

1996

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Recommended Citation

Barbour, Hugh, "Rufus Jones and Quaker Unity" (1996). *Truth's Bright Embrace: Essays and Poems in Honor of Arthur O. Roberts*. Paper 11.

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Rufus Jones and Quaker Unity

HUGH BARBOUR

The Society of Friends, for Rufus Jones¹ as for Arthur Roberts,² remains a single movement, called by God to a special role in American Christianity and world history. Both men have also been realistically aware of human limitations and diversity. Yet they have seen God's power, shared in meetings for worship as well as in the religious experience of individuals, able to change human society and transcend human ideas and institutions.

1887, when Christ-centered Friends were brought together in Richmond by their disagreements over ministry and sacramental Ordinances, was a time of great hope among American churches. Revivals and Holiness camp meetings aroused evangelical Protestants, while New Englanders were shown the creativity of the individual human spirit by Emerson, Lowell and Thoreau. The subjective human mind was affirmed by people as diverse as William James and Mary Baker Eddy. Throughout America, faith in social progress and concern for laborers and the poor interacted in the temperance and women's rights movements, in populist parties, in settlement houses in cities, and in the "social gospel." A decade of ferment in the Student Christian Movement, centered in the Student YMCA, was climaxed by a national conference at Harvard led by Luther Wishard, and the first of the annual summer student conferences at Northfield School under Dwight L. Moody, from which grew the Student Volunteer Movement

1. See his initial editorial in *The Friends Review* (Vol XLVII #5, 8/24/1893) "Fore Cast," also Diana Alten, "Rufus Jones and The American Friend, a Quest for Unity," *Quaker History* (hereafter QH) 74:1, Spring 1985, pp.41-48.

2. Arthur O. Roberts, *The Association of Evangelical Friends* (Newberg, OR: Barclay Press, 1975) p.47. He worked to prevent evangelical Friends becoming a narrow organization.

which enrolled thousands of teachers, doctors, and church leaders for Protestant foreign missions and “the evangelization of the world in this generation.”³ Moody’s broad and eager spirit drew scientists such as Henry Drummond and doctors such as Wilfred Grenfell to work with evangelists and Bible scholars.

Jones reflected the self-giving optimism of this era. He shared these men’s belief that all truth is God’s one truth, whether biblical, historical, or scientific, that God is personal and loving and that religion is rooted in personal experience. The student YMCA at Haverford College, where Rufus Jones graduated in 1885, had begun in 1879. From 1886 to 1893 the English Quaker New Testament scholar Rendel Harris taught at Haverford. He became Jones’ intimate friend, and later the Director of Woodbrooke, the Quaker college outside Birmingham.⁴ Jones in his small autobiographies has less to say about their influence on him than about the Haverford professors who drew him to the writings of German mystics, and to the idealist philosophies of Kant and Plato,⁵ for whom duty, the good, and the beautiful were central parts of truth.

Rufus Jones’ links with the Richmond conference of 1887 were direct. That autumn he began teaching at the Friends School in Providence, RI, (later called Moses Brown School), where his cousin Augustine Jones was headmaster. In 1874 Augustine Jones, while still a lawyer at Lynn, Massachusetts, had been asked to deliver a message on “The Society of Friends” at the Disciples Church in Boston, as part of a series on churches’ doctrines and history within “the Universal Church.” Augustine Jones foreshadowed the Richmond Declaration of Faith in saying that “the sacrifice of Christ was both physical and spiritual” and “The Inward Light is both universal and saving”—universal because it is in every man of every capacity in the world, and saving because it has in it the power and virtue of the atonement. He stressed that Fox, like Jesus, abolished outward ceremonies, above all in worship. He gave more emphasis than was done at Richmond to “the testi-

3. Clarence Shedd, *Two Centuries of Student Christian Movements* (New York, 1934); Hugh Barbour, “The Origins of Phillips Brooks House at Harvard” MS for Yale program on Religion in Higher Education, 1943-44.

4. Harris gave up a professorship at the University of Leiden to accept the Woodbrooke post, which had first been offered to Rufus Jones. He became a close friend of RMJ and both had been with Rowntree on a famous hiking trip in Switzerland in 1896 where they “brainstormed” what became the “Rowntree Series” of Quaker histories. RMJ wrote on *Quakers in the American Colonies and Later Periods of Quakerism* and two prefatory volumes on *Studies in Mystical Religion* and *Spiritual Reformers in the 16th and 17th Centuries*. See Stephen Allott, *John Wilhelm Rowntree, 1868-1905*, (York, England: Sessions Book Trust, 1994).

5. Rufus M. Jones (hereafter RMJ), *The Trail of Life in College* (New York, 1929); RMJ, *Haverford College: A History and an Interpretation* (New York, 1933). pp. 57, 66-7, 94-5. Rendel Harris taught at Johns Hopkins while RMJ was a Haverford student, but their early personal contacts have not been traced. He wrote on 3/30/1895 and 10/5/96 his approval of RMJ’s editorials in the early issues of *The American Friend*.

mony of the Eternal Spirit, manifested in the heart and conscience," and to Quaker education, Quakers' rejection of war and violence, and Quaker stands and work on liberty of conscience, oaths, slavery, and prison work.⁶ He may have been the first Friend to call Quakers "mystics."⁷ Whittier, who had proposed Augustine Jones for the speech, visited him to commend it. Sixty other Friends also wrote praises, though it was attacked as too doctrinal by James Carey Thomas of Baltimore, and as not orthodox enough by Thomas Kimber in *The Christian Worker*.⁸ Augustine Jones was one of New England's representatives at Richmond in 1887. Another was Eli Jones, Rufus' uncle, who with his wife Sybil Jones had played major roles in Quaker revivals and in arousing Quaker commitment to foreign missions, notably at Ramallah, Palestine. Rufus wrote his first book in 1889 as a tribute to them. Joseph Bevan Braithwaite, the author of the Richmond Declaration, seems also to have stopped at Providence in 1887 on his way home to England.⁹ Rufus had been welcomed like a young Abe Lincoln¹⁰ on his visit the previous year in the stately homes of English Friends such as Braithwaite and the statesman John Bright. Rufus was inspired by the Richmond meeting as the first time when the "Orthodox" Yearly Meetings from the English Channel to the Pacific gathered as one.

Rufus' bonds to these men and women, and to the growing unity of Christ-centered Friends for which they worked, was perhaps the strongest reason why he kept his membership lifelong in New England Yearly Meeting, rather than transferring it to the "Orthodox" Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, which had created Haverford College, but was itself unofficially deeply divided into "Gurneyite" and "Wilburite" factions and therefore had no official ties to any other yearly meeting. Liberal Friends in the Hicksite

6. Augustine Jones' address was published verbatim in the Lynn *Semi-Weekly Reporter* on February 11, 1874, and as a Quaker pamphlet later that year.

7. Emerson had already done so, and Caroline Stephen, a British convinced Friend, would do so in her *Quaker Strongholds* (London, 1890) before Rufus Jones wrote about mystics, but Haverford philosophers were already leading him in the same direction.

8. Augustine Jones' manuscript autobiography, copied in typescript, is among the archives of Moses Brown School. He responded to Thomas' doubt by showing him passages in Barclay, Fox and Bates. Augustine Jones wrote frequently to Rufus throughout his life, particularly in 1904, when the Moses Brown Board forced his retirement as headmaster at the age of 68, because he fought to continue his role as a boarding school for Quaker boys and girls from rural Meetings, while many on the board wished to make it a college preparatory school, and to merge it with two other similar schools in Providence. Augustine Jones was bitter that Rufus had not supported him more actively on a recent visit to Providence.

9. Elizabeth Gray Vining, *Friend of Life: A Biography of Rufus M. Jones*, (1958, repr. Phila., 1981) p. 57, does not give her source for this statement.

10. I have not found whether D. Elton Trueblood, in writing on *The Humor of Christ and The Abraham Lincoln: Theologian of American Anguish* (1972) ever compared Lincoln and Jones, who both taught by humorous stories in a country drawl. See Trueblood, *While it is Day* (New York, 1974).

tradition, which in 1900 formed Friends General Conference, have drawn strength from Rufus' teachings about the universal inward Light and the early history of Friends. They often forget, however, that Jones was never a Hicksite. He had contacts and friendships with individual Hicksites through the Friends Social Union and his love of golf,¹¹ but until World War I brought all Quakers together to support their Peace Testimony through the AFSC, Rufus Jones had few official contacts with even the Philadelphia Hicksites.

Two excellent articles in *Quaker History*¹² combine to give a balanced account of the results of Rufus Jones' call to become editor of *The Friends Review*, published in Philadelphia since 1847¹³, to try to reach out through it to a wider circle of Friends. The next step was its merging in 1894 with the evangelical Quaker journal, *The Christian Worker* (based at that time in Chicago) to form *The American Friend*. Walter Malone had spoken in 1892, at the first Quinquennial conference following the Richmond one, about Friends' need for a single mission board, a single press, and a single journal,¹⁴ for which he had Allen Jay in mind as editor, since Calvin Pritchard at *The Christian Worker* had followed David Updegraff into approving water baptism.¹⁵ Malone had replaced Pritchard with the "more pliable" Peter W. Raidabaugh. That the journals' merger carried forward the spirit of the Richmond Conference is shown by the role of its Presiding Clerk, James Wood of New York,¹⁶ at the meeting in New York on May 26, 1894 of Mal-

11. Sources here are manuscript minutebooks at Swarthmore, suggested orally by Jerry Frost.

12. Diana Alten, *loc.cit.*, and John Oliver, "J. Walter Malone: *The American Friend* and an Evangelical Quaker's Social Agenda" (*Quaker History*, 80:2, Fall, 1991), pp.63-84.

13. Letters of Isaac Sharpless, President of Haverford, to RMJ, 3/25, 4/15, 5/10, and 6/28/93 offered RMJ this position, since RMJ had edited the Haverford student paper, and discussed financing it by combining it with RMJ teaching at Haverford.

14. Oliver, *loc.cit.*, says that Walter Malone wrote Timothy Nicholson, Nov.12,1891, saying either Pritchard or Malone must leave *The Christian Worker*, alternatively, perhaps Nicholson could combine with President Mills and Allen Jay to turn *Friends Review* into an *American Friend* with Jay as editor. This may be the name's origin.

15. Malone also wrote to RMJ deploring Dougan Clark's water baptism, 9/13/94.

16. James Wood was President also of the American Bible Society, while living on his family farm at Mt.Kisco, NY, where he had introduced Southdown sheep and Angus cattle, and presided over the county agricultural society and the New York State exhibit at the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago. He had also given there at the World's Parliament of Religions a presentation of *The Society of Friends and its Mission*, strikingly like Augustine Jones's, apart from a greater stress on the Spirit as Christ within us. Jones published it in *The Friends Review*, 10/19/1893, and the Friends Book and Tract Committee reprinted it in New York. He wrote long essays for *The Friends Review*, on "Irish Home Rule" (1/4/1894)—based on personal visits—and "The Pastoral Question"—based on I Cor. 12, and judiciously balanced since Wood himself believed in worship based on silence. Wood continued on the Board of *The American Friend*, and wrote articles for it. My footnote #50, below, puts these into their contexts..

one,¹⁷ Raidabaugh,¹⁸ Sharpless, Allen Thomas, and Rufus which arranged the merger.

The American Friend was published in Philadelphia until 1912, partly to ensure its continued support there, but Jones published letters and articles from many leading evangelical Friends,¹⁹ explaining that he stated his own beliefs in editorials but did not judge the opinions in articles by other Friends, even when they judged each other. He accepted from the beginning frequent invitations to speak in the Quaker colleges: Earlham (on Dante), Guilford, Wilmington, Penn and Friends University,²⁰ and Yearly Meetings in Iowa, North Carolina, Indiana, and Kansas. In 1905 he added Whittier College, California Yearly Meeting and Oregon Friends.²¹ Whenever he could he visited in the homes of evangelical Friends such as Allen Jay and John Henry Douglas. He exchanged many letters with Douglas, Calvin Pritchard, Luke Woodard, David Hadley, and others who made clear where they disagreed with him. Allen and Mahalah Jay, Timothy Nicholson, Joel Bean, and James Wood wrote to encourage him.²²

The Richmond Conference of 1887 created no new structures, though some were suggested. Already the Associated Executive Committee of Friends on Indian affairs had been set up in 1869, while the Quaker Women's Missionary Conference which Mahalah Jay called in Indianapolis in 1888 matured into the American Friends Board of Missions after 1894. In 1887 it had been agreed to call together representatives of the doctrinally "Orthodox" Yearly Meetings at five-yearly intervals. The 1897 meeting

17. A copy of Malone's memo on the New York meeting is in RMJ's papers at Haverford Quaker Collection.

18. Raidabaugh appears as "Associate editor" on the "masthead" of the first issue of *The American Friend*, (7/19/1894; hereafter *Am.Fd.*) along with "Field Editors" Allen Jay of Richmond, J. Walter Malone of Cleveland, Stephen M. Hadley of Oskaloosa, George L. Crossman of Lynn, Mass., and Thomas Newlin of Newberg, OR, and both Philadelphia and Chicago addresses. By 1897 the Chicago address had disappeared, and Raidabaugh was only another field editor. By 1899 only Rufus Jones was listed.

19. In preparation for the discussion of the proposed Uniform Discipline in 1900-02 he invited papers on Ministry (11/1/1900) from Richard Haworth, George A. Barton, Elbert Russell, Richard H. Thomas, Andrew F. Mitchell, Edward Kelsey, and Thomas Newlin. He had also printed (5/1900) long negative statements by Esther Tuttle Pritchard and A. H. Hussey, though answering their points.

20. Vining, *op.cit.* pp.69, pp. 117-22.

21. The 1907 Five Years Meeting session heard from its Board of Education that RMJ had been asked to give a set of five lectures at Wilmington, Earlham, and Penn Colleges and Friends University. He also gave at that 1907 session a paper on "The Present Opportunity for Friends." The discussion that followed, by Rayner Kelsey, Abijah Weaver of New York, Elbert Russell, David Hadley of Western Yearly Meeting, Mabel Douglas of Oregon, Edward Grubb of London, and others, was reported in the minutes and printed in *Am. Fd.* in equally objective detail.

22. See letters in Boxes 5, 8, 10, 12 in Rufus Jones' papers at Haverford Quaker Collection.

“unlike the two former conferences, . . . followed a definite, prearranged program, and its discussions were all opened by thoughtful, solid addresses:”²³ The clerk, Carey Thomas, presented on “The Theory and Practice of Quakerism” and Thomas Newlin of Oregon on “Christian Sociology.” President J.J. Mills of Earlham spoke on “Qualifications for the Christian Ministry” (less than half of the Indiana Meetings had yet adopted the pastoral system). Rufus Jones spoke on “Shall there be a Central Body?” Naturally the pages of *The American Friend*, which reported the sessions fully, were also full both before and after the meetings, of essays on all these topics, but in particular, with those for and against a “uniform Discipline” to unify the Yearly Meetings. The Business Committee, with one representative from each Yearly Meeting, included Wood, Jones, Thomas, John Henry Douglas of Oregon and Allen Jay of Indiana. The committee that was asked to draw up a suggested Uniform Discipline, two per Yearly Meeting, included most of these (Mahala Jay and President Mills replacing Allen Jay) and also Emma Malone and Edgar Nicholson.²⁴ This committee asked Wood and Jones to draft a proposed text. In 1898 they worked intensively at Wood’s farm,²⁵ and circulated a draft to the whole committee and others. It was then “greatly transformed,” sent out again in a second draft for further revising, and late in 1899 mailed out, and also printed in the *American Friend*, for all Yearly Meetings to study before the next “Quinquennial conference” in 1902.²⁶ (New England first took it up, but deferred decision for a year. New York seems to have first officially adopted it.) The 1902 “Quinquennial Session” accepted the Constitution which the draft included, and thereby on its second day transformed itself into the Five Years Meeting, the federation now called Friends United Meeting. For various reasons, London, Dublin, and Philadelphia Meetings never fully accepted this Discipline and affiliation,²⁷ and Ohio did not yield over water baptism. The other “Orthodox” Yearly Meetings used or included the Discipline in their Books of Faith and Practice for the next half century, and most at once joined Five Years Meeting.

Rufus Jones had hoped for a sharing of purposes, programs, love and friendship among all Quakers, while he expected some doctrinal disagreements. He had written on “The Unity of the Church” (6/13/1901), as Ohio Friends began plans to publish a rival *Evangelical Friend*.²⁸

23. *Am.Fd.*, 10/28/1897, p.1005.

24. *Am.Fd.*, 11/4/1897.

25. During 1898, Sallie Coutant Jones, Rufus’ wife, was dying of tuberculosis at Saranac Lake, further north in New York State. Letters to and from him were mainly about her.

26. *Am. Fd.*, 12/14/1899.

27. Elbert Russell, *History of Quakerism* (New York, 1942) pp.493-5.

28. Malone finally started this publication in 1905, and meanwhile issued *The Soul Winner*.

It has been the mission of the present writer to work for peace and unity, and to promote the spiritual power of this branch of the Church... Our one possibility of being a people of God lay in union, not of opinion, but of heart and purpose. We have toiled and struggled and prayed for this end. ...This AMERICAN FRIEND has been a standing monument of union and of Christian fellowship and brotherhood. It has been open at all times for everyone who has a message for the church, ...and the truth has gained immensely by it... *What is true can be shown to be true*, and there is nothing in our faith which needs any shield against the light.

Unity in program, however, was no easier than unity in doctrine. Already in 1901, *The American Friend* carried Mahalah Jay's report on the new mission in Gibara, Cuba, and Dr. George DeVol's report on arriving at Nanking, China, along with Rufus' report on the Mohonk international arbitration conference called by the Quaker Smileys. But Cuba was at first the only mission field directly under the Board of Missions of the Five Years Meeting, whose other functions of sharing news, mission candidates, and funds just continued Friends' more informal earlier customs. Quakers shared in a national Ecumenical Missions Conference in 1900, Wood participated in the 1910 international one at Edinburgh, and Rufus Jones addressed the First Missionary Conference of Friends at Richmond in 1906, linking missions to the Discipline.²⁹ He printed news from mission fields in almost every edition of *The American Friend*, such as Theophilus and Fareda Waldmeier's letter of thanks to the Philadelphia committee supporting his Lebanon Hospital for the Insane (7/30/1897) and Martha Hadley's letter of 8/9/1899 from Kotzebue, Alaska; but Jones did not visit Latin America, nor Asia until 1926 and 1932.³⁰

From 1902 to 1907 Jones' personal correspondance and the messages sent to *The American Friend* were again much filled with distrust of the new institutions by evangelical Friends such as Edward Mott of Oregon, David Hadley of Indiana, and John Henry Douglas, retired to California. The attack was partly aimed at the Haverford summer schools which brought young Friends together to study the Bible and Quaker history; the attack on

29. In 1907, Charles Tebbetts of California replaced Mahalah Jay as Secretary. (Christina M. Jones, *American Friends in World Missions*, (Elgin, IL: 1946) Ch.III. After 1902, work in China continued under Ohio, Alaska and later Guatemala under California YM, Bolivia under Oregon, and Japan under Philadelphia. In 1905 Western Yearly Meeting transferred Mexican work, between 1907 and 1912 Iowa's Jamaican work, Ohio's East Africa Industrial Mission, and in 1918, New England's Ramallah schools were transferred to Five Years Meeting's care (*ibid.* Chs.III, XII).

30. Rufus Jones' love and scholarship were largely limited to Christian mystics; he seldom wrote about Asian religions, and though he visited Gandhi in 1926, he may never have shared in Zen meditation until his visit to Japan in 1932. On the other hand, though he also printed news of home missions, for instance among Native Americans, he also does not seem to have visited Friends' Oklahoma Indian churches.

its reading list by Esther Tuttle Pritchard and Jones' defense of scholarship "done in profound loyalty to Christ" were printed in *The American Friend*.³¹ Some evangelicals targeted Thomas Newlin at Pacific College, and Earlham College, whose Bible professor, Elbert Russell, a Hoosier farm boy, was asked by President Mills to stay on after his graduating from Earlham, to replace Dougan Clark, who had been baptized. Russell was given time out to study Hebrew at Moody Bible Institute in Chicago, and after two more years at the University of Chicago returned in 1903 teaching the historical settings of the Bible writers.³² Allen Jay, staunchly evangelical, had rebuilt North Carolina Yearly Meeting after the Civil War and had been Superintendent of Earlham from 1881 to 1887. In 1907 he wrote to Rufus Jones:³³

I lived four years with William P. Pinkham at Earlham College. He is made of the material that Martyrs are made of. He is working for almost nothing, and will continue to do so; for he verily believes he is doing God's service. Edward Mott is built on the same style... . And on top of all this is the desire of Ohio Yearly Meeting and all of its sympathizers from Ohio to California, to see Earlham College chastised and Indiana Yearly Meeting, which has stood in their way, humiliated and driven to the wall so they can carry out their revolutionary schemes... . President Kelly, who knows Mott well, ...says it is a deep and well laid plan... . I don't believe the strongest and best man in the Quaker Church today can sit in the office in Philadelphia and edit a paper that is going to win this fight with E[vangelical] F[riends]...It is not well written articles on Christian Philosophy that we need. They are attending Quarterly Meetings, Conferences, and public occasions of all kinds, writing private letters and reaching Friends in every way. I note thy proposition to talk over matters when thee comes to Earlham. I fear it will be too late to do much good.

To James Wood, a fellow veteran of the Richmond Conference, Allen Jay wrote a cover letter:

I fear you in the East do not realize the battle that is on in these Yearly Meetings. Too long we have folded our hands and said it will blow over... . With a zeal born of fanaticism they are resolved to run *The American Friend* out of existence, and drive the Board of Trustees to turn Elbert Russell and some others out of the Earlham Faculty.

31. "Friends have not encouraged real thought on these high themes among the rank and file of the membership... . Deeper thought and more first-hand knowledge of these matters will deepen our grasp of truth, promote our spiritual life, and increase our power" (3/14/1901).

32. Hugh Barbour and J. William Frost, *The Quakers* (Richmond, IN: Friends United Press, 1994) p. 363.

33. Jay to Jones 1/16/1907; to Wood 1/4/07, both in Box 10 of Rufus Jones' papers, Hav-
erford. The best discussion of this crisis is Thomas Hamm, *The Transformation of American Quakerism* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1988) Ch.VII.

In the end, Newlin was driven from Pacific College, but Russell, though under repeated attack, stayed at Earlham until he resigned in 1915 over a clash with President Kelly.³⁴ In a vain effort at conciliation, Rufus Jones turned over the editorship of *The American Friend* to Herman Newman, and in 1912 to S. Edgar Nicholson, at which time it was put under charge of the Five Years Meeting and published at its new office building in Richmond. The Five Years Meeting of 1902 had also abolished Quaker "birthright" membership, which was felt to undercut the need for individual conversion or commitment,³⁵ and in 1912 voted to join the Federal (now the National) Council of Churches.

The charges of "unsoundness" and "modernism" against Rufus Jones and the colleges had deeper roots than rivalry for power and leadership, or even rejection of evolution and "higher criticism" of the Bible. Denial of the Virgin Birth (a charge leveled against even the famous non-Quakers Briggs and Fosdick in New York), and of the immediate Second Coming of Christ, a more vital issue for many Friends, do not appear as central charges against Jones. He never minimized evil in individual hearts or society, trusting in God's power to overcome it; but Jones had no doctrine of Original Sin.³⁶ His vital doctrine of Christ's Atonement was based on God's love, not God's justice. Though he had accepted Christ at a revival as a teenager, his highest religious experiences came unexpectedly, by no decision of his own, from God's grace and loving presence. For Jones, anyone who had known the presence and power of God working within, provided he or she tried constantly to be a disciple of Christ, could be accepted as a Quaker, or at least as a "wider Quaker"³⁷ or a mystic. The central clash between Jones and his accusers was over Holiness. All agreed it was a central Quaker doctrine, but for Jones sanctification was a lifelong process of self-examination and self-opening to God.³⁸

The greatest evangelical Friends, such as Everett Cattell and Arthur Roberts have always understood growth in grace, the disciplines of inner cleansing, and learning how to be guided by the Spirit.³⁹ Yet many of the

34. Opal Thornburg, *Earlham, the Story of the College, 1847-1962* (Richmond, 1962) pp. 262-3.

35. Ohio and California Yearly Meetings later wished to go back to listing Associate Members. The membership statistics for these years depended on such factors, but may have in any case made evangelical Friends feel vulnerable by comparison to expanding churches. In the figures for 1899 and 1900 (after which Jones did not print them in *Am. Fd.*) the gains in west-coast Yearly Meetings did not equal the losses in Western, Iowa and Kansas.

36. Wilmer A. Cooper, "Rufus M. Jones and the Contemporary Quaker View of Man," Ph.D. thesis, Vanderbilt University, 1956). Like Fox (for whom the main issue was predestination) Jones rejected Calvinism, accusing even Robert Barclay of being misled by it.

37. The "Wider Quaker Fellowship" was begun after World War I for the sake of Christian pacifists and loyal members of other churches, notably in Europe.

38. See Jones' editorial "Ye are Called to an Holy Life" in *Am. Fd.*, 10/18/1894.

leaders in Ohio, Iowa, Oregon, Kansas, and California Yearly Meetings had shared in interchurch revivals and camp meetings, and had gone through a sudden moment of total sanctification, a "baptism of the Holy Spirit," a "second blessing" months or years after their conversion (their accepting their need for the Atonement). They felt infused by power for love and purity, and felt anyone who had not experienced instant total Holiness should not claim to have the Light or the Spirit within him. Luke Woodard and evangelical Friends had made this a precondition of recognition for ministers, elders, and missionaries in New York Yearly Meeting as early as 1875. Kansas and Oregon leaders wished all Friends to be as strict. Because of this experience they felt closer to "Holiness churches" such as the Nazarenes and Wesleyan Methodists than they did to Quakers who had not experienced immediate Holiness. Jones showed that Fox had understood lifelong growth in sanctification as he did, but for Dougan Clark "the kind of holiness somebody had two hundred years ago" was irrelevant.⁴⁰ Evangelical Friends, however, were stopped short by the Ohio Friend Levi Lupton, who like the Pentecostalists could claim that the ultimate and decisive mark of the Spirit was "speaking in tongues."⁴¹

The evangelical Friends therefore fell back on two doctrinal statements that all Yearly Meetings within Five Years Meeting had accepted, Braithwaite's long 1887 "Declaration of Faith" and the letter sent by Fox and his mission party in 1671 to prove their orthodoxy to the Governor of Barbados.⁴² The Uniform Discipline, though printed with these two documents, placed more centrally a short declaration written mainly by Rufus Jones. Various Friends and yearly meetings had asked that the status of the older statements be established. A committee named by the Five Years Meeting of 1907 reported back in 1912 that "these documents are historic statements of belief, approved by the Five Years Meeting in 1902, ...and approved again at this time, 1912, but they are not to be regarded as constituting a creed." A motion to strike out the last phrase failed by a 65 to 69 vote,⁴³ but the conflict continued. In 1922, in face of epistles from Oregon and Kansas Yearly Meetings, Jones as chairman of the Business Committee felt he had won harmony when he agreed that "the clause has been widely misunderstood in at least two directions [and] should now be eliminated."⁴⁴ Kansas and Ore-

39. Everett Lewis Cattell, *The Spirit of Holiness*, (Kansas City: Beacon Hill Press, 1977), esp. Chs.1, 2 & 4. Arthur O. Roberts, *Through Flaming Sword*, (Portland, OR: Barclay Press, 1959, pp.63-72, *Move Over, Elijah* (Newberg, OR: Barclay Press, 1967) Ch.6, and many poems in the "Love" and "Listen" sections of *Listen to the Lord* (same, 1974).

40. Clark, "The Society of Friends and Holiness" in *The Christian Worker* 1/14/1886. When "Holiness evangelicals" speak of ecumenical ties, they mean fellowship with Holiness Christians, whereas RMJ meant by it the traditional Christian churches.

41. Thomas Hamm, *Transformation*, pp. 169-70.

42. It also was intended to prove that the Quakers would not stir up slaves to rebellion.

43. *Minutes of the Five Years Meeting 1912 Indianapolis, Indiana* p.50.

gon Friends, however, were not so easily satisfied. The faith statements were not used to exclude publications or missionaries they regarded as unsound. Moreover the effort to create a Friends Forward Movement with a large United Budget to support Quaker missions and colleges, as other denominations were then doing, failed badly. It had aimed at a centralization that seemed to threaten the projects and power of local evangelical leaders. Oregon Yearly Meeting in 1926 and Kansas in 1937 voted to leave Five Years Meeting.⁴⁵

Rufus Jones' heartbreaks over the disunity of Christ-centered Friends were, happily for him, balanced by other bonds and programs which developed for him in the same years. He made during his life seventeen trips to England,⁴⁶ where at this time all Friends worshipped out of unprogrammed silence, but were basically Christ-centered and had had no Hicksite-Orthodox Separation.⁴⁷ British Friends were fully part of the processes of intervisiting that led to the Richmond Conference and the Five Years Meeting, but some, such as William Jones and Rufus' friend Henry Stanley Newman made a point of visiting Hicksite as well as Orthodox Meetings.⁴⁸ Jones did not have to create "the transatlantic Quaker community,"⁴⁹ and unlike his Cadbury in-laws had no English cousins in his Maine family, but he read the same books on science, psychology, and philosophy as those his age in Britain, Germany, and France, mostly written by authors as devotedly Christian as he. He learned biology from Thomas Battey, "spiritual guide and illuminative preacher," a science student under Agassiz, and Gray, Rufus' predecessor at Oakwood and his teacher at Providence:

He courageously and fearlessly faced the facts of science as they broke upon the world in the nineteenth century, and he not only kept his own

44. *Minutes of the Five Years Meeting of the Friends in America held in Richmond 1922...* p.119. "Thomas K. Brown of Philadelphia was gratified to see Friends concerned as to how much they might yield in the interests of harmony rather than determined to make no concessions. ... The feeling of the meeting was well expressed in the singing of 'Blest Be The Tie that Binds' and the Doxology" (p.120).

45. Ohio Yearly Meeting (now Evangelical Friends Church—Eastern Region) and the evangelical majority within Nebraska Yearly Meeting, which became Rocky Mountain, later joined the Evangelical Friends Alliance, too. Central Yearly Meeting, a splinter from Indiana in 1922, chose total isolation but has a mission in Bolivia. See David Holden, *Friends Divided* (Richmond, IN: Friends United Press, 1988) Ch.17.

46. Data from Mary Hoxie Jones, 1995.

47. They had lately become more aware than most American "Orthodox" of their common bonds with Hicksite Yearly Meetings: see Edwin C. Bronner, "The Other Branch:" *London Yearly Meeting and the Hicksites, 1827-1912*, (London: Friends Hist.Soc. 1975), especially on British reactions to Joel Bean's treatment.

48. Edwin Bronner is the master historian of this material. Some British Friends were not as highly honored at home as in America (e.g. Stanley Pumphrey and Walter Robson).

49. See Frederick B. Tolles, *Quakers and the Atlantic Culture* (New York, 1960) and *James Logan and the Culture of Provincial America* (New York, 1953).

faith, but he led his students on into a deeper faith than they had before they came to school.⁵⁰

Jones found in the younger British Friends the same openness to the wider world of prayer and learning. Though British Friends had been led by doctrinal conservatives like Joseph Bevan Braithwaite and had disowned David Duncan and his liberal manchester circle about 1858,⁵¹ new Quaker books and ideas had led the young English Friends to meet at Manchester in 1895, between Jones' first two trips to England. They kept the same high truth standards he demanded of himself, for instance in Rufus' accuracy about the history of Christian mysticism;⁵² in his first days at *The Friends Review* Jones printed his own essay on mystics (10/12/1893) and Joseph Bevan Braithwaite's on Quaker history (10/29/93). Though he soon found it better to present his historical discoveries in scholarly books and lectures at seminaries,⁵³ Rufus had published similar pieces by James Wood⁵⁴ and Augustine Jones.⁵⁵

Rufus Jones' friendships with young English Quakers such as John Wilhelm Rowntree and William, son of Joseph Bevan Braithwaite, were a delight of his life.⁵⁶ In an important step for the unity of Quakerism, he worked with these men on a program to revive the Society of Friends by uniting it with its own past through a series of histories, later nicknamed

50. RMJ: "Thomas J. Battey," eulogy in *Am. Fd.*, 8/13/1931, reprinted in *Moses Brown Alumni Bulletin*, April, 1932.

51. See Bronner, *Other Branch*, pp. 30ff.

52. His M.A. thesis Harvard under J.H. Thayer in 1900 was on the "life in Christ" mysticism of St. Paul and St. John. I am among the scholars who have challenged RMJ's assertions about the direct link he thought he had found between European mystics and the earliest Quakers, because of the complexity of Fox's "thought-world" of "spiritual puritanism," but his factual knowledge of the history of European Christian mysticism is impressive.

53. Apart from single lectures and annual sermons, for instance at Harvard, he gave series of "big-name" lectures at Yale, Columbia, Vanderbilt, Southern California and Southern Methodist Universities and Oberlin and Rochester Seminaries; most were then published.

54. From James Wood, besides the speech at the World Parliament of Religions, an essay on "The Pastoral Question," and the report on Irish Home Rule in *The Friends Review*, Rufus put in *Am.Fd.* Wood's report from London Yearly Meeting on "Correspondence between the Yearly Meetings" (8/2/1894), which included their mutual reception of certificates of membership and ministers' credentials. Wood agreed that "it is best for those who agree in doctrine to be associated in church fellowship" and was uneasy that London Yearly Meeting proposed to correspond with all bodies calling themselves Friends, but "the first concern for this body is sincere obedience to the will of Christ." *Am.Fd.* on 8/20/1894 included Wood's essay "What Makes a Friend," and on 3/28/1901 Jones ran Wood's essay on "Biblical Research" which said that "conclusions should not be accepted unless they are confirmed by the consensus of Christian Scholarship [which] can alone understand and properly weigh the evidence. ... The writer frankly admits his inability to weigh the evidence in these matters."

On 8/15/1901 *Am. Fd.* printed a short answer by Wood, as chairman of the Committee on Uniform Discipline "in the absence of the Editor" justifying "the Article of Belief in the Uniform Discipline."

“the Rowntree Series,” of which William Braithwaite’s are unequalled for readability and accuracy.

This group also began in 1897 a series of summer schools or conferences, four years before a similar program was begun at Haverford, drawing young Friends together for study, worship, Bible study, and discussion. This series drew working-class as well as university Quakers and non-Friends: British Quakers undertook a major program of adult education. By 1902 the summer schools had also led to the founding of a year-round Quaker study center at Woodbrooke, the mansion donated by George Cadbury the chocolate maker, affiliated to the University of Birmingham. Its board offered the headship to Rufus, but he, despite a summer visit with his new bride Elizabeth Cadbury Jones, deferred decision until after the Five Years Meeting session of 1902, when he decided American Quaker needs were more crucial.⁵⁷ Only in 1930 were American Friends able to start a similar school, Pendle Hill, near Swarthmore, named, like Rufus’ Maine summer home, for the site of George Fox’s vision of “a great people to be gathered.” Jones was invited by the disappointed British to lecture in England most summers, and gave the first (and was the only person invited for a second) of the Swarthmore Lectures at London Yearly Meeting. Rufus Jones’ greatest influence on Quaker unity was thus less through institutions such as the Five Years Meeting, than through the widely dynamic influence of his vision of Friends as a movement based on direct inward experience of God. Yet the unity of all Friends was seen more easily by British than by American Quakers.

Two of the most important programs that unified twentieth century Friends were bound to involve Rufus Jones, although his role in starting them is still being studied.⁵⁸ In response to World War I, and the pressures that were drawing America into it, a Friends National Peace Committee including all Quaker branches wrote a “Message from the Society of Friends” on their shared peace testimony. Four American Friends joined the British Friends Ambulance Unit, and seven the War Victims Relief Committee. As soon as America declared war, on April 6, 1917, Rufus Jones and younger Friends began a training unit for similar workers at Haverford, drawing funds and volunteers from Friends General Conference, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Orthodox) and Five Years Meeting. The coordinators

55. Augustine Jones wrote for *The Friends Review* on 1/2/1894 about Jacob’s Well and spiritual worship, on (2/1/1894) on “The Great Inspired Confession” of Peter at Caesarea Philippi, where he had largely visited, and a historical essay on “Nicholas Upsall” for *Am.Fd.* 3/14/1901; for local printing on “George Fox in New England.”

56. This aspect of his life has been beautifully covered in Vining’s biography. See also Edwin Bronner, *op. cit.* p.41 etc.

57. See Vining’s biography of RMJ and Stephen Allott’s of John Wilhelm Rowntree.

58. Jerry William Frost’s article “‘Our Deeds Carry our Message’: The Early History of the American Friends Service Committee” in *Quaker History* (Vol.81#1, Spring 1992) may be the nucleus of a future book.

of this work asked Rufus Jones to chair what then became the American Friends Service Committee.

The wartime program in France, and the reconstruction and feeding programs in France, Germany, Poland, and Russia after the war are a well and often told story, important in this paper mainly because Orthodox and Hicksite Friends worked side by side, and learned to trust each other. However, Rufus Jones was kept busy in trips to Washington and France. In the years after World War I, he was seen more rarely than earlier in Richmond or the midwest except for Five Years Meeting sessions (which he never missed) or university lectures.⁵⁹ He remained a patriarchal figure in his own Yearly Meeting of Friends for New England, whose sessions he attended every year from 1940.⁶⁰ Rufus Jones encouraged plans for the reunion in 1945 of all five groups of Meetings in New England: the "Wilburite" and "Gurneyite" Yearly Meetings of Friends and the college-city Meetings in Providence, Cambridge and the Connecticut Valley. He visited them all, but was not on structural planning committees.⁶¹ He was asked to give the congratulatory speech for the "wedding celebration" in 1945.⁶² He did much less to help the reunion of the Philadelphia and New York Hicksite and Orthodox Yearly Meetings, entrenched behind generations of mutual distrust. In each case Young Friends and some local Meetings united first. (In New York Yearly Meeting local Meetings in Farmington and "All Friends" (New Jersey) Quarters led the way).⁶³

The second new program, growing out of the war work, was the first Friends World Conference in London in 1920, to which all Quakers from

59. RMJ, *A Service of Love in War Time* (New York, 1920); and see Frost, *loc.cit.*; Vining, *op.cit.*, Chs. XV & XVI.

60. In 1940 he "brought the thought of the [Yearly] Meeting back to church extension" (1940 *Minutes*, p.27) but asked to be released from the World Consultation Committee; in 1942 he "spoke of his interest in the new Monthly Meetings under the American Friends Fellowship Council;" in 1942 he urged them to collect and catalog the papers of Moses Brown; in 1943 Passmore Elkinton reported that the American Friends Fellowship Council "originated from a concern of Rufus Jones as he returned from a trip around the world" (1943 *Minutes* p.13).

61. It is hard to find evidence of Rufus Jones' role in the Committees or discussions within the ("Gurneyite") Yearly Meeting of Friends for New England. He does not seem to have formally attended the "Wilburite" Conservative New England Yearly Meeting in West-erly until he was welcomed there in 1944 (1944 *Minutes*, p.8). Rufus Jones and Henry Perry then reported on the AFSC's decision to continue administering Civilian Public Service Camps despite disagreement about compromises thereby forced on conscientious objectors by the government. By 1944, the Wilburites' clerk, Henry Perry, and his Yearly Meeting "Committee on Relations with Other Meetings" who had already reported in 1933 that "the time has come for the unity of all the established groups of Friends in New England," had been meeting with the Connecticut Valley Association Friends for two years, and the plans were complete for the legal changes that would be needed in all five groups. The college-city Meetings later persuaded the Yearly Meeting to join also Friends General Conference. RMJ had hoped such double memberships would unify Friends. Data recommended to me by Elizabeth Cazden.

all countries were invited. Again, the young Friends pioneered, also meeting internationally in 1920, and in 1929 nationally in connection with a conference Passmore Elkinton called of all American Friends. In 1937, the America Friends Fellowship Council, growing out of the AFSC committee Elkinton chaired, called a second world conference, at Swarthmore College, asking Rufus Jones to preside. From this and its European parallel grew the Friends World Committee for Consultation.⁶⁴ By funding intervisitation, recognizing and linking Yearly Meetings, and setting up conferences it has helped Friends from many continents and cultures become friends and understand each others often varied and divergent forms of worship and of loyalty to God, Jesus, and the Bible. Even less than Rufus Jones has it tried to delimit the forms of religious experience or doctrine that should be called Quaker. That kind of spiritual discernment, as Rufus Jones and Arthur Roberts witness, can come where experience of God's love and of the depths of evil and suffering meet in the Cross of Christ.

62. 1945 *Minutes* of the united New England Yearly Meeting, p. 45. See also Daisy Newman, *A Procession of Friends* (Garden City, 1972). He also brought from the Executive Committee of Five Years Meeting, an invitation for the newly united Yearly Meeting to join as a whole, which was immediately accepted, but caused a defection of some Rhode Island Friends who were unhappy to hear that "the Discipline of the Five Years Meeting is now undergoing substantial revision. It is understood that the Discipline as revised will be accepted by the united Yearly Meeting with reservation of the right to adapt it to the needs of the subordinate Meetings." (1944 *Minutes* of New England Yearly Meeting (Wilburite)).

63. Barbour, Densmore, Moger, Sorel, VanWagner, and Worrall *Quaker Crosscurrents*: (Syracuse Univ.Press, 1994), Ch.XV (largely by Alson Van Wagner).

64. Friends World Committee for Consultation (FWCC) was begun in Europe in 1937. The American Friends Fellowship Council was merged into FWCC's America section only in 1954 (each, for instance, asked independently for support by New England Yearly Meeting in 1945. Herbert Hadley's detailed history of FWCC, *Friends World Wide* (London, 1991) Ch.1, unlike Elkinton, assigns no major role to Rufus Jones in either organization, though he was chairman of AFSC from 1935 to 1944 and presiding clerk of the Five Years Meeting session in 1935.