker Peace Testimony](#). I pointed out to this newspaper that we Quakers had, during the revolutionary period, been seriously persecuted for our total unwillingness to participate in these hostilities. I pointed out that George Clymer of Pennsylvania, John Dickinson of Delaware, and Joseph Hewes of [North Carolina](#), who signed the Declaration of Independence or



[the federal Constitution](#), although said to have been Quakers, are also being said by historians to have been Episcopalians.<sup>103</sup> I pointed out that Thomas Mifflin of Pennsylvania, who signed the Constitution, was a disowned Quaker who had become a Lutheran, and that he had signed the Constitution not as a Quaker but as a Lutheran. (I did not point out to these people how little “equality” for women or blacks or redskins was to be found in our original constitutional document, and I did not point out to these people that the idea that the document contained “separation of church and state” was an idea that could at best be said to have come along years afterward, through a process of reinterpretation.) I pointed out that the supposed Rhode Island Quaker who signed the Declaration of Independence, Friend [Stephen Hopkins](#), the governor of this state, was subsequently disowned by the Providence monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), a group which was then meeting in [Smithfield](#). I pointed out that this man had talked the talk but hadn’t walked the walk, and that they should therefore be listing him as what he in fact was, an Episcopalian slavemaster of Baptist ancestry. I pointed out that he had been his century’s version of Friend Richard Nixon, in the sense that he wore the cloth but dishonored the testimony. I summarized:

103. Hewes, as a case in point, had indeed been the product of a New Jersey Quaker family of origin — but he had become a Mason (which would have been entirely impossible because as a general rule any Quaker who was caught mingling with non-Quakers in such a grouping was always immediately disowned), and he was a lifelong slavemaster (which would have been entirely impossible because meetinghouse discipline had required that all Quakers divest themselves of their slaves), and he was a warmonger, demanding war with Britain (which would have been entirely impossible because of the Quaker Peace Testimony). Eleven ways from Sunday, this guy was not a Friend.



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This sort of remark, in your newspaper, is simply false, and is simply offensive.

There has been, of course, no response, either in private or in public. This newspaper apparently does not care about the truth, nor care overmuch if its lies are offensive to someone's religion.

This information has been brought to the attention of the Meeting for Business of the Providence, Rhode Island Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends. They have made no attempt to contact this newspaper to set the record straight as to the Peace Testimony of their Quaker ancestors.



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"It's all now you see. Yesterday won't be over until tomorrow and tomorrow began ten thousand years ago."

- Remark by character "Garin Stevens"  
in William Faulkner's INTRUDER IN THE DUST



Prepared: March 19, 2016



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ARRGH AUTOMATED RESearch REPORT

GENERATION HOTLINE



This stuff presumably looks to you as if it were generated by a human. Such is not the case. Instead, someone has requested that we pull it out of the hat of a pirate who has grown out of the shoulder of our pet parrot "Laura" (as above). What these chronological lists are: they are research reports compiled by ARRGH algorithms out of a database of modules which we term the Kouroo Contexture (this is data mining). To respond to such a request for information we merely push a button.



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Commonly, the first output of the algorithm has obvious deficiencies and we need to go back into the modules stored in the contexture and do a minor amount of tweaking, and then we need to punch that button again and recompile the chronology – but there is nothing here that remotely resembles the ordinary “writerly” process you know and love. As the contents of this originating contexture improve, and as the programming improves, and as funding becomes available (to date no funding whatever has been needed in the creation of this facility, the entire operation being run out of pocket change) we expect a diminished need to do such tweaking and recompiling, and we fully expect to achieve a simulation of a generous and untiring robotic research librarian. Onward and upward in this brave new world.

First come first serve. There is no charge.

Place requests with <Kouroo@kouroo.info>. Arrgh.