THREE FACES OF THE COLONIAL QUAKER TESTIMONY*

By E. Gordon Alderfer

WHATEVER reservation our minds may hold regarding the Quaker regime in early Pennsylvania, we cannot help but admire the quiet fervency of the early Quaker temperament. Admittedly, the early Quaker governmental control of the province had theocratic tendencies, but time has not really sullied its reputation for integrity and justice. Though the passions engendered by current affairs sometimes modified the Christian purity of the Quaker regime, the great majority of the personalities involved were morally sure-footed and spiritually awake.

Yet by the last decade of the seventeenth century the thrilling religious ardor of first-generation Quakerism was beginning to fade. A disciplinary morality, coupled with missionary evangelism, supplied the want of ardor at the helm of leadership. For the majority quietism—a gentle garden variety of the faith of the founder—became the prevailing spirit. Men like Fox, Penn and Barclay handed on the mantle of spiritual leadership to men like Thomas Chalkley, Jonathan Dickinson and Thomas Story.

The latter three illustrate the intellectual and spiritual qualities of Quakerism at the opening of the century of “enlightenment.” Each of them left a journal to posterity. These three journals are like a three-sided mirror of the spiritual life of Pennsylvania

*This article is another portion of a chapter in the author’s projected history of Pennsylvania literature which he is developing under the auspices and with the aid of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. A preliminary draft of the prefatory chapter to this work was printed in the April issue of PENNSYLVANIA HISTORY.
Quakerism at that formative time in our history. Chalkley the moralist, Dickenson the dramatic narrator, and Story the intellectual, in effect portray the underlying psychological history of their time.

Both as a man and, for those who will trouble to discover it, as a writer William Penn grips our imagination to this day. His vast practical accomplishments, his position as liaison between “a despised people” and the haughty courts of Charles, James, and William and Mary, his utopian dreams of a new society, the large compass of his mind—all contribute to our enduring respect for him. Even his accumulated burdens of tragedy seem to us filled with intense drama, as indeed they were. His written words were seldom unmoving, frequently rose to a spirit of challenge, and on a few occasions rose to a grandeur of concept which we associate with Milton and Bunyan.

But to jaded modern minds the Journal of the plain and peaceable Thomas Chalkley (1675-1740) seems dull and unimaginative in comparison. He lacks Penn’s remarkable scholarship as well as that Quaker courtier’s ability for and interest in sustained philosophical reasoning. Chalkley’s mind is as plain as his dress, and, in the light of his tremendous reputation as a preacher, certainly plainer than his speech. We do not look for any sustained flights of imagination after the first ten pages of the Journal, nor for any of that religious grandeur that took form in the hymns of his contemporary Isaac Watts.

But by negation or comparison alone we fail to give Thomas Chalkley his due. In the first place, as no other he represented the best of early Pennsylvania Quakerism in personal evangelism. His whole life was dedicated to spreading the word of evangelical Christianity, and though his Journal is a plain document it has the not inconsiderable merit of revealing the religious thinking of second-generation Quakers as well as the spiritual tone and quality of the early Pennsylvania Quaker “theocracy,” if so bold a word may be used.

In comparison with Penn’s writings and ideas, Chalkley’s Journal impresses us at once with a different flavor. Fundamentally the difference lies in the gap between first- and second-generation Quakerism. George Fox and William Penn impress us with their tremendous enthusiasm, their re-discovery of a great principle,
and their sharp challenges to established authorities. The charge of a dynamic enthusiasm dies down into a rather forbidding, though quiet and sincere, moralism. It is still accompanied by evangelical fervor, but the sense of discovery, of spiritual re-awakening has fled. Probably no other unpaid "minister" of the Word ever travelled farther or with more constancy than this plain preacher-merchant-mariner. And yet, the spiritual fire of original Quakerism no longer burned brightly.

It is rather hard to accept the opinion of one writer that Chalkley's Journal "displays an elevation of thought and a simple beauty of style that makes it, in places, comparable to John Woolman's Journal." Whittier's couplet in "Snowbound" is, it seems to me, a more adequate appraisal:

Chalkley's Journal old and quaint,—
Gentlest of skippers, rare sea-saint.

The Journal is indeed quaint, rather than challenging or probing. There are passages of rich interest to the antiquarian, comments on contemporary conditions and problems rewarding to the historian.

But it is difficult to understand how a man with such a life-long constant devotion to his faith could produce so comparatively crabbed and prosy an autobiography. The tragedies that accost him have almost the accumulated grandeur of Job's. Of the thirteen children born to him during two marriages, only one daughter survived childhood. His first wife, whom he adored, in youth a Friends minister like himself, died in the prime of life. Chalkley seldom had an opportunity to enjoy the rest and repose of the country home which he established at Frankford, now a part of Philadelphia—always the Spirit calls him into the most arduous and perilous journeys. He comes under constant criticism from jealous members of his own faith. Finally he finds himself deeply, almost hopelessly in debt—at the same time he loses a vessel at sea, two more come in wrecked, his barn burns to the ground, and a serious and painful distemper afflicts him. Soon afterwards he meets with a serious accident. Through it all he is "borne up" by an undeniably great faith.

\footnote{2 R. W. Kelsey's article on Chalkley in Dictionary of American Biography, Volume III (New York: Scribners, 1929).}
Few people of his day saw as much of the world as Thomas Chalkley. As a mere youth he had felt under a religious concern to spread the faith through his native England. Before he was twenty-five he made his first voyage to America to preach, and soon thereafter he settled permanently in Pennsylvania. Throughout his adult life he made constant trips to the West Indies, the Barbadoes particularly—altogether more than twenty. He made preaching tours to Ireland, to Scotland where bigots attacked him with stones, and on several occasions to the various shires of England, and up and down the east coast of America. On one journey during which he was absent from home three whole years, he conducted his evangelical campaigns in Holland and Germany. If there could be found any indication of escapism in his writings, his readers would certainly suspect him of running away from himself in a kind of desperation. But no such implications can be found. Throughout his life-long wanderjahre he remained sternly true to himself.

The Journal contains no evidence that his personality grew and expanded with the widening circles of his travels. In William Penn we sense an evolution of thought and spiritual growth; but Chalkley remains static almost from childhood. For example, he is much more reliant on the word of Scripture than William Penn, who once challenged the final authority of the Bible. Chalkley is indeed not far afield from New England Hebraism, though without its fire-and-brimstone bigotry. One might even label him a Quaker edition of Cotton Mather, if such a personality were possible! As a matter of fact, he was on friendly terms with, and something of an admirer of that eminent religious neurotic, as his published letter to Mather indicates. Both directed their moral principles against gaming, dancing, drinking, and merriment in general. Both constantly proclaimed the wages of sin; both adhered to Scripture at the expense of the spirit within, even though their ideological foundations were constructed quite differently. Perhaps it was people like Chalkley of whom the mystical Johannes Kelpius was thinking when he criticized the spiritual joylessness of his Quaker contemporaries.

The Hebraic bias of his religion, however, does not greatly alter the essential Quaker principles to which Chalkley was devoted. He was a pacifist; he regarded slavery and cheating the Indians, com-
mon practices then, as abominations; theoretically at least his model of collective life was Primitive Christianity; he put his trust in both works and faith and identified that position as the central distinction between the Catholics, "who seemed to lay too much stress on works, and the Lutherans, Calvinists, and others, too little: but our principles led us to join both together; the Almighty having joined them together, none ought to separate them." ²

But at the core of his understanding was that essential duality between the world and the spirit, which he believed could never be harmonized:

We all ought to understand, that our hearts and minds ought to be out of the world, or above the nature and spirit of it. It is good and profitable for both soul and body, rightly to distinguish between earthly and heavenly things, and to be careful how we mix the one with the other; for it is an eternal truth, that God and mammon cannot dwell together, or join together in the heart. ³

And the root evil of the world, to this unworldly Quaker, is self-love, "a great enemy to man, and [which] very much hinders his eternal happiness." ⁴ With this special bias against things of the world, it was only natural that Chalkley was deeply impressed with the even more unworldly Mennonites of Holland and Germany:

There is a great people whom they call Menonists, who are very near to truth, and the fields are white unto harvest among divers of them, spiritually speaking. ⁵

While Friends were gradually losing the spiritual enthusiasm of their founders and more and more of their members were returning to worldly forms of merriment, a moralist like Chalkley was bound to be shocked into calling forth the theocratic power

of the Quaker government to stem the tide. He wrote out the following accusations while on shipboard:

That the Lord was angry with the people of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania, because of the great sins and wickedness which were committed by the inhabitants in public-houses and elsewhere. That the Lord was angry with the magistrates also, because they use not their power as they might do, in order to suppress wickedness; and do not . . . put the laws already made into execution against profaneness and immorality . . . and also the Lord is angry with many of the better sort of the people, because they seek after and love the things of this world, more than the things of his kingdom.  

And this was in the 1720's when the Quaker government was in full power. Though Chalkley nowhere expressly championed the theocratic principle of government, we continually find implications of approval of that Puritan principle as applied to the Society of Friends, which constituted “a kind of national worship” in Pennsylvania. Surely a Quaker theocracy would have appeared much more liberal and benevolent than the New England forms, but nevertheless a theocracy, practicing the suppression of wickedness (which it would narrowly define) by the force of law and restraint. When Chalkley himself had these powers as master of his own ship, he “took care in our own vessel that there should be no swearing in my hearing, nor drunkenness, to my knowledge, without reproof; and if I could not be instrumental in that way to break them from swearing and drinking to excess, my manner was, to put them away, so that we generally had a pretty quiet ship.” A tightly woven governing society pleased him well, even when it went to the extent of banning those who married outside the Society.

But Chalkley wrote not a word about the internal dissensions regarding the property rights of the proprietors and the people. Not only was he on very friendly terms with the radical David Lloyd, but contrariwise he maintained the highest respect for William Penn and his family. Indeed Chalkley seemed to have an

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6 Ibid., p. 258.
7 Ibid., p. 164.
8 Ibid., pp. 283-284.
ingrown and almost indiscriminate respect for all governing authority. When George I died, he recorded that he was "a prince whom I loved and honored; which news was very sorrowful to me on divers accounts." Even his Quaker pacifism was modified by his respect for authority, for though he was absolutely opposed to war, "yet I would not be understood," he wrote in 1739, "to be against the magistrates exercising the power committed to them, according to just law"—presumably the power of taking defense measures.

Both from a literary and an ideological interpretation, therefore, Chalkley as a journalist and religious pamphleteer seems unchallenging to us. The dozen pamphlets printed with his Journal, in the edition I have used, are by and large even less inspiring than the Journal itself. But we must give him credit for admitting his plainness and paucity of imagination: "Expect not learned phrases or florid expressions; for many times heavenly matter is hid in mean sentences, or wrapped up in plain expressions," he wrote in the preface to one of his pamphlets. We readily agree to his own criticism, and though the Journal is not without its "heavenly matter," the passages of religious intensity, depth of feeling, and beauty of spirit are all too few.

If Chalkley's Journal is "quaint," moralistic and dull, the journal record left by Jonathan Dickenson is quite the opposite in tone. Every paragraph seems packed with dramatic events, and the whole subject of the modest little book—shipwreck off the coast of Florida followed by torturous capture at the hands of savages, and a long slow trek to the Spanish garrison at St. Augustine and eventually to Charleston—is dramatic in the highest degree. No wonder that at least seven editions appeared during the eighteenth century. Quaker readers in those years must have been starved for just such drama, as a release from the moralistic sobriety and uneventful quality of other Quaker spokesmen.

Strangely, though, the little book of Jonathan Dickenson has long since fallen into obscurity. Recent Quaker historians hardly mention him, and the not very exclusive Dictionary of American Biography omits him entirely. And while editions of Chalkley are not hard to come by, Dickenson's book seems to be exceptionally

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9 Ibid., p. 266.
10 Ibid., p. 398.
11 Ibid., p. 409.
rare. Even the compendious fourteen-volume *Friends' Library* omits even the barest selection from it. It is hard to understand this neglect.

The facts concerning the life of Jonathan Dickenson are therefore scarce, with the exception of those recorded in his journal. It is said that "he was an English Quaker of parts," and that he later became Chief Justice of the Province of Pennsylvania. His book, under the unfortunately cumbersome title of *God's Protecting Providence, Man's Surest Help and Defence in Times of Greatest Difficulty and Most Imminent Danger*, records part of his and his family's migration from England to Philadelphia via Jamaica. The narrative admirably confines itself to the events following a hurricane that overtook the ship off the coast of Florida in August, 1696. Less imaginative Quaker journal writers would have stretched the record to include at least all of the long journey (if indeed they would have stopped with that). But even in the short time-span of Dickenson's story, all unessentials are omitted. It is a piece of real-life reporting hard to equal in the annals of American literature. And as narrative the Indian tales of Fenimore Cooper and Montgomery Bird are hardly more dramatic than Dickenson's journal, and frequently less able, and less pointed.

More prudish writers of the period would have omitted much that Dickenson revealed. When he, his wife and the rest of the company are stripped of all their clothing by the savages, he not only records the event in honest language but uses it as the basis of a memorable pen-picture:

> We brought our great Bible, and a large book of Robert Barclay's, to this place; and being all stript as naked as we were born, and endeavoring to hide our nakedness, these Cannibals took the books, and tearing out the leaves, would give each of us a leaf to cover us, which we took from them; at which time they would deride and smite us, and instantly another of them would snatch away what the other gave us, smiting and deriding us withal.


He does not scruple to relate that one of the savages, none of whom could speak English, nevertheless addressed himself as "English son of a bitch,"4 without recording the epithet in the usual dashes. And when the chief's squaw demands to suckle his tiny child, he regards it as an act of Providence, since his wife for lack of food and rest can no longer feed him. His word pictures of the intense build-up of the savages' religious ceremony, and the terror it wrote upon their hearts; of the extraordinary deftness of Indian spear-fishing; or of the stirring First-Day Meeting the captives held in the midst of a crowd of savages, with the chief's son facetiously and delightedly passing around the Bible to be read—all are equally memorable, deft and dramatic. Moralsizing on such events is at a minimum, and so, when his Quaker spirit does intrude in the telling, his thoughts and phrasing are never dry and dull but, on the contrary, have a dramatic intensity and compassion all their own. For behind the rapid sequence of events is the mind of a man who is at peace with his God, to whom the events in and of themselves are evidences of "God's protecting providence." When the chief whose tribe captured them is about to signal their annihilation, Dickenson records that all of a sudden "all these savage men were struck dumb, and like men amazed, for the space of a quarter of an hour; in which time their countenance fell."5 At another time the vehement gesticulations of another tribe seemed terrifyingly ominous, "but suddenly we perceived them to look about and listen, and then they desisted from prosecuting their bloody design."6 Little effort is made to explain, in concrete moral terms, these psychological, providential rescues, but the author is nevertheless certain in his heart of their spiritual meaning and validity. And the reader, if he is at all sensitive, is convinced too. In spite of the fact that Dickenson was probably not above emphasizing the "sensational" values of his story—as witness the reference in his subtitle to "the cruel devouring Jaws of the inhuman Cannibals of Florida," which is hardly an honest appraisal of that people—the tale has a ring of simplicity and truth, and an overtone of spiritual security, that is virtually unique in personal history.

4 Ibid., p. 32.
5 Ibid., p. 22.
6 Ibid., p. 41.
Dickenson the dramatic narrator and Chalkley the moralist do not exhaust the types of Quaker journal literature current during Pennsylvania's early years. To these two we must add the name of the scholarly and intellectual Thomas Story. Story's journal is neither intensely dramatic, like Dickenson's, nor dustily moral, like Chalkley's. In large part it is simply a record of conversations and debates on theological and ethical subjects with his fellow men, from the Czar of Muscovy and dukes and earls to the meanest commoner. And since these are recorded completely and exhaustively, if not exhaustingly, his great journal reads more like the apologetic and disputatious literature of the early Quakers than a life-journal. The most interesting events of his life are omitted or glossed over, and all that he apparently wished preserved was the spiritual truth as he saw it, divorced from the entanglements of personality and events.

Like William Penn, Story felt the challenge of religious cleavage in his own home, as well as the intensity of adult conversion which Chalkley, for example, never could have experienced. Story came from a well-to-do and fashionable family in the north of England, near Carlisle. One of his brothers took orders in the Anglican Church and eventually became Dean of Limerick in Ireland. Thomas had the typical English gentleman's sound education and thereafter hung up his shingle as a lawyer. And then, almost by accident, the net of Quakerism caught him. For a time he wavered, and it was not until he reached the age of twenty-nine (1691) that he became completely identified with Quakerdom. Almost from that time on he was "one of the few front-rank Friends of the early eighteenth century." Apparently he was a deeply moving preacher, like Chalkley, for it was said that Story's addresses were "kindled with seraphic flame." But also, as in the case of Chalkley, the flame does not seem to have been kindled when he got down to the business of writing his journal.

With his acceptance of Quakerism, Story gave up much of his professional work and settled in London as a conveyancer, but was constantly absent as an itinerant minister. As in the case of Chalkley much of the remainder of his life was devoted to

18 Ibid., p. 7.
Quaker visitations in the British Isles, Holland, and America. Finally in 1698 Thomas Story left for America, and William Penn was among those who bade him Godspeed. For a year he travelled all over the northern parts of English America and was preparing to return home when Penn engaged him in the legal complexities of his troubled province. For fourteen years thereafter Story called Philadelphia his home; there he became a member of Council, keeper of the great seal, master of the rolls, and recorder of the city, all the while maintaining an active leadership in Pennsylvania Quaker affairs. Sometimes he was absent for so long on religious visitations to other parts, that a substitute had to be appointed. One such visit took him to the West Indies with Jonathan and Mary Dickenson, during which their vessel was captured by a French privateer. It was also during these American years that Story fell in love with the beautiful and wealthy Ann Shippen, and vied for her hand against no less a personage than James Logan, Penn’s brilliant and scholarly secretary. The affair apparently disrupted the Logan-Story friendship, which, however, blossomed again in later years and resulted in a close intellectual camaraderie. At any rate, Story won Ann’s heart and they were married in 1706. Four years later Ann died of consumption, and Thomas Story never re-married.

In 1714 Story was back in London; the next year he visited Holland, then Ireland, and thereafter was constantly busy in Quaker affairs throughout England. His sermons were collected and printed, and the discriminating and honest James Logan reports the pleasure with which they were read in his household. After the death of Pennsylvania’s founder, Story was of great service to Hannah Penn in the province’s troubled affairs.

So much for the broad outlines of Story’s life. A number of “minor incidents” give us some additional clues to the man’s character. Uncompromising as his character was in regard to matters of spiritual truth, as witness his imprisonment in London for refusing to take the “affirmation,” which was in reality an oath, a number of unpleasant incidents took place which, though he was cleared of all blame, seem to imply “some trait in his mental make-up which laid him open to attack by his enemies.”

9 Ibid., p. 10.
relationships of one who was in intellectual matters the most scrupulous. When as Treasurer of the Pennsylvania Land Company he delegated one Hoskins to assist him, the latter was able to make such use of that power that much of the money was lost. A narrow verdict cleared Story of connivance, but the enemies he formed in the affair plagued him for years afterwards. Then the widower was charged with lodging at the house of a man who had been disowned by the Society for "scandalous practices." At two different times serious charges involving his personal affairs with the ladies were brought to the attention of the Society, though he was cleared in both cases. On at least one other occasion he was accused of being "a little too fine and modish and particularly as to thy hat and long hair &c. . . .," even though earlier he had laid aside his sword and burned his beloved musical instruments. (Penn himself, with a similar aristocratic background, was subject to the same criticism.) Certainly the gifts Story lovingly sent to James Logan's wife and daughter—crystal buttons set in gold and silver, and silk handkerchiefs and stockings—hardly exhibited the simplicity which we usually associate with early Quaker leaders.

Evidences like these seem to indicate that in Story's personality we are witnessing a significant transition from the deep religious sobriety of the seventeenth century middle class to the less denying, less rigorously moral and more affirmative classicism of the eighteenth century. The published correspondence between Story and James Logan, who was one of America's finest representatives of the classical spirit, provides additional evidence. Emerging out of a complex business correspondence relating to some of Story's Philadelphia property, the letters become a fragmentary but intimately revealing mirror of the philosophical climate of the early eighteenth-century English-speaking world.

Both men, in their later years, showed that spirit of loving inquiry into the world of nature so common to the classical spirit. Story's favorite pastime in later years was the improvement of his north England estate and his nursery of forest trees, including "divers American Exotics." But the inquiry was much deeper, had much wider ramifications than the affectionate dab-

20 Ibid., p. 12.
21 Ibid., p. 54.
bling with growing things. We are astonished, therefore, at Story's penetrating view of nature, which indeed points the way to Lamarck and Darwin. While attending meetings in Yorkshire in the summer of 1738, he visited the "high Cliffs" and was amazed at "the great variety of Strata therein."

... I further learn'd & was confirmed in some things, & that the Earth is of much Older date (as to the beginning of it) than the time Assigned in the holy Scriptures (as commonly understood), which is suited to the common Capacity of human kind, as to Six days progressive work; by which I understand certain long & competent periods of time & not natural days. The time of ye Commencement & finishing of all those Great Works being indiscoverable by ye mind of man. ... 22

The opening of his mind in Yorkshire led him to begin writing a "Short Hypothesis concerning the Commencement of Inert Matter," which probably he never finished. The correspondence relating to his theory is therefore fragmentary and feeble, but it nevertheless foreshadows later scientific developments.

I do mean, that all inert Matter was generally animated, consisting of innumerable Animalcula & Farina, before the Worlds were made of it, & I do not doubt but to bring to thy understanding, at least, that it may be the most probable way to acct for the beginning of Inert Matter, & well understood, may bring out many more truths yet undiscovered in Nature; & I apprehend that the Creator of all things never made anything dead in its first procedure from him, but living. 23

It is that final clause which gives us the proper view of the thrilling expanse of Thomas Story's mind, for in that is wedded an ethic and a science.

Story even re-discovered, apparently on his own, the inductive method which, though it had not yet penetrated to the common consciousness, Bacon had announced a century before. In Story's mind the deductive method of time-worn Aristotelianism, the

22 Ibid., p. 71.
23 Ibid., p. 72.
framework of the medieval religious mind, was combined with the thought-process of the modern age:

For as it appears to the rational man that God is, by referring back from the Creation to the Creator, even so by tracing the works of Nature, from their present state & manner of working, backward, we may thereby the better perceive the manner of her procedure from her fountain & origin, tho' peradventure never to perfection in every particular.24

Out of the age-old static view of nature, which influenced even so majestically independent a mind as Milton's, the principle of eternal flux and change and of the indestructibility of matter emerges. "There is a perpetual revolution of all things," he wrote, "but no proper annihilation of any, save only of form, but not of substance."25

The Age of Enlightenment dawned, but like James Logan, though in greater degree, Story distrusted the ultimate extension of rationalism. Just as he rejected the old guard of "false teachers" who "exclude the Spirit of Christ . . . & advance the Letter," even so did he renounce the increasing number of Deists, "who despise the priests as designing & insincere men, yet, not knowing the Divine Essential Truth in themselves, would advance reason as the only guide of mankind in all things."26 But if he were to choose between the two, he probably would have been more sympathetic to the latter, as subservient to the overthrow of priestcraft "& much more so when inlighten'd by the Divine Truth."

As he bridged the gap between Puritanism and Deism, Story likewise closed the chasm between what he termed "essential truth" and "formal truths." The living presence of Christ, the wisdom and power of God is "that essential truth"—indwelling, self-evidencing and "homogeneal unto all." The formal truths of Christian faith—Christ as incarnate Son of God, the crucifixion as propitiation for sin, the resurrection, ascension, glorification—unalterable though they be, are not the source of life eternal, indeed are sometimes the means by which essential truth is obscured in

24 Ibid., p. 73.
25 Ibid., p. 75.
26 Ibid., pp. 46-47.
the souls of men by the endless theological debates about them. Knowledge of formal truth—indeed the whole intellectual storage house—can by no means alone lead to the "peace that passeth understanding." This is the crux of the spiritual revolution which Quakerism helped to introduce into the western world of the seventeenth century, and Story was at a loss to see the fires of the essential truth begin to fade in the very society that so brilliantly fanned them into flame.

As to the state of our Society as a religious people, it is but Low at present everywhere, the Life of the Word of God is too little known, & less obey'd among us. Too many who have recvd the doctrine & Traditions of our profession in their heads are yet ignorant of the prevailing power & vertue of it in their hearts. . . .

The dullness of uninspired orthodoxy set in where, a generation earlier, a flaming enthusiasm had cast off the fetters of the Letter to make way for the Word.

Some of the same shortcomings that plagued William Penn in foreseeing all the ramifications of applying essential "Truth" to social and political organization seemed, however, to exist in the mind of Thomas Story. As a matter of fact Story was too much absorbed by ultimate principles and spiritual values to work out a theory of political and practical life consistent with them. Penn turned away from the revolutionary democracy implicit in his religious thinking because of the ingratitude and deceptions he reaped in the administration of Pennsylvania. Story, on the other hand, never descended very far into the complexities of political life. Even while he held a host of offices in Philadelphia, his fervor in behalf of "Truth" led him far afield from civic duties. Property rights he regarded as equal, if not under certain circumstances superior, to human rights, for servants he regarded as the property of their masters. His political theory was static and "constitutional," depending upon the force of law (albeit liberally interpreted). Though renouncing war with all the considerable bril-

28 *Correspondence of James Logan and Thomas Story*, p. 52.
liance of which he was capable, he recognized the validity and necessity of "the sword of civil justice in execution of civil, temporal, and righteous laws; whereby the civil magistrate is, or ought to be, 'a terror to the evil doer, and a safeguard and praise to them that do well.'" And he exhibited as much internal fortitude in challenging bigoted New England constables for falsely arresting him without proper warrant as William Penn displayed at a more famous trial. But the challenge was "according to law." Story may not have been the first to coin the revolutionary slogan of "life, liberty and property" (not, mind you, the "pursuit of happiness"), but both the limitations as well as the incipient radicalism of the phrase applied to Story's politics.

The time was not ripe for breaking the barriers of a static, hierarchic social and political order. But Quakerism had opened the gates. At least the outworn intellectual barriers of the static order had been broken down—and that was a tremendous (probably its most important) accomplishment. Much of that revolutionary achievement may be attributed to minds like William Penn's and Thomas Story's—minds capable of penetrating through a lifeless mass of tradition and learning to essential truth.

*Conversations . . . of Thomas Story, p. 215.*