

# How Ecology, Economics, and Ethics Brought Winstanley and Nitobe to Quakerism

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## Abstract

Gerrard Winstanley, the seventeenth-century English leader of the True Levellers, as they called themselves, a Dissenter group better known as the Diggers, and Inazo Nitobe, co-founder of the nineteenth-century Sapporo Band in Japan and Under-Secretary-General of the League of Nations, were both involved in founding indigenous Christian movements but ultimately joined the Religious Society of Friends. Their views about agricultural ecology, personal financial troubles and ethical commitments led them to Quakerism. Each believed there was no separation of the ethical, spiritual and secular within the experience of nature and ecological cultivation, and shared a commitment to earthcare, sustainable farming, non-violence and ethical living.

## Keywords

agriculture, ecology, economics, Japan, Inazo Nitobe, Gerrard Winstanley.

## Introduction

Gerrard Winstanley and Inazo Nitobe were both involved in founding indigenous Christian movements<sup>1</sup> but ultimately became Quakers.<sup>2</sup> I will argue that their views about agricultural ecology, their personal financial troubles and their ethical commitments led them to join the Friends.<sup>3</sup>

1 This paper focuses on the religious thought of the original members of the Sapporo Band. It does not cover the thought of the descendants of the Sapporo Band – namely, the Sapporo Independent Christian Church and the *Mukyukai* (non-church movement). Although these groups trace their history back to William S. Clark, neither Clark nor Nitobe chose to be involved in the establishment of the formalised church founded by a subset of the Sapporo Band members (as far as we have records, Clark did not reply to Kiyoshi Uchida's letter asking for Clark's input on whether or not to establish their own independent church, nor whether he minded them spending his \$100 donation on a building or on hiring a pastor) and neither man was involved in the formation of the *Mukyukai* by Sapporo Band member and close life-long friend of Nitobe, Kanzo Uchimura. Because Nitobe did not take part in either the institutionalised independent church or the *Mukyukai*, and these entities are generally considered to have 'developed' or 'evolved' out of the early 'stage' of the Band's church activities, many Japanese scholars do not consider Nitobe a leader of an indigenous Christian movement. I argue that during the three- to four-year period of the Sapporo Band proper, when comprised of its original members and before its adaption into the independent church, Nitobe was looked to as one of the key leaders by his fellow group members, per Uchimura's description of his role. The Diggers movement ran its course within the span of approximately a year (Winstanley's tracts were mostly penned in 1649 and 1650). In comparison, Nitobe was in a leadership role for a longer duration of time than Winstanley was, and no one questions the fact that Winstanley was indeed a leader of a religious movement. By the same token, I will refer to Nitobe as a leader of an indigenous Christianity. The independent church and *Mukyukai* have not highlighted ecology and sustainable agriculture to the same degree as did the Sapporo Band proper, which may be a reason that Nitobe's work in this area has been largely neglected in favour of studies of his transpacific peace work. Uchimura, Kanzo, *How I Became a Christian: out of my diary*, Yamamoto, Taijiro and Muto, Yoichi (eds), *The Complete Works of Kanzō Uchimura*, 7 vols, Tokyo: Kyo Bun Kwan, 1971, I, pp. 36–39; Uchida, Kiyoshi, '(13) Sapporo, Minami Shiribeshi Dori, No. 38. Sapporo, May 25th, 1881', in Satou, Masahiko, Onishi, Naoki and Seki, Hideyuki (transs), *Clark no Tegami: Sapporo Nougakkou seito to no oofukushokan*, Sapporo: Hokkaido Shuppan Kikaku Center, 1986, pp. 208–11 (pp. 208–9); Johnson, Daniel, 'Winstanley's Ecology: the English Diggers today', *Monthly Review* 65 (2013), pp. 20–31 (p. 25).

2 Christopher Hill does not concede that there is sufficient evidence that the Gerrard Winstanley who penned tracts for the Diggers and the Gerrard Winstanley whose death is recorded in a Quaker record and the Chancery suit of 1675–76 were the same person, but James Alsop answers Hill's five primary concerns with a reasoned argument. See Alsop, James, 'Gerrard Winstanley's Later Life', *Past and Present* 82 (1979), pp. 73–81 (pp. 75–80).

3 It has been argued by some scholars, such as Winthrop S. Hudson, that Winstanley is 'the true father of Friends': that is, the original founder of the Quakers, rather than a person who joined after it had already been established. Points of argument include that Winstanley and the Quakers had the same publisher, Giles Calvert, and that Winstanley called his followers 'Friends' and called himself a 'Friend to Freedom', 'Friend to Love' and

Winstanley was a seventeenth-century British freeman of the Merchant Taylors Company from 1638, self-employed in a small and unstable cloth business that ended in bankruptcy in 1643, and a grazier in the mid-1640s before leading the Diggers, or True Levellers, as they called themselves.<sup>4</sup> He advocated seeing the English Commons as literally common land that ought to belong by right to all of the people of England for their desired (positive) usages.<sup>5</sup> Nitobe, born in 1862 into a well-to-do samurai family under the shogunate system, was initiated into knighthood and entrusted with his first blade at the age of five. Two years later he witnessed the Meiji Restoration that replaced the 265-year-long feudal military government and local lords with centralised imperial rule and oligarchic power, and ushered in a monumental cultural shift. He recalls:

I carried my bodkin for two years. When I was told to drop it, not only did my loins feel lonely, but I was literally low in spirit. I had been taught to be proud of being a samurai, whose badge the sword was. I used to hear of brave and noble deeds which could only be accomplished by wielding it. I had never heard of a really brave man demolishing a host of ogres or killing a band of brigands with a pistol.<sup>6</sup>

'Friend'. He used a distinctive phrase, 'Children of the Light', not known to have been used by any other group. Nevertheless, I take Winstanley at his own words as Edward Borough notified Margaret Fell, in or around August 1654, that Winstanley 'beleevs we are sent to perfect that worke which fell in their handes hee hath bene with us'. Though Winstanley was a mystical visionary before joining the Friends, this report indicates that he did not view himself as the originator of Quakerism, but rather as one who forged ties with them as a kindred group, attended Meetings and married a committed Quaker, and came to consider the Friends the ones who would ultimately realise his previously envisioned utopia. Hudson, Winthrop S., 'Gerrard Winstanley and the Early Quakers', *Church History* 12 (1943), pp. 177–94 (pp. 181–84); Corns, Thomas N., Hughes, Ann and Loewenstein, David (eds), 'Introduction', in *The Complete Works of Gerrard Winstanley*, 2 vols, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009, I, pp. 1–94 (p. 17); Alsop, 'Gerrard Winstanley's Later Life', p. 77.

4 Corns et al., 'Introduction', pp. 4, 8; Alsop, J. D., 'Ethics in the Marketplace: Gerrard Winstanley's London bankruptcy, 1643', *Journal of British Studies* 28 (1989), pp. 97–119 (p. 64).

5 The English Commons (also known as 'The Commons,' 'the Common,' 'the commons,' 'the common' or 'common land') is a British legal category of common-pool resource land on which 'commoner'-type citizens bear designated rights, such as to graze livestock. Committee on the Human Dimensions of Global Change, & Agrawal, A., 'Common Resources and Institutional Sustainability', in E. Ostrom, T. Dietz, N. Dolšak, P. C. Stern, S. Stonich, & E. U. Weber (eds), *The Drama of the Commons*, Division of Behavioral and Social Sciences and Education; Washington, DC: National Academy Press, 2002, pp. 41–85; Committee on the Human Dimensions of Global Change, Dietz, T., Dolšak, N., Ostrom, E., & Stern, P. C., 'The Drama of the Commons', in E. Ostrom, T. Dietz, N. Dolšak, P. C. Stern, S. Stonich, & E. U. Weber (eds), *The Drama of the Commons*, Division of Behavioral and Social Sciences and Education; Washington, DC: National Academy Press, 2002, pp. 3–35; Corns et al., 'Introduction', p. 8.

6 Inazo Nitobe, 'Reminiscences of Childhood', in *Lectures on Japan: an outline of the development of the Japanese people and their culture. What the League of Nations Has Done and Is Doing. The Use and Study of Foreign Languages in Japan. Reminiscences of Childhood. Two Exotic Currents in Japanese Civilization. An Unfinished Translation of Lao-Tzū and English Abstract of*

Nitobe became the most prominent member of the nineteenth-century Sapporo Band, authored *Bushido: the soul of Japan* and served as Under-Secretary-General of the League of Nations, where, by bringing together such notable scholars as Albert Einstein and Madam Curie, his feature work was founding the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation.<sup>7</sup>

Both the Diggers and the Sapporo Band came into existence in times of political and social tumult. Christopher Hill summarises: '[f]rom, say 1645–1653, there was a great overturning, questioning, revaluing of everything in England'.<sup>8</sup> The Diggers published their first pamphlet in 1649 against a backdrop of economic distress and bursts of civil war between Charles I and the Long and Rump Parliaments. Paltry harvests, bad weather, disruptions in trade, disease and hefty taxation guaranteed that the years from 1647 to 1649 were 'some of the most difficult in English history'.<sup>9</sup> Winstanley held that William the Conqueror had instigated a state-funded clergy and that the enduring aristocracy 'hold Title to the Commons by no stronger hold then the Kings Will, whose Head is cut off ...'<sup>10</sup> and so 'are some that stormes extremly at the *Engagement*'.<sup>11</sup> The Diggers operated after the Long Parliament's May 1648 ordinance against blasphemies and heresies, and thus their activities were defined as felonies punishable by the death penalty.<sup>12</sup>

The Sapporo Band was formed in 1877 and the Meiji era in which it operated

*the Kojiki*, The Works of Inazo Nitobe, 5 vols, Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1972, IV, pp. 475–570 (pp. 507–09).

7 Oshiro, George, 'Nitobe Inazo at the League of Nations: 1919–1926', in *Nitobe Inazo: from Bushido to the League of Nations*, Nagao, Teruhiko (ed.), Humanities Series: Graduate School of Letters, Hokkaido University, Sapporo: Hokkaido University Press, 2006, pp. 185–211 (pp. 192–93).

8 Hill, Christopher, *The World Turned Upside Down: radical ideas during the English revolution*, New York: Viking Press, 1972, p. 12; Winstanley, Gerrard, 'A New-Yeers Gift FOR THE PARLIAMENT AND ARMIE: SHEWING, what the KINGLY Power is; and that the CAUSE of those they call DIGGERS is the life and marrow of that cause the Parliament hath declared for, and the Army fought for; the perfecting of which work, will prove England to be the first of nations, or the tenth part of the city Babylon, that fals off from the Beast first, and that sets the crown upon Christs head, to govern the world in righteousness', in Corns, Thomas N., Hughes, Ann and Loewenstein, David (eds), *The Complete Works of Gerrard Winstanley*, 2 vols, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009, II, pp. 107–60 (p. 112).

9 Corns et al., 'Introduction', p. 13.

10 Quotations are preserved in their original spellings, capitalisation, italics and punctuation, without the use of [*sic*]. Winstanley, 'A New-Yeers Gift', pp. 112–14.

11 Winstanley, Gerrard, 'ENGLANDS SPIRIT Unfolded. OR AN INCOURAGEMENT TO TAKE THE ENGAGEMENT. SHEWING The End of That Cause That Was First Declared Fro, in the Beginning of the Warres against the King, by a Salutary Discourse between Two Friends', in Corns, Thomas N., Hughes, Ann and Loewenstein, David (eds), *The Complete Works of Gerrard Winstanley*, 2 vols, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009, I, pp. 161–70 (p. 164).

12 Winstanley, Gerrard, 'TRUTH Lifting up His Head above SCANDALS: wherein is declared what God, Christ, Father Sonne, Holy Ghost, Scriptures, Gospel, prayer, ordinances of God are', in Corns, Thomas N., Hughes, Ann and Loewenstein, David (eds), *The Complete*

was, similarly, a period of drastic upheaval. After approximately 215 years of self-seclusion, Japan had been forcibly opened to the outside world by Commodore Matthew C. Perry's black ships in 1853 and was struggling to adapt. Though the Convention of Kanagawa was signed with Perry the following year, with three more international treaties of Amity and Commerce following in 1858, the shogunate was not successfully disbanded until 1867, and civil war raged for over a year as loyalists attempted to restore the shogunate to power. Nitobe's samurai family was directly involved in the uprising. He recounts,

Such radical changes did not take place without some bloodshed. The so-called War of Restoration lasted about a year, in which time the Imperialist Army of the South defeated the Shogunate troops of the Northeast. Our family belonged to the latter party.

I remember well when our town surrendered. We felt deeply humiliated. Some hot-heads clamored for a war of revenge; but wiser counsels prevailed, pleading for peace and coöperation with the conquerors in face of the common danger ... . All my immediate relatives took the defeat very deeply to heart ... . [T]he general who dealt with our troops required as a condition of surrender that the leader should commit *harakiri* ... . Uncle was deeply incensed by this order, which he considered as the climax of many cruel acts he had witnessed perpetrated by the Southerners.

As soon as peace was restored ... . [h]e established a domicile in Tokyo to watch events. He saw no possibility of a chance to make good again the lost cause. He discovered in Tokyo that the new régime had come to stay and that it required new men... . [W]hen he decided that only by educating a new generation could he wipe out the stain of defeat from the record of his family and from that of his prince, he asked my mother if she would consent to his adopting me as his son.<sup>13</sup>

Nitobe thus moved to Tokyo as his former uncle's new son at the age of ten.

Meanwhile, the Meiji government decided to colonise and develop Ezochi—what is now Hokkaido prefecture—as a buffer between Japan and Russia.<sup>14</sup> To secure Hokkaido, governor Kiyotaka Kuroda's first move was to recruit Horace Capron, US Commissioner of Agriculture, as a special advisor and, as his second, William S. Clark, president of Massachusetts Agricultural College (now known as The University of Massachusetts Amherst), to establish Sapporo Agricultural College (SAC) in 1876 during an eight-month stay. Though Clark did not view himself as a missionary, within a few months of utilising the Bible in the SAC

*Works of Gerrard Winstanley*, 2 vols, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009, I, pp. 408–71 (p. 455).

<sup>13</sup> Nitobe, *Reminiscences*, pp. 116–18.

<sup>14</sup> The Republic of Ezo, a secessionist state established by former shogunate loyalists, stayed afloat on the northern island for half of 1869 before being crushed by Japan's imperial forces. Nitobe, Inazo, 'Appendix: Japanese colonization by Dr. Nitobe', in Nagao, Teruhiko (ed.), *Nitobe Inazo: from Bushido to the League of Nations*, Humanities Series: Graduate School of Letters, Hokkaido University, Sapporo: Hokkaido University Press, 2006, pp. 178–84 (pp. 178–79).

ethics course and inviting students to discuss it with him outside of class, the entire student body had converted; the Sapporo Band was born. Just as the Dissenters were unwanted collateral from the perspective of the British government, George M. Oshiro explains that ‘it is apparent that Christianity in Sapporo was a by-product – unplanned and probably unwanted – of a larger national scheme to incorporate Hokkaido into the national polity’.<sup>15</sup> Nitobe arrived at SAC a few months after Clark’s departure and was the first of the incoming class to subscribe to his upperclassmen’s Christianity and add his signature to Clark’s Covenant of Believers in Jesus.<sup>16</sup>

It may be noted that the Quakers and Diggers are particularly remembered for their political dissent, whereas many of the Sapporo Band’s members were employed directly by the Japanese government. However, the Dissenters advocated independence from English laws specifically concerning the state church; they did not generally dissent against laws unrelated to freedom of religion.<sup>17</sup> When the Sapporo Band’s Christian beliefs and civic loyalties were in conflict, the group decided by majority vote among themselves as to how to proceed. Nitobe’s life-long friend Kanzo Uchimura reported that

[l]egally such a thing as a Christian burial was not allowed ... the majority votes decided upon making a special petition to the government to change the said law. This was thought as the beginning of a great movement which must ultimately be taken up for the bestowal of religious liberty upon the nation.

The Band did not view this as merely a private matter, seeing themselves as trailblazers in a civil rights movement, although, in the end, they did not have a significant role in establishing freedom of religion in Japan.<sup>18</sup> However, these groups’ analogous sensibilities may hint at why both Winstanley and Nitobe were later drawn to the Quaker testimonies of peace and simplicity.

15 Oshiro, George M., ‘Nitobe Inazō and the Sapporo Band: reflections on the dawn of Protestant Christianity in Early Meiji Japan’, *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 34 (2007), pp. 99–126 (p. 102).

16 Brooks, William Penn, ‘1883 September 15’, 15/09/1883, Brooks in Hokkaido, University of Massachusetts Amherst [http://www.library.umass.edu/spcoll/digital/brooks/rg3\\_1brooks\\_14\\_18830915.pdf](http://www.library.umass.edu/spcoll/digital/brooks/rg3_1brooks_14_18830915.pdf), accessed 16/04/2014.

17 John Lilburne and others, ‘FROM Lieutenant Col. John Lilburn, Mr William Walwyn, Mr Thomas Prince, and Mr Richard Overton, (Now Prisoners in the TOWER of London) And Others, Commonly (though Unjustly) STYLED LEVELLERS. Intended for Their FULL VINDICATION FROM The Many Aspersiones Cast upon Them, to Render Them Odious to the World, and Unserviceable to the Common-Wealth. And to Satisfie and Ascertain All MEN Whereunto All Their Motions and Endeavours Tend, and What Is the Ultimate Scope of Their Engagement in the PUBLICK AFFAIRES. They Also That Render Evill for Good, Are Our Adversaries: because we follow the thing that good is’, in Haller, William and Davies, Godfrey (eds), *The Leveller Tracts, 1647–1653*, New York: Columbia University Press in cooperation with Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, 1944, pp. 276–84 (p. 278).

18 Uchimura, I, pp. 93–94.

## Ecology

Although the earliest Quakers did not prominently emphasise ecology in their writings, the works of eighteenth-century Friends such as John Woolman, Anthony Benezet, John Churchman, Joshua Evans and John Hunt stemmed from Quaker peace principles and naturally imbued a respect for nature and a dedication to sustainability.<sup>19</sup> William Penn asked of the earth,

[H]ow could Man find the Confidence to abuse it, while they should see the Great Creator stare them in the Face, in all and every Part thereof? Their Ignorance makes them insensible ... in mis-using this noble Creation, that has the Stamp and Voice of a Deity every where ...<sup>20</sup>

Penn also esteemed agricultural work on biblical grounds, writing, ‘Adam was a gardener, Cain a plowman, and Abel a grazier or shepherd: these began with the world, and have least of snare, and most of use ... . If *grace* employ you not, let *nature* ...’<sup>21</sup> Intuiting something akin to what we now know as the scientific benefits of ley farming and crop rotation, Penn’s understanding of observing the Sabbath was not merely for humans but for the land itself to receive periods of rest. His rule for residents of Pennsylvania was ‘for the ease of the creation, every first day of the week ... people shall abstain from their common daily labour’.<sup>22</sup>

The Diggers and the Sapporo Band similarly considered there to be no separation of spiritual and secular within earth-affirming ecological cultivation. The Diggers believed nature was being wrongly exploited and viewed their farming activities on the commons as a ‘publique work’—a forerunner of the community garden. Their project was to ‘buy Corn to cast into the whole Land, which otherwise is ready to die again for want of help ...’<sup>23</sup> Blending

19 Woolman and Benezet perhaps summed up Quaker eco-theology of that period best with these words: ‘too much tiling ... robbed the earth of its natural fatness ... . [T]o impoverish the earth now to Support outward greatness appears to be an injury to the succeeding age’ and that the Earth, ‘after a sober subsistence for ourselves & moderate provision for our Children is really the property of the rest of the Family of mankind.’ Kelley, Donald Brooks, ‘Friends and Nature in America: toward an eighteenth-century Quaker ecology’, *Pennsylvania History* 53 (1986), pp. 257–72 (pp. 257, 264–65).

20 Penn, William, ‘The Advice of William Penn to His Children, Relating to Their Civil and Religious Conduct’, in *The Selected Works of William Penn: in five volumes*, 5 vols, London: James Phillips, 1782, V, pp. 433–72 (p. 446).

21 Penn, ‘The Advice of William Penn to His Children’, p. 446.

22 Penn, William, ‘The Frame of Government and Laws Agreed Upon in England, 5 May 1682’, in Soderlund, Jean R. and Dunn, Richard S. (eds), *William Penn and the Founding of Pennsylvania: a documentary history*, Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983, pp. 118–33 (p. 132).

23 Winstanley, Gerrard, ‘A Letter Taken at Wellingborough. Numb. 17. A Perfect Diurnall OF SOME PASSAGES and PROCEEDINGS Of, and in Relation to the ARMIES IN ENGLAND and IRELAND Licenced by the Secretary of the Army under His Excellency the Lord FAIRFAX. From Munday April 1. to Munday April 8. 1649’, in Corns, Thomas

conservation with sustainable agriculture, they intended to condition and stabilise the soil in a precursor to today's field of agroecology.<sup>24</sup> Winstanley promoted an agrarian communitarianism, predicting: '[T]he whole earth of trading, is generally become the neat art of thieving and oppressing fellow-creatures, and so laies burdens, upon the Creation, but when the earth becomes a common treasury this burden will be taken off.' This vision arose from a mystical experience: 'this work to make the earth a Common Treasury, was shewed us by Voice in Trance, and out of Trance, which words were these, *Work together, Eate Bread together, Declare this all abroad.*'<sup>25</sup>

As a solution, he advocated that 'True Religion, and undefiled, is to let every one quietly have earth to manure, that they may live in freedome by their labours ...'<sup>26</sup> and to 'let everyone that intends to live in peace, set themselves with diligent labour to Till, Digge, and Plow, the Common and barren Land, to get their bread with righteous moderat working, among a moderat minded

N., Hughes, Ann and Loewenstein, David (eds), *The Complete Works of Gerrard Winstanley*, 2 vols, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009, II, pp. 430–34 (p. 431).

24 Ariel Hessayon labels this a seed of 'proto-environmentalism'. Hessayon, Ariel, 'Restoring the Garden of Eden in England's Green and Pleasant Land: the Diggers and the fruits of the Earth', *Journal for the Study of Radicalism* 2 (2009), pp. 1–25 (p. 15).

25 Winstanley, Gerrard, 'The New Law OF RIGHTEOUSNES Budding Forth, in Restoring the Whole Creation from the Bondage of the Curse. OR A Glimpse of the New Heaven, and New Earth, Wherein Dwels Righteousnes. GIVING An Alarm to Silence All That Preach or Speak or Hear-Say, or Imagination', in Sabine, George H. (ed.), *The Works of Gerrard Winstanley: with an appendix of documents relating to the Digger movement*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1941, pp. 149–244 (p. 188); Winstanley, Gerrard, 'A DECLARATION TO THE Powers of England, AND to All the Powers of the World, Shewing the Cause Why the Common People of England Have Begun, and Gives Consent to Dig Up, Manure, and Sow Corn upon George-Hill in Surrey; by Those That Have Subscribed, and Thousands More That Give Consent. OR, The State of Community Opened, and Presented to the Sons of Men (The True Levellers Standard Advanced)', in Corns, Thomas N., Hughes, Ann and Loewenstein, David (eds), *The Complete Works of Gerrard Winstanley*, 2 vols, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009, II, pp. 1–30 (pp. 14–15).

26 Winstanley, Gerrard, 'An Humble REQUEST TO THE Ministers of Both Universities, AND TO ALL Lawyers in Every Inns-a-Court. TO Consider of the Scriptures and Points of Law Herin Mentioned, and to Give a Rational and Christian Answer, Whereby the Difference May Be Composed in Peace, between the Poore Men of England, Who Have Begun to Digge, Plow, and Build upon the Common Land, Claiming It Their Own, by Right of Creation, AND The Lords of Mannours That Trouble Them, Who Have No Other Claiming to the Commons, Then the Kings Will, or from the Power of the CONQUEST, AND If Neither Minister nor Lawyer, Will Undertake a Reconciliation of This Case, for the Beauty of Our Common-Wealth. Then We Appeale, to the Stones, Timber, and Dust of the Earth You Tread Upon, to Hold Forth the Light of This Business, Questioning Not, but That Power Which Dwells Every Where, Will Cause Light to Spring out of Darkness, and Freedom Out of Bondage', in Corns, Thomas N., Hughes, Ann and Loewenstein, David (eds), *The Complete Works of Gerrard Winstanley*, 2 vols, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009, II, pp. 255–77 (p. 263).



people ...'.<sup>27</sup> For Winstanley, peace with the Earth and peace among humans went hand in hand.

He considered economic problems to be caused by the sin of ownership, leading to class inequality and injury to the land. When resolved, neither religious activities nor agricommerce would occasion remuneration. This would be gentler on the ecosystem, be more humanitarian toward the poor and mirror those biblical figures who worked intimately with their natural environments (Winstanley contrasted leaders of the Church of England with his biblical heroes, saying, 'you are bred up in humane learning, which the Scriptures do not countenance in the least ... . *Moses* a shepherd; *Amos* a fruit-gatherer; *Apostles* fisher-men; Christ a carpenter; such as the Lord made preachers ...').<sup>28</sup> Winstanley's convictions aligned him well with the Quakers, who would later develop more sustainable advocacy beyond his own agrarian-focused social justice movement's pioneering steps in the history of ecotheology.

Nitobe traveled to the wilds of Hokkaido 'amidst primeval forests and bears and wolves'<sup>29</sup> as a student intending 'to develop the material resources of our country. We never have swerved from this aim.'<sup>30</sup> SAC student Kiyoshi Uchida recalled that 'we had regular Bible meetings in the wilderness and it was refreshing',<sup>31</sup> while Masatake Oshima described of Clark: 'He often led the boys to the fields, forests and mountains ... to collect zoological, botanical and mineral specimens. Pres. Clark used to call all such kind of activity Christian work.'<sup>32</sup>

Though Clark, a Congregationalist,<sup>33</sup> was not himself a Friend, the Sapporo Band was influenced by Quaker thought.<sup>34</sup> Oshima detailed:

27 Winstanley, Gerrard, 'A VINDICATION OF THOSE, Whose Endeavors Is Only to Make the Earth a Common Treasury, Called DIGGERS. OR, Some Reasons given by Them against the Immoderate Use of Creatures, or the Excessive Community of Women, Called Ranting; or Rather Renting', in Corns, Thomas N., Hughes, Ann and Loewenstein, David (eds), *The Complete Works of Gerrard Winstanley*, 2 vols, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009, II, pp. 235–42 (p. 238).

28 It should be noted that, though some of the Diggers did match the lower-class image of their agrarian biblical exemplars, other Diggers on the English Commons deliberately gave up commerce and comfortable homes for the novelty of going back to nature and taking up residence in tents. Winstanley, 'TRUTH Lifting up His Head', pp. 451–52.

29 Uchimura, I, p. 71.

30 Uchimura, I, pp. 36, 70.

31 Uchida, Kiyoshi, '(4) Letter from Japan, Sapporo Agricultural College', in *Clark no Tegami: Sapporo Nougakkou seito to no oofukushokan*, Sapporo: Hokkaido Shuppan Kikaku Center, 1986, pp. 229–34 (p. 229).

32 Maki, John M., *William Smith Clark: a Yankee in Hokkaido*, Sapporo: Hokkaido University Press, 1996, p. 171.

33 The original Congregationalists were among the Quakers' contemporaries in the British Dissenter movement. The religious refugees who immigrated to America were members of underground churches in England. Watts, Michael R. *The Dissenters*, 2 vols, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978, I, pp. 98, 118.

34 Uchimura nearly echoed George Fox's sentiments, stating 'The world needs

The method he used was quite original. The meeting was opened with the Lord's Prayer, which was followed by reading from the Bible ... . Other things were extempore ... . We never heard him sing. Either he could not sing or he abhorred the use of singing, taking the same ground as Quakers. But he usually read hymns.<sup>35</sup>

Whether intentionally or unintentionally, Clark fostered Quaker values of simplicity, non-programmed meetings and a deep eco-spirituality in his students. Clark's Covenant of Believers in Jesus was signed by both of the other American SAC faculty as well. William Penn Brooks arrived a few months before Clark's departure and, given his namesake, was either a Quaker himself or from a Quaker family. He hosted missionaries in his Sapporo home and visited missionaries in Japan during his twelve years employed at SAC. It can be reasonably assumed that he further influenced the fledgling Sapporo Band in Clark's absence.

Nitobe's early days of the Sapporo Band meeting as a small church on campus were replete with worship in the great outdoors. As their *modus operandi*, the little congregation incorporated nature into its practical theology. Uchimura's diary records how the natural environment shaped their praxis: 'Enjoyed wild grapes and berries, prayed and sang.' Uchimura remembered this experience as '[o]ne of those never-to-be-forgotten days when we uplifted our hearts to the Creator in the primeval forest'.<sup>36</sup> This is not to suggest that it was an infrequent occurrence. Another entry states, 'Prayed and sang as usual. Refreshed with the wild berries on the way back.'<sup>37</sup> On another occasion, there was

[t]oo much criticism in the meeting. In afternoon, rambled in the forest ... . Brought some cherry-blossoms with us. Very pleasant.

A germ of religious dissention already, which was dissipated by flower-hunting in the spring air. The best way of settling difficulties in any church ... .<sup>38</sup>

Being a church community in the natural environment organically generated an understanding of how to live peaceably.

another religious reformation. The sixteenth-century Reformation ended as an arrested movement ... . If we can carry Protestantism to its logical conclusion we will have another reformation. The new Protestantism if it is perfectly free cannot but remain "churchism".' He also wrote, 'Nothing is more valuable than heresy. Without it, no progress can be expected.' Michell, David J., 'William S. Clark of Sapporo: pioneer educator and church planter in Japan', Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, 1988, p. 101; Takeshi, Ishida, 'The Meaning of "Independence" in the Thought of Uchimura Kanzō', in Moore, Ray A. (ed.), *Culture and Religion in Japanese-American Relations: essays on Uchimura Kanzō, 1861-1930*, Michigan Papers in Japanese Studies, 5, Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Center for Japanese Studies, 1981, pp. 7-19 (p. 14).

35 Michell, p. 69.

36 Uchimura, I, p. 41.

37 Uchimura, I, p. 41.

38 Uchimura, I, p. 31.

Nitobe's agroecology was formative for his religious thought. He often wrote in botanical language of the intersection of nature with religion, stating that

[t]o him whose heart is open upward, the chirping sparrows, too, bring their message of heaven ... . Nature's most solemn lessons – be they transmitted by a sweet warbler or a fragrant *ume* [plum blossom], by a chattering sparrow or a way-side weed – should bring us near to God and to man,

and 'near to the bosom of primal nature, I almost feel the beat of her heart, and my thoughts ascend "from nature up to nature's God".'<sup>39</sup> Multiple members of the Sapporo Band refer in their writings to the Parable of the Sower. Nitobe's other close life-long friend, Kingo Miyabe, provides one of many examples in a letter to Clark, thanking him for

your noble Christian deed of sowing and planting the Eternal Light in their dark dying souls. Indeed, the seed which you had sown here was like that 'fell into good ground' bringing forth fruits many-fold among us, the remaining believers, and even in our far distant native places, by the constant careful watering and tender mercy of our Lord.<sup>40</sup>

Nitobe's view on missions grew out of this parable in relationship to his agricultural economics background: 'The fields are white unto harvest. But some fields are best reaped by a steam harvester, others by a scythe, still others by a sickle. An intelligent agriculturalist studies the size, nature and configuration of each field and chooses the tool suitable for it. For a wise choice, he must even study the weather and the market.'<sup>41</sup>

As a result of his unassuming spiritual roots, Nitobe was drawn to the Religious Society of Friends, describing how

The American gentleman ... [left] his little flock with no visible guide or guard ... . [E]ach preached whenever he had whereof to preach. Everybody who felt like praying, did so. They had no creed ... no music, no singing, ... no Minister, ... no water for baptism, no eucharist ... . Beginning my Christian career under such circumstances, it was with much disappointment that I attend the 'Swell' Churches of this country ... . I yearned for simplicity ... <sup>42</sup>

39 Nitobe, Inazo, 'From Nature Up to Nature's God', in Takagi, Yasaka (ed.), *Editorial Jottings, 1930–1933*, The Works of Inazo Nitobe, 5 vols, Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1972, V, p. 364; Nitobe, Inazo, 'A Spring Thought', in Takagi, Yasaka (ed.), *Editorial Jottings, 1930–1933*, The Works of Inazo Nitobe, 5 vols, Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1972, V, pp. 344–45.

40 Maki, *William Smith Clark*, p. 213.

41 Nitobe, Inazo, 'The Christianization of Japan', in Takagi, Yasaka (ed.), *Editorial Jottings, 1930–1933*, The Works of Inazo Nitobe, 5 vols, Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1972, V, p. 362.

42 Nitobe, Inazo, 'Why I Became a Friend' in *Articles to the "Interchange"*, in Nitobe Inazō Zenshū Henshū Inkaikai (ed.), *Nitobe Inazō Zenshū*, 23 vols, Tokyo: Kyo Bun Kwan, 1987, XXIII, pp. 242–45 (pp. 243–44).

Nitobe found in Quakerism comrades who likewise intuited their spirituality, preferred unadorned gatherings and respected a connectedness to nature.

Throughout his lifetime, Nitobe's conscientious choices in his graduate education and career demonstrate his unending interest in researching sustainability, agriculture and quality of life for farmers. He wrote a prolegomena for sustainable agriculture and initiated multiple local cooperatives. He studied agriculture, agricultural economics, agrarian history and political economy at Tokyo University, John Hopkins, Bonn and Berlin, and wrote his doctoral dissertation on Japanese agrarian land use at Halle.

Nitobe's now-controversial chair of Colonial Policy at Tokyo Imperial University and his involvement in Japan's colonisation of Taiwan relate to his agroecology specialisation, utilised to improve Formosan farming techniques and conditions.<sup>43</sup> While there is much to criticise about being a coloniser—especially one who claims to be a pacifist—it should be noted that Nitobe's Christian professors at SAC were all there as participants in Japan's colonisation of Hokkaido. Nitobe identified coloniser Penn's 'Holy Experiment' with his Sapporo experience and adopted what he considered to be Penn's ethical approach as his guide, developing his own intentionally sensitive methods to work with the native peoples. As one interesting example, he shared his innovative, peaceable and peace-promoting method of approaching the head-hunter tribes of Formosa:

hundreds of miles of electrified fence . . . let me explain, is not to kill the savages . . . . When they are cut off by the fence they begin to suffer from want of salt. It is then that we offer salt in exchange for their weapons, on their surrendering those we give them buffaloes and agricultural implements and the fence is moved, as it were, over their heads so that their village comes within Japanese protection. Every year an advance of ten or twenty miles is thus made.<sup>44</sup>

Though he voiced his share of what we would now consider offensive remarks about the Ainu and Koreans,<sup>45</sup> Nitobe remained ahead of the curve compared

43 Implementation of Nitobe's *Taiwan Sugar Policy* resulted in an increase of six-fold in ten years, with an increase from ten million pounds of sugar annually to 1,650 million pounds annually by the time of his death thirty-three years later. Kitawata, Sukeo, *The Life of Dr. Nitobe*, Tokyo: Hokuseido Press, 1953, pp. 46–47, 62.

44 Nitobe, Inazo, 'A Japanese View of Quakerism' in *Lectures on Japan: an outline of the development of the Japanese people and their culture. What the League of Nations Has Done and Is Doing. The Use and Study of Foreign Languages in Japan. Reminiscences of Childhood. Two Exotic Currents in Japanese Civilization. An Unfinished Translation of Lao-Tzū and English Abstract of the Kojiki*, in Nitobe Inazō Zenshū Henshū Iinkai (ed.), Nitobe Inazō Zenshū, 23 vols, Tokyo: Kyo Bun Kwan, 1970, XV, pp. 332–51 (p. 344); Nitobe, 'Appendix: Japanese colonization by Dr. Nitobe', p. 180; Kimitada, Miwa, 'Colonial Theories and Practices in Prewar Japan', in Howes, John F. (ed.), *Nitobe Inazō: Japan's bridge across the Pacific*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press, Inc., 1995, pp. 159–75 (pp. 161, 166–67).

45 Nitobe described Korea as 'our protégé' and Koreans as 'a capable people, who can be trained to a large measure of self-government, for which the present is a period of tutelage . . . [i]n all humility, but with a firm conviction that Japan is a steward on whom devolves

with his colonial contemporaries,<sup>46</sup> writing articles on preserving the Ainu and serving as chair of trustees for the Ainu Protection Society.<sup>47</sup> He viewed colonisation as working towards world peace by spurring the Japanese to come out from their xenophobic ‘insular mentality’ and as bearing moral obligations to treat native populations well.<sup>48</sup> Nitobe’s concern for the environment, desire to improve agricultural conditions and devotion to globalisation primed him to internalise what he interpreted as Penn’s values. Put simplistically, Nitobe can be sharply criticised for his involvement in colonisation, but a critical interpretive lens ought, instead of polarising the study of Nitobe into two camps (Nitobe as moral exemplar and Nitobe as immoral colonialist), to attempt to tease out or at least acknowledge the various aspects in which Nitobe, a very human product of his sociocultural and ecopolitical place, succeeded and failed in his ethical aims.

Winstanley took his inspiration from mystical experience and biblical figures to assemble a grassroots communitarian response to injustice against the English and the Earth. Nitobe’s experiences of biological-science-as-Christianity, church in the midst of nature and Penn’s writings cultivated in him an ecotheology and a desire to improve farming conditions. Despite these vastly differing background motivators, both men came to the same cluster of conclusions—that Christianity, preserving nature and remedying socioeconomic disparity were intimately connected—and each eventually found a warm reception for these convictions among the Quakers.

### Economics

Contemporary discourse on the Diggers focusing on pacifism, communism and political critique presents only a partial representation of their thought. They were also religiously concerned with the proper handling of money and natural resources, while strongly reproaching those responsible for economic oppression. Finance was not merely a side issue. Tithes, for example, were just one instance of an escalated intersection of economic and religious frustration.

Before we continue, it should be noted that there are two main camps regarding the question of whether Winstanley’s mystical writings were peripheral or foundational as a basis for Digging. Hill and others contend that he wrote in a religious cloak to conceal a secular mindset, while Lotte Mulligan, John K. Graham and Judith Richards argue that divorcing Winstanley’s theology from his ethical imperatives is to misconstrue him. John Strachey argues that Winstanley’s ‘original mystical, Quakerish views’ were replaced by materialism,

the gigantic task of the uplifting of the Far East ...’. Kimitada, ‘Colonial Theories’, p. 164; Nitobe, ‘Appendix: Japanese colonization By Dr. Nitobe’, pp. 181–82.

46 Nitobe, ‘Appendix: Japanese Colonization by Dr. Nitobe’, p. 182.

47 Kitasawa, *The Life of Dr. Nitobe*, p. 39.

48 Kimitada, ‘Colonial Theories’, pp. 161, 166–67.

but Paul Elmen rebuts this, pointing out that all of Winstanley's tracts depend on theological arguments despite the fact that he could have garnered far more comrades among those who shared his economic plight but disagreed with his unorthodox flavour of faith. That he was not willing to minimise his theologising reveals that his ethics of economics and ecology were inseparable from theology in his mind.<sup>49</sup>

For Winstanley, to seek or appeal to any teaching accorded to human authority is to estrange the Spirit within oneself,<sup>50</sup> and he echoes Quaker thought with both his statement that God 'caused me to speak what I know from an inward light and power of life within'<sup>51</sup> and his exhortation to 'speak the things which [we] have seen and heard from him ... . [E]very mans experience can ad something'.<sup>52</sup> In spite of potential scepticism towards direct revelation, Winstanley specifically appeals to it as authoritative on topics such as economics, resting the thrust of his argument on the grounds that a divine voice instructed him that manual labourers 'shall not dare to work for hire, for any Landlord, or for any that is lifted up above others; for by their labours, they have lifted up Tyrants and Tyranny; and by denying to labor for Hire, they shall pull them down again', and that the voice threatened that God would strike '*any person or persons, that are lifted up to rule over others, and doth not look upon themselves, as equal to others in the Creation ...*'.<sup>53</sup> Religious experience taught Winstanley that no one could be rightly hired for any task, whether farming or church leadership. This cut out any room for tithing a tenth out of wages earned by being hired by someone else, as well as for making a living off of tithes paid by parishioners.

Peter J. Bowden argues that, owing to the financial hardships suffered, the period of 1620–50 was 'among the most terrible years through which the country has ever passed'.<sup>54</sup> The lower classes' recent contributions to disappointing wars

49 Hessayon, 'Restoring the Garden of Eden in England's Green and Pleasant Land', pp. 3–5; Sutherland, Donald R., 'The Religion of Gerrard Winstanley and Digger Communism', in *Essays in History* 33 (1990), pp. 19–42 (p. 21); Elmen, Paul, 'The Theological Basis of Digger Communism', in *Church History* 23 (1954), pp. 207–18 (pp. 208–09).

50 Winstanley, 'A DECLARATION', II, p. 8.

51 Winstanley, 'The New Law OF RIGHTEOUSNES', p. 568.

52 Winstanley shared a piece of rhyming poetry that he composed on the subject. It included the lines, 'Let every one speak what he knows, / and utter what's received: / And let not any soul by you, / hereafter be deceived.' Winstanley, Gerrard, 'THE BREAKING OF THE DAY OF GOD. Wherein, Four Things Are Manifested. I. That the Two Witnesses Are Not in Killing: but in rising from death. II. The Three Dayes and a Half: or 42. months of the saints captivity under the Beast, are very near expired. III. Christ Hath Begun to Reign in His Saints, and to Tread Their Corrupt Flesh under His Feet. IIII. Christs Dominion over the Nations of the World, near the Approach', in Corns, Thomas N., Hughes, Ann and Loewenstein, David (eds), *The Complete Works of Gerrard Winstanley*, 2 vols, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009, I, pp. 101–254 (p. 145); Winstanley, 'The New Law OF RIGHTEOUSNES', p. 453.

53 Winstanley, 'A DECLARATION', II, pp. 14–15.

54 Bowden, Peter J., 'Agricultural Prices, Wages, Farm Profits and Rents, 1640–1750', in

were a defining factor in the Diggers' discontent.<sup>55</sup> Winstanley's background in commerce and bankruptcy were formative for his theology of economics, which he understood in Fall-terms: 'When mankind began to quarrel about the earth, and some would have all and shut out others, forcing them to be servants: this was man's fall.'<sup>56</sup> Diggers stood against paying for clergy services, such as 'Ministers of England, and such as follow them in the practice of ... Ministers maintenance, as they practice in their customary way of performances, which they call Gods ordinances; hath neither Reason nor Scripture to warrant them.'<sup>57</sup> For Diggers, everything really came back to land. Winstanley concluded, 'Do not your Ministers preach for to enjoy the Earth?'<sup>58</sup> He reasoned, '[T]o have the Earth to themselves. It is that the Clergy preaches for; for if you deny him Tithes, or a Maintenance, you shall not heare of him.'<sup>59</sup>

When he requested monetary donations for the Diggers' agrarian work, Winstanley conceived of this as a temporary measure during their launch period, no longer to be needed once the people could support themselves by farming the common land.<sup>60</sup> Paying the 10 per cent tithe, on the other hand, could not be compromised.<sup>61</sup> For Winstanley it was a matter of non-cooperation: he wrote more vehemently against it than did Anabaptists or Levellers, identifying its beneficiaries, the state-funded clergy, as England's foremost oppressors: 'three Beasts; who, are Clergy, Law and Buying and Selling; these rise up by craft; supported by the kingly power; And the chiefe Beast is the Clergy, he bred all the other ...'.<sup>62</sup> Winstanley viewed clergy as oppressive profiteers insofar as their work was alienated from land, tying the mandated tithe to unjust government

Bowden, Peter J. and Thirsk, Joan (eds), *Economic Change: wages, profits and rents 1500–1750*, Chapters from *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, 5 vols, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, I, pp. 189–306 (p. 41).

55 Winstanley lamented, 'Thereupon you that were the Gentry when you were assembled in Parliament, you called upon the poor Common People to come and help you, and cast out oppression and you that complained are helped and freed ...'. Winstanley, 'A New-Years Gift', II, p. 112.

56 In case this was not clear enough, he explicated that when the first human 'consented to that serpent covetousness, then he ... was sent into the earth to eat his bread in sorrow; and from that time began particular property to grow in one man over another.' Winstanley, 'An Humble REQUEST', II, pp. 289–90, 424.

57 Winstanley, 'TRUTH Lifting up His Head', I, p. 452.

58 Winstanley, 'The Law of Freedom', II, p. 344.

59 Winstanley, 'An Humble REQUEST', II, p. 263.

60 Winstanley, 'A Letter Taken at Wellingborough', II, p. 431.

61 John Lilburne et al., 'AN AGREEMENT OF THE Free People of England. Tendered as a Peace-Offering to This Distressed Nation. BY Lieutenant Colonel John Lilburn, Master William Walwyn, Master Thomas Prince, and Master Richard Overton, Prisoners in the Tower of London, May the 1. 1649', in Haller, William and Davies, Godfrey (eds), *The Leveller Tracts, 1647–1653*, New York: Columbia University Press in cooperation with Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, 1944, pp. 318–28 (p. 326).

62 Winstanley, 'The Law of Freedom', II, p. 344.

confiscation of the fruits of the earth.<sup>63</sup> Winstanley conjectured that the reason paid church leaders did not mutiny in solidarity against the tithe was that ‘say they, *If the people must not work for us, and give us Tythes, but we must work for our selves, as they do, freedom is lost: I, but this is but the cry of an Egyptian Task-master, who counts other mens freedom his bondage ... to get a living ...*’<sup>64</sup> The fact that Quakerism had no clergy to begin with would sit well with him.

The Diggers took inspiration from the New Testament idea of giving away all possessions and fervently believed it a universal command to unreserved sharing according to Luke 18:22 (Winstanley paraphrased: ‘Jesus Christ bid the young man sell all that hee had, and give to the poore: This speech extends to all men ...’) and Acts 4:32–37 (‘his Spirit descended upon the Apostles and Brethren, as they were waiting at *Jerusalem*; and the rich men sold their possessions, and gave part to the poor; and no man said, That ought that he possessed was his own, for they had all things Common’).<sup>65</sup> Winstanley’s communitarian values correlated with the Quaker testimony of community, and his passionate worldview primed him for what he would later learn of Quaker ethical thought and spirituality. George H. Sabine notes, ‘The resemblance ... is astonishingly close’ between Winstanley’s writings and Quaker writings; ‘closest of all perhaps in the case of George Fox himself, whose sense of “Christ within”, of worship as communion with God, and of such communion as an inward source of serenity and energy seems almost identical with Winstanley’s concept of religion’.<sup>66</sup>

Nitobe attested that Japan’s economic situation was tied intimately with agriculture. He presented the lecture ‘Country Life in Japan’ (of which he notes ‘I should have given another title to my lecture – namely, agricultural conditions in Japan’) in which he explained the ethical and economic situation: ‘Of all the various occupations,’ he rued, ‘agriculture has traditionally been the most important, the most useful, and the most dignified ... . In practice, it was the worst-treated.’<sup>67</sup>

63 For the clergy’s supposed ‘pains for thus preaching, the King established by his Laws, that they should have the tenth of the increase of all profits ... placing their freedom ... in the use of the Earth brought into their hands by the labors of the enslaved men.’ Winstanley, Gerrard, ‘FIRE IN THE BUSH. THE SPIRIT BURNING, NOT CONSUMING, but Purging Mankind. OR, The Great Batell of God Almighty, between Mchael the Seed of Life, and the Great Red Dragon, the Curse Fought within the Spirit of Man. With Sevrall Other Declarations, and Testimonies of the Power of Life’, in Corns, Thomas N., Hughes, Ann and Loewenstein, David (eds), *The Complete Works of Gerrard Winstanley*, 2 vols, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009, II, pp. 171–234 (pp. 193–94); Winstanley, ‘The Law of Freedom IN A PLATFORM’, II, pp. 298–99.

64 Winstanley, ‘The Law of Freedom’, II, pp. 298–99.

65 Winstanley, ‘A DECLARATION TO THE Powers of England’, II, p. 262.

66 Hudson, ‘Gerrard Winstanley’, p. 183.

67 Nitobe, Inazo, ‘Lectures on Japan: country life in Japan’, in Takagi, Yasaka (ed.), *Lectures on Japan: an outline of the development of the Japanese people and their culture. What the League of Nations Has Done and Is Doing. The Use and Study of Foreign Languages in Japan.*



In its nascent period, the Sapporo Band was self-governing and self-sufficient; when it later accepted monetary assistance from the Methodists, these financial ties led the members to feel ‘the *evils of denominationalism*’.<sup>68</sup> They devoted two years to scrimping and saving in order to pay back their loan and regain financial independence, and then resumed their former practice of their preacher ‘receiving not a cent’.<sup>69</sup> A theology of money that valued economic independence fed right back into the Band’s ability to competently develop an independent theology. Uchida wrote,

our object is to clear away these ceremonies which are not found in the Bible ... . There are also few sensitive men in ... our country who are of the same opinion with ours, but the Churches to which they belong are supported by foreign expense, so that they have no strength enough to separate and stand for themselves.<sup>70</sup>

His language closely mirrors George Fox’s, who endeavoured to ‘draw people off from all their ... heathenish customs, traditions, and doctrines of men; and from all the world’s hireling teachers, that take tithes and great wages, preaching for hire, and divining for money, whom God and Christ never sent.’<sup>71</sup> Nitobe evidences this in a letter to Miyabe:

I don’t like, for myself, to see a religious organization rigid & stringent; I want to return to old primitive ways ... . [W]e must develop our *individual national characteristics to add to the Universal Church*. Have I made myself clear, Kabo? Am I too sanguine? I am disgusted with our adoption of Western ways & customs. Why can’t we be more independent, more respectful to our own past?<sup>72</sup>

Across two centuries and two oceans, the Quakers, Winstanley and the Band settled upon similar convictions in the way of socioeconomic justice and sustainable, non-clerical leadership. George Fox’s ardour and insights are seemingly picked up in Winstanley’s zeal for non-cooperation and thoughts about the ‘inward light’, as well as in Nitobe’s yearning for a return to the simple fashion of unprogrammed, financially viable, self-governing churches.

*Reminiscences of Childhood. Two Exotic Currents in Japanese Civilization. An Unfinished Translation of Lao-Tzū and English Abstract of the Kojiki, The Works of Inazo Nitobe*, 5 vols, Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1972, IV, pp. 191–203 (pp. 191–92).

68 Uchimura, I, p. 57.

69 Uchimura, I, pp. 86–89.

70 Uchida, ‘(13) Sapporo, Minami Shiribeshi Dori, No. 38. Sapporo, May 25th, 1881’, pp. 208–09.

71 Fox, George, *George Fox: an autobiography*, Jones Rufus M. (ed.), Philadelphia, PA: Ferris & Leach, 1909, p. 140.

72 Nitobe, Inazo, ‘Bonn, Germany. Breite Strasse 46A VIII. 7, 1887 in *Letters to Kingo Miyabe 1884–1889*’, in Nitobe Inazō Zenshū Henshū Iinkai (ed.), *Nitobe Inazō Zenshū*, 23 vols, Tokyo: Kyo Bun Kwan, 1987, XXIII, pp. 433–35 (pp. 434–35).

## Ethics

Winstanley's convictions about nonviolence attracted him to Quakerism. He assured Oliver Cromwell that Diggers 'will not defend themselves by arms ...'.<sup>73</sup> Those taking up residence on the commons were very vulnerable: Ariel Hessayon catalogues the physical attacks Diggers were subject to,<sup>74</sup> such as the local parson hiring men 'to pull down a poor mans house, that was built upon the Commons, and kikt and struck the poor mans wife, so that she miscarried of her Child, and by blowes and abuses they gave her, she kept her bed a week'.<sup>75</sup> Winstanley, in his *LETTER TO The Lord Fairfax*, raised a concern about how

some of your foot souldiers ... [went] up to George-hill, where was onely one man and one boy of our company of the diggers. And at their first coming, divers of your souldiers, before any word of provocation was spoken to them, fell upon those two, beating the boy, and took away his coat off his back, and some linnen and victualls that they had, beating and wounding the man very dangerously, and fired our house ... . Yet we do not write this, that you should lay any punishment upon them, ... only we desire (in the request of brethren) that you would send forth admonition to your souldiers, not to abuse us hereafter ... and truly if our offences should prove so great, you shall not need to send souldiers for us, or to beat us, for we shall freely come to you upon a bare letter.<sup>76</sup>

The Diggers practised nonresistance in the face of bodily harm, and Thomas Carlyle remarked of this 'poor Brotherhood' that '[t]he germ of Quakerism ... is curiously visible here'.<sup>77</sup>

In spite of the very real risks, Winstanley had high hopes for the ethical outcomes that might develop from the Digging enterprise. He published a full description of his ideal society, a utopian vision that called for boys to be schooled, be trained in a useful trade, work full time and serve as a paid Overseer if well-endowed for the rotating position, retire at forty years of age fully subsidised by the government and serve as an Overseer again from the age of sixty onward. In contrast, all religious activities would be on a wholly volunteer basis. Winstanley takes into

73 Carlyle, Thomas, 'The Levellers', in Trail, Henry Duff (ed.), *The Works of Thomas Carlyle: volume 7: Oliver Cromwell's letters and speeches II*, 30 vols, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010, VII, p. 27.

74 Hessayon, 'Restoring the Garden of Eden in England's Green and Pleasant Land', pp. 3–5.

75 Winstanley, 'The Law of Freedom', II, pp. 268–69.

76 Winstanley, Gerrard, 'A LETTER TO The Lord Fairfax, AND His Councill of War, WITH Divers Questions to the Lawyers, and Ministers: proving it an undeniable equity, that the common people ought to dig, plow, plant and dwell upon the Commons, without hiring them, or paying rent to any. Delivered to the Generall and the chief officers on Saturday June 9', in Sabine, George H. (ed.), *The Works of Gerrard Winstanley: with an appendix of documents relating to the Digger movement*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1941, pp. 295–98.

77 Carlyle, 'The Levellers', p. 27.

consideration males who are not born physically strong ('there are some weak in body, whose employment shall be to be Keepers of Storehouses and Shops'). Meanwhile, girls were to receive an alternative education that included literacy and fabric production:

all Maides shall be trained up in reading, sowing, knitting, spinning works, either for to furnish Storehouses with Lynnen and Woolen cloth, or for the ornament of particular houses with needle work. And if this course were taken, there would be no Idle person nor Beggars in the Land, and much work would be done by that now lazie generation for the enlarging of the common Treasuries.

To avoid any sort of domination, '*all these Overseers shall be chosen new ones every year. And secondly, The old Overseers shal not chuse the new ones, the prevent the creeping in of Lordly Oppression*'.<sup>78</sup> After the successful levelling of England's population, his ethical civilisation would involve gainful employment; non-religious, managerial-style leadership positions; underwriting of senior citizens; and communitarian living. This is not to imply that Winstanley offers a wholly attractive model, but numerous Diggers risked everything, many forfeiting their lives and those of their immediate families, to offer a critique of the complex of church and state that they found sorely wanting.

Nitobe explained that ethics was central to his conversion at SAC.<sup>79</sup> Tamotsu Fujinaga identifies eight basic virtues for Nitobe, nearly all of which align quite closely to values that Quakers had already been developing (such as toleration of a plurality of views, mysticism, practical ethics, respect for women and a progressive spirit in globalisation).<sup>80</sup> During his years at SAC, Nitobe read a biography of John Bright and discovered his favorite author, Thomas Carlyle, who 'raised his voice against shams of all kinds and told his hypocritical people ... to act in conformity with their individual consciences'.<sup>81</sup>

Carlyle, who was raised a Burgh Seeder, a Dissenter group split from the Church of Scotland,<sup>82</sup> proved instrumental in introducing Nitobe to Quakerism. Though it is generally considered that Carlyle eventually left Christianity, he continued to write positively about Dissenters and Puritanism.<sup>83</sup> Nitobe read

78 Winstanley, 'The Law of Freedom', II, pp. 322, 325–58, 354–55, 357.

79 Nitobe, 'Why I Became a Friend', XXIII, pp. 242–43.

80 Fujinaga, Tamotsu, 'Nitobe Inazo ni Okeru Jinkaku Keisei', in Tokyo Joshi Daigaku Nitobe Inazo Kenkyuukai (ed.), *Nitobe Inazo Kenkyuukai*, Tokyo: Shunjusha, 1969, pp. 554–55 (p. 555).

81 Nitobe, Inazo, 'What Carlyle Taught', in Takagi, Yasaka (ed.), *Editorial Jottings, 1930–1933, The Works of Inazo Nitobe*, 5 vols, Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1972, V, p. 186; Ootsu, Mitsuo, *Kirisuto Yuukai Nihon Nenkai to Nitobe Inazo: 2012-nen Shin Nitobe Inazo Kinen Kouza Kouen*, Tokyo: Kirisuto Yuukai Nihon Nenkai, 2012, p. 73.

82 '1812–1821, The Collected Letters, Volume 1, TC TO MARGARET A. CARLYLE (May, 1821)', *The Carlyle Letters Online*, Duke University Press, 2014, <http://carlyleletters.dukejournals.org/cgi/content/full/1/1/lt-18210504-TC-MAC-01>, accessed 15/04/2014.

83 Carlyle, Thomas, 'Heroes and Hero-Worship', in *The Works of Thomas Carlyle*

Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus* 'over forty times', saying this book became 'his patron for life'.<sup>84</sup> In its pages, he first heard of Fox.<sup>85</sup> Carlyle had a love-hate relationship with Quakers,<sup>86</sup> lambasting them at times,<sup>87</sup> but praising Fox<sup>88</sup> and some of his

(*Complete*), 13 vols, New York: Peter Fenelon Collier, 1897, XII, pp. 235–461 (pp. 367–69).

84 Oshiro, 'Nitobe Inazō and the Sapporo Band', p. 111.

85 Nitobe, 'Why I Became a Friend', p. 244.

86 Carlyle wrote that '... there is a certain English Forster, a young Devonshire-Yorkshire man, "Transition-Quaker" and extensive man of business at Bradford, an excellent cheery friendly character too, who will perhaps carry me into Munster' (22 June 1849), and 'A set of people called "White Quakers" ... invite me to come over and see their sublime brotherly establishment, "within five miles of Dublin on the Naas road"; where they are "organising labour" at a great rate ... I must answer it today by some mild No' (11 September 1848). Carlyle, Thomas, 'April 1849–December 1849, The Collected Letters, Volume 24, TC TO EDWARD FITZGERALD', in *The Carlyle Letters Online*, Duke University Press, 2014, <http://carlyleletters.dukejournals.org/cgi/content/full/24/1/lt-18490622-TC-EF-01>, accessed 15/04/2014; Carlyle, Thomas, '1812–1821, The Collected Letters, Volume 1, TC TO JOHN A. CARLYLE (1848)', *The Carlyle Letters Online*, Duke University Press, 2014, <http://carlyleletters.dukejournals.org/cgi/content/full/1/1/lt-18200329-TC-JAC-01>, accessed 15/04/2014.

87 'Soaring and hovering in the cloudy regions of German metaphysics is not study. No more is reading about "Cornlaws" Quakers or the "city of the Plague"' (12 June 1820) and 'What you say of Penn's grave is very interesting: but I have little personal love for that heavy vain blockhead, in spite of his merits in several respects; and will not trouble you at present on his score' (24 November 1853). Carlyle, Thomas, '1812–1821, The Collected Letters, Volume 1, TC TO JOHN FERGUSSON', *The Carlyle Letters Online*, Duke University Press, 2014, <http://carlyleletters.dukejournals.org/cgi/content/full/1/1/lt-18200612-TC-JOFE-01>, accessed 15/04/2014; Carlyle, Thomas, '1853, The Collected Letters, Volume 28, TC TO S. V. HARE', *The Carlyle Letters Online*, Duke University Press, 2014, <http://carlyleletters.dukejournals.org/cgi/content/full/28/1/lt-18531124-TC-SVH-01>, accessed 15/04/2014.

88 'To myself my poverty is really quite a suitable, almost comfortable, arrangement. I often think what should I do if I *were* wealthy! I am perhaps among the freest men in the British Empire at this moment. No King or Pontiff has any power over me, gets any revenue from me, except what he may *deserve* at my hands. There is nothing but my Maker whom I call Master under this sky. What would I be at? George Fox was hardly freer in his *suit of leather* than I here ...' (8 January 1842), 'an apt hero for a "Life and Times." ... I should consider George Fox himself, whose history could be inquired into with somewhat less labour, and which, after several old and new Books on it, is still utterly dark, to be a much worthier subject.—Take his own huge monster of a *Journal*; select with rigorous candid insight what *is* still interesting and alive to a man of the year 1848,—which will not probably equal the hundredth part, I should guess;—accurately date, specificate, and every way illuminate, and bring vividly before the mind that hundredth part; strictly suppressing (knowing and *not* mentioning) the other 99 parts, that are *dead* to all intelligent men of the year 1848. Here, I think, were the basis of a really useful, honourable and important labour in the field of English History;—far superior to any that the poor capabilities of that Puritan Thersites, poor Freeborn John could ever yield' (21 February 1848). Carlyle, Thomas, 'July 1847–March 1848, The Collected Letters, Volume 22, TC TO THOMAS WISE, JR.', *The Carlyle Letters Online*, Duke University Press, 2014, <http://carlyleletters.dukejournals.org/cgi/content/full/22/1/lt-18480221-TC-TWJR-01>, accessed 15/04/2014.

Quaker friends.<sup>89</sup> Carlyle's positive portrayal struck a chord with Nitobe, who looked into Fox's brand of religion further.

While Nitobe was not the first Japanese to participate in the meetings of the Women's Foreign Missionary Association of Philadelphia (Orthodox) while studying abroad,<sup>90</sup> he was the one who requested that Quaker missionaries be sent out to Japan and brainstormed ways to do it effectively.<sup>91</sup> While not interested in being viewed as religious leaders or missionaries,<sup>92</sup> Nitobe and his wife, Mary P. Elkinton, started an unofficial Meeting of quiet waiting in Sapporo<sup>93</sup> founded Sapporo Distant Friends Night School for impoverished and underprivileged men and women of all ages by way of a mystical experience,<sup>94</sup> spoke at and hosted Meetings in Tokyo,<sup>95</sup> and 'gave liberally of their time to ... Meetings and Committees of various kinds' during their years in Geneva.<sup>96</sup>

While Winstanley was an early proponent of nonresistance, the Quakers turned a previously just-war Nitobe into a pacifist who would attempt to deter Japan from its descent toward the crimes against humanity that it would commit in World War II. He confessed frankly that he wrestled with the Quaker anti-war stance for 'two years after he became convinced on the other points of Friends' doctrines' before coming around to it and submitting his application for membership with

89 Carlyle described himself and his friends as: 'We are Quakers here, or rather Ex-Quakers of a liberal and even elegant turn, to whom George Fox in his leather suit is, as it were, mostly an object of Art; and little remains of Quakerism but the spring-well clearness and cleanness, and the divine silence,—really one of the divinest things to a poor wearied creature on this beautiful hilltop' (19 August 1847). Carlyle, Thomas, 'July 1847–March 1848, The Collected Letters, Volume 22, TC TO RICHARD MONCKTON MILNES', *The Carlyle Letters Online*, Duke University Press, 2014, <http://carlyleletters.dukejournals.org/cgi/content/full/22/1/lt-184708019-TC-RMM-01>, accessed 15/04/2014.

90 Toda, Tetsuko, 'Philadelphia ni okeru Shiro Shiba – Nichibei Kyouryuu no Kiten toshite', *Yamanashi Kokusai Kenkyuu (Kokusai Seisaku Gakubu Kiyuu)* 9 (2014), pp. 60–69.

91 Margaret W. Haines noted, with Nitobe specifically in mind, 'Several Christian Japanese students in this country are greatly interested in our sending out a missionary. They say that Friends are the very ones for their country. The people are so tired of forms and ceremonies in worship, that they will be glad of the simple truth of the Gospel and a simple mode of worship. They say that decorated church buildings draw the mind away from the worship of God.' Ota, Inazo, 'Correspondence: Japan and its needs', *The Friends' Review* 39 (1886), pp. 29–30 (p. 29); Haines, M. W., 'From the Friend of Missions: the land of the rising sun', *The Friends' Review* 39 (1886), pp. 278–79 (p. 279).

92 Nitobe, '11) To Brother Joseph Elkinton: Sapporo Jan. 3, 1896', pp. 588–91.

93 Nitobe, Inazo, '7) To Brother Joseph: Sapporo Feb. 19, 1893 in *Letters to the Elkintons*', in Nitobe Inazō Zenshū Henshū Iinkai (ed.), *Nitobe Inazō Zenshū*, 23 vols, Tokyo: Kyo Bun Kwan, 1987, XXIII, pp. 574–76 (pp. 574–76).

94 Katoh, Takeko, *Sofu Nitobe Inazo no Koto: 2001-nen Shin Nitobe Inazo Kinen Kouza Kouen*, Tokyo: Kirisuto Yuukai Nihon Nenkaï, 2002, p. 30.

95 Ootsu, Mitsuo, *Kirisuto Yuukai Nihon Nenkaï to Nitobe Inazo: 2012-nen Shin Nitobe Inazo Kinen Kouza Kouen*, pp. 45–46, 57–64.

96 Pickard, Bertram, 'Inazo Nitobe', in Tokyo Joshi Daigaku Nitobe Inazo Kenkyukai (ed.), *Nitobe Inazo Kenkyuu*, Tokyo: Shunjusha, 1969, pp. 332–34 (p. 332).

this note: 'Being convinced of the doctrines and precepts of Christ, as presented and testified to by the Religious Society of Friends and believing in the efficiency of an organisation for furthering the Same, I hereby request to be admitted into your society as a member.'<sup>97</sup>

At first, Nitobe did not find himself in bodily danger for his new-found pacifism. During the First Sino-Japanese War

[n]obody questioned about our peace principles, neither have we attempted any public declaration of peace; for such a course will do no good but more harm. The utmost I can do is to call the attention of the public to the other side of the war ... . I try to emphasize upon the evils and sorrows of war.<sup>98</sup>

Incorporating Quaker pacifism into his Carlyle-taught devotion to ethical living, Nitobe and his wife Mary volunteered time 'relieving the sufferings that attend war ... . Altogether [we] made nearly 400 bandages.'<sup>99</sup>

However, Nitobe's pacifism grew increasingly unwelcome during the Second Sino-Japanese War. He steadily penned nearly 200 newspaper articles and book chapters on peace; some, which clearly urged peace and disarmament, or criticised state policy, were censored from the compiled book published two years after his death.<sup>100</sup> When Nitobe spoke to Japanese expats in America, ultra-nationalists in attendance considered his remarks unpatriotic; one stalked him to try to assassinate him<sup>101</sup> and, upon returning home, Nitobe was monitored by the *Kempeitai* secret police.<sup>102</sup> Nitobe's supposedly off-the-record criticism of the military clique sparked an outrage that became known as the infamous Matsuyama Incident, and police began guarding his home (an ultra-nationalist terrorist group had compiled a hit list including Nitobe's friends, three of whom were assassinated).<sup>103</sup> He was forced to apologise for voicing his misgivings, though it is not at all clear that he actually retracted what he said, rather than deftly apologising for inconveniencing others by saying it.<sup>104</sup>

97 Furuya, Jun, 'Graduate Student and Quaker', in Howes, John F. (ed.), *Nitobe Inazō: Japan's bridge across the Pacific*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press, Inc., 1995, pp. 55–76 (pp. 69–71).

98 Nitobe, Inazō, 'To Brother Joseph, Sapporo, Nov. 23, 1894' in *Letters to the Elkingtons*, in Nitobe Inazō Zenshū Henshū Iinkai (ed.), *Nitobe Inazō Zenshū*, 23 vols, Tokyo: Kyo Bun Kwan, 1987, XXIII, pp. 577–83 (p. 582).

99 Nitobe, 'To Brother Joseph, Sapporo, Nov. 23, 1894', p. 582.

100 Satō, Masahiro, 'Journalism: the last bridge', in Howes, John F. (ed.), *Nitobe Inazō: Japan's bridge across the Pacific*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press, Inc., 1995, pp. 217–36 (pp. 222, 227, 229–30, 233).

101 Kitasawa, *The Life of Dr. Nitobe*, pp. 54–55.

102 Kitasawa, *The Life of Dr. Nitobe*, p. 54.

103 Oshiro, George, 'The End: 1929–1933', in Howes, John F. (ed.), *Nitobe Inazō: Japan's bridge across the Pacific*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press, Inc., 1995, pp. 253–78 (pp. 258, 260–61).

104 In a meeting of the trustees at the headquarters of the Imperial Reserve Association, Nitobe conceded merely, 'Because my words were not sufficient, I have caused much trouble to society. I sincerely regret this. I apologize before you all.' This apparently sufficed as a recantation in the minds of many of his critics. Oshiro, 'The End: 1929–1933', pp. 258,

On the other hand, Nitobe's pacifist conviction seems somewhat porous and malleable. In an early instance, he was not above hitting a Japanese man whom he saw abusing an innocent Korean.<sup>105</sup> When Japan withdrew from the League of Nations after the League's condemnation of its attack on Manchuria in 1933, the year of Nitobe's death, he oddly defended the action: '[T]he League itself will find it has committed a grave error ... . We have committed a grave error in being too reticent and uncommunicative, and I may say unsociable.'<sup>106</sup> Nitobe seemed honestly not to grasp that Japan was the aggressor, viewing the attack as self-defence, and confessed: 'I am one of those inconsistent and self-contradictory people who believe that ... Japan is justified at the present moment to leave the League'.<sup>107</sup>

While Winstanley was staunchly convicted of nonviolence and nonresistance before joining the likeminded Quakers, Nitobe's encounters with Carlyle's works and then American Quakers served as stepping stones towards pacifism. The Diggers' movement was unable to realise Winstanley's optimistic dream of establishing an ethical society, but he found a new home for this theme in Quakerism; Nitobe's pacifism was not fully perfected and it could easily be said that he was not a model Quaker; nevertheless, he strove to live according to ethical principles, admitted and learned from his mistakes and weaknesses, and invited the peace church to refine and mobilise him for service to the world. Despite moments of weakness,

260–61; Uchikawa, Eiichirō, *Bannen no Nitobe: kyōson kyōuei wo toku*, Morioka: Iwate Nipposha, 1984, p. 159.

105 '[M]y Japanese rickshaw man abused an innocent Chosenese quietly walking on the street in Keijo. It made me so angry that I stopped the puller, and, jumping out of the *kuruma* [car]—gave him a good thrashing.' Satō, 'Journalism', p. 230.

106 Mary Nitobe defended Japan along these lines in a personal letter: 'I shall use what I consider an expressive bit of slang (I dislike slang!)—The League of Nations "went off half-cocked," and made matters infinitely more difficult to control here ... . I don't want bombing any nation and I don't [want] War; but as long as any country has an army, the Japanese troops were justified in what they did and would have been justified in doing much more—except the bombing at Chinhow. I certainly regret that, though it is scarcely more criminal, if as bad as the Chinese habit of lying and procrastinating and blaming the other party for every thing untoward that happens ... . [M]y husband is in Shanghai, doing what he can in conjunction with the Institute of Pacific Relations, and I trust that even in the face of heavy opposition at first and existing difficulties, the Institute may be able to do some good.' Nitobe, Inazo, 'How Geneva Erred', in Nagao, Teruhiko (ed.), *Nitobe Inazo: from Bushido to the League of Nations*, Humanities Series: Graduate School of Letters, Hokkaido University, Sapporo: Hokkaido University Press, 2006, pp. 99–103 (pp. 102–03); Nitobe, Inazo, 'Great Hopes for the League of Nations', in Nagao, Teruhiko (ed.), *Nitobe Inazo: from Bushido to the League of Nations*, Humanities Series: Graduate School of Letters, Hokkaido University, Sapporo: Hokkaido University Press, 2006, p. 104; Nitobe, Mary P. E. 'Bombing on Chinhow and Meeting of Pacific Relations', in Tokyo Joshi Daigaku Nitobe Inazo Kenkyūkai (ed.), *Nitobe Inazo Kenkyūkai*, Tokyo: Shunjusha, 1969, pp. 509–11 (p. 510).

107 Nitobe, 'How Geneva Erred', p. 101; Kimitada, 'Colonial Theories', p. 172.

Winstanley never abandoned his hope for a peaceful future, and Nitobe worked toward peace to the end of his life.<sup>108</sup> The Quakers sustained both.

### Conclusion

I have considered what factors in home-grown religion encouraged two agriculturally minded visionaries, after innovating their indigenous Christianities, to join Quakerism. I argued that Winstanley's ecological vision, heavily laced with theological elements, and Nitobe's simple, organic Christianity served as points of connection with Quaker testimony of being at peace with the Earth. As they sublimated their negative financial experiences into sustainable models of church leadership, their paths toward embracing the Quaker testimony of simplicity emerged. While Winstanley's nonresistance found a kindred spirit among his Quaker friends, the Religious Society of Friends guided a dubious Nitobe until he revised his commitment to ethical living into pacifism.

Winstanley found a home for his social justice movement in Quaker activism. Edward Burrough notified Margaret Fell in 1654 that 'Wilstandley sayes he beleeves we are sent to perfect that worke which fell in their handes hee hath bene with us.'<sup>109</sup> Nitobe found an open community that would come alongside him in his moments of doubt and strengthen his pacifism over time. He concluded that the non-sacramental Quaker style of Christianity was best suited to Japanese sensibilities and discovered that the Inner Light

is an idea that comes to every mystic soul in any clime ... . Only in Quakerism could I reconcile Christianity with Oriental thought ... . We read Laotze; we read Buddhist saints; we study Oriental mystics – we are brought very near to the idea ... we see light, but not the one thing essential – namely, a perfect living Personality.<sup>110</sup>

In conclusion, Winstanley's and Nitobe's pre-Quaker thought drew them to a welcoming group where they could flourish, and which would refine them into better versions of themselves for the sake of the world around them. Their ecotheology, agroecology and economic theory figure as predecessors to green grassroots and political activism, and their unique backgrounds contribute to the ethnographic and historical quilt of Quakerism.

108 As director of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Nitobe travelled to its conference in Shanghai on crutches and suffering from lumbago; owing to his illness, he was, very unfortunately, forced to decline Chiang Kai-shek's invitation to meet in Nanjing during his time in China. Oshiro, 'The End: 1929–1933', pp. 255–56; Uchikawa, Eiichirō, *Nitobe Inazō: the twilight years*, Tokyo: Kyo Bun Kwan (Christian Literature Society of Japan), 1985, pp. 97–98.

109 Corns et al., 'Introduction', pp. 1–94 (p. 17).

110 Nitobe, 'A Japanese View of Quakerism', pp. 334–35, 341.



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