

*The
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Society*

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EDITORIAL

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

The text of Sylvia Stevens' Presidential Address is not available yet but it will appear in the 2011 issue of the *Journal*.

The two articles included explore further the theme of Quaker books which David J Hall began in his Presidential Address of 2009.

In a further article David J Hall explores the means by which the eighteenth century Quaker community in London Yearly Meeting was advised of appropriate and suitable reading and what were the major concerns, for Quaker witness and discipline, which lay behind the advice given.

Richard S Harrison explores how the publications of the Irish Quaker community between 1700 and 1830 demonstrate Irish Quaker witness, faith and outreach in its social and historical context.

The reviews secured by the Assistant Editor, David J Hall, reflect a wide range of Quaker historical topics

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 He would like to include annotated Quaker historical documents, of reasonable length i.e. not too long, from contributors who have the expertise and enthusiasm to prepare them.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.

Gil Skidmore will give her Presidential Address during Yearly Meeting Gathering at Canterbury. The 2011 issue of the *Journal* will appear in the autumn.

A *Supplement* of the *Journal* on a theme of early Irish Quaker history will appear in the spring of 2011.

Howard F Gregg

WHAT SHOULD EIGHTEENTH CENTURY QUAKERS HAVE READ?

This article is a slightly expanded version of the first part of the annual lecture of the Association of Dissenting Historical Societies and Cognate Libraries delivered in October 2008 on Quaker reading in the eighteenth century. The second part was a compressed survey of the literature created specifically for a Quaker readership, and the third, very much work in progress, an account of what they were known to have read. The account given here is based on London Yearly Meeting though much of it will be true of Quakers in North America and elsewhere too.

What should eighteenth century Quakers have read? And what were they expected or instructed not to read? In describing the formal position and some of the advice in print of leading Friends I am aware that there was almost certainly advice given orally in local meetings and on a one to one basis between Friends where there may be occasional evidence in journals.

Advice and instruction came to the local meeting and individuals through the annual printed epistles of the yearly meeting held in London and in other forms of letter both printed and manuscript from the various national meetings including later in the century the women's yearly meeting. At two points in the eighteenth century collections of these advices were brought together and issued, in 1738 in manuscript as *Christian and Brotherly Advices Given forth from time to time By the Yearly Meeting in London* and in 1783 in print as *Extracts from the minutes and advices of the yearly meeting of Friends held in London from its first institution*, both known also as the book of discipline. Meetings were supposed to update the issued version from the yearly meeting epistles. These were reissued in printed collections beginning in 1760.¹ Meetings were expected to keep epistles and other papers for future consultation so that the earliest reference to reading in the printed epistles, from 1690, remained relevant in the eighteenth century. In connexion with the education of Quaker children it says that they are not to be sent: "to such schools where they are taught the corrupt ways, manners, fashions, and language of the world, and of the heathen in their authors..."² Further advice to parents and guardians followed in 1706, amongst other things they should "acquaint them [the children] with, and bring them up in, the frequent reading of the Scriptures of truth."³ This was reiterated in 1709 and in 1718 amplified to encourage the youth "in frequent reading of the Holy Scriptures, and other good

books."⁴

An early specific reference to the possession of literature by adult Friends comes in the epistle of 1720:

*It is also seriously advised, that no Friends suffer romances, play-books, or other vain and idle pamphlets, in their houses or families, which tend to corrupt the minds of youth; but, instead thereof, that they excite them to the reading of the Holy Scriptures and religious books. Let the Holy Scriptures be early taught our youth and diligently searched and seriously read by Friends, ...*⁵

In 1723 the epistle:

*...doth therefore earnestly advise and exhort [Friends] that they prevent, as much as in them lies, their children, servants and youth, ... from the having or reading books or papers, that have any tendency to prejudice the profession of the Christian religion, to create in them the least doubt or question concerning the truth of the Holy Scriptures, or those necessary and saving truths declared in them; lest their infant and feeble minds should be poisoned thereby, and a foundation laid for the greatest evils.*⁶

In 1729 similar advice worried about children and servants reading: "such books as have any tendency to lead their minds from God, and draw their youthful affections to a love of the world, and desire after the rarities and evils that are therein" and advised against: "such vile and corrupt books (some of which are have been published of late) as manifestly tend to oppose and reject the divine authority of the Holy Scriptures, and to introduce deism, atheism and all manner of infidelity and corruption, both in principle and practice".⁷ This concern was repeated the following year and in 1731 the epistle recommended the reading of the scripture by families and their servants.⁸ That there were reminders too in 1728, 1732, 1734, 1736 and 1738 suggests a serious and continuing worry on the subject, coupled with an assumption that adult Friends did not themselves need these reminders.

The 1738 *Christian and Brotherly Advices* collects together passages for permanent reference. So under "Scripture" it has ten passages drawn from earlier epistles justifying the grounding in scripture as an essential of the Quaker religious life. Often advice we have already encountered appears in this collection, in the section on "Children", on avoiding heathen authors (1690) and against reading books to the prejudice of the Christian religion or the truth of the scriptures. A passage taken from the written epistle of 1737 encourages the teaching of some modern [foreign] tongue to children for its later usefulness in trade. Another passage, not derived from one of the

printed epistles, under the heading "Defamation" was strongly against anonymous anti-Quaker literature: "Nameless Books and Pamphlets reflecting darkly on Friends, are Testified against, and it's desired that No such Books be Written, Printed, Published or Privately handed about, by any under our Profession for the time to come." That this was a real risk can be seen in the 1763 complaint from Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting to the Yearly Meeting about Quaker booksellers supplying books: "such as plays, loose romances, Novels, books teaching Musick, gaming, and other of evil Tendency."⁹

The printed epistles after 1738 contained regular exhortation to the reading of the scriptures by children, the young, and in families and to the avoidance of vain, idle and irreligious books and pamphlets, in all in at least twenty two epistles up to 1782. The words used sometimes change, the advice in 1766 was that masters and tutors of children should guard them against:

*"the dangers and allurements of evil communications, and the reading of profane and immoral writings (those powerful engines of Satan), whether they be such as directly tend to defile the affections, or, with a more specious appearance, to subvert the doctrines of Christianity by a presumptuous abuse of human reason, and by vain and subtil disputations, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ."*¹⁰

And this was spelt out again in 1772, advice to "all who are intrusted with the care of youth" was:

*To prevent them from spending the precious time afforded for better purposes, in amusing themselves with the pernicious works of stage-authors, and romances; which strongly tend to excite irregular passions, and to introduce them into the giddy pursuits and pollutions of a degenerate age; which in a little time, must terminate in disappointment and great distress.*¹¹

The 1783 book of *Extracts* has a passage written in 1764, not appearing in a printed epistle, which must be a response to the Yorkshire complaint in the previous year as well as reiterating general principles;

This meeting being sorrowfully affected, under a consideration of the hurtful tendency of reading plays, romances, novels and other pernicious books, it is earnestly recommended to every member of our society, to discourage and suppress the same; and particularly to acquaint all booksellers, under our name, with the painful anxiety occasioned to this meeting, by a report of some instances of selling

*or lending such books, intreating they would avoid a practice so inconsistent with the purity of the Christian religion.*¹²

As well as that there are now the familiar passages about reading scripture and the avoidance of frivolous and corrupting literature. The passage just quoted and one from 1767 along very similar lines are both in the section "Education." A number of earlier passages are repeated from the 1738 book.

In the remaining years of the century there are a few references along the same lines as before. In the 1789 epistle there is what seems to be an early appearance of a recommendation to Friends to read earlier Quaker writings:

*... we, at this time, also recommend the writings of our faithful predecessors and the accounts that are published of their experiences, labours, travels and sufferings in the cause of Christ. Those hours of leisure would be profitably employed in this manner, which are often wasted in reading the light and trivial publications, calculate to gratify the vain imagination, and feed that disposition that is always hankering after some new thing.*¹³

The epistles of the women's yearly meeting in London, constituted in 1785, expressed similar sentiments, that in 1789 encouraging the reading in families not only of the Scriptures "but such Books as may tend to acquaint them with the history and sufferings of their faithfull Predecessors."¹⁴ In the 1798 epistle this encouragement embraced "other works of truly pious writers, especially our worthy predecessors, who testified of what they experimentally knew, and some of whom sealed their testimony with their blood." "Truly pious writers" seems to go beyond the Society of Friends.

Queries answered in writing by meetings were a major feature of Quaker church government from the late seventeenth century, beginning with requests for factual information about sufferings, imprisonment, building of meeting houses and the deaths of public (ministering) Friends.¹⁵ The reference to reading was to the Scriptures in the early queries, in 1742 Quarterly Meetings had to answer to Yearly Meeting as the third query: "Is it your care by example and precept to train up your children in a godly conversation, and in frequent reading the holy Scriptures...?" In 1755 monthly meetings, both of men and women, were asked to answer the same queries to their quarterly meetings. In 1757 the third query was augmented by: "and are Friends faithful in Admonishing such as are remiss therein?" This query remained essentially the same up to the revision of the book of discipline in 1833. The General Advices adopted in 1791 included number V, "Friends are advised" "To guard carefully

against the introduction of pernicious books into their families."¹⁶

Use was made of the advice on reading in the yearly meeting epistles by the Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting to counter ecclesiastical criticism. A 1731 publication shows Friends using what had been internal advice to demonstrate their Christian position to the world at large. Thomas Story tells us in his *Journal* that:

*...the Meeting extracted some Paragraphs, out of our Yearly Meeting Epistles, from the Year 1706, to this Year 1731, containing earnest and repeated Advice to friends every where to read the Holy Scriptures...; and also not to read, or suffer to be read in their Families, any Books of Deists, Plays, Romances, &c. tending to the Discredit of the Holy Scriptures, and contrary to the Christian Religion. This Extract the Meeting committed to the Care of several to be printed and published, with a short Introduction...*¹⁷

While much of the advice to Friends quoted here has been negative there were some specific references to texts to be read by Friends and specific instances of texts printed for them to read. In 1716 Friends were referred to advice given "by our dear and worthy friend and brother George Fox... in the collection of his epistles, folios 92 and 300" which assumes reasonably ready access to the volume published in 1698.¹⁸ The 1718 epistle refers to sending each family of Friends a printed copy of a separate epistle giving caution and advice on "the growing evil of pride."¹⁹ In both 1730 and 1754 the decision was made to reprint Anthony Pearson's *Great Case of Tithes* because of a general falling short on Friends' testimony against paying "tithes, priests' wages.. and [for] the repairing of parish worship houses."²⁰

There is too advice in the writings of influential Friends. Robert Barclay's authoritative *An Apology for the True Christian Divinity* was the most substantial Quaker theological work available in the eighteenth century.²¹ Sections XVIII to XXI of his Proposition X argue against book learning compared with the influence of the Spirit. He encourages the use of the Scriptures, describing them in Proposition III, Section II, as "very heavenly and divine Writings, the Use of them to be very comfortable and necessary to the Church of Christ" while saying "we may not call them the principal Foundation of all Truth and Knowledge." Proposition XV is concerned in part with recreations and Barclay argues against many common recreations while in section IX he allows:

innocent Divertissements which may sufficiently serve for Relaxation of the Mind, such as for Friends to visit one another; to hear or read History; to speak soberly of the present or past Transactions; to follow after Gardening; to use Geometrical and Mathematical Experiments,

and such as other Things of this Nature."

William Penn's *No Cross, No Crown* should have been readily available in the eighteenth century, it was reprinted at least fourteen times from its first appearance in 1682 to 1800.²² It shows evidence of his wide reading and has numerous biblical quotations. Much is said about distractions from the Christian life and vain recreations including plays and romances. While "the *Best Recreation is to do Good*" it is acceptable to "*Study moderately such Commendable and Profitable Arts as Navigation, Arithmetic, Geometry, Husbandry, Gardening, Handicraft, Medicine &c.*"²³ Penn asks "What Poets, Romances, Comedies, and the like, did the Apostles and Saints make, or use to pass away their Time withal?"²⁴ His views are also expressed in the 1699 *Advice of William Penn to his Children, relating to their Civil and Religious Conduct* (first published in the 1726 works) which from its publication can be taken as applying to all Friends. They are charged to read the Scriptures daily, both at the beginning and the end of the day and to keep common-place books noting texts that impress them.²⁵ They are to:

*Have but few books, but let them be well chosen and well-read, whether of Religious or civil Subjects... The Spirit of a Man knows the Things of Man, and more true Knowledge comes by Meditation and just Reflections than by Reading; for much Reading is an Oppression of the Mind, and extinguishes the natural Candle; which is the Reason of so many senseless Scholars in the World.*²⁶

Later he advises reading such books of law "to enable you about your own Private Business only, or a Poor Neighbour's."²⁷ John Gough, in the introduction to the life of his brother James in 1782, quoted from Penn and the Yearly Meeting epistles. He writes: "The apostle's observation that 'Evil communications corrupt good manners' is in my opinion, applicable to corrupting books, as well as corrupting companions."²⁸

A near contemporary analysis by a non-Friend of the Society's stance on novels can be found in Thomas Clarkson's 1806 *A Portraiture of Quakerism*.²⁹ Clarkson spells out the prevailing Quaker arguments against reading novels, not he says "on account of the fictitious nature of their contents", an unsound argument that would discount allegories, fables and the use of parables by Christ. The argument is based on the "pernicious influence that they have upon the minds of those who read them" and Clarkson spells this out over half a dozen pages ending with a demonstration that the habitual reader of novels benefits much less than others from the moral improvement and pleasure that can be gained from books on

nature, science and religion. His remarks, representing the views of Friends, emphasise the particular risks to women “on account of the greater delicacy of their constitutions” in terms that today would be highly provocative.

So far as it is possible to establish what Friends actually read a study of the advice on reading given to them in various forms may shed interesting light on either their compliance with it or their independence of mind, most often exhibited in youth or as they drifted away from strict observance of the testimonies on plainness and simplicity.

David J Hall

FOOTNOTES

1. Quotations are from the two volume edition of 1858 (London: Edward Marsh), *Epistles from the Yearly Meeting of Friends held in London...* cited as YME below. There were also sometimes written epistles which have not been published, see my “Written Epistles of London Yearly Meeting in the eighteenth century” in *A Quaker Miscellany for Edward H Milligan* (Manchester, 1985), ed D Blamires, J Greenwood, A Kerr
2. YME, p.48
3. YME, p.115
4. YME, p.149
5. YME, pp.157-8
6. YME, p.166
7. YME, p.185
8. YME, p.188,192
9. Quoted in W Pearson Thistlethwaite, *Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting*. (Harrogate, the author, 1972), p.292
10. YME, p.343
11. YME, v.II, pp.11-12
12. *Extracts from the minutes and advices of the Yearly Meeting of Friends held in London, from its first institution*, ([London] 1783), p.16
13. YME, v.II, p.77
14. These epistles were sent out in manuscript, quotations are from a volume of contemporary transcripts in my possession.
15. *Christian and Brotherly Advices*, 1738, queries to be answered to Yearly Meeting by Quarterly Meetings, 1682, 1696, augmented in 1701, 1703, 1720, 1721, 1723, 1725, 1735, 1737
16. *Extracts from the Minutes and Advices of the Yearly Meeting of Friends*, (London: printed and sold by W Phillips, 1802), p.149

17. *A Journal of the Life of Thomas Story*, (Newcastle upon Tyne: printed by Isaac Thompson, 1747), p.678
18. *A Collection of many Select and Christian Epistles, Letters and Testimonies...*, (London: printed and sold by T Sowle, 1698), not reprinted until 1831, YME, v.I, p.143
19. YME, v.I, p.150
20. YME, v.I, pp.187,288, there were editions in 1657, 1658, 1659, 1730 (London and Dublin), 1732, 1754 and 1762
21. There were at least 8 editions in the eighteenth century, with some substantial print runs
22. *No Cross, No Crown A Discourse Showing the Nature and Discipline of the Holy Cross of Christ...* second edition (London: printed for Mark Sanwer) 1682, quoted here from Penn's collected works, *A Collection of the Works of William Penn*, 2 vols. (London: Printed and sold by the ASSIGNS of J Sowle, 1726). The second edition is wholly rewritten from the first.
23. Penn, *Works*, v.I, p.355, ch.XV, section V
24. Penn, *Works*, v.I p.364, ch.XVII, section V
25. Penn, *Works*, v.I p.896, ch.I, section 6; p.897 ch.II, sections 1 & 2
26. Penn, *Works*, v.I pp.898-9, ch.II, section 19
27. Penn, *Works*, v.I p.900, ch.II, section 40
28. *Memoirs of the Life, Religious Experiences, and Labours in the Gospel, of James Gough...* (Dublin: printed by Robert Jackson, 1782), pp.vii-xi, quoting I Cor. VX. 33
29. (London, Longman, Hurts, Rees, and Orme). Vol. I, pp.122-13

QUAKER PUBLISHING IN EIGHTEENTH AND EARLY NINETEENTH-CENTURY IRELAND

This article constitutes an excursus to more central Quaker themes. It is primarily a review of defining events and attitudes characterizing the Irish Quaker community as visible through a history of its publications during the eighteenth and early nineteenth-centuries. A distinct coincidence is detectable between book production and the doctrinal responses and attitudes of Quakers. Part of the cause of this, is that most Quaker printing and publishing was commissioned by the National Meeting.¹ A review of books printed and stocked by Irish Quaker booksellers can give a useful angle on doctrinal and other viewpoints, as well as information on distribution, the size of print-runs and other pertinent information.

It is not intended to go too deeply here into the earlier periods of publication except by way of outline. Isabel Grubb estimated that sixty works had been written by Quakers in Ireland by 1752 and that only a fifth of them had been printed in Ireland.² Much of the early literature had been imported from English Quakers, as it continued to be, or else concerned matters of more local controversy, presented Quaker viewpoints to the world at large, or recorded the sufferings endured by Friends to encourage an amelioration in their situation.

For wide periods of Irish Quaker history it was accepted that Quaker publications should be regulated by the Yearly or National Meeting, or as it was known for much of the eighteenth century, by the Half-Yearly Meeting that was its forerunner. It was supposed that any individual with a proposal for a book or pamphlet would first submit it for consideration.³ In England a similar task devolved on the 'Morning Meeting's' committee, which had as one of its functions the regulation and printing of Quaker publications.⁴ In Ireland, a temporary committee would occasionally be appointed to consider the virtues of a particular title, or progress it to publication. The details of printing were frequently delegated to the Dublin Men's Meeting which by its central position, and its size and access to city printers was best situated to undertake such work.

One concern of the National Meeting was the supervision of education, which remained a constant preoccupation among Irish Quakers. This was shown in the earliest times in conferences of Quaker schoolmasters who devised a common curriculum with agreed books avoiding worldly or immoral sentiments.⁵ Although

the National Meeting undertook the production of some educational material, this mainly related to the religious instruction of children. School books formed much of the bread and butter of booksellers and printers whether Quaker or otherwise but the production of these they undertook on their own initiative. They printed or imported books on other useful subjects such as the Latin and English languages, and mathematics, and things that would help young people in commercial life.

It is true to say that for the eighteenth and for the earlier decades of the nineteenth century, a history of Quaker publications resolves itself into an account of the Irish Quaker printers who undertook much of the work of publication. As a system of ordering or commissioning books and pamphlets evolved it became common for a monthly or quarterly meeting to request the National Meeting to publish a title. Occasionally an individual had access to a suitable manuscript. Frequently reprints of books printed in England or North America were ordered to serve local needs or purposes, or because not enough copies were immediately available in Ireland. By the mid-eighteenth century the pattern of publication by the National Meeting was well-established. Literature issued under its auspices performed three primary functions. It was 1) a protective device to arm Quaker children against pernicious influences 2) a way of self-information about the principles of the Society, transmitting acceptable models of spiritual development and 3) a means of informing the wider population about Quaker views and doctrine.

Effectively, the first consistent printer for Irish Quakers was the schoolmaster Samuel Fuller (d.1736) who, probably as a result of having to obtain school-books, emerged around 1720 as bookseller, began commissioning books, and in 1726 was advertising in the *Dublin Weekly Journal*, titles that he had for sale.⁶ In the decades following the Williamite Wars 1688-91, there was still a degree of missionary endeavour by Quakers to reach to the wider population, which exhibited an openness to hear their message and took an interest in doctrinal controversy. To service such needs the National Meeting issued publications which Samuel Fuller printed on its behalf. An evident need was in Ulster and as a response to a request from Quakers there the National Meeting arranged in 1727 for the printing of 1,500 copies of 'A Brief Apology' by Alexander Pyott which received a welcome from interested Presbyterians.⁷ By 1728 Samuel Fuller had set up his own press and, himself no stranger to controversy, was ordered on behalf of the National Meeting to print his own reply to 'Queries' originally proposed by the Presbyterian Joseph Boyce. The book in question, published in 1728, was entitled

*A Serious Reply to twelve Sections of abusive Queries proposed to the Consideration of the People called Quakers.*⁸

The importance of explaining the reasons for Quaker refusal to pay tithes resulted in 1730, in the National Meeting ordering from Samuel Fuller a reprint of Anthony Pearson's tract *The Great Case of tithes*. An initial subscription by monthly meetings was for 1,200 copies but it was felt there would be a wider demand and the National Meeting agreed to make up the number to 2,000 by paying out of the 'public stock'.⁹ Samuel was also memorable for preparing a catechism of Quaker, that is Christian, belief for young people and others, and which the National Meeting agreed to publish in Ninth-month 1733.¹⁰ It went through several editions, and owed much to a similar catechism, originally prepared by Robert Barclay of Aberdeen and which Samuel sold also.¹¹ Reflecting a Quaker concern about 'marriage out' which was to remain a 'live' issue for much of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the Dublin Men's Meeting, in 1735, probably at the behest of the National Meeting, asked Samuel to print 3,000 copies of Moses West's *Treatise on Marriage*.¹² It is estimated that in his life as a printer Samuel Fuller had a total output of perhaps 75 titles, the majority Quaker and the rest 'mathematics, almanacks, schoolbooks and chapbook histories'.¹³

Through Samuel Fuller and, briefly through his widow Mary Fuller (née Kelly), there is a clear line of succession to Isaac Jackson (1705-72) who had been his assistant. Mary Fuller's name appears in 1737 as the printer of the first Irish edition of Robert Barclay's *An Apology for the True Christian Divinity*. It was probably Isaac Jackson who did the actual printing, started when 1,000 copies had been subscribed for, and he took over the printing and bookselling business on her decease in the same year.¹⁴ A son of Hannah and Robert Jackson of Edenderry, he married Mary Webster in 1741. Isaac Jackson, like Samuel Fuller, had started out as a schoolmaster to Dublin's Quaker children and his pedagogical interests, as well as his Biblical preoccupations were advertised by the sign of 'The Globe and Bible' outside his shop at Meath Street, Dublin. Besides the printing work undertaken for the National Meeting he produced and sold a wide range of educational books, which remained the mainstay of the business over three generations. Innovative in several ways he opened Dublin's first letter foundry in 1747 and occasionally via the Pemberton family of Philadelphia exported books to the American colonies.¹⁵

Although the target market for books published under the auspices of the National Meeting was Quaker, it did not follow that all Quakers had orthodox tastes in their choice of reading. Even

Samuel Fuller stocked titles known to have been read in hedge schools and that would have been disapproved in more polite circles. His stock had included sheets of the novel *Moll Flanders* and, jointly with other printers, had produced two Dublin editions of *The Whole Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*.¹⁶ At various times both the London Yearly Meeting, and the National Meeting in Dublin, as in 1746, issued advices recommending parents to prevent the youth from reading hurtful and corrupt books that tended to 'take from the mind that solid awfulness wherein would be its safety'.¹⁷ An example of a contemporary young Irish Quaker temporarily addicted to such literature was Elizabeth Shackleton née Carleton (1726-1804) who besides liking 'light, airy company, music and singing' had a 'great thirst for reading such books as were entertaining to the natural part, reading such specious titles for promoting virtue and rendering vice odious; yet like subtle poison, gradually tending to the destruction of the root of virtue and innocence in the mind..' But some time in 1747 she became responsive to 'the transforming power of the Holy Spirit' and then she forsook the offending books in favour of the Scriptures and Friends books.¹⁸

One challenge requiring a considered response from Irish Quakers was in 1747 when the Wesley brothers arrived in the country. Many Quakers welcomed them and assisted the Methodist missionaries but this did not prevent their retaining of a critical attitude. Several contemporary journals of Quakers who visited in the ministry register encounters with Methodists as well as describing differences of doctrine and practice.¹⁹ Such awareness was revealed by the National Meeting when it issued 1,500 copies of John Curtis's *Epistle of Love and Advice to Friends of the Kingdom of Ireland* and which was printed in 1748 by Isaac Jackson. Although this did not specifically mention Methodism its warnings against the insidious effects and attractions of 'man-made worship' was clearly to be taken as a dissuasive from Methodism's more enthusiastic manifestations.

Another theological topic that sparked controversy among Quakers for a large part of the eighteenth century was that of deism seen as undermining the authority of scripture therefore eventually leading to atheism and scepticism. However it was not deist views that caused Quaker criticism of Voltaire. Rather, it was Voltaire's flippant manner and the perceived inaccuracies in his account of Quakers in his 'Letters' that they took him to task for.²⁰ A critique of them written by the English Quaker Josiah Martin under the title '*A Letter from one of the People called Quakers to Francois de Voltaire...*' had been published by London Yearly Meeting.²¹ The National Meeting

in Ireland in 1748 requested Isaac Jackson to reprint Martin's book, which came out in its first Dublin edition in 1749. Subscriptions had been invited from its subsidiary meetings and Waterford Monthly Meeting, for example, subscribed for 36 copies.²²

Sometimes there were other practical reasons for the National Meeting to publish, as in 1752 when the new calendar came into use. There was a need not only to explain the new style but also to give an explanation of the plain language of Quakers in the use of the names of days and months. The original item had been issued by the London Yearly Meeting for Sufferings in 1751 and this was the version reprinted by the National Meeting of Ireland. At its Meeting of Fifth-month 1755 it invited proposals from Isaac Jackson and he printed 2,000 copies. Five hundred were to be printed broadside at one penny each and 1,500 folio at 2s 6d per thousand to a total of £5 10s. 8d. Ulster had agreed to take 100 broadside and 100 folio and Leinster 400 broadside and 1,100 folio and Munster, apparently, had not yet come on board.²³

As the Society consolidated and the old stock died off, there was an increasing need to produce a literature that would perpetuate their memory and example. A side-effect of such publications was to encourage conservatism and the maintenance of orthodoxies. The decision to produce a history of Irish Quakers was an important sign of reflective maturity among Irish Quakers, particularly as the former worthies had by then shuffled off the 'mortal coil' and a book would perpetuate the memory of their faithful endeavours. Based on materials collected for the purpose by the National Meeting the work was started by Thomas Wight, completed by Dr John Ruddy and printed by Isaac Jackson. His final printing and publication of the resultant book entitled *History of the Rise and Progress of the People called Quakers in Ireland*, in 1751 was a landmark event and 500 were printed 'at the national charge'.²⁴ This was not an unusual run for a book in Dublin at the time.²⁵

Weakness and decline in the Religious Society of Friends in the middle decades of the eighteenth century had led to a nationwide visit in 1762 by a delegation of Irish and English Quakers. Its importance is signalled by references in different journals of Friends.²⁶ Following this clearly memorable event the report of their conclusions and recommended reforms was seen as worthy of printing by the National Meeting. Themes heightened in the report were, education, marriages with non-Quakers, concern about 'pernicious publications', a wish to bring young people and all Friends 'in unity' into 'meetings for discipline'. In a modest way it represented a sedate parallel to the contemporary Wesleyan revival.

Isaac Jackson printed 2,500 copies of this ' *Epistle from the Friends... who visited Ireland in 1762*'.²⁷ A copy was designed to go to each Quaker family in Ireland, although presumably part of the number ordered was surplus to need.

Not infrequently a visiting minister might have a concern to leave something in writing by way of advice or encouragement to Irish Friends and the National Meeting might unite in such an endeavour or independently arrange its publication. Examples could be multiplied. John Griffiths a Welsh Quaker whose *Brief Remarks upon sundry important Subjects* was originally published by London Yearly Meeting had it reprinted by Isaac Jackson in 1765. Two years later, in 1767, John Fry, another visitor in the ministry was concerned to reissue his 'serious and affectionate address' 'To Friends in the Kingdom of Ireland, at their National Half-Year's Meeting to be held at Dublin, in the eleventh-month 1767'. One of his themes was to warn against books that would 'alienate their minds from a due reverence to God and from a just regard to religion and virtue'.²⁸ The 'Address' was reprinted by Isaac Jackson Dublin 1768, and was available 'price stitch'd in blue paper, threepence'.

Isaac Jackson died in 1772 and his printing and bookselling business was taken over by his son and apprentice Robert Jackson, and who, since 1770/ 71, had also been his partner. From the perspective of National Meeting this made little material difference to the sort of literature he offered for sale in catalogues at the back of titles he printed. His educational productions would have been an increasing part of his business and he also imported titles that would appeal to more than a Quaker readership, such as Emmanuel Swedenborg's *Treatise concerning Heaven and Hell* and was the compiler of the annual *Gentleman's and Farmer's Almanack*. One intriguing title originally printed in London in 1760 and reprinted in Dublin by him in 1772, was '*Advantages and Disadvantage of the Marriage-state..*' It dealt with the advantages or otherwise to Christian believers of being unequally yoked in marriage with unbelieving people. This was by a London Baptist clergyman called John Johnson (1706-91) who had sympathetic links with a Dublin congregation and several of whose books were printed in Dublin where Robert Jackson must have anticipated a market.²⁹

When the National Meeting perceived some difficulty as upsetting subsidiary meetings and hence, its own proceedings also, it occasionally issued books or pamphlets as part of 'fire-fighting' exercises. The tithes question which was so central to the argument of Quakers on the non-necessity of clergy had been continuously argued and publications issued as part of the process of self-

education. But during the 1770s an ever-greater degree of public acceptance of Quakers led some of them, particularly some wealthier Dublin Quakers to attempt a justification of the payment of tithes to the 'church by law established'.³⁰ The National Meeting in dealing with this in 1774 got Robert Jackson to print *Paying Tithes inconsistent with the Principles of the People called Quakers*. The pamphlet has some interesting observations on the graduated methods of dealing with the dissidents.

Most, if not all, of the titles printed, published or sold by Robert Jackson were of a serious nature. Early in his business life he contracted to print on behalf of the National Meeting the *Journal* of John Woolman. There were several close contacts between Irish and American Quakers which prompted an Irish interest. Samuel Neale the Irish Quaker minister had met Woolman in 1771 and Sarah Tuke, later married to Robert Grubb of Clonmel, had, while he was dying, nursed him at her paternal home in York. News that Woolman's *Journal* had been printed at Philadelphia was received at the National Meeting of Fifth-month 1775 where proposals were received from Robert Jackson to reprint it as an octavo 'on a good paper' at three shillings bound in calf skin, provided 300 copies be subscribed for, the subscriptions to be sent direct to him.³¹ The *Journal* proved to be in the nature of a best seller among Irish Friends. By the next Fifth-month Meeting in 1776, it had already been reprinted but the subscriptions had been so numerous that Robert Jackson consented to reduce the price to two shillings and three pence a copy!³²

Some indication of the increasing population of the country, reflected also in rising Quaker numbers, can be gauged by the publication subscriptions for each title, and raised from province and monthly meetings. The National Meeting epistles which were important in setting out the state of the Society provided a visible link with Quakers in all parts and were made available in all families. In 1774, for example Munster was designated to receive 1,200 instead of 1,000 of the Half-Yearly Epistle.³³ The English epistles were received from London, but if they were delayed or not available in sufficient quantity, Robert Jackson would be asked to print further copies for distribution.³⁴ Where a wider Quaker interest in a title might be anticipated even bigger print-runs were ordered as in 1774 when, at the behest of Carlow Monthly Meeting, 2,000 copies of the *Testimony to Abraham Shackleton* were ordered, and also an edition of 3,000 copies of Mary Brooke, *Reasons for the Necessity of silent waiting*. Their printing was charged by Robert Jackson to the National Meeting at a rate of ten shillings and sixpence per hundred.³⁵

As has been shown, publication can indicate responses to wider

intellectual or religious events or movements but, nevertheless, Quaker publishing embodied an extraordinary conservatism that relied on static doctrinal models. The need to provide answers to contemporary problems was seen as best answered by self-education in their own principles which meant effectively the circulation of copies of Barclay's *Apology*. This, with its overtones of classical scholarship, was probably the defining doctrinal influence for Quakers right down to the nineteenth century and went through numerous reprints. It still remains important but few modern Quakers are even aware of its significance in setting out the central doctrines of Friends. The question of its reissue was raised at the National Meeting of 1778, and was perhaps a result of reforms set in progress in preceding years as well as a sign of concern to educate an enlarged Quaker population.³⁶ By Eleventh-month 1779 subscriptions had been returned from Ulster for 230 copies, Leinster for 220 copies and Munster for 130 copies.³⁷ The numbers were much reduced from the last Irish edition of 1737. The edition was printed by L. Flinn and finally published in 1780 so presumably Robert Jackson was either under too much pressure to undertake the work himself or perhaps his prices were not acceptable.

Much as the inner elite of Quaker leadership might like to have been withdrawn into a secure Zion, there was of necessity a considerable amount of interplay between Quakers and the wider world. This occurred not only at the obvious intersections with business but also in fashion and society, in religious discussion, and even to a degree in politics. The latter part of the 1770s and the beginning of the 1780s was the time of the Volunteers in Ireland and of the Revolution in America. A new political patriotism was picked up on by Irish Quakers and some younger Quakers were disowned for joining with the Volunteers.³⁸ An iconically memorable picture of public display is the famous mustering of the Volunteers on College Green, Dublin, with the population hanging out of windows to wave handkerchiefs, the clustering crowds on the street and the press of brilliantly dressed and armed men discharging volleys.³⁹ Allied with this there was also a widespread sympathy for the claims of American independence. Such a background in 1782, may have been an incentive to republish a fifteen page Philadelphia Quaker pamphlet explaining why Quakers do not illuminate their houses in times of public rejoicing.⁴⁰

There was some degree of ecumenical discussion and Friends occasionally had debates with people of other religion, hosted visits to their own meeting houses, or were offered the use of meeting houses by other religious groups. There was a large contemporary

hunger for devotional works of all kinds whether in Irish or English and although Quakers did not approve of writing down sermons given in meeting some, such as those of Samuel Fothergill, did exist and had been reprinted by Robert Jackson.⁴¹ This seems to have been on his own initiative and he must have picked up on contemporary reviews of the original productions in Rhode Island and in Bristol. Besides a buoyant economy there was a sense of a common Irishness that facilitated the reconciliation of Catholics and Protestants. The National Meeting attempted to respond with 'zeal and industrious care to spread among those of other religious societies books for their information'. During Fifth-month 1784 a list of books seen as suitable for enquirers was ordered for printing from Robert Jackson, and included 2,000 of Benjamin Holmes, *Serious Call*; 2,000 Hugh Turford's *Grounds of a Holy Life*; 2,000 Randall's *Account of Friends Principles*; 1,000 *Life of John Jeffreys with his Remarks on the Church of England Catechism*. One year later, emphasizing an ecumenical commonality, an order was made for the printing of 2,500 copies of *Some Extracts from the Writings of pious Men of different Denominations setting forth the evil Tendency of stage Plays and other vain Amusements*.⁴²

Robert Jackson's business must have grown prosperous from servicing the increasing general demand for books. The hunger for the printed word is indicated in Dublin alone, by the existence of perhaps fifty printers.⁴³ Probably Robert Jackson's biggest Quaker undertaking was the four volumes of John Gough's *A History of the People called Quakers* which he printed and which came out in the years 1789-90. Publication was apparently in this case, not paid for out of the 'National Stock', but the National Meeting did facilitate its author and encourage the production by requesting constituent monthly meetings to subscribe. It was decided to commence publication when the first three volumes were ready.⁴⁴ Robert Jackson's final major publication was *Some Account of the Life and Religious Labours of Sarah Grubb* (1792) which was edited by the Quaker educationist Lindley Murray. Murray, who lived at York knew the Tuke family well and Sarah Grubb had been a Tuke before marriage. Robert Jackson, besides, had printed a number of editions of Murray's educational books which were commonly used in hedge schools.

The National Meeting tried to keep up with the extensive demand for doctrinal literature, and asked Robert Jackson in 1792 to arrange for distribution of Quaker literature 'for the benefit of Friends and the information of those who profess not with respect to our principles...' The quantities he was requested to print seem almost phenomenal

and makes any modern Irish demand for Quaker literature seem paltry. The titles ordered included 7,000 of *A Summary of Doctrines, Discipline and History of Friends* by Joseph Gurney Bevan, 5,000 of a small tract on divine grace and in a new edition, 5,000 of Mary Brook *Reasons for the Necessity of Silent Waiting*. 3,000 Benjamin Holme's *Serious Call*, and 5,000 of Samuel Crisp's *Letters*.⁴⁵ But Robert Jackson would not be able to bring them all out and died in the same year 1792, leaving his business to his sister Rachel M. Jackson.

Rachel M. Jackson was eminently competent to undertake the running of a business. As his executor she immediately sent off letters advising her brother's customers of his decease. The Jackson bookshop at 20, Meath Street, Dublin was right in the middle of the Liberties where most Quakers lived, forming a large and distinctive group of some 650 people in 130 families.⁴⁶ Its location in the same street as the Quaker meeting-house was very convenient during the National Meeting, which then as now, provided a useful opportunity to sell books and to get in new titles. Quakers would be bustling in and out of the shop in search of the latest Quaker journals or epistles, or of educational material for their children. With such sales concerns in mind Rachel M. Jackson was, in 1793, writing to James Phillips of London saying there was no time to spare and ordered among other items, six Cruden's *Concordance*, six *Memorials of American Friends deceased*, twelve sets of the books lately printed by the London Meeting for Sufferings and two William Penn's *No Cross, No Crown*, a hardy annual on the stock list. On the same day she was seeking also 25 copies of the Bible and 25 copies Royal Octavo of the Testament, and copies of the *Town and Country Magazine* for 1792.⁴⁷ The twelve copies she sought of Lindley Murray's *The Power of Religion on the Mind* indicates the contemporary interest in this particular title.⁴⁸

Distribution for Quaker books was clearly no big problem and the structure of Quaker meetings as well as the close family and business connections provided ready-made networks. Some of Rachel M. Jackson's regular distribution networks emerge in her correspondence where she is seeking the repayment of debts or other responses. Writing to John Martin of Wexford Monthly Meeting she informed him that she had packed 50 copies of Sarah Grubb's *Life*, priced at three shillings and three pence each. The box in which they were packed was additional at one shilling and sixpence. On the direction of Samuel Elly of New Ross she sent books for Wexford Monthly Meeting by the carrier Oliver Barron.

For the more secular aspects of her business Rachel M. Jackson could call on country merchants and pedlars and in that respect her

business was similar to that of Catholic and other publishers and printers.⁴⁹ Rachel M. Jackson continued to print and sell copy-books and textbooks for which she had outlets in provincial towns and cities. Among these were booksellers in Newry, Lisburn, Belfast, Roscrea and Mullingar. Joseph Humphreys a Quaker schoolmaster in Cork was one customer and others in the same city were Anthony Edwards, James Haly and Thomas Campbell, printers and booksellers.⁵⁰

Among the few titles she printed and published in the brief period of her business life were *Extracts from the Writings of Judge Hale* (1793), *A Summary of the Doctrines, Discipline and History of Friends'* (5th ed. 1793), reprinted from the London edition. and *Some advice to teachers* (1794), all pamphlets. The last mentioned title she farmed out to Robert Napper, a printer who operated from 29, Capel Street. When she found she had few copies left of John Woolman's *Journal* she undertook a reprint. Judging by phraseological echoes of Woolman in her own memoranda, he must have been a favourite read for her.⁵¹ His acute awareness of responsibility about poverty and its amelioration was heightened for many Quakers by consideration of his other writings and her reprint included *A Word of Caution to the Rich etc.*⁵²

There was close contact between Rachel M. Jackson and the London Quaker printers. When perhaps twenty sets of Gough's *History* were returned unsold from Cork she supplied them to William Darton of London.⁵³ When she saw a need for a reprint of Sarah Grubb's *Life* she negotiated it with James Phillips, who brought it out in 1794. A lot of discussion had gone on about the book with Sarah Grubb's husband Robert, since he did not wish to see profits made from it. He was anxious to distribute copies of her journal in such a way that the profit would go to a charitable purpose.⁵⁴ One title published at this time and in which Rachel must have been specially interested was Job Scott's *Treatise on baptism*. Although she had ordered 50 copies of Scott's *Treatise* from James Phillips, she had already organized a reprint of her own and so, when they arrived, they remained 'in the wareroom as they were'.⁵⁵ She quotes Scott in her *Memoranda* and had perhaps heard him speak in Dublin in 1792.⁵⁶ He was a very impressive American Quaker of the traditional type who affected many Irish Quakers and died at Ballitore in 1792.

Diligent and efficient as she was, there was a lot of hard work in keeping a check on credit and the payment of bills and she began to wish for a little more leisure, perhaps to concentrate on the affairs of religion. She decided to withdraw from business and following her first instinct corresponded with Phillips and William Darton, London

publishers of Quaker books, about finding a successor. When this did not seem to lead anywhere, she chose John Gough (d. 1818) to take over her business. This somewhat itinerant Quaker was a son of John Gough (1721-91) and a nephew of James Gough (1712-80).⁵⁷ With literary ambitions and a schoolmasterly background he had hitherto never quite managed to find his niche.

By 1795 John Gough was in command of his new business but he needed more capital and in Ninth-month, having apparently received a loan from his brother-in-law John Bewley of Irishtown, Mountmellick, now wrote to him for a top-up. He had been obliged to outlay £60 for type and to reprint some 'copies' which 'Rachel suffered to go out of print'.⁵⁸ The first Irish edition of Lindley Murray's 'Power of Religion' which he advertised in the *Dublin Evening Post*, was one of his publications pending.⁵⁹ Although the year had not been good, Gough had several books including school books in the press, all of which he saw as highly 'saleable'.⁶⁰ At the request of the National Meeting he was also printing the *Journal* of the Irish Quaker Mary Peisley. The manuscript for this had been sent up from Cork in time for the National Meeting of Tenth-month 1794 to agree to its publication. By 26 Fourth-month 1795, 100 subscriptions for this had been received from Ulster, 353 from Leinster and 185 from Munster.⁶¹

The older and well-established system of organizing publications changed in 1797. This was a result of the formation in that year of a new standing committee, the Yearly Meeting's Committee (YMC). This undertook the administration between the new single annual sessions of the National Meeting. One of its functions was the publication of books. The YMC was at first, a little diffident about its book production functions but evidently accepted this task as within its ambit and its minutes incidently introduce an interesting source of detail on how they approached their task. They show the care spent to read, review and correct titles agreed for printing, as well as to make agreements on such questions as type, paper and price. The first book which they undertook to produce for the National Meeting was the *Journal* of Job Scott, in whom there was an ongoing if ambiguous interest. The text was read over successive days, compared with an original manuscript and corrected from that in point of detail. Abraham Shackleton of Carlow, who had emerged as a prime spokesman of extreme liberalism and had known Job Scott, assisted the Yearly Meeting's Committee in its deliberations on publishing his works.⁶² This Dublin publication, undertaken by John Gough, eventually appeared in 1798, the year after its first two printings in New York by the Quaker Isaac Collins.⁶³

It probably came as a shock to orthodox sensibilities to realize in Fourth-month 1799 that there were no copies available in shops of Robert Barclay's *Apology*, and a committee of investigation set up by the Yearly Meeting found that in three provinces there were none available in private hands either. Since the *Apology* was seen as best providing a knowledge of Quaker principles and their consonance with the Bible a reprint of it was recommended and, in the face of painful doctrinal controversy, this was seen as 'an antidote against the supposed heterodoxy concerning the scriptures'.⁶⁴ The YMC started the process of publication of the *Apology* in 12 Third-month 1800 when John Gough introduced for its consideration three examples of type and two of paper. The lines were 'to be spaced wider by the introduction of leads' and 1,000 copies were ordered at five shillings and fivepence bound in calf, the number of subscriptions received 'appearing to warrant such a number'. The volume came out in 1800, but John Gough had farmed out the work to Robert Napper of Capel Street. Of the 1,028 finally printed, 695 were to be retained in the 'library', presumably the stock available for eventual distribution, and the rest to be sent down to the subscribers.⁶⁵ If the edition was bigger than that of 1780 the number of subscriptions by comparison were much reduced.⁶⁶

That effectively completes a review of Irish Quaker publishing in the eighteenth century but obviously a historical process is not confined within a chronological or imposed schema and it might be helpful to close this account with a number of developments at the outset of the nineteenth century. The National Meeting continued to wrestle with the nature of the authority of scripture and in 1801, attempting to set out some guide lines, ordered the printing of copies of Henry Tuke's *The Faith of the People called Quakers in our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, set forth in various Extracts from their Writings*. This was a reprint of the first, London edition and a biographical sideline is that Henry Tuke (1755-1814) was the brother of Sarah Grubb (1756-90) and hence the brother-in-law of Robert Grubb. Not all Friends approved of this publication policy and Susanna Bewley of Ballitore, who resigned from Carlow Monthly Meeting, felt the National Meeting was substituting outward conformity for the interior life, and cited Tuke's publication as an example of this.⁶⁷ Even poor old Job Scott was now out of favour in many quarters, and John Gough, at the back of Tuke's book, advertised that he had 'a large stock of Job Scott's *Journal* left on his hands'. This, he pointed out, had been cheap at its original price of 3s 3d. but he would now sell them at 2s 2d. each, or four for 11s 4 ½ d and 14 for £1 2s 9d.

Nevertheless, demand for Henry Tuke's books went from strength

to strength and his next title, published in 1805, was *The Principles of Religion as professed by the Society of Christians usually called Quakers*. It strengthened the evangelical thread in the Quaker tapestry and went through four editions in different places in that year alone, and one of them was printed by John Gough. Besides the Tuke title the National Meeting initiated the publication of *Some Account of the Life and religious Labours of Samuel Neale*. The Munster Quarterly Meeting was directed by the National Meeting to organize its editing under a committee headed by James Abell and Reuben Harvey of Cork.⁶⁸ John Gough took 'on himself the risqué of the sale' of both the Tuke and the Neale and the last mentioned, bound in calf, was sold at 2 shillings and two pence. He was now concentrating more and more on publishing and bookselling and the Neale title which also came out in 1805 was farmed out to Robert Napper to print. Gough was probably a reluctant businessman, and perhaps was most interested to publish educational works, but his name ceases to appear on books ordered by the National Meeting.⁷⁰

As soon as immediate controversy about the function of the Bible was shelved, although it continued in other ways throughout the nineteenth century, a new impetus towards reorganization emerged in the National Meeting. In view of the painful dissent that had troubled Quakers in recent years it was seen as useful to compile a record of Quaker doctrinal orthodoxies, on the basis of an earlier more ad hoc collection that existed in manuscript. The National Meeting put together a book of *Advices and Rules*, much on the lines of the one produced by London Yearly Meeting in 1783. From inception to production the Irish book took some four or five years to prepare and it must have been a wearisome and demanding task for the YMC to provide a balanced, normative and authoritative presentation. The Yearly Meeting's Committee heard about the initial work from William Harding in 18 Second-month 1806. He had examined and compared the minutes of the National Meeting and those of London, showing where they agreed or differed. The digest he produced reflected the original manuscript arrangement under different headings such as 'Ministry', and the very serviceable plan has been retained essentially down to this day.⁷¹ By 1810 the *Advices and Rules* was ready to print and came out the following year in an edition of 500 copies printed by J. Jones in quarto.⁷²

Yet another and more novel way to publish Quaker views for the benefit of the wider public as well as for their own members, and modeled on the London Tract Association of 1813 was the Dublin Tract Association which was promoted in 1814 and produced its first annual report in 1815.⁷³ This, although less tied to the central

structures of the Society was still rigorously self-policed. The subscribers at their annual meeting were at pains to emphasise that they would not issue pamphlets or tracts inimical to the Yearly Meeting's express corporate viewpoints, or for that matter to the views of other professing Christians. The membership was made up by subscribers and had a structure of Quaker agents down the country, twelve of whom were based in Leinster. One of their first publications was by the favourite Henry Tuke. John Gough having recently gone out of business, the initial publications went for printing to Graisberry & Campbell of 10 Back-Lane, Dublin. Local auxiliaries were set up and the one at Youghal was one of the earliest.⁷⁴

Not all Quakers were supportive of the Dublin Tract Association which, in that respect, was a cause of disappointment to its promoters. There was a seemingly large uptake of these tracts and, in 1816-17, as an experiment, 2,000 copies of the 'Sermon on the Mount' were printed in Irish. The experiment was not a decided success, and when some English Quakers urged the consideration of printing more Irish-language titles the DTA having had some experience of the practical difficulties and also being aware of an atmosphere of increasing sectarian proselytising, were in no hurry to try again. Nevertheless, by 1830 there had been some 339,000 English-language titles printed and 247,000 issued. And here, as it is said, let the story rest for now.

Richard S. Harrison

FOOTNOTES

1. The term used hereinafter is National Meeting, but until 1797 it was known as the Half-Yearly Meeting. See Olive C. Goodbody, *Guide to Irish Quaker Records* (Dublin, 1967), p.25.
2. Isabel Grubb, Social conditions in Ireland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Unpublished thesis for MA (Internal), (University of London, 1916), p.192.
3. Richard L. Greaves, *Dublin's Merchant Quaker: Anthony Sharp and the Community of Friends, 1643 - 1707* (Stanford, 1998), p. 164.
4. William C. Braithwaite, *The Second Period of Quakerism* (2nd. Ed. Cambridge, 1961) II, pp 280-81 and see also, Rufus M. Jones, *Later Periods of Quakerism* (London, 1921). Vol 1, pp.129-30, referring to item 15 in *Extracts from minutes and advices of London Yearly Meeting* (London, 1783), 149.
5. Grubb, Thesis, p.177 and Chapter V, *passim*.
6. *Dublin Weekly Journal*, 14 Jan 1726, p. 370. For Samuel Fuller see

- Mary Pollard, *Dictionary of the Members of the Dublin Book Trade, 1550-1800* (London, 2000), pp 230-31 and Richard S. Harrison, *Biographical Dictionary of Irish Quakers* (Dublin, 2008).
7. Thomas Wight and John Ritty, *A History of the Rise and Progress of the People called Quakers in Ireland* (Dublin, 1751), p. 314.
 8. Wight and Ritty, *History*, pp 315-16. and Pollard, *Dictionary*, pp 230-31
 9. Ninth-month 1730, ½ YM A3 (1708-57). [The abbreviated reference here and abbreviated references in similar form in the following footnotes refer to manuscript items in the Dublin Friends Historical Library]
 10. Samuel Fuller, *The Principles and Precepts of the Christian Religion* (Dublin, 1733). This cost six pence to the customer in 1741.
 11. Robert Barclay, *Catechism*. The edition of this sold by Samuel Fuller cost nine pence to the customer in 1741. In Ninth-month 1744 when the National Meeting ordered a printing of both Fuller's *Catechism* and Robert Barclay's *Catechism*, 420 of each were ordered for Ulster, 680 for Leinster and 200 for Munster. See Ninth-month 1744, in ½ YM A3.
 12. 27 Third-month 1735, MMII A.8 (1734-42) Pollard, *Dictionary*, p. 230.
 13. Pollard, *Dictionary*, p.231.
 14. *Ibid.*, pp 230-31. The *Apology* sold by Samuel Fuller cost three shillings and sixpence in 1741. There is also evidence that in 1700 Irish Quakers subscribed for the printing of 2,000 of an edition of the *Apology* but this was, apparently, printed in England, for which see Greaves, *Dublin Merchant Quaker*, p.173.
 15. See Pollard, *Dictionary* p 311-12, entry on Isaac Jackson, and see Thomas H. Webb, *Pedigrees* (DFHL) and Harrison, *Dictionary*. According to Mary Pollard, *Dublin Book Trade* (Oxford, 1986), pp 149-50, Israel and John Pemberton of Philadelphia were already in 1753 purchasing books from Isaac Jackson. The two men, father and son, at different times visited Ireland in a ministerial capacity. Hedge schools were part of a popular and effective form of education that evolved in the absence of other facilities, and sometimes in the face of sectarian persecution that endeavoured to restrict access to education for Catholics.
 16. According to ESTC [English Short Title Catalogue] the edition Samuel Fuller printed for George Golding of Dublin was published in 1744-45 and the next one, with Peter Wilson, was printed in 1766.
 17. *Rules of Discipline of the Yearly Meeting of Friends in Ireland with Advices* (2nd. ed. Dublin, 1841), p. 16 item 2.
 18. *Memoirs and Letters of Richard and Elizabeth Shackleton* (London, 1822), p.16 and p. 17. For an entry on Elizabeth Shackleton, see Harrison, *Dictionary*.

19. See for example John Griffith, *Journal* (London, 1779), p. 165 referring to Methodists at Birr during his visit there in 1749, 'than whom, I think, no people are more at a loss what to do with silence in worship..'
20. An edition of Voltaire's book had been issued in English in 1733 in Dublin.
21. The Josiah Martin title was originally ordered for publication by London Yearly Meeting, 1742. It was printed by T. Sowle Raylton and Luke Hinde. See ESTC. There is an extended discussion by Graham Gargett 'Voltaire's *Lettres philosophiques* in eighteenth-century Ireland' in *Eighteenth-century Ireland* 14 (1999) 77-98 and includes reference to Josiah Martin.
22. See Ninth-month 1748, ½ YM A.3. For Waterford see c. 20 Twelfth-month 1748 in QM II A.5. Waterford on the same occasion subscribed for copies of William Penn, *No Cross No Crown*
23. Fifth-month 1755, ½ YM A.3 This item was reprinted in 1778, by Robert Jackson, see ESTC
24. Third-month 1751, ½YM A.3. It was being sold by Isaac Jackson at five shillings and fivepence in 1776.
25. Pollard, *Dublin Book Trade*, pp 119-20.
26. See Samuel Neale, *Account of the Life and religious Labours of*, (London, 1845), pp 111-13 and Shackleton: *Memoirs*, pp 32-34. John Ratty, *Spiritual Diary* (2nd ed. London, 1796), p 222, 224 etc. makes several references to this significant visit. The English delegation comprised Samuel Fothergill, Jonathan Raines, Isaac Wilson and William Rathbone.
27. Eleventh-month 1762, ½ YM A.4 (1757-78).
28. John Fry, *Address to the People called Quakers* (Dublin, 1768), p.34.
29. John Johnson was the founder of the 'Johnsonian Baptists' DNB.
30. In Dublin Monthly Meeting, in 1774, there were in Dublin six Friends 'under dealing' including Joshua Pim and Ephraim Bewley. See, 14 Sixth-month 1774, and 20 Eighth-month 1776, MM II A.13 (1767-79).
31. Fifth-month 1775.½ YM A.5 (1778-1808).
32. Fifth-month 1776 ½ YM A.4,. The same committee that produced the *Journal* was also asked in Eleventh-month 1776 to print an epistle of that most interesting woman minister, Catherine Phillips.
33. Fourth-month 1774 ½ YM A.4, The detailed consideration of the size of Quaker population requires more attention than it is possible to give in such a closely-focused article as this. But it is enough to observe that in 1750, when Quaker numbers had been in significant decline, there were stated to be 101 [mainly small rural] meetings in Ireland; that Irish Quaker births were in a significant period of increase 1770- 1800 [but with a marked decline of meeting-house numbers to 54 in 1794]; and again, in a

- period of numerical declension in 1818, there was a membership of some 4,200 individuals in 42 meetings [on an average of 100 per meeting]. 'From author's work in progress.'
34. Robert Jackson seems to have started reprinting the London Yearly Meeting Epistle from 1775 and the Half-Yearly Meeting ones from 1778 on as evident in ESTC. It seems likely that the Half-Yearly Meeting epistles had been printed earlier than that but I have no chronological evidence of this. There is a reference for Eleventh-month 1761, ½ YM A. 4, that when the major supply of London Yearly Meeting epistles were delayed Dublin Monthly Meeting was asked to get 1,000 copies run off.
 35. Fourth-month and Eleventh-month 1774, ½ YM A, 4. The first and second editions of Mary Brooke's *Reasons* were printed in London and the second edition [printed by Mary Hinde] in 1774, the same year as Robert Jackson's Dublin printing.
 36. Eleventh-month 1778, ½ YM A5 (1778-1808).
 37. Eleventh-month 1779 ½ YM A5.
 38. See, for sample references, Eleventh-month 1779, in ½ YM A.5
 39. The picture 'Volunteer Parade on College Green, 4 Nov. 1779' is by Francis Wheatley and is in the National Gallery of Ireland.
 40. *Reasons why Friends do not illuminate their houses at times of public rejoicing, nor shut their shops for the public fasts, feasts and thanksgivings. A representation on behalf of the people called Quakers, to the President and Executive Council, and the General Assembly of Pennsylvania etc.* (Dublin:Reprinted by Robert Jackson, 1782)
 41. Verbal ministry given in a meeting for worship was regarded as spiritually originated, unique to the particular act of worship, and not to be a subject of speculative discourse. A number of Fothergill's sermons were reprinted by Robert Jackson and bound up as a collection dated 1783.
 42. Fifth-month 1784, ½ YM A.5. The last title was probably written by Thomas Ross.
 43. See Antonia McManus, *The Irish Hedge School and its Books, 1695-1831* (Dublin, 2003), p.37.
 44. Fourth-month 1788 and Fifth-month 1790, in ½ YM A.5.
 45. Tenth-month 1792, ½ YM A.5. The Bevan title had also previously been authorized and published by the London Meeting for Sufferings. Robert Jackson having died, the Dublin edition was eventually printed and brought out in 1793, by his sister Rachel Maria Jackson. .
 46. J. W. Warburton, J. Whitelaw and R. Walsh, *A History of the City of Dublin* (London, 1818), II, p.848 and p. 835.
 47. Rachel M. Jackson to James Phillips, London, 14 Third-month 1793, in Jackson Letter Book (DFHL) Cup B 48. For information on James Phillips see Edward H. Milligan, *Biographical Dictionary of British*

- Quakers in Commerce and Industry, 1775-1920* (York, 2007).
48. There was clearly some familiarity with Lindley Murray's book as early as 1793 since Mary Leadbeater in her diary quotes him, 20 Tenth-month 1793(NLI) Leadbeater Diaries.
 49. see Pollard, *Dublin Book Trade*, p. 117.
 50. Rachel Maria Jackson to Joseph Humphreys, 13 Fourth-month 1793. The full list occurs at 23 Second-month 1793 both in Jackson Letter Book. For Joseph Humphreys see Harrison, *Dictionary*.
 51. Rachel M. Jackson, *Some Memoranda left by Rachel Maria Jackson* (Dublin, 1854), p. 161 refers to John Woolman but there are other explicit references to, and implicit phraseological echoes of him, in her book. For the reference to Joseph Gurney Bevan's *Summary* see fn 45.
 52. Rachel M. Jackson in letters to William Darton was expecting copies to be available in 1794 . 22 Fifth-month 1793, 11 Fourth-month 1794. See Jackson Letter Book. Proposals for reprinting Woolman's 'A word of remembrance etc.' came up at ½ YM Tenth-month 1793. It was printed by T.M. Bates (Dublin) on behalf of Rachel M. Jackson, for which see, Joseph Smith, *Descriptive catalogue of Friends' books* (London, 1867) II, 960.
 53. Rachel Maria Jackson to William Darton 22 Fifth-month 1793, Jackson Letter Book. For information on William Darton, see Milligan, *Dictionary*.
 54. Dublin printers opted for reprints 'with inferior paper, smaller format and printed fewer copies' Pollard, *Dublin Book Trade*, p.115.
 55. Rachel Maria Jackson to James Phillips 16 Fifth-month 1794, Jackson Letter Book.
 56. At both the Meath Street and Sycamore-alley meeting-houses 1792 27 Tenth-month Jackson, *Memoranda*, p 315.
 57. See entries on the Goughs in Harrison, *Dictionary*.
 58. John Gough to John Bewley 1 Ninth-month 1795 (DFHL) Port 47 d.109
 59. Ibid. and see Pollard, *Dictionary*, p. 245.
 60. John Gough to John Bewley, 1 Ninth-month 1795 (DFHL) Port 47 d.109.
 61. 26 Tenth-month 1794 and 26 Fourth-month 1795, ½ YM A.5.
 62. Job Scott had a dramatic effect on some Irish Friends but, as elsewhere, there was a degree of ambiguity in their responses to his ministry, which on one perspective was in the line of an earlier and more charismatic Quakerism, but also concealed an emerging mentality that could easily lead the unwary to make specious identifications with varieties of radicalism espoused by the likes of William Godwin and Thomas Paine. But even in the atmosphere of developing controversy among Quakers, Scott retained for a little longer a degree of acceptability.

63. Richard F. Hixson, *Isaac Collins, a Quaker Printer in eighteenth-century America* (New Brunswick, 1968), pp 165-66. The Yearly Meeting's Committee, relying on an original manuscript, corrected some minor points in the text of Job Scott's Journal. See 28 Ninth-month 1797, in YM D.1 (1797-1817).
64. [William Rathbone], *A Narrative of the Events that have lately taken place in Ireland among the Society called Quakers* (London, 1804), p. 95, pp 99-100.
65. Numbers of the *Apology* subscribed for were Ulster (50), Wexford (48), Dublin (37), Cork(44), Tipperary (100) Total (279) and for one of the 'Propositions' of Barclay, extracted from the *Apology* and printed separately at the same time, the subscriptions were Ulster (100), Wexford (80), Dublin (20), Cork (28) and Tipperary (20), 9 Fourth-month 1801, YM D.1.
66. It shows a large reduction on the 2,000 copies ordered in 1700 by Irish Friends. See fn 14.
67. Rathbone: *Narrative*, pp 80-82. For Sarah Grubb see Harrison, *Dictionary*.
68. 16 Seventh-month 1804, QM II A.8.
69. 27 Eighth-month 1805, YM D.1. There were 1,500 copies of each title printed and the numbers subscribed for were Tuke (bound), Lisburn (35), Mountmellick (75), Edenderry (13), Carlow (15), Wexford (39), Dublin (271), Cork (62), Youghal (19), Tipperary (87), Waterford (110), Limerick (24), and for the Neale (bound), Lisburn (22),Lurgan (25), Mountmellick (69), Edenderry (22), Carlow (15), Wexford (35), Dublin (115), Cork (80), Youghal (21), Tipperary (105), Waterford (81), Limerick (20).
70. He became insolvent in 1818 and the Dublin Monthly Meeting under its then rules was obliged to disunite him. He did not live much longer. He had been busy revising the *Tour of Ireland* which he had written, and left his desk to get some medicine for his wife, but dropped dead on the way back. See Harrison, *Dictionary*.
71. 18 Second-month 1806, YM D.1.
72. 18 Ninth-month 1810, YM D.1. Copies were subscribed for as follows. Charlemont (11), Lisburn (17), Richhill (60), Lurgan (22) Moate (10),Mountmellick (26), Carlow (8), Wexford (12), Dublin (70), Cork (40), Waterford (53), Limerick (53), Youghal (16) Total 134.
73. *Dublin Tract Association Reports* (DFHL) Cup. B.8.
74. *Ibid.*, Ninth Report, 1823

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Walking in the Way of Peace: Quaker Pacifism in the 17th Century. By Meredith Baldwin Weddle. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001 (paperback 2008). xvi + 348pp. £34 (paperback £21). ISBN 978-0-19-538363-8

This welcome reissue of a critical study of early Friends' theory and practice of pacifism is a notable addition to the growing body of Quaker historical studies by independent scholars free of denominational piety. Weddle pitches herself against what she sees as two contrasting and equally inadequate interpretations of the origins and practice of Friends' historic peace testimonies. First, the idealised assumption of even some of the best Quaker historians - William C Braithwaite, Rufus Jones, Margaret Hirst, Peter Brock - that most Friends received a kind of divine injection of pacifism from the very beginning which enabled them to stand heroically apart as their ungodly English neighbours created a new model army and their unredeemed New England neighbours massacred Indians. "Otherwise excellent historical investigations," she charges, "have thus avoided, no doubt unintentionally, the messy challenges of a subject that is distinguished by its contradictions, its fundamental changes, and its sparse evidence" (p11).

No less inadequate, says Weddle, is "the political or sociological" interpretation of Christopher Hill, Barry Reay, Alan Cole and their followers: that there was no significant Quaker pacifism before 1660, when the Peace Declaration was hurriedly drawn up in the wake of a Fifth Monarchist uprising to reassure Charles II that peace-loving Quakers had not participated, were not participating, and never would participate in violent plots or conspiracies against their lawful rulers, "the powers that be... ordained by God". In Cole's memorable summary of this viewpoint, "[p]acifism was not a characteristic of the early Quakers: it was forced upon them by the hostility of the outside world" (cited p8). Like violence itself, Weddle argues, pacifism was too complex, nuanced, messy and ambiguous to lend itself to simple interpretation, let alone consistent practice. Before 1660 only a few Friends rejected violence *in toto*, others (including Fox) put away their own weapons but expected or even required "the powers that be" to fight just and godly wars, and some served proudly in the Commonwealth army and navy where. Fox boasted in 1659, one Quaker soldier was worth seven non-Quakers. Fox could claim in 1651 that he lived in the power that took away the occasion of wars, while lambasting Cromwell in 1658 for failing to

take his army to crush an axis of evil which included the Vatican, the Netherlands, Germany, Spain, France and the Islamic east, where “the Turk in all his fatness should have smoaked”. Rather oddly, Weddle comments that “such rhetoric reveals little about pacifism” (p251). It surely reveals a lot about contemporary Quaker confusions.

But the core of the book is a study of how the world’s first Quaker government, that of Rhode Island in the mid-1670s, met the challenge of violent Indian insurrection - the so-called “King Philip’s War”. In Quaker mythology, the island’s Quaker governors maintained an heroic, principled neutrality as the rest of New England got on with the extermination of those who had the audacity to resist the expropriation of their native lands. In fact, says Weddle, offering devastating chapter and verse, the Quaker-led colony “exiled Indians, supplied boats to the Plymouth and Massachusetts armies,... provisioned and provided a safe-haven for colonial troops, raised and dispatched soldiers, stored ammunition... encouraged the mobilization and training of the local militias, deployed gunboats, manned an official garrison... and, at last, tried and executed prisoners of war” (p170). Weddle does not condemn them, recognising that “Early Quakerism was an amalgam of contradictions...

Quakers were dramatically rigorous in many aspects of their spirituality and its translation into a coherent way of living. But some dimensions of belief and behaviour were incoherent; unresolved contradictions contributed to the intractable incoherence of the peace testimony” (p225), and their failures continue to “nag at the consciences of those who suspect that war does not work (p233).”

Exhaustively documented, non-judgemental but impatient of the way Friends have glossed their own history, this book makes a valuable contribution to our better understanding of a core Quaker testimony which continues to test every Friend committed to walk experimentally in the way of peace.

David Boulton

Daniel Baker - Quaker Extraordinary. By Molly Braithwaite. np: Rosemary Publications, 2010. 120pp. £5. ISBN 978-0-9530235-0-9 Available from Molly Braithwaite, 29 Lansdowne Park, Totnes, Devon, TQ9 5UW

Molly Braithwaite is to be congratulated for breaking new ground in the well-worked period of Early Quakerism. Daniel Baker (1628-c.1683) was a sea captain who served heroically in the wars of the

Commonwealth's navy until his convincement as a Friend. After a traumatic period as a Quaker missionary he returned to the sea and had his own merchant ship.

Molly presents a vivid, readable and well researched account. She quotes copiously from original documents, taking us through the sea battles of the Commonwealth, the proceedings of Quarter Sessions, the exasperation of the English consul in Constantinople, the plight of two Quaker women imprisoned by the Inquisition in Malta (whom Daniel helped to release), his walking naked for a sign in Gibraltar, his later enslavement in Algiers and, after being ransomed, his imprisonment in Newgate at the hands of London Quaker merchants.

To make sense of the political and religious context of his life, Molly intersperses succinct outlines. From time to time helpful explanations are offered to the non-Quaker reader. For me there were pearls of information about the beginnings of Quakerism in London and a fascinating study of the inner workings of Friends' organisation in the process of securing Daniel's release both from slavery and from Newgate prison.

Molly widens the discussion of slavery to embrace the considerable numbers of Europeans, among them many Friends, enslaved by North African corsairs (including George Fox's near escape from a slaver). She also shows a less sympathetic side to George Fox in later life in his dealings with Daniel, and questions the business practices of some leading Quaker merchants.

I have just one criticism. Although she lists her sources and provides a bibliography, she does not always give precise references for some original documents. But that apart, surely at £5 plus £1 for postage and packing this fascinating study is a must!

Brian Hawkins

The London Friends' Meetings. By William Beck and T. Frederick Ball. Ed. with an introduction by Simon Dixon and Peter Daniels. London: Pronoun Press, 2009. xxxvi +462pp., 70 illustrations. £36 (£24 paperbound). ISBN 978-0-9556183-4-5 (hardback) 978-0-9556183-5-2 (paperback)

When Quakers today gather for a business meeting, it is likely that the clerk will be able to begin proceedings pretty much on time. This was not the case with the Clerkenwell Workhouse Committee, who found it necessary in 1702 to fine each member 12d. for non-attendance within an hour of the time fixed for the meeting. Perhaps

this system might have helped Croydon Monthly Meeting where a minute states "only one Friend appearing, there was no business done". Six Weeks Meeting, "the prime meeting of the citie" as George Fox described it, had similar problems, and early eighteenth century minutes include "numbers insufficient to proceed to business" and "eleven Friends met and waited till near 12 o'clock (i.e. 4 hours) but numbers being insufficient, adjourned". One imagines there must have been a degree of unquakerly language. In any event, Monthly Meetings were requested to order their members to attend the next meeting.

Amongst members of the Society of Friends today, laments are often heard about the difficulty of finding people to serve on the variety of committees - this applies also to Quakerly organisations requiring appointments. Reading Beck & Ball is to recognise how much greater were the reach and responsibilities of the Society in the period documented; approximately 200 years from the 1660's until the 1860's. Concern and energy seem to have been extended to almost all aspects of life. Initially, there was the constant threat of imprisonment and physical abuse, for example, dust being thrown in the eyes of preachers, soldiers firing their muskets so close to women Friends that their clothes were damaged and their skin burnt.

With no social security systems, care of the poor is a constant theme, not just relief, but conflicts about which Monthly Meeting was responsible for whom. and whether a person needing relief and claiming to be a Friend, really was one.

'Disorderly walkers' seem to abound in far greater numbers than they do today. Beck & Ball give details of how they are dealt with. Even the marriage procedure was abused by some; couples taking it upon themselves to just stand in an ordinary meeting and take vows. Such was the extent of the indiscipline that a special committee was appointed in 1751 to bring in a list of the 'disorderly walkers'. It then took 21 years for the London Monthly Meetings to discuss their unworthy members, all needing carefully prepared "testimonies of denial" or "papers of consideration".

Friends also had to have a care for the recorded ministers and travelling ministers. Accommodation was needed, and transport in the form of horses provided, - and then there was the question of stabling and feeding. The list seems to go on. London Friends today are facing a debate about the number and organisation of their Meeting Houses and may not be surprised to know that robust discourses along these lines have been held since the erection of the first Meeting House! Disagreements abound. Some worries are

expressed today about solvency, but the huge debts accumulated by eighteenth and nineteenth century Friends are largely avoided. In 1693, Six Weeks Meeting declares money is "urgently wanted" and later "there is a deficiency of £1000" and in future it was decided, funds being insufficient, that each Monthly Meeting was to pay its own taxes and for its own repairs.

The first three chapters will probably be of less interest to readers, covering an account of the religious life in London in the late 1600's, as much thorough and scholarly work has been undertaken since the book's publication in 1869. The remaining and by far the largest part of the book consists of a narrative derived from the minutes of the London Monthly Meetings and related London Quaker organisations. It is not clear whether it was Beck or Ball (later disowned) who trawled through what must have been many volumes of minutes, some stretching back (as in the case of Horsleydown in Southwark) for over 200 years.

Reading Quaker minutes is to be rewarded with occasional passages of considerable interest amongst much which is routine. Beck & Ball do us a great service - they take each Monthly Meeting in turn and present the reader with information which gives a graphic picture of the joys and tribulations of Friends during the period.

For this reason it is likely that anyone with even a small interest in the history of the Society in London will have heard of "Beck & Ball". More interested people will have read the book, but very few will have owned a copy. Thanks to Peter Daniels, it has now been republished and is readily available for the first time since 1861, and except for bibliophiles, is available in a more interesting form than the original. Peter Daniels was a librarian at the library at Friends House, and his knowledge of the unique collection held there is demonstrated in the fascinating collection of illustrations which he has put together to accompany the text. There is an informative introduction written by himself and Simon Dixon. Additionally, a splendid index has been compiled, making the book useful in answering fascinating specific questions, for example, how did overseers originate?, what was it about Peter the Great and Friends?, did any Quakers preach in a boxing ring?, what George Fox said about membership, Westminster Monthly Meeting's disputes with Six Weeks Meeting. Indeed, so thorough is the index that it occupies 40 pages. Also demonstrating Peter Daniels' skill as a librarian is a bibliography of 19 pages, which must be the most comprehensive list of books, pamphlets and articles pertinent to the subject. It is arranged by sections ranging from general London history via Quaker London to specific Area and Local Meetings.

This is a most enjoyable book, and reading it will reward not only those interested in London but all concerned to know about the development of the Society of Friends.

Rod Harper

Quakers in Medicine; 'Friends of the Truth'. By J.M.S. Pearce. York: William Sessions Ltd, 2009. xii + 115pp., 36 illustrations in text. £9.99. ISBN 978-1-85072-388-2

It would be good to be able to welcome a book on the role of Quakers in medicine, the only profession in which Friends were able to engage from the beginning. The work of Geoffrey Cantor and others has done much to explore Quaker attitudes to science and to increase our appreciation of individual Quaker scientists. However medicine has been relatively neglected in recent times and we need to know much more about the many Quakers who practised in country towns as surgeons, physicians, apothecaries and druggists in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This book makes no attempt to fill that gap, rather it is a collection of some 25 biographies of major medical figures and medical scientists with some connection, often very peripheral, to the Society. The author, a retired clinical neurologist, has long experience of writing such biographies for journals of medicine and medical history and this shows in the somewhat stylised and self-contained nature of the individual pieces. To the Quaker historian the whole appears a strange and disappointing book.

First there is the issue of selection for inclusion. The book is divided into two parts, one containing 'scientists who contributed to medical practice' and the second 'medical doctors'. The first part contains, among others, biographies of John Dalton, who is included on the basis of his atomic theory, only a very indirect contribution to medical practice, but also William Alien who, as the author admits, 'was responsible for no major academic advances in science'. The second part, equally mysteriously, includes John Joseph Lister and Alan Lloyd Hodgkin, who both made contributions to medical practice, by improving the microscope and by identifying how nerve impulses work respectively, but neither of whom practised medicine. Thomas Young, a polymath if there ever was one, actually practised as a physician but he appears among the scientists in the first part! The criteria for inclusion as Quakers are similarly wayward. A number of those included are described as 'of Quaker stock' although, in the nineteenth and twentieth century, this was

no guarantee of any commitment to the Society and its testimonies. A Joseph Hodgson is included on the grounds that he was 'a well-known Quaker': the reference quoted at this point does not allude to his religious affiliation and I can find no record of his birth in Quaker records. However Dorothy Hodgkin (born Crowfoot) is remarkably included because of her marriage to Thomas Lionel Hodgkin, himself a communist and never a practising Quaker, and because she 'epitomised all the traditional Quaker values'.

The second disappointment of the book lies in its approach which concentrates on the medical career of each subject, listing qualifications, posts held and honours received. Every biography is headed formally with full title followed by degrees and honours and dates of birth. There are some concessions to the non-medically qualified in the use of everyday language for diseases and parts of the body but the litany of names of medical men who were collaborators and teachers of the subjects is bound to be less than interesting to the layman. Details of personal life are included, along with personal interests that sometimes serve to round out the picture but information about involvement with the Society of Friends is very limited. In some cases there is good use of selected quotations but even these tend towards the hagiographic - 'He had Leonardo's lofty human compassion, humility, patience, and profound serenity of spirit' - being a particularly egregious example.

And there is just so much missed out! George Newman, editor of the *Friends Quarterly Examiner* and a founder of the Friends Ambulance Unit, one of the most interesting of the later subjects from a Quaker point of view, has one of the shortest biographies here, its one page contrasting with the six A4 pages in the on-line *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (ODNB). In the much longer account of John Fothergill's life, there is no room for the dispute with Dr Leeds, which shows Fothergill to be a more complex character than the man with 'the most virtues and fewest failings' that his niece Betty saw. Mention is made of Thomas Hodgkin's ill-fated love for his first cousin Sarah Godlee and his subsequent fruitless campaign to change the discipline to allow first-cousin marriage. However you will not learn of his savage little pamphlet, which went through three printings in the 1840s, *On the Rule of the Society of Friends - which forbids the marriage of First-Cousins*. Sarah Godlee was of course aunt to another subject, Rickman John Godlee, and married one of her Rickman (second) cousins. Lack of familiarity with Quaker sources in the author is perhaps the reason for many of these missed opportunities.

The other aid which was clearly lacking in the making of this book

was access to a decent editor. As biographical writing these essays fail to engage and the subjects fail to come across as rounded human beings. There is too much internal repetition to make for pleasurable reading. We are more than once told a fact about a subject, to be told it again a couple of paragraphs later. Where I am able to judge, the accuracy of the text is also not impressive - Dorothy Hodgkin is credited with having 'synthesised penicillin, insulin and vitamin B12' whereas she determined their three-dimensional structures - altogether a different matter. And finally there are annoying little lacunae - in an illustrated book it is galling to be told that 'photographs show him [Joseph Jackson Lister] as a man of strikingly handsome appearance' and then to be offered no illustration. And of George Newman it is said that 'there is no doubt about his aunt's influence' without the aunt ever having been mentioned!

So no-one should completely rely on this volume though all will gain something. Those who know nothing about the involvement of Quakers in medicine will learn a little of the subject. I was glad of the opportunity to know of the two Friends - Alfred Clark and William Sturge - who do not feature in the ODNB. Those looking for medical biography will find something of interest but gain a rather watered-down idea of Friends' testimonies - peace and good works - and a mistaken impression that Friends value academic success and worldly attainment. For the Quaker historian there is the occasional anecdote and access to some medical historical sources that may be unfamiliar. However the medical equivalent of Edward H Milligan's *Biographical Dictionary of British Quakers in Commerce and Industry* still remains to be written.

Chris Skidmore

The Backhouse Quaker Family of York nurserymen including James Backhouse: 1794-1869 Botanist and Quaker Missionary. By David Rubinstein, York: Sessions Book Trust. [2009]. iv + 48pp., illustrations in text. £5. ISBN 978-1-85072-401-8

David Rubinstein's pamphlet about the Backhouse family is a very useful addition to the modern literature about nineteenth century Friends. With only 33 pages of text plus notes, a bibliography, an appendix and illustrations I would have welcomed much more from him. The bibliography and notes will be very welcome to those who wish to pursue the Backhouses further. This work is very much about the first James Backhouse of York. The author draws on a variety of sources to give a balanced picture of this "rare and

important individual" who achieved much besides his striking major journeys.

Backhouses's nine years of travel on religious service from 1832-40 contributed encouragement to the beginnings of Australian Quakerism and demonstrated his interest in prison conditions and a constructive humane attitude to native populations. He produced two very substantial books about these years spent visiting the Australian colonies, Mauritius and South Africa, amounting to 1,400 pages of text. The Mauritius and South Africa book has rather less about religious service and more topography, natural history and observations of people than the Australian volume. When Backhouse returned to England and the nursery run by his brother Thomas (1792-1845) he resumed extensive visiting of meetings in Britain and Ireland and made extended visits to Norway. In all he published 29 works, not all listed here. They included biographical works about his family and tracts and essays on his Quaker concerns. Some were printed in Australia or South Africa, a few were not in English. Some of these shorter works were reprinted in the two major volumes. Surprisingly he published nothing separately on his botanical interests.

David J. Hall

Discovering New Earswick by Elisabeth Alley, subtitled *Essays from the New Earswick Bulletin 2000-2007*, published by William Sessions Ltd, 2009. ISBN 978-1-85072-393-6. Available by mail order (£6.50 + £2.50 p&p) from Sessions Books, Huntington Road, York YO31 9HS tel 01904 697855.

This book superbly illustrates the way in which local history is now being written. Instead of dry-as-dust documentation, graphs and tables of statistics, we have the voices of those who lived, and live, their daily lives in an actual neighbourhood.

This neighbourhood is New Earswick. Its history is a part of twentieth-century Quaker history. Like Bournville, a pioneering housing project built by George Cadbury and funded by money from his hugely successful Quaker chocolate manufacturing business, New Earswick sprang from the practical idealism of Joseph Rowntree "to alleviate the condition of the working classes by provision of improved dwellings and organisation of village communities".

And how has that village community prospered since? The inspiration of Elisabeth Alley's book is to assess life in New Earswick,

about 100 years after its inception, by giving voice to its recent and present inhabitants.

Elisabeth Alley and her husband Ray moved to New Earswick in 2000. They now live in Hartrigg Oaks (continuing-care housing for the elderly) which is yet another product of Joseph Rowntree's original vision. Elisabeth, and Ray (whose photos grace Elisabeth's book), quickly became involved in the village community. The core of Elisabeth's book is a selection from the articles she regularly wrote for "The New Earswick Bulletin", essays which show her skill as a historian and chronicler of village life. To these she adds a wide range of articles by others who live in New Earswick. Too many to quote here - but the result is that we hear a village speaking, telling a contemporary tale of how it was (and is) to live in this village community. Living history!

New Earswick (and Bournville) are part of a major Quaker contribution to Britain's thinking about a range of housing and community issues, a contribution still influential today. This is a lively and humorous book: well worth reading, to be savoured at leisure... and well worth adding to any library that charts our Quaker history.

David B Gray

A biographical dictionary of Irish Quakers. By Richard S. Harrison. 2nd. edn. Dublin: Four Courts Press. 2008. 260pp. £45. ISBN 978-1-84682-100-4

Eleven years after Richard Harrison's initial *Biographical dictionary of Irish Quakers* there comes this second edition, with more than twice the number of entries (over 650 as against just under 300 in the first edition). In a lot of ways, I suppose, the first edition was an experiment, a testing of the ground, a plea for reactions. Thus, for example, Richard Harrison expresses gratitude to Ross Chapman and his brother Arthur for helping to ensure that Ulster Friends are now more fully represented (seven Sintons, for example, as against none in the first edition).

What do we mean by the term 'Irish Quakers'? Who do we hope to find? I see four categories. There are those whose whole lives (or nearly their whole lives) have been spent in Ireland, and who are national figures, having made a significant contribution to Irish life, whether politically, culturally, or in industry or commerce. Then there are those who, while not candidates for a *Dictionary of Irish biography*, are essential figures in the life and witness of Irish

Quakerism (this includes many whose sphere of service was largely on the mission field). Thirdly, there are some of other nationalities, mainly British, who spent a sufficient time in Ireland (say, a decade or more) to make a significant impact on Irish Quaker life, or on that of the country in general. And finally, there are those, born in Ireland and of Irish Quaker dynastic families, who left their native land for a significant life's work in Britain, America or elsewhere.

In the first category are expected figures, ranging from Jonathan Pim *via* James N. Richardson III and James Douglas to Theo (Theodore) Moody. The second category includes two of the three Sarah Grubbs (Sarah Pim Grubb could belong to category 1), John Conran (he who, at the time of the 1798-1800 disruption, remained the sole recorded minister within Ulster Quarterly Meeting) and Thomas Henry Webb (to whom we owe that magnificent series of pedigrees). Then, for the third category, are such figures as James Ellis (whose decade at Letterfrack in the wake of the Famine demonstrated the possibilities of a mixed agricultural economy) or Will Warren (whose quiet presence in Derry during the Troubles counted for more than can ever be measured) or Joseph Radley (whose headship of Lisburn School brought to Ulster new thinking about the nature of education).

The fourth category is more problematic. For the seventeenth century we have William Penn ('convinced' in Ireland, though not born there), and for the twentieth J. Doyle Penrose (of Irish birth, but an English painter). And, of course, a fair number inbetween. There is inevitably a question of how much is appropriately said of their lives after they left Ireland - sufficient to make clear that they were significant figures in the land or lands of their adoption, but not too much detail lest their lives occupy too much space in a volume whose governing word is 'Irish'.

Nevertheless, the concept of 'categories', while useful up to a point, can also be dangerous. *The Oxford dictionary of national biography* (2004) interprets the words 'national life' far more broadly than the nineteenth century *DNB* or its twentieth century *Supplements*. Moreover, it must be remembered that until 1922 all Irish entries are within the scope of Oxford *DNB*, so that (doubtless among others) William Edmundson, Abraham Schackleton I and II, Mary Leadbeater, the three Sarah Grubbs, Jonathan Pim and James N. Richardson III are to be found there. And, further, since *Oxford DNB* reckons to include Commonwealth personalities who can be claimed as widely known in Britain, Irish entries include those thus known up to 1949 (brought to an end by the creation of the Republic and departure from the Commonwealth). Friends in Northern Ireland

are of course still eligible for inclusion in future *Supplements*. Though cross-checking could be tedious, *Oxford DNB* citations among the sources could enhance the third edition of Richard Harrison's work. There must be a third edition one day.

William Beale Jacob will be in the first *Oxford DNB Supplement* and is probably already available on line (the *Supplements*, unlike those for the old DNB will include not only those who died during the relevant decade, but also those inadvertently missed in the original edition). While not in Richard Harrison's book, he is within its scope, the preface making clear that an entry in his *Dictionary* 'does not guarantee that a particular person was at all times in membership of the Religious Society of Friends, or even, that he or she was in membership at all'. There are, of course, those who became Friends in their mature years; there are also those (like W.B. Jacob) who resigned their membership, or who were disunited for one reason or another (often quite respectable reasons, such as marriage before the priest). Many former members, in their life's work, gave expression, albeit perhaps unconsciously, to the values of their upbringing.

One noteworthy (some would say notorious) Friend who was disunited was Joshua Jacob, founder of the White Quakers of the 1830s and 1840s. It is the only entry in Richard Harrison's *Dictionary* which has disappointed me. I recognise that I have only myself to blame. The article is, almost word for word, identical with that of the first edition. Richard Harrison very properly says in his preface, however, that 'I am still only as good as my sources', and his sole source is Alfred Webb's *Compendium of Irish biography* (1877), an understandably one-sided delineation by a man who, born in 1834, had lived through the disturbances caused by the inflammatory White Quaker broadsides hawked about the Dublin streets. I could and should have told Richard that *Oxford DNB* has (as the lawyers say) 'fuller and better particulars' of that extremely tiresome but also important and significant man. Isabel Grubb and Maurice Wigham in their histories are also useful in getting the whole movement into context. Before we even begin to understand the White Quakers, however, some devoted soul is going to have to plough through those tedious volumes of *Some account of the truth as it is in Jesus* (with all that ecstatic prose). But that's another story.

Richard Harrison is to be congratulated on a terrific achievement. Of course we shall have folk whom we miss. I would have liked to find Edward Bell there, if for no other reason than his part in the deputation to offer sympathy and support to William Edward Forster on his appointment in 1880 as Chief Secretary for Ireland. Other members of the deputation, awed perhaps by the atmosphere

of Dublin Castle, had become tongue-tied, but not so Edward Bell, who spoke fluently and movingly to the Chief Secretary for fifteen minutes 'with as much ease as though he were denouncing music in Lisburn Monthly Meeting'. Others will regret other omissions. There is a strong case for a third edition in another decade or so. There is also a case for a quite different work of larger scope (three thousand entries perhaps) and more systematic content - names and dates of parents, names of spouses and names and dates of spouses' parents, numbers of children, and so on. That is for someone else or for a group to work at. It is certainly desirable, but it couldn't in the nature of it replace what Richard Harrison has given us. His glory is that he has introduced us to his personal friends (well, *most* of them have become his personal friends). The first edition has been a bedside book of mine for a decade; this edition has now replaced it. The third edition must not become so large that it ceases to be there at our bedsides, enabling us to meet a few more Irish Friends before closing our eyes. James Green should be read regularly at least once in each year.

Edward H. Milligan

Coming From the silence; Quaker Peacebuilding Initiatives in Northern Ireland 1969-2007. Ed. by Ann Le Mare and Felicity McCartney. York: William Sessions Ltd. 2009. xiv + 185pp. + 24 plates. £8.99. ISBN 978-1-85072-402-5

A few years ago Irish Friends celebrated 350 years of Quakerism in Ireland. Today, fewer than 800 Friends continue to meet in Ulster. Nevertheless, as this welcome and useful record of the past forty years shows, their presence and contribution to peace-building in Northern Ireland has been impressive in terms of commitment, innovation and relevance. As an averagely ignorant English 'blow-in' in the 1990s, I struggled to understand the various strands and complexities of Irish history which provided the backdrop to the Troubles. As a British Quaker, I was conscious of a similar ignorance of the contribution made by Irish Quakers during that time, though I soon appreciated the folk memory which seemed to exist of a positive and impartial historic Quaker presence, for example during the Irish famine. Although I was generally aware of the projects and initiatives mentioned in this book, I had an often sketchy knowledge of their origins and motivations. This book enables many pieces of the jigsaw to fit into place.

The timing of the book is apposite. Since its publication, the

decision has been taken to close Quaker House Belfast. The book indicates, sadly, that some key players in the story have died; there was no doubt some urgency in making sure that first hand recollections could be recorded. It is clear from the writers' comments and from their bibliographies that they have valued the good Quaker standards of record-keeping in researching the book. I would occasionally have welcomed a little more cross-referencing between chapters, where the work overlapped. There are, for example, several references in Chapter 5 on Quaker House to the valuable connections from its early days with prisoners and with the prison services. There is, however, only one general reference to Quaker House in Chapter 3 on Ulster Quaker Service and this does not indicate the continuing overlap of interests in the prison work. The provision of a general index might have been useful. One or two inaccuracies should perhaps be mentioned: inconsistency in the spelling of names (Dennis Barritt and Jerry Tyrrell) and a misdating of events in a couple of places.

There is an illuminating chapter on small and individual Quaker initiatives during the past forty years; these initiatives have provided a basis for the development of the four major projects described later in the book. Chapter 2 gives a picture of Northern Irish Quakers living out their faith in their daily lives, 'Coming from the Silence' of meeting for worship. How many of us outside Ulster have been aware of those Friends who were killed or injured by bombs; whose businesses were threatened by paramilitary demands; or who removed live bombs from situations where family members were in danger? There is a description of public prayer meetings, held since 1996 at Portadown Meeting House, which started as a response to the Drumcree parade controversy. Having attended these on several occasions in the early days, I was aware of the positive reaction from both sides of the community and was moved to know that the meetings are still happening.

This is the soil which has nurtured the development of the larger projects described in Chapters 3-7: the Ulster Quaker Service Committee, with its family support service involving prison work and work at Quaker Cottage; the Centre for Neighbourhood Development, a Belfast based community development agency; Quaker House Belfast, focusing on conciliation with political and community aspects; and the Quaker Peace Education Project (QPEP), working in Deny with children, young people and teachers. These chapters are comprehensive in describing the developing work from its early beginnings. We read of Friends being faced with situations of injustice or conflict and then coming together to discover what

action they are being called to undertake. There is an underlying thread of concern, in the true Quaker sense, running through this story, which is acknowledged in the introductory chapter and elsewhere. I was struck by the importance attached to the Quaker approach to business and to decision-making, which is reflected in all the major projects, and by the commitment of most of the workers, whether Quakers or not, to the Quaker ethos. There is a sense in all these projects of an open-ended and innovative approach.

The reflective and evaluative chapters of the book (Chapters 1, 7 and 8) provide a useful analysis of the Quaker approach. They enable the work to be seen in the context of professional developments and highlight the importance of regular evaluation, both independent and internal, which has been a feature of these projects. They point to a willingness to work co-operatively with other groups and agencies, making a significant contribution to the development of thinking and practice in the broader context of prisons, of education and of community development. None of the writers claims that these Quaker initiatives are more than a small contribution to the process of peace-building in Northern Ireland, but we are left with a clearer understanding of the importance of small steps being made, which enable bigger steps to be taken in the future. In this sense the book has a hopeful and positive message for us all.

Janet Quilley

[Alan and Janet Quilley served as Quaker Representatives at Quaker House Belfast from 1993-9]

OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS

The Beautiful Soul of John Woolman, Apostle of Abolition. By Thomas P. Slaughter. New York: Hill and Wang. 2008. [viii] +449 pp.

This relatively long biography of Woolman, described by the author as the first full-scale biography in half a century, gives space for very ample scene setting of Woolman's life in its historical context. There is extensive discussion of apparent influences on him and of the relevance of his dreams with sometimes unexpected detail such as his sewing technique also explored. The book is the result of a longterm project studying original sources and bringing together material and ideas from the relevant research of many others, all duly acknowledged. Slaughter has paid careful attention to Woolman's manuscripts and to changes in the versions of the

Journal. He refers to Woolman as 'an elusive biographical subject' and 'despite his thorough approach to context Woolman's inner life does remain elusive.

David J. Hall

Quaker Constitutionalism and the Political Thought of John Dickinson. By Jane E. Calvert. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2009. xiv + 332 pp.

This is a study of the Quaker contribution, particularly that of Dickinson, to the evolution of American Constitutionalism. It begins with a study of Quaker constitutional theory and practice in England and Pennsylvania from 1652 to the mid-eighteenth century period of Quaker rule in the latter then considers Dickinson's involvement in the period around the American Revolution. It ends with an epilogue coming up to Quaker influence on Martin Luther King Jr.

David J. Hall

Quaker Geologists

The Making of the Geological Society of London ed. C.L.E. Lewis and S.J. Knell (2009, the Geological Society. London) contains a chapter by H.S-Torrens 'Dissenting science:the Quakers among the Fathers'. Three of the thirteen founding members were Friends: William Alien, Richard Phillips and William Phillips.

David J. Hall

A Social History of Quakers in Scotland 1800-2000. By Paul F. Burton. Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press. 2007. vii+370 pp. 6 coloured plates.

This study 'provides a detailed analysis of the Scottish Society during the last two centuries, and can also be seen as a description of the Society as it marked its 350th anniversary at the advent of the twenty first century'. Three chapters deal with background and context, to Quakerism generally, in Britain and then in Scotland; three chapters deal with Scottish Friends at the beginning of this century. There are numerous figures and tables in the text.

David J. Hall

Swiss Quaker Life, Belief and Thought. Ed. by Erica Royston and David Hay-Edie. Geneva: Switzerland Yearly Meeting. 2009. vi +88 pp. £8.99. Distributed by Sessions Books, Huntington Road, York, YO31 9HS, tel. 01904 697855.

This is an anthology of passages in German, French and English (without translations) drawn from the writings of individuals and statements by Swiss Quaker groups with some illustrations by Swiss Friends. It demonstrates major themes in Swiss Quaker life under the headings "Inspiration", "Our practice" and "Our life and witness". A very short introduction and a brief history of Quakerism in Switzerland are provided in each of the three languages.

David J. Hall

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*.

RICHARD S. HARRISON is known for his several publications on Irish Quakers. A second revised edition of his *Biographical Dictionary of Irish Quakers* (Dublin, 2008) with a large increase in the number of entries, was published recently, and his biography, *Dr John Ritty (1698-1775) of DUBLIN: Quaker Polymath in the Enlightenment* on which he has been working is due for publication soon, and promises to be of interest in highlighting the work of this much-neglected man.

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