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THE FUTURE OF QUAKER HISTORY

Two decades ago Christopher Hill, one of the great historians of the English-speaking world, explained that 'History ... offers a series of answers to which we do not know the questions.'[1] That comment and its implication that historians seek questions and not ready-made answers have had a major influence in shaping my perspective on Quaker history and its future. It forms a text for this paper.

Two other points of Hill's need also to be mentioned as an introduction for our thinking: 1) As anyone who has worked in the records of the 17th Century becomes quickly aware, what we can know about the lives of the common people who became Children of the Light is very limited indeed; hence the student who desires to explore their past must work diligently to construct the context that shaped their lives. 2) Hill avers that we are likely to produce better history if we think it matters, that is, if we are interested in the topic because it speaks to some need we think exists. In this light, I want to look at the past and future of Quaker history.

Quaker historical writing is in a period of transition, one that both promises to liberate it from too much of an 'in-group' historiography and also leads those who read our work to a higher level of understanding of the past. Most people who explore religious history are tempted to think that those who lived in other times responded only to theological questions when they acted religiously. This priority may seem as natural as it is alluring, for in dealing with religions people naturally rely on theological languge to express their experiences. Understandably then, students of the Quaker past inevitably have tended to dwell on theological issues and controversies. Or, in some ways worse, they have assumed that controversies rooted in personal or political differences are of necessity theological. In so doing, they inadvertently perpetuate past disputes by projecting them into the present and tying down tomorrow's agenda.

Scholars of Quaker history are no different from those who write about Anglican history; it is just that rather than concentrating on, say, answers regarding the monarch's rule in the affairs of the church they want to seek the responses that people in long ago offered about the import of the Inward Light. The difference, in short, is one of subject matter. But the result remains the same: important questions boil down to matters of authority. Because questions of faith are by definition unprovable, the political decision of who defines the faith forces each generation to struggle over some aspect of the same old issues. As interested observers, we should not be surprised, therefore, when out-of-date partisanship re-emerges to bedevil us in the present. Nor should we be surprised when we fail to advance very far beyond those issues of the past. Fighting old battles leads to no new victories but only to more casualties. One might hope that pacifist Quakers could avoid repetition of this old pattern. Our record in this regard is not encouraging.

Modern historians of Quakerism are aware of the problem, but current concerns entice them to let their awareness slip. In the course of a single paragraph, Hugh Barbour, one of the best modern Quaker historians, aptly demonstrated the problem. In his 'Preface' to his *Quakers in Puritan England,* he rightly admonished Quaker 'liberals' and 'fundamentalists' – both his terms – to avoid seeking out past Friends to bolster their modern points of view. But by the time he reached the end of his paragraph, he apparently forgot what he has just written and concluded with the hope that his 'book may open the way for deeper discussions between liberal and conservative Friends...'[2] Likewise, Douglas Gwyn, whose theological concerns have led him to delve into history, devoted the first two sentences of his *Apocalypse of the Word* to underscoring the modern interest in rediscovering the original message of early Quakerism; he sought to sate a 'gnawing' hunger for the 'powerful spirituality considerably beyond the scale experienced among Friends today.'[3] Gwyn made no secret of his intention to bring scholarship to the support of the strongly sectarian message of Lewis Benson, a diligent student of history, whose own 1966 book, *Catholic Quakerism*, at once sharpened the divisions between various Quaker groups and inspired Gwyn's exploration of the past.[4] More recently, Gwyn's *The Covenant Crucified* explored the relationship between the earliest Friends and capitalism, but it did not purport to be a a history: its Quaker publisher deigned not to classify it as a work of history but one dealing with religion and social concerns, presumably because it sought to synthesize the author's 'theological and political concerns' into what Gwyn referred to as a 'theology of history' and a 'historical theology.'[5]

A more satisfying if less daring approach to Friends' thinking is Rosemary Moore's 1993 thesis, 'The Faith of the First Quakers,'[6] for unlike other theologically orientated scholars she grounds her analysis in a world where events actually occurred. Ideas are important, yes, but people, immersed in a real world of passion and partisanship, are too, because they think and speak those ideas. Not only is Moore acutely aware of the context, but her conclusions are also logical outgrowths from her sources and possess a credibility that only a mastery of the sources can lend them. (It only adds to her achievement to note that her use of the computer enabled her to exploit her deep base of sources). As a historian, to an audience of people interested in history, I must say that such theological explorations are the only kind we can finally trust. With such a superb study as a model, the future of Quaker history is rosy indeed.

Sometimes non-Friend historians have explored Quaker doctrines, as Geoffrey Nuttall did in his now classic *Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Practice* in 1946. In surveying the doctrine of the Holy Spirit in the seventeenth century, Nuttall depicted Quakers as the logical extension of Puritanism, who pointed to, as he phrased it, 'the direction of the Puritan movement as a whole'; they did 'repeat, extend, and fuse' so much in radical separatism that he bestowed on them the name of their 'Puritan' foes.[7] This interpretation amounted to the opening of a major attack on Rufus Jones, whose identification of Quakerism with medieval European mysticism had captured the field of Quaker historical studies since the beginning of the century.[8] Nuttall dismissed Jones' approach as 'primarily of academic interest,'[9] while Wilmer Cooper, a scholar among American programmed Friends naturally distrustful of any such subversive emphasis, later accused Jones of importing mysticism into Quaker history because of his personal predilections.[10] Quaker scholars put Nuttall's work immediately to use by appropriating his identification of George Fox, Quaker's principal founder, and his followers with the Puritans, as the very title of Barbour's work testifies. One wanted Quakers understood 'as one of the variant expressions of the dominant and all-pervasive Puritanism of the age.'[11] Benson, more aggressively sectarian and evincing a bit of paranoia,[12] charged that Friends enamoured of Nuttall's approach would reduce to Quakerism to one Puritan group among others and hijack them into the ecumenical mainstream, where, of course, he feared for them to go.[13]

Even that now oft-used term for the early Quaker mission, 'the Lamb's War,' has been drafted into contemporary service, representing a bit of conscious contriving to link the first Friends with the saints of Revelation.[14] Although the term does not appear in Fox's *Journal* – Joseph Pickvance in his *Reader's Companion* to the *Journal* carefully tries to explain away this embarrassing oversight by the founder[15] – and was probably first used by the apostate James Nayler in 1657,[16] the idea itself was present almost from the beginning. In 1652, Fox announced that 'the Lamb had and hath the kings of the earth to war withal, ... who will overcome with the sword of the spirit, the word of his mouth.'[17] Still, it was not a term that Friends embraced generally, and now it seems as much as an effort to legitimatize present day concerns as to accurately reflect the past.[18] Somewhat ironically, when coming from the pen of Nayler and Edward Burrough, one of the most radical of the earliest Friends and the one Barbour cites for his purposes, the phrase can be read as an implicit criticism of Fox's more accommodationist stance towards political activity.[19] However useful politically, the phrase and its meaning remain to be explored in depth.

Another related problem is the one Quaker scholars seemed compelled to express their gratitude to the forebears in the faith by glossing over their foibles, ignoring differences that sometimes soured relations between them. Even the usually cautious Nuttall, a non-Quaker, could fall victim to the temptation of elevating his subject to levels that seem almost worshipful. One looks in vain in his introduction to John Nickalls' edition of Fox's *Journal* to find a shortcoming or limitation greater than 'unduly magnifying his own share in the convincing of others' – and Nuttall explains that one away by reminding us that the apostle Paul also claimed to have discovered his gospel independently[20]: not bad company, that. One expert on William Penn, one of Fox's closest associates, wrote of their friendship, for example, and failed to mention differences that developed between them over the proper relationship with the royal house of Stuart.[21] It is the reverential and celebratory tone of such histories as much as their words that causes one to wonder if the subjects are people who live in a world marked by the kind of human failures we all know exists in ours.

Given this checkered record, it may not be suprising that it required a scholar of Marxist rather than Quaker antecedents to shine an outward light on the scene and reveal what many had missed.[22] In his *World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas During the English Revolution*, published in 1972, Christopher Hill demonstrated that Quakerism represented a major part of the radical thrust of the English civil wars and their aftermath.[23] Like Jones, Hill was interested in the history of ideas, but unlike his forerunner, Hill grounded them in the native soil that nurtured the upheaval called the English revolution. Hill's agenda sought a precedent for revolutionary popular opposition to the unfolding of capitalism; his interests were not in religion as theology, but in religion as an expression of discontent with a new and untried economic and social system. The high water mark of this effort was his well-received volume exploring how English revolutionaries, Puritans and otherwise, used the Bible to justify determined opposition to the establishment.[24] Although the word 'Puritan' does not appear in Hill's index, individual Puritans emerge from its pages looking strikingly different from Nuttall's and to a lesser extent Barbour's.

Hill's more well-rounded approach has swept the field, especially among non-Quaker historians. One of Hill's students, Barry Reay, has produced the best recent introduction to Quaker history down to 1660.[25] Phyllis Mack, in her study of those she calls 'visionary women,' has demonstrated how women, many of them Quaker, pushed the limits of the revolution to prophesy and call for ending limitations based on traditions of gender.[26] Despite concentrating on theology in her exploration of Quaker women, Catherine Wilcox avoids the pitfall of isolating them from their social and political context. In commenting on how events led them to modify their view of the Inward Light, she stresses that one should not 'assume that their understanding of it remained unchanged', and she challenges students not to ignore the period during which Quaker theology was being expounded by apologists William Penn and Robert Barclay.[27] Although he deals with the years after 1660, Nicholas Morgan assumes that Quakers carried a reputation for Hillsian radicalism with them into his period.[28] My own biography of Fox endeavours to place its subject squarely in this context of revolutionary radicalism.[29] Doug Gwyn's *Covenant Crucified* does Hill's point of view one better in suggesting that the first Friends not only reacted to their sense of capitalism's destructive potential but also challenged the 'liberal' marketplace metaphor that underlay it. Gwyn is, it is safe to say, as present-minded as Hugh Barbour was three decades ago, though in another direction.[30]

If Quaker history's emancipation from its former focus on theology is salutary, as I believe it is, there yet remains another aspect of 'in-group' stroking that needs modification. Here I am referring to the emphasis many of our predecessors have given to institutional history. As much as every student of the Quaker past needs to pay daily obeisance to the ever careful William C. Braithwaite, we need to keep in mind that his main focus was the history of the Society of Friends as an institution. In his two volume history covering the seventeenth century, he described the development of an organization and concentrated on showing how the people who had control at the end of the century arrived at their supremacy. Hence he seldom considered the roads not taken or the people who travelled them. In this fashion, we have been denied a well-rounded picture of Quakers, not only in the period but also for the whole sweep of Quaker history.[31] It is rather like the labour historian who concentrates on the history of trade unions instead of the workers struggle.[32] Or to take an example from the field of church history, this technique has not given us a work comparable to Arrington and Bitton on Mormon history.[33] We need a Quaker history that is as acutely aware of the back as the facing benches.

I need to emphasize that the older institutional approach tends to be self-satisfied and self-congratulatory, assuming that the religious establishment that emerged after 1660 within the Society of Friends was a natural and logical development. It should therefore be exempt from scrutiny and criticism, even by someone as innocuous and far removed from the scene as a historian. As recently as 1986, American historian Edwin Bronner could write of the evolution of London Yearly Meeting's discipline without ever mentioning how it grew out of the effort to suppress dissent.[34] In my opinion, such a position amounts to a repudiation of the task of writing history itself – discovering the questions people of the past were answering – and undercuts the fundamental Quaker assumption that Christ speaks to his people at any time and through one's experiences of the real world. Inevitably such an approach, however understandable for believers, produces a filiopietistic and hagiographic view of the past, one falling short of the serious and sober people George Fox believed his followers called to be.

Because historians like Bronner have avoided the so-called 'Wilkinson-Story' separation, my biography of Fox contains the only account we have of it, since Braithwaite wrote nearly 80 years ago.[35] (Tying this division to Wilkinson and Story rather than the better known William Rogers of Bristol, its principal originator, illustrates how yesterday's definitions live on into the future). It was not until 1971 that we finally had a close look at that other Quaker schismatic, John Perrot, in Ken Carroll's excellent introduction.[36] The only study of perhaps the most accomplished of all the separatists, George Keith, is more than fifty years old and disappointing in its depiction of the politics of the schism;[37] no book length examination of the Keithan separation exists. My work in seventeenth century Quaker history thus confirmed what I first came to realize during my research on the Hicksite Reformation[38] – that those who run out from the faith are certain to get written out of the histories. We thus remain ignorant of the options presented to our forebears as well as why they chose the path they finally trod.

The only exception to this studied ignoring of those who helped mould the Quaker past is, of course, James Nayler, but his exploits grabbed the attention of people other than Quakers and represent an episode important in secular English history. Not only did his followers' use of the symbolism of Jesus' triumphal entry into Jerusalem focus attention on him, but Parliament debated his fate for the better part of three weeks.[39] Thomas Carlyle, the nineteenth century's foremost champion of 'heroes,' had a heyday with the spectacle of such a lesser man convulsing what he exaggerated as the 'James Nayler Parliament':

> Four hundred gentlemen of England, and I think a sprinkling of Lords among them, assembled from all counties and boroughs of the three nations, to sit in solemn debate on the terrific phenomenon – a mad Quaker fancying or seeming to fancy himself, what is not uncommon since, a new incarnation of Christ. Shall we brand him, shall we whip him, bore the tongue of him with hot iron; shall we imprison him, set him to oakum; shall we roast, or boil, or stew him; - shall we put the question whether this question shall be put; debate whether this should be debated; – in Heaven's name, what shall we do with him, the terrific phenomenon of Nayler.[40]

In the face of such ridicule, Quaker scholars always seemed a bit embarrassed by their fallen leader and quite willing to blame his fall on a handful of hysterical women, as Christine Trevett has reminded us.[41]

Which brings us to one of the most exciting developments in recent Quaker historiography, the attention afforded women Quakers. Quaker history is, of course, replete with important women figures, but it is also clear that male Friends found ways to maintain their control of the instruments of power despite resourceful women. Unfortunately the tendency to celebrate women's achievements has not been matched by the kind of critical study that would reveal the concrete reach of these advances or, more significant, continuing male control. Phyllis Mack, at her most creative, concluded that her 'visionary' Quaker women often insisted on the validity of their insights even as they deferred to men when it came to making general policy for the Society,[42] a position that a woman as close to the leadership as Mary Penington embraced.[43] It is a fact that one of the principal, and heretofore overlooked, sparks for the Rogers schism was its leader's distrust of the expanded role for women that the London leadership in the 1670s promoted, partially, at least, for political purposes. The same men knew how to give with one hand and take with the other, as Jean Simcock of Chester learned to her chagrin in 1672. At a quarterly meeting her proposal from the women's meeting was filibustered by a travelling Friend from London until the men reached their adjournment hour.[44]

This explanation of our historical writing underscores the transitional nature of this period in Quaker historiography. Those who have worked in the archives of other religious groups know how much the Friends' tradition of careful record keeping has assisted our efforts. The sources are more plentiful for Quakers because our ancestors preserved their records better. Still much remains to be done, not only in neglected topics but also in moving our studies to higher levels of sophistication by exploring themes that will offer clearer answers to the questions our predecessors were responding to. Let me list some of the areas that need attention – and I want to stress that my listing is not exhaustive.

1) I know that British Friends have long produced histories of local meetings, many of them quite good. The enthusiasm that has produced these accounts is a signal achievement of amateur historians, who, to use Hill's phrasing, believe the stories they have to tell really matter. (It also underscores my conviction that good history can be written by folk with no special academic training, only a willingness to submit oneself to the discipline of looking at the

sources. In this respect writing history is like Quaker ministry – it is open without restriction to all.) There is more than antiquarianism involved here, for local histories, particularly of the seventeenth century, can offer insight into the social, economic, and political context of people's decision to joint those 'in scorn called Quakers.'[45] Any may disagree with the current view of Quakerism as a part of the English revolution, but the only way to disprove this interpretation is to examine the sources and read through the language of religion and discover if other forces in fact played a role. People who look at the growth of Quakerism at the local level are in a strategic position to do this. Good local history is always in vogue.

2) Numerous early Friends need biographies. From Margaret Fell Fox,[46] to William Penn and George Whitehead among the leading Friends, to second echelon leaders like Isaac and Mary Penington, Richard Hubberthorne, and Edward Burrough, to name only a few, there are simply no adequate studies. And, as we have already noted, an examination of the careers of those who 'ran out' – people of the prominence of Ann and Thomas Curtis, Anthony Pearson, William Rogers, John Wilkinson, and Thomas Story – would offer revealing insights into why people became Friends and what caused them to come to a position of opposition later. Even an important early figure like George Bishop, who objected to some of the strong measures taken against dissenters, has not received adequate treatment.[47]

3) Gaps exist even in institutional history. We know too little about the origins and role of Meeting for Sufferings, the Second Day Morning meeting, and the shadowy meeting of the twelve – it remained hidden in obscurity because it did not survive under that name; it surely played an early important role, as a kind of executive committee of Meeting for Sufferings.[48] Also lacking is an exploration of the implications of the *Testimony from the Brethren*, a virtually forgotten document that served both as an expression of the power of those at the centre and as a kind of charter for those who exercised authority in London.[49]

4) The current interest in social history has not led much beyond women's public roles. The subtle and complex interplay between men and women and the power they vied for – if they vied at all – has not yet claimed its historian. Moreover, the matter of marriage, one of the most divisive features of the life and reputation of Friends until the 1670s and after, has never been researched in any systematic way. While the subject of the Quaker family, including the way Friends reared their children, has attracted scholars of the reputation of J. William Frost[50] and Barry Levy,[51] the subject remains a

controverted one, so much so that reviews of Levy's work elicited a level of pointed criticism not customary among Friends.[52] My guess is that we will see much more on this matter, particularly extending its coverage into later periods. We also need much more research on Quakers and blacks, as a way of determining if Friends were indeed relatively more willing than other Christians to answer the endemic racism that existed among whites.[53]

5) As Nicholas Morgan's path-breaking monograph on Lancaster Friends from 1660 to 1730 reminds us, no one in better than three-quarters of a century, since Rufus Jones, has carried the story of Quakerism forward into the eighteenth century.[54] Usually denominated the 'quietist' period, a term that I find questionable, the eighteenth century as a whole is overlooked in Quaker history. (It would be interesting to know, for instance, exactly when and why the word 'quietism' began to be used to describe those years). There is not even a good biography of John Woolman, hardly a quietist, if that term means one who sits out the controversies of his time and ignores the spirit of the age.[55] So most historians, including this one, have accepted rather uncritically what Morgan refers to as the John Stephenson Rowntree interpretative framework, that is, that the "decline" in the vitality of Quakerism occurred because of the effort to build a hedge around the Society of Friends after 1660. Morgan counters with evidence from Lancaster to suggest that Quakers there saw the discipline as a way both to maintain the old ways and revitalize the evangelistic impulse that impelled Friends forward in the first place; any decline in vigour, he concludes, did not occur until at least the fourth decade of the century.[56]

6) Hence from the end of the seventeenth century to the very end of the nineteenth, English Quaker history is pretty much a void. Only Elizabeth Isichei's volume surfaces,[57] even though the reasons for the success of evangelicals in preserving London Yearly Meeting from the kind of schisms that convulsed meeting in the United States must be a notable tale indeed. And we know next to nothing of the social implications of evangelical control. The North American splits have had their historians, attracted by the drama of disagreement and change, including my own on the Hicksites and Tom Hamm's fine prize-winning look at those called "Orthodox."[58]

7) For the twentieth century – and it has been nearly a hundred years since its beginning - there is even more of a void. Here Britain Yearly Meeting is ahead of its sisters in the United States, thanks to contemporary Friends like Alastair Heron and Ben Pink Dandelion, who are concerned enough with the fate of authentic Quakerism to

think it matters.[59] If these concerns seem to loom very large in Heron's and Dandelion's eyes, they have, at least, led to engagement with history and trying to find explanations for the situation they think we find ourselves in.

The list of topics that needs doing for our century is longer than my time here, but let us begin: there is no history of the American Friends Service Committee, the Friends Service Council, or Quaker Peace and Service (a fact that may suggest that Quaker involvement with the broader world is less than when evils like slavery and denial of women's rights were more obvious and engaging); our most distinctive testimony, our witness for peace, in a century marked by war after war, has not been chronicled, even though the United Methodist Church in the United States has a history of its peace efforts;[60] no one has written a history of Quaker missionary activities, efforts that have made the average Friend today a good many shades darker than most of us here; no history of evangelical Quakerism or pastoral Friends has seen the light of day – or even those called 'liberal' Friends or their umbrella groups, such as Friends General Conference. Some biographies exist, but the lives of such seminal figures as Walter Malone, Joel and Hannah Bean, Anna and Howard Brinton, Lewis Benson, the Rowntrees, even William C. Braithwaite lie unprobed.

It is a truism that Quakerism has produced few theologians. A religion of ineffable and ultimately individual experience, with no scriptures to embody final authority in matters of faith, has had little need for people who explore what Fox dismissively referred to as 'notions'. Historians have filled that void, and Friends on the benches have recognized the value of the efforts of William Braithwaite, Rufus Jones, and Henry Cadbury – an important consideration for those of us who write and want to sell books. From the earliest days, Friends kept journals of their experiences or, as Fox did, produced memoirs to illuminate the paths they had taken.These accounts of past careers have been valuable sources for us, and we gainsay them at our peril. But we do great disservice both to those in the past and those moderns who seek guidance from a lamp of experience if we strip the full context from our subjects' lives, if we reduce their many faceted experiences to narrow religious ones only. We all struggle to allow our faith, ultimately unspeakable and by definition unprovable, to inform every part of our lives; we need to recognize that people in the past did the same thing so we can approach them with a due sense of humility.

The future of Quaker history is encouraging if we remain aware of what scholars from the past have bequeathed us, but we need not rest on their laurels. Full of answers, the past is populated by people who faced the same range of complex choices that we do, even if their record remains incomplete. The histories we write will of necessity reflect our own answers, ones informed by our grasp of the past; our success in speaking to our generation will depend on our ability to be consciously aware of these requirements.

Lit by the lamp of experience, fuelled with the burning questions that people of the past were struggling to answer, we search the residue they left behind to compose their replies. What we find after shifting through their responses will not – can not – be our answers, for we live in a different time, one demanding different replies. Yet for their struggle, complex and never fully recoverable, offers glimmers of the Truth. 'The Lord's power', Fox wrote confidently from Swarthmoor Hall to Friends at Danzig in 1676, 'is over [your adversary's] head, and you within his power, then nothing can get betwixt you and God [not even a historian, we might add]; and in the power of the Lord is the city set upon his hill, where the light shines, and the heavenly salt is, and the lamps burning, and trumpets sounding forth the praise of God of the eternal joy, in his eternal word of life, that lives, and abides, and endures forever.'[61]

Despite the fact that he well understood the value of history and manipulated the sources for political purposes,[62] George Fox did not often use the term itself. In perhaps the only time he did, in a 1678 epistle, his words suggest that he, like Christopher Hill, was aware that the questions to which those in the past were responding could only be dimly seen at best. "And so the faith that Christ is the author of, and the worship that he hath set up," Fox wrote, "and his fellowship in his gospel, is above all historical faiths, and the faiths that men have made, together with their worships and fellowships, under the whole heaven."[63] Or, if I may be so presumptuous – as Fox clearly was about his Friends – the spirit of Christ, the ultimate Historian, stood in final judgement over even the best efforts of human beings and their institutions.

H. Larry Ingle
Presidential address given at the
University of Aberystwyth, 7 August 1997

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[2] Hugh Barbour, *The Quakers in Puritan England* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1964), x-xi.

[3] Douglas Gwyn, *Apocalypse of the Word: The Life and Message of George Fox (1624-1691)* (Richmond, Ind.: Friends United Press, 1986), ix. I have explored at some length the problem occasioned by such approaches. See H. Larry Ingle, 'On the Folly of Seeking the Quaker Holy Grail', *Quaker Religious Thought*, 25 (May 1991), 17-29.

[4] Lewis Benson, *Catholic Quakerism: A Vision for All Men* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 1973).

[5] Douglas Gwyn, *The Covenant Crucified: Quakers and the Rise of Capitalism* (Wallingford, Penn.: Pendle Hill, 1995), ix-x. For classification, see back cover.

[6] Rosemary A. Moore, 'The Faith of the First Quakers: The Development of their Beliefs and Practices up to the Restoration', (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 1993).

[7] Geoffrey F. Nuttall, *The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Practice* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1946), viii, 13.

[8] The clearest statement of Jones' position can be found in his 'Introduction' to William C. Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1923; originally published in 1912), xxv-xliv, an essay that was to become extremely controversial in the next generation and a half. See also Rufus M. Jones, *Studies in Mystical Religion* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1923; originally published 1909) and *Spiritual Reformers in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (London: Macmillan, 1914). When a second edition of Braithwaite's seminal volume appeared in 1955, Jones' 'Introduction' was dropped with the bland explanation that studies since 1912 had 'put Quakerism in a rather different light.' See William C. Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism* (York, Eng.: William Sessions, 1955; 2nd ed.), vii. In one recent idiosyncratic work, Jones' mystical interpretation has been coupled to a 'radicalism' from the late middle ages and given a new lease on life, at least in the mind of its author. See Richard Bailey, *New Light on George Fox and Early Quakerism: The Making and Unmaking of a God* (San Francisco: Mellen Research University Press, 1992), 20.

[9] Nuttall, *Holy Spirit*, viii.

[10] Wilmer A. Cooper, 'The Legacy of Rufus M. Jones', in D. Neil Snarr and Daniel L. Smith-Christopher, *Practiced in the Presence: Essays in Honor of T. Canby Jones* (Richmond, Ind.: Friends United Press, 1994), 20.

[11] Frederick B. Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House: The Quaker Merchants of Colonial Philadelphia* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1948), 52.

[12] For Barbour's critique of Benson's sectarianism, see Hugh S. Barbour, 'Lewis Benson - Called Out', *Quaker Religious Thought*, 22 (1987), 40-43.

[13] Benson, *Catholic Quakerism*, 8-11.

[14] See Barbour, *Quakers in Puritan England*, 40; Hugh Barbour and Arthur Roberts, eds., *Early Quaker Writings* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans, 1973), 104; and Michael L. Birkel and John W. Newman, eds., *The Lamb's War: Quaker Essays to Honor Hugh Barbour* (N.p.: Earlham College Press, 1992), 13.

[15] Joseph Pickvance, *A Reader's Companion to George Fox's Journal* (London: Quaker Home Service, 1989), 132.

[16] James Nayler, *Lamb's Warre against the Man of Sinne* (London: no publ. 1657). Barbour cites Edward Burrough's use of the concept from his 1659 Preface to Fox's *Great Mystery of the Great Whore* in *Works of George Fox* (Philadelphia: Marcus T.C. Gould, 1831), III, 14.

[17] George Fox, Epistle 9, *A Collection of Many Select and Christian Epistles,* in *Works of Fox,* VII, 20.

[18] See Hugh Barbour's 'Response' to Ingle, 'On the Folly', 35. Despite the promise of its title, a recent essay by David Loewenstein does not so much explicate the War of the Lamb as to re-emphasize carefully Fox's millenarian rhetoric. See 'The War of the Lamb: George Fox and the Apocalyptic Discourse of Revolutionary Quakerism', 25-41, in Thomas N. Corns and David Loewenstein, eds., *The Emergence of Quaker Writings: Dissenting Literature in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Frank Cass, 1995).

[19] Undeveloped elsewhere, this difference between Nayler and Fox is referred to in H. Larry Ingle, *First Among Friends: George Fox and the Creation of Quakerism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 131.

[20] Geoffrey F. Nuttall, 'Introduction: George Fox and his Journal,' in *Journal of George Fox,* ed. John L. Nickalls (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952), xix-xxxvii, quotation from xxv.

[21] Edwin B. Bronner, 'George Fox and William Penn, unlikely yokefellows and friends,' *Journal of the Friends Historical Society,* 56 (1991), 78-95.

[22] In truth, this interpretation predated Hill's work: see James F. Maclear, 'Quakerism and the End of the Interregnum: A Chapter in the Domestication of Radical Puritanism', *Church History,* 19 (1950), 240-70. For a fuller survey of the historical literature, see H. Larry Ingle, 'From Mysticism to Radicalism: Recent Historiography of Quaker Beginnings,' *Quaker History,* 76 (1987), 79-94.

[23] Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas in the English Revolution* (New York: Viking Press, 1972). See his *Experience of Defeat: Milton and Some Contemporaries* (Harmondsworth, Eng.: Penguin Books, 1985). Gwyn's *Covenant Crucified* also forms part of this approach.

[24] Christopher Hill, *The English Bible and the Seventeenth-Century Revolution* (London: Penguin Press, 1993).

[25] Barry Reay, *The Quakers and the English Revolution* (London: Temple Smith, 1985).

[26] Phyllis Mack, *Visionary Women: Ecstatic Prophecy in Seventeenth Century England* (Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press, 1992). See also Christine Trevett, *Women and Quakerism in the 17th Century* (York, Eng.: Ebor Press, 1991).

[27] Catherine M. Wilcox, *Theology and Women's Ministry in Seventeenth-Century English Quakerism: Handmaids of the Lord* (Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 1995), 8-9.

[28] Nicholas Morgan, *Lancaster Quakers and the Establishment, 1760-1830* [sic], (Halifax, Eng.: Ryburn Publishing, 1993), 15.

[29] Richard Bailey, *New Light on George Fox and Early Quakerism: The Making and Unmaking of a God* (San Francisco, Cal.: Mellen Research University Press, 1992) is so idiosyncratic that it is difficult to fit it into any interpretative framework, but its author is clearly indebted to Hill and his emphasis on radicalism. See Bailey's first chapter.

[30] Gwyn, *Covenant Crucified,* 20-22.

[31] Both John Punshon's fine *Portrait in Grey: A Short History of the Quakers* London: Quaker Home Service, 1984), and the more recent book by Hugh Barbour and J. William Frost, *The Quakers* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988) fall short in this regard and seem content to tell many aspects of the same old story in much the same old way.

[32] My thinking of this matter has been helped by the writings of Staughton Lynd, an American Quaker labour activist, historian, and attorney. See his *Living Inside Our Hope: A Steadfast Radical's Thoughts on Rebuilding the Movement* (Ithaca, N.Y.: ILR Press, 1997), esp. ch. 12: 'The Webbs, Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg.'

[33] Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-Day Saints* (New York: Vintage Books, 1980).

[34] Edwin W. Bronner, 'Quaker Discipline and Order, 1680-1720: Philadelphia Yearly Meeting and London Yearly Meeting,' in Richard S. Dunn and Mary M. Dunn, eds., *The World of William Penn* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), 323-35.

[35] See *First Among Friends*, chps. 15-16. The only previous study – and it, naturally, concentrating on theological issues – is John S. Rowntree's essay, 'Micah's Mother: A Neglected Chapter of Church History,' ch. 2 in *John Stephenson Rowntree: His Life and Work* (London: Headley Brothers, 1908).

[36] Kenneth L. Carroll, *John Perrot, Early Quaker Schismatic, suppl.* 33, Journal of the Friends Historical Society, 1971.

[37] Ethyn W. Kirby, *George Keith: (1638-1716)* (New York; D. Appleton-Century Co., 1942).

[38] H. Larry Ingle, *Quakers in Conflict: The Hicksite Reformation* (Knoxville, Tenn.: University of Tennessee Press, 1986).

[39] The most recent study of the Nayler incident (and arguably the best) is Leo Damrosch, *The Sorrows of the Quaker Jesus: James Nayler and the Puritan Crackdown on the Free Spirit* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1996); the title and subtitle reveals how expertly Damrosch melds the religious and secular themes.

[40] Quoted in William G. Bittle, *James Nayler, 1618-1660: The Quaker Indicted by Parliament* (York, Eng.: William Sessions, 1986), 118.

[41] Christine Trevett, 'The Women Around James Nayler, Quaker: A Matter of Emphasis,' *Religion*, 20 (1990), 249-73.

[42] Mack, *Visionary Women*, 405.

[43] H. Larry Ingle, 'A Quaker Woman on Women's Roles: Mary Penington to Friends, 1678', *Signs*, 16 (1991), 587-96.

[44] Ingle, *First among Friends*, 252-54.

[45] Nearly any such study should begin with Joseph Besse, *An Abstract of the Sufferings of the People call'd Quakers* (London: J. Sowle, 1733-38), 3 vols.

[46] There have been four studies of this seminal figure, none of them wholly satisfactory: Maria Webb, *The Fells of Swarthmoor Hall* (London: Alfred W. Bennett, 1865), Helen G. Crosfield, *Margaret Fell of Swarthmoor Hall* (London: Headley Brothers, [1913]), Isabel Ross, *Margaret Fell: Mother of Quakerism* (London: Longmans, Green, 1949), and Bonnelyn Y. Kunze, *Margaret Fell and the Rise of Quakerism* (Stanford, Cal.: Stanford University Press, 1994).

[47] The recent study of Bishop, good as it is, does not take him beyond 1660. See Maryann S. Feola, *George Bishop: Seventeenth-Century Soldier Turned Quaker* (York, Eng.: William Sessions, 1996).

[48] On this body, see Ingle, *First Among Friends*, 257.

[49] On this power-play, see ibid., 222-23.

[50] J. William Frost, *The Quaker Family in Colonial America* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973).

[51] Barry Levy, *Quakers and the American Family* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).

[52] For the two most striking examples, see Craig Horle's review in the *Pennsylvnaia Magazine of History and Biography*, 113 (1989), 277-82, with Levy's response following on pp. 282-84, and J. William Frost's review in *Quaker History* 79 (1990), 40-42.

[53] Non-Quaker historians have been more wont to bestow on early Friends a somewhat better record on the question of slavery and racism than the facts would permit. For an example, see Winthrop Jordan, *White Over Black: American Attitudes toward the Negro, 1550-1812* (Baltimore, Md.: Penguin Book, 1969), 194. For a more recent reading of some of the evidence, see J. William Frost, "George Fox's Anti-Slavery Legacy," paper delivered at George Fox Conference, Lancashire, England, March 1991, and Ingle, *First Among Friends*, 235-36.

[54] Rufus M. Jones, *The Later Periods of Quakerism* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1921), 2 vols.

[55] There has been one attempt: Janet Whitney, *John Woolman: American Quaker* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1942), but it is less useful than a literary study, Nicholas Edwin H. Cady, *John Woolman* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1965).

[56] Morgan, *Lancaster Quakers*, ch. 7, esp. 263 and 269.

[57] Elizabeth Isichei, *Victorian Quakers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970).

[58] Thomas D. Hamm, *The Transformation of American Quakerism: Orthodox Friends, 1800-1907* (Bloomington Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1988).

[59] Alastair Heron, *Quakers in Britain: A Century of Change, 1895-1955* (Kelso, Scot.: Curlew Graphics, 1995) and Ben Pink Dandelion, *A Sociological Analysis of the Theology of Quakers: The Silent Revolution* (Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 1996).

[60] Herman Will, Jr., *A Will for Peace: Peace Action in the United Methodist Church, A History* (Washington D.C.: General Board, 1984).

[61] Fox, Epistle 337, *Collection of Epistles*, in *Works of Fox*, VIII, 127-128.

[62] H. Larry Ingle, 'George Fox, Historian,' *Quaker History*, 82 (1993), 28-35.

[63] Fox, Epistle 348, *Collection of Epistles*, in *Works of Fox*, VIII, 147. Arthur Windsor found no other use of any form of the word 'history' in Fox's epistles. See Arthur Windsor, comp., *George Fox Epistles: An Analytical Phrase Index* (Gloucester, Eng.: George Fox Fund, 1992), 114.

QUAKERS AND THE INQUISITION

The story of the missions of Friends to convert the Sultan and the Pope is a treasured part of the heroics of early Quakerism, more particularly the adventures of John Perrot, John Luffe, Mary Fisher, Katharine Evans and Sarah Chever. Correcting earlier accounts, William Charles Braithwaite tells it with some fullness in *The Beginnings of Quakerism,* in the second half of chapter xvi ('Work Beyond Seas'). More recently Kenneth Carroll has made himself an authority on John Perrot, who has also attracted the attention of Nigel Smith; but any treatment of the missionaries' reception, including their examination by officials of the Inquisition,has been slight and dependent on Quaker sources, in particular on *This is a short relation of some of the cruel sufferings (for the Truth's safe) of Katherine Evans and Sarah Cheevers, in the Inquisition in the Isle of Malta* ... (1662). Now Dr. Stefano Villani, of the Scuola Normale Superiore of Pisa, has conceived the idea of investigating Italian sources, including the archives of the Inquisition, to discover the ecclesisiastical perception and reception of the missionaries and to redress the balance, and is in process of publishing his findings. *Tremolanti e Papisti: missioni Quacchere nell'Italia dei Seicento* (Rome: edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1996, pp. 264) is the first fruits of his research.

I am not acquainted with the relevant secondary Italian literature, nor am I in a position to know the status and reliability of the Inquisition's archives or the canons governing their elucidation; but I know Stefano Villani from much correspondence and conversation. He is an exceptionally keen and dedicated young scholar, of marked originality, who leaves no stone unturned in his investigations. The university higher degree procedure in Italy is not the same as ours; but by British standards, of which I have some experience, it is astonishing that work so full, careful and original should be no more than the 'titular' dissertation required in order to order to qualify ('perfezionando') for a larger 'official' thesis. Of course Stefano Villani is not 'at home' in the British Isles as he is in Italy (on p. 73 he thinks Minehead is in Ireland and calls the Lord Mayor of London the Major-General), and, though his coverage of secondary sources in English is astounding, it would be too much to expect him to distinguish between what is reliable, what is not reliable and what must be treated with caution; but he is as familiar with the Quaker archives at Friends House as he is with those of the Inquisition, and he has the skill to inter-relate them in a way that illuminates both the power of a laser-like beam, concentrated and limited.

English readers may wonder why so much space is given to describing a background they know already; but the book was written for an Italian readership ignorant of it. If they also wonder whether what is fresh in the book might not might not have been better presented in a series of articles in learned journals, they will be pleased to hear that what is presented in the book is in fact filled out and extended in a number of articles published or forthcoming, including a study of James Nayler.

Stefano Villani is not setting out, however, to become a Quaker historian. *Tremolanti e Papisti* is in a series with the very general title 'Uomini e Dottrine', and is intended only as preparatory to a very small part (about a twentieth) of a grand project in which Stefano Villani will survey the reception of the English Revolution in Italian culture and society. Quakerism, that is to say, is not his particular interest; nor for that matter is history, if in this is included the why and the wherefore. His particular interest is archival: he has an eye to, a nose for, fresh material in manuscripts and in rare and inaccessible tracts; and when he finds this he prints it, and not a historian's interpretative selection of passages but the whole document or tractate. What he prints may confirm or contradict what is already in print; this is not his concern; exposition and significance he leaves to others.

By way of illustrating his work and its value I append three brief passages printed without annotation in Part II ('Tesj') of *Tremolanti e Papisti* (pp. 169-224): the first from *The Tryal of John Luffe*, from what in a manuscript at Friends House purports to be a transcript of it as printed in 1661, though no published copy of it has been found; the second and third from the official account of the examination of Sarah Cheevers and Katharine Evans in the Inquisition's archives in Malta. They will be found on pp. 175-6, 209 and 216.

'When he came into the Pope's presence, not makin[[...]] beysance or so much as pulling off his hat, his Holynes asked him what country man h[[e w]]as, to whome he replyd "thou speakest not the language of the holy, yet, because I well understand thee know thou o Prince sitting in thy Statly array, I am of the new Jerusalem from all Eternity"; with that he presented the Pope a booke entituled y^e

Mystery of truth. The Pope shooke his head at him ... At this y^{e} Quaker laughed and sayd ... "... Every day is a sabbath wherein wee can serve God". "Very well", sayd the Pope, "and is there nothing to be done for the remembrance sake of our Saviour's blessed Ascention?". "No, no," replyed John Love, "I have Christ about me and in mee, and therefor cannot choose but remember him continually".'

'Interrogata de nomine, cognomine, parentibus, patria, aetate et Religione.

Respondit: mi chiamo Sara figliola delli quondam Gulielmo Shenel. et Margarita moglie di Henrico Scivers, dalla provincia di Willshiere e dalla Villa Slatenfoord in Inghilterra, hò l'età d'anni 50 in circa, sono della vera Religione de Purificati, sebene quelli che non sono di questa Religione per dispreggiarci ci chiamano della Religione quakers cioè de tremolanti.'

'Interrogata ut recenseat Dogmata saltem principalia suae sectae. Respondid: Primieramente Noi di detta setta de Tremolanti crediamo in Giesù Christi, e che lui sia il vero lume del Mondo; e che morto in Gierusalemme, et il 3^{o} giorno riuscitò da Morte.

Di più non admettemo Sacramento alcuno nella nostra setta, poi[[ché]] nella Sacra Scrittura non vi è luogo alcuno che facci mentione delli sacramenti.

Di più detta nostra Setta non admette né veneratione, né Invocatione, né intercessione de Santi poiche solamenta Iddio si deve venerare, et Invocare.'

Geoffrey F. Nuttall

The following Italian publications have been received from Stefano Villani, a postgraduate student of the Scuola Normale Superiore of Pisa;

1) Book: *Tremolanti e Papisti. Missioni Quacchere nell'Italia del Seicento,* Roma Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1996. This tells the story of Katherine Evans and Sarah Cheevers and includes the Latin and Italian documents kept in the Inquisition Archives in Malta regarding the two women.

2) Article: Un Masaniello Quacchero: James Nayler in *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa,* Anno XXXIII (1997), n. 1, Firenze. This studies Italian reactions to Nayler's case.

Stefano Villani is currently working on an edition of *A True Account of the Great Tryals and Cruel Sufferings Undergone by those Two Faithful Servants of God Katherine Evans and Sarah Cheevers,* London 1663. This edition will be published in 1998.

Stefano Villani is a member of the Friends Historical Society.

Howard F. Gregg

SOME IRISH QUAKER NATURALISTS

Introduction

Speakers are always advised to avoid apologies; none the less I think that some explanations are required before launching on my subject. First it is characteristic of the generosity of the Friends Historical Society that they from time to time ask an Irish Friend to act as President. Britain or to be more accurate England is the true centre of early Quakerism and it is inevitable that historical studies have their true root here. Other branches of the Society of Friends must first look to their English origins, but they have put down adventitious roots into their own soil; and it is good when this is recognised.

Amongst other Irish Friends recognised by the FHS have been Isabel Grubb, John M. Douglas and Olive Goodbody each of whom some of you will remember with appreciation. Unknown to them they taught me much of what I know, and each of them had particular scholarly abilities which I cannot copy. In fact although I have written abut *The Irish Quakers,* I am essentially a second handler, having spent little time on original sources.

I was asked about two years ago to join in a symposium on *Quakers in Irish Natural History and Medicine.* Why should Quakers have had any importance in relation to a country's natural philosophy? We had realised that the Quaker community had made a disproportionate contribution to the Irish economy; and that they had in a special way served the country in time of famine and even of rebellion; but that it had a special place in the development of Ireland's science and medicine seemed unlikely and was certainly unrecognised. It is from the work on this subject that I have been able to find the substance of this address.

First I must go back to the early days of Friends and say something about the Quaker movement in relation to science.

Quakers and Science

The development of Quakerism in the mid-seventeenth century is exactly contemporaneous with the development of Science as a few dates will show. George Fox lived from 1624 to 1691 and Robert Boyle from 1627 to 1691; Isaac Newton, 1642-1727; Friedrich Leibnitz 1646-1715; William Penn, 1644-1718; John Bellers, 1654-1725. Boyle's *Skeptical Chymist* was published in 1661, only five years after the 'Declaration from the Elders of Balby' on which the discipline of Friends is founded. Newton's *Principia* is a little bit later in 1687. Other scientists of the period included Linnæus 1707-1778 which compares with one of the more remarkable of Irish Friends, Dr. John Rutty, 1697-1775.

The whole scientific movement had started earlier but those I have mentioned and their contemporaries laid the foundations of modern science. The foundation of the Royal Society in 1645 and its charter in 1660 provide a convenient peg for modern science, as 1656 does for the Quaker ethos.

The old science, like the old theology had been a matter for schoolmen. Academics who could repeat the opinions of Aristotle, Galen or the Fathers of the Church were considered the most learned and carried the most influence.

However the new leaders of science insisted on putting their speculations to the test of observation and experiment, and so too the new approach to religion was to personal experience and not to a religion taken from schoolmen or creeds laid down by other people. Today one of the most quoted passages from George Fox is; 'You will say "Christ saith this and the Apostles say this"; but what canst thou say?' Then while I take it that the word 'experimentally' used by George Fox, is properly understood as 'by personal experience', rather than in the scientific sense, is not so far away and had an element of testing in it.

The Quaker movement lay on the extreme wing of the reformation entirely rejecting hierarchical control and what they believed to be the superficial and unnecessary ceremonies of the church. This distrust of ancient authorities was shared by the scientists. In both Science and Quakerism the emphasis on *Truth* was fundamental. The attitude of mind which the scientists put to the exploration of the outer, phenomenal world, the Quakers put to the inner world of their religion.

It would not be correct to say that the Quaker movement was scientific, nor would it be sensible to expect many direct contacts between Quakers and these eminent and innotative scientists, but I do feel justified in considering that they had an approach in common. Quaker beliefs were to be founded on experience and their intuitions tested by practice and common sense and by the considerations of other Friends. This was at heart what scientists were also doing by their insistence on observation and experiment and the presence of their findings to colleagues.

There were other ways in which Quakerism and observational science met. The Puritan reformers of medicine[1] were also concerned with the correction of academic traditions. To them the world, the flesh and the devil were to be found in human wisdom; think of John Bunyan's Mr. Wordly-wise-man and Legality against Mr. Valiant-for-Truth. Amongst those who became Quakers there were some who believed that the Fall was confined to the human species and that animals and plants were as they were before the Fall in Eden or the confusion in Babel. Some even considered that if they could know animals and plants as Adam knew them, his names for them would be explanatory.[2] God might be found directly in the observation of nature. Thus the natural world was part of the Kingdom and the references of George Fox to "unity with creation" is justified.

However there was a movement of medical reform even closer to Quakerism. There was the revival of hermetic medicine[3] and the establishment of what we might now describe as groups concerned with alternative medicine. These groups, especially across Protestant Europe, laid emphasis on the spiritual nature of healing and that all the substances needed for medicine were to be found in nature. This more radical movement in medicine is to be seen in the work of Bruno[4] burnt at the stake in 1600 and Paracelsus.[5] It is known that George Fox's library contained some references to these medical reformers, and that he himself had wished to study medicine and wondered whether he should "practice physic for the good of mankind, seeing the nature and virtue of the creatures was opened to me by the Lord". Penn and Fox seem to have had some contact with the Dutch iatro-chemist, van Helmont and the translation of his works into English appears to have been made by a Quaker.

The Quakers seem to have had both sympathy with the scientists and with the special reforms in medicine, while on the other hand the other established churches appear to have often resisted change and speculation and found them contrary to orthodoxy.

Penn on Education

The well-known comment of William Penn on education in *Some Fruits of Solitude* is relevant to what I wish to say.

> 'We are at pains to make them Scholars but not Men! To talk rather than to know. The first thing obvious to Children is what

> is sensible; and that we make no part of their Rudiments. We press their memory too soon, and puzzle, strain and load them with Words and Rules; to know Grammar and Rhetoric, and a strange tongue or two, that it is ten to one may never be useful to them, leaving their natural Genius to Mechanical and Physical or natural Knowledge uncultivated and neglected. To be sure languages are not to be despised or neglected. But things are to be preferred.Children had rather be making Tools and Instruments of Play, Shaping, Drawing, Framing, and Building etc., than getting the rules of Propriety of Speech by Heart and those also would follow with more Judgment and less Trouble in Time. It were happy if we studied Nature more in natural Things, where Rules are few, plain and most reasonable. For how could Man find the Confidence to abuse Nature, while they should see the great Creator stare them in the face in all and every part thereof.'

This passage of Penn's shows clearly the Quakers' kind of educational reform: their utilitarian attitude, their respect for nature, and their attempt to understand the needs of the child. Science and natural history teaching for practical purposes, and a respect for the needs of the child are recurring themes throughout Quaker educational history.

Lawson and Bellers

I do not intend to deal with English Friends concerned with science beyond mentioning that there were many like the botanist Thomas Lawson, 1630-1691,[6] who was one of the Valiant Sixty; others more closely associated with members of the Royal Society: and John Bellers,[7] 1654-1725, who may be regarded as a social reformer rather than a scientist, but whose *Proposals for the Improvement of Physick* presented to Parliament in 1714 are so extraordinary. He not only advocates a state medical service, but special regional hospitals, specialist hospitals, a careful investigation of all medicine with circulars reporting the findings to all practitioners and the payment of doctors when their patients could not do so. When you consider that in addition to these modern matters he advocated a European Union and Parliament as well, his innovations are of unassailable interest.

Dr. John Rutty 1697-1775

The first Irish scientist I wish to mention is John Rutty 1697-1775. One should call him a second generation Quaker. He came from Melksham[8] in Wiltshire, obtained his Doctorate in Medicine from Leyden University and started to practice in Dublin in 1725. From the Quaker point of view he is known best both as the author of the posthumously published *Spiritual Diary and Soliloquies* and as the historian who brought up to 1750 Wight's unfinished *History of the Rise and Progress of the People called Quakers in Ireland.* Included with this book published in 1751 were two others *An Introduction Describing summarily the Apostacy of the Professors of Christianity* and *A Treatise concerning the Discipline of the People called Quakers.* These works remain the most important accounts of early Irish Quaker history.

Rutty was in religion a Quietist and recounts about the year 1751 reading the *Essays of Messieurs du Port Royal.* But one should not think of Quietism as separating an individual from his or her duties in the world or respect of nature.

Quoting from his *Spiritual Diary*:

> 'The earth and sea are full of thy glory.
> The Author of nature vouchesafeth to open its mysteries to the diligent inquirer.
> Now finished the transcript of my Materia Medica, a principal work of my life. A work of no present advantage to me, but I hope will prove so to others, but this is still far inferior to spiritual medicines.'

He saw his work as for the practical good of mankind but sets his spiritual life first.

Among his many medical and scientific publications (of which a list is appended) is *The Chronological History of the Weather and Seasons and the prevailing Diseases in Dublin with their various Periods, Successions and Revolutions during the space of Forty years.* The title goes on and on comparing the diseases of Dublin with London and other centres.This was addressed to the members of the Physico-Historical Society of which he was one of the founders and which established a number of surveys of the resources of several Irish counties.

He undertook for this society that of Dublin and County, *An Essay towards the Natural History of the County of Dublin* published 1772. This was the first regional natural history of Ireland based on direct observations. There are a number of Quaker names in the list of subscribers – Bewly, Clibborne, Chandlee, Greer, Haliday, Lecky, Morris, Pim, Poole, Richardson, Strangman, Thacker, Watson. The contents are most comprehensive: the City of Dublin, medical statistics, esculent vegetables. There is considerable emphasis on practical resources throughout; use of plants, value of trees for timber, indigenous plants, their use in dyeing and painting, 'Poysanous' vegetables, flowering seasons, quadrupeds, birds, fishes, insects, soil, minerals, mineral waters, weathers etc. Clearly much of it based on his own meticulous records. His treatise on mineral waters and the flora of County Dublin are highly original. His *Materia Medica Antiqua et Nova,* his practical and consultative medical work and his great interest in education were each highly respected.

It is characteristic, I think, of the Quaker scientist that he applies his basic attitude to many branches of science and history. I think there was always a feeling that if the whole world was one creation, there was necessarily uniformity of reason behind it and what they thought of as Biblical or revealed religion could not lead to different conclusions.

Some institutions

Throughout his work on the health of the population and in particular in his descriptions of Dublin, Rutty frequently comments on the lack of hygiene, the depth of filth on the streets, the inefficient cesspits and sewers, the dung hills with heaps of discarded animal offal, the rotten wooden pipes and open conduits carrying drinking water, the tenements with many families in the same room and the complete lack of care for the aged and education for the young. It may be that this had a large influence on Friends. Their support of his book has been mentioned. However shortly after his death there was an outburst of Quaker effort to deal with some of these problems. Five institutions in particular were founded by committees of Quaker business men accompanied by several others including members of the well known Huguenot banking family of La Touch. These were:

1794 The Sick Poor Institution in Meath Street
1798 The revival of a school started earlier in School Street 'without interference with the religion of any'
1801 The Cork Street Fever Hospital, called the House of Recovery
1817 The Irish Savings Bank
1822 The Meath Hospital

All these institutions except the school have lasted until the middle of this century and have recently taken rather different forms. The school, partly on the Lancastrian system with both girls and boys, lasted for 40 years and budded a training college which became the Church of Ireland Training College. Three Friends and two others were founder members of all five boards. Samuel Bewley appears to have been the prime mover and he was also one of the instigators of Bloomfield Hospital.

John Eustace, 1791-1867, MD. FRCPI

The founding of Bloomfield Mental Hospital[9] began in 1807 but did not come into full use until 1811. It was founded on the model and with the advice of William Tuke's York Retreat and was called The Retreat for many years. It was at first solely for the use of Friends. The first Superintendent did not remain very long and the next appointment was the nephew of the Female Superintendent, Jane Eustace of Cork. This nephew was John Eustace[10], a medical student in Edinburgh of only 22 when he was recommended as lay Superintendent by his aunt and accepted the position, calling at York to discuss the matter with Tuke on his way over. He appears to have carried out the position satisfactorily as well as continuing his studies, qualifying as a doctor in 1828, and obtaining his own consulting rooms in town. He was also on the staff of Cork St. Fever Hospital for many years. By 1831 when he ceased to be physician to Bloomfield he had already established his own hospital for mental patients on the north side of Dublin. His three properties there (Hampstead, Hillside and Highfield) developed into valuable hospitals for 'the recovery of those affected with disorder of the mind'. They remain until today under the care of the family. John Eustace's great grandson, Dr. John E. Gillespie, will be known to many as having been in charge of the medical care at the York Retreat from 1962 to 1970.

Newtown School Library

I now wish to turn to a somewhat later date, and choose one which I came on by accident, the first of October 1844, in the schoolroom of Newtown School Waterford. Its significance will appear.

It was a general meeting of the Library: here are the minutes.

> 'At a General Meeting of the subscribers to the Newtown Library held 10th month 1st 1844.
> Peter Moor, Robert Russell and Dawson Harvey are appointed to examine the Library, Museum, Treasurer's accounts and Verse Books and to report to an adjournment to be held tomorrow at half past 6 o'clock P.M.
>
> '10th month 2nd. Met according to adjournment. The Committee appointed at our last sitting have brought in the following report.
>
> 'We your committee appointed to examine the Library, Museum, Treasurer's accounts and verse books report that we found the Library in good order, 3 of the books want binding. The following is a statement of the books – in the case 529, Encyclopaedias 22, Blank Nos. 6, Lost by J. Shannon 1 (No. 201), In possession of J.D. 1 (No. 365), As per catalogue 559. We examined the Museum and found it in good order. We examined the Treasurer's Account and found a balance of £0.12.4½d in favour of the Library. We examined the Verse books and found them in very bad order; the backs of some of them want to be sewed, two or three without covers and scarcely any in their numbers; but seem to be thrown in without any order. The following is a statement of them:...'

The statement follows. I have not yet got to the nub of this and should explain. The subscribers to the library were all the boys in the school who had paid subscriptions, which meant practically all. The General Meeting was held every three months. The chairman was a teacher or apprentice; all the other officers were pupils from 10 to 14 years old. At each general meeting a new librarian, assistant librarian, treasurer and committee of six was appointed and at times someone to superintend the Museum. The Library was founded in 1806 and the minutes have been preserved from 1811 to 1890.[11]

But to follow this particular meeting, after arranging for the appropriate repairs, for new appointments and the report of the committee of six, mostly about fines for the mishandling of books, and after paying a salary of 1/6d to the outgoing librarian provided he repaired the books, there is a note: 'Joseph Williams is required to getting Joseph Wright and Thomas Walpole admitted as subscribers'.

At another meeting Joseph Wright is mentioned as having read six books, and later to examine the Museum and then look after it. We can at least say that the talents of Joseph Wright were given an opportunity to develop his interest in geology and towards becoming an acknowledged expert on foraminifera.

Joseph Wright, 1834-1923, FRGSI, FRS

Joseph Wright[12] was born in Cork and worked in the grocery trade all his life. He was an active member of Cork's thriving Curveirian Society. He had no university education but worked for a time as assistant to the Rev. Samuel Haughton in the Geological Department of Trinity College Dublin. He worked on many local deposits and was made a Fellow of the Royal Geological Society of Ireland (in 1861) and of the Geological Society (in 1866). He moved to Belfast where he continued as grocer but also continued to produce paper after paper on both fossil and living foraminifera in rock and clay deposits and deep sea dredges throughout Ireland and the oceans around it. His collection of drawings is in the British Museum, where his macro fossil collection is. Many mounted specimens are in the Ulster Museum, the Hunterian in Glasgow and in Dublin. His first publication appears to have been on fossils in the Carboniferous limestone of Co. Cork. He also listed *The Irish Foraminifera.* He is described in the words 'A more kindly enthusiast than Joseph Wright never lived.'[13]

Walpoles[14]

We should not forget Thomas Walpole, asked with Joseph to join the Library, and his brother Edward who was at Newtown a year later.

Thomas Walpole was an engineer of considerable reputation and he built a weir, and several bridges, across the Vartry River at Ashford in Co. Wicklow, just above Mount Usher Mill. His father Edward senior had bought the old mill as a holiday retreat, and there had started a garden. Edward junior with his other brother George and the help of Thomas, the engineer, made a garden there and with the friendship of Sir Frederick Moore of the Botanical Gardens and the importatation of many plants and seeds from abroad created a garden full of unusual plants and illustrating the amiability of the soil and climate of Co. Wicklow to a worldwide variety of plants. The garden became one of the outstanding sights of Ireland. Edward was the chief of the Walpole family to carry on the garden and succeeded by his son Horace.

This was against a background of the family business as high class retailers of Irish linens, laces and furnishings with premises in Suffolk Street, Dublin and New Bond Street in London.

Rev . Samuel Haughton, 1821-1897, MD, FRS

The Reverend Samuel Haughton[15], 1821-1897, MD, FRS has just been mentioned. Most Friends will recognise Haughton as a Quaker family name. He was Professor of Geology in Trinity College, Dublin, and although not a Friend is mentioned here partly for the interest that his grandfather who lived in Carlow, had left the Society during the Shackleton controversy about 1800. The division carried many of the most rational Friends out of the Society.

In Samuel Haughton's case it is clear from his involvement with anti-slavery, Catholic emancipation, opposition to the death penalty, and his organisation of students to do nursing duty during a cholera epidemic that the Quaker influence continued.

Samuel Haughton graduated in mathematics, was the youngest Fellow of his time, became interested in geology and was Professor for 30 years. The study of fossils led him to anatomy and medicine. He collaborated in the production of mathematics tables, worked on the tides and weather and like Rutty on the relation between wealth and health. Among the most curious of his researches was the establishment of a formula for the length of drop which would insure that a hanged person's neck would be broken.

The present geologist and former chairman of FWCC, Joseph P. Haughton is a somewhat distant cousin of Samuel. He again shows the characteristic Quaker scientists worldwide interests and was an active member and adviser to Gorta, the Irish state's organisation to relieve world hunger.

William Henry Harvey, 1811-1866, MD, FRC

I return to the Newtown Library because it raises other interesting names and shows in its catalogue the emphasis which Friends put on natural history, science, religion, historical works, business and farming enterprise.

Of course things did not always go well: on 1st 8th month 1838 we read 'We have met to consider the conduct of our committee appointed this morning, who while examining the Library were engaged in a Quarrel. Robert J. Greer is appointed to keep them peaceful during the rest of their examination'. Robert Greer was a teacher at the time and characteristically there is first and second name and no "Mr": a practice continued almost to the end of the century.

On 3rd of 5th month 1822 we find William Henry Harvey is instructed to pay for Montgomery's *Poems*. Fortunately the minutes is marked "found". The *Memoir of W. H. Harvey*[16] ... *Professor of Botany TCD.* tells us that he was born in Limerick in 1811 and that he went to Newtown School where he soon outstripped his fellow pupils and was sent to the Quaker school at Baillitore. So much for Newtown! But we find the following in the Library minutes:

> 'We understand that a commencement has been made in forming a collection of minerals, shells and other natural curiosities and it is proposed that they should be under the care of the General Meeting, and additions thereto regularly reported every three months, the following boys have assisted in forming the collection viz. Willm. H. Harvey, Joseph Pike, John Wilson, Thomas R. White, Reuben Fisher J., and Albert White. The collection is to be styled the Cabinet of Curiosities and Joseph Haughton, W.H. Harvey and Francis Harvey are appointed to have care of them for the next three months and provide a case of drawers to keep them in.'

The case was duly completed, and once again we can say that William Harvey's school days were no hindrance to his development as one of Ireland's most respected botanists. He did go on to Ballitore where the Superintendent, James White, was himself an enthusiastic botanist.

Harvey's first outstanding work was in the Cape Colony where his brother had been appointed official Treasurer. Here he produced his *Genera of South African Plants* and the first *Flora Capiensis.* On his return to Ireland he became Professor of Botany in Trinity College. His greatest interest was in the Algae and he wrote a *Manual of British Algae, Phycolgia Britannica, a History of British Seaweeds.* He also commented on seaweeds from all over the world. In a more popular style his *The Seaside Book* went into a number of editions.

From the Quaker point of view he is of particular interest, as he was brought up at a very conservative period of Quakerism and found the sect constricting. He had found much sympathy with a forward-looking and articulate group of Anglicans and eventually joined the church. He argued that the original testimonies of the Society were already generally accepted and the Society outdated. The Quaker idea of the Inward Light was in no way different from the general Christian view of the action of faith in the Christian Soul.

He put these thoughts down in the form of a dialogue; *Charles and Josiah: or Friendly Conversations between a Churchman and a Quaker.*[17] Having written this he decided to show it to his cousin Jonathan Pim and modified his views to some extent before publication.

The book describes facets of the Society critically but in a most sympathetic way. Harvey speaks as Charles and points out the difficulty which face Friends over the missionary movement. Nor does he agree with Josiah on war, finding that some armies are as necessary to international peace as a police force to civil order.

Professor Hooker named the genus Harveya after him. This is a group of parasitic plants found in Africa.

Isaac Carroll 1828-1880

Isaac Carroll, described by Lloyd Praeger,[18] as a good all round botanist, also appears in the Library minutes having lost one of the verse books. He was born in Aghada, Co. Cork, in 1828, a member of a timber-importing family. He became particularly knowledgeable about cryptogams and wrote a *Cryptogamic Flora of Co. Cork,*[19] which however was not published but exists in manuscript in Trinity College. He corresponded with many leading botanists, visited Lapland and Iceland and became an acknowledged expert on lichens. He planned an Irish lichen list but only part of it was done owing to his early death at 52.

Isaac Caroll was never robust[20] and although it was planned for him to go after Newtown to a new Friends school being set up in Dublin, he did not in fact go, but was taken on as an apprentice at the Shackleton Mill at Ballitore, where the school had just closed. From other sources it seems to me that Quaker families in Ballitore often provided a gathering place for younger Friends with wide sociological and scientific interests. Carroll was an active member in the Cork Quakers' own Cork Mutual Improvement Association.[21]

I have mentioned Newtown School and the Shackleton School at Ballitore on several occasions. This interest in natural history and science is a characteristic of Friends schools: elsewhere latin, greek, mathematics and divinity were still overwhelmingly dominant. I should like to move temporarily across the water to the Friends' Educational Society. But Lloyd Praeger's comment on Joseph Wright, that he was 'educated at Newtown, which in its day launched many a pupil upon the path of Natural History' is, I think, justified.

Friends' Educational Society 1836

I had realised that natural history had been something of a speciality in the Friends' schools but I had not known that it had a systematic history until I discovered the proceedings of the Friends' Educational Society of 1836.[22] The first meeting was held at Ackworth on the day after the General Meeting, with Samuel Tuke in the chair. My knowledge of it comes, and it must be familiar to many here, from the first eight *Annual reports* bound together in the second edition in 1847. The volume includes the minutes and all the papers and surveys prepared for the Society. So far as I can see all the Friends schools in the United Kingdom, then of course including the whole of Ireland, whether official Quarterly or Yearly Meeting schools or independently run, contributed something.

The subjects considered are by no means outdated and they looked back especially to Penn and Bellers, one question being whether physical labour towards the income of the institution should be undertaken by the pupils. From my point of view two topics are of special interest: the report concerning the Friends schools in Ireland, presented by Joseph Bewley of Dublin in 1843, so far as I know the first paper on the history of Friends' education in Ireland. Secondly the intervention of John Ford, superintendent of the York School at the first meeting. In this he described the establishment of a Juvenile Natural History Society in 1834. This society remains in existence to this day and at the time of its centenary claimed with confidence that it was the oldest school Natural History Society in existence.

The discourse on natural history led to a consideration of the whole problem of the use of leisure. The advantages of the leisure time study of hatural history were set down as follows:

Profitable employment of leisure time.
Absorption of energies frequently misapplied.
Mutual instruction leading to friendliness and understanding.
Friendly relations between teachers and scholars.
Exercise of arts of composition.
Quickening of interest in other subjects.
Health promoted through mental and bodily exercise.

To a lesser or greater degree all the Friends' schools took this to heart, if indeed, they had not already done as we have seen with Newtown and Ballitore. I am confident that this emphasis was to be found in Ackworth 1779 and in Mountmellick 1786.

Perhaps it is of interest that the Friends' Educational Society 1836 compares with Dr. Arnold's start in the regeneration of Rugby School in 1828, where classics were still in the ascendancy.

Bootham School 1823

Amongst the Friends' schools interested in natural history and science Bootham School must be given the pride of place. Its records are quite exceptional and it appears to have been the first school to employ a science graduate as teacher. It was from Bootham that *The Natural History Journal and School Recorder*[23] under the editorship of J. Edmund Clark was circulated and contributed to by all the Friends' schools, including those in Ireland from 1878 to 1898. This had reports on weather, birds, insects and plants, and articles by specialists in these subjects as well as diaries of school events and accounts of sports.

Why consider the York School here? It also is of interest to Ireland and had many Irish pupils. My father has told me that when he was at Bootham in 1892 of the 80 boys there 20 were Irish. I shall mention just three Bootham Old Scholars, although in looking at the register I note that there were a number of other Irish Friends amongst them who became medical men.

John Todhunter, 1839-1916

John Todhunter, born in Dublin in 1839, is of particular interest. He qualified in medicine and became medical superintendent at Cork Street Fever Hospital and Bloomfield Mental Hospital. After a considerable period he relinquished his medical career in favour of literature and is better known as a poet. He produced several volumes of poetry including *Songs and Sheet Airs*, wrote a *Life of Patrick Sarsfield* and other works in prose and verse, and was a member of the London branch of the Gaelic League. Although his involvement with the literary world of the time might not have been acceptable to all Friends at the time the introduction to his poem *The Mystic* shows his Quaker views.

Joseph Barcroft, 1872-1947

Another Bootham boy was Joseph Barcroft of Newry, born in 1872. He took the Natural Science Tripos at Cambridge and worked on the respiratory function of the blood, at that time a controversial subject. He was appointed Professor of Physiology at Cambridge and during the First World War did considerable work on the treatment of gas casualties.

Joseph T. Wigham, 1874-1951, MD, FRCPI

A third Irish Bootham boy who I mention was my father Joseph Wigham, who must have overlapped with Joseph Barcroft, and was incidentally a cousin of John Todhunter mentioned before. He became the second Professor of Pathology in Trinity College Dublin. Like Barcroft who had connections with the Student Christian Movement in Cambridge, Joe Wigham had many contacts with student bodies including the Student Christian Movement and the Dublin University Fabian Society as well as with the League of Nations Society of Ireland, The Irish Society for the Preservation of Birds, and An Taisce, the equivalent of the British National Trust. He took a large part in the ecumenical movement, and so illustrated again the wide interests of Quaker scientists. One of his first pieces of work was a study with H.H. Dixon on the effect of radium on the growth of bacteria, an experiment carried out with less protection than we would expect today.

Joshua Reuben Harvey, 1804-1887, AB, MD, FRCSI

Professor Reuben Harvey, born in Cork in 1804, is another doctor who should be mentioned. He was the first Professor of Midwifery in the new Queen's College in Cork. He maintained a dispensary at his own expense for eye affections as there was no opthalmic hospital in Cork, and used to begin the day with gratuitous attendance on the poor before going to work.[24]

His *Fauna and Flora of Co. Cork* was looked on as a standard work. His collection of wild birds and their eggs was presented to the Queens College Museum, later to be University College Cork.

A relative of his, William Harvey Church, was a chart maker to the Royal Navy, particularly working from Rockall to the Canaries.

Two doctors who I have not been able to obtain information about are Dr. Mary Strangman, a city counsellor in Waterford, and Dr. Helen Webb. Each of these was among the first Irish women who obtained medical degrees.

Variety

I have wisely said *some* Irish Naturalists and my consideration today has been largely confined to those from the South. Even in this it has been far from comprehensive. I have omitted to mention the geologist, Isaac Swain; Usher and Barrington the ornithologists, the latter kept an extensive record of the birds collected by Irish lighthouse keepers adding a number of new species to the Irish list; the teachers at Friends' schools including, Robert Greer, Edward Garnett and Joseph Neale at Newtown, and Joseph Radley and Charles Bennington at Lisburn. The latter also taught at Brookfield, the agricultural school near Moira in Co. Down, and was the father of another naturalist, the well known Ulster Nature broadcaster Arnold Bennington. Nor have I mentioned two botanical artists of note, Lydia Shackleton and Alice Jacob, represented in the collections at the Botanic Gardens.

One other fact I should like to add is that the steamship *Erne*,[25] under Captain William Carroll and with William Todhunter on board, which had been sent out by the Central Relief Committee 150 years ago, at the time of the famine to survey and report on the difficulties and prospects for the Irish fisheries, were able to add four new species to the list of fish in Irish waters.

This has been a very partial and incomplete review of Irish naturalists. I have used the term broadly yet have failed to cover astronomical, optical and meteorological achievements of considerable note. I have attempted to show that these people exhibited the broad Quaker approach, not entirely without criticism of the Society. I have hoped to add a number of names to those with which you are familiar in the United Kingdom, and provide enough information on which to base further study.

Maurice J. Wigham
Presidential Address given at
Friends House, London, 28 September 1996

NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1] Peter Elmer, 'Medicine, Science and the Quakers', *JFHS* vol. 54, (1981), 265.

[2] For Adamic language see R. Bauman, *Let Your Words be Few*, Cambridge 1983.

[3] Elmer, *op. cit.*

[4] Giordano Bruno (1548-1600).

[5] Paracelsus was the pseudonym for Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim, (1493-1541). See Elmer.

[6] Jean Whittaker, *Thomas Lawson North County Botanist, Quaker and Schoolmaster,* (York; Sessions Book Trust, 1986).

[7] George Clarke, *John Bellers, his life and writings,* London, Routledge & Keegan Paul, 1987.

[8] Harold Fassnidge, 'Dr. John Rutty of Melksham Wiltshire', in E. Charles Nelson, *Occasional Paper 8,* (Botanic Gardens, Dublin, 1996).

[9] J. E. O'N Gillespie, 'Every Material of the Best Quality', the Foundation of Bloomfield Hospital, Dublin', *JFHS* vol. 55, no. 6 (1988), 185–189.

[10] H. Jocelyn Eustace, 'John Eustace and his Times', edited E. Charles Nelson, *Occasional Paper 8,* (Botanic Gardens, Dublin 1996).

[11] The minute books are in the archives of Newtown School, almost 80 years.

[12] M.O. Fallon, *Joseph Wright FGS,* Paper University College Cork.

[13] Lloyd Praeger, *Some Irish Naturalists.*

[14] E. Horace Walpole, *Mount Usher Garden,* 1928; Madelaine Jay, *Mount Usher,* Irish Heritage series, No. 38, Easons Dublin, 1983.

[15] Prof. W.E. Jessop, *Samuel Haughton, A Victorian Polymath,* Trinity Monday Memorial Discourse 1973; also information Joseph P. Haughton.

[16] Not attributed, *William Henry Harvey, MD, FRS.* London 1869. Also *William Henry Harvey:* E. Charles Nelson, Papers of Botanic Gardens 1995, 292.

[17] *Charles and Josiah: or Friendly Conversations between a Churchman and a Quaker,* (Dublin and London 1862).

[18] Lloyd Praeger, *Some Irish Naturalists.*

[19] J. Parnell, *Isaac Carroll's cryptomagic flora of Co. Cork,* Glasra (new series) 1, 1992.

[20] Richard S. Harrison, *Cork City Quakers: A Brief History 1655–1939,* (Cork 1991).

[21] Richard S. Harrison, 'Cork Mutual Improvement Association (1859-84) and its Antecedents', *JFHS* vol. 56 no. 4, (1993), 272–286.

[22] Helen E. Hatton, *The Largest Amount of Good: Quaker Relief in Ireland 1654–1921,* (McGill-Queen's University Press, Kingston and Montreal, 1993).

[23] A complete bound volume of *The Natural History Journal* exists in the archives at Bootham. There are some volumes at Newtown and Lisburn Schools and probably elsewhere. Other schools besides the Friends' schools sometimes contributed.

[24] Obituary kept in family records by Margaret, widow of C. Harvey Jacob.

[25] Helen E. Hatton, *op. cit.*

AUGUSTUS COVE AND THE GRAND JUNCTION CANAL COMPANY

While carrying out research into various activities of the Grand Junction Canal Company, I came across details of some dealings the company had with a Quaker businessman almost two centuries ago and the unfortunate effect that this ultimately had on his relationship with the Society. My research took me at one stage into the Library at Friends' House and it was suggested there that it was a story that might interest Friends. Accordingly, I have written this brief account of what was a long and unhappy story.

Augustus Cove, the Quaker concerned, had a business trading in glass and chinaware at 62 Gracechurch Street in London. Directories show that he was there from at least 1798, but in about 1802 he was forced to start looking for new premises owing to the impending expiry of his lease. Paddington Basin, on an offshoot of the Grand Junction Canal, was then being developed and eventually, with some misgivings, he took a lease of land alongside the basin. He had hesitated because of the shortness of the lease, combined with the unfinished state of the canal and of the road serving his land, but the Company gave him various assurances that finally persuaded him. Although he called in a builder to look at the wharf, he did not think it was worth having any work put in hand at that stage.

Owing to the poor state of the canal there was little trade, but Cove realised that the situation was better at the eastern end of the basin, which was nearer to the City. Accordingly, when he had the opportunity to obtain a sub-lease of wharf No. 2, he took it, moving in next to Pickford and Company, who were at No. 1. They could have taken the sub-lease themselves and extended their premises, but decided not to do so owing to the poor state of the trade. Cove spent a considerable amount of money on the wharf and was very concerned when he heard that Pickfords had begun to regret their decision not to take the wharf, and wanted him to get out. Thomas Pickford served on the canal company's main committee and was a man of some influence.

Pickfords' opportunity came when the leases were shortly due to expire and the company wrote to the leaseholders demanding increases in rent averaging in excess of 600%. They were deeply distressed about this and called a meeting at which Cove was asked to take the chair. This seems to have caused the canal company to brand him as the ring-leader and they immediately offered Pickford the lease of wharf No. 2. This was done secretly without any notification to Cove and he only heard about it by hint and rumour. In the hope of obtaining some definite statement, he appealed to William Praed, M.P., the company chairman, but received no reply. An appeal that he addressed to the other proprietors was also ignored.

On 25 June 1808 his nightmare began. Without any warning, workmen arrived and began tearing down his buildings and destroying his property, giving him no chance to remove his goods. He took on extra men in the hope of sorting his stock for a general sale but he and his son Thomas (then aged 16) suffered continual harassment for several days. His gates were forced open, his locks destroyed, his fences torn down, his cart and wagon turned out onto the road, and other damage caused. On Saturday 2 July they put a padlock and chain on the wharf and locked him and his son in all that night and throughout the following day and night. On Monday, at about noon, while he was taking an inventory of furniture remaining on the premises, two ruffians burst in and assaulted him. To escape he jumped out of the window, sustaining wounds that had to be dressed by a surgeon. When he complained to Pickford's clerk, he was told that they were determined to have him out that night.

This was achieved with dramatic effect soon after 8 p.m., when Cove's imprisonment at the wharf was brought to an end by two men who arrived and told him that he was arrested. Cove enquired at whose instance this was being done and was told that it was at the suit of the canal company, who claimed that he owed them £85.2s.4d. Despite his protests that he did not owe them a penny he was taken off to Newgate Prison as it was impossible to raise bail at that time, owing to the hour and the reluctance of other wharfingers to risk upsetting the canal company. He left his son and some servants to keep an eye on his remaining property as well as they could and was permitted to call on his wife briefly at their home nearby to tell her what had happened.

It was not until Saturday 9 July that Cove was able to obtain bail and return home. By that time his son and servants had been ejected from the wharf, and a strong cart-horse had been let loose, never to be seen again. Cove estimated his total losses as amounting to about £4,500, excluding items that could not readily be valued, and decided that recourse to the law was the only way in which he might obtain redress. The first case was moderately satisfactory in that the ruffians who assaulted him were each fined £10, but the canal company defended them and paid their fines, while Cove had to bear his own costs of around £15.

Other cases followed, but the outcome was extremely unsatisactory as Cove was pitted against a powerful company with considerable influence, and received very unsympathetic treatment in several courts. On one occasion, noticing from his dress that Cove was a Quaker, the opposing counsel used this as an excuse for some very derogatory comments, and was not in any way restrained by the judge trying the case. Many falsehoods and inaccuracies were accepted unchallenged, and there were many irregularities.

As a Quaker, Cove tried to put aside ideas of revenge and retaliation, but became extremely frustrated by the manifest failure of the legal system. Eventually, he recorded the whole story in a written statement which he submitted to Sir Samuel Romilly, one of the leading lawyers of the day. Sir Samuel sympathised with him but doubted whether any fresh legal action would be more successful than the earlier ones. Despite this advice, Cove renewed his efforts at law but, as Sir Samuel had predicted, was no more successful than he had been previously.

As a final gesture, he published the statement he had prepared for Sir Samuel, along with other relevant matter, and put this on sale. It was a substantial book, that ran to two editions, and can be found bound with the story of another man who suffered grievously at the hands of the canal company. Cove had a copper token minted to advertise his books and also published some verses entitled *'A Parity'*. There were two parallel sets of verses, one about Napoleon and the other about the canal company, Cove's intention being to draw attention to their similarity in such matters as tyranny and oppression, and they could be sung to the tune of a popular song of the day. In his own handwriting, Cove recorded on copies of his 'Parity' how this influenced his relationship with the Society: 'It was for giving Publicity to this Parity and refusing to say that I was not Justified and that I was Sorry for it – neither of which had been True – the Society of Friends (Quakers) to their indelible Disgrace Disowned me. (Signed) Aug. Cove.

From records still held by the Society, it seems that Cove had been seen in the street selling matches and distributing copies of his ballad. This was felt to be conduct unbecoming a Quaker and two Friends duly visited him to point out the error of his ways, but he refused to express any regret and on 16 May 1811 he was disowned. His son Thomas was also visited by Friends but he apologised and was allowed to remain in membership. Cove's wife Sarah and infant son Henry also remained in membership and Henry later achieved some prominence in the Society. He was Registering Officer for Marriages for Tottenham Meeting from 1867 until his death in his 89th year at the home of his son-in-law, William Blunson, in Northampton in 1896.

Little more is known about Augustus Cove , although it would seem that he was not so completely ruined as one might be inclined to assume from the fact that he was apparently reduced to selling matches in the street. Despite the great losses he suffered in Paddington, he was somehow able to afford to obtain the opinion of a leading lawyer, to have two substantial books published, and to have an advertising token struck. Quaker records show that there were other Coves in membership in London at that time, one a mercer (a dealer in cloth) and the other a coal merchant, and it is possible that they were relations and gave him assistance. At all events, it is known that he moved from Chapel Street, Paddington, to Bishopgate in 1814 and directories from 1815 to 1834 show him as having a china and glass warehouse at 31 Houndsditch. His son Thomas had a similar business at 5 Charles Street and Goodge Street in 1833-4.

Looking back on this case, it is difficult not to sympathise with Cove. The injustices he seems to have suffered (partly because he was a Quaker) clearly seem to have obsessed him and it is posssible that sheer frustration caused him to become a little unbalanced. Even so, it is hard to see that, even by the strict standards of the day, disownment was justified. He was undoubtedly, and quite deliberately, adopting a high profile that might have become embarrassing to Friends, and was actually publishing verses that could be sung to a popular tune of the day, but these do not seem to be particularly serious offences. Would they lead to disownment today? It seems highly unlikely. I am particularly saddened by the thought that if Augustus Cove was today offered posthumous reinstatement into the Society, he would probably reject it, were he in a position to do so. Other members of his family seem to have ben less inflexible and it would be interesting to know whether any of them are still connected with the Society.

Stanley A. Holland

Author's Note

This article was originally submitted to *The Friend* some years ago but was not thought to be suitable in view of its historical nature. It then got put on one side but came to light again recently, and I decided to send it unamended to the Editor of the *Journal of the Friends Historical Society.* This accounts for the fact that it does not have the usual list of references which readers might reasonably expect. I must apologise for this but it would be extremely difficult and time-consuming at this stage to retrace my steps, and pin-point the source of every detail that I recorded. I hope that this omission will not cause offence.

It will be apparent that most of my information was derived from Cove's writings, in particular the second edition (1813) of *The Tocsin Sounded, or a Libel Extraordinary,* which is described as being "dedicated to the good sense of the People of England", followed by a summary, in flamboyant style, of the injustices Cove claimed to have suffered. It is of course a matter of subjective judgement if I say that Cove's many complaints, when stripped of their florid style, seemed to have the ring of truth about them and I saw no reason to doubt him. I checked the Canal Company minutes held in the Public Record Office but could find no reference to the affair, and it seems that the actions taken, e.g. in connection with Court proceedings, must have been approved by a committee under delegated powers.

It is possible that I might have obtained some information about the Court cases from official sources, but I was not able to pursue this interesting but very time-consuming line of enquiry. As indicated, I was able to obtain valuable information from trade directories and from records held in the Library at Friends House. I obtained information about the life of Sir Samuel Romilly, but there was nothing there of relevance. I might add that this was not the only time the Canal Company was accused of behaving in a harsh, overbearing, and possibly illegal manner.

A PARITY,

It was for giving Publicity to
This Parity — and refusing to say
I was not Justified, & that I was
Sorry for it (neither of which
had been True) — the Society of Friends
(Quakers) to their Indelible Disgrace
Disowned me. — Aug Cove

To the Tune of " THE DUSKY NIGHT, &c."

I.

When Bonaparte (a)
Began to start,
  Upon his grand career;
Nations amaz'd,
With wonder gaz'd;
  But not unmix'd with fear.

CHORUS.

A most surprising man,
A most surprising man,
A most surprising man indeed,
A most surprising man.

II.

His genius great,
Propitious fate.
  His large capacious mind;
Exited thought
Of *all* or *naught*,
  Of *Death* or *unconfin'd*.
A most, &c.

I.

When that Ca-nal,
Which some folks call,
  The Great, or the Grand Junction.
Began to flow,
Great London to,
  And exercise its function.

CHORUS.

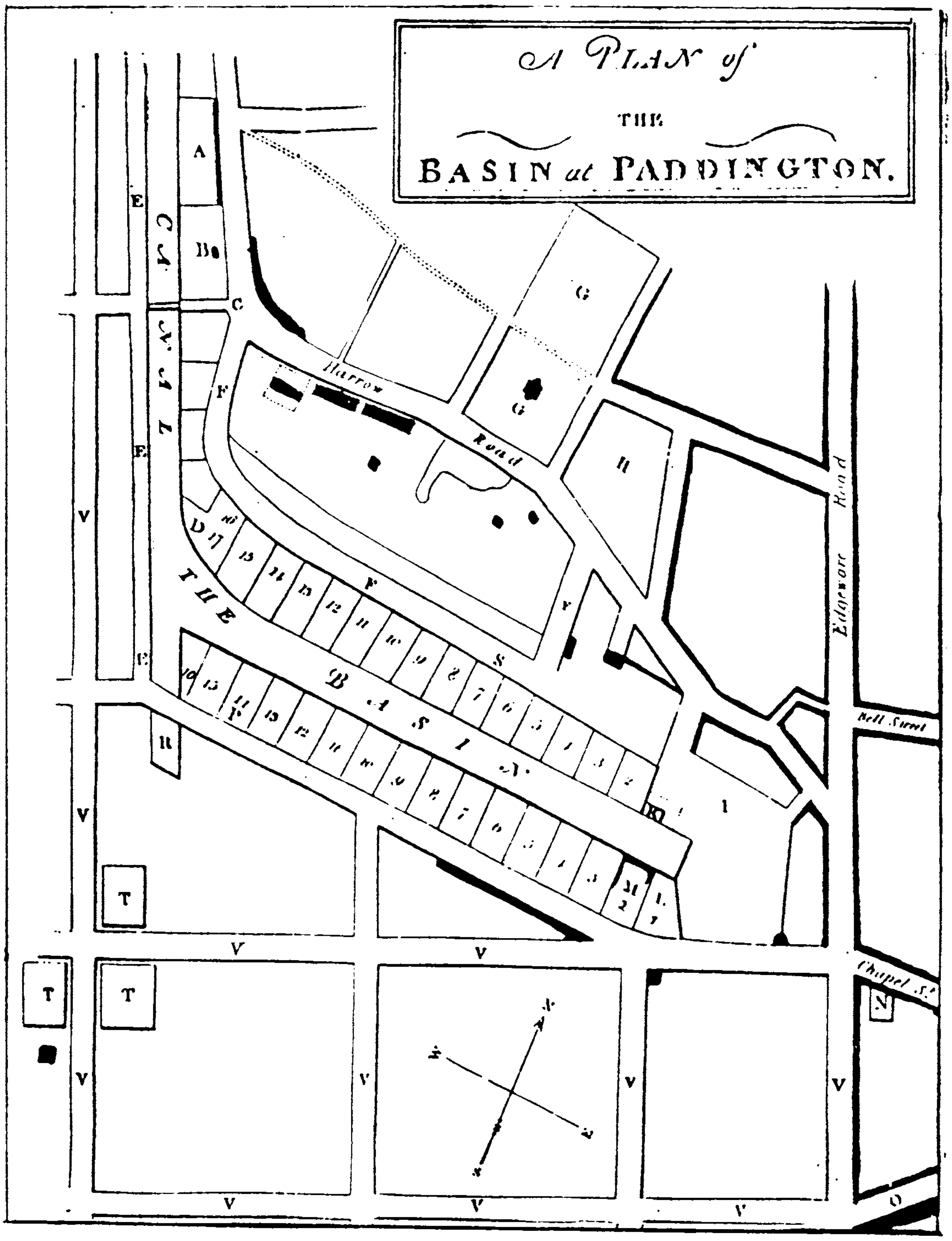
A Grand Junction of Rogues,
A Grand Junction of Rogues,
A Grand Junction of Rogues indeed,
A Grand Junction of Rogues.

II.

Its prospects great,
Did much elate,
  Projectors of the scheme;
Some people prais'd,
Whilst others gaz'd,
  And call'd it but a dream.
A Grand, &c.

KEY TO VARIOUS FEATURES SHOWN ON PLAN

D. The wharf that Cove took first at £35 p.a.
E. The towing path.
F. A road leading from Harrow Road to wharves on the north side of the basin.
G. Paddington Church and churchyard.
K. Warehouse and ground occupied by Pickford & Co.
L. The original wharf taken by Pickford & Co.
M. No. 2 wharf sold by Roper & Co to Cove.
N. Cove's residence at 35 Chapel Street.
R. A stretch of water originally intended to be part of the canal.
S. The point to which the road was completed in a westerly direction when Cove brough wharf 16–17.
T. The steam engine house and reservoir of the Grand Junction Water Works.


A Plan of the
BASIN at PADDINGTON.
Harrow Road
Edgware Road
Bell Street
Chapel St.
THE BASIN
CANAL
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H
K
L
M
N
R
S
T
V

'MY DEAREST FRIEND': COURTSHIP AND CONJUGALITY IN SOME MID AND LATE NINETEENTH-CENTURY QUAKER FAMILIES[1]

'Sexes make no difference since in souls there is none...' (William Penn, *Works*, 1726).[2]

'I want a companion. One whom I can feel is nearer to me than all the rest of the world'. (William Poole Bancroft to Emma Cooper, 4 June 1874).

Quaker families have been described as in the forefront of modernity regarding relations between the sexes. Their marriages, it is claimed, were based from the earliest times 'on a bond of mutual love and respect rather than on the reciprocal mistrust induced by the Fall'.[3] Barry Levy, comparing Quaker and Anglican families in the Delaware Valley in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, argued that American Quaker families established a modern family pattern: 'their marriages were formed voluntarily on love; conjugal households were economically autonomous early in their careers; men and especially women were devoted to childbearing; and the scheme of childbearing was non coercive and based on ideas of intimate spiritual communication in a nurturing environment'.[4]

Was there something special in relations between Quaker men and women which insisted on mutual responsibility in family life, even extending to reproductive decision-making? Richard Vann and David Eversley highlight the distinctiveness of British and Irish Quaker patterns of nuptiality and fertility. They too point out that Quakers were demographically distinctive in that they are thought to have practised family limitation, at least on a smaller scale, from as early as the seventeenth century.[5] Wells also suggests, of the eighteenth century, that a cohort of American Quaker families deliberately practised family limitation well in advance of such behaviour in the wider community.[6] While Wells is prepared to acknowledge the innovative reproductive behaviour of his small cohort he is loath to offer any explanation for it. In this reticence he is typical of most demographers. Few are prepared to venture into the terrain of relations within the reproductive couple.[7]

'How can we penetrate the distinctive dynamics of the Quaker family?', asked Richard Vann in a review of J. William Frost's *The Quaker Family in Colonial America:* how do we enter 'the largely unrecorded circle of the nuclear family?'[8] These questions are still pertinent, perhaps even more so as the period since Frost wrote has been characterised by a vast output of writing in the area of gender relations, of many attempts to penetrate the subjectivities of early modern, eighteenth and nineteenth-century men and women.[9] Vann has engaged at much greater length with his own questions in later work. In *Friends in Life and Death* he and David Eversley speculate that 'this-worldly ascetism in the Quaker ethic and mentality', and the tendency 'to glorify love between men and women as spiritual and inward' may have contributed to Quaker early family limitation.[10]

There are major issues at hand here. Why were Quakers, a society whose spiritual issues can be characterized as pre-modern, leaders in modern relations between the sexes as well as in the modernization of the family? Much has been made of the new 'companionate marriages' of the early twentieth century in recent social history. The transformation of the role of wife from subordinate to equal – at least in terms of the social relations of the marriage – is sometimes assumed to have evolved with modernization, or with women's entrance into higher education and the professions. Yet an historical engagement with both the principles and the practice of Quaker marriages suggests another earlier wellspring of this equality – the religious belief that men and women were equal in the sight of God, that the inner light shone equally fiercely in the breasts of either and that women as well as men could testify and bear witness in the name of God.

George Fox wrote in 1672: 'For man and women were helps meet in the image of God...' After the fall, Fox maintained, the man was to rule over his wife, but, 'in the restauration by Christ, into the image of God, and his righteousness and holiness again, in that they are helps meet, man and woman, as they were in before the fall'.[11] This professed spiritual equality was eventually translated into a form of social and domestic equality and was well noted outside the household. Anglican cleric and anti-slavery worker, Thomas Clarkson, commented in 1806 of Quaker domestic life that husband and wife often visited together, whereas 'in the fashionable world, men and their wives seldom follow their pleasures together'.[12] The importance of companionship, Milligan claims, may be detected in a tendency for parity of age in Quaker marriages in Britain by the end of the eighteenth century, indeed to some cases where the wife was older than the husband – for Quaker men... 'seem to have preferred greater congruity in experience to whatever delights of the flesh which might be supplied by younger women.'[13]

To suggest that religious belief is an important component of a changing family mentality, even leading to demographic change, raises the necessity of identifying particular aspects of the religion which may have been significant. Within Quaker belief was it that the Puritan/activist strand, one which sought to dominate nature, triumphed over the contemplative mystical side, as Vann and Eversley have suggested?[14] Although marriage and child-bearing were not seen 'purely or even primarily as matters of economic calculation' Vann and Everlsey suggest that Quaker cultural life and religious beliefs worked towards a 'rational', even if unconsciously rational, demographic response.[15] Quaker marriages, subjected to the scrutiny of the business meeting which attempted to reject unsuitable or impulsive marriages, placed emphasis on the 'prudent' marriage.

Were the Puritan and the mystical, those 'two cardinal elements underlying Quaker theology',[16] inextricably linked or variously weighted in Quaker marriage choices? This is a difficult point to establish, perhaps impossible. Historians of Quakerism point out that devotion to the strongly mystical or to the more evangelical and 'rational' varied greatly in Quaker practice over time and space. How was it played out in particular approaches to matrimony and the begetting of children? Phyllis Mack has drawn our attention to the creative tension between Quaker's tenacity for a 'pre-modern spirituality' and the associated (and apparently contradictory) tendency to accept enlightenment/rationalist concepts in areas such as banking, commerce and science.[17] Perhaps the two elements went hand in hand in marriage choices. This is a difficult point to demonstrate. For, as Vann and Eversley admit,'... we lack first-hand information about the actual matrimonial strategies of eighteenth and nineteenth-century Friends'.[18]

In this exploratory paper, however, I venture briefly onto that difficult terrain, seeking to illuminate issues of power and influence within the Quaker couple. I draw from several nineteenth-century Quaker courtships and marriages, seeking to detect the 'matrimonial strategies', the workings of a modern sensibility or 'subjectivity' towards marriage, love and family relations. Through several series of letters over two generations patterns of distinctive courtship and conjugal relations can be glimpsed. Notions of dominant nineteenth-century feminity and masculinity are put to the test, reminding us that any attempt to define masculinity or femininity must be 'part of a critical science of gender relations and their trajectory in history' as Bob Connell recently claimed.[19]

Some middle-class Quaker men appeared to exemplify in their personal relations a romanticism, a spontaneous simplicity, and sensitivity.[20] Emotional expression, the admission of vulnerability and domestic tenderness had not given way to a later, harsher responsibility of separate spheres where women took responsibility for emotional life. Was it still the case in the nineteenth century, as Patricia Crawford believes of an earlier period, that the roles allowed Quaker women made them 'more willing to challenge and transcend the contraints of sex and gender'?[21] Did the fact that women explicitly abstained 'from professing to obey their husbands' place them on an equal footing?[22] Can we find evidence in the nineteenth century of a loosening of the boundaries of gender similar to that described of earlier times?[23] Did men and women seek the promptings of the inward light in choosing their partners: did 'God-inspired love'[24] genuinely displace the lure of physical attraction, wealth and romance? And, more speculatively, might such differences exhibited by Quaker men and women translate into changes in reproductive strategies?

William Poole Bancroft, a Delaware millowner and textile manufacturer, was thirty-eight years old when he began to court the considerably younger Emma Cooper.[25] The courtship was a lengthy one, as Emma was not initially inclined to view William as a potential husband. But he insisted, marvelling at times at his own patience, wondering even if he were a cold lover.[26] William began his correspondence cautiously: 'Respected friend', he wrote, 'I would like very much to know more of thee, and that thee should have opportunity to know more of me. In order that we may become thus more acquainted I do not know what better to do (especially as thee is likely to be so far away for a while) than to ask thee to allow me to write to thee in such a way as to show thee as much as I can of myself: & to ask a return correspondence from thee, as far (and as far only) as thee may believe it best to give it.'[27]

William's desire for mutual knowledge and self-revelation was a continuing one. Over the first few years of the relationship he often returned to the theme. Even an unexpected thwarting of his plan to see Emma alone could be used to advantage. 'As it turned out I hit on a time when you had a great many callers', William wryly reflected, 'I suppose it was as well as thee could see something about how I do in such a situation, as well (I believe I can truly say) as in all others.'[28] Six months after the initial letter he again expressed his desire 'to do what I can to give thee opportunities to know me...'[29] Setting an example the hopeful lover expounded his own views on first day schools, on novel reading (he was not overly fond of them), on music, on temperance (a teetotaller he nevertheless counselled moderation) and on his religious convictions. 'Do not be in a hurry to answer', he cautioned Emma, 'Do not move too much in the dark'.[30] He was at all times scrupulously honest, a virtue which he valued above all others. WhenWilliam felt sure enough of Emma's affections to press his suit he explained that he wanted a 'loving, loved and lovely wife': 'and in thinking what qualities are essential that a wife shall be lovely I believe honesty has always appeared to have the first place'.[31] In the high value placed on honesty, as in his urge for mutual disclosure, William Poole Bancroft was entirely in accord with Quaker principles and with the notion that a Quaker marriage was 'one step in the long journey of two personalities in their growth together.'[32]

In the 1850s in Lancashire, England, another Quaker swain, younger than William Bancroft, boldly took the first step in another long journey of two personalities, one that resulted in a happy marriage of almost fifty years. Jonathan Abbatt, in common with his later American counterpart, also revered honesty and plain speech. 'Esteemed Friend', be began his first letter to Mary Dilworth, 'I have thought much of thee this long time past a[nd] trust I may be allowed to esteem thee as something more than a friend. Thou will perceive I have used no high flown or extravagant expressions of admiration as is frequently the case on occasions like this which I consider much out of place and prefer the simple honest truth ungarnished'.[33] Like William Bancroft, Jonathan Abbatt attempted to disclose his character to his beloved: 'I always write as I feel, that thou may judge my character whether it be congenial to thy tastes or not, and shall feel glad if I say anything contrary if thou will name it, we should have a thorough understanding of each other..'[34]

Mutual exchanges of confidences and self-disclosure over a lengthy period clearly led to a deepening of affection as Mary Dilworth realised: 'The last time thou was here thou asked me what I thought of myself: and having confided so much matter into thy keeping thou might well ask that question after receiving such a letter as this I think... has thou not confided as much and perhaps more into my particular charge?'

While William Bancroft's courtship of Emma Cooper was entirely prudent (she was from a similar Quaker family) it was clearly much more than a marriage of convenience. Similarly, while Jonathan Abbatt and Mary Dilworth both came from Friends' families in neighbouring parts of Lancashire the desired outcome of the courtship required considerable patience on Jonathan's part – patience he was prepared to demonstrate, fondly suggesting that Mary was teaching him the virtue. Clearly both men were determined to persist, suggesting a strong strand of earthly attraction, one which could not be openly spoken of to the reluctant fiancées or perhaps, even acknowledged by these introspective men. Tual suggests that Quaker expressions of love and courtship were not so much directed to a person of flesh and blood, as to the spiritual entity of the 'Light Within' inhabiting the loved one.[35] In spite of this prescription the modern reader marvels at the persistence of Quaker men in the light of the frequently expressed doubts and hesitations of their intended brides. Perhaps their perseverance was understandable in the light of their own propensity for soul-searching. Quaker men, as J. William Frost reminds us, were supposed to 'hearken to the leadings of the Lord', to ensure that their desires were based on God's will and that consideration and judgement preceded [romantic] love.[36]

In William Bancroft's courtship of Emma Cooper as well as the platonic and spiritual there were intimations of repressed desire – at least on William's part. We do not have Emma's letters but we feel her shadowy presence in William's responses. William sought of his reluctant correspondent the same openness and honesty he offered. She was initially hesitant, declaring herself a poor letter writer. As the letters came to include increasing elements of self-disclosure Emma spoke of her perceived deficiencies, which she felt might dispose William to look elsewhere. William was not deterred: 'but I feel that there is that about thee that attracts me', he wrote 'and that it would be a pleasure to bear any deficiencies, and an unequalled one to have thee assist me in amending mine'.[37] In May 1874 Emma deferred William's offer of marriage, requesting a delay until they knew each other better. Further she suggested that he may have merely wanted a wife and housekeeper, a suggestion William was quick to rebut. 'I want a companion', he claimed, 'one who is closer to me than the rest of the world.'

William's conviction that Emma was his destined wife, and his patience in the face of her indecision over several years, caused him considerable introspection. 'I ask myself the question sometimes', he mused, 'could I if I had the love a man ought to have for woman he asks to be his wife, help but show it more than I do, or be as contented as I am to await her decisions?' Was he too detached, altogether too reasonable? Was this the response of a rational rather than a passionate lover? 'But when I consider it', he wrote, '... I always believe I have done right in asking thee: & if I try to put myself in thy place by inquiring how I would feel if I knew that thy feelings towards one were as mine are to thee, I feel that I do love thee well enough to continue to ask thee for thine. I do hope the day will come when thee can acknowledge it is so. I hope it may come soon.'[38] His patience may have sprung from determination rather than the feared coolness. There is no direct reference to a spiritual prompting from within. On another occasion William confessed that he could not always keep his mind off Emma 'as much as I would wish in meetings, and at other times when it would seem my thoughts ought to be more of other things'.[39] A spiritual dimension did not seem uppermost here but, as we shall see, William considered his spiritual side less developed.

The young Quaker women to whom William and Jonathan addressed their suit not only took a long time to decide to marry (both took well over two years), but clearly regarded the step as a highly significant one, probably the most significant of their lives. At the very least it meant leaving comfortable and loving homes to strike out on their 'arduous paths'. Language often betrays the gravity of the step. Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall quote an elder of a Quaker congregation who wrote in the commonplace book of an Essex ironmonger about to be married: 'I consider you now entering the most arduous scenes of Life and filling more important Stations... on your entrance into the arduous paths, be wisely directed, for much depends on this important *crisis*.'[40] Curiously Jonathan Abbatt also used the word 'crisis' in a self-mocking dialogue with his dear 'Polly' [Mary]. Speaking of the obvious happiness of newlywed friends he laments that their own nuptials seem far off: 'but I can fancy thee saying really what a queer fellow thou art, thou lets no opportunity to pass when thou can refer to this *momentous crisis*'.[41] Was Jonathan gently mocking Mary for her hestitations, for viewing marriage as so momentous? Another young Quaker woman referred, not entirely in jest, to her coming wedding as her 'execution'.[42]

Whilst they did not appear to be able to initiate a courtship, these young women had a good deal of power in deciding whether any particular marriage would take place. The lengthy period of letter-writing and occasional visits permitted the exploration of a wide range of issues from theological differences, political outlooks, to attitudes to family members. They could retreat if appeals to the 'inner light' dictated. They thought long and hard about possible incompatibilities testing not only their future husband's patience but their adapatability and their kindness. Emma Cooper's doubts and retreats can be deduced from William's responses and from her decision to withdraw from the relationship for over a year. Mary Dilworth made herself clear in ways which undoubtedly caused her young lover considerable pain. From the first however, she was careful to make it clear that she welcomed his affection while reminding him 'that we are almost entire strangers to each other, and that in bestowing our affections we may not do it without careful consideration and above all may we seek for divine direction in this important step.'[43]

Jonathan sought assurance of her affection and was often rewarded. Early in the relationship Mary set the tone of openness and honesty:'Agreeable to thy earnest wish I must now inform thee what my thoughts were at our last pleasant meeting', she wrote, 'especially as I have to assure thee of my increasing affection, and feel that ere long I may be unto thee all that the most ardent lover could desire'.[44] Jonathan fulsomely acknowledged these signs of growing tenderness, writing'the reassurance of thy never failing affection is certainly delightful to hear and seems as it were to rivet the bonds of love that have bound thee to me...'[45] Assured of her affection and her commitment to share his life he dealt manfully with doubts and constant setbacks to his hopes for an early marriage.

A year and a half into the courtship Jonathan urged marriage but was gently put in his place. 'So thou thinks we might as well put away all *ifs* and *buts* now, not yet, dear J. we must wait a short time longer ... perhaps a long time', his cautious beloved replied.[46] A few months later Jonathan joked: '... really Polly we are a long way behind some folks and shall be thought by some to be very cool in our courtship...'[47] At the close of 1854 he looked to the new year with joy anticipating their union (they were indeed married in 1855). In spite of Mary's reluctance to name a date Jonathan continued with the acquisition of a house and furniture: 'What an amount of preparation we men have to make before you consent to say "I will", he reflected.[48] Mary was less ecstatic: '... at the same time, (now do you blame me) I do wish 1855 at a greater distance than it is, bright as the picture is at present, has its clouds, so thou need not wonder if I am sometimes a little timid at its near approach...'[49]

The realm of feeling was very carefully charted by young nineteenth-century Quaker women. They took their 'emotional temperature' frequently, testing whether the affections they felt for their admirers was deep enough to last a lifetime. Helen Priestman Bright's letters to William Clark during their eighteen-month courtship in the 1860s reveal another earnest young woman grappling with her feelings with total honesty and self-examination. 'The thought of you makes me sometimes unhappy and uneasy', Helen Bright wrote to William Clark, several months into their correspondence, 'I think it would be the greatest relief if you did not care for me, thought it is very pleasant to be loved – but I am afraid I may never be able to make amends for the pain I have given you already, for I don't mistake the quiet liking that kindness produces for the deeper feeling.'[50]

Helen Bright, later a leading figure in radical politics and the British suffrage movement,[51] was at pains to express not only her ambivalence about her feelings for William but her concern at the restrictions of marriage. She would not be a subservient wife: 'I expect to carry out in practice what I have advocated in theory! I assure you I have all sorts of doubts as to how we shall get on – and I don't like the feeling of being bound...' She concluded by assuring William that she would try to love him as he deserved, adding 'and I hope it will be all right'. In common with Mary Dilworth, Helen Bright did not relish the thought of leaving her beloved home. Nor did she wish to hasten wedding plans. While prospective husbands such as William Bancroft, Jonathan Abbatt and William Clark clearly derived much pleasure from preparing the nuptial home, Helen, like Mary, seems to have taken little interest: 'I don't like writing about the house however', Helen wrote, six weeks after her engagement, 'for it seems to imply that things are far more settled than I feel them to be – I think next summer will be too soon'.

Helen's doubts were clearly grounded in her 'horrible suspicion that nine marriages out of ten are very unsatisfactory'. She also doubted her own feelings: 'Sometimes I feel more indifferent, and as though I should never love you enough,' she wrote, 'This is a painful doubt ... but I pray that it may be all right as it is'. She wished that the engagement had been 'a sort of conditional one, without any immediate consequences'. This admirable honesty must have been extremely painful to her fiancé, who seems nevertheless to have proceeded with the wedding plans on the assumption that her doubts would vanish as the marriage approached.

Can we assume from these instances that these young Quaker women were entering marriages in which a measure of equality can be detected? Or companionship? Certainly the long courtships and the long processes of negotiation and self-disclosure which their correspondences reveal indicate the presence of an ingredient considered essential for the late twentieth-century partnership – strong communication and emotional intimacy.[52] William Bancroft, William Clark and Jonathan Abbatt were all at pains to share everything with their future wives, even the details of their business life although, as Jonathan Abbatt apologised, '... I must not bore you with trade news too much for I have a notion most women are not much interested in trade concerns'.[53] Close communication between husband and wife is now seen as essential for family limitation, allowing for discussion and negotiation of sensitive issues which have often been taboo.[54] The concern, indeed respect, expressed by the three Quaker grooms for the delicacy of their future wives' feelings, their total honesty in relation to their beliefs and values, boded well for communication and understanding in relation to decision-making within their marriages, even no doubt within the controversial realm of reproductive decision-making. In these three instances we can, of course, come to no conclusions: while the spacing of the Abbatts' and the Bancrofts' four children does suggest the possibility of family limitation unusual for its time, the Clarks produced six offspring, the last when Helen Clark was forty years old.

Within the Quaker courtship and marriage there was, however, an element very different from the companionate marriages of the early twentieth century. While the twentieth-century companionate marriage acknowledges a sense of self in which sexuality is a central dimension,[55] these Quaker courtships reveal some of the puritan suspicion and wariness of sexual passion, while at the same time emphasing tenderness and trust. If men and women appeared to be at odds on the progress of courtship towards eventual marriage they were agreed on the need for mutual assistance in shaping each other's character and in seeking divine direction in their lives. Mary Dilworth hoped with help to curb her lively 'self': 'I must tell thee', she confided to Jonathan in the first months of their correspondence, 'that I do at times find it exceeding hard work to keep that *much loved* self of mine in its proper place and that it is very apt to assume a spirit of independence. Nevertheless I am not without hope that thy influence and sometimes gentle chiding may have in some degree the desirable effect of bringing me nearer to Him who alone can subdue all things to Himself'.[56]

Jonathan too accepts Mary's gentle reminder, when planning for their earthly home, that he must turn his thoughts to 'another and more important home'.[57] Mutual assistance was crucial. 'My prayer is each will assist the other in temporal as well as in spiritual concerns', Mary Dilworth wrote, 'for without a Heavenly hand to guide and bless how can we expect or look for new happiness...'[58] Helen Bright, eventually comfortable at the thought of her marriage, turned to William Clark for help: 'I long for you to help me give freely', she urged, 'I don't mean in money – but in tenderness and sympathy, in proportion as all my life I have received such rich full measure'.[59] The correspondence of these nineteenth-century couples is filled with dignity and respect, and a sense (as William Bancroft advised his niece Lucy many years later) of loving God's image in each other.[60]

The slow and uneven progression of Quaker courtships and the later development of the autonomous conjugal couple did not take place in isolation. The Quaker community played a large part in ensuring the suitability of marriage partners and of their freedom to marry. William Bancroft was part of such a close-knit Quaker community. His part in that society reveals some of the sources of his actions. Faced with a possible appointment as an elder, William committed his doubts to paper and enclosed a copy to his new correspondent. Acknowledging the beauty and goodness of the society William nevertheless felt that he was not what would be generally called 'a convinced friend'. 'I do not understand (clearly) the "inward light" ', he wrote.[61] This letter to Meeting is interesting in that it spells out William's faith in the Society of Friends as one which above all else was 'an association for mutual care, care and encouragement in doing what we individually or generally believe to be right'. It was the communitarian rather than the mystical which appeared to primarily guide his actions. The prospective elder vowed, however, to use the light he had, 'trying not to assert in word or act that the degree of light is different from what it is'.[62]

A spiritual dimension was deemed central to Quaker marriage and at times caused anguish to young Friends who were at times unclear as to their true motives in relation to the young women they wished to marry, as we have seen. The letters in many ways reveal more earthly doubts than spiritual shortcomings. Yet all looked to their future partner for help on their spiritual journeys. Perhaps the marriages did result in a spiritual growth for both partners. As parents themselves the way seemed clearer. William Bancroft could clearly advise a niece on the spiritual aspect of marriage, the concern to 'love God's image in each other' or, as he explained, to love what was good in each other. Helen Priestman Bright Clark, much later the mother-in-law of William Bancroft's daughter Sarah, expressed her views of marriage to her son Roger in 1896. She was concerned that the younger generation might be blurring distinctions of good and evil. There could be no foundation to marriage, she believed, 'where the spirit does not absolutely rule the body'. She feared that Roger's tendency might be 'rather to materialize your spirits than to make your whole being spiritual'. Such a tendency would lead to much unhappiness, '& leave less chance, & as it were material, for a thoroughly happy marriage'.[63] Was it that later in life the urge for self-expression could lead to self-transcendence?

In seeking to identify strands of 'Quakerliness' revealed in Quaker courtship and marriage which might be described as leading to modernity I initially attempted to disentangle the Puritan/activist side from the contemplative, mystical dimension in Vann and Eversley's terms. Such a distinction may well prove unproductive. It is tempting to assert that while the 'young' couples encountered here seemd to be struggling with wordly hopes and desires, doubts and hesitations, in mid-life, and as parents, they could convey a sense of a measure of peace achieved, of a realisation that joy proceeded from a recognition of the spiritual, and a subduing of the worldly, a better road to peace than the worldly and temporal. Yet at the same time, all were successfully engaged in wordly pursuits which led to material wealth and status in the community. The spiritual and moral development of marriage partners was an integral and distinctive part of the companionship of Quaker marriages. The link between that development and modernity, between the sexual and 'this-worldly ascetism' remains to be explored, an ongoing and central preoccupation of this project.

Hugh Barbour asserts that an understanding of the inner religious experiences of Friends, and an analysis of the power these inner experiences exert over outward reality, is an important challenge for Quaker historians.[64] An analysis of Quaker courtships, marriages and reproductive strategies may well illuminate the distinctiveness and power of Quaker spirituality. Equally importantly, such as analysis can contribute to an understanding of 'modern' relations between men and women and the factors leading to fertility decline, broadening demographic explanations to include not only the cultural but the spiritual.

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NOTES AND REFERENCES

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[2] William Penn, *Works*, 2 vols., London, 1726, cited in Jacques Tual, 'Sexual equality and conjugal harmony: the way to celestial bliss. A view of early Quaker matrimony', *The Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, Vol. 55, No. 6, (1988), 166.

[3] Tual, *op. cit.*, 164.

[4] Barry Levy, 'The birth of the "modern family" in early America: Quaker and Anglican families in the Delaware Valley, Pennsylvania, 1681-1750' in Zuckerman, Michael (ed), *Friends and Neighbours: Group Life in America*, (Philadelphia, Temple University Press), 1982, 39. See also Margaret Hope Bacon, *Mothers of Feminism*, (San Francisco, Harper & Row, 1986), chap. 4.

[5] Richard T. Vann and David Eversley, *Friends in Life and Death: the British and Irish Quakers in the demographic transition, 1650-1900*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1992).

[6] Robert V. Wells, 'Family size and fertility control in eighteenth-century America: a study of Quaker families', *Population Studies*, 25: 73-82.

[7] See Alison Mackinnon, 'Were women present at the demographic transition? Questions from a feminist historian to historical demographers', *Gender and History*, vol. 7, no. 2, (August 1995).

[8] Richard T. Vann, 'Quaker Family Life', review of J. William Frost, *The Quaker Family in America: Portrait of the Society of Friends*, (New York, St. Martin's Press, 1973), in *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 4, (Spring 1975), 741.

[9] See for instance, Regenia Gagnier, *Subjectivities: A history of self-representation in Britain, 1832-1920*, (New York, Oxford University Press, 1991); Patrick Joyce, *Democratic subjects: the self and the social in nineteenth-century England*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press), 1994; Lyndal Roper, *Oedipus and the devil: witchcraft, sexuality and religion in early modern Europe*, (London and New York, Routledge, 1994).

[10] Vann and Eversley, *op. cit.*, 162.

[11] Edward H. Milligan, *Quaker marriage*, Cumbria, Quaker Tapesty Booklets, (1994), 27. For a discussion of women as 'meet helps', rather more traditional interpretation of women's role, see H. Larry Ingle, 'A Quaker woman on women's roles: Mary Penington to Friends, 1678', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, vol. 16, no. 31 (1991).

[12] Milligan, *op. cit.*, 27.

[13] *Ibid.*, 28. Milligan is quoting Clarkson here.

[14] Vann and Eversley, *op. cit.*, 244.

[15] *Ibid.*, 128.

[16] Tual, *op. cit.*, 168.

[17] Phyllis Mack, working paper presented to Quaker historians workshop, Haverford, June 1996.

[18] *Ibid.*, 128.

[19] R.W. Connell, *Masculinities*, (Sydney, Allen and Unwin, 1995), 44.

[20] See for instance, Joyce, *Democratic subjects*, 118-9ff.; Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family fortunes: men and women of the English middle class 1780-1850*, (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1987), 108-13.

[21] Patricia Crawford, *Women and Religion in England, 1500-1720*, (London, Routledge, 1993), 182.

[22] As Tual asserts, *op. cit.*, 165.

[23] See for instance, Phyllis Mack, *Visionary women: ecstatic prophecy in seventeenth century England*, (Berkeley, University of California Press), 1992.

[24] J. William Frost, *The Quaker Family in Colonial America: a portrait of the Society of Friends*, (New York, St. Martin's Press, 1973), 167.

[25] In this he was at odds with the tendency, noted earlier, for Quakers to marry women of comparable ages.

[26] William Poole Bancroft & Emma Cooper, 26 July, 1874, Sarah Bancroft Clark papers, Somerset Record Office.

[27] W.P.B. to E.C., 30 December, 1873.

[28] W.P.B to E.C., 19 June 1874.

[29] W.P.B. to E.C., 19 June, 1874.

[30] W.P.B. to E.C., 4 June, 1874.

[31] W.P.B. to E.C., 2 May, 1874.

[32] Milligan, *op. cit.* 28.

[33] John Dilworth Abbatt, *A Victorian Quaker courtship: Lancashire love letters of the 1850s*, (William Sessions Ltd., York, England with Friends United Press, Richmond, USA, 1988), 49. All letters cited are from this collection.

[34] Jonathan Abbatt to Mary Dilworth, 9 September, 1853.

[35] Tual, *op. cit.*, 167.

[36] Frost, *The Quaker Family in Colonial America*, 155ff.

[37] W.P.B. to E.C., 4 June, 1874.

[38] W.P.B. to E.C., 16 July, 1874.

[39] W.P.B. to E.C., 24 February, 1876.

[40] Davidoff and Hall, *Family fortunes*, 323 (my emphasis).

[41] J.A. to M.D., 3 April, 1854 (original emphasis).

[42] Helen Priestman Bright to William Clark, Clark Archive, Street, Somerset. I am grateful to Sandra Holton for sharing extracts from this correspondence and for discussion on the following points.

[43] M.D. to J.A., 7 February, 1853.

[44] M.D. to J.A., 13 June, 1853.

[45] J.A. to M.D., 8 October, 1853.

[46] M.D. to J.A., 8 May, 1854.

[47] J.A. to M.D., 17 September, 1854.

[48] J.A. to M.D., 20 November, 1854.

[49] M.D. to J.A., 23 November, 1854.

[50] Helen Priestman Bright to William Clark, Clark papers, Street. All further extracts are from this collection.

[51] Sandra Holton, 'From Anti-Slavery to Suffrage Militancy: the Bright circle, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and the British Women's Movement', in Caroline Daly and Melanie Nolan (eds), *Suffrage and Beyond: International Feminist Perspectives*, Auckland, (Auckland University Press, 1994).

[52] See for instance P.E. Hollerbach, 'Power in families, communication and fertility decision-making' in *Working Paper No. 53,* (Centre for Policy Studies, The Population Council, New York, 1980).

[53] J.A. to M.D., 4 March, 1855. The implied lack of interest was not typical of all the couples here. Helen Priestman Bright, for example, daughter of John Bright, was very politically aware and took a great deal of interest in asking William Clark about the conditions of agricultural workers in this country.

[54] Pat Quiggan, *No Rising Generation: women and fertility in late nineteenth century Australia,* (Canberra, Department of Demography, 1988), iii.

[55] Even if women's sexuality is distinguished from that of men by its morally uplifting nature. Lucy Brand, *Banishing the Beast: English feminism and sexual morality, 1885-1914,* (London, Penguin, 1995).

[56] M.D. to J.A., 11 April, 1853 (original emphasis).

[57] J.A. to M.D., 14 June, 1853.

[58] M.D. to J.A., 14 September, 1854.

[59] H.P.B. to W.C., n.d.

[60] W.P.C. to Lucy Biddle, 7 August, 1883.

[61] W.P.B. to E.C., 6 February, 1874.

[62] *Ibid.*

[63] Helen Priestman Clark to Roger Clark in Percy Lovell, *Quaker Inheritance 1871-1961,* (London, Bannisdale Press, 1970), 90-91.

[64] Hugh Barbour, Introductory address to Quaker historians workshop, Haverford College, June, 1996.

JAMES NICHOLSON RICHARDSON (1846 -1921)

An Ulster Friend of his time and place

About a hundred years ago, two different sets of challenges beset Friends in what was then called the British Isles. British Friends, at the Manchester Conference 1895, came to terms with changes in scientific and religious thought. Irish Friends had an additional crisis of identity brought on by the resurgence of the Roman Catholic church and the proposals for Home Rule in Ireland. Ulster, in particular, was where Friends lived in a contested province.

The Society of Friends in Ulster flourished during much of the ninteenth century. Following the split caused by the New Light Separation,[1] travelling Friends brought new inspiration to the scattered and weakened groups of adherents, many of whom had lost their membership. Several new meeting-houses were built and old ones renovated. Despite the disownments, strict discipline and emigration, membership increased, from 694 in 1863 to 1118 in 1894. This growth in numbers and in influence may be attributed to the development of the linen industry in which several Friend families had an important role. Linked to this was the rapid commercial growth of Belfast which attracted Friends from Britain and southern Ireland. Another important growth factor was the evangelical awakening starting from the 1859 Revival which affected many parts of rural Protestant Ulster. Gradually some of the Revival's spin-offs were to be found among Friends – gospel meetings, Sunday schools, prayer meetings, Bible study, missionary activity at home and abroad, hymn singing and paid mission workers. All of this activity resulted in a surge of new attenders at meetings for worship, some of whom joined the Society. The Friends who led the evangelical activities were careful that nothing interfered with the regular meetings for worship and discipline. They saw no contradiction between the seemingly divergent ways of worship but rather that one complemented the other. Meetings for worship which formerly had been largely times of silent waiting became occasions for vocal exhortation. In this changing milieu, James N. Richardson[2] (hereafter referred to as JNR) spent most of his life. He was shaped by it, and in turn, he used his inherited power and personal talents to shape the close Quaker circle and the wider spectrum.

Family Background[3]

JNR, born in 1846, was the first child of Helena (née Grubb) and John Grubb Richardson. Helena Grubb was one of that family renowned among Irish Friends, from Co. Tipperary. She died in 1849 at the birth of her second child. John Grubb Richardson remarried in 1853, to Jane Marion Wakefield and they had a family of one son and seven daughters, into which JNR happily integrated. JNR went to Grove House School, Tottenham, London, to be educated along with boys from other wealthy Quaker homes. At 16 he started work in the family linen business in Bessbrook, in the south of County Armagh. Here his father had masterminded a social and industrial experiment from 1845. JNR often referred to the respect and affection he had for his father and six uncles, all in branches of the burgeoning Richardson linen companies. From his father, JNR acquired considerable wealth and the skills of commercial expertise. Breadth of mind was encouraged through travel and education, while an underlying devotion to the principles of Friends and to the Society as a body ensured a tender conscience. His father may have passed on to him a strong physique, but also a tendency to nervous depression. Being deprived of his mother at a tender age, JNR had several maternal substitutes. Throughout his life he cherished the company and support of women in the family. In particular, his step-mother, Jane M. Richardson (1832-1909), provided him with literary and artistic stirrings; she was a 'rock of strength, she had neither moods nor tenses'.[4] In an affluent household of that time, servants often had influence beyond their station as nurse, housemaid, coachman or tutor. From these domestics JNR gleaned much basic knowledge about human nature and ways of the world which his family may have been too reserved to discuss with him. He acknowledged his affection for them and his debt to them in his small book, *Concerning Servants*.[5]

Bessbrook, the model village

John Grubb Richardson and some of his brothers had bought a derelict spinning mill and nearby houses in 1845 as a site on which they could expand their linen business. He wrote:

> 'We were obliged to keep pace with the times and become flax spinners

> and manufacturers ... I had a great aversion to be responsible for a factor ypopulation in a large town like Belfast; ... we fixed on a place near Newry ... With water power, a thick population around, and in a country district where flax was cultivated in considerable quantities. It had moreover the desirable condition in my sight, of enabling us to control our people and to do them good in every sense. From childhood I was strongly impressed with the duty we owe to God in looking after the welfare of those around us... I had long resolved that we should have a temperance population in our little colony...'[6]

JNR started to learn the linen business and he soon developed into a prince, endowed with ability, and embracing those two uneasy bedfellows, riches[7] and Christian faith. When 21 he married Sophia Malcolmson, of Portlaw, Co. Waterford, thus uniting two of the most enterprising Quaker families of the time. The young couple came to reside near the mill in Bessbrook, where JNR increasingly accepted responsibility due to his father's periodic bouts of nervous depression. Commercial success coupled with Christian idealism brought fame to the remote settlement and earned the title – the model village.[8] Housing for the workers was provided in bright airy squares with green space to look out upon. Many other facilities were provided including school, dispensary, savings bank, orphanage, convalescent home, allotment gardens, gas lighting, recreation and sports facilities, places of worship and hydro-electric tramway. Alcohol was banned due to evidence that its misuse led to crime and poverty, so Bessbrook became known as the village without 3 P's; no pub, no police, no pawnshop.

Interested visitors were usually impressed and gave effusive praise but G.B. Shaw came in 1879 and made this caustic comment:

> 'Bessbrook is a model village where the inhabitants never swear or get drunk and look as if they would like very much to do both. This place would make Ruskin cry if he saw it, it is so excessively ugly. In the grounds of the factory is a basin of the water works. They keep a swan there which I am sure passes its time regretting that it cannot drown itself.'[9]

Disappointment and Depression

JNR moved on to a wider stage in 1880 when he became Liberal M.P. for County Armagh. He advocated reform of the Land Acts for tenant farmers, even though his father was a landlord of some 6,000 acres. At Westminster he enjoyed meeting the likes of W.E. Forster, John Bright and Joseph Chamberlain. Due to failing health he declined the offer of the post of Lord of the Treasury and Junior Whip offered by Gladstone.[10] From about this time the early promise was blighted; the smile of fortune vanished from JNR's life. The death of his two infant children and his wife's consumptive decline and death were hard blows on his private life. In the outer world, Irish Catholic resurgence, and self-confidence ushered in a new era, while Gladstone's espousal of Home Rule for Ireland was an unforeseen step. All these events caused or coincided with JNR's serious nervous depression. He withdrew from public and commercial life, finding solace and escape in travels around the world.

In 1890 his father died, pushing more responsibility on to a son whose sense of duty was strong but whose inner fibre had been sapped, temporarily. It had been characteristic of John Grubb Richardson to praise the women rather than the men of his family; with him a favourite saying was,

> 'Women do far more good in the world than men'.

JNR found this to be true for him too. His rehabilitation may have come through the support and friendship of his step-mother, aunts and seven half-sisters, especially Anne Wakefield Richardson,[12] vice-principal of Westfield College, University of London. JNR's second marriage, to Sara A. Bell of Lurgan, brought in a time of domestic contentment, and provided a secure base from which he conducted a robust correspondence on local and national issues.[13]

The resurgence of the Roman Catholic cause in Ireland

After centuries of repression, Catholic Ireland asserted itself initially though Daniel O'Connell's leadership in the 1820's to 1840's. A growing Catholic middle-class and the opportunity for university education brought more influence and confidence, though there remained a large peasant under-class. New cathedrals, chapels, schools and convents were visible signs of Catholic vigour.

In Bessbrook, the founder's vision of a harmonious community with encouragement for all to worship in their own ways, was sincerely held. In 1869 a lease was granted by John Grubb Richardson for ground on which to build a Catholic chapel, which was opened in 1875.[14] However, the determination of the Catholic authorities to open their own school struck at something dear and vital to him.

Since 1850 there had been a school in the village giving unsectarian education under the National School system, with John Grubb

Richardson as Manager and sometimes with Catholic teaching staff. From 1874, for fifty years, the parish priest in the village was Charles Quin (1834–1925), a determined and capable man who in the words of local people, 'stood up to the Richardsons'.[15] At that time of autocratic power there were said to be two popes in Bessbrook, Pope Quin and Pope Richardson! When the Sisters of Mercy from Newry came to open a school in July 1883, they were compelled to leave after one day. In 1889 they returned, by which time the Richardsons had been shorn of their veto by new legislation. The refusal of permission for the convent school to function in 1883 was seen by Catholics as 'the oppressive spirit of bigotry.[16]

The benign paternal hand of John Grubb Richardson and the Liberal stance of JNR were not enough to remove the underlying suspicion and rivalry between Catholics and Protestants in the locality. On August 15th 1880 a Catholic band and parade making its way to the 5 year-old church, was stoned by a mob on the edge of the village. This caused the band to detour two miles to reach its destination. A subsequent letter to the *Newry Reporter* from a Catholic supporter asked: 'Do the Roman Catholics assemble at the gate of any of the places of worship in Bessbrook to prevent the people from going to service? Certainly not. I believe that the time is come when some of our neighbours should begin to do to us as we have always done to them.'[17]

Evidence of anti-Catholic employment practices in the mill surfaces from time to time. In 1849 Art MacBionaid sought work as a stone mason only to meet with 'A pitiful excuse' and 'harsh denial',[18] which he attributed to bigotry and prejudice. In its hey-day, the mill gave employment to upwards of 3,000, with Catholics in slight majority, but a curate claimed that Catholics were 'the hewers of wood and the drawers of water'.[19]

JNR was aware of the under-representation of Catholics in the better paid positions in the work-force. As company chairman he wrote to the other Directors as follows on 22-2-1892, displaying what might be judged as reluctant patronage:

> 'I am desirous of bringing formally under your notice a matter which may, no doubt, have already engaged your attention; viz. that the present tendency is, and I presume the future tendency is likely to be, for Roman Catholic families to be more numerous in the houses and the employment of the Company, and that therefore it would be well to seek to induce the greater loyalty of some of them to the concern by appointing an occasional Roman Catholic foreman and disabusing their minds of any idea that the

> work is conducted with favouritism to any special creed, apart from capacity.'[20]

The 1901 Census records several Catholics in the position of foreman, while others were in skilled trades such as plumber, fitter, mason and mechanic. A sociologist's[21] comment is:

> 'An analysis of the workforce in 1901 reveals that in that year Roman Catholics represented approximately 53% of the workforce... Although the population of the surrounding countryside was sharply polarized, John Grubb Richardson initiated a policy designed to create an environment in which those of different religions could co-exist satisfactorily, not an easy task, especially during the Home Rule agitation. John Grubb Richardson noted that during the forty years preceding 1886, there was 'an unmistakeable increase of friendly feeling and reciprocity between Protestants and Roman Catholic's.'[22]

A letter from JNR to Lord Russell of Killowen,[23] brother of the Mother Superior of Bessbrook convent, reveals some sense of his grievance against Canon Quin:

> '19th November 1894
>
> My Lord:
>
> I shall gladly accede to your lordship's very simple request that I should meet the Rev. Mother, your sister,.... Probably had such a meeting thus taken place between her and my father twelve years ago, much that we both regret might have been averted... It has been my special care for some years past to give the young Catholic workers an annual excusion at my expense and also to clothe from eighty to one hundred and fifty of the very old in winter ... But far from having ever received a syllable of thanks from the local representative of the Catholic Church, I am accustomed to hear myself abused and denounced by one whose ridiculous abuse is however much more palatable than his still more ridiculous praise. For many years my poor father, whom he now praises, was the recipient of his attentions. These were somewhat modified during the earliest period of my representation of the County (on the Liberal side), but nature soon re-asserted itself... I also send his latest effort at misrepresentation and I am sure you will admit that, however interesting this and the newspaper comments upon it may be to readers and writers, they only keep a countryside in a turmoil... I have occupied your Lordship's time too long and have the honour to remain...'[24]

JNR cultivated a friendship with one of the local curates called Father McDonald, showing that the personal animosity between Canon Quin and himself did not degenerate into sour antipathy towards Roman Catholics in general.

Letter from JNR to Rev. Fr. McDonald C.C., Bessbrook

> '21 January 1898
> ... I agree that the past should no longer be allowed to stand in the way of the educational requirements of the Catholic girls of Bessbrook and may here mention that had my later father been properly approached on the subject long ago, the deadlock of years might have been avoided. .... permit me in conclusion to hope that the contents of this letter may afford some personal pleasure to one whom I have learned to regard with much esteem, namely yourself,...'[25]

Next, JNR circulated a letter to those of his family whose signatures would be required for a 999 year lease for building the new school and convent. He recommended that the lease be granted so when one of his half-sisters[26] refused, he wrote to her:

> '26 October 1898
> I take it that your letter means definitely declining to join in the long lease. Of course, it is nothing to me either way, and I cannot expect everyone to see through my glasses but what would you think of The O'Connor Don or Court Arthur Moore of Mooresfort[27] if they were to refuse sites for protestant schools, especially if the scholars were children of their own work people, brought there to serve them? ... The spirit which seeks to prevent those who differ from us theologically, from serving God in their own way is of the same nature as that which lighted the fires of Smithfield on both sides and which tries to prevent street preaching in the South...'[28]

These compelling words must have gained her acquiescence as building work began soon after. On a previous occasion he had written to her in a similar vein:

> '14 May 1892
> ... about the announcement made in the Friends meeting house, I had not as fully as since appreciated that the gathering... held in the large hall... was for the purpose of hearing Mrs Smyly lecture... You will, I trust, excuse me for saying that I think you did not show your usual good judgement in giving prominence to this subject in a mixed neighbourhood like ours, where some feel bitterly about it.
> I'm sure we are agreed that it is undesirable for anything to take place in the Town Hall which should unnecessarily wound the susceptibilities of our Roman Catholic neighbours who have been induced to settle here for our benefit as well as their own, and among whom are many old faithful servants and excellent people. Yours affectionately,'[29]

The departure of Father McDonald from Bessbrook brought forth the following warm tribute from JNR:

> '3rd November 1900
> Dear Fr. McDonald:
> Having just returned, I hastened to write a few lines to say how desperately sorry I was on hearing at Harrogate of your removal from Bessbrook and how lonely the place feels without your genial presence... This is the universal feeling inside your own communion and outside of it as evidenced by numbers who have spoken to me since my return. ... indeed you deservedly carry with you the respect and esteem of every right-minded person about the place, for whilst markedly attentive to your clerical and pastoral duties, ... you seemed to win everyone by your sincere and Christian kindliness.
> For myself, I suppose few men in Ireland have more acquaintances round the world but I do not pretend to possess many friends in the deep sense of the term, yet believe I might rank you among the number of the latter. ...
> Yours very sincerely,
> James N. Richardson'[30]

By 1904 a large new Convent had been built on a hill above the village, so bitter feelings were waning.

> 'When, after some hesitation, (JNR) granted land for a nunnery at Bessbrook, he made the characteristic stipulation that it should never be surrounded by high walls which in so many Irish institutions shut away from the public the life inside, and shut out from those inside the beautiful country views'.[31]

His wishes remain fulfilled to this day.

The foundation stone of a new convent school was laid by Canon Quin on 18th May 1909, followed by a far-ranging speech from the exuberant priest. The local press were on hand to document him in full flight:

> 'He thought that the Rev. Mother would allow him to join her in tendering their thanks to the lord of the soil (Mr. James N. Richardson D.L.) for granting them a lease in order that they might erect, not only that beautiful convent, but also schools that would be in harmony with that fine institution. (Cheers) The lord of the soil and himself for a long time might not have seen matters eye to eye, but he was delighted there that day, to say that all differences had passed away, and he hoped, never, never, to return (Cheers)... He was proud to recognise the great benefits brought to them by the Richardson family,... the founders of the model village of Bessbrook, with a population of 4,000 and giving employment to 3,000 workers. If all the landlords of Ireland turned their millions to account as the Richardsons, father and son, had done in founding nurseries of employment for the Irish people, Ireland would be great and

> glorious. (Cheers) Another point to which he wanted to direct their attention was that Mr James N. Richardson was one of those in the Imperial Parliament who struck the first blow, and the most violent blow, that landlordism ever received in Ireland. (Cheers) In the year 1881 Mr. Richardson was put up by Gladstone to speak on that land measure which was the charter of the rights of the farmers of Ireland, and he ventured to say, and he said it with pride, that it was the best and most practical speech made in the House of Commons on the question. ...
> There was another thing he would like to say in regard to the Richardson family. Another Bill was passed in 1903 by Mr. Balfour and the Conservative Government to root our the landlords of Ireland. Subsequent to that measure becoming law, Mr. Thomas O'Hare and himself met Mr. Richardson's agent, Mr. Fowler, and while they were negotiating two years with other landlords, it only took them two hours to negotiate the sale of the Maghernahely estate... thank God Mr. Richardson and Mr. Fowler met Mr. O'Hare and himself fairly, honourably, generously and that wiped out all differences, and wiped them out, he hoped, until the day of judgement. ...'[32]

In a comment on Canon Quin, one of his successors wrote in 1994:

> 'Charles Quin was mainly extraordinarily fulsome in praise of the Richardsons, on occasion bordering on the sycophantic. His attitude to them was ambivalent; even as he worked to dislodge (JNR) from his Armagh seat and replace him, he managed to praise him.'[33]

JNR had enough of the Quaker in him to be wary of sugary words. In 1911, writing about his mother, Helena Richardson, he told of her little Sunday school class in Bessbrook, in the 1840's. A priest of that time, Father Pentony, advised one little girl, 'to be sure to go to the school, for she would learn nothing but good from Mrs. Richardson'. JNR continues, 'I may be allowed to believe that no girl would learn much harm from my wife today, but it would be a stretch of the imagination to suppose Canon Quin giving similar advice to one of his flock. Who have changed, the Catholics or the Friends?'[34]

Both had changed, methinks.

In 1896 a booklet was circulated around the Society in Ireland written somewhat anonymously by 'A Leinster Friend'. The writer observed and deplored the shift away from the earlier non-partisan position of Irish Friends, –

> 'within my generation Friends in Ireland have socially and politically become closely associated and identified with other protestant bodies in Ireland, and have largely acquired their distrust and aversion for the masses of the people' The writer suggested that there be a 'change of stance from Society of Friends to Friends of Society'.[35]

It is a mistake to assume that the pervading, corrosive bigotry in Ulster ever managed to extinguish the original vision of the Children of the Light, of independence from Church and State. An observer of the Society in Ulster in recent times wrote in 1985:

> '... with their sublimation of the protestant work ethic into a zealous struggle for personal and social righteousness, Quakers are for me the apt symbol of what Northern Protestants might have been like, had not their dissenters hatred of authoritarianism become squeezed and warped into a hatred of Romanism, and finally into a fear of the Irish Catholic.
>
> A look into Quakerism is a look back... to all that Reformation and Rationalism seemed to promise by way of liberation of the human spirit from superstition and subservience, before protestantism fell sick of the very malignancies it professed to deplore. Beside Quakerism, Ulster Protestants may see the tragedy of how far they have fallen.'[36]

Home Rule for Ireland 1886 and 1893

When Gladstone introduced the first Home Rule Bill in 1886 it was a shattering blow, as well as a turning point for JNR, for Bessbrook and for Unionism. From that time there was uncertainty as to who the future rulers would be. The dedication to the principles of a model village receded. The Richardsons started to invest in distant assets, like American railways instead of ploughing back profits into the local economy.[37]

Most English Friends followed Gladstone and supported Home Rule, while Irish Friends (if Liberal) split from Gladstone, become Liberal Unionists. JNR felt supported that John Bright did not follow the Gladstone line.

By the time of the second Home Rule Bill in 1893, fears of many Irish Friends had risen, so an unofficial petition[38] was drawn up and circulated around all meetings in Ireland. This petition was addressed to fellow-members in Great Britain for their assistance in opposing Home Rule, citing veiled fears of Catholic rule as the reason. The petition had huge support and was signed by 1376 Friends throughout Ireland, estimated at over 80% of the membership. A month later, a Counter-Appeal,[39] signed by a mere 22 Irish Friends, expressed the wish that Government policy be supported, leading to 'a lasting treaty of peace between the two peoples'.

To show how much Unionist Friends were perturbed, a one-day conference on the Home Rule Question was held in the Cannon Street Hotel, London, on 21-4-1893, with James Hack Tuke as chairman. Only Unionist Friends were in attendance, about 70 from England and 25 from Ireland, including JNR, his cousin Theodore Richardson and half-sister Anne W. Richardson. All three spoke strongly against Home Rule. JNR's emphasis was the liklihood of economic stagnation leading to unemployment. Some of Anne Richardson's words show her fear of Home Rule:

> 'It is a sad and unpleasant subject, but I could give you instance after instance of Roman Catholic intolerance in Ireland. Unless you have lived in Ireland you do not know what Irish Catholicism means.'[40]

The 1893 Bill passed the House of Commons but was defeated in the Upper House, so the crisis was averted till 1912.

In 1893 Dr. R. Spence Watson, a Northumberland Friend, issued a pamphlet, *Fear or Hope – Home Rule,* to sooth the fears of Unionists in Ireland. This brought forth a 45-page *Reply* from an anonymous Irish Friend (probably Anne W. Richardson), to which Spence Watson retaliated with *Notes on a Reply to my pamphlet.* JNR could not resist entering the duel. He published a 22-page piece, *Comments on Dr. Spence Watson's two pamphlets on Fear and Hope – Home Rule,*[41] dated May 1st 1894. He could always find time for writing. Thankfully many of his publications and letters survive, giving insights into the varied sides to his character.

The Third Home Rule Bill 1912

The veto of the House of Lords was reduced to a two-year delay by the Parliament Act of 1911, so the way was opened up for Home Rule. Greater than previous opposition to self-government was apparent in Ulster. Genuine alarm of impending civil war was felt by Friends along with the majority population. Ulster Quarterly Meeting, on 22-9-1913, issued a letter of advice to members which was published in newspapers:

> 'All around us warlike preparations are proceeding... If we are true to our principles as Friends, we shall not assist in the taking of human life, however great our desire to defend our rights as citizens of the United Kingdom... Whatever our political views, we may truly unite, at the Throne of Grace, asking that our country may be kept in peace.'

The Friends Quarterly Examiner, Volume 48 (1914), had a section on 'The political crisis in Ireland', with papers from six Irish Friends. Three of the contributors signed their names, while the editor regrettably accepted non-de-plumes from the others.[42] One of the latter sounds suspiciously like JNR. In the two decades since the 1893 Appeal to English Friends, support for Home Rule had increased among Friends in the south of Ireland. The voices for Unionism in the *Friends Quarterly Examiner* were all from Ulster, expressing dismay at the lack of consideration which English Friends were showing towards the Protestant community in Ulster.

In Bessbrook, JNR had to moderate his Unionist politics with his Christian convictions. Requests came to him from Unionist leaders looking for support in preparation for armed resistance to Home Rule. In November 1913 he refused to provide a hall in the village for drilling in arms, as:

> 'my reading of the New Testament forbids my taking human life or assisting to do so'.[43]

So sure was he of civilian casualties that he saw it his duty to set up First Aid classes, and to equip a house in Bessbrook as a small hospital. Writing to Dr. C.C. Deane, Loughgall, he said:

> 'The hospital at Bessbrook is now equipped, as far as I know, down to the minutest detail as far as furniture and medical and surgical appliances are concerned. The contents of each package are written out and attached to the package, ... Also a list of the names and addresses of young women ready for volunteers in case of the commanding doctor's call. They all have First Aid Certificates. I have engaged a Sister, giving her a retaining fee so that she must come at any moment of call... it remains for you to take it over any time you like... I really think you should become acquainted with this neighbourhood because it is a peculiar and important one, as the population are so equally divided.'[44]

The bandages and equipment were never used and were dumped about 1970.

JNR was one of the few motor car owners in the district, and as a known Unionist it was assumed that he would lend his car for use in gun-running from Larne Harbour. Again his Christian committment prevented him from assisting in such belligerent activities.[45]

By Spring 1914 tension had increased to a point where the directors of the Bessbrook Spinning Company and the associated Richardson Sons & Owden linen enterprise, met to consider arming some of their Protestant work people to protect the mill premises. JNR, as son of the founder of Bessbrook and a senior director in his own right, was a respected figure. The following account of his attitude in the discussion shows some of the determination, compromise, pragmatism and ambivalence which were aspects of this formidable Friend.

> 'Re condition of Ulster May 1914[46]
>
> The condition of things in Ulster, and of men's minds, causes us who have been brought up in the views of 'Friends' respecting war, to find ourselves in trying positions. We sympathise entirely with the cause for which the Ulster Volunteers are arming, viz. the defeat of the Home Rule Policy of the present governent and yet we cannot join in that movement. Moreoever, we lay ourselves open to the taunt frequently used – 'You Quakers sit still, let us do the fighting and you reap the benefit'; a taunt very effective, especially when addressed to the young.
>
> In this connection I have been brought into personal difficulty as to my attitude with my co-directors of Bessbrook Co. and Richardson and Owden, as to what means shall be used for the defence of premises in case of civil war with its attendant chaos and abrogation of all usual authority.
>
> Our directorate, formerly almost all Quaker, now stands as follows:[47]
>
> Joshua Pim and myself – Quakers
>
> Charles H. Richardson, Thos. McGregor Greer, Walter L. Wheeler – Church
>
> My brother, T. Wakefield Richardson, nominally a Quaker, has joined the most bellicose portion of the Unionists, viz. the Orangemen.
>
> The subject came definitely before us the other day as to arming the Protestant work people at Bessbrook with full equipment of modern weapons in case of an emergency, on a direct motion, – and as a record, I now put down, fairly verbatim, the attitude I felt right to take, – and for ease of writing, put it down in the first person.
>
> Gentlemen, this subject has been before us casually once or twice before, and I am afraid I have once or twice lost my temper over it and take this opportunity of apologising for any undue warmth on my part, – and should like just this once to put my feelings before my colleagues and then cease preaching any more sermons on the subject. I recognise that Mr. Pim and myself are in a minority on this question, and neither can force, or wish to force, our special views upon the majority at this serious crisis, more especially as the shareholders in most cases, whose property we have charge of, do not all share our views either, though many of them do.
>
> Since the dawn of Christianity the Christian opinion has been divided on this subject of man-slaying. Some early Christians suffered martyrdom rather than serve in the Roman Legions, others were most trusted men in those legions. The Society of Friends has taken the former view – I am a Friend of at least 8 generations on both sides – as is my brother tho' he has not seen his way to adhere to these views – but they are so strongly bred into me that I could not either kill or aid in taking human life – whilst up to that point, I have supported and will support the Unionist cause.
>
> I may be fairly asked, 'What would you do at the present time?' and I reply, I would do as follows: If the property belonged to me alone, I would

summon the principal workmen on both sides at Bessbrook – and would say – We have mostly known each other all our lives – and I have not pleased everybody nor tried to – but what I have tried to do all my life is show no partiality to any man because of his creed in my employment – either Church, Catholic or Quaker – we all have got to get our living out of this concern and shall all lose by any injury to it.

A civil war is upon us – cannot we here covenant and agree, we will strive to keep all commotion outside Bessbrook, and tho' often tempted, give each other no cause of offence inside Bessbrook and keep it outside the war area and get our friends to do so.

Against sporadic mob attack, like sporadic loafers from Newry out for plunder, I would not object to arm respectable men of both sides with bludgeons at the gates. Having done this I would commit myself and mine to God, who has our hairs numbered. If He choose He can protect us from any harm – and I believe would do so – if not, I should fall in trying to do my duty, as I conceive it.

I fully recognise however that my colleagues do not accept this conception of duty – several of them are the descendants of distinguished soldiers and I entirely respect their views. In anything the majority see fit to do for the protection of the property entrusted to them, I shall not thwart the course of the majority, but of course might have (tho' with great regret) to dissociate myself from that course. Again I recognise the property is only partially mine, and I cannot enforce my views on those whose faith does not lie in the direction of mine – or perhaps I had better say conception of duty.

Hitherto I have spoken as a 'Friend' – now for a moment I speak as tho' one of the majority who has no war scruples, but who goes by ordinary expediency – and would place the following ideas before the majority:

1. Just consider – you want to protect a large property? would it not be better protected by such neutrality as I suggest rather than by arming. Remember we are already paying for Insurance at Lloyds at War risks and the property is covered. For if you arm the Protestants with lethal weapons you will make the RC's hostile, whereas at present they are all very well affected towards the place and the employment, never more so. If hostile, they could get any amount of help from the Southwards.

2. If you arm the Protestants lethally – and loss of life should ensue – it will have been taken without any legal authority. Sometime, order will be re-established and whoever has taken life or given an order for it to be taken, will be liable to be had up for murder.

3. We look to carrying on this place in the future. If any fatalities should take place among the RC workpeople or their relations, it would never be forgotton or forgiven for a generation, their goodwill would pass – only the scum of them would work here – where would you get others to replace – You might send for Chinese, for the Protestants are too few to furnish workers now.

4. In case of fatalities, however peace were retored the present Managers could not manage the place. The RC's would not work under them. Mr. Scott might go; perhaps myself.

> I have only one word more to say beyond thanking the Board for listening so patiently to what may be called a sermon, except that if you do decide to arm, do it thoroughly: 300–400 men fully drilled and equipped. If I thought like you, I think I should arm and drill the Glenmore[48] men and hold them ready to come to Bessbrook at a moments notice.
>
> The board, Charles H.R. being in the chair, listened to me almost solemnly. The Chairman thanked me and said it was well for them to know exactly where 'Mr James' stood. (But with a gentle smile), it had been generally thought that Mr. James had used his stick and his fists more than most of them![49]
>
> A committee was struck off to report – Charles, Wakefield & myself with the Managing Directors – when we met some days after, the officers had struck at the Curragh and the tension had been relieved and the prospect of civil war postponed, so they asked me did I object to long police batons being supplied to the local Volunteers corps – to protect in case of sporadic riot – I said I had no objection tho' naturally considered my own plan the best. Decided that batons were to be supplied, but so far I don't think they have been supplied yet.'

The expected Doomsday situation has threatened over and over since then but faith in Divine Providence and the innate decency of the average Ulster citizen which sustained JNR, somehow averts the worst scenario.

August 1914 saw the start of the world war and so the local conflict in Ireland was temporarily eclipsed. JNR, as the father-figure in the village of Bessbrook, bade good-bye to those who volunteered for war service. To them he presented a small Testament, a penknife and a card with his own verse, entitled, 'The Boys of Bessbrook'. He was a frequent correspondent in keeping contact with local lads at the Front, and in many cases, sympathizing with the bereaved.

At that time linen was required for aeroplane covering so the usual paradox was seen in Bessbrook as elsewhere; prosperity and financial security alongside the agony, heartbreak and grieving of the next-of-kin. Time of war regularly brought boom conditions to the fluctuating linen trade. During the American Civil War shortage of cotton from the Southern states gave linen a great boost. In 1914–1918 and later, in 1939–1945 the Bessbrook Company did not demur in providing materials for the war effort.[50] Management of the Company had decreasing Quaker influence so full employment and full order books were seen as over-riding conscientious scruples. In personal life JNR retained his principles regarding involvement in war. To a sister -in-law he wrote, 19-7-1915:

> 'I notice that you were 'horrified' at Kathleen[51] not subscribing to the late War Loan and that you asked me did I? I am sorry to augment your horror but I did not – endeavouring as I do to make some futile endeavours after consistency – one of the most difficult things of life. I certainly can't hold an official position in the Society of Friends and subscribe to War Loans; one or other must go.'[52]

After the world war ended in 1918, there was continuing unrest in Ireland culminating in partition of the island. *The Friends Quarterly Examiner* in 1920 again sought comment and elucidation from Irish Friends.[53] Under the heading 'The situation in Ireland' two quite different viewpoints were printed. As in 1914 the Editor allowed anonymity. 'Two Ulster Friends' (possibly JNR and his half-sister Anne) again contended that Home Rule would be Rome Rule, so that local self-determination within Protestant Ulster had become their preference. The case for Irish independence and an honourable settlement was courageously presented by John M. Douglas.[54] The 'Two Ulster Friends' ominously concluded with the words:

> 'The events of the last year or two have, in our opinion, (we say it sorrowfully but emphatically) put back for fifty years all hope of union between Ulster and the rest of Ireland.'

Their prediction of fifty years now stretches towards infinity.

In the next year JNR died, on 11-10-1921, aged 75. The funeral procession through his beloved Bessbrook included,

> 'Canon Quin, the aged Roman Catholic parish priest, with three curates and Father Grimes, formerly of Bessbrook'.[55]

JNR was an Ulster Friend of his time and place. By inherited wealth and status he was a man of power, tempered with responsibility. In the preface to his book *Reminiscences of Friends in Ulster*, JNR reveals his personal reflections on the changes in spiritual matters which occurred during his life-time. Referring to the Society in Ulster, he wrote:

> 'it is on the whole a better machine, if I may so express it, for doing the work of a Christian body in the world, than when I was young. For instance, it was then - though in theory a Democracy – an oligarchy of a very pronounced type. A few wealthy and a few well concerned Friends held the discipline of their own hands; conducting it in gentle whispers, frequently inaudible to the meeting at large,...'

He appealed for a more reverent type of criticism and research into the Scriptures in these words:

> 'It may be the pernickitiness of years, but I dislike to see a Bible carelessly handled, ... or its texts alluded to in the flippant modern style of 'John three sixteen' – reminding me of the Irish priest who remarked to a tyro that was constantly alluding to the great Apostle as Paul: 'Shure, if ye can't bring yourself to say 'Saint', say Mister'!

JNR's sense of humour and his shrews observations on human nature were admirable sides to his personality; his several books bear this out. Being rather impatient and quick-tempered, he could acknowledge his own failings. Even yet, the older generation in Bessbrook village remember JNR as a commanding figure on a horse, scattering handfuls of copper coins for grovelling barefoot children.

JNR can be described in many ways, all of them valid: business tycoon, interesting raconteur, landscape artist, political activist, faithful Friend, landed gentleman, kindly benefactor. Christian conviction, as felt by Friends, shaped many decisions in his life. He had to learn to accommodate and adjust to other local opinions. It was a new experience for him when the Catholic priest stood up to the Richardsons. He must take some credit for applying Friends' principles to contemporary problems, so that the present Catholic priest in Bessbrook could write:

> '... the mill experience had a bonding influence and led to enduring friendships and good neighbourliness which continued and enabled the community to cope in exemplary fashion with the Kingsmill massacre,[56] avoiding civil strife and latterly ... to host a successful cross-community heritage week-end.'[57]

There are few writings on the particular challenges which Friends in Ulster have faced over the centuries. Looking for parallel situations, they are to be found in American Quaker history,[58] rather than in the British equivalent. Bessbrook was a Pennsylvania in microcosm. For several decades the power to create new structures of society was held by Friends. Eventually, compromises with the world dimmed the initial vision. Yet the opportunity had been grasped by a few of our Society who had vision, vigour and wealth. One of them was James N. Richardson.

W. Ross Chapman

NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1] Mollie Grubb, 'Abraham Shackleton and the Irish Separation of 1797-1803', *The Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, Vol. 56. no. 4, (1993).

[2] Properly, he was James Nicholson Richardson III. James N. Richardson I (1782-1847), of Glenmore, Lisburn, was his grandfather. James N. Richardson II (1815-1899), was an uncle.

[3] Books giving the family background are:
JNR, *Reminiscences of Friends in Ulster*, (Gloucester, 1911).
JNR, *The Quakri at Lurgan and Grange*, (1899).
Jane M. Richardson, *Six Generations of Friends in Ireland*, (1895).
C.F. Smith, *James Nicholson Richardson of Bessbrook*, (London, 1925).
T. Adams & W.B. White, *Bessbrook*, (Belfast 1945, enlarged 1995).

[4] *Reminiscences, op. cit.* p. 73.

[5] *'Concerning Servants'* by an ex-M.P., (Gloucester 1911).

[6] *Six Generations'*, p. 228.

[7] John Grubb Richardson's estate after his death in 1890 was £232,000. Public Record Office of Northern Ireland (PRONI).

[8] The Holy Experiment of William Penn was an inspiration, as also may have been the Malcolmson cotton village of Portlaw, Co. Waterford; see Desmond G. Neill, 'Portlaw', (1992).

[9] *Armagh, Orchard of Ireland*, p.67. (Dublin, 1962).

[10] *JNR of Bessbrook, op. cit.*, Chapter VI.

[11] *Six Generations, op. cit.*, p. 222.

[12] Anne Wakefield Richardson (1859-1942); lecturer in Classics at London University; she was one of those who gave an address to the 1895 Manchester Conference.

[13] Copy out-letter bookof JNR, in PRONI, D.2956/1-2.

[14] Thomas B. Keane, *Good Shepherd Church*, (Newry 1989).

[15] John Bradley, 'Canon Charles Quin and the Bessborough Commission' in *Seanchas Ard Mhacha* (1994), *The Journal of the Armagh Diocesan Historical Society.*

[16] *Convent of Mercy, Bessbrook, 1889-1989.*

[17] Oliver Murtagh, *The History of Lissummon*, Newry, 1994, p.26.

[18] *Seanchas Ard Mhacha* (1994), *op. cit.*, p. 134.

[19] *Ibid.*, p.136.

[20] PRONI D. 2956.

[21] Arthur P. Williamson, in 'Planning Perspectives 7 (1992)'.

[22] *Six Generations, op. cit.*, p. 243.

[23] Charles Russell (1832-1900); Catholic from Newry, studied in Dublin and Lincoln's Inn; called to English Bar; Liberal M.P. for Dundalk, 1880; successfully showed that the letters published by *The Times*, implications Parnell in murder, were forgeries; became Lord Chief Justice of England in 1895.

[24] PRONI, D. 2956.

[25] PRONI, D. 2956.

[26] S. Edith Richardson (1859-1953), twin sister of Anne W. Richardson; married George Williams in 1897.

[27] Two Catholic landowners in the south of Ireland.

[28] PRONI D. 2956.

[29] PRONI D. 2956.

[30] PRONI D. 2956.

[31] *The Friend,* 28 October 1921; JNR's obituary.

[32] *Newry Reporter,* 20 May 1909.

[33] *Seanchas Ard Mhacha* (1994), *op. cit.,* p. 135.

[34] *Reminiscences op. cit.,* p.72-73.

[35] *The Society of Friends in Ireland in 1896,* by 'A. Leinster Friend', p. 29-31. The author is assumed to be Thomas Henry Webb.

[36] Philip Orr, 'Friendly Society' in *The Belfast Review,* September 1985.

[37] *JNR of Bessbrook, op. cit.,* p. 57.

[38] In Library, Friends House, London; Tract Vol. K/124-125.

[39] *Ibid.*

[40] A 70-page report of the conference was printed; Library, Friends House, London, Tract Vol. 382 box 52.

[41] Library, Friends Ho. Tract Vol. 414.

[42] William S. Atkinson, Clerk of Belfast Preparative Meeting;
Samuel A. Bell, Lurgan; Recorded Minister;
James Green Douglas, Dublin; later Senator of Irish Free State.
'An Ulster Friend' JNR?
'Celt'
'English Settler'

[43] Letter 3-11-1913 to T.P. Willis; PRONI D. 2956.

[44] Letter 8-5-1914 to C.C. Deane: PRONI D. 2956.

[45] Letter 12-2-1914 to Mrs. Harden; PRONI D. 2956.

[46] PRONI D. 2956.

[47] Joshua Pim; an Elder in Belfast meeting. Charles H. Richardson, son of JNR's uncle Jonathan. Thomas Wakefield Richardson of Moyallon, only son of John G. and Jane M. Richardson.

[48] Glenmore, near Lisburn, where the original Richardson bleaching-greens were situated.

[49] It says something for JNR that he could admit to his quick temper and physical propensities. See also *Quakri at Lurgan & Grange, op. cit.* p. 105.

[50] 'Bessbrook', *op. cit.,* pp. 42, 45, 63.

[51] M. Kathleen Richardson, youngest daughter of John G. & Jane M. Richardson; married Samuel A. Bell of Lurgan.

[52] PRONI D. 2956.

[53] *FQE* Vol. 54 (1920), p. 407.

[54] John Mitton Douglas; brother of J.G. Douglas (note 38): Headmaster of Friends School, Lisburn 1929-1952.

[55] *The Friend* 28 October 1921.

[56] Ten Protestant men from Bessbrook were shot dead as a reprisal on their way home from work on 5 January 1976.

[57] *Seanchas Ard Mhacha* (1994), *op.cit.,* p. 137.

[58] Peter Brock, *Pioneers of the Peaceable Kingdom* (Princeton) 1968.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Nineteenth-Century English Religious Traditions – Retrospect and Prospect. Edited by D.G. Paz. Greenwood Press, Westport Connecticut and London, 1995. Pp. xiv + 232. £43.95.

In eight chapters the book covers the main Christian traditions in England, Freethought and the missionary movement. The aim is "to draw a picture of the state of research at the end of the twentieth century and to suggest directions for further exploration". Numerous footnotes to each chapter are effectively an up to date bibliography for their subjects. A select bibliography covers the major monographs in the whole field. Not all the references are completely accurate.

R.K.Webb contributes a chapter on Quakers and Unitarians. This begins with general observations and notes that much historical work has concentrated, for both denominations, on the influential families and individuals. He uses the Gurneys and Rowntrees as two examples of the ramifications of Quaker families with details of the numerous ensuing biographies. Involvement in business, education and philanthropy are covered. Webb then moves on to the internal life of the Society and deals with the controversies familiar to readers of this journal.

The serious student of the nineteenth century may well find a few sources unknown to him cited and Webb usefully draws attention to selected theses and articles in American journals. The *Friends' Quarterly* doesn't seem to be mentioned but the chapter makes no claim to be comprehensive. This survey will be very useful to those starting work on Quaker history or changing direction and as a refresher on sources to those who may feel that they have not kept up to date.

David J. Hall

'Wilt Thou Go On My Errand?' Journals of Three 18th Century Quaker Women Ministers – Susanna Morris 1682-1755, Elizabeth Hudson 1722-1783, Ann Moore 1710-1783. Edited by Margaret Hope Bacon. Pendle Hill Publications, Wallingford, Pennsylvania, 1994. $16.

Margaret Hope Bacon has made available to us in a very accessible edition three journals of American women Friends who travelled extensively in the ministry. A short and interesting introduction places them in context, describes the process by which a Friend became a minister and eventually obtained a certificate to travel in the ministry and then reminds us that women numbered about one third of travelling ministers in the eighteenth century. Punctuation has been modernised though there are still some extraordinarily long sentences and the eighteenth century capitalisation of many nouns removed. The notes are almost entirely biographical, usefully and concisely identifying those individuals named in the text. A few terms and expressions unlikely to be familar to modern readers are explained. There are some useful hand-drawn maps but most of the other illustrations seemed a distraction. The list of other Quaker women's journals is valuable.

These journals are an indication of the very active work in the ministry of many eighteenth century Friends. Those accepting the traditional picture of eighteenth century Quietism may be surprised by that but Quietism should not be equated with inactivity. Travelling ministers spoke not only at Friends' regular meetings for worship but also in their homes and on occasion to special gatherings of non-Friends. Travel was arduous, often risky and at best uncomfortable. It meant long absences from home and family for the minister and usually her companion. For Americans this would have been true at home as well as when they engaged in transatlantic travel. All three came to Britain. Ann Moore also unexpectantly ended up in Spain and there is a narrative of her testing experiences. Her discussion with a Spanish Roman Catholic priest adds colour to her journal. On the whole though one must not expect exciting or picturesque descriptions. The journals are spiritual autobiographies not rich in facts beyond the lists of places visited and the names of Friends stayed with or encountered. Trials experienced on the journeys are recounted to illustrate God's mercies to the ministers. The journals are not therefore always comfortable or easy reading, they have a very formulaic nature with somewhat repetitive use of ideas and phrases. Of the three indices one is devoted to that part of religious language which Margaret Hope Bacon describes as "forms of address for the power that moved these women". Here the variety of terms used becomes apparent, 'God', 'the Lord', 'Almighty', 'Christ', 'Father', and 'Master' are all common but there are references to more than thirty others. Ministers spoke under guidance, sometimes to the disappointment of waiting Friends no words came in a long meeting; sometimes, to the subsequent regret of the minister, she ran ahead of her guidance and spoke prematurely. Elizabeth Hudson on one occasion called a meeting of non-Friends yet had nothing to say to them. At the end she explained this, the nature of ministry and the reasons for her silence, reminding the audience of the possible benefits of silent waiting. Dreams were important to these Friends.

The three journals have substantial common features. Margaret Hope Bacon tells us that there was an understanding that travelling ministers kept some sort of diary so that they could account for their time and money spent. The spiritual journey supplements that bare account and was often written for the family of the minister. Ann Moore's journal was edited for earlier publication by removing possibly controversial material. Elizabeth Hudson's seems to have been written with a future wider readership in mind and shows clearly that she had received the best education of the three. Susanna Morris wrote earlier and with less ease so that her work on a first reading is less rewarding than that of Ann or Elizabeth. While these journals are historical documents demonstrating the important role of Quaker women ministers they can of course be read too as spiritual writings of some contemporary value.

David J. Hall

'Go and the Lord Go With Thee!' . By Sue Glover. Sessions of York, pp. 75. £5.00 + p&p 80p. (U.K. only) or £1.60 (overseas).

The first Friends, who laid down the basis of Quaker visitation, believed that God does raise up individuals with a special gift and calling in ministry. This gift could not be imposed and came not through education but by the power of the spirit. *The Qualifications necesary to a Gospel Minister,* and the need for a thorough testing of the minister's concern, were described in detail by Samuel Bownas (1676-1750, pub. Pendle Hill 1989) and remain essential reading for everyone who may sense a calling which comes to a few Friends in every generation.

In 1939 there was a gathering of travelling Friends at Woodbrooke and during the decades of the forties and fifties the "Itinerant ministry" was on the agenda of the Home Service Committee. In addition to the programmes of the Travelling Secretaries there were also organised visits, particularly to small meetings, by groups of Friends, but by 1957 these had become difficult to arrange and were laid down. But the spirit did not die and in 1993 thirty-four "Travellers" met at Charney Manor to share their experiences.

Sue Glover's small book performs a most useful function in bringing historical and modern threads together. She prefers to use the term "Travel under concern" and mentions wider Quaker ministries for much of the travel in recent times has been to pronounce a particular, and in some instances secular, message whereas early Friends saw their task as one of "taking people to Christ and leaving them there". Whilst for some people today the affirmation that "Christ has come to teach his people himself" has no relevance, the basic Quaker message of the reality of trusting in the Inward Guide is still one that can transform lives.

As Friends down the years have found, having a concern to ministry laid upon one is not a comfortable experience. Today, testing a concern is often both difficult and disheartening for, as was minuted at the Equipping for Ministry conference in 1990, "the existing channels are not always appropriate" because those required to do the testing may have no concept of responding to a calling under concern.

Now that our Yearly Meeting is being called upon to re-examine our spiritual base, there is a great need of Friends who are able to be present for others and who, out of the depth of their own experience, can help them to deepen their spiritual life. Those who feel that they may be called to such a ministry will find much wisdom and practical help in "Go and the Lord go with thee".

Edward Hoare

Religious Dissent in East Anglia III Proceedings of the Third Symposium. Edited by David Chadd. Centre of East Anglian Studies, University of East Anglia, Norwich, 1996. Pp. 244. £10.

This volume contains two papers specifically on Quaker themes from the seventeenth century. Seven other papers range from late medieval to eighteenth century subjects. One at least should interest Friends. Christopher Marsh's paper 'Nonconformists and their neighbours in early-modern England' is chiefly concerned with the Family of Love in Balsham, Cambridgeshire and he has written elsewhere on that body as a whole. There are references to Friends, drawing on the unpublished work of T.A. Davies for Essex Quakers, and demonstrating that there was a measure of tolerance as well as persecution. Marsh argues for the value of very detailed studies of a small community (microhistory) as an indication of broader developments.

Kate Peters writes on 'Quaker pamphleteering and the origins of the Quaker movement in East Anglia 1652-1656'.This is really a study of the impact of itinerant ministers on East Anglia rather than a broader historical account of the earliest years of Quakerism in the region. A significant part of the paper sets the more general scene. There is a useful brief account of the beginnings of Quaker publishing. Much of the detailed account concentrates on Cambridge and Norwich though visits to Littleport and Ely by Burrough, Howgill and Fox are also described. Cambridge was an early focus for the itinerant ministers once they began to travel out of the north. Some account is given of the visits of Mary Fisher, Elizabeth Williams, James Parnell, Ann Blaykling, Richard Hubberthorne and Thomas Ayrey. Relevant tracts are discussed and examples given of the ministers travelling equipped with supplies of literature.

Matthew Storey contributes 'The defence of religious orthodoxy in Mildenhall in the 1690s, The "Quaker-Protestant" Debate'. This is based in part on the writings of Francis Bugg, Friend then anti-Quaker compaigner and Mildenhall parishioner, and of George Whitehead. There was local debate about the interpretation of the Act of Tolerance. The vicar of Mildenhall, Isaac Archer, participated in the controversy and took issue with Whitehead on Friends holding of separate women's meetings with no male minister or leader present, seen as another threat by the established church. The fiercely controversial Bugg saw Archer as an ally while Whitehead hoped that he would take a more moderate line. More importantly there were differences over the parties understanding of the Incarnation. The account of theological points is clearly presented.

David J. Hall

Pilgrims in Hindi Holy Land. By Geoffrey Waring Maw. Edited by Gillian Conacher & Margaret Sykes. Sessions Book Trust, York, 1997. 176pp., 1 fold-out map, 30 illustrations. £7.50 + £1.00 p&p (UK)/£2.00 (Overseas).

Geoffrey and Mildrew May were Quaker missionaries in India for 35 years from 1910. When family commitments allowed Geoffrey, dressed as a *Sadhu* - a holy man, became a pilgrim walking to the source of the Ganges. This book is an account of these experiences which were taken from an intended publication which he compiled from his journals. The editors have retained his original writing and thus have preserved the freshness of his observations and insights. He finds excitement in new friendships and in the ensuing debates on spiritual matters.

The first pilgrimage was undertaken in 1923 when Geoffrey was 37 years old. (I had to find this out separately as unfortunately there are no biographical details). The Indian Himalayas are spectacular but conditions at that time were extremely primitive and the infrastructure barely able to support the thousandsof often elderly pilgrims walking hundreds of miles to their spiritual goal. Geoffrey who spoke Hindi was seeking people's motivations, and in the narrative this mixes well with descriptions of the pilgrimages.

I liked the incident in his 1930 pilgrimage when he was desperate to photograph the temple at Kedarnath backed by snowy peaks. Very early in the morning before the weather set in he hurried up the steep mountain track to the temple. On the way he came upon an ancient, abandoned and ill woman attempting to stagger up; to visit the river source one is cleansed of the past, thus enhancing one's next reincarnation. He could do no other than stop to help her and found himself occasionally carrying her like a bundle of bedding. When he finally arrived the gathered clouds had obscured the view, and then it snowed. But in the end he was rewarded by delaying his departure until only two hours before nightfall and seven miles to travel. He was waiting and freezing in the cold and the clouds suddenly parted for the photograph.

In spite of an arthritic hip Geoffrey made a shortened fifth pilgrimage in 1948 using the now improved roads and transport. I have trekked on parts of his route so I can testify that these pilgrimages are indeed addictive.

For those wishing to study the customs and conditions of Indian pilgrimages this is a useful book although the original material should be consulted – a copy is held at Friends House. A fascinating book but I found the lack of an index a disadvantage.

Ben Barman

Embers of War. Letters from a Quaker Relief Worker in War-torn Germany. By Grigor McClelland.
British Academic Press. Pages 230. Illustrated. £25. p. & p. £1.50

As a conscientious objector and member of the Friends Ambulance Unit since 1941, the author arrived in Germany at the end of World War 2 as leader of a small section of the Unit (usually around a dozen) to do relief work. Fortunately for us, from May 1945 until June 1946 he wrote frequent, regular and discerning letters to his parents describing his activities and thoughts. Equally fortunately his parents preserved these letters and they form the basis of this book.

He himself refers to his "worm's eye view" of what was, of course, an enormous canvas. Europe was devastated by material destruction from bombing and battles and the chaos was added to by vast movements of "Displaced Persons" arising from widely different circumstances and nationalities. The impact that a tiny organisation like the FAU could make on this situation was obviously limited, even when working as they did under the auspices of the British Red Cross and in association with Military Government. However, the achievements described in these letters remain remarkable and are a reminder of what 'pacifists on their mettle', which was what the FAU was, could do; with a membership never much over 800, most of whom were in their twenties, it yet found its way, in a world at war, to do worth-while work in the Quaker tradition as far afield as China and Africa, throughout Europe, as well as in the UK.

Initially the work described in this book was with "Displaced Persons", many of them Poles, and involving contact with Russian Liaison Officers. This includes the period of the "non-fraternisation regime" when it was seriously thought that by edict, the occupiers could be prevented from fraternising with the defeated. Fortunately this regime did not long survive the realities of human nature so the Quaker difficulties about it were not severely tested. Within a few months direct work for the relief of suffering among the German population of Dortmund was being undertaken, in the same tradition as the Quaker relief work in Germany in

1920 and subsequently.

The letters are rich in description of, and reflections on, human contacts, for which the author clearly has a gift. British Army Officers, German politicians and local Government officials, pastors, Nazis, Communists, family and Quaker contacts all appear. Coupled with thoughts on guilt, reconciliation, re-education, they make for an absorbing read, well justified by the author's concluding words, "To think back to the embers of the Second World War is to re-focus my attention on what can be done to tackle the causes of avoidable human suffering – oppressive regimes, the resort to war, the inhumanity of man to man, and the social structures and values systems that too often promote, but could inhibit, these evils".

The book represents a remarkable recall of the events of over 50 years ago, thanks in part to the survival of these contemporary letters, but also I suspect, because of the author's orderly mind. Lavish notes, carefully researched, together with an Appendix, introduction and postscript, effectively set the wider scene.

In the light of this immaculate presentation it seems pedantic to point out that the captions to Plates 7&8 have been reversed but they sprang to my notice as I am the blurred figure at Gerald Gardiner's elbow, astride the motor-cycle which I later rode down the ramp of a Tank Landing Craft on to a mercifully peaceful Normandy beach. My subsequent FAU service took me to France and Austria, rather than Germany, but familiar names of FAU members have made reading this book something of an exercise in nostalgia.

Duncan Jones

NOTES AND QUERIES

Birth, Marriage, and Death – Ritual, Religion, and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England. By David Cressy. Oxford University Press, 1997.

This wide-ranging volume, with main sections on birth, baptism, churching, courtship, marriage, and death, has many references to events in various counties gleaned from evidence in the local records preserved in many shires and dioceses. Disarmingly, the author states: 'This study has taken many more years to complete than I originally envisioned'.

For Friends, there are more than a score of references. Quakers did not present children for baptism, and did not church women after childbirth. In the matter of marriage: 'Quakers in particular reverted to the medieval practice of unsolemnized matrimony by common consent' (p. 332). The author also quotes (from Ralph Thoresby's *Diary*) Grace Sykes's warning at a marriage feast, 'that Satan might not get advantage by our carnal mirth'. The author has sought out Guildhall Library manuscripts on burial grounds, and notes Oliver Heywood's remark by a Yorkshire clergyman that he (the parish minister) had not *persecuted* the Quakers, but prosecuted them 'out of principles of conscience, for I cannot endure that Christian people should be buried like a dog'.

Russell S. Mortimer

Sir Henry Vane, theologian – A study in seventeenth century religious and political discourse. By David Parnham. Madison: Farleigh Dickinson University Press – London: Associated University Presses, 1997.

This study of Sir Henry Vane the younger, the fruits of a doctoral dissertation, is of the republican politician, statesman and apologist for liberty of conscience, who appears fleetingly in early Quaker history. The book is furnished with an impressive array of notes showing extensive use of 17th-century and modern works dealing with, among other topics, Quaker biblical knowledge, theology and history. Commendably, the author has eschewed the snare of tinkering with his sources, and has in quotations 'retained original spelling, punctuation, capitalization, and italicization'.

Russell S. Mortimer

The three following baptism entries concerning Quakers in the parish register of *Ainderby Steeple*, West Yorkshire, have been brought to light by Mr. John Smurthwaite of the Brotherton Library, University of Leeds.

1759 John Appleton a Quaker of Warlaby Baptiz'd October the 24th
1794 George Flower of Thrintoft a Quaker was Baptiz'd June the 27th Thomas Flower of Thrintoft a Quaker was Baptiz'd June the 27th

Friends in the parish probably belonged to Northallerton Meeting in Thirsk Monthly Meeting.

Thrintoft or Thruntoft, and Warlaby, places in the parish of Ainderby Steeple were in the wapentake of Gilling East, North Riding of Yorkshire.

John *Appleton*, baptised 24 October 1759, was probably the John, born 1 x[December] 1736, son of John Appleton of Northallerton who married Martha Emmott of Farfield Meeting in 1733. The register entry for the marriage is incomplete, but the monthly meetings' minutes for Knaresborough and Thirsk provide corroborative evidence for the marriage having taken place. John Appleton (Northallerton Meeting) - perhaps the father - was disowned for "drunkeness", 23 xii 1741 [February 1742], by Thirsk Monthly Meeting [Brotherton Library, Clifford Street Archives, A 19.1, p.4]. This disownment may explain the absence of any surviving minute in the monthly meeting book when John, the son, went to church to be baptised – a ceremony which would have been omitted when he was born a Quaker in 1736.

The Ainderby Steeple marriage register has been consulted by John Smurthwaite, and it records:

> 1760 John Appleton and Dorothy Grindal of Warlaby married by banns
> Oct. the 24th.

Mr. Smurthwaite says that the banns register dates the marriage as 1759 (which is likely to be the correct year), and names Dorothy Grundy as the bride. The burial of one John Appleton of Warlaby, 2 March 1774, is in the burials register for the parish.

Entries for George and Thomas *Flower*, baptised 27 June 1794, poses a problem. Thirsk MM minutes for the period [Clifford Street Archives, F 3.5, pp. 381-2] provides entries for 14 ix and 19 x 1792 which show that Elizabeth Flower of "near Allerton", daughter of the late Thomas Flower of Thruntoft, was absenting herself from Friends' meetings, and attending the national worship. Friends decided to regard her as not in membership with her.

Two months later, in December 1792, George Flower of Allerton Meeting was visited for non-attendance, and report came back that there "seems but little hope of his attending our Meetings better in future" [F 3.5, pp. 386, 390; 13 xii 1792, 14 ii 1793]. Worse was to come. In September 1793 Thirk MM minuted:

> 'This Meeting being informed of some disreputable Conduct of George Flower [three named Friends] are appointed to visit him, and give account to our next'. [F 3.6, p.6; 13 ix 1793].

The Friends appointed represented that they had

> 'an Opportunity with George Flower, and Some part of his Misconduct as fighting with a person, he Acknowledged.'

The minute continued,

> 'His Conduct and Non attendance of Meetings have been for alongtime disatisfactory to Friends',

a testimony of disownment was requested to be drawn up. [F 3.6, p.8; 14 xi 1793].

The testimony, disowning George Flower of Thruntoff as a member of the Society, for non-attendance, keeping unprofitable company, taking too much liquor, and fighting, was signed, read to him and read in Thirsk Meeting. [F 3.6, pp. 11, 13; 12 xii 1793, 16 i 1794].

Evidence is to seek to find whether Elizabeth, George and Thomas were of the same family; it is possible. John Smurthwaite has drawn attention to an early nineteenth-century Flower family memorial stone in Ainderby Steeple churchyard on which all three Christian names appear. A note in this journal (*Jnl. F.H.S.* vol. 56, no. 1, 1990, pp. 66-68) drew attention to some imperfections in the Thirsk records, and this may account for the insufficient evidence available now in these cases.

Russell S. Mortimer

A SQUIRE'S OPINION IN 1662

The pyramid and the urn: the life in letters of a Restoration squire: William Lawrence of Shurdington, 1636-1697. Edited and illustrated by Iona Sinclair. (Allan Sutton, Stroud, 1994).

In a letter dated Aug. 29, 1662, written to Isaac Lawrence,
the author prophesies doom:

> 'the Quaker and all the petty prophets begin to foresee their fall, and the whole crew of new lights which have thus long rambled about the lower region and misled many, are themselves lost; their opinions, like thin exhalations, being too slight and empty to burn long.'

PEACE MOVEMENTS IN WALES, 1899-1945

A substantial chapter with the above title appears, with other studies, in Kenneth O. Morgan's *Modern Wales: politics, places and people* (Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 1995).

'QUERIES FOR THE SELF EXAMINATION OF A TUTOR': EDUCATION IN A BYE-GONE AGE.

Preserved among the various collections housed in the National Library of Wales there is a miscellaneous volume of Quaker writings and social commentaries.[1] Within this volume is a transcript of an early Quaker manuscript entitled 'Queries for the Self Examination of a Tutor' which considered the deportment and teaching techniques of a schoolteacher. As the debate on educational standards continues to be at the heart of modern politics it is perhaps fitting that this pre-Dearing study of teaching methodology should be brought to a wider audience.[2]

Queries for the Self Examination of a Tutor

1st Am I particularly careful of my deportment and Expressions when in the presence of the youth not only in my school but at all other times & places?

2nd Do I endeavour at suitable seasons according to my measure to impress on the minds of children a just sense of the awfulness of divine worship and to be exemplary therein myself?

3rd Am I watchful over my own spirit and temper and careful to maintain a labour for solemnity in our school?

4th Am I concerned to distinguish judiciously when chastisement is really necessary, and to administer it coolly and prudently rather with a grieved than an angry countenance; desiring to punish rather by conviction than correction; agreeably with the gracious dealings of the great master with myself and mankind in general?

5th Do I embrace every suitable opportunity of inculcating the great doctrine of the sacred internal Principle as the primary rule of Faith & Practice and of the authority & verity of the Holy Scriptures, in subordination thereunto, with Gratitude to our bountiful Benefactor, Benevolence to all the human race and Tenderness toward every animal?

6th Do I oftener than in the morning breathe after the renovation of that wisdom that is profitable to direct not only in my steppings in and out before those over whom I am placed on accountable shepherd but in all my concerns through life in my Pilgrimage towards the Haven of rest and peace at last.

Richard Allen, Newport, Wales

[1] National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth. MS. 6415E.

[2] Ibid., 243-4.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

HAVERFORD COLLEGE FELLOWSHIPS

The Quaker Collection of Haverford College announces the availability of three $1500 Gest Fellowships for one month of research using Quaker Collection materials to study a topic that explores the connections and relationships between various ways of expressing religious beliefs in the world. The fellowships, which are available for pre- or post-graduate study, may be used for any one month period between July 1, 1998 and January 29, 1999. Application deadline February 2, 1998. Contact: Ann W. Upton, Quaker Collection, Haverford College, Haverford, PA 19041. 610/896-1161, fax: 610/896-1102.

CONFERENCE OF QUAKER HISTORIANS AND ARCHIVISTS, 1998

Proposals for papers on any aspect of Quaker history are invited for the twelfth biennial meeting of the Conference of Quaker Historians and Archivists. The meeting will be held at the Stony Run Meeting in Baltimore, Maryland, June 19-21, 1998. Send a one-page abstract to John W. Oliver, History Department, Malone College, Canton, OH 44709. Deadline is December 31, 1997.

PENDLE HILL SEEKS APPLICANTS
FOR SCHOLARSHIPS

PENDLE HILL is requesting applications for 1998-1999 scholarships. The **Henry J. Cadbury Scholarship** is awarded to a Quaker scholar with serious interest in Quaker faith, practice or history to work on a research project benefiting the larger Religious Society of Friends. Covers three terms of tuition, room, and board at Pendle Hill. The **Kenneth Carroll Scholarship** is awarded for one term of study in Bible and Quaker faith and practice. Other scholarships are available for people working in education or peace, or showing leadership in the Religious Society of Friends. **PENDLE HILL** is a Quaker center for study and contemplation established in 1930 as an experiment in community and education of the whole person. It is located on 23 acres of wooded grounds 12 miles southwest of Philadelphia, Pennyslvania, USA. For details and application, please contact Liz Kamphausen, Admissions, 338 Plush Mill Rd., Wallingford, PA 19086 USA, (610) 566-4507, ext. 126, fax: (610) 566-3679. Applications due by March 15, 1998.

ERRATUM

VOL 57 NO 3 PAGE 276

The Lost Legacy?

Roger Poole and Charles Whistlecroft

Line 27 – 'can' should read 'cannot'.

Supplements to the Journal of Friends Historical Society

20. SWARTHMORE DOCUMENTS IN AMERICA. Ed. Henry J. Cadbury. 1940. £1.50

21. AN ORATOR'S LIBRARY. John Bright's books. Presidential address 1936 by J. Travis Mills. 1946. 24pp., 50p

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