The Journal of the Friends Historical Society

Volume 62 Number 1

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Annual membership Subscription due 1st January (personal, Meetings and Quaker Institutions in Great Britain and Ireland) £12 US $24 and to £20 or $40 for other institutional members. Subscriptions should be paid to Brian Hawkins, Membership Secretary, Friends Historical Society, 12 Purbeck Heights, Belle Vue Road, Swanage, Dorset BH19 2HP. Orders for single numbers and back issues should be sent to FHS c/o the Library, Friends House, 173 Euston Road, London NW1 2BJ.

Volume 62 Number 1 2010

THE JOURNAL OF THE FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Communications should be addressed to the Editor of the *Journal* c/o 6 Kenlay Close, New Earswick, York YO32 4DW, U.K.
Email: h-fg@hotmail.co.uk
REVIEWS: please communicate with the Assistant Editor, David J Hall, 125 Oxford Road, Cambridge CB4 3PJ.

EDITORIAL

The Editor regrets the late despatch of this *Journal.*

David J Hall investigates aspects of the distribution of Quaker printed literature within the different levels of the eighteenth century Society's structure in a richly illustrated Presidential Address.

Claus Bernet provides a valuable list, with a brief historical introduction, of the British and American Friends who visited German Quaker Meetings at Friedensthal, Bad Pyrmont and Minden between 1790 and 1899.

Through the exchange of letters between parents and son, Rosamund Cummings explores the progress of Joseph Bevan Braithwaite's legal education with the development of his Quaker faith during the early 1840's.

Roger T Stearn surveys the content and the limited success of Quaker public opposition to militarism, military training and conscription in early twentieth century Britain.

David Rubinstein describes the mixed Quaker response to the First World War from August 1914 to London Yearly Meeting 1915 which proved a crucial moment in preserving Quaker unity and preventing the Society collapsing into schism at that point.

The Editor welcomes articles or short items for consideration in future JOURNALS. He is willing to read drafts and advise where appropriate. He would like to include annotated Quaker historical documents, of reasonable length i.e not too long, from contributors

who have the expertise and enthusiasm to prepare them.

Contributors are advised to use the MHRA (Modern Humanities Research Association) STYLE GUIDE in the preparation of material. This is available from Subscription Department, Maney Publishing, Hudson Road, Leeds LS9 7DL (email: maney@maney.co.uk) or online at MHRA's website (*www.mhra.org.uk*).

The Editor's decision is final as regards publication or revision.

The Editor hopes that 2010 issue will appear before the end of the year.

Work is continuing on a *Supplement* to the *Journal*.

Howard F Gregg

SPREADING FRIENDS BOOKS FOR TRUTHS SERVICE; THE DISTRIBUTION OF QUAKER PRINTED LITERATURE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

A more unwieldy clearer sub-title would have been "some aspects of the distribution of Quaker printed literature in (mostly) England, in (mostly) the eighteenth century." It is not about the act of printing though some printers will be mentioned, and it is not really about the decisions leading up to publication except that the print run of any title is an aspect of its distribution. It would be wrong too in my period to assume that only the printed literature matters, oral transmission may have very important if only sporadically recorded, and some literature, journals for example, continued to be circulated in manuscript.

My period follows on from a better known one of strenuous effort by Friends to distribute literature amongst themselves, to enquirers and to other potential readers.The flavour of the last decade of the seventeenth century and the first of the nineteenth in English Quakerism seems to be similar enough to that of the eighteenth to justify occasional examples from either. I have done virtually no work on Ireland, Scotland and Wales, that is why they are almost overlooked here. The recently published *Oxford History of the Irish Book* says:

> Protestants in Ireland, keen to stress that theirs was a religion of the word, insisted that it should be printed well as preached... the Quakers attended assiduously to this matter. However the Society of Friends still availed itself of scribal publication.[1]

It would have been possible to write a version of this paper just about North American Quakerism, even relying entirely on secondary sources. The trans-Atlantic movement of Friends' books, first eastwards then increasingly in both directions is of great importance. In the introduction to his 1960 collection of essays *Quakers and the Atlantic Culture* Frederick Tolles argued: 'Such was the cultural homogeneity of English and American Quakerism, at least down to the end of the eighteenth century, that I have felt justified throughout these essays in writing of the Society of Friends as one community.'[2]

Here I will only give occasional North American examples. Early in the eighteenth century there are numerous references in the minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings to books being supplied to Friends in North America and the West Indies, both standard Quaker literature and texts with a particular local relevance. In 1704 the Yearly Meeting in Pennsylvania wrote about their lack of a printer, hoping to recruit one from England, also sending single copies of three books costing nine shillings and asking for 200 copies of George Bishop's book of 'ye Suffering of Friends in New England.'[3]

So what aspects of distribution will be described here? The national system of distribution to Friends' meetings, undertaken by the Society's printer but directed mostly by the Meeting for Sufferings and the interaction of quarterly and monthly meetings covers the acquisition of books and pamphlets for meetings, individual Friends and onward distribution to non-Friends both in Britain and abroad. Local or individual initiatives could also result in publications, with or without consultation with the centre. Then there is the determined effort centrally to use Quaker literature wisely to reach people of influence at home and abroad, and to answer the accusations of anti-Quaker publications. There is the distribution of secondhand Quaker books. The whole paper gives an impression of the situation, not a definitive account. More work on the minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings and especially on local meetings' records where my use has been highly selective could produce interesting new material though it might simply confirm the general picture given here. It would probably add significantly to the picture of Quaker publishing outside London. All this could contribute a specialist aspect to the history of the book in England.[4] My theme is not especially original. Anna Littleboy touched on it in her 1920 presidential address to the Friends Historical Society.[5] Russell Mortimer went much further in his 1963 presidential address and two earlier articles and his work has been especially useful in thinking about Quaker printing and publishing outside London.[6] Some of the literature distributed in the eighteenth century will have been printed in the seventeenth. The recent completion of the retrospective cataloguing of printed material before 1801 in the Library of the Society of Friends means that we now have a much better idea than hitherto of the total number of titles. The Library holds more than 3,700 titles printed in the eighteenth century. Some of these are non-Quaker for example reference works on law or dictionaries; some anti-Quaker, though not such a high proportion as in the seventeenth century. The figure includes every separate printing of a title. The end figure for different Quaker publications will be rather lower than 3,700.

The first example in my main narrative seems to me to convey the possible impact of the gift of books in the early eighteenth century rather better than those that follow. This impact can easily be overlooked today when we are used to an abundance of cheap books and an overwhelming amount of material in print, not to mention information from newer media. Christopher Story, travelling to Ireland via Scotland in 1701 notes that Gilbert Molleson and some other Friends born in Scotland had provided 'some Friends books relating to the principles of truth, to be spread abroad in that nation'. He continues:

> Another Friend and I, going to visit Friends in Ireland, and our way being through the west of Scotland we looked upon this a fit opportunity to disperse the books in that part of the nation, and four honest Friends going along with us, we had travelled but a little in Scotland, till we came to a country place where there was a mill, and several people about it. We passed by, and being gone but a little way, became uneasy, and not willing to miss the first step, we sent two Friends back again, with two of the books, who told the people that some of our Friends... in love to their country had sent these books to be distributed as a free gift... desiring them to peruse them, and let others have the reading of them. The people with great thankfulness received them; and almost in every town we gave the like account, and the people were so pleased, that some offered money, others desired us to drink, but as the books were a free gift, we could not accept anything on that account... [and in Dumfries, after a public meeting] the people were very desirous to receive the books, it seeming to be what they wanted, that if we had given more than we did, there were persons to receive them with great freedom... [and at Port Patrick] the last night we were, having part of the books to dispose of... [the] gift seemed more acceptable to many of them than if we had given them money.[7]

The best documented aspect of the distribution of Quaker literature to the whole country is that recorded in the minutes of the meetings at the national level which can be enriched from the records of meetings at various local levels. Russell Mortimer describes the basic central system very clearly, making three important points:

1 Friends were saved the work of central organization for distribution of their works. The printers undertook the clerical work, warehoused the stocks of books, and collected the money

for books sent down to the counties.

2 The printers working in close co-operation with Friends provided those whose duty it was to authorize publication with first hand information on the state of the market demand for various types of books.
3 Friends' subscription method provided an assured market for the product of the press - either by individual proffer to take off a fixed number of a work, or by the quota system by which each county took a fixed proportion of each work produced.[8]

Rules were made by Friends to ensure the effective operation of the system as in the 1693 advice issued as a printed document by the Meeting for Sufferings quoted in part here:

> Renewed Advice To the Respective Monthly and Quarterly Meetings in England and Wales For Preserving and Spreading Friends Books for Truths Service. From the Meeting of Sufferings in London. Dear Friends, With our dear Love in the Truth unto you all, Therefore to let you understand, That our Friends have at several *Yearly Meetings* had under their serious Consideration, how all those Books that are Printed for the *Service of Truth,* and in the Unity of Friends, might most effectually be spread for General Service to Truth, and Information unto Friends and others: And at the last *Yearly Meeting,* who accordingly have taken Care and Pains therein, and settled as followeth.
>
> That those that Print Friends Books, shall the first Opportunity after Printed within one Month at most, send to one of the Correspondents in the several Counties, *viz.*
>
> For Your County, two books of a sort if under Six Pence for each *Monthly Meeting* in your County, and but one of a sort if above Six Pence *per* Book for these reasons.
>
> *1st.* For Friends to have General Notice of what Books are Printed.
>
> *2dly.* That they may send for what other Quantities they may see a Service for. And
>
> *3dly.* That the Printer may incouraged in Printing for Friends,
>
> *4thly.* That one Book at least of a sort that shall be Printed [except Collections] may be kept in each Monthly or Quarterly Meeting, for the Service of Friends and Truth, as there shall be occasion for the future. And was agreed at the yearly Meeting 1692. To be

Recommended to the Quarterly or Monthly Meetings, and desired by the said Meeting 1692 in the Printed Epistle.

5thly. Its agreed, that for Incouragement the Printer will allow two pence in the Shilling for all such Books.

6thly. Its agreed that some here shall be appointed two or three Weeks before each Quarter Day to Examine the Printer, to see that they send no Books but such as are approved by Friends, and no more than two of a sort as aforesaid; except the Friends in the County shall write for more, which its hoped they will not fail in, as they see a Service for them.

7thly. Its Agreed or Advised, that the Printers Account be fully cleared once a Year at the least by those Friends the County shall send up to the Yearly Meeting.

8thly. Its Agreed that the Name of the Printer Imployed by Friends should be sent, with Directions how to write to him.

And Dear Friends and Brethren, Its tenderly and in Brotherly Love Advised and Recommended unto you, That ye be careful and diligent in the spreading of all such Books that are Printed for the *Service of Truth,* and are Written either in defence of it, or *Christian Doctrine,* or *Holy Profession,* or by way of *Epistle, Warning, Caution, Exhortation, or Prophesie.* That so we may not be any way or in any wise Remiss or Negligent in promoting that Holy and Eternal Truth it hath pleased Almighty God to bless us with the Knowledge of, and hath Raised us up to stand Witness for, in our Age and Generation, nor nothing may be wanting on our Parts to promote it, and the spreading of it, in order that the Nations may be Informed and brought into Knowledge of it, and therein come to know Peace and Acceptance with the Lord, and injoy his Blessing, For one End of the Lords Visiting us, and bringing us to the Knowledge thereof is, that we therein might be Instrumental for the good of others, and Faithfully serve him therein with our whole Hearts, and also with that Substance he hath Blessed us with, and made us Stewards of, that in the End we may give an account to him with joy, and may Receive the Reward of Eternal Life.
Signed on behalf of the Meeting for Sufferings in London the 18th. of the 6th. Month, 1693. By Benji.Bealing.

Our Ancient Friend, The Printer's Name is as followeth, to whom direct thus, For ANDREW SOWLE, at the *Crooked-Billet* in *Holy-well-Lane* in *Shoreditch London.* Who hath long Served Truth and Friends, and suffered very great Losses, and gone through many

Hazards and Difficulties, with sore Prosecutions for the same; is now Ancient and Dark-Sighted, but his Daughter TACE SOWLE, who understands the Business very well, Carries on his Imploy.

Or, To *Tho. Northcott* at his Shop in *George-Yard* in *Lumbard-Street London*: One that served his Apprentice-ship with one that Bound, and sometimes procured Books for Friends, and hath now for some Years past, in like manner been Imployed.

Postscript. *And this Agreement and Account herein sent, we think it needful you should Record it in your Quarterly Meeting Books, and Sometimes Read it for Remembrance and General Notice.*[9]

Things did not stand still, the contents of this paper were repeated, refined and amended and set down for permanent reference in the manuscript book of discipline, the *Christian and Brotherly Advices* of 1738 and its printed successors.[10] *Christian and Brotherly Advices* repeats a number of earlier advices, showing that they remained valid for some time. Points additional to the 1693 advice just quoted include: 'That no Old Books be sent to the Counties unsent for' (1672); that Friends in Scotland should take and pay for four hundred copies of any book printed in London written by a Scottish Friend as a contribution to the printing costs (1674); that the Meeting for Sufferings might decide to deliver books 'to the King and his Counsel, the Parliament and other Persons, Magistrates and Governors within this Nation, as also in Foreign parts beyond the Seas' (1679); that the printer to Friends should send books to the London correspondents of provincial meetings, who would then forward them to the county correspondents (1691); that Friends should be encouraged to be diligent in spreading 'books which are Answers to Adversarys' (1697) and that when the Morning Meeting wanted to give away books 'in Truth's Service' it should notify Meeting for Sufferings first (1706).

The costs referred to in the 1693 advice were increased in 1695 to two shillings and sixpence and reduced in 1697 to two shillings. In 1732 Meeting for Sufferings' responsibility to distribute books was stated. In 1759 meetings were recommended to make catalogues of Friends' books they owned and quarterly meetings were to tell the next Yearly Meeting whether this had been done. In 1777 advice originally given on distribution in 1682 and 1684 was reiterated:

it is agreed and desired, that every Quarterly Meeting in each County, take care weightily to consider, and advise amongst themselves, such Way, Method, Place and Places as are fit to sell,

> publish and dispose of Friends Books given forth for the Service of Truth, and the Numbers they would receive...

Earlier advices were repeated again in the first printed books of discipline. A 1754 advice was added to the 1783 edition recommending providing the families of poor Friends with Friends Books 'particularly such as are adapted to the instruction and edification of their children'.[11] In 1802 an advice from 1801 recognised that authors might publish or reprint their own works at their own risk if the text was approved by the Morning Meeting.[12] All these rules were intended to achieve an effective distribution of literature published by or for the Society centrally, most of which was printed by the Society's designated printer.

Sometimes the Yearly Meeting made the decision about printrun and distribution. For its annual printed epistle the run increased in the 1730s and 1740s from 2,000 to 3,500. In 1737 4,000 copies of the *Rules for Removals and Settlements* were to be printed, and distributed in proportion with epistles.[13] In 1744 1,000 copies of *Advice to Church Wardens* were to be distributed in the same way.[14] In 1747:

> Two Small Tracts being reprinted by Order of the Morning Meeting & Meeting for Sufferings for Information concerning our Principles, intended to be given Gratis and spread as Friends may see a Service. One Friend of each County is desired to stay in this Place after the Breaking up of this Meeting, in Order to make a proper Division of the same amongst the several Counties.[15]

More usually these matters were dealt with by the meeting for Sufferings. The Morning Meeting's minutes usually cover the stage before determining quantities and distribution, the meeting considering the author's manuscript and whether or not it should be published. Sometimes these records shed light too on literature that was not printed by the Society's printer but which ended up with a provincial imprint.[16] The division between the work of the two meetings is not always as clearcut as that may suggest. Yearly Meeting's involvement also extended to some substantial publications, going into great detail for example on Besse's three volume *Abstract of Sufferings* published from 1733 to 1738, as well as receiving reports from and referring questions to Meeting for Sufferings.[17] In 1732 a printed proposal for printing the abstract by subscription was issued by Meeting for Sufferings, a format that was followed for a number of other titles. My examples here are based on examining a sample of

Sufferings minutes, not those of the whole century.

The 1701 printing of Barclay's *Apology* is a good example. In 1699 Meeting for Sufferings heard that the Morning Meeting had read through the *Apology* with a view to reprinting it.[18] At the next meeting it was decided that the reprinting should be with the intention of giving away a substantial number of copies.[19] A week later a draft proposal for reprinting the *Apology* by 'a volluntary subscription' was brought to Sufferings and at the beginning of the next month this was sent to thirty-six counties, i.e. quarterly meetings.[20] Early responses were that Kent would take forty copies, Cornwall twenty-four, Westmorland fifty and thirty each for Staffordshire and Huntingdonshire.[21] The orders swelled early in 1700, larger quantities being wanted by some counties, 129 by Oxfordshire, 231 by Nottinghamshire, 247 by Somersetshire, 250 by Lancashire and London monthly meetings, 145 for Southwark and 536 for Devonshire House.[22] Tace Sowle quoted a price of 2s6d bound in calf for each of 4,000 copies.[23]

A more complicated project was the publication of Barclay's *Apology* in French. It was decided early in 1700 that 1,500 copies would be printed, Meeting for Sufferings meeting the cost.[24] Printing was completed in 1702 and a committee appointed to consider the distribution of copies.[25] The list included 100 copies for Holland, thirty for Canterbury and Dover, twenty-five each for Bristol, Harwich and Denmark and twenty for Newcastle.[26] A year later it was noted that the bulk of the printing, almost 1,100 copies, had not yet been distributed.[27] Sufferings also decided to send copies to Friends in Lichfield and Nottingham for French prisoners there.[28] Years later in 1735 Sufferings heard that three copies were required 'for a Friend in Spittlefields to hand among the French People' and agreed to this, so stocks were still available.[29] So Sufferings could be concerned with the distribution of very small numbers of books as well as whole editions. 1735 was a year when there was some demand for French books, four other instances early in the year accounted for thirty-seven books of four different titles.[30]

The orders that came in for the 1736 edition of Barclay's *Apology* justified a printing of 4,000 copies on small paper and 2,000 on large. There was the usual variation in size of orders from the counties, London ordered 1,538 copies.[31] At the end of 1739 958 copies were available.[32]

There are number of examples where there was some degree of urgency in getting literature printed. These usually refer to brief texts for a non-Quaker readership such as the members of the House of Commons. On 28 11th. Month 1703 Sufferings wanted 400 copies of

a document on the Printing Bill printed by the next morning to give to Parliament.[33] 1,000 copies were printed within four days in 1704 of *Considerations on the Bill for preventing occasional Conformity,* twelve Friends were appointed to attend parliament with it the day after its delivery from the printer.[34] Next year 2,000 copies were required by the next evening of *Some considerations on a late Bill, intituled, An Act for preventing occasional conformity,* to be sent to correspondents for distribution to the counties.[35] Another kind of political need was to answer adverse publications. At the end of 1707 600 copies of *George Whitehead's Protestation against Francis Bugg's Persecution and Abuse of the People call'd Quakers...* were required, this time to be delivered to the members of parliament by the printer Thomas Raylton.[36] Francis Bugg's anti-Quaker campaigning generated a good deal of printing. On 15 1st month 1708/9 Sufferings noted that Bugg had just given fifty copies of his substantial *Quakerism Anatomiz'd* and of an abstract of it to members of the House of Commons so had 600 copies of *Observations on Francis Bugg's Abstract* printed and given to parliament.[37]

A more restricted gift resulted from the 1707 decision to give a copy of Barclay's *Apology* to each Scots member of each house of parliament, seventy in all.[38] The *Apology* was the most popular work for presentation to non-Friends. In 1736 Meeting for Sufferings agreed to give both the *Apology* and the *Abstract of Sufferings* to each member of both houses of parliament, 576 copies were delivered with forty-six more later. Friends were appointed to deal with the delivery to persons of distinction as quickly and privately as possible, and only by the appointed Friends.[39] In 1738 twelve copies of the *Apology* were to be given to judges.[40]

The Meeting for Sufferings was not always able to meet requests to supply books. George Whitehead's 1707 *A Serious Examination of George Keith's Pretended, Serious Call to the Quakers...* was clearly popular. 1,500 copies had been ordered to be printed and it was presumably too late to change the order when Devon Quarterly Meeting wanted 500 copies. They were allocated 250, a good part of the print-run for one quarterly meeting, and North Wales had a slightly later order cut from 200 to 100.[41] In a later example. the *Collection of Testimonies* 1760, the print order was doubled from 500 to 1,000 but there were in fact two printings, presumably each of 500.[42] In 1761 Sufferings recommended sending the 144 copies of Penn's *Primitive Christianity* required to Ireland but the printer Luke Hinde said that only ninety copies were available and forty-eight were sent.[43]

Meetings for Sufferings also made decisions about copies of books

to go to their authors. Daniel Phillips was given fifty copies of his *Vindiciae Veritatis...* in 1707 to dispose of as he saw fit, published in 1703 this had perhaps been selling slowly. Richard Claridge was also to be sent fifty of his books to dispose of as he saw occasion.[44] Thomas Ellwood declined the offer of 100 copies of his *The Glorious Brightness of the Gospel Day...*and it was decided to send fifty copies to North and South Carolina and fifty to Virginia and Maryland.[45]

Two contrasting examples of gifts to non-Quaker individuals come from the minutes of Meeting for Sufferings but there should surely be instances in local records too. In 1735 Meeting for Sufferings heard that 'David Barclay Reports that he, this Day did Deliver One of his Late Father Robt Barcalys Apologys in English, to the Prince of Wales, which he received very favourably.'[46] In 1760 Sufferings gave three books to an attorney, Samuel Dickinson, who had been helpful in a dispute: Barclay's *Apology*, Pearson's *Great Case of Tithes* and the 1757 collection of acts of parliament relative to the Quakers.[47]

There were gifts to non-Quaker institutions too. In 1760 Meeting for Sufferings agreed to present nine titles to the newly opened library of the British Museum.They included Fox's *Journal*, the works of both Penn and Penington, Sewel's *History* and Barclay's *Apology*.[48] In 1799 Joseph Gurney Bevan attempted to obtain a complete set of the printed epistles of Yearly Meeting for the Museum.[49] He proposed to Sufferings in 1803 that selections of Friends books should be provided for public libraries in London. Two members were appointed to join him as a 'Committee on the selection of books to be presented to Public Libraries.' The process went on until 1811. The beneficiary libraries in London were those of Sion College, the Library of the Dissenters in Red Cross Street (Dr Williams's Library), the British Museum, the Methodist Preachers Library and the Surrey Institution. Three libraries outside London were added: the East India College at Hertford and the universities of Cambridge and Oxford. Copies of seventy six different titles were given to the libraries, Sion College receiving twenty, Cambridge thirty-one and the British Museum forty-five including Barclay's *Apology* in seven languages. The records of the process shed light on the availability of Friends books. Two of the original titles designated for Sion College were not available and others substituted, similarly five for the British Museum could not be found. Perhaps it was not surprising that Edward Burrough's *The Memorable Works of a Son of Thunder and Consolation*, 1672 was no longer available but John Gough's 1789 *History* was not either. Those available dated from the end of the seventeenth century to very recent titles.[50]

There could be many more examples of donations more locally, by

individuals or meetings. Local members of the Society gave books to the newly founded parochial library at Reigate in Surrey at the beginning of the eighteenth century. This served as a public library strong in theology.[51]

Quaker books were also distributed abroad, not just to Quaker meetings but in the same way as at home to prominent individuals and by travelling Friends simply to possibly receptive people they encountered. Once again Barclay's *Apology* figures prominently in the numerous references in the minutes of Sufferings. In 1760-61 David Barclay was given six High Dutch (German) copies of the *Apology* to give away, John Hill was given fifteen copies of Barclay's *Theses Theologicae* in French and Samuel Fothergill was given twelve of the High Dutch *Apology* and six of Sewel's *History* in High Dutch.[52] The quantities of books and pamphlets could be considerable. In 1736 a gift was made to a person returning to Norway to distribute in Norway or Denmark. This comprised seventy copies of Penn's *Key*, fifty each of Barclay's *Catechism*, and Dell on *Baptism* all in Danish and four of Barclay's *Apology*, one Latin, one English and two High Dutch.[53] A couple of years later another Friend was given six of each of four titles to take to Norway.[54] Six copies of the *Apology* in Danish were required in 1741 for ships' masters going to Norway and Denmark. The next year more Danish literature was required for ships' masters at Falmouth: six *Apologies*, twenty *Keys* and twenty of Dell on *Baptism*.[55] These accounts remind us of the continuing attempt to spread the Quaker word in Northern Europe.

The presentation of literature to foreign diplomats and sovereigns was also regularly considered by Meeting for Sufferings. In 1709 it was agreed to present a Danish diplomat with the *Apology* in English, French and Latin, it was not yet available in Danish.[56] Later that year the governors of New England and New York were to be given the *Apology* and Ellwood's *Sacred History*.[57] The *Apology* in French and Latin was given to the Prince of Modena in 1735 and to the French Ambassador, King and the Cardinal in 1737.[58] In 1738 the *Apology* was newly available in Danish. It was to be given to the Danish Minister and to the King and Queen of Denmark.[59] A High Dutch *Apology* was given to the Russian Ambassador for the Czarina; he received French and Latin editions too, as did the King of Sardinia. A minute in 1738 records the completion of presentations to all ambassadors except the Portuguese.[60] This situation certainly continued into the nineteenth century, Anna Littleboy's 1919 article 'Quaker Embassies a century ago' treats this, efforts by Friends to translate, publish and circulate selected Quaker works and the provision of Quaker literature in 1808 for the 2,700 Danish prisoners of war in England.[61]

The majority of Friends books may have been printed and published in London and distributed by the Society's printers on behalf of the Society or on their own account through the network of Friends' meetings. But there were others printed and published outside London, commissioned by meetings or by individuals, whether the author or a patron. These may have appeared to meet a specific local need, they may have been published with the approval of Meeting for Sufferings where it saw no need for the Society to organise publication or their publication may have been discouraged from the centre. Before looking at a number of specific examples approached from local records and studies I will say something about provincial Quaker printing and publishing. There is scope for a substantial study of this theme greatly aided by the inclusion of details of the collections in Friends House in the English Short Title Catalogue. Though there is useful evidence of this printing and publishing activity Russell Mortimer expressed some caution about reading too much into this and drawing conclusions not justified by circumstances:

> Printers congregated in local centres where there was jobbing and newspaper work for them, and pamphlet or book work might be quite a small proportion of their activity. Friends wishing to have something published would be limited in choice. Where a choice did exist, the selection of a printer for a certain piece of work by a Friend or meeting who did not consult London Friends might be made on many different grounds. The printer might even be a member of the Society, or one who had taken a Friend as an apprentice, or one who was known to be sympathetic, or one who had had satisfactory business dealings with Friends, or just one who was willing to do a good job of work, or the only one in the place.[62]

Mortimer is concerned primarily with printers and publishers. There is considerable overlap between the two, and booksellers, in the eighteenth century, looking at the eighteen names of those cited for the last quarter of the century in Edward Milligan's *Biographical Dictionary of British Quakers in Commerce and Industry 1775-1920* as involved in book related trades representing probably ten firms will illustrate this. [63] One was a bookseller, printer, publisher and stationer. I would have expected more than three of the ten booksellers to be stationers too. I would not have expected Stephen Ramplen of Ipswich to be a glazier and plumber as well as a printer. For the aspect of the distribution of books it is predictable in this

small sample that five booksellers were also printers and publishers, two more also printers, and two also publishers. There were twelve printers and nine publishers in all.[64] Mortimer says that up to 1750: 'Friends had had books printed and sold in nearly a score of places outside London' (provincial printing had begun a steady increase after the lapse of the restrictive Licensing Act in 1695.)[65] An examination of his list of printers and publishers outside London shows a dramatic increase in the second half of the century. It produces 119 individuals or perhaps 110 firms in 46 places in England; a further thirty-three firms in seven places in Ireland, Scotland and Wales combined. In England Bristol had fourteen firms, Norwich eight, Bath six, Birmingham five, Leeds seven and York eight. Dublin had twenty-one. It may sometimes be wrong to have inferred that two individuals bearing the same surname represent one firm. A handful of them, Lister in Leeds, Farley in Bristol, Fuller or Jackson in Dublin, will be well-known, others will have produced just one or two titles, some will not be Friends. In their output from 1732 to 1773 the Farleys printed approximately thirty Quaker titles of about 230 in all, but more than twice as many were works by John or Charles Wesley, including reprints.[66] Often eighteenth century imprints have a list of names of booksellers distributing a work as well as that of the printer/publisher.

Turning now to the evidence of local involvement with Quaker literature, based chiefly on local histories or published editions of minutes I will begin with Yorkshire. Pearson Thistlethwaite's careful presentation of material from minutes in his *Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting 1665-1966* provides a very rich account of various aspects of Quaker literature in Yorkshire.[67] He observes that Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting had three methods of determining how many copies of each book would be needed:

1. by deciding to buy a certain number for the Quarterly Meeting as a whole and then having a committee to decide on proportions in which they would be distributed to monthly meetings;
2. asking monthly meetings simply to order the numbers they wanted;
3. asking monthly meetings to invite subscriptions from individual Friends.

He records the quantities ordered by the Quarterly Meeting of forty-seven titles in the eighteenth century, in quantities ranging from fourteen, the number of monthly meetings in the Quarterly Meeting, to a staggering 3,000. There were twenty-five instances of

the order being for over a hundred copies, three of those were for over 1,000. There were large orders for some substantial books: 150 copies of William Penn's *Works* in 1724 and 642 copies of Barclay's *Apology* in 1734. In some cases it is clear that the orders were made up of copies for the meetings and for individuals, as in the 1731 order for 471 copies of Anthony Pearson's *Great Case of Tithes*, or 1,445 copies of David Hall,s *A Compassionate Call...* in 1748.[68] Sometimes the Quarterly Meeting appears to have met the cost of a purchase. In 1767 eighty copies of a new impression of Samuel Bownas's *A Description of the Qualifications necessary to a Gospel Minister* were to be free of charge to monthly meetings. The first printed book of discipline was only available to meetings so Yorkshire took fifty-eight copies. Once individuals were allowed to buy personal copies 219 of the 1802 edition were ordered.

To an extent the Quarterly Meeting sometimes acted in the same way as the Morning Meeting and Meeting for Sufferings, taking responsibility for producing literature for local use. It also forwarded material to London, for consideration by the Morning Meeting, which might be published there. Here are four examples of literature where printing, in quite large quantities, was arranged by the Quarterly Meeting:

In 1736 3,000 copies were printed of the small 1708 tract by Joshua Middleton, *A Tender and Compassionate Call to Prophane Swearers...* . It was printed in Leeds to be distributed among the Yorkshire monthly meetings. It was also printed in Dublin in 1736 and had been printed in Newcastle upon Tyne in 1735 for Durham Quarterly Meeting.[69]

In 1752 having decided that printing in London would be more expensive than in Leeds the Quarterly Meeting ordered 1,000 copies from the printer James Lister in Leeds of Sophia Hume's *An Exhortation to the Inhabitants of South Carolina, to bring their deeds to the light of Christ...* First printed in Philadelphia this was reprinted twice in Bristol in 1750 and 1751 and in London by the Society's printer Luke Hinde in 1752.[70]

Joseph Phipps [An Address] *To the Youth of Norwich Meeting*, was reprinted with a run of 3,000 copies in 1773 'by order of York Quarterly Meeting', for distribution to the youth of the county. This had been reprinted previously in Exeter and Dublin, in 1772 'by order of the Men's Meeting in Bristol' and a 1775 Lancaster printing 'by order of Lancaster Quarterly Meeting' before being printed by the Society's printer in London in 1776.[71]

Esther Tuke's [Epistle] To *Friends of York Quarterly Meeting, published by the direction* of that meeting justified 1,200 copies for distribution in Yorkshire.

Yorkshire Friends had an arrangement with a York bookseller Thomas Waite as early as 1673 to handle local distribution for them on commission. Other Quaker booksellers in York, Thomas Hammond or Nathaniel Bell, were used later. Thistlethwaite says that in 1777 the Quarterly Meeting asked monthly meetings 'to send in the names of local booksellers... or of other traders, in those market towns where there was no bookseller - who would be willing to act as agents for Quaker books published in London, on a sale or return basis'. It was possible to have books supplied unbound in York but cheaper if this was done in London. It was also cheaper for books to be sent from London by sea.

Though a very large quarterly meeting with a strong tradition of using and spreading Quaker literature Yorkshire's difference from others, including the London monthly meetings, is probably not great except for scale. Some of what can be found in local records or studies corresponds to the material in the minutes of Meeting for Sufferings for example on orders for the 1701 Barclay's *Apology*. Transactions on a smaller scale can be found in the local material. In 1713 the Gainsborough Monthly Meeting in Lincolnshire purchased six titles in a total of eight copies at a cost of 7s 3d for Brigg meeting and there are regular references to disbursements for books without naming them.[72] In 1712 the Longford Monthly Meeting in London: 'purchased a supply of R. Barclay's Catechism. Stephen Crisp's Primer, George Fox's Primer, for distribution amongst their young people; and increased their stock of those books a few years afterwards for the same purpose.'[73] Funds for acquiring books were not unlimited, in 1711 'we find a minute upon the occasion of a complaint having been made that Wandsworth Friends did not sufficiently encourage the printing of Friends' books' being explained by the poor current economic situation of local Friends 'when Trading in general is bad, as now it is.'[74]

Evidence will not be solely in minutes, a letter in the Cambridgeshire Area Meeting's archives shows the London printer writing directly about two titles to be dealt with in different ways in 1755:

> Herewith are sent fourteen Benj : Holms's Life and Works, which please to convey to your Quarterly Meeting, for the Monthly Meetings to distribute as they see meet; As they are free of all Charge, except Carriage, it is expected that Regard be had to such who may desire to have them, but are not so well able to purchase. - I am directed by Benjamin's Executor, and Friends concern'd to give this Notice. -

Please also to acquaint the Meeting, That I have just printed, price Nine pence, An Epistle to the inhabitants of Carolina wrote by Sophia Hume; occasioned by the last Inundation of the Sea, whereby Charles-town, the Capital of that Province, with all its Inhabitants, were in the greatest danger of being overwhelm'd.

As I have no Order to send the above Book through the Counties, those Friends who are desirous of having it, may be supply' by

Thy Real Friend
Luke Hinde[75]

Neither of the books in this letter is being distributed in the standard ways referred to before, the Holme is free of charge, the Hume a commercial undertaking by Hinde as publisher. A legacy from the author enabled the 1747 publication in Newcastle upon Tyne of *A Journal of the Life of Thomas Story*, a number of copies 'to be bestowed upon the Publick as the Author's Legacy'. The printer produced additional copies for sale and a study of the distribution of books in Gloucestershire Quarterly Meeting (which usefully supplements my general observations here) notes that seven individual Friends acquired personal copies. [76]

Meeting libraries, where they existed, continued the distribution of books to Friends, again and again. Here I can do little more than note that some existed in the eighteenth century. They will have acquired books through the usual routes, purchase, free distribution from the centre, gifts from individual Friends and bequests. There are a few good examples in Beck and Ball's *London Friends' Meetings*, soon to be reprinted (now available). In his study of Essex Quakers Adrian Davies notes that there are records of book borrowing in Maldon from 1707-11, that 'at one time or another all Friends in the Maldon meeting had books from the Quaker repository' and that in October 1711 sixteen Friends had borrowed books.[77]

The final aspect of distribution I want to look at is that of secondhand or out of print Quaker literature. Much of whatever evidence survives will not be in the usual sources and it may be possible to piece together a more substantial account from private archives and book trade records. That there was some market for older Friends' books does emerge from the minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings as well. In 1705 Dr Lower was asked 'to Buy up some of Robt. Barclay's Lattin Apologies for friends', this must refer to the original 1676 edition.[78] There are references to the purchase of books for the Society's library, sometimes anti-Quaker works but including

a few older Quaker writings such as Samuel Fisher's *Baby-Baptism* of 1653 in 1707.[79] A major purchase prompted by Yearly Meeting in 1707 was of the stock held by Thomas Raylton of books printed in his predecessor Andrew Sowle's time up to his death in 1695. Friends appointed to look into the matter reported to Meeting for Sufferings in 1709: 'Having inspected the Books we find many valuable ones amongst them worthy to be dispersed for public service where friends' poverty may hinder the buying of them...'. Eventually, a price of fifty pounds was agreed for 37,011 sheets, it is difficult to estimate how many books or pamphlets, presumably all unbound, this may have represented.[80]

The scarcity of the original edition of Fox's *Journal* was the opening theme in a single sheet printed prospectus from the Society's printer in 1708, inviting subscriptions for a new two volume edition. This noted that it was 'out of Print, and very Scarce those Four of Five Years past, Advanced to, and Sold for 20s per Book whereas the first Price was but 13s'. The offer was at an attractive price, eight shillings and six pence or seven shillings and six pence if six were ordered.[81] It shows that there were recognised secondhand prices for some Quaker books.

One excellent example of an individual Friend's book buying is given in Isaac Fletcher's diary, edited by Angus Winchester, which in an appendix based on his account books records the purchase of seventy-nine books between 1756 and 1781. At least twelve of these were Friends books, mostly bought in London or from a Cockermouth stationer and bookbinder. They cost between three pence and eighteen shillings. The cheapest was James Nayler's *Works*, 1716, bought in 1773 at the sale of a bankrupt Whitehaven Friend, the dearest Ellwood's *Sacred History* bought in 1756. In 1760 Robert Barclay's works cost thirteen shillings, presumably the three volumes of 1717-18 and 1761 Sewel's *History* fourteen shillings. Seven of the books came from Luke Hinde in London, three of these could be described as current editions, the others went back as far as 1703.[82] Are there more useful records like this that I have overlooked?

The sale of books by auction should be an aspect of their distribution. Information in auction catalogues is not always helpful, the cheapest books will not normally be identified, the purchaser's identity may only be known if a marked up copy of the catalogue survives, many books in London sales will have passed into the secondhand trade and smaller collections will often have been included in general sales of property with minimal descriptions. Serious and substantial libraries belonging to Friends may only have contained a small minority of Quaker books. 4,400 or so books of

Benjamin Furly were sold in 1714, the 1,600 titles belonging to Dr John Fothergill in 1781. Fothergill's friend Peter Collinson died in 1768, his books seem to have been divided between his son and John Cator, the latter portion coming to auction in London in 1987.[83]

The distribution of books by bequest may often have resulted in disposal by auction. Wills could be another valuable source of information but may only refer to books without listing them. On the death of William Mead in 1713 his son distributed amongst the various meetings in the county of Essex a library of Friends' books collected by his father.[84] In her thesis on Derbyshire Quakers 1650-1761 Helen Forde notes that eighteen of sixty-three wills mention books or had them recorded in the house according to the inventory after death; it can reasonably be assumed that a good proportion would have been by Friends.[85] A published abstract of wills in the Quaker records in Dublin gives selected details from 176 eighteenth century wills. Only eight of the abstracts mention books, two of them just a bible while two are of the wills of Quaker booksellers, another in 1727 leaves a bequest towards printing Friends' books.[86]

I hope that the account given here of the business of distributing Friends' literature is a fair one, and reasonably comprehensive in its coverage of the different aspects of that despite the necessarily selective examination of the evidence. I would have liked to be able to say more about private patronage in the publishing of Quaker books, about the distribution of books to poorer Friends, and especially about the creation and use of meeting libraries. There is scope for serious study of that last theme, perhaps building on work done and yet to be done by local historians.

David Hall
Presidential Address given at
Britain Yearly Meeting on 30 July 2009

NOTES and REFERENCES

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2. Frederick B. Tolles, *Quakers and the Atlantic Culture*, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1960), p.x.
3. Minutes of the Meetings for Sufferings - hereafter YM/MfS/M - and the Morning Meeting are quoted or referred to by permission of the Library of the Religious Society of Friends in

Britain - hereafter LSF. This extract is YM/MfS/M/17 p.173.

4. An up to date and detailed study of the English book trade in the eighteenth century can be found in James Raven, *The Business of Books* (New Haven Ct. and London, Yale University Press, 2007), especially chapters 5-10. The publication of volume V of *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, 1695-1830 is expected in the autumn of 2009.
5. 'Devonshire House Reference Library with Notes on Early Printers and Printing in the Society of Friends', *Journal of the Friends Historical Society*, 18 (1921), 1-16, 66-80; hereafter JFHS
6. 'Quaker Printers, 1750-1850', JFHS 50 (1963), 100-133; 'The First Century of Quaker Printers' JFHS, 40 (1948), 37-49; (1949), 74-84. 'Biographical notices of printers and publishers of Friends' books up to 1750', *Journal of Documentation*, 3 (1947), 107-125.
7. *The life of Christopher Story* in volume 1 of *Friends' Library*, Philadelphia, 1837, pp 160-1.
8. Mortimer, 'The first century...', 1948, 39-41.
9. The imprint is London, Printed for Friends, by *T. Sowle...*
10. The first printed book of discipline is *Extracts from the minutes and advices of the Yearly Meeting of Friends...* ([London]: printed by James Phillips, 1783), and the second, same title (London: printed and sold by W. Phillips, 1802).
11. *Extracts*, 1783, p.16.
12. *Extracts*, 1802, p.13.
13. LSF YM/M/8 p.319.
14. LSF YM/M/9 p.230.
15. Ibid, p.543.
16. The regulation of what was published has been described in David J. Hall, "'The fiery Tryal of their Infallible Examination'; self-control in the regulation of Quaker publishing in England from the 1670s to the mid 19th century", pp. 59-86 in *Censorship and the control of print in England and France 1600-1910* ed. by Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1992). Christine Trevett covers similar ground for Wales in 'Not fit to be printed'; the Welsh, the women and the Second Day's Morning Meeting', JFHS 59 (2001), 115-144.
17. *An Abstract of the Sufferings of the People call'd Quakers For The Testimony of a Good Conscience...* [compiled by Joseph Besse] 3 vols (London: Printed and Sold by the Assigns of J. Sowle, 1733-8).
18. LSF YM/MfS/M/14 p.65.
19. Ibid. p.70.
20. Ibid. pp.72, 85.
21. Ibid. pp.111-3, 128-31.

22. Ibid. pp.173-9, 200.
23. Ibid. p.211. It was to be bound by another Quaker printer, Thomas Northcott. Subscribers were to be asked to pay half the price in advance as usual and the printer would receive a loan of £150 to buy paper.
24. Ibid. p.222. The cost was to be 3s per book plus 8d a copy for binding (YM/MfS/M/15 p.94).
25. LSSF YM/MfS/M/15 pp.321, 325, 335.
26. LSF YM/MfS/M/16 pp.37, 42-3.
27. Ibid. pp.233-5.
28. LSF YM/MfS/M/17 p.195.
29. LSF YM/MfS/M/26 p.31
30. LSF YM/MfS/M/26 pp.7, 37, 45, 84.
31. Ibid. p.14. It was to cost 2s unbound, 2s9d bound for the small paper copies, 2s6d unbound and 3s4d bound for the large paper.
32. LSF YM/MfS/M/27 p.83.
33. LSF YM/MfS/M/16 p.331.
34. LSF YM/MfS/M/17 p.148.
35. Ibid. pp.216-7.
36. LSF YM/MfS/M/19 p.38.
37. Ibid. p.207.
38. Ibid. pp.209, 213.
39. LSF YM/MfS/M/26 pp.231, 240, 248, 251. vol. 27 p.34.
40. LSF YM/MfS/M/26 p.504.
41. LSF YM/MfS/M/18 p.321.
42. see my 'A Collection of Testimonies, 1760: a bibliographical note', JFHS 54 (1982) pp.313-6.
43. LSF YM/MfS/M/31 p.4.
44. LSF YM/MfS/M/18 pp.257, 255.
45. Ibid. pp. 268-9.
46. LSF YM/MfS/M/26 p.12.
47. LSF YM/MfS/M/30 p.380.
48. Ibid. pp.421, 435-6.
49. LSF YM/MfS/M/40 p.333.
50. LSF YM/MfS/M/41 pp.3, 10, 18, 59, 86, 107, 192, 257, 274, 379.
51. see David W. Williams, 'English Parochial Libraries' *Antiquarian Book Monthly Review,* April 1978. pp. 138-147.
52. LSF YM/MfS/M/31 pp.71, 73.
53. LSF YM/MfS/M/26 p.185, figures include extra copies added at the next meeting.
54. Ibid. p.524.
55. LSF YM/MfS/M/27 pp.263, 339.
56. LSF YM/MfS/M/19 p.220.

57. Ibid. p.355.
58. LSF YM/MfS/M/26 pp.84, 362.
59. Ibid. p.437.
60. Ibid. pp. 453-4, 456-7.
61. *Friends Quarterly Examiner*, 53, 43-9.
62. Mortimer, 1963, 116.
63. (York: Sessions Book Trust, 2007).
64. None were bookbinders but they may of course have employed binders. James Raven suggests (op.cit. in note 4, p.139) that a number of booksellers employed in-house binders.
65. Mortimer, 1963, 101.
66. The information about the Farleys was garnered from the on-line *Eighteenth Century Short Title Catalogue*, now incorporated in the *English Short Title Catalogue*, at a stage before the addition of details of LSF holdings to the latter.
67. (Harrogate: the author, 1979), pp.279-97. It must be treated with caution on some of the purely bibliographical information.
68. This, and perhaps orders from other quarterly meetings, may explain why it was printed twice in London that year.
69. Joseph Smith *A Descriptive Catalogue of Friends' Books* (London: Joseph Smith, 1867) vol. 2, p. 175.
70. Ibid. vol. 1, p.1019.
71. Ibid. vol. 2, p.413.
72. *The First Minute Book of the Gainsborough Monthly Meeting of the Society of Friends* 1669-1719, ed. By Harold W. Brace, 3 vols (Lincoln: Lincoln Record Society, 1948-51) III, p.43.
73. William Beck and T. Frederick Ball, *The London Friends' Meetings* (London: F. Bowyer Kitto, 1869) p.292.
74. Ibid. p.321.
75. Letter in Huntingdon Monthly Meeting papers, in the Cambridgeshire Archives at Shire Hall, Cambridge, reference R.59/25/10/9. I am grateful to Laurel Phillipson for drawing my attention to this letter. Published by permission of Cambridgeshire Area Meeting, Religious Society of Friends.
76. Ruth G. Burt, 'Quaker Books in the 18th Century From the point of view of a County Quarterly Meeting', JFHS, 38 (1946) pp.7-18.
77. Adrian Davies, *The Quakers in English Society, 1655-1725* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) p.113.
78. LSF YM/MfS/M/18 p.35.
79. LSF YM/MfS/M/19 p.29.
80. Ibid., pp.246, 311.
81. LSF Port. AA 102
82. (Kendal: Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and

Archaeological Society, 1994) pp.480-2.

83. Bloomsbury Book Auctions, 22 October 1987. It is not suggested that the sale was of the entire library; lots included six Quaker books, three of which had been in Collinson's library.
84. Beck and Ball, p.279.
85. (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Leicester, 1978), p.195.
86. *Quaker Records Dublin Abstracts of Wills* ed. by P. Beryl Eustace and Olive C. Goodbody (Dublin: Stationary Office, 1957).

QUAKER MISSIONARY WORK IN GERMANY FROM 1790 until 1899. LIST OF ALL ANGLO-AMERICAN VISITORS.

The first and only Quaker settlement in continental Europe was founded in 1792, when Duke Frederick of Pyrmont (1743-1812) permitted a group of Pietists to found "Friedensthal" (Peace Valley) near Pyrmont in the very heart of Germany.[1] The settlement consisted of several modern communal houses and workshops. Ludwig Seebohm (1757-!835), the master mind of early German Quakerism, operated a printing press and a paper factory, David Frank manufactured knives and Theodor Marschhausen directed the first German Quaker school. The significance of the prospering settlement lay in modern educational endeavours, such as liberal pedagogy, new Quaker literature, and the founding of a girl's boarding school by Judith Bawier. The spacious meeting house was build in 1800, the second one in Germany after Friedrichstadt (1678). Visitors to Friedensthal, who included poet Matthias Claudius (1740-1815), Princess Luise of Prussia and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, who however, did not ultimately become a Quaker.

The settlement maintained close contact with various Anglo-American Friends, who usually were appointed by their local meetings for travelling in the ministry. Over the nineteenth century, a constant growing number of visitors also came as tourists, without any certificate from their home meetings. The more prominent visitors included Thomas Shillitoe, Benjamin Seebohm, Stephen Grellet and Elizabeth Fry. Nearly all important Quakers of the nineteenth century come to Germany, some of them frequently. More than once you will find clerks among them or other important representatives of the Society of Friends. Three clerks of London Yearly Meeting (George Stacey, Josiah Forster and Joseph Crosfield) and no fewer than nine clerks from the Meeting for Sufferings as official representatives went to Germany during the nineteenth century.

It is surprising to learn that in the beginning most early visitors came from the United States, as the settlement was supported by Quakers from Pennsylvania and Baltimore first. The Napoleonic Wars ended the settlement's initial close bond with American

Quakers. Then the British Quakers entered the scene. A large number of visitors reported back to London Yearly Meeting about the inner and outer condition of several German Quaker meetings. Mostly they visited meetings in Friedensthal, Bad Pyrmont and Minden (what is indicated below by "F" for Friedensthal, "P" for Bad Pyrmont and "M" for Minden).

The list below is reconstructed on the base of published documents such as journals, memoirs, printed letters etc. Additionally included are unpublished records of the so-called "Zweimonats-versammlung" "(Two Months' Meeting), which maintained until 1898. The records are divided into three volumes, "Urkunden I/Minutes I" from 1814 to 1822, "Urkunden II/ Minutes II" from 1823 to 1855, and "Urkunden III/ Minutes III" from 1856 to 1898.

In this year, 1898, the regular meeting for worship was discontinued, but nevertheless contacts remained and Anglo-American Quakers still visited individuals, most of them elderly. Charles E. Stansfield (1865-1945) was the last foreign Quaker who visited the remnants of the Minden meeting in 1899. He reported back to England that "the meetings were very simple, very quiet and impressive. They seemed to me as the most vivid meetings that I have ever attended."[2]

The list below gives the names of the visitor, his/her dates (if known) and references for further reading. It emerged from an encyclopaedia project from 2000 to 2008. During these years more than 200 Quakers of all degrees, gender, century and branch were added to the *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexkon*, shortened BBKL. All entries of the BBKL consist of two parts, a full biography (German), based on the current state of research, and complete bibliography (primary and secondary works, both mostly in English). For those who need more information on one specific visitor free online access to the encyclopaedia is available under www.kirchenlexikon.de, www.bautz.de, or http://wissen.spiegel.de/wissen, the online-encyclopaedia of the noted German magazine "Der Spiegel."

Glossary:
F: Friedensthal (village near Hanover)
BP: Bad Pyrmont (spa near Hanover)
M: Minden (Prussian town)
J: journal
L: Library of the Society of Friends, London
bold print: American Quakers

Name/Dates	Visit	Online	Sources
Grubb, Sarah (1756-1790)	1790	BBKL, vol. 20, 2002, pp.656-658	J[3]
Beale, Joshua (1770-1815)	1790		Reference[4]
Dillwyn, George (1738-1820)	1790	BBKL, vol. 28, 2007, pp.450-452	Reference[5]
Dillwyn, Sarah (1738-1826)	1790	BBKL, vol. 28, 2007, pp.452-453	Reference[6]
Pemberton, John (1727-1795)	1794/5	BBKL, vol. 28, 2007, pp.1218-1222	Reference[6]
Wilson, Alexander (1766-1813)	1795		J[8]
Johnson, Benjamin (1766-1822)	1795/6	BBKL, vol. 2007, pp.874-875	J[9]
Sands, David (1745-1818)	1796/6 P/M	BBKL, Vol. 28, 2007, pp.1355-1356	J[10]
Dillwyn, George (1738-1820)	1795/6 P/F/M	BBKL, vol. 28, 2007, pp.450-452	Reference[11]
Farrer, William (1743-1836)	1795/6 P/M		Reference[12]
Dillwyn, Sarah (1738-1826)	1795/6	BBKL, vol. 28, 2007, pp.452-453	Reference[13]
Savery, William (1750-1804)	1795/6	BBKL, vol. 28, 2007, pp.1358-1361	J[14]
Harrison, Sarah (1746-1812)	1798	BBKL, vol. 28, 2007, pp.749-753	Reference[15]
Cook, Charity (1745-1822)	1798	BBKL, vol. 28, 2007, p.324	Reference[16]
Swett, Mary (1739-1821)	1798	BBKL, vol. 28, 2007, p.1497	Reference[17]
Stacey, George (1749-1816)	1798		Reference[18]
Jordan, Richard (1756-1826)	1801 P/F/M	BBKL, vol. 28, 2007, pp.875-877	J[19]
Grellet, Stephen (1773-1855)	1814 P	BBKL, vol. 28, 2007, pp.687-690	J[20]
Marriage, Joseph (1773-1849)	1814 P/M	BBKL, vol. 28, 2007, pp.1059-1060	Reference[21]
Coggeshall, Elisabeth (1770-1851)	1814/15P/M	BBKL, vol 28, 2007, pp.323-324	Reference[22]
Hustler, Sarah	1815 P/M		Reference[23]
Hustler, John	1815 P/M		Reference[24]
Capper, John	1815 P/M		Reference[25]
Howard, Luke (1772-1864)	1816	BBKL, vol. 28, 2007, pp.827-832	Minutes[26]
Howard, Robert	1816		Minutes[27]
Forster, Josiah (1782-1870)	1816		Minutes[28]
Christy, Thomas	1816		Minutes[29]
Martin, Francis	1816		Minutes[30]
Allen, Charlotte (1762-1816)	1816		Reference[31]
Allen, William (1770-1843)	1816 M/P	BBKL, vol. 28, 2007, pp.20-24	J[32]
Hanbury, Cornelius (1796-1869)	1816 P/M	BBKL, vol. 28, 2007, pp.748-749	-
Robson Elizabeth (1771-1843)	1816	BBKL, vol. 20, 2002, pp.1223-1225	Minutes[33]
Fry, Elizabeth (1780-1845)	1816	BBKL, vol. 2, 1990, pp.148-149	Minutes[34]
Seebohm, Benjamin (1798-1871)	1819	BBKL, vol. 28, 2007, pp.1439-1442	Minutes[35]
Shillitoe, Thomas (1754-1836)	1822	BBKL, vol. 28, 2007, pp.1443-1446	J[36]
Forster, Josiah (1782-1870)	1822 M		Minutes[37]
Marriage, Joseph (1773-1849)	1822 M	BBKL, vol. 28, 2007, pp.1059-1060	Minutes[38]
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105. Urkunden II, p.457.
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107. Urkunden II, p.486.
108. Urkunden II, p.486.
109. Urkunden II, p.489.
110. Urkunden II, p.489.
111. Urkunden II, p.499.
112. Urkunden II, p.499.

113. Urkunden II, p.499.
114. Urkunden II, p.499.
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126. Official Quaker marriage register Pyrmont/Minden, p.48v.
127. Official Quaker marriage register Pyrmont/Minden, p.48v.
128. Official Quaker marriage register Pyrmont/Minden, p.48v.
129. Official Quaker marriage register Pyrmont/Minden, p.48v.
130. Official Quaker marriage register Pyrmont/Minden, p.48v.
131. Official Quaker marriage register Pyrmont/Minden, p.48v.
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134. Urkunden III, p.23.
135. Urkunden III, p.28.
136. Urkunden III, p.28.
137. Urkunden III, p.28.
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224. Urkunden III, p.324.
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233. Urkunden III, p.340; *The Friend*, 1887, p.247; LYM (ed.), *Extracts from the Minutes*, London 1888, p.98; LSF Continental Committee, 5th April 1888.
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239. Urkunden III, p.341; LSF, Continental Committee, 5th April 1888.
240. LSF, Continental Committee, 5th April 1888.
241. Urkunden III, 341; LSF, Continental Committee, 5th April 1888.
242. LSF, Continental Committee, 5th April 1888.
243.Urkunden III, p.341; LSF, Continental Committee, 5th January 1888.
244.Urkunden III, p.345.
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256. John Bellows: *Letters and memoir*, London 1905), p.104.
257. Ibid. p.105.
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A NINETEENTH CENTURY STUDENT-JOSEPH BEVAN BRAITHWAITE (1818-1905)

The departure of a son or daughter to further their education is a frequent occurrence today, but it usually raises fears in parents for the safety and well-being of their child. These fears are the same as those expressed by Anna Braithwaite in the nineteenth century when she sent her youngest son to London to complete his legal education, as her memorandum shows:

"1840 3m. 2nd.

Our dear Bevan left us this day per mail at half past one o'clock to go and live in London. He has been a most affectionate and dutiful son and his mind has long appeared bent on the best things; It is hard to nature to part but I can commit this treasure to the Shepherd of Israel, and I do earnestly desire that he may be the humble follower of a crucified Savour![1]

Joseph Bevan Braithwaite was the youngest son of Anna and Isaac Braithwaite. He was born in 1818, in Kendal, Cumberland, where he attended the Friends School and received the usual education for the son of a Quaker businessman. After school he was apprenticed to a solicitor in Kendal but seems always to have intended to follow this profession as far as possible. In 1834 he was in correspondence with a Friend in London, John Hodgkin, asking for advice on which law books to read to increase his knowledge.

John Hodgkin was a barrister with chambers in Lincoln's Inn, and, as a member of the Society of Friends must have been acquainted with Isaac Braithwaite, as they both represented their Monthly Meetings at the Yearly Meeting in the 1820's; possibly they were friends as well. John Hodgkin met Bevan during a visit to the Lake District in the 1830's. Bevan's request for a list of books was fulfilled with a selection of books on "real property" and several more letters of advice.[2] Then, late in 1839 Bevan was offered a temporary place in John Hodgkin's chambers, with the probability of making it permanent.[3] Bevan wasted no time in accepting and set off for London, with his Mother's blessing. In a letter to his "dear Parents" three months later Bevan assures them that he is pleased to be settled with John Hodgkin.[4]

Over the next four years Issac Braithwaite maintained a steady flow of letters, containing instructions, help and advice, to his son, until Bevan was called to the Bar and afterwards set up his own legal chambers.

Isaac's main concerns were how Bevan was spending the money that he was sent, and on his spiritual and religious activities. On 1m.14. 1840 he sent a draft for £233:8:0 to pay Bevan's Fees, deposit and Bond to John Hodgkin.[5] Bevan had obviously asked for an additional £5:0:0, but this was not forthcoming, until he had given the reason for his need. The Bond, for his good conduct, was for £100, and would be returned on completion of his studies, but by 1843 Isaac was complaining that the amount had diminished.[6]

At first Bevan shared lodgings with his sister, Anna, who kept house, and their brother Charles. Isaac was critical of the hours that Anna kept, which were, presumably, a poor example to Bevan. In 3m.1840 he advised that Anna should be "in bed by 11 so that she will become an early riser".[7] By July Anna had returned home and Bevan had taken new lodgings. He drew up a daily programme for work and activities of which Isaac "entirely approved". Breakfast was to be at 7, dinner at 1 or half past, and a good tea supper at 7, with a little walking exercise, which will be of essential benefit.[8]

As in the case with students today, Bevan had great difficulty in making his money stretch to meet his needs. Throughout his four years of study Isaac despatched bonds and money to London through his banking and trading Friends. The first of these was an order for £20 sent to their cousin James Foster in 3m.1840.[9] This draft was followed at intervals by orders and drafts for small amounts, but it was the major expenditure that worried Isaac.

At the end of 1841 Bevan asked for more money to cover living expenses and books and Isaac was concerned at the drain on his resources. His letter asks when Bevan will have completed his year with John Hodgkin and if it will still be necessary for him to stay in London, or if he can come home and study there.[10] By 1842 Isaac realised that his son would be living in London for some time. However, his expenditure was now acceptable and he was sent funds to put him "in comfortable circumstances again". At the same time, Isaac considered that Bevan had "now been long enough a housekeeper" and should now be able to manage his money properly, so he suggested sending a quarterly amount to cover Bevan's expenses.[11] It seems that this was also for Isaac's convenience as he was having difficulty with his cash flow. As a dyer and salter, presumably Isaac's business was seasonal and a quarterly amount would be easier to budget for.

As with all students, Bevan needed books to study and learn from, and his decision, in 1842, to remain in London is underlined as he

wrote to Isaac about collecting a Library of Law books. His request for £150 to start the Library was regarded as excessive by Isaac who replied:" I can not see where the advantage can be in obtaining £150 of books in one year".[12] Bevan defended himself by undertaking to stay within his estimate as far as possible, but emphasises his professional needs by stating that he does not want an "Amateur Library".[13] Isaac does have a point. In 1829 the University of London Committee allowed only £1,200 to set up a Library for the University itself![14] However, by the beginning of 1843 Isaac had relented slightly and he sent Bevan £60 to purchase some of the books that he felt he needed.

Apart from the cost of books, Isaac also wanted to know what happened to the £100 Bond that Bevan paid when he started his time with John Hodgkin. His comments on the Law ring just as true today:" Then we want to know what is become of the £100 which we understood was deposited by way of security & would be refunded when thou hast completed thy term. I hear that the £100 had by being subjected to the furnace of the Law, been melted down and under this operation so reduced that probably not more than ten pounds of it could be found. What sort of a heating is this. I should have been surprised if it had come out of the Lawyers hands unscathed, but the idea of seeing a tithe of the sum is rather too bad."[15]

Books continued to be a source of friction; Isaac realises that Bevan requires books, but feels the number and cost is too much for them to be bought all at once. So as not to incur unnecessary expense, Isaac arranges to send a French Dictionary and Grammar from Kendal, to improve Bevan's French, rather than allow him to buy more in London. At some time between this letter in February 1841 and November 1841 Bevan must have returned to Kendal and borrowed extensively from his Father's Library. In his letter of November Isaac requests a proper list of the books taken, including two Greek books which appear to be missing. He also points out that Bevan has left behind a volume of theological tracts which he had intended to take. In the same letter, Isaac shows that he is becoming used to the idea of Bevan remaining in London, he is pleased to hear that Bevan may be able to re-join John Hodgkin's chambers in a few months. However, if Bevan is going to remain in London, his father expects the time to be "usefully employed".[16]

Bevan's progress as a student was noted and approved by his parents. In 1843 Isaac told him that they had received an interesting letter from John Hodgkin who gave a good account of his behaviour, which they were pleased to have.[17] This letter from John Hodgkin helped Anna and Isaac to realise that Bevan was making a success of

his chosen profession. After this there is a more encouraging tone to Isaac's letters.

Three months later Isaac even asks Bevan for legal advice about some Deeds of the Monthly Meeting in Kendal, and accepts and is pleased with the advice he received.[18] Later, in 1844, Isaac asks Bevan to assist "Friend E. Remington who is having trouble with an Insurance Co. re. some Silver" and offers to pay Bevan's fees for the work.[19]

Late in 1843 Bevan, still short of funds, asked again for money. Isaac replied that, if his Landlord calls Bevan may give him an order on his Bankers, but he should not take any money for himself until the New Year. In the same letter Isaac queries a Booksellers Bill, which he considers excessive, and asks whether the Law Reports are published every year, or if the £10 charged will complete the set.[20]

By this time the financial demands made by Bevan were becoming burdensome. An exasperated Isaac wrote to ask" I want to know when thou art in a capacity to work for thyself". The question is emphasised two months later when Isaac again sends Bevan money to cover his expenses and hopes that he will become "responsible and punctual in fulfilling his pecuniary engagements".[21]

Bevan's mother, Anna, was an acknowledged Minister of the Society of Friends and travelled widely in the Ministry, including three trips to America in the 1830's, at the height of the Hicksite controversy. Bevan's own religious life had been established before he left home. He had taken an active part in the issues of the Beaconite controversy. The Beaconite controversy was a difference of opinion within the Society of Friends between those who followed the belief in the "Inner Light" and those who preferred to follow Biblical teaching. One of his father's first letters contained advice to go to Westminster Meeting, as a most acceptable place of worship. [22] A letter during Bevan's earlier visit to London advised him against visiting a Baptist Chapel again, it would be better for him to spend time in reading and meditation.[23] Later in the year it was suggested that he visit Peel Meeting, in the Clerkenwell district of London, where Isaac's business friends and relations were members.[24] By 5m. 1840 Bevan had decided against becoming a Minister, he found it difficult to preach without a Bible, and, as with his career as a barrister, his stutter made public speaking difficult. Isaac was disappointed, he had hoped that Bevan would have been able to "promulgate the glorious Gospel of Life & Salvation through our dear Redeemer", but he was more concerned that Bevan was questioning his membership of the Society of Friends, especially in the light of the resignations of some of his relations after the

Beaconite controversy.[25] Years later Bevan was instrumental in reconciling these differences, but not in persuading former members to join the Society of Friends.

Bevan retained his contacts with his parents' friends and relations in the Society of Friends, but he was advised not to let his visits to cousins interfere with his studies! In 10m. 1840 he visited the Gurneys at Upton House and discussed the release of convicts with Samuel Gurney, a subject that must have interested a lawyer.[26]

Towards the end of 1842 Bevan's legal training was almost completed. He decided to stay in London, to build up his legal practice and continue his religious life as a member of the Westminster Monthly Meeting of the Society of Friends. This caused Isaac some sadness, as his fond wish had been that his children should have grown up around him, but he was happy that they could feel united in spirit and able to rejoice in each other's welfare.[27] Bevan's letters home now contained information and requests for assistance in setting up his own chambers. One letter to his father discusses various chambers that are available for rent and explains his decision to take the larger ones, in Bernard Street, Brunswick Square, as they will also provide some living accommodation.[28] Four days later he wrote to his Mother for advice on purchasing furniture for the new chambers. This will only be second-hand to begin with and he hopes that it will cost between £20 and £25; obviously Bevan felt that these details would come from his Mother when his Father was approached for yet more money.[29]

A month later, at the beginning of 1843 Bevan is able to give the good news that John Hodgkin is putting cases his way, a show of confidence that must have been pleasing to his parents, as well as giving them hope that, at some time, Bevan will become self-supporting.[30]

Bevan was called to the Bar in 1843, the end of his legal training, so he could then work for himself and take on pupils of his own. This required the additional expenditure of £5:11:6d to buy a wig and gown. This came from a draft for £20 sent by Isaac, but it seems that the rest of the money was spent on books, again![31]

The letters after this date express his Parent's interest in his career and progress and contain more local and family news than before. One of the last letters in this collection shows his parents love and approval, Bevan is sent £10 to pay for his journey home and they are so pleased that he will be be coming that they are going to walk to Yealand to meet him.[32] By road the distance from Kendal to Yealand is 13 miles. It is to be hoped that Anna and Isaac knew short cuts over fields and by-ways. A walk of 26 miles would seem excessive for

people in their 60's, even if they were hardy North Country Quakers! But this does show that, again, as today, most students get through their studies successfully and, in the end, their parents are proud of them.

J.B. Braithwaite became a well-known and much respected lawyer. His habits of study, formed during his early days in London, on a wide range of theological subjects and languages, as well as the Law, made him a much respected member of the Society of Friends who was considered by Dr. Westcott, Bishop of Durham to be a 'kind of bishop in your church'.[33]

Rosamund Cummings

Notes:

The letters used for this article are part of the Braithwaite Manuscripts (TEMP MSS 403) in the Library of the Society of Friends House, London.

1. 403/25/2/1
2. 403/27/1
3. 403/27/2
4. 403/27/1/3
5. 403/25/3/11
6. 403/25/3/39
7. 403/25/3/17
8. 403/25/3/23
9. 403/25/3/17
10. 403/25/3/30
11. 403/25/3/34
12. 403/25/3/38
13. 403/27/1/10
14. University College London, Administrative Archive: CA/UOL/MINS/GENMTGPROP/1
15. 403/25/3/39
16. 403/25/3/33
17. 403/25/3/35
18. 403/25/3/36 & 37
19. 403/25/3/50
20. 403/25/3/48
21. 403/25/3/40
22. 403/25/3/10
23. 403/25/3/12
25. 403/25/3/18

25. 403/25/3/22
26. 403/25/3/28
27. 403/25/3/54
28. 403/27/1/7
29. 403/27/1/12
30. 403/27/1/1
31. 403/27/1/1
32. 403/25/3/60
33. The Friend 1st Dec 1905 p.804

EDWARDIAN PEACE TESTIMONY: BRITISH QUAKERS AGAINST MILITARISM AND CONSCRIPTION, c.1902-1914

'The voice of Quakerism should ring throughout the land in its appeal against the schemes of military enthusiasts.'

The Friend, February 1906

'For Peace advocates the times are critical ... Friends cannot afford to allow their ancient testimony for Peace to remain unspoken ... we take our stand only on the Christian law of love.'

The Friend, October 1912

'The great fight that lies before us, the new Armageddon of Militarism *versus* Christ.'

Quakers and War: The National Service League, 1913

In 1661 'the Harmless and Innocent People of God, called Quakers', declared to King Charles II, 'All bloody principles and practices we ... do utterly deny; with all outward wars and strife and fightings with outward weapons, for any end ... this is our testimony'.[1] Thereafter the Society of Friends maintained its pacifist peace testimony[2] "and Quakers became, Richard Cobden declared, 'the soul of the peace movement'.[3] They were, as Martin Ceadel has written, 'the world's most influential pacifist sect' and, after 1815, 'the backbone of the peace movement for a century'.[4] Yet not all Quakers were always pacifist. For example, John Bright, the most famous, if a typical, nineteenth-century Quaker, opposed the Crimean War, supported the Indian Mutiny suppression and the American Civil War, and resigned from the government over the 1882 Alexandria bombardment.[5] Despite the Society's disapproval, some Quakers joined the early Rifle Volunteers, and later some joined the new Territorial Force[6] Yet they were exceptions to the norm of Quaker pacifism. Edwardian *Whitaker's Almanacks* classified the Society under 'minor religious denominations'. Although relatively few - from over 17,000 to under 20,000 - Edwardian Quakers had a presence and apparently an influence disproportionate to their numbers, partly because of their wealth. Despite a minority 'in

humble life', Quakers were predominantly prosperous middle class with some, bankers and manufacturers, notably rich, and the Society of Friends probably enjoyed a higher per caput income than any other British sect or church.[7] Quaker wealth enabled Quaker peace activity. For example Quakers - in the Edwardian period especially the Fry, Cadbury and Peckover families - largely financed the Peace Society, and in 1900 Priscilla Peckover gave £1000 to the Stop-the-War Committee.[8] According to Halévy, the Salvation Army had 'roused the Quakers from their slumber',[9] an interpretation not favoured by historians today. Yet there was the late nineteenth - and early twentieth-century Quaker spiritual and intellectual revival, the 'Quaker Renaissance', which included renewed commitment to the peace testimony.[10] Quakers opposed the Boer War and the First World War.[11] Much has been written on Quakers' involvement in those wars,[12] but less on their opposition to militarism and conscription in the intervening Edwardian years.[13] This was expressed and reported in the journals *The Friend* and *The British Friend*.[14] Both founded in 1843 and both unofficial, they differed in emphasis and, to some extent, represented different strands in Quakerism. Yet on the issues of militarism they were essentially similar. The present article cannot tell the whole story of its title-subject and focuses, not on personalities and institutions but rather, in their context, on discourse and ideas, on how Quakers perceived and articulated issues and attempted to persuade, through the media of their two journals.[15] These incorporated editorials, reports, correspondence, and Society of Friends announcements. Quaker anti-militarism there was within the wider spectrum of Quaker concerns, which included Bible teaching - the *Friend* published more on Bible lessons than on anti-militarism - American Friends, foreign missions, temperance, adult schools and their cricket scores, vivisection, vegetarianism, the opium trade, state-regulated prostitution, South Africa, the Congo, slave-grown cocoa, and the Armenian massacres. Moreover, Quakers were not alone in their anti-militarism. Also involved were other nonconformists, Liberals and socialists, especially the Independent Labour party (I.L.P.), and the flourishing peace movement which, while largely led and financed by Quakers, included many non-Quakers.[16]

Quakers perceived militarism as a hydra-headed conspiracy, antithetical to Christianity and to their historic peace testimony. They uncompromisingly envisaged a quasi-Manichaean dichotomy. Promoting and profiting from militarism were 'militarists' military imperialists', 'the military party', 'the war party', powerful vested interests', 'reactionaries', and 'those who worship at the shrine of

Mars'. Opposing militarism were 'the friends of Peace', the forces of peace and brotherhood', 'lovers of freedom', and 'men of light'.[17] The Quaker Peace Committee published anti-war pamphlets. For example, John J. Wilson's *The Devilry of War or Construction & Destruction* used Wolseley's *Soldier's Pocket Book* and Callwell's *Tactics of To-day* to assert the deceit, destruction, 'murder, waste and wantonness' of war. It denounced 'military wisdom, so earthly, so sensual, so devilish'.[18] It urged, 'let our masses cease to applaud those whose claim to fame is based upon their skill in murdering their fellow men', renounce 'such a fearful system', and follow the Christian ideal of peace. The two Quaker journals reviewed and cited works by Bloch, Norman Angell, and Brailsford,[19] but attempted no analysis of the 'militarists' Quakers opposed, nor did they express self-doubt or self-questioning.[20]

Quakers continued to assert their peace testimony, and their two journals reported and commented on related issues including United States militia legislation, French conscription and prosecution of conscientious objectors, Anglo-German relations, naval increases, the burden of armaments, and international peace conferences. They criticised the army. An article 'Life on a troopship' portrayed soldiers drinking and gambling, and alleged ex-soldiers were unfit for employment: 'civilians outrace them in everything'.[21] It quoted an Essex landowner who refused to employ them: 'one old soldier would corrupt the whole estate'. The two journals also criticised the military authorities. For example, Margaret Clark wrote in the *Friend* that 'English military authorities are easy victims to any attack since their ludicrous mistakes in the South African war'.[22] Yet the main focus of the journals' anti-militarism was military training in schools, the National Service League's campaign for compulsory military training - both largely responses to the Boer War - and compulsory military training, 'boy conscription' - largely in response to the 'yellow peril' - in Australia and New Zealand.

I Military training in schools

There had been forms of military drill in some Victorian elementary schools - in 1, 343 in 1895 - and Quaker criticism of them.[23] From the Boer War on there were proposals, official and unofficial, for military training in schools. Quakers and others opposed them. Following the Boer War rejection rate of would-be recruits, publicised by Arnold White, B. Seebohm Rowntree and General J.F. Maurice,[24] there was interconnected concern with physical training in schools. In January 1902 *The Times* followed Kipling's 'The Islanders' with an editorial which stated, 'this is an age of conflict and competition ... World-

Empires, armed to the teeth, are ... eager to gain advantages by military and naval preponderance'.[25] It claimed that, though a continental-style conscript army was 'ill-suited to our needs', there should be compulsory military training in primary and secondary schools, 'an approximation to universal training'. The *Friend* responded with an editorial 'Is Conscription Possible?'[26] This denounced 'the permanent degradation and bondage of military domination' and 'contamination with militarism', and alleged 'barrack-life saps and enfeebles the youth'.[27] It denounced 'the proposal to tamper with our public schools'.

In 1902 the Unionist government's Board of Education recommended that army N.C.O.s instruct teachers in physical training and, following consultation with the War Office, issued the 'Model Course' of physical training for elementary schools.[28] This was military drill, and Colonel G.M. Fox, formerly inspector of army gymnasia, was appointed Board of Education inspector of physical training, to introduce the military drill using army instructors. Liberals, socialists, the National Union of Teachers and its organ the *Schoolmaster*,[29] and Quakers opposed this. The N.U.T. argued the impropriety of N.C.O.s instructing women teachers, the unsuitability of the drill for children, and the wrongness of the attempt 'to recruit the army in the playgrounds of the elementary schools'.[30] The N.U.T. spokesman in the House of Commons was the Liberal T.J. Macnamara; the *Friend* wrote that 'probably not many teachers approximate to Dr.Macnamara's Quakerly antipathy to militarism'.[31] Himself the son of an army sergeant, Macnamara, attacking the 'Model Course', showed that it was the infantry-recruit drill manual, only slightly modified, and not originally intended for children. Under parliamentary and other pressure, the government conceded an interdepartmental committee on the 'Model Course'. Its report in 1904 condemned the course, and a new syllabus was introduced.

The Quakers' case against the 'Model Course' overlapped that of the N.U.T. They argued it was unChristian, intended to lead to conscription, unsuitable as physical training for children, and that army drill instructors were morally and educationally unsuitable to be involved with teachers, especially female. Quakers' opposition took varied forms. They protested to the government. In 1903 Meeting for Sufferings issued a memorandum to education authorities, school managers and others, stating its desire 'to protect our schools from the atmosphere of war and military training' and that the 'Model Course' had 'the ulterior purpose of fostering the military spirit'.[32] It complained that the course was physically unsuitable for children, and that 'women of mature years and tender

health' had been instructed by 'men, not always refined in character and language, and usually ignorant of the limits of a woman's strength and physical powers'. Quakers also attacked it in letters to the national press and within their own two journals. For example, Sophia S. Clark wrote of an infant mistress who protested to the inspector that 'the sergeant was a man of loose character, to whom she would neither go herself nor send her young girl teachers'.[33] Albert Prust wrote that 'the children of the workers' would be 'hypnotised into a liking for militarism now while their minds are plastic', then the military imperialists would introduce conscription.[34] Headmasters of Quaker schools also protested. In June 1903, according to a letter in the *Friend*, the 'Model course' was *'in extremis'*.[35]

Quakers were largely Liberals and welcomed the 1905 Liberal government and the 1906 election victory; nine Quakers were elected, all Liberals.[36] However, the new secretary of state for war, the Liberal imperialist R.B Haldane, wanted a 'nation in arms' with cadet training in schools.[37] Again radicals socialists and Quakers protested. In 1907 Yearly Meeting issued a memorandum protesting against the cadet-corps clauses of the Army Bill. In June 1907 a Quaker deputation, including Arthur Rowntree, headmaster of Bootham, and John W. Graham, principal of Dalton College, Manchester, met Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, the prime minster, and Haldane at the House of Commons.[38] Rowntree asserted 'the essential antagonism between the aims of education and of war'. Graham stated that 'the deputation had worked hard for the return of the Government, from whose agency they had high hopes for humanity and democracy', and claimed 'a nation in arms was a nation in its infancy ... education should be forward-looking - should be fitted for the better times coming'. Campbell-Bannerman stated his agreement with their speeches. Haldane agreed to modify the bill, raising to sixteen the age below which the government would not assist cadet corps; in fact a reluctant concession to radical and labour pressure.[39] Nevertheless, with the rise of the National Service League military training in schools continued an issue for Quakers. For example, in 1910 Arthur Rowntree at the annual meeting of the Incorporated Association of Headmasters moved a resolution against military training in schools.[40] His resolution was rejected by 67 votes to 8.

Another controversial form of training was that provided from 1908 by the Boy Scouts. Quakers, socialists and others denounced them as militarist, though Baden-Powell insisted they were 'peace scouts'[41] From May 1909, partly on the issue of militarism, there was a major secession, the British Boy Scouts.[42] Sir Francis Vane, a quixotic

Irish baronet, Carthusian, former Guards officer, and pacifist, was Boy Scott commissioner for London. In November 1909 Baden-Powell dismissed him, and in December he became president of the British Boy Scouts. By early April 1910 the B.B.S. reportedly numbered about 50,000 boys, and they were supported by the National Peace Council, the Sunday School Union, and some Quakers. However, in August 1912 Vane was declared bankrupt and his organization rapidly declined.

From 1908 Quakers and their two journals, in editorial text and correspondence, condemned the Boy Scouts as militarist. Edward Lingford emphasised the role of army officers including Lord Roberts, and warned of 'the danger of converting the hooligans of the streets into ... the national hooliganism of war', and urged Quakers to protest against 'the new mischief'.[43] J.H. Lester wrote that there was much good and attractive in the movement, 'but we shall not accept the militarism at any price'.[44] Some Quakers proposed 'Peace Brigades', 'Quaker Scouts' or 'Quaker Pioneers', and some advocated the existing Boys' Life Brigades. The *British Friend* alleged scouting was 'militarising our boys', and advised 'until the friends of Peace can think of a substitute, we believe they had better keep clear of "Scouting"'.[45] In 1910 both journals published features giving Sir Francis Vane's views. He alleged Baden-Powell's scouts were 'militarism under the guise of peace scouting', intended to provide recruits for the Territorial Force. The movement should be controlled by civilian 'experts in the science of pedagogy, not by soldiers, who naturally see patriotism through the sights of a Lee-Metford rifle''.[46] The British Boy Scouts were 'an educational and not a military organization' and 'opposed to the spirit of militarism.[47] However, some Quakers questioned whether the B.B.S. were genuine peace scouts, and the *Friend* cautioned Quakers to 'exercise their best judgement as to whether the anti-military off-shoot is really anti-military in spirit or not'.[48]

II The National Service League

Eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Quakers had refused compulsory militia service. Later nineteenth-century Quakers expressed their opposition to 'conscription' as intermittently and unofficially advocated by, *inter alios*, Lord Wolseley, as did also some socialists and others; for example, delegates to the 1898 I.L.P. conference.[49] In July 1899 Lord Lansdowne, the Unionist secretary of state for war, introduced his Militia Ballot Bill to revive and tighten compulsory militia legislation.[50] He stated he did not undertake to pass the Bill that year 'or at any particular moment' and compulsion

would be used only as a last resort; 'he shared the aversion with which compulsion was regarded by the great majority of his fellow-countrymen'. Nevertheless, Meeting for Sufferings responded in February 1900 with 'A Protest against compulsory military service', alleging it would infringe liberty, cause individual hardship and 'economic evils', and would be 'an instrument of religious persecution, striking at that freedom of conscience upon which the true greatness of the British character so largely depends'.[51]

Opposing the Boer War some Quakers warned it would lead to demands for compulsory military training or conscription. They were right. Among those demanding compulsory military training were Samuel Smith M.P., Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, Rudyard Kipling, John A. Cramb, and a Liberal imperialist barrister, George F. Shee. Shee wrote *The Briton's First Duty: the case for conscription* (1901), which led to the founding in February 1902 of the National Service League (N.S.L.).[52] The N.S.L. was a single-issue pressure group which campaigned for compulsory military training, claiming it would ensure British defence against invasion, preserve international peace, and improve the morals, health and efficiency of the British population. From 1905 it was led by Field Marshal Earl Roberts, the iconic national and imperial hero, 'the Empire's greatest soldier'. The *Friend*, hardly biased in favour of the military, called him 'one of the most popular and unselfish of men', and wrote of 'the profound regard with which the nation at large listens to the words of Earl Roberts'.[53] Such was his fame and so prominent his role, that the campaign for compulsory service became to the press and public Lord Roberts' campaign and, to his admirers, Lord Roberts' crusade. With wealthy supporters - J.W. Graham claimed militarism was 'rapidly growing among the "upper' classes' - the N.S.L. was well-financed: the pacifist journal, the *Arbitrator* claimed the League paid more in salaries than the total income of all the peace societies.[54] Its membership grew to, reportedly, 96,526 in 1913. It published propaganda including its journal, the *Nation in Arms*, which featured prominent half-page advertisements for Cadbury's Cocoa.[55] According to its pacifist opponent Miss Caroline Playne, 'probably there was no other propaganda pre-war organization which permeated the social life of England to the same extent as the National Service League'.[56] As was revealed by a young Quaker pamphleteer, the socialist J.T. Walton Newbold, some prominent N.S.L supporters had interests in the armaments industry as directors and shareholders. In *The War Trust Exposed* (1913) he named among such 'National Service "Patriots"' Beresford, Curzon, Glenconner, Brackenbury, Sir Andrew Noble (chairman of

Armstrong, Whitworth), Sir Vincent Caillard (director of Vickers), Sir Hellewell Rogers (chairman of Birmingham Small Arms), Neville Chamberlain, and the bishops of Chester and Newcastle (both Vickers shareholders).[57] However, the significance of this continues problematic.

In his *Briton's First Duty* George Shee proposed exemption for Quakers, an 'admirable body'. He recognised the possibility of 'skulkers' attempting to take advantage of this, but claimed they would not be accepted by Quakers: 'it is certainly not easy for those who desire to become Quakers to obtain admission as Members of the Society of Friends'.[58] The N.S.L. also proposed exemption for Quakers, but for the N.S.L. it was not an issue, and seldom mentioned. Nevertheless, to Quakers compulsory military service was abhorrent and they actively opposed and repeatedly denounced the N.S.L. They campaigned against both within the Society, its institutions and publications, and in co-operation with non-Quakers, through pamphlets, newspapers - especially the 'cocoa press' and *Manchester Guardian* - 'so consistently opposed to the war party'[59] and organizations including the Peace Society and the I.L.P., whose 'peace' campaign they supported. The Quaker Peace Committee's anti-N.S.L. activities included the publication of leaflets: in 1912-13, 5,000 *Lord Roberts* and 27,300 *Conscription*.[60] Quakers distributed propaganda outside N.S.L meetings.

Initially the N.S.L. apparently had little impact on Quakers and their two journals, and as late as April 1905 a correspondent in the *Friend* wrote that 'there is at work *a* National Service League' (italics added). From 1905 the journals intermittently reported on and attacked the N.S.L., and reported on and urged support for opposition to it. In January 1905 a *Friend* editorial attacked Lord Roberts' demand for compulsory military training, which it alleged might lead to conscription. It asserted 'the liberty of the English people from the grinding military conscription which saps the commercial energies of Continental nations, has for generations been the cherished heritage of the Anglo Saxon race'.[61] In 1913, the year Roberts held a series of mass public meetings in major cities, the *Friend* attacked the N.S.L. campaign in its editorial 'The Shadow of Conscription', stating that the campaign was now 'a serious part of our political life', and alleging compulsory military training was conscription. It argued the case against compulsory training: military, economic, moral and political. It argued the immorality of barrack life, and that 'nobody knows that better than Lord Roberts' who throughout his career tried to 'introduce the means of higher morals into soldiers' barracks'. It alleged that, most important,

conscription would 'hand over individual freedom into the hands of the military' and 'make the nation essentially military'.[62] In the journals the varied attacks on the N.S.L. campaign repeatedly asserted that compulsory military training would not remedy poor health and physique: the need was for social reform and better housing, diet, and working conditions. Military training was 'this bogus remedy, which only drew a herring across the true path of social reform'.[63] Moreover, those men most in need of physical improvement would be unaffected by compulsory military training, since they would be rejected as medically unfit.

The two journals reported opposition to the N.S.L. campaign: examples included protest meetings, demonstrations and debates, all responding to N.S.L. activity. At Manchester University Union in February 1911 there was a debate on compulsory military training between Lord Ampthill, Unionist politician, Etonian, Oxonian and formerly governor of Madras, and John W. Graham, Quaker, Cantabrigian and principal of Dalton Hall, Manchester.[64] Ampthill argued that in war untrained volunteers were 'worse than useless', and that national service would improve national health, discipline and patriotism, and guarantee peace. Graham argued the impossibility of foreign invasion, that the German Social Democratic Party would prevent war, and that compulsory military service was an 'attack upon democracy and the liberties of our people' and would lead to 'police control of the whole population'. Ampthill's motion was defeated 115 to 81. In 1913 at Penrith, Cumberland, Quakers and others responded to an N.S.L. meeting with their own 'No Conscription' meeting in the market square.[65] When later in 1913 the N.S.L. held a meeting at Birmingham addressed by Lord Curzon, students and other young Quakers walked the main streets with sandwich boards proclaiming 'Far from making men of weaklings, forced military training rejects them as unfit', 'Has Conscription saved Bulgaria?' and 'Did Conscription save France in 1870?'[66] Correspondents writing to the two journals repeatedly urged Quakers to oppose 'the heavily financed campaign of the National Service League'.

Perception of Germany was crucial to the debate on compulsory military training.[67] The 'German peril' was from 1905 largely the *raison d'être* of the N.S.L., which repeatedly warned against German aggression: in October 1912 in an 'alarmist speech' at Manchester, Roberts declared, 'Germany strikes when Germany's hour has struck'.[68] Quakers, however, denounced 'the deplorable and intensely wicked endeavour to stir up strife between Germany and England'.[69] Quakers, if arguably too optimistic about Wilhelmine

Germany, were aware of German Anglophobia: for example in January 1912 the *British Friend* stated 'the intense hostility against England, which appears to have permeated almost all classes'.[70] Complementing their opposition to the N.S.L. were the efforts by Quakers and others - notably the 'radical plutocrat' Sir John Brunner and like-minded radicals - to improve Anglo-German relations, through organizations, meeting and visits.[71] Quakers reported and encouraged these in their two journals.They reported, for example, the 1908 visit to Britain of some 130 German pastors, and the 1909 visit to Germany of British representatives, including Edward Grubb, editor of the *British Friend*, who were taken to Germany on the Kaiser's steam-yacht *Hohenzollern* and met the Kaiser, Kaiserin, Tripitz and other notables.[72]

III' Boy conscription' in Australasia

Overlapping the issues of school military training and the National Service League was that of compulsory military training, 'boy conscription', in Australia and New Zealand, operative from 1911. This involved both sides in the British compulsory-training controversy. The National Service League, the 'parent league' and exemplar, supported the compulsionist National Defence league in Australia and New Zealand. British Quakers and other British anti-compulsionists supported the Australian Freedom League and the New Zealand Freedom League and Passive Resisters Union. Australian and New Zealand Quakers were few, and under London Yearly Meeting,[73] which in 1911 appointed an Australasian Defence Acts Committee, and subsequently sent money - the defence acts committee in 1913-14 raised £2,663 13s 3d[74] - 'well-concerned' activists, and propaganda. The activists included Alfred H. Brown, an elder and minister, who helped organise the Australian Freedom League, but whose advocacy of Japanese immigration into Australia was profoundly unpopular there. Publication in Australia of John F. Hills' widely-circulated pamphlet *Child Conscription: our country's shame* (1912) was financed by funds from England, and Charles Howie of the Australian Freedom League wrote, 'without your help from England we should be almost powerless'.[75] The defence acts committee campaigned in Britain. Its secretary Herbert Corder, a minister and prominent Quaker who went to Australia and New Zealand to support the anti-compulsionists, gave over a hundred talks in 1913-14. The committee also issued press releases, and published leaflets, including Corder's *Compulsory Military Training in Australia and New Zealand* and 'Colonial Observer's', *A Blot on the Empire: Conscription in New Zealand.* The latter alleged that the New

Zealand system was 'the forcing of consciences and the torture of innocent boys'.[76] Yearly Meeting condemned the compulsory training as 'a stain upon the history of the British race', and praised youths' who resisted it.[77] The Peace Committee claimed that 'the military party in Great Britain is closely watching how this attempt at compulsory service is being received in the Colonies', and that 'information as to what Compulsory Military Training means in the Colonies will do more than anything else successfully to combat proposals for the introduction of similar laws into this country', and would counteract 'the activities of Military Leagues'.[78] Both British Quaker journals - which continued to call Australia and New Zealand colonies - published much on the issue: the *Friend* stated that it received far more than it could publish. However, since 'boy conscription', and opposition to it have already been covered in this Journal and elsewhere, [79] it is here only selectively considered.

The Quakers case agaainst 'boy conscription', as stated in their two journals, was both general - their objections to war-preparation and compulsory military service - and specific to the Australian situation. They alleged it was military indoctrination of boys, un-British, contrary to traditional English liberty, and violated 'the sacred rights of parental control'.[80] It was uneducational and morally dangerous. They warned it was moving towards the 'Continental barracks system' and denounced 'the moral danger of the congregation of numbers of youths, unrestrained ...by any proper and competent authority'.[81] They reported the prosecutions and punishments of fathers and boys. Moreover, they insisted that the struggle in Australasia mattered to Britain also, and was a crucial part of a wider conflict over compulsion: 'for our generation the decisive struggle ... is being waged there' and 'our own liberties depend on the result'.[82] At Meeting for Sufferings in 1912 John Morland declared, 'they were fighting now at the outposts, but they would soon have to fight at home'.[83] Herbert Corder wrote in the *Friend*, 'It is no mere local struggle ...New Zealanders and Australians are struggling, not for themselves alone, but for us and for the whole human race'.[84]

Conclusion

In August 1914 the Great War began. It abruptly suspended, transformed or ended Edwardian controversies. In Britain, largely in response to the Boer War, and in Australasia, largely in response to the 'yellow peril', there had been initiatives to improve defence, which Quakers perceived as militarism and so opposed. In this they were never alone, always part of *de facto* alliances. Although the Quakers' contributions cannot now be isolated or quantified, they

were apparently significant but not decisive. Quakers were on the winning side against the 'Model Course', elementary school military training and the National Service League, but failed against the Boy Scouts and, in Australasia, against 'boy conscription'. Through all these issues Quakers remained true to their peace testimony. Moreover, possibly the most important result of their prewar anti-militarism was in motivating Quakers themselves to conscientious objection during the Great War;[85] but the War is another story.

Roger T. Stearn

NOTES

I wish to thank the staff of the Library of the Religious Society of Friends, Institute of Historical Research, Bodleian Library, Cambridge University Library, and especially my wife, and to acknowledge my indebtedness to the authors of the books, articles, theses, and websites I have used. This article is part of a wider project on the Edwardian campaign for compulsory military service and opposition to it, and I welcome corrections and suggestions. On persons named in the article see the *Dictionary of Quaker Biography* (Library of the Religious Society of Friends, Friends House), *Who Was Who*, and the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Some books are hereafter cited without their subtitles. The following abbreviations are used: *BF* for *The British Friend*, *E* for *Extracts from the Minutes and Proceedings of London Yearly Meeting of Friends*, and *F* for *The Friend.*

1. Licia Kuenning, ed., *Historical Writings of Quakers against War* (Glenside PA: Quaker Heritage Press, 2002) p.181.
2. Historians have differed on the reality of the pre-1914 Quaker peace commitment: for example, Thomas C. Kennedy has alleged it was 'dormant for nearly a century', and Martin Ceadel that it 'continued to lose its authority'. For relatively recent interpretations see Thomas C. Kennedy', The Quaker Renaissance and the origins of the British peace movement, 1895--1920', *Albion* 16, 3 (Fall 1984); Brian D. Phillips, 'Friendly Patriotism: British Quakerism and the Imperial Nation, 1890-1910' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Cambridge University, King's College, 1989); Thomas C. Kennedy, *British Quakerism 1860-1920* (Oxford University Press, 2001); Martin Ceadel, *Semi-Detached Idealists: the British peace movement and international relations, 1854-1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); idem, 'The Quaker peace testimony and its contribution to the British peace movement: an overview', *Quaker Studies 7* (September 2002) p29; Paul Laity, *The British Peace Movement*

1870-1914 (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2001). For examples of relatively radical Quakers apparently *not* active in the peace movement see Sandra Stanley Holton, *Quaker Women: personal life, memory and radicalism in the lives of women Friends, 1780-1930* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007).

3. Peter Brock, *Varieties of Pacifism* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1998) p.52. Cobden was Anglican.
4. Ceadel, *Semi-Detached*, p.19; *idem*, 'Quaker peace testimony', p.29.
5. For relatively recent interpretations of Bright, Quakerism and pacifism see Martin Ceadel, *The Origins of War Prevention; the British peace movement and international relations, 1730-1854* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996) pp.110, 350; and Sandra Holton, 'John Bright, radical politics, and the ethos of Quakerism', *Albion* 34, 4 (Spring 2003).
6. Ian F. Beckett, *Riflemen Form: A Study of the Rifle Volunteer Movement 1859-1908* (Aldershot: Ogilby Trusts, 1982) p.29; *F* 16 June 1911, p.413; Margaret E. Hirst, *The Quakers in Peace and War* (London: Swarthmore Press, 1923) p.486.
7. Elizabeth Isichei, *Victorian Quakers* (Oxford University Press, 1970) chapter VI; W.D. Rubinstein, *Men of Property: the very wealthy in Britain since the industrial revolution* (London: Social Affairs Unit, 2006) pp.188-91.
8. Laity, pp.194, 164. On Miss Peckover, 'the dominant figure in the women's movement' and '*the* international peace celebrity among British Quakers', see also Phillips, pp.184., 190, 310; Laity, pp.117-8; Heloise Brown, *'The Truest Form of Patriotism': pacifist feminism in Britain, 1870-1902* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), chapter 5.
9. Elie Halévy, Imperialism and the Rise of Labour (London: Ernest Benn, 1961), p.173.
10. Keith Robbins, *The Abolition of War: The 'Peace Movement' in Britain, 1914-1919* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1976) p.19; Kennedy, 'Quaker Renaissance', pp.243-52; *idem, British Quakerism*, pp.8-9, 310.
11. Quakers were divided on both wars, and the Society's response to the Boer War was 'timid', without immediate protest, Ceadel, *Semi-Detacahed*, p.163; Laity, p.162.
12. John W. Graham, *Conscription and Conscience* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1922); Hirst, *op.cit.*; John Ormerod Greenwood, *Quaker Encounters* Vol. 1. *Friends and Relief* (York: William Sessions, 1975); Hope H. Hewison, *Hedge of Wild Almonds: South Africa, the Pro-Boers & the Quaker conscience 1890-1910* (London: James Currey, 1989); Kennedy, *British Quakerism*.

13. The terms militarism, militarist, and conscription are in the article used, usually without inverted commas, as by Edwardian Quakers. The National Service League denied they were militarist and advocated militarism, and that their proposed compulsory military training was conscription. They considered militarism foreign, especially German, and cited Koepenick and Zabern, both the scenes of notorious examples of German militarism, in 1906 and 1913. According to Martin Ceadel, Britain had 'militarised defencism' rather than 'authentic militarism' as in Germany, Ceadel, *Semi-Detached,* p.165.
14. *The British Friend,* monthly, price 6d, was edited from 1901 by Edward Grubb, and ceased publication in 1913. *The Friend,* weekly, price 1d, was edited from 1892 to 1912 by Henry S. Newman. Its circulation was about 5000 weekly, the *British Friend's* is unknown but reportedly 'had never been large'; probably most Quakers had access to the *Friend,* James Dudley, *The Life of Edward Grubb 1854-1939* (London: James Clarke & Co., 1946), p.100; Phillips, pp.350-1. Previous historians have looked at them, but not used them as in this article. While that Quakers opposed militarism is of course well known, the specific arguments, discourse and language have not been so considered. Brian Phillips' thesis covers approximately the same period as this article, but focuses on different aspects.
15. Historians of modern British politics have in recent years been more concerned with public debate, language and discourse, and so with published sources, Paul Readman, *Land and Nation in England: patriotism, national identity, and the politics of land, 1880-1914* (London: Royal Historical Society, 2008), p.208. Brian Phillips has contrasted the 'remarkable published records' with the 'curious lack of pertinent sources' on the 'Quaker Renaissance', Phillips, p.348.
16. Laity, chapters 6 and 7.
17. Less emotive terminology was available; 'paxist' (Ceadel, *Semi-Detached,* pp.147, 158, but not yet in *Oxford English Dictionary*) from the 1890s and 'pacifist', according to *OED,* from 1906.
18. John Wilson, *The Devilry of War or Construction & Destruction* (London: Friends' Peace Committee, 1913) p.16. The Peace Committee had started in 1888.
19. The Quaker Peace Committee in 1911-12 bought 20,000 copies of a condensed edition of Angell's *Great Illusion; E* (1912) p.109. On Quakers and Angell see also Kennedy, *British Quakerism,* pp.302-4. Compulsionists were interested in such works. *The Nation in Arms* reviewed and criticised *The Great Illusion; Nation in Arms*

February 1911, pp.109-10; Easter 1912, pp.15-19.

20. To what extent 'weighty Friends' and the Quaker media expressed the views of other Quakers is problematic.
21. *F* 4 April 1902, pp.12-13. However, George Shee, N.S.L. and T.F. advocates claimed military training made better workers; George F. Shee, *The Briton's First Duty* (London: Grant Richards, 1901) pp.217, 251; K.W. Mitchinson, *England's Last Hope: The Territorial Force, 1908-14* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan 2008) p.55.
22. F 17 January 1902, p.38.
23. G.A.N. Lowndes, *The Silent Social Revolution* (London: Oxford University Press, 1937), p.33; Kennedy, *British Quakerism*, p.247.
24. Arnold White, *Efficiency and Empire* (London: Methuen, 1901) pp.102-3; Bentley B. Gilbert, *The Evolution of National Insurance in Great Britain* (London: Michael Joseph, 1966) pp.83-7.
25. *Times* 4 January 1902, p.9.
26. *F* 17 January 1902, pp.33-4.
27. There had long been popular hostility to barracks, which were associated with repression and with immorality; so the National Service League proposed training under canvas, not in barracks. George Shee told the Norfolk Commission (1903) barrack training 'seems to present a formidable obstacle in the minds of the British public ... the prejudice against barracks is very strong', qq 6836, 6944, *Report of the Royal Commission on the Militia and Volunteers: Minutes of Evidence* I Cd.2062 (1904).
28. On the 'Model Course', N.U.T. and Macnamara largely from Alan Penn, *Targeting Schools: drill, militarism and imperialism* (London: Routledge, 1999) pp.102-111, and Robin Betts, *Dr Macnamara 1861-1931* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999) pp.204-6.
29. There was an undeclared status issue: for elementary school teachers to be bossed by lower-class common soldiers was an unacceptable indignity.
30. *Schoolmaster*, quoted *F* 3 April 1903, p.218.
31. *F* 3 April 1903, p.224. Macnamara, like most elementary school teachers, had not attended a university and was not a graduate, but in 1898 he was given an Hon. LL.D by St Andrews and thereafter, unlike most recipients of honorary doctorates, styled himself 'Dr'.
32. *F* 17 April 1903, p.250.
33. *F* 9 January 1903, p.21. This had particular resonance for some readers: the theme of licentious soldiery recurred in pacifist propaganda, and that of male depravity in moral-reform and

feminist propaganda: for example, a decade later, Christabel Pankhurst's *The Great Scourge*. Moreover 'young girl teachers', whether pupil teachers or after teacher-training college, were younger than their counterparts today.
34. *F* 23 January 1903, p.61.
35. *F* 19 June 1903, p.421.
36. Emlyn Warren, *Quaker Members of Parliament c1650-1970* (c1970) p.25, Library, Friends House. See also Isichei, pp.200-208.
37. Edward M. Spiers, *Haldane: an army reformer* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1980) pp. 96-8; *idem, The Army and Society 1815-1914* (London: Longman, 1980) pp.275-8; Ian F.W. Beckett, *The amateur military tradition 1558-1945* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991) p.213.
38. *BF* June 1907, p.164.
39. Spiers (1980) pp.112-113; Beckett (1991) p.215.
40. *F* 21 January 1910, p40.
41. Robbins, p.14; Laity, p.202; Robert Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) pp.13-14, 299-301.
42. On Boy Scouts and Vane largely from Tim Jeal, *Baden-Powell* (London: Pimlico, 1991) pp.403-8.
43. *F* 12 June 1908, p.404.
44. *F* 3 July 1908, p.455.
45. *BF* February 1910, pp.36-7.
46. *BF* March 1910, p.78.
47. *F 1* April 1910, p.200.
48. *F13* April 1910, p.241.
49. David Howell, *British Workers and the Independent Labour Party 1888-1906* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984) p.345.
50. Times 8 July 1899, p.11.
51. E (1900) pp.171-3.
52. On the N.S.L. see R.T Stearn, 'National Service League', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* online; idem, 'The Case for Conscription', *History Today*, April 2008; and works there cited especially M.J. Allison, 'The national service issue, 1899-1914' (unpublished doctoral thesis, London University, King's College, 1975), and R.J.Q. Adams and Philip P. Poirier, *The Conscription Controversy in Great Britain, 1900-18* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1987). Although in *The Times* and *Haydn's Dictionary of Dates*, the founding of the N.S.L. was later misdated by Elie Halévy, Max Beloff and Martin Ceadel.
53. *F* 28 March 1913, p.198; *F* 13 January 1905, p.26. Some Quakers may have been relatively favourable to Roberts because he had

supported their project to return Boer Bibles taken during the war: Hirst, p.485; Hewison, pp.250-1.

54. Laity, p.203. The N.S.L.'s income was much less than that of the Suffragette Women's Social and Political Union, Martin Pugh, *The March of the Women* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) p.218. See also Holton, *Quaker Women*, p.214.
55. Prominent Cadburys have been variously interpreted. On Cadbury Brothers and slave-grown cacao see Kevin Grant, *A Civilised Savagery: Britain and the new slaveries in Africa, 1884-1926* (London: Routledge, 2005) chapter 4.
56. Caroline E. Playne, *The Pre-War Mind in Britain* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1928) p.147. Miss Playne was Anglican.
57. J.T. Walton Newbold, *The War Trust Exposed* (London: National Labour Press, 1913) pp.14-16. Armaments manufacture was contrary to Quaker tenets and in the eighteenth century some had been disowned for it.
58. Shee, *Briton's First Duty*, p.233.
59. *F* 9 February 1906, p.93.
60. *E* (1913) p.102.
61. *F* 13 January 1905, p.26.
62. *F* 28 March 1913, p.198.
63. *F* 9 February 1906, p.87.
64. *F* 24 February 1911, pp.124-6.
65. *F* 3 October 1913, p.647.
66. *F* 5 December 1913, p.798.
67. On Anglo-German relations see Paul Kennedy, *The Rise of the Anglo-German Antagonism 1860-1914* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1980); A.J.A. Morris, *The Scaremongers; the advocacy of the war and rearmamant 1896-1914* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984); and John Ramsden, *Don't mention the war: the British and the Germans since 1890* (London: Little, Brown, 2006).
68. David James, *Lord Roberts* (London: Hollis & Carter, 1954) p.457.
69. *F* 30 July 1909, p.517.
70. *BF* January 1912, p.1
71. Stephen E. Koss, *Sir John Brunner: Radical Plutocrat 1842-1919* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970) p.223; A.J.A. Morris, *Radicalism Against War, 1906-1914* (London: Longman, 1972) pp.198-201. For a critical view of the Quakers' role, alleging their obsequiousness, gullibility, hubris, and 'courting' the Kaiser, see Phillips, section 3, 'British Quakerism and the Anglo-German friendship industry'.
72. Dudley, p.95.
73. There were 664 Quakers in Australia and 143 in New Zealand;

Hirst, p488. Australia and new Zealand did not have autonomous Yearly Meetings until 1964.

74. *E* (1914) p.122. British Quakers also sent other sums to Australia and New Zealand.
75. William N. Oats, 'The Campaign against Conscription in Australia - 1911 to 1914', *Journal of the Friends Historical Society* vol. 55 no. 7 (1989) p.214.
76. Colonial Observer', *A Blot on the Empire: Conscription in New Zealand* (London: Friends' Peace Committee, nd, 1913) p.16
77. *E* (1912) pp.167, 162.
78. *E* (1911) p.114, (1914) p.112, (1913) p.101.
79. Lesley C. Jauncey, *The Story of Conscription in Australia* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1936); John Barrett, *Falling In; Australians and 'Boy Conscription', 1911-1915* (Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1979); Thomas Tanner, *Compulsory Citizen Soldiers* (Sydney: Alternative Publishing Co-operative, 1980); Oats, op.cit.; Laity, chapter 7; Peter Brock, *The Quaker Peace Testimony 1660 to 1914* (York: Sessions, 1990) chapter XXIV; Kennedy (2001) chapter 8; Peter Brock, *Against the Draft: essays on conscientious objection from the radical reformation to the Second World War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006) chapter 14; Jeffrey Grey, *A Military History of Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008) chapter 4.
80. *F* 24 February 1911, p.124. Quaker use of patriotic discourse was presumably indicative of the pervasiveness of patriotism through much of the political spectrum, as shown by recent historians; see Paul Ward, *Red Flag and Union Jack: Englishness, patriotism and the British left, 1881-1924* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1998) and Readman. It might be interpreted as supporting Brian Phillips' view of Friendly patriot' accommodation with the establishment.
81. *F* 27 March 1914, p.217. See also note 27.
82. *F* 24 February 1911, p.123; *BF* September 1913, p.258.
83. F 11 October 1912, p.653.
84. Ibid. p.662.
85. Kennedy, 'Quaker Renaissance', pp.252, 272; *idem*, British Quakerism, p.9. According to incomplete statistics, 45 percent of Quakers were conscientious objectors, Hirst, p.538.

FRIENDS AND WAR, 1914-15[1]

In the first part of the summer of 1914, most British people were little concerned about the prospect of European war. If such a war did occur it seemed unlikely that Britain would be involved. H. Winifred Sturge, then headmistress of The Mount, the Quaker girls' school in York, later recalled: 'When the school broke up for the summer holidays in July 1914, none of us even suspected the coming tragedy. It was unthinkable to us that Great Britain would join in the continental quarrel.'[2] This sentiment was followed by the easy conviction that the war, once begun, would soon end in a victory for the allies, France, Russia and Britain. Certain people were wiser, among them Lord Kitchener, secretary of state in the contemporary Asquith government. So were at least some Friends. Ten days after British entry into the war *The Friend* printed a message from Meeting for Sufferings. It was issued in the name of the Religious Society of Friends and contained the warning that the war 'may prove to be the fiercest conflict in the history of the human race'.[3]

Friends were presented with a choice which, fortunately for ourselves, this generation has not had to make. One wonders how many British people in 1914 knew anything about Germany or could even find a map. Ignorance, however, was no bar to enthusiasm or fanaticism; quite the contrary. The public relations industry was in its infancy, but so too was public understanding of the nature of foreign policy. The brutality of German invading forces was unscrupulously exaggerated. Partly in consequence public enthusiasm became in some cases indistinguishable from hysteria. Beatrice Webb, the acute social scientist who was not an opponent of the war, stressed the importance of the German invasion of Belgium. Two days after British entry she told her diary: 'If this little race had not been attacked the war would have been positively unpopular - it could hardly have taken place'. Sybil Morrison was, like Webb, not a Friend but later became a leading peace activist. She recalled many years later: 'I went to the First World War driving an ambulance, and I think young people today will consider it extremely naïve of me to have believed that Britain was engaged in fighting a war to end all wars. Since I did believe this lying propaganda, it was natural that in 1914, at the age of 21, I should have thought that perhaps such an end might be worth the fearful sacrifice of Britain's youth'.[4]

Pressure to support the war grew steadily as the months progressed and Quakers, though treated relatively gently as

members of a known pacifist religious denomination, were not spared. Several examples may be given. Stephen Hobhouse, a prominent London Friend, distributed anti-war leaflets late into the evening of Britain's entry into the war. He recalled in his autobiography: 'In the Strand a gang of patriotic youths hustled me across the street, tore up my literature, and sent me home to a restless night'. Alfred Salter, was a doctor in a poor area in South London and later a Quaker member of parliament. He wrote a pacifist article at the start of the war which was indignantly quoted in the local press and resulted in widespread hostility towards a previously popular figure.[5]

May Rowntree, a York Quaker married to a member of parliament for the city, Arnold Rowntree, said in a lecture given in 1915: 'There was an appalling ignorance on the part of people of the country of other nations beyond our own ... We had to recognise that this war was a result of wrong thinking on the part of all the nations involved, and we were in it just as much as any other'. This rather fuzzy assertion stirred up a hornet's nest. May Rowntree was attacked in the *Yorkshire Herald* not only by letter writers but editorially for 'pro-German sympathies'. The paper claimed that 'members of the Quaker community ... search about for far-fetched theories and explanations to avoid attributing the war to its real and only cause, German greed and aggression'. Press indictment of Quaker pacifism, of which this is just one example, could be as intimidating as the physical attacks or attempts to dismiss opponents of the war from their employment which also took place. Alexander Cowan Wilson, a retired engineer and active Quaker received abusive letters at his Birkenhead home and his house was stoned. Later in the war Manchester City Council tried unsuccessfully to persuade the University of Manchester to sever its ties with John William Graham, a moderate and sometimes equivocal Quaker pacifist.[6]

The appeal to join the patriotic cause, in particular to defend Belgium, was more seductive so far as most young Friends were concerned than attacks on pacifism. Quakers could not be expected to stand aloof from the almost universal national sentiment fostered but not created by the fervently pro-war press, and it is not surprising that many Friends were either confused and undecided or wholehearted supporters of war. By 1914 the Religious Society of Friends, whose British membership stood at a little over 19,000 was no longer an exclusive sect, though its members tended to seek their marriage partners, friends and social associates within the Quaker community. Its leading members had important positions in their communities and some at least of them were more influenced by

their distinction within British society than by the established tenets of their faith. Despite the crisis of the South African War in 1899-1902, Friends tended to take their pacifist convictions for granted. They had made, in the words of the revered Quaker historian Rufus Jones, 'no adequate preparation' for a European war, an event which presented them with the severest test to their 'spiritual Christianity' which Quakers had had to face.[7]

Moreover, to desert pacifist principles did not necessarily make them unworthy or inconsistent in their Quaker faith. Harold Capper Hunt, a pro-war Quaker administrator at the Retreat hospital in York, pointed out early in 1915: 'If the society stands for one thing more than another it is for liberty of conscience'. Over fifty years later his words were echoed by the historian John Rae, writing about the Quaker objector to conscription: 'The Quaker objector was inspired by his belief in the authority of the Inner Light, not by his adherence to a pacifist tenet'. Moreover, as Rae and other historians have pointed out, by 1914 Quaker pacifism was 'traditional rather then doctrinal'; Quakers were in many cases unwilling, Martin Ceadel points out, either to live by the peace testimony or repudiate it, disliking the choice between support for the war and outright opposition.[8] What some contemporaries missed was that the society was a religious organisation, not a secular socialist or pacifist society.

There were twelve Quaker members of parliament in the opening months of the war, all but two of whom were Liberals. In this early period they were subdued or, they hoped, non-controversial in their public utterances about the war. This was a stance which cannot be explained simply by the appeal of party loyalty. The two cabinet ministers who resigned at the outset of war did not include Joseph Pease, the Quaker President of the Board of Education. It is difficult to read the statement of Meeting for Sufferings, issued in early August 1914, as anything other than support for British participation in the war: 'We recognise that our Government has made most strenuous efforts to preserve peace, and has entered in to the war under a grave sense of duty to a smaller State towards which we had moral and treaty obligations ... We hold that the present moment is not one for criticism, but for devoted service to our nation'. The statement went on to ask Friends to 'banish thoughts of bitterness, harsh judgements, the revengeful spirit' and to urge that 'the war should not be carried on in any vindictive spirit', demonstrating a marked, perhaps inevitable, incomprehension of the nature of war in the twentieth century. It did admit, however, that the war 'spells the bankruptcy of much that we too lightly call Christian'. Three weeks later a leading article in *The Friend* was even more supportive of the

war: 'Never before has this country shown such unity and singlemindedness, and profoundly though we all regret being concerned in this awful enterprise there can be little or no doubt that the events which are happening make our action in some senses a defence of our very existence as a nation and as an Empire'. Edward Grubb, a leading Friend was later oppose conscription with great courage and resolution,[9] but at this early stage, writing in the same issue, he put a non-pacifist view. 'Theoretically, we agree wholly that war is wrong; practically, it seems that *this* war has been forced on us by circumstances, and we do not see how our country's share in it could have been avoided except by refusal to fulfil her obligations of honour'.[10]

Meeting for Sufferings tried to remain faithful to historic Quaker principles without expressing outright opposition to the war. It was a difficult balancing act. A proposed message of goodwill to the peoples of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Turkey was referred to the Peace Committee which prevaricated. 'We are of the judgment that all who have conscientious objection to war should be urged to stand by their faith', Sufferings decided in September 1914. This was far from being a clarion call. A leaflet was issued opposing war in general terms but acknowledging: 'We can all understand the appeal to noble instincts which makes men desire to risk their lives for their country'. In June 1915 young men were urged to train for non-combatant service, including relief work at home and abroad and service in the Friends Ambulance Unit, though it also advocated participation in peace propaganda.[11] In short, Sufferings, faced with enormous pressures, equivocated, opposing war in general but urging humanitarian participation in this war and 'understanding' of Friends who enlisted.

It is not surprising that many young male Friends should have volunteered to join the armed forces. One such was Walter Ingleby, a York Friend who wrote to his monthly meeting in January 1916 that he had volunteered to join the army: 'My reason for enrolling was that I felt it to be my bounden duty, that I could indeed do no less ... My early training [as a Friend] drew me in one direction, my conception of duty to another'. In the end his sense of duty 'overwhelmed all other considerations'.[12] This kind of sentiment was widely shared among young Friends, whether or not they took the same action. On the other hand traditional Quaker pacifism was not forgotten. London Yearly Meeting was told in May 1915 that well over two hundred locations had held Quaker peace meetings which had been reported to the national Peace Committee. Some of the meetings were part of a series or held at several different localities in

the same town. Details were provided but 'a spirit of sympathy and earnest enquiry has prevailed' and the events were said to be free from disruption and opposition.[13]

To join the armed forces met with widespread expressions of public approval, while opposition was a lonely option, 'lonelier month by month',[14] and liable to lead to open or subtle intimidation of various kinds. The Quaker writer and activist Elizabeth Fox Howard wrote shortly after the end of the war with considerable understanding of the unenviable choice which faced those eligible for the armed forces:

> It was perhaps natural that a considerable number of Friends should have been swept off their feet by the rising tide of popular feeling, and that many young men should have joined the army, feeling the call to this particular form of sacrifice stronger than the principles in which they had been brought up ... To stand aside when others were offering their all to their country's cause, to be misunderstood and to seem to have chosen the coward's part - all for the sake of a great and perhaps impossible ideal, - this strain proved too much for any whose Quaker principles were not rooted in something far deeper than mere tradition or inherited beliefs.[15]

Her account was later echoed by Maude Robinson, a prolific Quaker author: 'It was not pleasant to be regarded as a shirker; it was not pleasant to open an anonymous letter and find it contained a white feather, but we can hardly realise now how bitter the war spirit was in those sad days'.[16] It was natural that pacifists should seek support in each other's company. Bertrand Russell, who was to be imprisoned in 1918 for an article stemming from his anti-war convictions, recalled: 'When we were all together we felt warm and cosy, and forgot what an insignificant minority we were'.[17]

The editor of *The Friend*, Edward Bassett Reynolds, gave full rein to his readers to express their views and the result was to demonstrate that Friends were sharply divided on the issue. An editorial note commented in April 1915 that many more letters were received from readers than considerations of space allowed to be published, but insisted that those printed were a 'fair representation' of those received.[18] Analysis of the 79 letters on the war received before 9 April 1915 shows that 41 either supported Britain's participation or opposed disowning young Friends who had joined the armed forces. In the first year of war 52 of the 116 published letters on the subject were in support of the British government position or of Friends who had volunteered.

Pro-war Friends often expressed themselves vehemently. J. Wilmer

Green, who was to resign his membership in April 1915, wrote from Penmaenmawr that if Britain did not fight 'we should be assisting wrong to triumph over right'. Walter S. Rowntree, a Brighton teacher, asserted: 'The one urgent matter is how to save Europe and humanity from the catastrophe of German domination, with all that that stands for'. He went on to ask: 'If such a common-sense proposition seems to clash with our Quaker principles, why not take courage and revise our principles?' Albert Wilson, a London medical man who served with the French Medical Corps, insisted: 'It is a Christians' war, - a war against rape, massacre, cruelty, hate, injustice and every kind of vice we can mention. May God bless our troops and our Allies.' Some Quaker women took a similar line. Mary Deborah Scott Moncrieff, another Londoner, wrote that in the past leading Friends, including John Bright, had judged each question of war and peace on its merits: 'We others know that we, too, have consciences; and, for us also, the Society is our home. We do not think it right that it should become the Peace Society. And especially just now'. For Bernard Ellis of Leicester: 'When a man fights a mad beast at the door of his house, it is not meet for those inside, whose lives he protects but who are not willing to help him, to discuss what to do with the skin'.[19]

Bedford Pollard went so far in an article in the *Friends' Quarterly Examiner* as to declare: 'The Quaker doctrine of non-resistance will never find a sympathetic acceptance' and to praise acts of 'saintly service' carried out on battlefields and in military hospitals. 'And yet we decide that war is wicked, stupid and futile!' Edward Lloyd Pease, a Darlington coalowner, wrote in the same issue of the same journal that decisions about war and peace were questions about which individuals must be free to make their own decisions, a view which found widespread acceptance within the society.[20]

It was only in Quaker journals that divisions among Friends about the war were aired. Francis Ransom, who could trace his Quaker ancestry back to the seventeenth century, told Bedfordshire Quarterly Meeting in Hitchen in November 1914: 'Belgium had been overrun by barbarians ... The views of the Society of Friends were very divided.' He expressed his approval of the meeting's chairman who, though a Friend, had spoken at a recruitment meeting in the town. He later repeated his support for the war in a letter to the *Spectator*, the most prominent of the weekly journals, stressing that many Friends took the same view. A week later the editor of the journal expressed pleasure that there were 'still some young Friends who can answer all this [anti-war] sophistry with a plain "Give me a rifle"'.[21]

Arthur Rowntree, headmaster of the Quaker Bootham School in

York, tried to be circumspect but was anxious to point out that many Quakers played their part in the national crisis by both military and humanitarian activities. He wrote to the *Birmingham Gazette and Express* in January 1915 to say that he knew of 65 of his former pupils who had joined the armed forces, about 30 of them members of the Society of Friends. Thirty-five more were working with the FAU in Dunkirk, while others were assisting war victims in devastated areas of France. The record of nonconformist public schools, he wrote, 'is one of which they have every reason to be proud'. The following May the *North Star* (Darlington) printed a letter from a reader who described her/himself simply as 'a Darlington Quaker: 'The present war ... was forced upon us.' It was 'regarded by most of the Friends as a necessary evil and one which must be continued until the military Hun is stamped out forever'. Anti-war sentiment among Quakers was, the correspondent asserted, the view of a minority of so-called leaders. In August Henry Marriage Wallis, a prominent Friend who held strong pro-war views, wrote to the *Westminster Gazette*, an influential London evening paper: 'Quakers of unimpeachable principles go saying that this war is different, and the only thing is to conduct it to a stable and satisfactory peace.' Quakers, he claimed even more damagingly, were 'a bewildered, disunited, discouraged company of well-meaning folk conscious of being up against circumstances too imperious for antiquated doctrines to deal with ... Upon the main question of forcible resistance in arms the Quakers are radically divided'.[22]

The period was one of relative statistical darkness, but Friends kept careful records and it is disappointing that there are no definitive figures for Quaker participation in either of the twentieth century world wars. It is generally accepted, however, among others by the authoritative Quaker historian Thomas Kennedy, that about a third of members supported the Great War. Kennedy cites Quaker sources which state that over 200 young Quakers enlisted initially, that altogether nearly a thousand, a third of all male Friends of military age, served in the armed forces, and that over a hundred of them died. London Yearly Meeting was told in May 1915 that fifteen Friends were engaged in recruiting for the armed forces and some fifty resignations had been received from members who supported the war.[23]

Both contemporaries and historians have concluded that those Friends who supported participation in the war usually came from Quaker families. Their faith was assumed to be based, in Elizabeth Fox Howard's words on'mere tradition or inherited beliefs' and they were usually not active Friends. Meeting for Sufferings was told in

May 1915 that 'the greater number of those who had enlisted had previously manifested little interest in the Society'. They were 'only nominal Friends', the committee on Friends and Enlistment concluded hopefully. Kennedy challenges this view, citing evidence from East Anglia which suggests that many of those who volunteered to fight were active young Friends.[24] The question is not susceptible of a definitive answer. What seems certain is that the long years of peace had dulled the opposition of many Friends to war until a crisis arose and in such circumstances they did not all arrive at the same decision. Kennedy's conclusion, perhaps somewhat oversimplified, is that attitudes to the war among Friends who remained at home were a generational matter. Older friends, he writes, were 'caught between their historical traditions and their patriotic impulses', while the 'leaders of the next generation had concluded that the only legitimate stand for Quakers to take was not just to oppose the war but to attempt to stop it'.[25] It is certainly true that some of the older generation were torn between their religious traditions and conventional patriotism and sought a means of satisfying the former without outraging the latter.

Some Friends, conscious of the suffering which war brought in its wake, sought a means of mitigating its effects by participating in activities which would help to save lives. The Emergency Committee for the Assistance of Germans, Austrians, Hungarians, and Turks in Distress sought to protect and where possible repatriate citizens of what had become enemy countries. The War Victims' Relief Committee carried out work in stricken areas especially in France but also and increasingly in other countries.. More controversial and even more dangerous was the Friends Ambulance Unit. The FAU was established after a letter in *The Friend* on 21 August 1914 by Philip Baker, later as Philip Noel-Baker well known for his Labour politics and work for peace. Baker, the son of the Quaker Liberal MP J. Allen Baker, was encouraged in his initiative by older Friends who wanted to assist the war effort without overtly supporting military action. He wrote: 'Some members of the society with whom I have been in correspondence feel strongly that in this crisis in public affairs they want to render some service more commensurate with their powers and opportunities than is involved in the administration of war relief at home ... It has therefore been suggested that young men Friends should form an Ambulance Corps to go to the scene of active operations, either in Belgium or elsewhere'.[26]

The unit was controversial from its inception. Corder Catchpool, an FAU member who turned conscientious objector after the introduction of conscription and served more than two years in

custody in army camps and prison, told a court-martial in May 1917: 'I went out longing to relieve the suffering caused by war, to show sympathy with men who had obeyed a call of duty different from my own, and, in a labour of love, to share the dangers and hardships to which they were exposed'. Thomas Kennedy points out that many Friends looked on the FAU as 'the crowning jewel' in Quaker efforts to provide an opportunity for young men to serve the nation without openly supporting the war. Others disagreed. Henry Mennell, a businessman and social worker, wrote from Croydon in immediate reply to Baker: 'The organisation and equipment of a Quaker Ambulance Corps to go to the seat of war and to form an essential and necessary part of the fighting force, as an ambulance most certainly is, seems to me to need most careful consideration, and to be scarcely consistent with what I have always understood to be the views and principles of Friends'. The unit was also criticised by ardent supporters of the war. A letter appeared in the *Yorkshire Herald* from a reader who acknowledged Friends' 'admirable ambulance work in France'. She went on: 'It is splendid work, but it is work that any neutral might do ... Helping to repair damage done is not the same thing as sharing in the essential suffering of the war, because it is not helping our country to win'.[27]

It is difficult to assign the FAU to the peace or the war party. Its members refused to fight and saw their role as being to save lives. *The Friend* carried regular reports of their activities (and those of other Quaker groups) under the heading 'the peace service of the Society of Friends'. Unarmed FAU members risked their lives; over twenty members died on service and others soon after the war ended. It seems clear, however, that the unit was at least indirectly involved in the war effort. Its members wore khaki, it worked closely with the military authorities and many members received French military decorations (They were not normally eligible for British decorations). The FAU was a kind of half-way house, consisting of men and more than a scattering of women who refused to engage in open warfare, but its members cannot be counted without qualifications among those who followed the Quaker testimony against participation in war. In view of its close connection with military authorities it remained an independent organisation and was not an official Quaker body. More than half its membership of over 1,500 consisted of non-Friends. Even so, it was the source of periodic controversy within the society between outright pacifists and those who were not willing to fight but were prepared to engage in non-combatant service.[28]

The pro-war Quaker tide probably reached a peak in May 1915

with the publication of a collective letter organised by E. Harry Gilpin, a London Quaker manufacturer, and signed initially by over 150, then by over 2,000 Friends.. The letter was couched in restrained terms, presumably to attract the maximum number of signatures. Addressed to those young Quaker men who had joined the armed forces it stated: 'Not all who sign this letter would have seen fit to do as you have done, though many of us are in complete sympathy with your action. We all, however, believe that great diversity of personal opinion and conduct is necessarily found in our Society'. The addresses were urged not to resign their membership. 'We urge you ... to consider that the Society of Friends has never been entirely agreed in matters of personal opinion or conduct. It would not be a living body if it were'.[29]

No such restraint was shown by the Quaker cabinet minister Joseph Pease in a letter to Gilpin which was printed with the circular letter and its signatures:

> Those ... who know the facts, realise how every possible step was taken to avoid the present war, for which Germany has long made definite preparation. She intended to *force* her own military domination on the world irrespective of her own word or the rights of other Nationalities ... Our testimony to Peace principles and their value will ... not be promoted by letting others actively work for [an enduring peace by military means], knowing all the time that our homes, our children's lives, and the honour of our women are safe-guarded by their efforts.

Reynolds declined to publish the Gilpin letter in *The Friend* on the grounds that it would be misunderstood or controversial, although, he wrote, 'almost everybody would wish to send a greeting of friendship and goodwill to our members who have deemed it their duty to enlist'. His decision was endorsed many years later by Gilpin's pacifist son Tony, who was born in 1913. 'I can appreciate the position of the editor of *The Friend* ... Any such publication would have inevitably weakened the position of Quakers who upheld the essential peace testimony'.[30]

The majority of Quakers remained faithful to the society's traditional belief in peace, despite the pressures to which they were submitted. North Warwickshire Monthly Meeting received and endorsed a committee report in December 1914 which asserted that those young Friends who had enlisted had 'gravely compromised' the Quaker peace testimony. Their action was 'incompatible with true membership in the Society of Friends'. Stressing that those who had gone to war were a minority group within the society, the committee insisted that 'we cannot permanently retain as members

those who demonstrate by their action that they differ from us in a matter so vital'. London Yearly Meeting, held between 19 and 26 May 1915, necessarily gathered together Friends with strong contradictory opinions on the burning issue of the day. What Rufus Jones soon after the end of the war termed 'the hard collision of ideals'[31] could not be avoided. It required good luck, strong leadership and the general realisation of members that their most important priority must be to ensure that the society remained united, to prevent a catastrophic split.

Friends were in no doubt of the historic importance of this yearly meeting. *The Friend* noted accurately: 'The Yearly Meeting of 1915 will long be remembered as one of the historic gatherings of the Society - for it has been held at a time of extraordinary national crisis, a crisis closely affecting the position and principles of the Society ... The Society itself', it pointed out, 'has not been without its own severe and searching trials'[32] In general sentiment was expressed seriously, at times emotionally but not abusively. As reported, discussions were more conciliatory, more couched in Christian terminology and more inclined to pacifism than the published letters previously cited.

Yearly Meeting was exceptionally well attended, 'the numbers swollen doubtless', *The Friend* observed, 'by a sense of the special importance of the issues to be considered'. About 1,600 people were reported to be in attendance at the Swarthmore lecture and a 'much larger' number than usual was present at the business sessions. It was clearly fortunate for the society that the clerk of this Meeting was John Henry Barlow, businessman, social and temperance worker and secretary of the Bournville Village Trust, who had been clerk of Yearly Meeting since 1913 and continued in post until the beginning of the Meeting in 1920. He won golden opinions. *The Friend* said immediately after Yearly Meeting that he had 'shown wisdom and patience in accord with the best traditions of his office'. Maude Robinson in her memoir of the war years called him 'that magnificent clerk' and claimed that he had been 'assuredly given to the Society for that emergency'. Kennedy gives him credit for keeping the society faithful to its pacifist tradition.[33] Barlow gave the opposing factions the opportunity to express themselves fully, prevented disagreement from turning into public rancour, carried out successfully the business of the week and did much to ensure that the society remained, however uneasily, a united body.

Soon after the Meeting a letter was sent to him by Henry Lloyd Wilson, who had recently completed a lengthy spell as clerk of London Yearly Meeting. It expressed gratitude to Barlow and added:

'I don't think we were really on the brink of a precipice'. His choice of words, however, is surely significant. J.B. Hodgkin of Darlington wrote to say that he had heard from many sources high praise of Barlow's conduct as clerk. After Barlow's death in 1924 his widow received numerous letters of sympathy which recalled in glowing terms his years as clerk. Robert Marsh, who had told Yearly Meeting in 1915 that it was the armed forces which allowed Quakers to maintain their pacifist principles, wrote: 'In the hands of a weaker man, or in the hands of a strong man without John's absolute impartiality, the Yearly Meeting and the Society of Friends would have collapsed with a crash between 1914 and 1918'.[34] Horace Alexander, a young Friend who had been a strong opponent of the war, wrote to John Cash Barlow recalling his 'wonderful memories of your father, especially of the way in which he helped us all through the war years'. Barlow's home Meeting in Warwickshire recalled after his death his 'invaluable service ... during those troubled and perplexing years when feelings were often strained and patience nigh to breaking point'.[35]

War and peace were the principal topic of the Meeting, sharpened by the need to decide whether Friends should endorse the disownment of those members who had enlisted in the armed forces. Two points are prominent in the published proceedings. The first, already mentioned, was that views were expressed emphatically but without the intolerance which had been seen in the letters pages of *The Friend*. The second was that the majority of Friends, if attendance and spoken participation in Yearly Meeting were representative, remained pacifists despite pressure from pro-war Friends and the outside world. Most of those who participated in discussions urged the society to oppose war but there was a minority which thought otherwise and some as reported were equivocal. Ormston Pease cited the 'Belgian horrors' to ask if Quakers should not take part in resisting wrong where it occurred. John William Graham, the influential Manchester Friend, pointed out that Quakers paid taxes and could not escape the ramifications of the war. On the other hand: 'We could not outrage the Christ within'. Quakers must stand for 'the higher loyalty, the eternal law of love'.[36]

The discussion, if restrained, was still emphatic. It reached a crisis when Louis Dell spoke on behalf of his two soldier friends and forty other relatives in the army. He and his sons had been workers for peace, 'but they had had a rude awakening. Such things had happened in Belgium and France as would happen in England but for those who, like his and other people's sons, had gone out to risk their lives'. It may have been Dell to whom Maude Robinson referred

when she wrote: 'Yes, it was a terrible time, and few blamed the well-known Friend who, with chalk-white face, pleaded that Friends should not hinder young men from entering the army'. After he spoke Barlow called for a few minutes' silence, a 'period of devotional waiting' in the words of *The Friend*, and Robinson recalled that afterwards the meeting continued calmly.[37]

What was to be done about those Friends who had joined the armed forces? The discussion at Yearly Meeting as reported in *The Friend* was clearly in favour of deferring any disciplinary action until the war had ended, which in the event meant that there would be no disciplinary action. Barlow admitted that 'the Meeting could not arrive at unanimity'. Some Friends favoured a clear stand which implied disownment, but they were in a minority. The tone was set by William Littleboy, one of the founders of Woodbrooke and subsequently a co-warden there, introducing a session on the peace testimony of Friends. He insisted he was a convinced pacifist but that he was not 'sitting in judgement: if a Friend had joined the army not unthinkingly, but having sought, pleaded, wrestled long for light and leading, it was not for us to utter a harsh verdict. God accepted the spirit rather than the letter of our service'. Frederic Taylor, a full-time Quaker worker speaking for Bedfordshire Quarterly Meeting, 'thought that it was important that Friends should not proceed in the matter now, when the requisite detachment of mind was not possible'. William Noble, a temperance worker, 'trusted the matter would be deferred'. E.H. Gilpin 'thought the majority of the Society were not disposed to discuss the matter now'. Rosa Hobhouse, a social worker married to Stephen Hobhouse, 'hoped the question would be deferred'. John Ashworth, though a member of the Friends' Peace Society, 'thought the subject should not be discussed'. J.W. Graham told the meeting that the Northern Friends Peace Board wanted 'no disciplinary measure [to] be taken'. T.P Newman, a long-term peace worker, 'thought there was strong ground for postponement'. Bevan Lean, headmaster of the Quaker Sidcot School, 'regarded it as unthinkable that the Society should deal in a disciplinary way with these members just now'. John Morland, a Somerset Friend, claimed to be a strong advocate of peace but 'it yet seemed to him unthinkable that Monthly Meetings should disown any member now absent, possibly when he was in extreme danger'. Ormston Pease supported Morland. Several Quarterly Meetings and the Peace Committee took the same line.[38]

Faced with such a groundswell of opinion it was impossible for Yearly Meeting to proceed to decisive action and it was decided simply to record the receipt of relevant reports and minutes from

Quaker committees and meetings. The decision not to condemn the Friends who had joined the armed forces won the approval of the *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, whose editor, Sir George Newman, a leading figure in the movement to promote the health of children, chaired the Friends' Ambulance Unit. As such he cannot be unambiguously classed as an anti-war Friend and he had an influential journal in which to express his views: ;'To condemn these young men unheard was obviously impossible ... We are all implicated in the war, directly or indirectly, and nothing is to be gained by condemnation or recrimination. We cannot judge these matters fairly or wisely in the midst of the battle'.[39] Although membership matters including disownment were under the jurisdiction of monthly meetings, not the Yearly Meeting, there was now much increased pressure for Friends at all levels to suspend judgment on the issue.

It would be misleading to conclude that a strong expression of the Quaker peace testimony was quid pro quo for inaction over enlistment in the armed forces. Rather it should be stressed that the majority of Friends who attended London Yearly Meeting in 1915 and probably those who remained at home were convinced of 'the way of life that cannot accept the methods of war', though they felt unable to condemn those of their number whose inner light had taken them in a contrary direction. The epistle issued at the close of the meeting acknowledged that some Friends supported the war. But 'we claim that there is a better way, and that Love alone can avail to find and follow it ... It has been an encouragement to us at this Meeting to know that the bulk of our young men are prepared to refuse military service of any kind. We have also been stirred by the outspoken willingness of many women Friends to accept all the consequences involved in taking our position'.[40] Many Friends who continued to support the war were still advocates of peace as an ideal and some at least must have been prepared to acquiesce in the sentiment of the epistle since they had won their point over disownment.

Dissension amongst Friends about the rights and wrongs of the war did not end with Yearly Meeting in May 1915. John S. Hoyland a Quaker missionary with the Friends' Foreign Mission Association, wrote from India in July: 'The threat of schism is heard' and James Henry Doncaster expressed the view in November that there was 'an almost irresistible impulse' on the part of pro-war Friends 'to leave the Society ... This impulse is very widespread'.[41] Nonetheless, after Yearly Meeting disagreement was generally expressed in more moderate terms than previously. There was a perhaps belated

realisation on the part of many Friends that nothing mattered to them so much as the preservation and unity of their religious denomination. There were also significant external factors. The war was dragging on interminably, dashing hopes of a quick resolution and resulting in horrific slaughter. It was doing, many Friends felt, irreparable damage to the values for which it was allegedly being fought. Even more urgent was the threat of military conscription, which was finally introduced in January 1916 and which Friends could unite to oppose..[42] Conscription was repeatedly mentioned at Yearly Meeting 1915. T. Edmund Harvey, Liberal MP for Leeds West, warned that it was 'almost certain to come'. His Liberal parliamentary colleague J. Allen Baker, however, hoped that 'no such proposal would be made, and very much doubted whether it would. It would divide the House and the nation from top to bottom'. Baker on two occasions that summer assured Meeting for Sufferings that the government had no intention of introducing such a measure.[43]

In early January 1915 a sub-committee within London Yearly Meeting began to meet regularly to discuss how to put forward more effectively within the society the case for pacifism. It lasted until the end of the year when it was absorbed by the main Peace Committee. Late in September A.S. Eddington, professor of astronomy at Cambridge, wrote to Horace Alexander, its secretary, with what Alexander recalled nearly three-quarters of a century later was effectively his resignation from the group. Eddington wrote: 'At the time we started, pacifism seemed to be in a bad way and the testimony of friends against war was very shaky. Now the movement is much stronger'.[44] Eddington gave no reasons for his conclusion, but all the above factors must have played their part.

Baker's assurance, though it may have seemed plausible at the time it was made, was soon to be falsified by events. Conscription was much on the minds of Friends in summer 1915. On 11 June a leader in *The Friend* argued that it would 'introduce in England [sic] the beginnings of the very vice against which we profess to be at war, namely Prussian militarism ... The human family cannot afford to allow this great freedom to perish from the earth'. Meeting for Sufferings appealed to parliament in early September 1915 not to introduce conscription. It was, they insisted, a violation of the right of freedom of the individual conscience for which the Society of Friends had always stood. In discussion it was emphasised that compulsion would also be opposed by many others outside the Society.. It was not until 19 November that the first letter in *The Friend in* explicit support of conscription was published. This was from the irreconcilably pro-war Bernard Ellis. 'The State has and must have

the right to compel sacrifice ... Are the young men of the Society of Friends to be amongst those who [by refusing to enlist] force conscription on the country?[45]

Two related matters which concerned Friends that summer were whether young Quakers should claim exemption from conscription on the privileged grounds of their religion and what attitude Friends should take to the national register of all persons aged 15-65 which parliament approved in July 1915. This measure was declared by the government not to be a precursor to conscription and Meeting for Sufferings advised Friends that month that they should register. Among those who urged compliance was William A. Cadbury, a leading member of the Birmingham chocolate manufacturing family and a local politician, who urged that Friends should be willing to 'serve our country in any capacity short of killing or preparing to kill our fellow men'. In India, he added, 'British pluck and common sense' had contributed to success 'against great odds' and that British soldiers were 'trusted and sometimes beloved by the native races by whom they are surrounded'. Charles Edward Gregory of Evesham, an indefatigable anti-war compaigner took the opposite view, writing that registration was the likely precursor of 'fasten[ing] the fetters of this hateful system' of conscription.[46] He was to be fined three times for refusing to complete the register.

The problem about claiming exemption to conscription as Quakers was that many other potential conscientious objectors opposed conscription, usually on political grounds. Unlike Quakers these objectors had no privileged status from which to argue their case. An ad hoc conference of young male Quakers attending Yearly Meeting in 1915 met three times and agreed that they did not want exemptions for Friends alone but for all those who objected to the war on grounds of conscience. The conference soon evolved into the Friends Service Committee, the most uncompromising advocate of Quaker pacifism.[47] Friends, urged J.R Maynard of Selly Oak, should 'lead others in maintaining freedom'. This point of view met vehement opposition, though generally expressed without bitterness. Not only supporters of the war as such, but also those who feared that Friends would be grouped by public opinion with militant socialism, deplored confusing Quaker Christian pacifism with purely political opposition to war. Another argument against associating Friends with others was voiced by Sir John Barlow, a Quaker Liberal MP and cousin of the clerk of London Yearly Meeting. Barlow maintained that Quakers who refused to use their membership of the society as a means of exemption from conscription would do nothing to help non-Quakers in the same situation. His letter urging that

Friends should 'maintain our hardly won privileges' was warmly supported by others.[48] Meeting for Sufferings debated the matter at length, finally deciding that exemption should be urged for all conscientious objectors to taking part in war, but if that claim failed exemption for Friends alone should be accepted.

At the end of 1915 the Quaker community remained in a fragile state but was at least nominally united. Yearly Meeting in May had exposed stark differences but faced by the reality of a devastating, apparently unending war and the threat of conscription, the instinct for survival had prevailed. In the even greater crisis of 1939-45 the government, press and public opinion were markedly more tolerant and so were Quakers despite the renewed presence of differing views within their ranks. In consequence the Society has not subsequently faced a similar test over a fundamental matter which threatened to be irreconcilable. In 1914-15 there was an unprecedented and unique threat which was successfully though narrowly overcome.

David Rubinstein

I am indebted for invaluable assistance to Josef Keith of Friends House Library, who has provided me with many essential sources. I have benefited in particular from the scrapbooks of cuttings kept in the library. I am also grateful to Anna Kerr for allowing me access to the private papers of her grandfather, John Henry Barlow, to Special Collections in the Brotherton Library, University of Leeds, and as any historian of the subject and period must be, to Thomas Kennedy, *British Quakerism 1860-1920* (Oxford, 2001).

FOOTNOTES

1. I have used certain of my own writings in partial preparation of this article. They are the following: *York Friends and the Great War* (University of York Borthwick Paper, 1999); 'Quaker opinion and the Great War, 1914-1918', *Quaker Monthly* February 2000, pp. 38-42; *Faithful to Ourselves and the Outside World: York Quakers during the twentieth century* (York [2001]).
2. H. Winifred Sturge and Theodora Clark, *The Mount School York 1785 to 1814, 1831 to 1931* (London, 1931), p.237.
3. 'To Men and Women of Goodwill in the British Empire', *The Friend*, 14 August 1914, p.599.
4. *The Diary of Beatrice Webb, vol. 3, 1905-1924*, eds Norman and Jeanne MacKenzie, (London, 1984) p.214; Sybil Morrison, 'The

Question Why', *The Pacifist*, December 1971/January 1972, p.7. I am grateful to William Hetherington for providing publishing details of this article discovered in the archives of Friargate (York) Quaker local meeting.

5. Stephen Hobshouse, *Forty Years and an Epilogue; an autobiography (1881-1951)* (London, 1951), p.142; Fenner Brockway, *Bermondsey Story: the life of Alfred Salter* (London, 1949), pp.48-50 Salter's article, originally published in the *Labour Leader*, was reprinted in John W. Graham, *Conscription and Conscience: a history 1916-1919* (London, 1922), pp.46-50.
6. *Yorkshire Herald*, 14, 15 January 1915; A.J. Peacock, *York in the Great War 1914-1918* (York, 1993), pp.328-9; Stephen Wilson, *Alexander Cowan Wilson 1866-1955 (Journal of the Friends Historical Society*, supplement no. 35, 1974); *Manchester Guardian*, 14 July and 2 August 1917 (scrapbook WW, Friends House Library).
7. Rufus M. Jones, *The Later Periods of Quakerism*, vol. 2 (London, 1921), p.757.
8. *Yorkshire Herald*, 18 January 1915; John Rae, *Conscience and Politics: the British government and the conscientious objector to military service 1916-1919* (London, 1970), p.73. See also Keith Robbins, *The Abolition of War: the peace movement in Britain, 1914-1919* (Cardiff, 1976), pp.32-3; Martin Ceadel, *Pacifism in Britain 1914-1945: the defining of a faith* (Oxford, 1980), pp. 24-7, 41-3; *idem, Semi-Detached Idealists: the British peace movement and international relations 1854-1945* (Oxford, 2000), pp.190-2.
9. Bertrand Russell, who was not temperamentally sympathetic to Quaker ways of thinking, recalled that Grubb was 'very quiet, very averse from publicity, and very immovable ... He acted on behalf of the young men in prison with a complete absence of even the faintest trace of self-seeking'. (*The Autobiography of Bertrand Russell vol. 2, 1914-1944*, London, 1968, pp.39-40).
10. *The Friend*, 14 August, 4 September 1914, pp.599, 644, 646.
11. *Minutes of Meeting for Sufferings*, September 1914-June 1915.
12. Quoted in Rubinstein, *Faithful to Ourselves and the Outside World*, p.36. Walter Ingleby remained a Friend. At the time of his death in May 1958 he was attending Acomb meeting, York.
13. *Yearly Meeting Proceedings 1915*, p.11; *The Friend*, 28 May 1915, p.401. Peace meetings, however, could be an opportunity for pro-war Friends to express their point of view.
14. Leigh Tucker, 'The English Quakers and World War I 1914-1920', University of North Carolina Ph. D, thesis, 1972, p.39 (Friends House Library).

15. Elizabeth Fox Howard, *Friends' Service in War-time* (London [1920]). pp.10-11
16. Maude Robinson, *'Lest We Forget': a memory of the Society of Friends in the war years, 1914-1918* (London [1932]), p.8; reprinted from *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, First and Fourth Months (January and April) 1932). For a recent study of the use and impact of white feathers see Will Ellsworth-Jones, *We Will not Fight: the untold story of the First World War's conscientious objectors* (London, 2007), pp.46-53.
17. Russell in Julian Bell (ed.), *We Did Not Fight: 1914-1918 experiences of war resisters* (London, 1935, p.330).
18. *The Friend*, 2 April 1915, p.250.
19. *Ibid.*, 16 October, 6 November 1914, pp.770, 825; 5 February, 12 March, 21 May 1915, pp.109, 206. 393.
20. Bedford Pollard, 'The Drastic Medicine of War', Edward Lloyd Pease, 'The Peace Ideal', *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, Fourth Month (April) 1915, pp.198, 200, 228-35.
21. *Bedfordshire Examiner*, 19 November 1914; *Spectator*. 19 and 26 June 1915 (scrapbook WW, Friends House Library).
22. *Birmingham Gazette and Express*, 14 January 1915: *North Star*, 18 May 1915; *Westminster Gazette*, 5 August 1915 (scrapbook WW, Friends House Library).
23. Thomas Kennedy, *British Quakerism 1860-1920* (Oxford, 2001), pp.313-14; *The Friend*, 28 May 1915, p.409. The figures are not reliable. London Yearly Meeting was told in May 1915: 'There were not more than 5,000 men of military age in the Society' (*The Friend*, 28 May 1915, p.409) a figure which, if accurate, would reduce 'military Friends' to no more than a fifth of those eligible.
24. *The Friend*, 14 May 1915, p.362; *Yearly Meetings Proceedings*, 1915, p.30; Kennedy *British Quakerism*, p.313.
25. Thomas Kennedy, 'What hath Manchester wrought? Change in the Religious Society of Friends, 1895-1920', *Journal of the Friends Historical Society*, vol. 57, 1996, p.289.
26. *The Friend*, 21 August 1914, p.626.
27. Corder Catchpool, *On Two Fronts: letters of a conscientious objector* (London, 1918; 1940 reprint, p.132; Kennedy, *British Quakerism*, p.331; *The Friend*, 28 August 1914, p.640; *Yorkshire Herald*, 19 January 1915.
28. Graham, *Conscription and Conscience*, p.157; Kennedy, *British Quakerism*, pp.315-16, 331-3.
29. E. H. Gilpin, war letter 1915, Friends House Library, tract box 239; reproduced by permission. Gilpin was much more outspoken in a letter to *The Friend*, 16 April 1915, pp.295-6.

30. *The Friend,* 28 May 1915, p.399; Tony Gilpin to author, 2 July 1998.
31. *The Friend,* 18 December 1914, p.932; Jones, *Later Periods,* vol. 2, p.757.
32. *The Friend,* 28 May 1915, p.395.
33. *Ibid.,* 28 May 1915, pp.397, 400; Robinson, '*Lest We Forget*', p.7; Kennedy, *British Quakerism,* pp.318-19.
34. Marsh became president of the Friends Historical Society in 1916.
35. Letters and tributes are from the Barlow Papers.
36. *The Friend,* 28 May 1915, pp.401-05.
37. Ibid., pp.411-12, Robinson, '*Lest We Forget*', pp.7-8.
38. *The Friend,* 28 May 1915, pp.401-2. 408-10.
39. 'Editorial Notes', *Friends' Quarterly Examiner,* Seventh Month (July) 1915, p.293.
40. Jones, *Later Periods,* vol. 2, p.757; *The Friend,* 4 June 1915, p.434.
41. *The Friend,* 2 July, 5 November 1915, pp.507, 845.
42. It is not clear that once introduced conscription was a more effective means of producing manpower than voluntary methods had been (Denis Winter, *Death's Men: soldiers of the Great War* (London, 1978; 1979 edition, p.29). More recently Cyril Pearce has examined variable recruiting statistics in Huddersfield and cited the view of A.J.P. Taylor that conscription was a political gesture rather than a practical need (*Comrades in Conscience: the story of an English community's opposition to the Great War* (London, 2001), pp.133-8.
43. *The Friend,* 28 May, 11 June, 9 July 1915, pp.419, 422, 461, 531.
44. Horace G. Alexander, 'A nearly forgotten chapter in British peace activity 1915', *Journal of the Friends Historical Society,* vol. 55, 1987, p.143. Alexander lived to be a centenarian, dying in September 1989.
45. *The Friend,* 11 June, 10 September, 19 November 1915, pp.455-6, 696-7, 873.
46. *Ibid.,* 9, 16, 30 July 1915, pp.531, 563, 598.
47. Kennedy, *British Quakerism,* esp. pp.318-48 and 357-60.
48. *The Friend,* 4, 18, 25 June, 9 July 1915, pp.441-2, 484, 503-4, 543.

FRIENDS INTERNATIONAL CENTRES IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

The idea to start up a Quaker Centre in Norway has been under consideration in Norway Yearly Meeting for several years, and has taken several large steps forward with the naming this year of a committee to launch a Centre and the recent move to larger, more flexible space for Friends' activities in Oslo. It could be interesting in that context to look back at an earlier phase of Quaker Centres, from the first half of the twentieth century.

The concept of Quaker Centres gained currency after the First World War, when Friends had been drawn into putting their ideals and their lives on the line as pacifists in war relief work and were moved in the aftermath to establish a more permanent presence for peace. This took the form of "Quaker embassies", later called Friends International Centres, which were started up in the major cities of Europe and gradually around the world beginning in the early 1920s. The Centres were charged to provide a "Quaker presence" and to generate dialogue within local civic and diplomatic communities on outstanding issues of peace and war.

Through the Centres, a format of off-the-record meetings for policy- and decision-makers developed; a practical approach to peace-building that incorporated Quaker tenets on giving a voice to all, on searching for a larger common truth, and on addressing the individual behind the title.

Quaker Embassies /Friends Centres; 1920-1951

Following the fragile close of the First World War and the establishment of the League of Nations, Friends were interested to have direct engagement in the way peace was perceived and discussed in Europe (still seen as the powder keg) and beyond, particularly in Asia. It was London Yearly Meeting that formulated the idea of "Quaker embassies" to be set up in major cities of Europe, though British Friends were soon joined and supported by Yearly Meetings in Ireland and North America (both USA and Canada) and by the American Friends Service Committee, which had been established as an independent Quaker agency during the war. Between 1920 and 1950 Friends International Centres operated in Frankfurt, Berlin, Nuremberg, Paris, Nice, Geneva, Vienna, Warsaw,

Moscow, Copenhagen, Oslo, London, Amsterdam, Rome, Washington D.C., Salonika (Greece), Calcutta, Delhi, Shanghai, and Kingston (Jamaica).

In drawing groups from the local community together to discuss critical issues, participants were often chosen from diplomatic and national policy-making ranks, mixed to serve the Centres' primary purpose of reconciliation. London Yearly Meeting's proceedings from 1920 describe reports of "Gatherings for discussion ... in which vital questions are talked out in freedom". It proved an inventive and pragmatic model for peace work.

In Geneva, several of the Centre's long-term projects included the convening of a regular forum for representatives of the nearly fifty international organizations with headquarters there, a function that in time became an official inter-agency body that continues to this day. Also, besides constant monitoring of the League of Nations for Friends, the office provided a press service (run by Bertram Pickard) for some forty newspapers in the United States and Great Britain. Besides weekly lectures and informal discussions on the current issues for international service staff, in 1924-'25 the Centre hosted a regular dialogue programme including specialists and diplomats around negotiations on the Convention on Control of the International Trade in Arms, Munitions and Implements of War. Though this convention to control the arms trade failed, the negotiations did produce and adopt the important 1925 protocol against the use of poisonous gases in war. This protocol continues to provide an anchor for control of chemical weapons. The Geneva Friends Centre received a special commendation from the League for this supportive engagement.[1]

The Friends Centres also collaborated in providing an International Seminar Programme for diplomats, exemplified by a series of conferences in the late 1920s with representatives from Germany and Poland, supported by the Berlin and Warsaw Centres.

From 1933, Quaker diplomatic and humanitarian efforts turned increasingly to succouring Jews and other victims of Nazi oppression.Travelling in 1935, Rufus Jones, clerk of AFSC's Board of Directors, reported back to London and Philadelphia that the Centres were "...like islands of light in a surrounding sea of darkness". The worst years of global economic depression and the Second World War severely curtailed activities of Friends International Centres, but they were revitalized and even expanded following 1946.

During and following World War II, Friends' service agencies unfolded a new chapter of humanitarian work, developing approaches for refugee and relief aid, and providing a model of

commitment (underlined by Gunnar Jahn in his Nobel presentation speech), for which they were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1947.[2] But Friends had begun to work with the clay of international relations and in that medium they were to make a distinctive mark in the second half of the century through the Quaker United Nations Offices and the Quaker International Affairs Representatives in troubled regions of the world.

Accomplishments of the Friends International Centres

In taking stock following World War II of what they had learned in their International endeavours since 1920, Friends saw that the network of International Centres in the major cities of Europe and in Asia had accomplished several things.

The Centres had attracted and nourished new groups of seekers, who in their turn had founded their own national branches of the Religious Society of Friends. Looking back in 1951, London Yearly Meeting proceedings note that "...in 1914 there were probably only three active meetings for worship on the continent: Stavanger, Copenhagen and Paris. By 1951 there are thirty to forty in Germany alone and several each in France, Switzerland, Holland, Sweden, Norway and Denmark, and individual meetings in Helsinki, Vienna and Rome."

And through the work of the Centres, Friends had made contacts widely across the national and international communities of policy makers. They had discovered that they had a certain handle, an approach that brought people together to discuss off-the -record and in their personal capacities, important issues of the day. This approach worked both with neighbours from the community around the Centres[3] and with diplomats and national policy makers.

Noting the report of an inter-agency review of the Centres held in 1949, London Yearly Meeting's proceedings of that year underline their peace mission: "A Centre is not only a certain programme carried on between four walls. The influence of a Centre should be felt far beyond the building that houses it, and the Centre workers must be free to reach out into wider spheres of influence or activity. Personal service, helping people to face their problems not only with new courage, but in a new light; and service of reconciliation, are key notes of Centre work."

After 1950 the Quaker Centres, other than Geneva and New York, came increasingly under the responsibility of their own national groups, and the focus of Friends international work expanded and became more professionalized. In 1951 London Yearly Meeting reported spending £62,000 on the Centres and £86,000 on relief in the

previous year. "Friends role and work with relief and refugees has ballooned...we have ambassadors at large in war zones everywhere".

The Centres served an important bridging role during three of the most challenging decades of the 20th century: connecting Friends peace witness to practical applications, and connecting policy makers across troubled regions through a network of innovative thinking and support for peace.

Stephen Collett

FOOTNOTES

1.) Over twenty years later, the Paris Centre served a similar supportive function for negotiators of the Genocide Convention. And in 1948, on the evening when the Universal Declaration of Human Rights had finally been adopted by its drafting committee meeting in Paris, Eleanor Roosevelt dropped by the Friends Centre to celebrate and to thank Friends for the support their international affairs work had given to making the Declaration possible.

2.) Gunnar Jahn, chairman of the Norwegian Nobel Peace Prize committee (also at this time director of the Bank of Norway), closed his presentation speech on December 10, 1947 by saying:

"The Quakers have shown us that it is possible to translate into action what lies deep in the hearts of many: compassion for others and the desire to help them -that rich expression of the sympathy between all men, regardless of nationality or race, which, transformed into deeds, must form the basis for lasting peace. For this reason alone the Quakers deserve to receive the Nobel Prize today.

But they have given us something more: they have shown us the strength to be derived from faith in the victory of the spirit over force. And this brings to mind two verses from one of Arnulf Øverland's poems which helped so many of us during the war. I know of no better salute:

The unarmed only
can draw on sources eternal.
The spirit alone gives victory".

3.) "A large student club which met regularly in the Vienna Centre represented all religious and political persuasions - Jewish, Protestant, Catholic; and Christian Socialist, Social Democrat, and German Nationalist. This did not seem especially

noteworthy until one learned how intense were the antagonisms being bridged. I was told that nowhere else in Vienna could such a fellowship develop". From Clarence Pickett's autobiography, *For More than Bread*, p.90

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Deutsche Quäkerschriften des 18. Jahrhunderts. Edited and introduced by Claus Bernet. Hildesheim, Zürich and New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 2007. xlvi + 508pp. €98.

Claus Bernet, a member of the German Yearly Meeting, has been working diligently for several years on the history of German Quakers, especially during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century and centred on the small community in Bad Pyrmont and the neighbouring settlement of Friedensthal. He has published a variety of articles, mainly in German, but two have appeared in English, one on 'Ludwig Seebolm (1757-1835): Founder of Friedensthal' in *The Friends Quarterly*, XXXIV. 1, 2004, and the other entitled 'Between Quietism and Radical Pietism. The German Quaker Settlement Friedensthal. 1792-1814' in the *Woodbrooke Journal* Series, XIV, Birmingham, 2004. He has also published several articles in the *Journal of the Friends Historical Society.*

The present volume, devoted to German Quaker writings of the eighteenth century, reproduces from microfilm seven works that were published in German between 1792 and 1804. The first was printed in London by James Phillips in roman type, the remaining six in Pyrmont and Friedensthal in gothic. It is not entirely clear why these particular seven texts were chosen for reproduction from a larger number of Quaker works in German that were published in the eighteenth century, but it is good to have them made available for historians. The term 'German Quaker writings' is somewhat misleading in that five of the seven are actually translations from English rather than native German productions, but that reflects the historical situation.

In his well documented introduction Claus Bernet gives an excellent account of the early eighteenth-century decline in the small Quaker communities in Germany and of the tendentious, false information about Quakerism that was current even in an Enlightenment encyclopedia such as Zedler's *Universal-Lexicon.* He deals with the later polemical relationship with Count Zinzendorf's Moravian Brethren based at Herrnhut, and with the establishment, at the end of the century, of Friedensthal in the tolerant small principality of Waldeck-Pyrmont. Each of the chosen texts is then given its own brief introduction. This historical information is important in providing both a specifically German context and reflections on the support that the infant German community received from Friends in Britain and America; Dutch Quakerism was also significant.

In her anthology *Strength in Weakness. Writings of Eighteenth-Century Quaker Women* (Altamira Press, 2003) Gil Skidmore comments on the distorted perception of eighteenth-century Quakerism that historians (not all of them, however) from Rufus Jones onwards have bequeathed us. She herself has done a great deal to correct that picture, and Claus Bernet is part of this trend. It is of considerable interest from the British viewpoint to see what Anglo-American writings were translated. While Robert Barclay and William Penn are names well known to Friends today, those of Joseph Gurney Bevan, Benjamin Holme and Maria Brook will ring few bells despite their being influential in their time. None of them is mentioned in John Punshon's *Portrait in Grey*, the most widely read general Quaker history available today, nor do excerpts from any of their writings appear in *Quaker faith & practice*.

J.G. Bevan (1753-1814), who figures in the new *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* with an entry by David J. Hall, published his *Summary of the History, Doctrine and Discipline of Friends* in 1790 and by 1824 there had been eleven editions in England. A German translation was published in 1792, followed six years later by a new, improved version published in Friedensthal.

Benjamin Holme (1683-1749) was a Friend from a much earlier generation who visited Holland in 1714 and North Germany in the early 1720s. *A Serious Call in Christian Love* appeared first in Dutch in 1725 and in German in 1744, when it was distributed by the American Quaker travelling minister John Pemberton. The Pyrmont printing is dated 1795, so the tract had a long period of usefulness. It was also translated into Latin, French and Welsh as well as Dutch.

Bernet does not give the English title of Maria Brook's *Gründe für die Nothwendigkeit des stillen Harrens zur feyerlichen Gottesverehrung* (Grounds for the Necessity of Silent Waiting for Solemn Worship) published in Friedensthal in 1803, but it dates from 1774. Numerous English editions were published up to 1877. The German version is based on a translation published in 1786 in Philadelphia by Carl Cist. The author was born Mary Brotherton c. 1726 in Woodstock, married Joseph Brook in 1759 and died in Leighton Buzzard in 1782.

Brook's tract follows in the wake of Robert Barclay's *Ueber Gottesverehrung*, a German translation of the eleventh chapter of his *Apology*. However, it is a new translation, being neither Johann Wilhelm Petersen's version of 1684, nor a second one from 1740. Both Barclay and Brook focus on silent waiting on God, but they are very different in their treatment and style and complement each other. Barclay is systematic and detailed and aims at convincing theological opponents, while Brook directs her urgent and often rhetorical

questions to the individual.

According to Bernet, William Penn is by far the best known and most widely translated Anglo-American Quaker writer in Germany. He and Barclay belong primarily to seventeenth-century Quakerism, but they are the classics of Quaker writing. Penn is represented by quite a short piece, *A Tender Visitation, in the Love of God, that Overcomes the World* (1677), which Bernet slightly confusingly refers to sometimes as *Zärtlicher Besuch* (Tender Visitation) and sometimes as *Zärtlicher Rath* (Tender Counsel).

The remaining two pieces that Bernet reprints are the only native German contributions to the collection. The first is Ludwig Seebohm's *Bemerkungen über verschiedene Gegenstände des Christentums* (Remarks on Various Christian Topics) Pyrmont, 1794), a considerable treatise a hundred pages in length. The second is a shorter piece, a collaboration between Seebohm and Heinrich Meyer entitled *Unterscheidung des Geistes* (Discerning the Spirit) (Friedensthal, 1804).

This is an anthology that fills a clear gap in what was previously available to German historians and theologians, but it also raises important questions about the transmission of Quaker teaching and experience internationally and the role of the travelling ministry in the nurture and expansion of the Quaker community. It is to be hoped that what Claus Bernet has achieved with regard to Germany in the eighteenth century will prompt scholars to look at the experience of other countries not only in Europe, but throughout the world. The function of translation and the printed word in Quaker history from the seventeenth century to the present day would be well worth exploring in a world context.

David Blamires

Mr. Saffron Walden - the life and times of George Stacey Gibson 1818-1883. By Jeremy Collingwood. Chichester: Phillimore and Co. Ltd.. 2008. xii + 164pp. £16.99.

Responding to a request for help with rebuilding the church spire in Saffron Walden W.G. Gibson stated that as a Quaker, he could not contemplate helping to build a church steeple, but he would give a donation towards demolishing the old one. This Gibson was George's father. The incident does point to the generous and droll aspects of his father's nature and gives an indication of the kind of atmosphere in which George was raised, in this small market town some 45 miles from London. Quakers were represented there by a strong but not large number (about 50 members) but as has been said

elsewhere about the Society of Friends, their relatively modest numbers belied their considerable influence.

As can be seen Jeremy Collingwood, as if to emphasise this point, entitles his book "Mr. Saffron Walden", a title he confesses would not have pleased George Gibson, who subscribed as much as he did to other testimonies of the Quaker faith, to the witness to equality and the worth of all human beings.

Collingwood says of the Gibson family: "their business instincts compelled them to make money and their faith compelled them to give it away". Gibson inherited and then made, very large sums, and how he spent his money and time are the themes running through this fascinating book. At times his influence and activities are such that it almost seems as if Saffron Walden is run as a kind of religious experiment, along the lines of the early years of Pennsylvania! Gibson's influence seems to run everywhere, and this is evinced by the names of the chapters. The biography is not presented chronologically but chapters are headed after his interests and activities, so we have "the banker", "the landowner", "the Alderman", "the railway man", etc., and there are many etceteras, reflecting this man's extraordinarily full life. The downside of this format is that his personality, influences and interests are revealed in chunks. For example, one only learns at the end of the book that there was only one child of the marriage and she was mentally handicapped. Mr Collingwood speculates, no doubt correctly, that "Gibson and his young bride must have hoped and prayed for the gift of children, and especially a son, who could eventually take over from Gibson his work at the bank and his other philanthropic interests". Excitement in the family, and the wider community, was dashed when a male child was born prematurely and stillborn.

It is estimated that there are over 1500 biographies of notable Quakers on the shelves of the library at Friends House in London. Do we need another? Certainly those looking for spiritual enlightenment will not find it here. Gibson was Clerk of London Yearly Meeting (the prime meeting for church affairs) from 1876-1880, and Clerk of Meeting for Sufferings (executive committee for the Society, acting between Yearly Meetings), but he is peculiarly quiet in his letters and writings about his spiritual life. There are, however, two ways in which both general and Quaker readers may enjoy and find inspiration in the book. Firstly how, given a good nature and plentiful resources, a person can hugely and positively influence a small community, avoiding much of the condescension associated with Victorian philanthropy. The other is a portrait of a small country town as it evolves through the nineteenth century. Mr. Collingwood

is not a Quaker, his interest in Gibson stems from his interest in, and love for, his adopted town. This shows in the many wide-ranging digressions about life in Saffron Walden at the time, for example, attempts to abolish fairs on the common, the administration of the workhouse, working class disturbances and riots.

It seems, though, that anything of significance that happened had the involvement, one way or another, of the Society of Friends and that usually meant George Stacey Gibson. Interestingly Collingwood cites only two anti-Quaker sentiments. Given the influence and power of its members, one feels many more will have been expressed than are recorded here.

This is an engagingly written book, well-researched and indexed, and Mr. Collingwood has provided interesting notes to the main text. There is an excellent bibliography for those stimulated to find out more about the history of the town. There are photographs pertaining both to the Gibson family and the parts of the town associated with them.

Rod Harper

NOTES AND QUERIES

Suffering of early Quakers: West Midlands 1650-1690, Facsimile of 1753 text by Joseph Besse. Ed. by Michael Gandy. York: Sessions Book Trust. 2008.xx + unnumbered pages. £12.

This is the ninth to appear of the series of regional facsimile sections of Joseph Besse's 1753 *Sufferings of the People called Quakers.* It has an introduction and indices of place and personal names compiled by Michael Gandy. The series is very useful to those without ready access to the original and enables local historians and genealogists to purchase the part or parts relevant to their research economically.

David J. Hall

St. Albans Quaker Meeting House in *Quaker Meeting Houses in Britain by David Butler*

As a result of a printing error which repeats part of the text and ambiguous phraseology in an article in *The Friend*[1] the entry on St. Albans Meeting [2] suggests that there were more Meeting Houses than there actually were.

The original Meeting House built in 1672 stood until 1835 when the meeting was laid down and the building was demolished. More recent investigation shows that some of the timbers were then used in the construction of 40 Verulam Road; beams with wooden nails and old brickwork can still be seen in the cellar[3]. The adjacent burial ground was sold in 1962 and is commemorated in a plaque on the surrounding wall.

A second larger plot was purchased by Friends in 1676 in what is now Victoria Street and was used as a burial ground. The city council hold this on a peppercorn rent and maintain it as a garden.

The present Meeting House, formerly a Victorian schoolroom in Upper Lattimore Road, was purchased in 1912 following the revival of the Meeting at the turn of the century.[4]

1. *The Friend* Vol. 49 p.874 23.4.1909
2. Herts p.16
3. Copy of deeds in St. Albans Meeting Library
4. *Where God Had a People: Quakers in St. Albans over Three Hundred Years.* Clifford T. Crellin. 1999

Clifford T. Crellin

BIOGRAPHIES

DAVID J. HALL'S involvement with Friends' history goes back to 1967 when he was reading history at Durham University. He has published articles and reviews in this journal, *The Friends Quarterly, Quaker Studies* and other journals, has contributed chapters to four collections of essays, and biographical pieces to the *Blackwell Dictionary of Evangelical Biography* and the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.*

CLAUS BERNET studied history, city planning, and social work. Since graduating from the Free University of Berlin, he has been working on a doctoral dissertation at the Martin Luther University in Halle: "Religious Settlements in Eighteenth Century Germany and Their Impact on Utopianism and Philanthropy". He was a research assistant under Professor Hans Merkens in Berlin and a fellow at the Woodbrooke Quaker Study Centre in Birmingham and at Pendle Hill at Philadelphia. He has lectured on Quaker history at many congresses in Europe and North America. His writings focus on German Quakerism, the relationship between Quakerism and radical pietism, and biographical studies, including those of Margaret Fell, Rufus Jones, and Corder Catchpool. He is currently working with disabled people for "Lebenshilfe" at Berlin and is assistant professor at the Konfessionkundliche Institut Bensheim.

ROSAMUND CUMMINGS has a degree in Medieval History and a Masters in Archival Management. After working in Friends House Library, as the Manuscript Archivist, for five years, she moved to University College London as the Records Manager. Now retired she returns to Friends House Library two days a week as a volunteer, putting information about the archive collections onto the ADLIB database.

DR ROGER T. STEARN MA (Oxon), Ph.D (London), FRHist.S was until retirement a research editor at the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* with which he is still associated.

DAVID RUBINSTEIN has been a Quaker for about twenty years and a member of York Area Meeting since 1998. He was a lecturer and senior lecturer in social history at the University of Hull and, more recently, honorary fellow in history, University of York. He has published several pieces of Quaker research including a history of York Quakers in the twentieth century.

STEPHEN COLLETT was born and raised in Ohio, USA, and attended Haverford College, Wilmington College and the University of Colorado. Settling in Farsund, Norway with his wife Berit in 1973, he taught international economics and development for nine years at Agder College Kristiansand. From 1986 to 1998 Berit and Stephen were the directors of the Quaker United Nations Office in New York. From 1998 to 2006 Stephen served as international coordinator of the Change Agent Peace Program in Central Africa (DRC, Burundi, Rwanda) for Quaker Service Norway.

Supplements to the Journal of Friends Historical Society

24. THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY OF EARLY FRIENDS, Presidential address by Frederick B. Tolles, 1952. £1.00

28. PATTERNS OF INFLUENCE IN ANGLO-AMERICAN QUAKERISM. By Thomas E. Drake. 1958. £1.00

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ISSN No. 0071 9587

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