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**Ideological and organizational changes in American
peace movements on the eve of the Civil War.
A study of Peter Brock's thought**

Abstract:

The author peruses Peter Brock's publication in a search for answers to the questions concerning ideological and organizational changes in American peace movements just before the Civil War. This venture shows the complexity of the terminology related to the impact of pacifist ideology on society. The article presents the evolution of the term 'pacifism' and the essential components consolidating the respective research area. Following Peter Brock's thinking the author presents pacifism in relation to religion, state, politics, abolitionism, use of force and war.

Key words: pacifism, Peter Brock, security studies, peace, religion, abolitionism, American Civil War

Introduction

The aim of this paper is to present ideological and organizational transformations in American peace movements just before the Civil War, which were analysed and described by Peter Brock (1920–2006) over the years of his research activity.¹ The research process undertaken for the preparation of this text the source materials have been synthesized and analysed. The selection of sources – texts and authors – was determined, first, by the headline target: to present interdisciplinary reflection on creation of peace in its genetic relationship with the life of the society, which in its decisions relies on morality rooted in religion. Second, to refer to the works of one of the greatest researchers of pacifism – Peter Brock, whose texts may be recognised as an important and quantitatively voluminous part of the worldwide output in the area of research on pacifism. Third, to present a creative dialogue of research on security, peace, radicalism, and pacifism. The texts and views that are quoted and discussed – primarily those of Peter Brock, but also other researchers – have been selected from the viewpoint of their linkage with the securitological-pacifist-semantic problem area presented in this work. The paper consists of an introduction, four chapters analysing the works of the Canadian thinker, which in their subjects express the main lines of his research.

The narrative part is followed by the conclusions which reflect references to successively surfacing research topics, which are merely mentioned in the text below.

¹ The research on the thoughts of Peter Brock cf.: Bado (2021): 147–166; Holmes (2017); Cortright (2008); Lynch (2007); Modzelewski (2000); Brock, Dyck (1996); Modzelewski (1995); Ziegler (1992).

1. Research issues

The analyses undertaken in this paper are covered by various studies on pacifism in its different meanings and diverse application.² The studies on ideological and organizational changes in the American peace movement on the eve of the Civil War include the analyses in which religion, anarchism, pluralism, violence, war and abolitionism constitute central concepts. Creating a synthetic record of the history of the thematic area that was of interest to him Peter Brock notes the main organizations of the American pacifist movement, namely: the Society of Friends³, the American Peace Society⁴ and the New England Non-Resistance Society.⁵ This means that the starting point should be the scrutiny and explication of the sources and factors which contributed to changes in individual directions of activity arising from the previously adopted system of values of the abovementioned groups. Despite the limited timeframe, which in this paper covers only the period immediately preceding the Civil War, it is appropriate – as Peter Brock pointed out – to refer to the 17th century, in which he saw the beginnings of the Society of Friends. The protagonist of the setting up of a new pacifist group was George Fox (1624–1691) – a cobbler from Leicestershire in Britain.⁶ The founder of the sect (to be exact, Peter Brock repeatedly uses the term ‘sect’ when speaking about the Society of Friends) of the Quakers⁷

² Cf. Smuniewski (2019): 341–357; Smuniewski, (2018): 75–93; Zięba (2003–2004): 8–13; Kellenberger (2018); Fiala (2020).

³ Cf. Allen, Moore (2018); Durham (2010); Dandelion (2008).

⁴ Cf. Whitney (1928).

⁵ f. Brock (1991): 74–90.

⁶ Cf. Brock (1972): 256.

⁷ Historically that name was of a pejorative, ridiculing nature. Cf. Ibidem: 255.

was characterised by great charisma and religious devotion. He started his efforts motivated by the need to re-invigorate Christianity around 1647, whereas the first recorded mentions concerning Quakerism are dated by Peter Brock to 1650.⁸ In his ardent work George Fox strived at institutionalizing his informal actions. In consequence, in 1652 he founded the Society of Friends,⁹ an organization affiliating people of the same religious denomination and with a hierarchical structure, as it was made up of local chapters united by the leadership body called the Meeting for Sufferings. This democratic model – as it was called by Peter Brock himself – was universally adopted among George Fox's fellow believers in Britain and also – thanks to foreign missions – abroad.¹⁰

The early Quaker movement was generally treated as something ideologically located between Protestantism and Catholicism.¹¹ It was functioning on the basis of the spiritual experience acquired in the course of studying the New Testament and innate human morality.¹² The whole was interlocked in the term "Inward Light",¹³ which Peter Brock presents as follows: "According to Fox, this Inward Light, Christ's spirit moving within men, was essential to illuminate God's parallel revelation in Scripture. Armed with Spirit and the Book a Christian had no need for outward sacraments or a visible priesthood."¹⁴

⁸ Cf. *Ibidem*.

⁹ Cf. Brock (1990): 9.

¹⁰ Cf. Brock (1992a): 41.

¹¹ Cf. Brock (1972): 255.

¹² Cf. Brock, Young (1999): 7.

¹³ Brock (1972).

¹⁴ *Ibidem*.

The conviction that everyone led by “Inward Light”¹⁵ can attain communion with God occupies the central place in the Quakers’ teachings and that is why – which seems worthy of special notice – the significance of the contents of the Bible was pushed down onto a lower level.¹⁶ Passing to the gist of the behavioural model of the Society of Friends, Peter Brock points to the declaration which was published in 1661 by George Fox and his friends in order to demonstrate the position adopted by the Quakers.¹⁷ The key message of that work was the categorical rejection of all form of war and violence, which are contrary to “Inward Light”.¹⁸ Therefore, that disapproval had no moralistic or economic sources.¹⁹ The Quakers were also involved in the analysis of the sources of war as they claimed that constant strivings at the escalation of conflicts serve only the improvement of the material situation of concrete individuals as well as elevation of national pride or the glory of a state.²⁰ A specific and at the same time the only form of struggle in which a righteous Quaker should take part should be the one revealing itself in the conflict between good and evil, where denunciation of violence is tantamount to goodness. According to Peter Brock, the Quakers called this type of spiritual struggle “the Lamb’s War”.²¹

So presented pacifist model of the Society of Friends started to spread throughout Britain. A fast growth of the number of followers resulted in the transfer of the sect to the other

¹⁵ Ibidem.

¹⁶ Cf. Brock (1992): 41.

¹⁷ Cf. Ibidem: 42.

¹⁸ Brock (1972): 256.

¹⁹ Cf. Ibidem: 269.

²⁰ Cf. Brock (1994): 29.

²¹ Brock (1992): 41.

side of the Atlantic in 1656, where the field for cultivating the innovative ideology both on the North American continent as well as the nearby Caribbean islands seemed to be very fertile.²²

Let us thus have a look at what Peter Brock wrote about the Quakers in the 19th-century North America. For years of their activity they kept on bearing witness to peace consisting in the rejection of violence and war motivated by religious reasons.²³ However, the surfacing of new liberal trends in theology somewhat alleviated their discipline. Many features which had distinguished the Society of Friends as a sect, such as their peculiar attire or the restriction consisting in choosing a spouse only and exclusively from among the fellow believers, were lost.²⁴ Peter Brock states that at the time the Quakers were short of the spark of life, their creativity and dynamism were waning.²⁵ As a result, the American peace scene gained more room to fit in newly formed groups of a similar foundation of activity but with a somewhat broader horizons and spiritual thought.

The main representative of the peace thought current was the Massachusetts Peace Society founded in 1815 by Noah Worcester (1758–1837) in the wake of the Napoleonic Wars. Dynamic social changes resulted in the expansion of the association into the American Peace Society set up in 1828 under the leadership of William Ladd (1778–1841). From its very beginning the Society focused its efforts on counter-acting aggressive mentality, promotion of pro-war slogans and on looking for functional alternatives to war; they opted,

²² Cf. Brock (1972): 256.

²³ Cf. Brock (1992a): 57.

²⁴ Cf. Brock (1972): 331.

²⁵ Cf. Brock (1992a): 57.

inter alia, for the establishment of a congress of nations and international arbitration. Peter Brock notices certain correlations between the totally independent American Peace Society and the Quakers. There is actually a certain debt of gratitude shown to the Society of Friends for their perseverance in their peace quest. Members of the American Peace Society readily made use of George Fox's and William Penn's publications (1644–1718)²⁶ and periodicals brought out by the Quakers. Moreover, with great satisfaction they referred to the Quaker experiment in Pennsylvania,²⁷ which will be further expounded on later. The object of contention lies only in the collective of the American Peace Society, since membership was not restricted exclusively to zealous Christians pacifists as in the case of the Society of Friends. The Quakers saw this as a serious obstacle on the path to co-operation.²⁸ The successive changes that took place in the 19th century crated a new area for the peace group to get involved in. Namely, it was the movement aimed at the emancipation of slaves, which was called abolitionism. The ever more festering problem of slavery provided a pretext for radical pacifists, as Peter Brock calls them, who, apart from their fanaticism about the emancipation of black inhabitants of the North American continent, neither shared the conservative stance of the American Peace Society and the Society of Friends as to the affirmation of state and taking an active part in its functioning. Thus a new organization was formed.²⁹ In 1838, there was a schism within the American Peace

²⁶ Cf. Beatty (1939).

²⁷ Cf. Sharpless (2002).

²⁸ Cf. Brock (1965): 68–69.

²⁹ Cf. Brock (1968): 594–595.

Society.³⁰ According to what Peter Brock claims, a group of radical pacifists under the leadership of William Lloyd Garrison (1805–1879) set up its own association in Boston called the New England Non-Resistance Society. The constitutive document laying down the grounds for the functioning of the organization was the Declaration of Sentiments compiled by Garrison.³¹ The document outlined a plan of a campaign against war, violence, slavery and civil government.³² Member of the New England Non-Resistance Society formed a kind of an abolitionist elite. Their ranks included left-wing abolitionist activists and individuals who had left the American Peace Society.³³ As noted by Peter Brock, that group of radical pacifists entrusted a great organizational to women, which was something very novel and at the same time shocking even for liberal William Ladd.³⁴

2. Rationalism

One of the features of ideological and organizational changes in American peace movements just before the Civil War singled out by Peter Brock was rationalism. The beginnings of this phenomenon should be sought in the Society of Friends. Following the activities of the Quakers at that time their unyielding attachment to the New Testament is noticeable. To confirm such a state of affairs Peter Brock quotes one of the texts published by the local association of the Philadelphia Quakers: „«Our testimony against all war

³⁰ Cf. Brock (1998): 63.

³¹ Brock (1992): 69.

³² Cf. Brock (1992a): 50.

³³ Cf. Brock (1992): 69.

³⁴ Cf. Brock (1998): 64.

and fighting» it states, «is founded on the precious precepts contained in the New Testament and the immediate openings made on the mind by the same Spirit which dictated it».³⁵ The Quaker faith, involving refusal to do military service as well as objection to all kinds of war, continued to be officially supported by the Society as a whole, while discipline was strictly enforced.³⁶ Because of the longstanding static in the Quaker ideology, members of the Society spared no effort to arouse their pacifist in order to improve their bearing witness of peace.

The emerging thoughts associated with rationalism were the quests for new possibilities of development which could have a positive impact on the Society of Friends' condition. According to Peter Brock, worth noticing is a British Quaker Jonathan Dymond (1796–1828) and his essay on war, which exerted an exceptional impact on the reflections of American pacifists throughout the 19th century.³⁷ In his work, Dymond with an equal frequency invokes the Holy Scripture, human reason and practical morality.³⁸ The narration of the essay on war was aimed primarily at revealing the inconsistency of war with human reason and morality as well as presenting the utilitarian aspect of pacifism. Dymond was a devoted advocate of cooperation with people from without the pacifist sects who opted for the cause of peace. This pragmatic idea was aimed at eliminating the existing divisions in order to optimise the effects addressed to the omnipresent dissemination of the concept of warless world.³⁹ The pacifist

³⁵ Brock (1968): 713–714.

³⁶ Cf. Ibidem: 337.

³⁷ Cf. Brock (1970): 260.

³⁸ Cf. Brock (1972): 340.

³⁹ Cf. Brock (1990): 258.

rules, which he derived from the New Testament as well as the reasonable mind, had the same application in individual relationships as well as interstate relations.⁴⁰ As noted by Peter Brock, it was something new, far-flung from the position of the early Quakers, which additionally aroused the interest of the then believers. Dymond was undoubtedly an adherent of the pacifist attachment to Jesus's Sermon on the Mount as well as other fragments of the New Testament, but as regards their explication his approach assumed no literal interpretation of those texts.⁴¹

Intensified rationalism put in place of religion, taking into account the earlier mentioned organization, was advocated by William Lloyd Garrison. According to Peterem Brockiem, Garrison strived at liberating the pacifist faith from overdependence on the biblical authority. The founder of the New England Non-Resistance Society revealed a considerable knowledge of the Bible since childhood, but gradually he felt that it also may create despotism in the mind and prevent a growth of religiousness in human hearts as effectively as it was done by Orthodox Churches he was an ardent opponent of with a view to their loss of real Christian virtue.⁴² The ideology of non-violence proclaimed by Garrison was based on the interpretation of Christian Gospels with an assumption that their contents would be approved by human conscience.⁴³ As underlined by Peter Brock, the position of the New England Non-Resistance Society united the law of Christ's love contained in the scriptures as well as in the spirit of His teaching with inviolability of human

⁴⁰ Cf. Brock (1972): 340.

⁴¹ Cf. Ibidem: 341–342.

⁴² Cf. Brock (1968): 588–589.

⁴³ Cf. Brock (1968a): 143.

live in all circumstances.⁴⁴ In other words, the leader of radical pacifists made use of his knowledge of the Bible rationally without trying to treat it as an ideal work at any cost and at the same time avoiding the use of apology of those fragments which were not close to his convictions and ideas. Garrison wished for empirical pacifism, which would be argued with human conscience and reason rather than because of a divine mission.⁴⁵ Strong attachment to the abolitionist cause was a cause of a permanent evolution of the pacifist concept of the New England Non-Resistance Society's leader. Eventually, Garrison obviously recognised that the source of pacifist convictions could in no way be associated with the teachings of Jesus but with human soul and innate morality of man, which could sustain that condition notwithstanding the Christian faith. Peter Brock calls such a sharp world-outlook change an ethical impulse.⁴⁶ Summing up, pacifism disseminated by William Lloyd Garrison was focused on the Bible and at the same time – paradoxically – detached from it. As Peter Brock recalls, *The Declaration of Sentiments*,⁴⁷ published by the New England Non-Resistance Society and constituting the core of its functioning, exposed their Christian and anarchist position.⁴⁸ Garrison's further life illustrates his gradual departure from the ideas rooted in Christianity, in place of which he ever more clearly referred to rationalism. It was rationalism that became a central idea for his own actions as well as the efforts undertaken by the Society that was dependent on him.

⁴⁴ Cf. Brock (1968): 591.

⁴⁵ Cf. Ibidem: 588–589.

⁴⁶ Cf. Brock (1968a): 143.

⁴⁷ Brock (1992): 69.

⁴⁸ Cf. Ibidem: 69–70.

3. Abolitionism

Before the beginning of the Civil War, the abolitionist idea predominated mainly in the thoughts of the New England Non-Resistance group's members. As Peter Brock recalls, it was one of the main causes which determined the establishment of that organization in 1838. William Lloyd Garrison clearly distinguished the abolitionist movement, with which he identified himself most, from others, though which proclaimed women's rights or objection against violence. As Peter Brock has noted, Garrison also failed to notice inconsistencies in the other initiatives that have been mentioned above.⁴⁹ Looking at the then situation of the Quakers and their activities throughout the 19th century, one may not but notice their involvement in the efforts aimed at the emancipation of slaves. Peter Brock states that generally as a whole the Quakers supported the activities of abolitionists.⁵⁰ The witness of the Society of Friends against slavery was so designed as not to clash with their thinking about peace. They backed the striving at eliminating this specific manner of arbitrary subjugation usually by using persuasion⁵¹ and to a certain degree were covert abolitionists.⁵² Despite similar ideas as to the above discussed issues, the organizations were not at all friendly to each other. The Quakers working for the New England Non-Resistance Society were reviled⁵³ and subjected to disciplinary actions by local chapters of the Society of Friends, notwithstanding their peaceful

⁴⁹ Cf. Brock (1994): 43.

⁵⁰ Cf. Ibidem: 41.

⁵¹ Cf. Brock (1968): 714.

⁵² Cf. Brock (1992): 58.

⁵³ Cf. Brock (1965): 75.

intentions.⁵⁴ As an object of contention between the two groups Peter Brock point to the impulsive tactics of the New England Non-Resistance Society, which was saturated with sharp statements, whereas the Quakers followed modest and quiet methods for the implementation of their goals. This dichotomy made it difficult to find a common platform between those organizations.⁵⁵ It should be noted that the Quakers' ambivalence as regards the cause of the emancipation of slaves and their hostility towards the New England Non-Resistance Society by no means weakened radical pacifists in their mission.

Initially the idea of abolitionism promoted by Garrison was based on the refusal to use physical force in order to realise his aspirations to free the slaves. As Peter Brock has noted, despite the views bordering on ultracism with respect to the abolitionist issue the New England Non-Resistance Society continued to regard itself as a strictly pacifist body, which obliged them to investigate the peaceful means for resolving the problem that were not against the Declaration of Sentiments.⁵⁶ To confirm the earlier mentioned position Peter Brock quotes the words of the leader of the New England Non-Resistance Society: "forbid the doing of evil that good may come"⁵⁷ and "the abolition of slavery by the spirit of repentance."⁵⁸

The prosaic abolitionist activities of the New England Non-Resistance Society so far based primarily on persuasion and anti-slavery agitation were intensified in the forties and

⁵⁴ Cf. Brock (1998): 60.

⁵⁵ Cf. Brock (1992a): 55.

⁵⁶ Cf. Brock (1968): 610.

⁵⁷ Brock (1968a): 164.

⁵⁸ Brock (1968): 610.

fifties of the 19th century. As Peter Brock points out, in 1850 the Fugitive Slave Law forced the American northern state to return the slave who had managed to escape from their holders in the South.⁵⁹ In response to the attempts of implementing the new initiative radical abolitionists, invoking the law which they considered supreme in relation to the one created by man, started a series of rescue operations for the oppressed slaves. The situation became dynamic and many people who joined the undertaking were ready to use force if necessary in order to carry out the anti-slavery plans.⁶⁰ One of close co-workers of Garrison, C.K. Whipple (1808–1900), seeing the growing aggression between the conflicted parties, undertook to halt the tendency aiming at losing the pacifist position and formulated an appeal to his friends from the New England Non-Resistance Society. Whipple invoked the ethics of non-violence consistent with the teaching of Christ.⁶¹ Pointing to C.K. Whipple Peter Brock notes his attitude called for by the abolitionist: “God’s arrangement for mankind is that wrongdoing should breed self-reproach, and that thus should tend to confession and amendment.”⁶² Undoubtedly, the perceptible aversion to aggression indicates a call for improvement consistent with the model of a righteous Christian who uses only love as an instrument to implement his plans. Wishing to attain the omnipresent emancipation of slaves without unnecessary bloodshed, Whipple outlined the following plan of action. He spoke for the passive collective resistance. The plan provided for a significant intervention of abolitionists who would cooperate by offering

⁵⁹ Cf. Brock (1992): 71.

⁶⁰ Cf. Brock (1998): 67.

⁶¹ Cf. Brock (1968): 610–611.

⁶² Brock (1968a): 165.

shelter for the oppressed. Shelters would be located in hard to reach places, such as highlands and mountains. The final effect of this operation would be capitulation of slave holders due to the losses of manpower which was the main driver of their operations.⁶³ As Peter Brock has noted it was the first program of civil disobedience in the history pacifism – which should be specifically underlined with a view to the history of that idea – similar to later assumptions of Gandhi's philosophy (1869–1948). Eventually it was only submitted in paper form and was not implemented by Garrison's comrades.⁶⁴

Abolitionism was identical for both the Society of Friends and the New England Non-Resistance Society, but the difference in the area of implementing the common goal totally destroyed the possibilities of their cooperation. Abolitionism was a new ideological current, which was received by the Quakers with reserve. Despite the fact that their development in this direction was not as dynamic as in Garrison's organisation, during the outbreak of the Civil War, which brought about many ethical dilemmas for them, some Quakers decided to abandon pacifism and get involved in the fight for the emancipation of slaves.⁶⁵

4. Anarchism

The reflection on rationalism and abolitionism leads to the consideration of anarchism. In order to elucidate Peter Brock's views concerning anarchism it should be noted that ideological changes in the American peace movement occupy an unprecedented place in their Christian approach

⁶³ Cf. Brock (1968): 611–612.

⁶⁴ Cf. Brock (1998): 67.

⁶⁵ Cf. Brock (1990): 163.

to the issue of state. On the one hand, the Society of Friends which dated back to the 17th century and generally sympathised with pluralism, and on the other - the New England Non-Resistance Society which was set up in the 19th century and propagated anarchism. The issue of attitude to state matters as well as politics constitute a bone of contention between the two groups,⁶⁶ the result of which was no cooperation that would be predisposed to improve the weakening 19th-century American peace movement.⁶⁷

The antagonistic approach to the issue of anarchism and at the same time affirmation of the positive aspects of the government were frequently presented in formal statements of local chapters of the Society of Friends. The involvement of the Quakers in politics was not condemned if no visible relation of their work with the military sector was found.⁶⁸ This statement is confirmed, among other things, by the experience from Pennsylvania, where the Quakers held the reins of power in the unarmed province for about seven decades.⁶⁹ Despite the intensifying quietist trend and disappointment with the world of politics after the loss of considerable influence in Pennsylvania, the world view of the Quakers in the 19th century was still closer to the approval of government. A large number of people who identified themselves with Quakerism opposed the intention of their slow withdrawal from cooperation with government⁷⁰ and took an active part in election, both on the local and federal level.⁷¹

⁶⁶ Cf. Brock (1992a): 53.

⁶⁷ Cf. Ibidem: 57.

⁶⁸ Cf. Brock (1965): 73.

⁶⁹ Cf. Brock (1998): 31.

⁷⁰ Cf. Brock (1972): 338.

⁷¹ Cf. Brock (1965): 72.

Despite the favourable attitude of the Society of Friends to the advantages flowing from the state, there was a contrast as regards their attitude to the issue of paying taxes. The reluctance effected mainly from the conviction that the levies paid by the Quakers would be used for military purposes. The multitude of the difference of opinion in the Society of Friends resulted in having worked out no uniform position in this area. Peter Brock notes that many Quakers were ready to go to prison so as not to burden their conscience, but there was also a group which while paying taxes at the same time formed an alternative for military service. Both attitudes were acceptable to the Society of Friends.⁷²

The New England Non-Resistance Society assumed an anarchist position. The intensity of William Lloyd Garrison's hatred against war and slavery led him to condemn the institution of government which – as it follows from the analysis of Peter Brock's texts – nurtured both. The leader of radical abolitionists regarded all contemporary governments as evil, and that is why if a Christian has any respect for his professed religion he should refrain from political activities.⁷³ To confirm this state of affairs Peter Brock invokes the views professed by Garrison, who maintained that: "We cannot acknowledge allegiance to any human government."⁷⁴ In the Declaration of Sentiments,⁷⁵ which was adopted in 1838, members of the New England Non-Resistance Society defined their position calling themselves Christian anarchists⁷⁶ and supported that view with several arguments

⁷² Cf. Brock (1968): 352–353.

⁷³ Cf. Brock (1992): 69.

⁷⁴ Brock (1998): 65.

⁷⁵ Brock (1992): 69.

⁷⁶ Cf. Brock (1998): 65.

the most important of which emphasized that the state was infiltrated by the spirit of violence and warfare.⁷⁷ Garrison's organization also undertook to refrain from voting in elections and holding any positions in government.⁷⁸ This exposed their position adopted in the constitutive document, which contain an eloquent statement with the characteristics of a propaganda slogan: "A bullet is in every ballot."⁷⁹ The Society also condemned the entire legal system with its penalties and prisons considering it to be unchristian.⁸⁰ What is interesting, despite the general disapproval of government Garrison's organization conscientiously paid taxes.⁸¹ The refused to pay only those levies which were openly used for war operations.⁸² As an alternative to a state they proposed a voluntary association of people living in accordance with the ethical code of the Gospel, the rules of which would be used to control demoralised people.⁸³ Christian anarchism rather than simply anarchy was an ideal for the New England Non-Resistance Society.⁸⁴

5. Implications

The history of ideological and organizational changes on the North American continent before the Civil War is characterised by considerable dynamics stimulated by new social ideas marked by liberalism, moralism, and rationalism,

⁷⁷ Cf. Brock (1965): 71.

⁷⁸ Cf. Brock (1998): 65.

⁷⁹ Ibidem.

⁸⁰ Cf. Ibidem: 65–66.

⁸¹ Cf. Brock (1968): 600.

⁸² Cf. Brock (1992): 70.

⁸³ Cf. Brock (1968a): 152.

⁸⁴ Cf. Ibidem: 144.

as well as a totally new problem faced by the American peace movement - abolitionism. Omnipresent tolerance also bore fruit in the form of new societies which rejected the historical rigorously sectarian methods of action and affiliated all those who opted for the cause of peace. In consequence, it initiated a current of departure from tradition, in which pacifism was argued by motivation arising straight from the New Testament, which is particularly visible in the position and statements of William Lloyd Garrison. In many cases Christianity remained only nominal. The greatest dilemma in the life of an American promoter of peace was his attitude to the cause of the emancipation of slaves. They realised that the probability of resolving that conflict without resorting to physical force was close to nil. The events of 1850 associated with the Fugitive Slave Law – described above as part of the reflection on abolitionism – resulted in the waiver of the pacifist attitude by a considerable number of followers of that movement. It was also the time in history which formed the foundations for the program of civil disobedience cultivated later by Mahatma Ghandi.⁸⁵ There was an agreement within the American peace movement as to the negation of slavery, though when it came to considering the details of concrete actions and their forms the problem started to be contentious. One of such details was the attitude to state and politics. The Quakers frequently invoked their history in Pennsylvania, where for almost seven decades they had been in power despite being unarmed⁸⁶ and they approved of the existence of government. On the other side there were the followers of Garrison, who enthusiastically propagated

⁸⁵ Cf. Brock (1998): 67.

⁸⁶ Cf. Ibidem: 31.

the slogans against the state, which in their opinion was responsible for wars, violence as well as slavery. As Peter Brock emphasized, worth noting is the legacy left behind by the New England Non-Resistance Society, which later reassured the great Russian thinker Leo Tolstoy (1828–1910) in his pacifist attitude.⁸⁷ The end of the formal activity of William Lloyd Garrison's organization dates back to the latter half of the 19th century.⁸⁸ This means the abolitionists did not pass the test of time, did not survive until such a great occurrence as the Civil War. That conflict brought about many complications. Those left their mark to a considerable degree on the functioning of the Society of Friends. The hard times the Quakers had to face made many of them renounce their pacifist faith.⁸⁹ The Civil War period marks a culmination of ideological and organizational changes of the first half of the 19th century and at the same time - as Peter Brock underlines – one of the greatest dilemmas in history to be faced by pacifists.⁹⁰

Conclusion

The presented reflection on ideological and organizational changes in American peace movements just before the Civil War as seen by Peter Brock warrants a fundamental statement. Historical event, such as war, verify sectarian beliefs and ideologies the sources of which are the views of individual people – even if those people are charismatic leaders. Thinking about the functioning of nations and states as well

⁸⁷ Cf. Brock (1968): 615.

⁸⁸ Cf. Brock (1988): 67.

⁸⁹ Cf. Brock (1990): 163.

⁹⁰ Cf. Brock (1998): 74–75.

as the processes of creating security, religious entities which cut themselves off the community building processes should be subject to constant observation. It is their force of exerting influence on individuals and the level of social security that should be watched. The experience of the tragedy of many people captivated by sects is an important argument in favour of setting up in states some methods of observing new religious movements, especially when they declare their anti-state attitudes and objection against the army and military service. The axiological systems, structures and manifestos of emerging religious groups should become a subject of research not only for scholars of religion or theologians but also securitologists.

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