

## QUAKERS IN MINNESOTA

The census enumerators who traveled the length and breadth of the newly organized Minnesota Territory in 1850 recorded the presence of six thousand and seventy-seven souls, with three small churches and a few missionaries to care for their spiritual needs. The Catholics, Presbyterians, and Methodists had each established a church of their own. There was no Quaker meeting, nor were there any Friends to form one. But a year later, on the "12th day of Fifth Month 1851," as the Quaker records relate, the "first friend" arrived in St. Anthony. This first Friend was William Winfred Wales, who brought his wife and family from Indiana, although "William was a native of North Carolina."<sup>1</sup> Within ten years there were twenty-five more Quaker families in the twin towns at the Falls of St. Anthony, and Quakerism was well established in Minnesota. A little meetinghouse was built in Minneapolis on Hennepin Avenue at Eighth Street in 1860, and in 1863 there was organized the Minneapolis Monthly Meeting of

<sup>1</sup> Report of a committee appointed in 1861 by the Minneapolis Monthly Meeting of Friends to record its early history, included in the Minutes of Minneapolis Monthly Meeting, 1861-73, p. 11. These manuscript minutes, in the possession of the Friends' Church of Minneapolis, are among the numerous records of the Minneapolis Meeting which were placed at the disposal of the writer for the purposes of this paper. Valuable supplementary information also has been supplied by the custodian of records, Mr. Roscoe C. Coffin, and by other members of the Meeting, including Mr. John E. Worrall, Miss Alice C. Webb, Miss Edith H. Jones, and the pastor, Mr. H. Millard Jones. The suggestions of Mr. Jefferson Jones of the *Minneapolis Journal* and of Mrs. Grayce Wallace of the staff of the historical records survey have been most helpful, as has been Mrs. Wallace's report on the Minneapolis Meeting. The latter is among the papers of the survey, which eventually will be turned over to the Minnesota Historical Society. Where no other authority is given it may be assumed that the facts herein presented have been obtained from the Meeting records or from personal sources.

Friends, under the care of the Red Cedar Quarterly Meeting in Iowa and the Iowa Yearly Meeting.<sup>2</sup>

The association of the Minnesota Quakers with those of Iowa was organizational rather than organic, for the Friends who helped to swell the rush of settlers into the Minneapolis neighborhood in the decade of the fifties were from older centers farther east. Six families came from New Hampshire, as did James Bean, the first clerk of the Monthly Meeting. Lindley M. Hoag, a New Hampshire minister, visited Minneapolis in the summer of 1854 and assisted at the first religious meeting held "according to the order of Friends." The following year Joseph H. Canney, one of the New Hampshire immigrants of 1852, opened his home for weekly meetings. The New Englanders were joined by other Friends from Indiana, Ohio, New York, and Pennsylvania, and by 1855 they were numerous enough to maintain a regular meeting.

Among this first generation of Minnesota Friends there were several who became community leaders of considerable prominence. Wales, the pioneer, was probably the most active and best known of all. In his first year in St. Anthony he held religious meetings in a hall over a saloon, open to all who wished to come, although he was not formally recognized by the Friends as a minister until many

<sup>2</sup> In the Society of Friends the "Monthly Meeting" is the basic congregational unit for transacting business, although it may include several "meetings for worship," whose members are sometimes organized as "Preparative Meetings," reporting whatever business they may have to the Monthly Meeting. Monthly Meetings are associated in "Quarterly Meetings," and they in turn in a "Yearly Meeting," an annual assembly of designated representatives of the Quarterly Meetings and any other members who care to attend. Final authority in matters of membership, doctrine, and discipline rests with the Yearly Meeting. The Iowa Yearly Meeting, to which the Minneapolis Monthly Meeting belongs, is of the so-called orthodox branch of the Society of Friends, and is a member of the Five Years' Meeting of Friends in America. For a brief discussion of the principles and practices of Quakerism see any of the numerous editions of Allen C. Thomas, *A History of Friends in America*. The story of Iowa Quakerism is told in L. T. Jones, *The Quakers in Iowa* (Iowa City, 1914).

years later. He turned his hand to vegetable growing at first, so that Minnesotans might not be dependent on the expensive spring vegetables that were shipped up the river from the South. In 1854 he gave up this experimenting in order to open a bookstore. It became a popular meeting place for St. Anthony people, furnished as it was with a circulating library, and, as Wales advertised, with "everything usually kept in a respectable Bookstore." In 1856 he published an *Immigrants' Guide to Minnesota* and in the following year he issued a *Sketch of St. Anthony and Minneapolis, Minnesota Territory*. Both were printed and distributed by a New York firm in order to obtain for them as wide a circulation as possible. He was elected to the territorial council in 1856, was twice mayor and twice clerk of St. Anthony, and was appointed postmaster by President Lincoln in 1861. When the Sioux Indians ravaged southern Minnesota in 1862, Wales made a special trip to Indiana and Ohio to solicit relief funds, collecting over two thousand dollars in Cincinnati alone, with the help of Abraham M. Taylor, the Quaker treasurer of the Cincinnati relief committee. Later Wales did work for the freedmen in Mississippi, and in 1884 he became a missionary among the North Carolina mountaineers. Public spirited, friendly, and generous, William Wales was liked and respected by all who knew him in early Minnesota.<sup>3</sup>

While Wales was running his St. Anthony bookstore, Cyrus Beede and R. J. Mendenhall, two enterprising North Carolina Quakers, established one of the earliest banks in Minneapolis. Beede withdrew after a few years, but Mendenhall's Bank, located at First Street and Hennepin Avenue, was a flourishing institution in the sixties. Over-

<sup>3</sup> Minnesota Territorial Pioneers, *Proceedings and Report of the Annual Meetings*, 2:161 (St. Paul, 1901); *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 14:818 (St. Paul, 1912). Copies of Wales's pamphlets and of a *Historical Sketch of St. Anthony and Minneapolis* published by the *St. Anthony Express* in 1855, all of which contain data on his bookstore, are owned by the Minnesota Historical Society.

expansion and the panic of 1873 resulted in its failure, but Mendenhall followed the Quaker practice of paying his liabilities in full, though it took many years and most of the profits from his new business of florist, a field in which he pioneered in Minneapolis.<sup>4</sup>

It was probably through Mendenhall that the Minneapolis Meeting received a further addition of North Carolina Quaker stock. His brother-in-law, Dr. Nathan B. Hill, had been an outspoken abolitionist, and at the first signs of war in 1860–61, he found it expedient to sell his property in North Carolina and move North. Hill brought his wife and family to Minneapolis and persuaded his brother-in-law, Dr. Alfred H. Lindley, to do the same. They brought with them more capital than most of the Friends—their names were always at the head of the early lists of contributors to the expenses of the Meeting—and they invested heavily in Minneapolis real estate. As partners in medical practice they were successful, although Dr. Hill was the more active of the two. He served on the state board of health, was president of the state medical society, and was at one time president of the city council. Dr. Lindley retired after a few years in order to give full time to his real-estate interests.<sup>5</sup>

In their efforts to build up the city and state and to share in the profits of the building, the early Minneapolis Quakers were similar to their non-Quaker neighbors. But the Friends had a distinctive quality about them. Their plain coats, broad brims, and gray bonnets marked them off outwardly from other people. Their religious beliefs and practices were equally distinctive. Had it not been so, they

<sup>4</sup> *Some Extracts of the Personal Diary of Mrs. R. J. Mendenhall* (Minneapolis, privately printed, 1900); Marion D. Shutter, *Progressive Men of Minnesota*, 277 (Minneapolis, 1897).

<sup>5</sup> Isaac Atwater, ed., *History of the City of Minneapolis, Minnesota*, 84, 884 (New York, 1893); Horace B. Hudson, *A Half Century of Minneapolis*, 184, 200 (Minneapolis, 1908).

would probably have been submerged in the mass of newcomers and absorbed as individuals into one of the already established Protestant churches. But few as they were in the early days, they remained true to their Quaker faith, preferring loneliness and isolation to joining any other sect. Quaker principles and Quaker practices were too strong within them to be lightly cast aside. Their Quaker belief in an inner light that shines in the heart of every man kept these Friends true to the simple modes of worship and upright standards of conduct that had been practiced by their ancestors for generations. They were a chosen people, called to bear a peculiar witness to the world.

This deep sense of the special mission of Quakerism was expressed by Jonathan Binns, a visiting minister from Ohio who spent the summer of 1861 among the Minneapolis Friends, aiding and encouraging them in organizing their little meeting. He rejoiced, he said, that although they were far removed from any other Quaker settlement, they had nevertheless held true to the principles of their society. He earnestly hoped for their "preservation and growth in the unchangeable Truth," and said to them, in part:

The religious profession of our Society is a high and holy one, and calls for complete dedication of soul to the influences of the Holy Spirit, and great self denial in our intercourse with the world. Indeed it was a constant object of the founders that the important truth contained in the declaration of our holy Redeemer, "My Kingdom is not of this world" should be constantly in the view of its members, seeking not one that is convulsed with the vicissitudes of Time, but a city that hath eternal foundations. We have testimonies to bear in accordance, as we firmly believe with the plain precepts of the Gospel, which are peculiar, because other denominations of Christians have not in a collective capacity, seen it their duty to adopt them, and which therefore mark us differing from all others. Yet on our faithfulness in these particulars we are often judged, even by the people of the World. Then dear friends how my heart has been warmed with desires for your encouragement to walk in the way of holiness . . . and as you are concerned thus to walk, and to maintain by a daily watch unto prayer, the profession of your faith without wavering, I do believe [*sic*] your Heavenly Father will crown you with his ever-

lasting love, and that you will increase in numbers, as well as in the knowledge of his Truth, and his gospel of life and Salvation will have free course among you and be glorified.<sup>6</sup>

There were some sixty Quakers in Minneapolis in 1861 to heed the call of Jonathan Binns to uphold the peculiar testimonies of the Friends. Their meetinghouse on Hennepin Avenue, which had cost them about nine hundred dollars, was open regularly for meetings on "First Days" and on "Fifth Days," with a "First-Day School" to care for the religious education of the children. They had a small collection of Quaker books, most of them the gift of Friends in Indiana, and they had organized a library association to supervise their use.<sup>7</sup> They bought land for a burying ground in 1863, for the early Friends had had a testimony against tombstones, and the Quakers of the mid-nineteenth century persisted in the practice of burying their dead in their own graveyards, using markers of only modest size.<sup>8</sup>

Thus established and organized, the Minneapolis Meeting became the focal point for the Friends who joined the increasing stream of immigrants that poured into Minnesota after the Civil War. By 1870 there were a hundred and forty-five members in the Minneapolis group, although most of the newcomers had settled on farms in the counties west of the city. Wright County in particular experienced a Quaker immigration so large as to warrant the establishment of several meetings for worship. Early in 1871 three of these groups in and around Howard Lake were recognized as Preparative Meetings, reporting their business to the Monthly Meeting in Minneapolis.<sup>9</sup> And before the

<sup>6</sup> Binns to the Friends in Minneapolis, September 9, 1861, recorded in the Minutes of Minneapolis Monthly Meeting, 1861-73, p. 2-4.

<sup>7</sup> The manuscript constitution of the "Library of Friends of St. Anthony & Minneapolis, Minnesota" is preserved among the records of the Minneapolis Monthly Meeting.

<sup>8</sup> This separate burial ground was sold in 1881 and the bodies removed to a plot which the Meeting purchased in the Lakewood Cemetery.

<sup>9</sup> These were called Howard Lake, Highland, and Sylvan.

year was out the Wright County Friends formed a Monthly Meeting of their own, called Union, to which they transferred their membership from Minneapolis. Five years later these two Monthly Meetings were set up as the Minneapolis Quarterly Meeting, severing their connection with the Quarterly Meeting in Iowa. A third Monthly Meeting, called Redwood, was established in 1886, after a group of some fifty-three Ohio Quakers, most of them from the Newberry Monthly Meeting in Martinsville, Ohio, had emigrated to Minnesota in a body in 1864 and had settled in the vicinity of Redwood Falls.

The decade following this Redwood County settlement saw the greatest expansion of Minnesota Quakerism. It grew by immigration primarily, but there was also a considerable increase by conversion, or "convincement of Friends' principles," as the Quakers called it. After the first period of rapid growth of the Society of Friends in the seventeenth century, "convincements" had become less and less frequent, until by the early nineteenth century few people became Friends except by being born into the Society. But a new spirit of evangelism grew up among the Minnesota Quakers, gradually superseding the quiet pietism expounded by Jonathan Binns in his letter of 1861. This evangelistic ferment had been stirring in American Quakerism since the forties, when Joseph John Gurney, an English Quaker and brother of the famous Elizabeth Fry, had traveled in America and preached a new gospel — the gospel of evangelical Protestantism with its strong emphasis on sin, repentance, and salvation.

The Gurneyite doctrines appealed particularly to the Friends in the Middle West. With few exceptions, members of the orthodox branch of the society in the Ohio, Indiana, and Iowa Yearly Meetings welcomed the new evangel as a vitalizing force in Quaker life. And gradually, for the habits of a century and a half of quietism were

not quickly cast aside, western Quakerism took on the coloring of western evangelical Protestantism. The lay ministry of early Quakerism gave way to salaried preaching, Quaker meetings were transformed into revivals, Quaker silences were broken by singing, and Quaker meetinghouses became "churches," dedicated to a gospel of salvation by faith.

The new evangelism brought many converts into the Wright County Meeting, as it did also to that of Minneapolis, although it is doubtful if the convert group ever outnumbered the central core of birthright Friends. In Fillmore County, however, in the southeast corner of Minnesota, an event occurred which is almost unique in modern Quaker annals. A whole community turned Quaker where none had been Friends before. There were Friends near by, for the Quaker farmers who had begun to settle in northeastern Iowa in 1853 had gradually pushed across the state line, organizing a Preparative Meeting in Kedron in 1872, with a meetinghouse in Sumner Township. But the little town of Highland experienced a spontaneous religious revival, and, after several years of occasional preaching by Methodist, Congregationalist, and Quaker evangelists, affiliated in 1886-87 with the Monthly Meeting of Friends in the near-by Iowa town of Hesper. The Highland group was a Friends' church, rather than a Quaker meeting, depending upon a paid pastor for the preaching that a member-ministry would have performed among Quakers of the older type.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Both the Kedron and Highland Preparative Meetings were set off from the Winneshiek (now Hesper) Monthly Meeting in 1892 and became Monthly Meetings affiliated with the Winneshiek (formerly Red Cedar) Quarterly Meeting. The Highland Meeting erected a building in 1892, and employed Ezra G. Pearson for two years as resident pastor. There were thirty-five members in the Meeting in 1896. At present there are eleven, and the congregation has been supplied since 1894 by pastors from Hesper. There are now twenty-eight members in the Kedron Monthly Meeting, but they have ceased to meet regularly. Information on these meetings was supplied by Alvin A. Hawks of Mabel, Isola Howe of Spring Valley, Frances Shattuck of Whalen, and J. W.



The increase of Friends in Minneapolis occasioned the opening in 1886 of a second meeting for worship in the southern part of the city, where a building employed as a mission at Tenth Avenue South and Twenty-fourth Street was moved to Stevens Avenue near Lake Street and used by the Friends in that neighborhood. The downtown meeting outgrew its original building on Hennepin Avenue, and by selling that property realized enough to buy a lot and build a new meetinghouse at the corner of First Avenue South and Fourteenth Street. This building, completed in 1895 and still in use, is perhaps symbolic of the spiritual change that had occurred in Minnesota Quakerism. For instead of exhibiting the familiar simplicity of Quaker meetinghouses since the days of George Fox's testimony against ornate "steeple houses," it has a porch in the Greek revival style, with a pediment supported by four slender Ionic columns. The interior, however, retains the severe lines of ancient tradition, betraying only in its table pulpit the fact that the multiple ministry of former times has given way to a single professional preacher.

With the new building in Minneapolis and a membership there of over three hundred, the accessions in Fillmore County, and the establishment in 1890 of a group in Abbyville, Renville County, Minnesota Quakerism flourished as it had never done before.<sup>11</sup> But this prosperity was as short-lived as were the golden days which all Minnesota experienced before the great panic of 1893. In little more than a decade all the rural meetings except those in Fillmore

Eves, custodian of records of the Iowa Yearly Meeting, Oskaloosa, Iowa. See also Clarence Houck, report on the Kedron Quaker Church, in the papers of the historical records survey; Jones, *Quakers in Iowa*, 70; and Iowa Yearly Meeting of Friends, *Minutes*, 1936, appendix.

<sup>11</sup> The figure for Minneapolis includes the Lake Street Friends, who gave up their meetinghouse in order to worship in the new building with the older congregation. The Abbyville Preparative Meeting was named for the wife of R. J. Mendenhall, who sent a group of Friends to cultivate the large landholdings he had acquired there. In 1904 the Meeting went out of existence.

County had disappeared, and the Minneapolis Meeting had suffered a serious decline.<sup>12</sup> The *Directory* which it published in 1892 showed that a third of its 294 members lived outside the city — isolated families in Anoka, Todd, Wright, and Renville counties, and elsewhere. Nonresidence necessarily meant nonparticipation in the life of the meeting, and a pruning of the rolls in 1899 left only 184 persons in active membership. When the remaining members of the Union Monthly Meeting were absorbed in 1900 the total number was increased to 228. But in most instances this affiliation was only temporary, for the majority of the Wright County people moved out of the state, and they soon transferred their membership to their new homes.<sup>13</sup>

The causes of this swift decline of Quakerism in Minnesota were many, some of them beyond the power of the group to control, others inherent in the changed character of Quakerism itself. The compelling cause was of course the renewed migration among the members of the rural meetings. At Howard Lake, for instance, the Quaker artisans who had gone there when the town was being built in the seventies, were drawn into Minneapolis a decade later as the city more than trebled its size. The Quaker farmers sold their Minnesota lands and went elsewhere. It was with them as it had been with their ancestors for a century and more. Depression and the lure of new land impelled colonial Quaker farmers to leave Virginia and Pennsylvania for the Carolinas. Similar factors, and a growing dislike of

<sup>12</sup> The Redwood Falls Quakers ceased to meet without so much as giving notice to the Quarterly or Yearly Meetings, and their records have never been recovered. In 1909 the Minneapolis Monthly Meeting entered in its own minutes a formal notice of the dissolution of the Redwood group.

<sup>13</sup> Copies of this *Directory*, a tiny booklet without title page, place, or date, are now very rare. One is filed in the records of the Minneapolis Monthly Meeting. The earliest minutes of the Union Monthly Meeting are not extant, but a volume of "Records of Membership, 1872-1892," and one of "Minutes, 1887-1898" are preserved in the vault of the Iowa Yearly Meeting at Oskaloosa, Iowa.

slavery, sent their children and grandchildren into Ohio and Indiana. From there they pushed on into Iowa, Kansas, and Minnesota, whence, since they were rooted there neither by time nor tradition, the depression of the nineties set them moving again.

Much of this last migration led directly from Minnesota to the coastal valleys of Oregon and California. As early as 1870, for instance, an anonymous "Husband and Father" wrote home to his "Dear Ones in Minneapolis," praising the fruitful San Jose region in California, where Friends had begun to settle, and voicing his hope that his family might soon join him there.<sup>14</sup> Whether this hope was fulfilled the records do not disclose, but there were numerous transfers of membership in later years from Minneapolis to meetings on the west coast, fifteen certificates being forwarded to Oregon in 1898 alone. But the records also show that a considerable number of Minnesota Friends went south into Iowa and Kansas, or returned to the Ohio Valley, or even to the east coast. The closing of the agricultural frontier at the end of the nineteenth century thus modified the westward trend of American Quakerism.

If emigration was a serious threat to the continuance of Quakerism in Minnesota, there were also elements in the new evangelicalism which weakened the hold of the society on its remaining members. The strong bonds of early Quakerism which held the group in close religious and social communion were gradually relaxed. Quaker young people married non-Quakers without fear of the excommunication, or "disownment," that would have been their lot in former days. Quakers ceased to use the plain language of George Fox and to dress in the Quaker gray or black of their ancestors. In outward appearance and manner they became very much like "the people of the world." Nor was there

<sup>14</sup>The letter is in the records of the Minneapolis Monthly Meeting. The first transfers of membership to the San Jose Monthly Meeting occurred in 1873.

any serious difference in religious beliefs between the Friends and other evangelical Protestant denominations. Minnesota Quakers freely furnished certificates of membership to members who wished for personal or social reasons to join the Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, or Congregationalists. Christian Science claimed two members of the Minneapolis Meeting, and one person left the Quakers to enlist in the Salvation Army!

In 1905 the Minneapolis Friends became so concerned about the shrinkage in their numbers that they were moved to serious self-appraisal, reporting the results of their examination to the Yearly Meeting in Iowa as follows:

Minneapolis Monthly Meeting is a small body with a widely scattered membership. Fully one half of its members are non resident. One third of the remainder are only nominally Friends. Their interest in the Meeting is small, and they rarely attend — but have been kept on our list of membership for various reasons. Of the remainder it can be said that they attend Meeting very well, their spiritual condition is good, and their interest in the welfare of the Meeting is strong.

We are isolated from any large body of Friends, and are thrown on our own resources. We must face the difficulties incident to maintaining a Friends Meeting in a large City — these are many and great. Our membership is being constantly depleted by death and removal, and there are no new ones coming in to take the places of those who have gone — the outlook is not encouraging.

Having thus outlined their precarious condition, they asked for advice and assistance, saying:

As Cities are centers of intelligence and education, and are vantage points for the dissemination of Truth, the causes and remedy for this condition of our meeting might well engage the attention and consideration of the Yearly Meeting.<sup>15</sup>

After several years of consideration it was decided that the needs of the Minneapolis Friends could best be met by employing a full-time pastor. Twenty years before they had begun the practice of employing pastors. One of them, William Penn Angell, had been the motivating force behind

<sup>15</sup> Minutes of Minneapolis Monthly Meeting, 1893–1914, p. 197.

the building of the new meetinghouse, but after he gave up his pastorate the congregation did without a full-time leader for several years. Eleanor Wood, a young woman who was a recognized minister in the Society of Friends, devoted part of her time to the Meeting, and introduced a piano in the Sunday morning services, a radical departure from Quaker custom. But the organization needed a more vigorous and permanent leadership to give it strength. In 1909 then, to meet this need, it employed A. Edward Kelsey, a man of Quaker background, but with considerable training and experience in the evangelical type of ministerial service.<sup>16</sup>

The new pastor utilized the methods commonly employed by ministers in other churches to stimulate the interest of their members. Services and church groups were multiplied. Promotional activities such as roll-call dinners and printed bulletins were inaugurated. An annual "every-member canvas" for funds was instituted to provide for the increase in expenses, and the duplex envelope system of weekly contributions replaced the older Quaker method of individual assessments. At the same time, however, a decided effort was made to preserve the useful features of traditional Quakerism by means of a study class conducted by the pastor in the history and principles of the Society of Friends.

Since the pastorate of Edward Kelsey, who was called to the Friends' mission school in Palestine in 1913, four other pastors have continued the work along the lines which he laid down. Samuel L. Haworth served from 1913 to 1919, and Ellison R. Purdy from 1919 until his death in 1933.

<sup>16</sup> Information concerning pastors prior to 1909 has been supplied by Miss Alice C. Webb and other Minneapolis Friends. During the transition from the lay ministry to the pastoral system, financial arrangements with the pastors were made by a committee whose records do not appear in the regular records of the Meeting. The first paid pastor was William L. Pearson, who came to Minneapolis about 1885. He was followed by Irving Taber and William Penn Angell. Dr. Harland Stewart supplied for a time during the interval in which there was no regular pastor.

After a year's pastorate by Dr. H. L. McCracken, Mr. H. Millard Jones, the present pastor, was called to fill the vacancy.

The results of the introduction of the full pastoral system were immediately apparent in the revival of the spirit of the Minneapolis group. Interest and optimism replaced indifference and discouragement, and the rapid decline in membership was checked. But there was no great increase, in spite of the best evangelizing efforts of the pastors. The membership list grew from 200 in 1909 to 233 in 1924. At present, however, it stands at 192, with a third of the list representing members no longer in residence. It would appear that immigration and the conversion of new members have failed to offset the losses resulting from removal, resignation, and death. The current financial depression and the death of several large contributors have so reduced the Meeting's income that the annual budget, which once amounted to almost four thousand dollars, now barely exceeds two thousand. The problem of a declining membership remains.

The influence of the Quakers upon Minnesota life in the eighty-six years since the first Friends came to the state has been greater than their numbers would lead one to suppose. In matters of individual conduct they held to a high standard, for they were puritan in morals if not in theology. The Meeting closely supervised its members in both their personal and social relationships, and a Friend who went to law unnecessarily, who resorted to divorce without due cause, or whose conduct in business or otherwise brought disrepute upon the society, was required either to ask forgiveness or to suffer "disownment." The result was that Quakers were generally known as respectable, honest, virtuous people, and were a strong influence for good in the communities in which they lived.

In addition to these puritan virtues the Friends had the gift of charity, a gift peculiarly their own. In this they

made their most noteworthy contribution to Minnesota life, particularly to that of Minneapolis. They were accustomed to caring for their own poor as a matter of course, but they were equally solicitous for the welfare of others. As Minneapolis grew from town to city the Friends, particularly the women, were among the first to recognize the need for organized charity and relief. They helped to found the Woman's Christian Association in 1866-67, the second organized philanthropy in the city, and the parent organization of many other charities which now serve the city's underprivileged. The association's visitor of the poor, Mrs. Phebe H. McMillan, did her work so well that the city poor department made her its first salaried visitor. Other Quaker women, including Mrs. Abby Mendenhall, Miss Sarah Swift, Mrs. Eliza Lindley, and Mrs. Annis L. Stuart, did jail visiting, helped to found the Sisterhood of Bethany, and were among the organizers of the Northwestern Hospital for Women and Children. The older organization, the Woman's Christian Association, developed this work in its early stages, but it gradually narrowed its activities to its two present tasks, the providing of boarding homes for working girls and of a home for the aged. In this as in their other philanthropies, Quaker women always worked in co-operation with members of other churches, but to them may be given great credit for their years of service on the board of directors of the Woman's Christian Association, which now does an annual business of a quarter of a million dollars and administers properties worth nearly a million.<sup>17</sup>

Causes other than local charities likewise received the support of Minneapolis Friends. They contributed to the "Freedmen's Fund" of the Iowa Yearly Meeting, and their "Committee on the Concerns of the People of Color," a

<sup>17</sup> Jessie McMillan Marclay, "Friends in Social Service," a paper read before the Minneapolis Friends in 1916 and now preserved among their records.

characteristic feature of the Quakers' program since they emancipated their own slaves in the eighteenth century, conducted "First-Day Schools" among the Negroes in St. Anthony for a decade following the Civil War.

The temperance movement of the seventies found ready adherents among Minnesota Quakers. Their ancestors had long frowned upon the making and selling of spiritous liquors, although total abstinence had not always been a Quaker practice, and some Friends, particularly in England, had made respectable fortunes as brewers. But American Quakers were strongly affected by the temperance agitation after the Civil War, and the Minneapolis Monthly Meeting, following the advice of the Yearly Meeting of 1874, appointed a special committee on temperance. For several years they campaigned vigorously against the liquor traffic, and co-operated with other churches in petitioning the city authorities for stricter regulation of saloons. Quaker women joined a Women's Temperance Union, and they encouraged the growth of a "Temperance Reform Club" by securing pledges of total abstinence from both drunkards and teetotalers. The temperance committee reported with pride in 1877 that one unfortunate inebriate had by this means been brought to see the error of his ways, and, like the redoubtable Koko, been taken from the county jail and elevated to the high office of president of the Reform Club, thus "honoring himself and the Cause." Although this particular campaign waned in time, the Friends retained their faith in the righteousness of the cause, and in later years renewed the attack upon the evils involved in the abuse of alcohol. At present they are participating in an effort to replace the wreckage of national prohibition with a temperance movement based on education rather than force.<sup>18</sup>

Quakerism has always opposed the resort to force in in-

<sup>18</sup> Minutes of Minneapolis Monthly Meeting, 1873-95, p. 123. A prominent Minneapolis Friend, Mr. Roscoe C. Coffin, is president of the Minnesota Temperance Movement, and the pastor of the Minneapolis



ternational relations, and to this Quaker principle the Minneapolis Friends have held true. During the Civil War two or three of their members did succumb to the temptation to enlist in what they believed to be a holy cause. But the majority went quietly about their business, silently testifying to their conviction that the way of peace was the better way. In the less troubled times that followed the war they became active again, contributing to the peace fund of the Yearly Meeting, and memorializing Congress in favor of the establishment of a tribunal for international arbitration and against further increases in the expenditure for armaments. Later, when the United States was engaged in carrying liberty to the Filipinos at the point of the bayonet, the peace committee of the Minneapolis Friends deplored the barbarity and cruelty with which the liberation was inflicted, although it does not appear that they dared express their views outside the sanctum of the Quaker meeting. Again, in the early years of the World War, Minneapolis Quakers vigorously aided the efforts to keep the United States neutral. They memorialized President Wilson and the Congressmen from Minnesota, and assisted at numerous mass demonstrations for peace. At several of these meetings their minister, Samuel L. Haworth, presided, introducing such distinguished pacifists as David Starr Jordan and William Jennings Bryan. When pacifism became treason in 1917 the Friends turned to relief work, joining with their national organization, the American Friends Service Committee, in the war zone rehabilitation and ambulance service by which Quakers in England and America demonstrated their desire to serve humanity if not to join in its destruction.

The story of Quakerism in Minnesota, including as it does a full cycle of development from small beginnings to

Meeting devotes a considerable portion of his time to his position as educational chairman of the organization. See the *Spotlight*, the organ of the Minnesota Temperance Movement, for June, 1936.

maturity and then to slow decline, has in it most of the elements which go to make up the larger story of western Quakerism in the nineteenth century. It shows the character and influence of the westward trend of rural Quakerism: the settling of new lands and establishing of new meetings, the move to still newer lands, and the consequent decline of the older meeting groups. It shows the effects of the western experience on the essential character of Quakerism, its gradual abandonment of its older doctrines, and its adoption of the habits of worship and the mode of life of the surrounding churches and people. It shows as well the contribution which Friends have made to the life of the West, especially in cities such as Minneapolis, where the group was strongest, most stable, and most conscious of a need for a wider service. Though few of the Minnesota Friends ever achieved such distinction as to place them among the great leaders of the state, they were a distinctly constructive force in the community.<sup>19</sup> Quaker piety and Quaker industry, Quaker honesty and Quaker charity, have all entered into Minnesota life in good measure.

THOMAS E. DRAKE

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HAVERFORD, PENNSYLVANIA

<sup>19</sup> The only Minnesotan of Quaker origin to secure high political office was William Windom, United States senator and secretary of the treasury under Garfield and Harrison. He married outside the society in the days when this was sternly frowned upon, lived in Winona, remote from any Friends' meeting, and never associated himself actively with Minnesota Quakerism.



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