

He Pleaded the Quaker Cause

William Penn: Politics and Conscience, by Mary Maples Dunn (Princeton. 206 pp. \$6), penetrates the mind of the Friend who founded Pennsylvania. Michael Kraus, emeritus professor of history at City College of New York, is the author of "The Atlantic Civilization: Eighteenth Century Origins" and "The Writing of American History."

By MICHAEL KRAUS

THE COMMONWEALTH in seventeenth-century England has been described as more fertile in political thought than any in modern history. William Penn was child to that generation, which threw off ideas with the rapidity and incandescence of soaring fireworks. Penn's father, Vice-Admiral Sir William Penn, a pillar of the Establishment, rested on his son his dreams of future family greatness. But when young Penn, aged seventeen, became a dropout from Oxford for nonconformity, parental dreams were shattered. In hopes that Continental sophistication would wean the errant lad from the dangers of dissent, a grand tour was prescribed. The cure worked, temporarily, making him a gay companion in London's high society. However, young Penn did find time to study law, which later served him well in his time of troubles with judges and jailers.

Penn's most creative years lay between 1660 and 1689; in those decades the press poured forth a flood of his tracts, revealing a wide range of interests. The thread that linked them was his insistence on liberty of conscience. Clearly and perceptively, Mary Maples Dunn analyzes Penn's ideas on toleration, government, and social organization. Her work is the biography of a mind keenly penetrated.

In Restoration England Quaker commitment to religious liberty ran head-on into immovable governmental orthodoxy. More than others, Friends were the victims of oppression against dissenters. Their major sin was a refusal to swear oaths, which made suspect their loyalty to crown and country. Exactly 300 years ago, Penn made the great decision that transformed his life. Quakerism captured him and, in turn, he captained its cause when its followers needed him most.

To lessen public hostility against himself and his co-religionists, Penn spent his energies in an intensive campaign of writing as well as pleading the Quaker cause in court. Because of his ready access to men highly placed he was of particular value to Quakers. Time and again his contacts won for Friends ease from further hardship.

Though Quakers were barred from membership in the House of Commons, Penn plunged into election campaigns to alert electors to the main issues and to defeat hostile men. He stressed the necessity of the electorate to vote carefully to guard the rights to life, liberty, and property—so dearly won in the past.

As Professor Dunn skillfully points up, Penn's ideas were not original, "with the possible exception of the relationship between property and religious liberty." It was his activism in behalf of toleration and good government which gave him a special aura that has clung to him ever since. Dissent, he insisted in words relevant to our own day, was compatible with good citizenship. Intolerance, not dissent, brought on civil disturbances. Should there be revolt, said Penn to a fearful government, it would come not from dissent, but from refusal to tolerate dissent. And he reminded Englishmen that they, like the Dutch, would be the economic gainers by accepting dissenters skilled in commerce and crafts.

Failure of Quakers to elect preferred candidates, little advance in religious toleration, and rising tensions between Whigs and a crown fearing rebellion disheartened Friends committed to pacifism and the defense of liberty. England seemed foreclosed to Penn, who now turned to America, where his plans might be fulfilled. "I had an opening joy as to these parts," he wrote. "I purpose that which is extraordinary, and leave myself and successors no power of doing mischief, that the will of one man may not hinder the good of a whole country." The peaceable kingdom in Penn's woods did secure the

cherished principle of religious liberty, but even here non-Christians were excluded from government. The reality departed from the ideal in other respects. Factionalism in the colony added disharmony to the conflict between Penn and the local legislature. As proprietor of the colony he even resorted to authoritarian behavior, although his heart was not in it.

Frustration almost broke him. After 1685 he backed James II, who seemed to Penn a safe anchor in a troubled time, but then the revolution of 1689 destroyed the Stuart monarchy. For many years thereafter Penn devoted himself to preserving his proprietary interests in America. His vision did embrace a larger cause, a plan for world peace. *An Essay Towards the . . . Peace of Europe* (1693) was the last flicker of a flame that had ignited much of humanity.

Penn's later years were wasted in neglect and self-pity. He felt himself a failure. Subsequent generations did not agree. The freedom enjoyed in Pennsylvania drew tens of thousands from Europe who were fascinated by the mirage in the West. The "good Quaker," in legend and in fact, remained to stir the conscience of men everywhere.

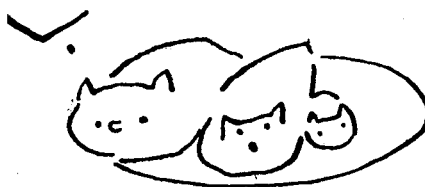
Colonial Gadfly

The Writings of Christopher Gadsden: 1746-1805, edited by Richard Walsh (South Carolina. 342 pp. \$10), comprise the influential correspondence and essays of a vigorous advocate for American independence. Thomas D. Clark is professor of American history at the University of Kentucky in Lexington.

By THOMAS D. CLARK

THE PUBLICATION of this volume demonstrates that even the fields of American independence and the Revolution still produce virginal records. Richard Walsh of Georgetown University has drawn together here and given coherence to the previously unpublished papers of Christopher Gadsden, an active radical and key figure in the important business of intercolonial correspondence. Gadsden, who was of English parentage, was born in Charles Town, South Carolina, in 1724 and died there in 1805. During his eighty-one years he was ship purser, merchant, plantation owner, moneylender, wharf master, and staunch proponent of American independence.

Almost from childhood Gadsden was sensitive to the colonial problems of his region, and to the slights it suffered from the home government. This was especially true when the commercial



welfare of both South Carolina and the American colonial system in general were concerned. Prolix and involved though his writing style was, Gadsden developed clearly the concept that American colonials were separated from England only by geography, not by constitutional principles. When the Crown and Parliament or the British governor encroached upon the constitutional rights of the colonials he favored quick and positive resistance. Buried deep in his wandering sentences are the kernels of his philosophy of colonial and English freedoms.

Without revealing the biting anger that characterized much of the writings during the trying years 1767 to 1782, Christopher Gadsden proved himself an uncompromising advocate for independence. From the passage of the Townshend Acts through the final triumph of the American patriots at Yorktown, the South Carolinian was vigorous in expressing his views. Although there was a vast chasm between the lucid, straightforward declarations of Samuel Adams and those of Christopher Gadsden, the Carolinian could be eloquent at times. In an essay he prepared in 1769 he appealed to local merchants and mechanics as freemen living under the British constitution to resist the discriminations of the Townshend Acts. To him it was unbelievable that "our mother country should take almost every means in her power, to drive her colonies to some desperate act; for what else can be the motive (besides oppressing them) of treating them with that contempt she upon all occasions affects to do?" Though historians heretofore may not have lacked knowledge of the influence of this vital correspondence, they now are given an illuminating picture of its origin and impact on the South.

Gadsden was as vigorous in military activities as in propagandizing in behalf of independence. Situated in the strategic port of Charles Town, he had opportunity to participate in actual fighting. The intimate views in his letters of naval engagements in the harbor reveal how poorly armed the hastily assembled defenders were to stand off any force from British ships that anchored just outside the bar. The Gadsden papers also afford firsthand glimpses of the war in the Carolina back country in subsequent years.

Once the excitement of the struggle for independence was over, Gadsden turned his attention to South Carolina politics and economic expansion, although he was not oblivious to national concerns. Independence had been won but not the final political victory. The young Republic faced almost as many problems as the colonies had in their closing years under British rule. In May 1787 Gadsden wrote George Washing-

ton that he was happy the General had finally decided to go to Philadelphia; this decision promised respectability and hope to efforts to draft a constitution.

IN many ways the passage of time was cruel to men like Christopher Gadsden. They had worked so hard to gain independence and they expected so much from their efforts—but they experienced little satisfaction in the changes that came to them. John Adams was slighted by not being re-elected President of the United States, which Gadsden viewed as public ingratitude. Jefferson, however, was a faithful patriot, and he

would no doubt carry on for a while longer as the young nation advanced toward maturity.

Professor Walsh has faced considerable challenge in presenting the Gadsden papers in intelligible form, for he has had to deal with verbosity, vagueness, and highly inexplicit writing. He has even had to translate Gadsden's shorthand. Clear headnotes and amplifying footnotes greatly clarify this material, and an excellent introductory statement properly places the old revolutionary in his complex eighteenth-century setting. South Carolina's role in the crusade for independence has now been brought into much sharper focus.

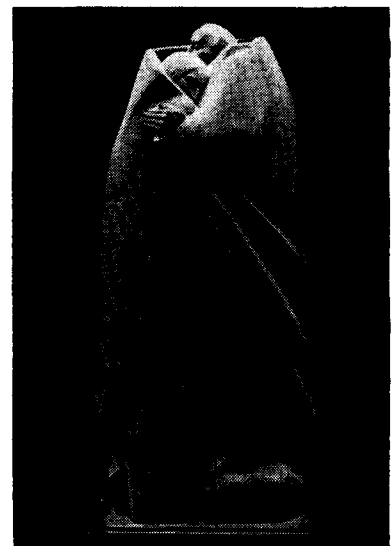
Ex-animal trainer and professional sportsman, accomplished mechanic, and distinguished teacher, Albert Stewart saw his sculpture primarily as a projection of the best of the classical tradition. Supplemented with deeply-felt tributes by Douglas McClellan, David W. Scott, Robert B. Palmer, and Millard Sheets, *Albert Stewart* (Scripps College, \$20) contains a selection of the artist's observations on art in addition to a fine sampling of animal pieces, drawings, sculpture, and massive-scaled monuments that reveal his love for all living forms.



Cat, ink and brown wash.



Imhotep, one of eight figures, 1960. Stone, sixteen feet high. Scottish Rite Temple, Los Angeles, California.



Refugee Memorial, 1962. Plaster version, nine feet.

Champion of the Impossible Dream

In a World I Never Made, by Barbara Wootton (Toronto. 283 pp. \$7.50), is the autobiography of a straight-talking British maverick who, rebelling against starched respectability, became a magistrate, professor, social scientist, and politician. *Barbaralee D. Diamonstein* has served on the White House staff and as Special Assistant for Cultural Affairs, City of New York.

By BARBARALEE D. DIAMONSTEIN

IN THE United States today, so I hear in publishing circles, a considerable nostalgia is developing for the 1930s. Those, another generation is beginning to say, were the tonic years when the flags of zestful living and thinking were really flying. If the British should develop such a nostalgia, I suspect it would reach a bit further back, to the opening decades of the twentieth century, when the abundantly gifted and endlessly ram-bunctious band of Fabian Socialists appeared to analyze, taunt, dazzle, and transform His Majesty's Realm. In this remarkable group not many are more interesting figures than the gracious and very tough-minded Barbara Wootton (now Baroness Wootton by grace of a Labour government), who here gives us her autobiographical reflections.

The volume is divided into two sections. Originally, the Baroness intended to write only the second part, her views on a number of major issues. But she came to feel that the opinions would have a good deal more meaning if the reader knew the person behind them, and hence she wrote Part I, the autobiographical portion. The instinct was a sound one.

Put together, the sections provide that satisfaction which can come only from the sense of getting to know someone who is well worth knowing and from meeting opinions that are the outgrowth of a life fully lived.

Like so many of the British mavericks, Lady Wootton began in starched respectability. The child of two classical scholars (with a cat named Plato), she had a long, expensive, arid education, during which she was scrupulously taught dead languages as though they had never lived, and even learned to hate the juicy realism of Shakespeare. But the lanterns of dissidence were light-

ing up in England, and this young woman was not one to miss their lure. There were wider worlds, worlds she had never made but ones she was determined to understand.

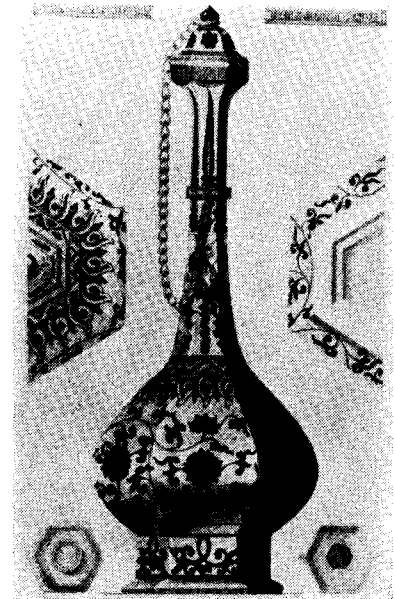
At twenty-five Barbara Wootton uprooted herself from comfort and security and began an independent life in London by joining the circle of Sidney Webb and Hugh Dalton, who drew her into the whole churning orbit of the Labour movement. From there an enormously varied career unfolded; in the course of forty years she became a magistrate, a university professor, the author of a number of seminal social studies, a mem-

No other land in ancient times contained such variegated cultural cross-currents as Russia. Persian fabrics, Chinese ceramics, and Frankish swords brought by Arabian caravans studded the market-places of her cities. Workshops maintained by the grand princes, and the skills of Syrians, Scythians, Greeks, Sarmatians, Germans, and Scandinavians who settled throughout the empire, further contributed to her artistic development. Including material based on excavations since 1920, Arthur Joyce surveys the little-known pre-Petrine period in *The Arts and Architecture of Medieval Russia* (Oklahoma, \$9.95), and demonstrates how an ingenious selective faculty gave birth to a culture uniquely Russian.

ber of several royal commissions, a governor of the BBC, one of the first women to be admitted to the House of Lords, and the first to sit on the Woolsack as a Deputy Speaker.

The "social scientist," as Lady Wootton prefers to classify herself, will go on debating just what turns the children of the established groups into rebels. Her own story emphasizes two things: the jarring effects of a public cataclysm—in her case the First World War—and the pervasive influence of personal events.

During World War I, she fell in love with a young soldier who was ordered back to the front on the day before their wedding. The ceremony was held, he marched away, and five weeks later he was killed. Before Barbara Wootton was twenty-one she had known the death not only of her husband but of her father, brother, and favorite school friend. ". . . I had learned little about life," she writes, "much about death." What she had learned about life, and



Porcelain flagon, sixteenth century.



Stairway, Terem Palace, Kremlin, Moscow, 1635.



Church of the Georgian Virgin, Moscow, 1653.