

## The Devolution of Quaker Pacifism: A Kansas Case Study, 1860-1955

CECIL B. CURREY

CALLED TOWARD the West when the United States government granted title to a tract of land along the Kaw River to the Shawnee Indians early in the nineteenth century, deputations of Quakers arrived in the land that became Kansas to minister to and live with their traditional friends.<sup>1</sup> Representing a religious society noted for its strict discipline and stern ways, Kansas Quakers strove to ensure adherence to the historic practices of the Society of Friends. Among their doctrines, a living testimony to pacifism was an expected duty of every obedient member. When they met steadfastly in their solemn assemblies, they heard the reading clerk periodically intone the sobering question, "Are you faithful in maintaining our Christian testimony against all war as inconsistent with the precepts and spirit of the Gospel?" Quakers had supported a staunch position of pacifism since their founder, the Englishman George Fox, had cried out, "I lived in the virtue of that life and power, that took away the occasion of all wars."<sup>2</sup> Robert Barclay, the great early Quaker polemicist, clearly summed up the society's attitude toward war. "It is as easy," he wrote, "to obscure the sun at mid-day as to deny that the Primitive Christians renounced all Revenge and War."<sup>3</sup> Those ideals still bound Quakers two centuries later.

Willing to put up with hardships while doing God's will, Quakers were not frightened away from the turbulent American frontier even by the border troubles in "Bleeding Kansas." Threatened by roving bands of hostile Indians, harassed by proslavery Missouri

Rangers, distrusted by Free-Soil men, their homes and crops sometimes destroyed, these hardy pioneers still staunchly clung to the soil of Kansas. Honest, diligent, dependable, and with little education, they were a good cross section of the Society of Friends throughout the United States. By the time Kansas was admitted to statehood in 1861, about two hundred Friends called it home.

Kansas Quakers believed they were where God wanted them to be and knew they were called to do His will in all the ways that He made it known to them. His writ extended to many areas of life. Quaker meetings for worship could "disown" a member for attending a dance, marrying a non-Friend, playing cards, or not attending church.<sup>4</sup> Such stern attitudes also extended to infractions of their "peace testimony," for neither by jot nor by tittle had they lost their passion for the doctrine of pacifism.

During the Civil War Quakers generally refused to participate in the fighting. Available records indicate that in Kansas only three men "so far departed from our Christian Testimonies as to . . . do Military service."<sup>5</sup>

4. Minutes, Kansas Preparative Meeting, December 3, 1862, p. 60, and February 11, 1863, p. 62. These references and others that follow are from local Quaker record books or "minutes." With the exception of the Kansas Yearly Meeting minutes, most minute books are handwritten, often unpaginated, and usually untitled (titles and page numbers have been supplied by the author). These minute books and other records in the church archives were located previously in the vault of University Friends Church, Wichita. They are now housed in the Quaker Collection, Edmund Stanley Library, Friends University, Wichita, under the jurisdiction of the church.

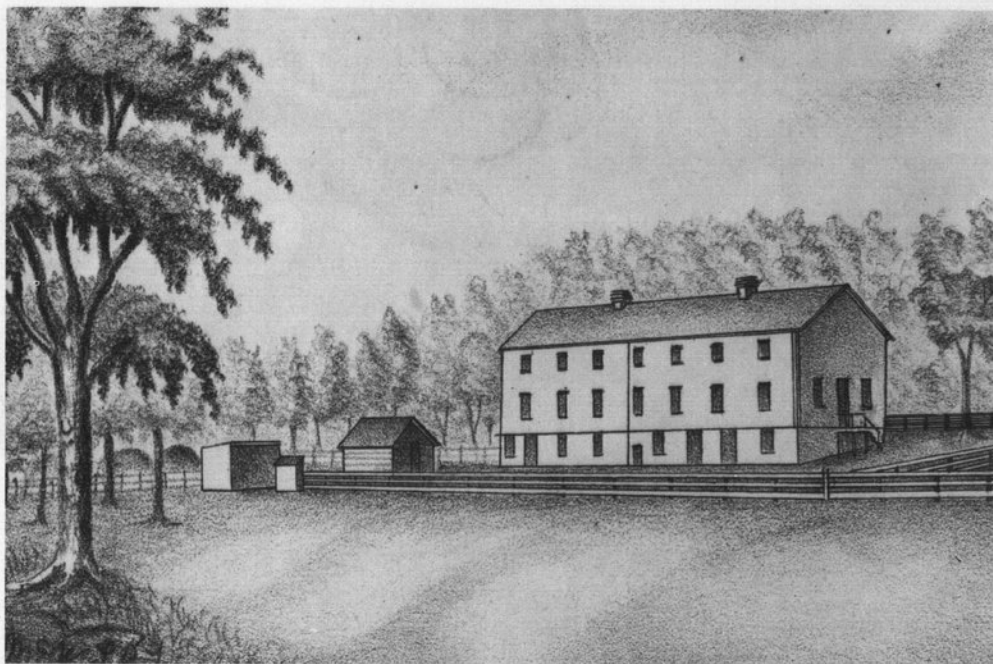
An explanation of Quaker terms may be helpful to the reader. Although the term "Preparative Meeting" is no longer used, it designated the first step in church organization. A group of Friends received permission from an established meeting to hold worship services and to have care of local business matters under supervision from that parent body. As a Preparative Meeting matured, it became an autonomous local congregation meeting for business matters once a month, hence the term "Monthly Meeting." A "Quarterly Meeting" is composed of several Monthly Meetings and receives its authority from their consent. As the name implies, business sessions are held four times a year. Quarterly Meetings have authority to correlate activities of their member Monthly Meetings and to "lovingly urge" them to action of various issues. Likewise, a "Yearly Meeting" grows out of several Quarterly Meetings and coordinates overall efforts into a unified approach. At all levels, Quaker meetings integrate both business and worship sessions.

5. Minutes, Kansas Preparative Meeting, December 3, 1862, p. 60. See, also, the minutes for 1863-1866.

1. Henry Harvey, *History of the Shawnee Indians, from the Year 1681 to 1854, Inclusive* (Cincinnati: Ephraim Morgan and Sons, 1855), pp. 136, 234-236, 239, 269-272; Anna Heloise Abel, "Indian Reservations in Kansas and the Extinguishment of Their Title," *Kansas Historical Collections, 1903-1904*, Topeka, v. 8 (1904), p. 78.

2. John L. Nickalls, ed., *The Journal of George Fox* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952), p. 65.

3. Robert Barclay, *Views of Christian Doctrine Held by the Religious Society of Friends, Being Passages Taken from Barclay's Apology* (Philadelphia: N.p., n.d.), p. 291.



Four years after the first Quakers came to Kansas, the Friends Shawnee Mission was established in 1837 in what is now Johnson County, Kansas. This sketch depicting the mission as it appeared in 1845 is reproduced from E. F. Heisler and D. M. Smith, *Atlas Map of Johnson County, Kansas* (Wyandotte: E. F. Heisler and Co., 1874).

Such offenses could not be overlooked. Those who did not repent were scolded by their meetings and disowned.

Much more common were Friends with sensitive and developed consciences that were revolted by pain caused to others. For example, Joab Murphy stood before his fellows one First Day (Sunday) and confessed that "sometime Ago in the heat of passion, I attempted to strike a fellow being. I am Sincerely Sorry . . . And hope the meeting will look over my offense And Continue Me a member."<sup>6</sup>

Such concern for the peaceful life continued in the years between the Civil War and World War I. Between 1833, when the first Quakers entered the area that became Kansas, and 1869, Kansas Friends had been supervised by the Indiana Yearly Meeting. In that latter year,

they requested that they be allowed to organize their own autonomous yearly meeting. Indiana conferred with other American yearly meetings; none objected, and in October 1872 the new Kansas Yearly Meeting, composed of approximately three thousand persons, convened for business. Through the remainder of the century, individual Quakers, carrying with them a "minute of service" from their local congregations, traveled widely through Kansas and the nation giving lectures on pacifism, distributing tracts, and advising "peace committees" in local meetings. Some even traveled abroad on such missions.<sup>7</sup>

When World War I broke out, Kansas Quak-

7. See the printed *Minutes of the Kansas Yearly Meeting of Friends* for the years 1872-1901. With slightly different titles and varying imprints, the minutes of the Kansas Yearly Meeting were published annually beginning in 1872. For ease of reference, they will hereafter be cited as *Kansas Yearly Meeting Minutes*, followed by the date and page number. See, also, Rufus M. Jones, *The Later Periods of Quakerism* (London: The Macmillan Co., Ltd., 1921), p. 864.

6. Minutes, Peace Monthly Meeting, 1877.



The first Quaker settlement in Kansas Territory was established at what was later known as Springdale in Leavenworth County. This photograph of the first Friends meeting held there in February 1856 is reproduced from the *Semi-Centennial Historical Sketch of Kansas Yearly Meeting of Friends* (Wichita: Friends Book Supply, n.d.).

ers were saddened, for they had hoped that peace might prevail. When it did not, they appropriated one thousand dollars to help innocent victims of the war and vainly hoped that Europe's rulers would repent of "their iniquity."<sup>8</sup> They commended "the religious and secular press generally for its recent and almost constant utterances of friendship and good will among the nations as well as among our own mixed peoples."<sup>9</sup> Friends in Fowler and Haviland sent petitions to Pres. Woodrow Wilson and members of Congress "protesting against any attempts to increase the appropriations for the Army and Navy, Against imaginary enemies," and wondering if men of the Society of Friends would be exempt from military service.<sup>10</sup>

8. *Kansas Yearly Meeting Minutes*, 1914, p. 9.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

10. Minutes, Fowler Quarterly Meeting, November 20, 1915, p. 167, and Haviland Quarterly Meeting, November 13, 1915, p. 2. See, also, *Kansas Yearly Meeting Minutes*, 1915, p. 11, and Minutes, Haviland Quarterly Meeting, May 13, 1916, p. 5.

One Kansan, Arthur Pecoek, chairman of the Pleasant Plain peace committee of his local meeting, wrote that "we do not favor a man of war. Some have been quite energetic in Speaking of the principals [*sic*] of peace as against the Preparedness Program."<sup>11</sup> His report was typical of those produced by local churches. The Kansas Yearly Meeting adopted a resolution calling war "a travesty in Christianity, and in direct violation of the ten commandments and the precepts of Jesus Christ. . . ." <sup>12</sup>

Some called for more active opposition to the Great War. Arthur W. Jones, secretary-treasurer of the Committee on Peace, spoke for this group when he noted that "never was deep and unwavering conviction and clear teaching so much needed as now."<sup>13</sup> Others

11. Minutes, Pleasant Plain Monthly Meeting, September 27, 1916, p. 60.

12. *Kansas Yearly Meeting Minutes*, 1916, pp. 8-9.

13. *Ibid.*, 1918, p. 26.

argued that "an aggressive anti-war campaign would arouse antagonism, and be productive of nothing but harm." Halford L. Hoskins of Wichita, expressed this view.

Instead of "crying Peace! Peace!" when there is no peace which serves no purpose at present and might be actually harmful to the cause of the Society of Friends . . . [we should further] the cause of ultimate world peace, thru ministering to the grave needs of war-stricken peoples.<sup>14</sup>

The National Defense Act, approved June 3, 1916, as amended, permitted "all persons who because of religious belief" declined to serve to be exempted from combatant service in wartime.<sup>15</sup> During the Great War, many Kansas Quakers worked without pay or allowances in war reconstruction units, on farms, in hospitals, and in other peaceful pursuits.

An eastern Quaker, Rufus M. Jones, professor of philosophy at Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania, led the way during 1917 in forming the American Friends Service Committee. Its purpose was to supervise relief and reconstruction work of American pacifist units in Europe. Under its direction, approximately one thousand men and women went to Europe to organize ambulance units, to construct and staff hospitals, to seek out lost members of displaced families, to build sanitary dwellings for the homeless, to reestablish schools, and to feed multitudes of starving folk. Jones tells of one incident where a Kansas Quaker became unintentionally involved in anti-German sentiment. The Kansan's name was Von Darwin Amick. The "Von" in his name

presented what seemed an insuperable obstacle to a passport. The good man was not a German and we had plenty of evidence that when his Kansas parents named him the "Von" was spelled Vaughn, but the boy had formed the habit of spelling it "Von" and now it lay between him and friendly service in France. The case involved a vast correspondence, many affidavits and some journeys to Washington. At length . . . we secured a permit for our Kansas Friend who was encouraged . . . by us to write his name henceforth V. D. Amick!<sup>16</sup>

During those years, many home-front patri-

ots thought Quakers to be suspicious, giving aid and comfort to the enemy, particularly when Friends' ministers preached against the war, or members passed out anti-war tracts and polemical pamphlets calling for peace or contributed money for relief and reconstruction work.<sup>17</sup> After the war, one farmer was asked what his response was toward those Quaker pacifists who had worked for him. He answered "that they were, in the main, sincere. . . . in spite of the fact that some . . . occasionally swore at the mules; later he qualified this seeming evidence of insincerity by characterizing forcibly the average mule."<sup>18</sup>

Attempts to generalize about the numbers of young Kansas Quakers who held to pacifism during World War I are difficult. Selective Service archives have never been freely opened. Records of Kansas Friends are sketchy. Yet no records of Kansas Quakers reveal condemnation of even a single young man for serving on active duty. Perhaps it is safe to assume that at least the bulk of them served in military noncombatant positions or in alternate civilian work.

**Y**ET CHANGES occurred within the Society of Friends during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that would have profound effects upon the Quaker attitude toward pacifism. Revivals which swept the Great Plains during those years touched individual Quakers. They, in turn, influenced their meetings for worship. One author writes that revivalism was "the one factor which stands out prominently in explaining present day practices of Kansas Yearly Meeting." He adds that "by 1900, so largely had the ancient Quaker characteristics been obliterated, that little real difference [any] longer existed between Kansas Quakers and other evangelical denominations."<sup>19</sup>

14. *Ibid.*, p. 26; see, also, Minutes, Wichita Quarterly Meeting, September 7, 1918, pp. 95-96.

15. *U.S. Statutes at Large*, 1915-1917, 64th Cong., 1st sess., 1916, Public Law No. 85, v. 39, pt. 1, p. 197.

16. Rufus M. Jones, *A Service of Love in Wartime* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1920), p. 58.

17. Minutes, Richland Monthly Meeting, 1917; Rose Valley Monthly Meeting, June 2, 1917, p. 62; Kansas City Monthly Meeting, May 19, 1917, p. 17, and July 2, 1917, p. 20; Haviland Quarterly Meeting, 1917; Mount Ayr Quarterly Meeting, May 19, 1917, p. 271; Fowler Quarterly Meeting, May 19, 1917, p. 39; and Cottonwood Quarterly Meeting, 1918; *Kansas Yearly Meeting Minutes*, 1917 and 1918, *passim*.

18. Neal M. Wherry, *Conscientious Objection* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1950), pp. 61-62. Such language would not be shocking today, but during World War I church members were still essentially pietistic in their daily lives.

19. Sheldon G. Jackson, "Quakers in Kansas, 1833-1900" (Master's thesis, University of Kansas, 1946), p. 73.



The Mt. Ayr Friends Church in Osborne County was established in 1874, two years after the community was first settled. This photograph taken at the Quarterly Meeting October 25, 1898, is from Burton V. Gregory, *The One Hundred Year History of Mt. Ayre Friends Church* (Osborne: Osborne County Farmer, n.d.).

Kansas Friends came to feel a need for more activity and less quietism in worship. Dominated by the theology and thought forms of the holiness Wesleyan movement, they gradually adopted innovations from evangelical denominations and forsook most of the traditional patterns of worship that had long characterized them. This included the doctrine of pacifism, which according to Quaker author Arthur O. Roberts "was rejected because it seemed to belong to the liberals and because social ethics figured little in the ethos of the modern Wesleyan holiness movement." He writes that "in a great measure the period of anti-liberal reaction made the holiness witness take non-Quaker forms. Terminology came to be nearly completely Wesleyan."<sup>20</sup>

A.C. Craighead, chairman of the committee on peace at the North Branch Monthly Meeting, voiced his concern about pacifism. "We have been at a loss to reconcile present peace propaganda-social communistic non-Christian

& ect with Evangelistic mission of the church."<sup>21</sup> His views, representative of many, convinced the majority of the Kansas Yearly

20. Arthur O. Roberts, *Through Flaming Sword* (Portland: The Barclay Press, 1959), p. 81. A regular inclusion in the discipline book of the Kansas Yearly Meeting is the section which reads: "We feel bound explicitly to avow our unshaken persuasion that all war is utterly incompatible with the plain precepts of our divine Lord and Lawgiver, and the whole spirit of His Gospel, and that no plea of necessity or policy, however urgent on the paramount allegiance which they owe to Him who hath said, 'Love your enemies.' (Matt. v. 44, Luke vi. 27) In enjoining this love, and the forgiveness of injuries, He who has brought us to Himself has not prescribed for man precepts which are incapable of being carried into practice, or of which the practice is to be postponed until all shall be persuaded to act upon them. We cannot doubt that they are incumbent now, and that we have in the prophetic Scriptures the distinct intimation of their direct application not only to individuals, but to nations also. (Isaiah ii. 4, Micah iv. 1) When nations conform their laws to this divine teaching, wars must necessarily cease. We would, in humility, but in faithfulness to our Lord, express our firm persuasion that all the exigencies of civil government and social order may be met under the banner of the prince of Peace, in strict conformity with His command." Quoted from *Discipline of the Kansas Yearly Meeting of Friends* (Medford, Ok.: Medford Printing Co., 1940), p. 40. The same statement appeared almost word for word in the 1896 edition of the discipline and appears elsewhere in many other Quaker books of doctrine, including the Five Years Meeting "Authorized Declaration of Faith," September 7, 1922.

21. Minutes, North Branch Monthly Meeting, July 22, 1936, p. 90.



A youth group at the Mt. Ayr Friends Church Quarterly Meeting about 1926. By 1927 the membership of the church was down to ninety-eight and the decline would continue as young people moved away from the rural community to find better jobs in larger cities. Photograph from *The One Hundred Year History of Mt. Ayre Friends Church*.

Meeting to divorce itself from all other non-evangelical Quaker bodies. "They are no more related to us, Spiritually, than are the regular Unitarian and Universalist Churches, and we are weakening the standard by connections with them," proclaimed members of the Friendswood, Texas, Quarterly Meeting in a statement subsequently adopted by the 1934 Kansas Yearly Meeting. "Fellowship is a farce, because we do not, and cannot fellowship with them."<sup>22</sup>

Even a local emphasis given to the doctrine of pacifism came to be suspect. Gurney Hadley, superintendent of the peace committee of the Haviland Quarterly Meeting, expressed the point clearly. "Peace can only come as the Prince of Peace is given His rightful place.

And we can not hope for world peace until Jesus Christ sets up His throne on earth."<sup>23</sup> For Kansas Friends, emphasis upon pacifism not only became minimal; the doctrine itself was superfluous.

Those Quakers within Kansas during the 1920s and 1930s who espoused the doctrine of pacifism learned that they must speak the language of evangelism if they expected to be heard. One very able advocate of nonresistance was Anna Jane Michener, appointed to the Kansas Yearly Meeting's peace committee in 1931 and its chairman from 1933 to 1948. She regularly tried to strike the proper chord in her reports: a primary emphasis upon salvation, followed by a call for others to consider pacifism as an outward expression of an inner grace.

Sometimes blunt, Michener forgot to soften

22. *Kansas Yearly Meeting Minutes*, 1934, p. 6. The Yearly Meeting (now known as the Mid-America Yearly Meeting) encompasses meetings in Kansas, Texas, Oklahoma, Missouri, and Colorado.

23. *Minutes*, Haviland Quarterly Meeting, May 9, 1925, p. 135.



Hesper Academy, established by Quakers in the Douglas County community in 1884, had a four-acre campus. After the school closed in 1915, the building was used as a community center. This photograph was taken at the school homecoming October 31, 1937.

her tone in the 1938 annual report. "Why," she asked, "do we ignore or work half heartedly on our peace program? Probably because a large number of us deep in our hearts do not really believe in it. . . . Some have no knowledge of how our peace testimony developed nor understanding of its basis. Some reject it because it does not seem to be in harmony with their interpretation of Scriptures. Others fear it as a rival to Evangelism and still others as a dangerous departure into worldly activities."<sup>24</sup> Records support her pessimistic evaluation. Little evidence exists that Quakers laid any particular stress upon pacifism during the 1930s, and the doctrine became little more than a vermiform appendix, slowly withering away.<sup>25</sup>

War clouds in Europe and the Far East, however, brought passage on September 16, 1940, of the Selective Training and Service

Act. Kansas Friends reawakened to the possibility that some of their young men might have conscientious scruples against participation in war. Some monthly meetings required peace committees "to make a careful study of the subject and act as counselors and helpers to our young men who wish to take the conscientious objectors stand." Some meetings prepared statements containing the traditional Quaker position on war. The young men signed them, attested by witnesses, and took the cards with them to their local draft boards.<sup>26</sup>

Patriotic fervor after the Japanese strike against Pearl Harbor changed minds. Even before the attack the Barclay Monthly Meeting, which earlier had prepared signature cards for its youth, had become cold toward pacifists, inserting into its records the congregation's consensus that "we cannot contribute to financial support of individuals in Civilian

24. *Kansas Yearly Meeting Minutes*, 1938, pp. 13-14. See, also, 1931, p. 44; 1932, p. 22; and 1933, p. 20.

25. *Ibid.*, 1930-1941, *passim*. See, also, *Minutes*, Haviland Quarterly Meeting, June 10, 1933, p. 287.

26. *Minutes*, Barclay Monthly Meeting, August 28, 1940, p. 277; Mount Ayr Quarterly Meeting, November 18, 1939, p. 62; North Branch Monthly Meeting, July 24, 1940, p. 191.

Public Service Camps.”<sup>27</sup> Such attitudes made more difficult the work of the Kansas Yearly Meeting Committee for Civilian Public Service (CPS), since it had “been asked for \$5,000. as our estimated share for this work for 1942.” That some congregations were interested in helping, however, may be seen in the fact that a report to the 1943 Kansas Yearly Meeting indicated that “a total of more than \$8500 has been collected and disbursed in the past year.”<sup>28</sup>

Several young Kansas Friends were concerned about the type of work they performed for the Civilian Public Service. They often

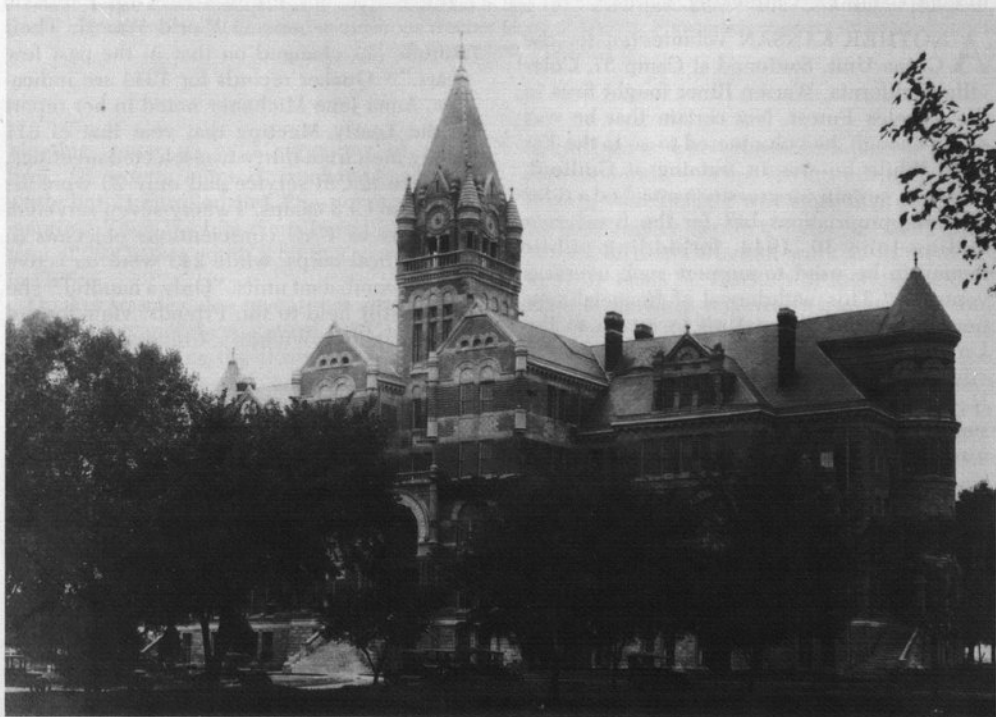
plagued themselves with the question, Am I contributing enough? Keith Parker from Argonia voiced this concern about his work at CPS Camp 76 at Glendora, California. During his three years and eight months there he fought forest fires and maintained fire equipment. He wrote home that “I work in the U.S. Forrestry Offices at data Analysis work. I tabulate wind velocity records & put them on report blanks so they can tell more information which the forrestry is experimenting for.”<sup>29</sup> Years later, searching his memories of those days, he recalled that “the viewpoint of the men I knew was that such work, although important, was not as important as could have been found. We would rather have done ambulance work in war areas or something of that

27. Minutes, Barclay Monthly Meeting, July 23, 1941, p. 1.

28. Charles A. Beals, chairman, Kansas Yearly Meeting Committee for Civilian Public Service, to all pastors and peace and service committee chairmen of the Yearly Meeting, December 1941, instructing them in the purposes, activities, and goals of the CPS program, Quaker Collection. See, also, *Kansas Yearly Meeting Minutes*, 1943, p. 18.

29. Keith Parker to Christian Endeavor girls, University Friends Church, Wichita, August 29, 1942, Quaker Collection.

Davis Administration Building, Friends University, is one of the oldest structures in Wichita. Built in 1886 as Garfield University by the Christian Churches of Kansas, it has been the main building of Friends University since 1898.



sort."<sup>30</sup> Homer Chance, another Kansas Quaker, shared Parker's feelings. He wrote home that his time was divided between putting in a water line for a local community near Glendora and fighting fires. He and the other men wanted, he wrote, "more significant work and work that is more closely related to relieving the suffering caused by this terrible war."<sup>31</sup>

That opportunity came early in the war when President Roosevelt authorized the American Friends Service Committee to do relief work in China. That organization formed CPS Camp 99 (China Unit) and trained its members on the campus of Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina. Those who completed the course went to the Orient to work on programs of medical relief, sanitation, and public health for the Republic of China.<sup>32</sup> At least one Kansas Quaker made it to the Far East. Herbert Motter Hadley, a member of the North Branch Monthly Meeting, went into the CPS in 1942. While stationed at Camp Co-shocton, near Fresno, Ohio, he volunteered for the China Unit. By July 1943 he was working in CPS Camp 22, Chungking, China.<sup>33</sup>

ANOTHER KANSAN volunteered for the China Unit. Stationed at Camp 37, Colville, California, Warren Riner fought fires in the Angeles Forest. Not certain that he was doing enough, he volunteered to go to the Far East. While he was in training at Guilford, however, certain congressmen attached a rider to the appropriations bill for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1944, forbidding public money to be used to support such overseas ventures.<sup>34</sup> This withdrawal of financial support forced the China Unit to return to the United States. So instead of crossing the Pacific, Riner went first to Camp 46, Big Flats, New York, to work with seed grasses and tree seedlings and then to Elkton, Oregon, to watch for Japanese incendiary bombs. After

his discharge in March 1946 Riner worked for the American Friends Service Committee in Norway and Finland. In Norway he met a young lady who became his wife. He was perhaps the only Kansas conscientious objector to bring home a "war bride."<sup>35</sup>

The attitude of young John V. Mills of the University Monthly Meeting in Wichita may have been typical of many men in alternate service. Before his entrance into CPS, Mills remarked, "I am willing to die for others, but I will not take life." His death demonstrated his point. While stationed at Camp 76 at Glendora, he died while saving a friend during a camp accident which caused a building to explode in flames.<sup>36</sup>

The records of the Kansas Yearly Meeting indicate that a minimum of fifty-nine men worked in alternate service during World War II at tasks sometimes important, often menial. Yet more Quakers served in an active status in the army than ever before. Mrs. Benjamin O. Weaver, one-time president of the Kiowa Historical Society, which lies in the heart of evangelical Quaker-land, wrote later that "there was not much stress on Pacifism . . . almost none in World War II. Their attitude has changed on that in the past few years."<sup>37</sup> Quaker records for 1944 are indicative. Anna Jane Michener noted in her report to the Yearly Meeting that year that of 311 young men from thirty-two selected meetings, 12 were not in service and only 29 were assigned to CPS camps. Twenty-seven served in the army as I-AO conscientious objectors in the medical corps, while 243 were on active duty in combatant units. "Only a handful," she wrote, still held to the Friends' view toward war.<sup>38</sup> Even in Wichita's University Monthly

30. Interview with Keith Parker, August 6, 1958.

31. Homer Chance to Christian Endeavor Girls, University Friends Church, November 11, 1942, Quaker Collection.

32. *Newsletter*, American Friends Service Committee, March 15, 1943.

33. Financial Records, Kansas Yearly Meeting Committee for Civilian Public Service, July 31, 1943, Quaker Collection.

34. *U.S. Statutes at Large*, 1943, 78th Cong., 1st sess., 1943, Public Law No. 108, v. 57, pt. 1, p. 350.

35. Interview with Warren Riner, August 6, 1958. The Kansas Yearly Meeting was aware of the inconsequential tasks performed by many within the CPS program. Its Peace and Service Committee wrote near the end of the war to those young men that " . . . many of you are disillusioned and discouraged. You may be shut away from the world at meaningless tasks while civilization goes up in smoke . . . you may be bitter over the misuse of your talents and abilities. . . . But fall back on one fact—the fact of personal faith in a living Christ whose fellowship has led you to make such a testimony. . . ." Letter, Kansas Yearly Meeting Civilian Public Service Committee to I-Os, March 7, 1945, Quaker Collection.

36. *Kansas Yearly Meeting Minutes*, 1943, pp. 20-21.

37. Mrs. Benjamin O. Weaver to author, November 18, 1958.

38. *Kansas Yearly Meeting Minutes*, 1944, p. 23. See, also, the report for the previous year in *ibid.*, 1943, p. 18.



The Haverford Unit, a group trained at Haverford College, Pennsylvania, for service in France with the American Friends Service Committee. In this group sent abroad in late 1917 were three Kansans, V. D. Amick of Haviland, Daniel Hainer Hinshaw of Emporia, and Charles Webber Moon of Wichita. Photograph courtesy American Friends Service Committee, Philadelphia.

Meeting, once an avid supporter of pacifism, 62 youth entered combatant service while but 21 enrolled in CPS—a three-to-one margin.<sup>39</sup> Thus Wichita contributed 21 of the total of 29 Quaker youth who that year served in CPS.

Quaker sources also reveal that attitudes of local church members toward CPS men immediately following the close of the war were "sympathetic, respectful, tolerant, fair, poor," while toward Quaker veterans of combat they felt "good, sympathetic, friendly."<sup>40</sup> These records suggest that at least three to four times more young Quakers served as combatants as

against those who registered a protest in one form or another.<sup>41</sup> Thus the attitude of Kansans during World War I was more than reversed. In that earlier conflict, twice as many men served in reconstruction work as in the military. By 1945, for Quakers in Kansas, the doctrine of pacifism was nearly irrelevant to congregational life. Michener may have seen the reason for this reversal. Many Quakers, she wrote, "feel that their meeting is really a community church and they therefore hesitate to give much place" to any emphasis upon pacifism.<sup>42</sup>

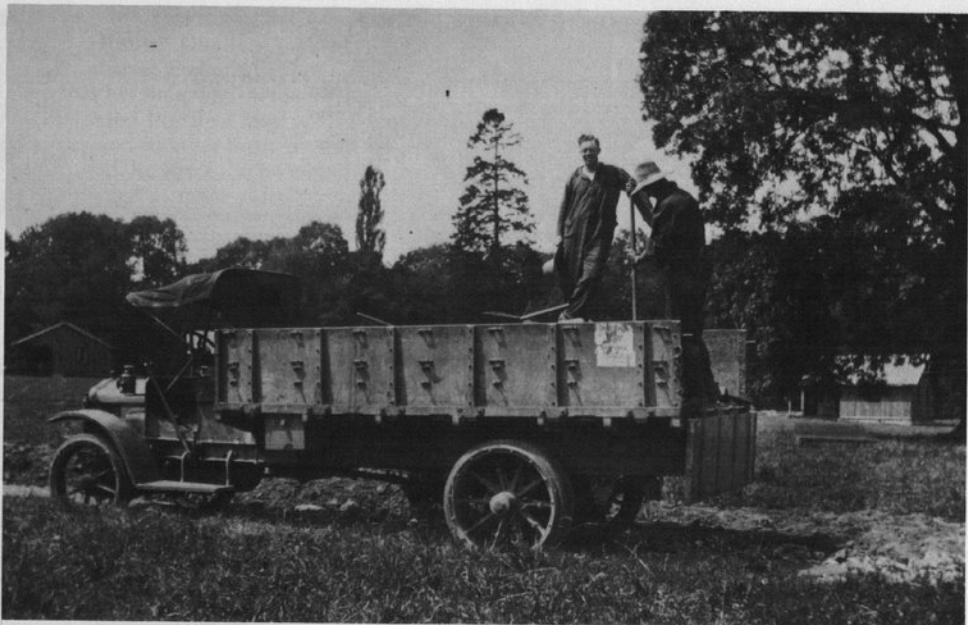
In 1947 the Kansas Yearly Meeting sent a questionnaire to local meetings. Only the Barclay Monthly Meeting responded. The first question was: "What is the belief of your

39. This figure was derived by counting the names of men who served in one capacity or another during World War II which are listed on a memorial plaque in University Friends Church, Wichita, and subtracting those known to have served in the Civilian Public Service.

40. *Kansas Yearly Meeting Minutes*, 1945, p. 22.

41. *Ibid.*, 1944, p. 22.

42. *Ibid.*, 1945, p. 22.



Two Kansans working with the American Friends Service Committee in France unload sections for the temporary houses they are building for French families whose homes were destroyed in World War I. One of the completed houses is in the background. The two men are J. McDonnell of Burr Oak and Floyd Schmoe of Wichita. Photograph taken in the early summer of 1918 by Gerald H. Wood and reproduced courtesy of Helen H. Wood, Wichita.

meeting about war? (a) it is sin, (b) it is inevitable and Christians must fight, (c) Jesus rejected war and His followers should do the same." The Barclay Meeting responded that "some agree to the first statement. Others to the second."<sup>43</sup> Significantly absent was any response to the third possibility.

Once again the pertinence of the "peace testimony" for Kansas Quakers came under consideration following North Korea's invasion across the Thirty-eighth Parallel during the summer of 1950. The theological climate within the Society of Friends in Kansas made the conclusion a foregone one.

Most local Quaker pastors within the Kansas Yearly Meeting have traditionally eschewed graduate or seminary training. Often they have been called to their office by some congregation without a four-year degree in hand. They

have served primarily as exhorters rather than as teachers. Influenced deeply by holiness Wesleyanism, they have believed that entry into the ministry comes as a "call" from God after salvation has "washed them clean of sin," and after they have been protected from Satan's influence by the divine gift of "sanctification." Such a process depends more upon a right heart than an enlightened mind.

One of the most influential institutions for training Quaker ministers grew out of the Friends Haviland Academy, founded approximately ninety years ago. Twenty-five years later its trustees formed the Kansas Central Bible Training School, the name of which was eventually changed to Friends Bible College, a tiny school located in Haviland. It has long stood as a "witness to holiness, salvation, sanctification, and justification."<sup>44</sup> Its alumni

43. Report of the Peace and Service Committee, Barclay Monthly Meeting, June 30, 1947.

44. *Progress*, Friends Bible College Bulletin, Haviland, v. 38, no. 1 (January, 1968).

have become missionaries, pastors, choir directors, directors of religious education, and devoted laity.

Sheldon Jackson, a former president of Friends Bible College, noted the lack of emphasis upon instruction in the Quaker doctrine of pacifism during the early years of the Korean police action. "Our counseling and legal help given to our young men of draft age is inadequate. . . . I believe that one reason has been the policies of the American Friends Service Committee. This organization has based its Peace and Service work on Philosophy rather than on the Evangelical Friends position. Some of their policies have been regrettable."<sup>45</sup> Another observer, Lloyd Hinshaw, then a Quaker pastor in Denver, wrote that Kansas Friends were suspicious of pacifism because eastern Quakers allowed "Communism to operate in the United States without any restraint at all!" He went on to elaborate. "Much of our peace testimony today is based upon politics, economics, etc. and is nothing more than the seed bed for communism. . . . The liberal teaching as found in the A.F.S.C. and many other peace agencies is dangerous. Too many times have I seen men of the A.F.S.C. who in my presence denied the deity of Christ and hinted toward a strong socialistic policy. This I cannot accept."<sup>46</sup>

Another man wrote that there was no place for a peace testimony among Friends, for "the churches do not want it."<sup>47</sup> His view was borne out by the author's personal observations at the time, while assigned to the personnel section of the Army Medical Corps for one year, ten months, twenty-six days and four and one-half hours. It was a strategic position from which to note statistics regarding military trainees categorized as conscientious or religious objectors to war, who were yet willing to serve in the army in noncombatant roles. The Selective Service System classified such men as I-AO (I-A Objector).

As in World War II, I-AOs were either inducted into or transferred to the Army Medical Service Corps. They trained at Camp Pickett, Virginia, until that base was closed early in

1954, after which they received basic medical skills at the Medical Training Center, Fort Sam Houston, San Antonio, Texas. Approximately 230 men were in the program, either in basic or advanced training cycles, during any given week throughout 1954 and 1955, by which time the crisis in the Far East had long since been resolved by a hostile truce. Nor should it be thought that all those in training were religious objectors to war. Most simply received routine assignment as medics because of military manpower needs.

Less than half of those in training in any given week had religious scruples against war. Of the one hundred who did, sixty-five belonged to the Seventh Day Adventist denomination. The other thirty-five men came from a wide variety of churches, with occasionally as many as ten men a week who listed their religious preference as "Quaker," "Friend," or "Society of Friends." During the months from April 1954 to May 1955, only one man, James Nolan Clark of Friendswood, Texas, noted on his records that he came from the Kansas Yearly Meeting.

It was curious that most of those receiving medical training who listed their religious preference as "Friend" or "Quaker" were not noncombatants (I-AOs), but I-As. Several were interviewed. When asked "Why did you choose regular as opposed to noncombatant training?" many of them expressed confusion. The terms "noncombatant" and "I-AO" were unfamiliar to them, particularly if they came from Kansas and other western evangelical Quaker yearly meetings. Almost without exception they replied that they had never heard that Quakers "had anything against going to war." Some indicated that if they had known of alternatives to a I-A classification, they would have investigated such possibilities. They did not know—no one had told them—that Selective Service allowed legal exemptions from combatant duty.<sup>48</sup> During the Korean police action only two young men from the Kansas Yearly Meeting are known to have served in alternate civilian work, rather than in the army: Connie and Carmie Brown,

45. Sheldon G. Jackson to author, September 24, 1954.

46. Lloyd Hinshaw to author, May 4, 1954, and May 30, 1954.

47. Dale V. Benton to author, August 13, 1953.

48. *Newsnotes*, Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, Philadelphia, v. 6, no. 8 (1954).

brothers and members of the Friendswood, Texas, monthly meeting.

The literature and publications of the Kansas Yearly Meeting tell the same story, as do the archival records of the organization. Since before World War II no Kansas Quaker has produced printed matter emphasizing a systematic treatment of the scriptural basis for pacifism.

**A** STEADY REVERSAL of the Quaker position on nonresistance may thus be traced among Kansas Friends. During the Civil War, three young men were "disowned" for bearing arms. All others seem to have held steadfastly to long-honored traditions of this "historic peace church."<sup>49</sup> Fifty-two years passed before America entered World War I. In that conflict, twice as many men worked in alternate civilian relief and rehabilitation tasks as served in the military.

The "guns of August" fell silent on November 11, 1918, as armistice ended the Great War. Twenty-three years later a peaceful Sunday morning in Hawaii was shattered by the sound of Japanese war planes. Between December 1941 and August 1945, young men from the Kansas Yearly Meeting chose by a four-to-one margin to serve as combatants, rather than in noncombatant military roles or in service in CPS to which they were legally entitled as members of a "historic peace church." By June 1950, less than five years later, the circle had closed. Only three men are recorded to have registered a protest against war (two in alternate service, one as a non-combatant), while all other Kansas Quakers fought in combatant roles.

George Fox, the founder of Quakerism, had exhorted that "I knew from whence all wars did rise, from the lust according to James's doctrine," and he gladdened that faithful Christians refrained from participation in conflict.<sup>50</sup> His name was still honored three hun-

dred years later among Kansas Quakers, but his call to peace, for those latter-day Friends, was simply a remnant from the past.

By the middle of the twentieth century, Friends throughout the Kansas Yearly Meeting generally little resembled in their attitudes the quietistic and pacifistic traits of their forebears who had come into the territory more than a hundred years earlier. By the 1950s, Friends churches in Kansas functioned as community holiness worship centers. As Sheldon Jackson wrote, little real difference could be found between Quaker and other holiness groups, for "ancient Quaker characteristics had been obliterated."<sup>51</sup> Leaders of the Kansas Yearly Meeting, in joining with the nineteenth-century Wesleyan holiness movement, had willingly pruned away one of their society's most distinctive doctrines. Anna Jane Michener once put the change into her own perspective. "How many of us would feel," she asked, "that temperance should not be emphasized in some church w[h]ere members were perhaps moderate drinkers?"<sup>52</sup> Quaker records bore her out, for out of forty-five monthly meetings, none asked prospective members to commit themselves to the once-honored Friends' doctrine of pacifism.<sup>53</sup>

Arthur Roberts, a western Quaker, maintained that the fundamentalist leadership of his Society came to emphasize the experience of salvation as primary. Most aspects of "social ethics," including beliefs in nonresistance, were better left to other, more "liberal" brethren.<sup>54</sup> By the 1950s, pacifism as a Quaker doctrine played no part in the life of the Kansas Yearly Meeting.

51. Jackson, "Quakers in Kansas," p. 73.

52. *Kansas Yearly Meeting Minutes*, 1945, p. 22.

53. *Ibid.* It was the author's experience that several Quaker congregations in both the Kansas and the Rocky Mountain yearly meetings (e.g., Haviland Monthly Meeting, Prairie Vale Monthly Meeting, Lone Star Monthly Meeting, San Antonio Monthly Meeting, et al.), believed the use of tobacco to be sufficient reason to refuse individual requests for membership during the 1950s. None considered acquaintanceship with or endorsement of the peace testimony to be in any way essential for new members.

54. Roberts, *Through Flaming Sword*, p. 72.

49. Quakers, Brethren, and Mennonites have long been recognized as the three "historic peace churches."

50. Nickalls, ed., *Journal of George Fox*, p. 65.

## EPILOGUE

From 1953 to 1961 I served as an enlisted man on active duty and in the enlisted army reserve. Since 1965 I have served as a commissioned officer either in the army national guard or the army reserve. During all those years I have continued to conduct a *most* unscientific poll. Whenever I have come in contact with an enlisted person who has listed a religious preference of "Quaker" or "Friend," I have asked that person three questions: Why are you in the military? Did your church teach you anything about the traditional Quaker viewpoint toward war and military service? Do you have any buddies or acquaintances from your church who stayed out of the military because of religious reasons?

Not *one* of those with whom I have talked was acquainted with the "peace testimony" of the Society of Friends. Neither they nor their fellow young people from their local churches ever considered any of the available options to military service. They did not know that alternatives existed. All entered military service for the same kinds of reasons that motivated the general population. Most of those with whom I have spoken came from the Kansas, Nebraska, Oregon, and Rocky Mountain yearly meetings. Even during the years of the Vietnam conflict, when many young people sought to avoid military service, those few members of western yearly meetings with whom I came in contact were, if anything, more desirous of "serving their country" in the military than were their non-churched counterparts.