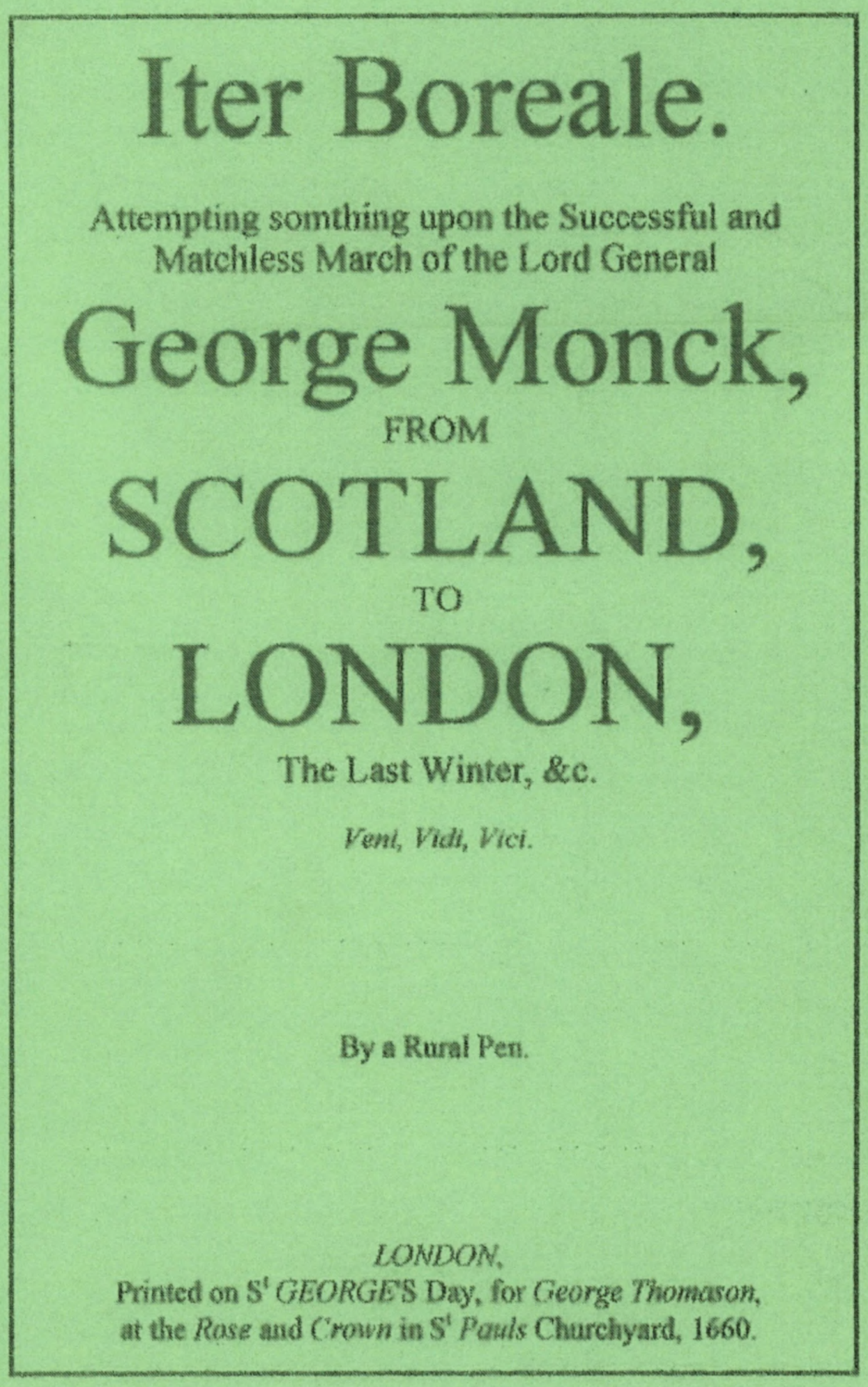
The Journal of the Friends Historical Society



Iter Boreale.

Attempting somthing upon the Successful and Matchless March of the Lord General

George Monck,

FROM

SCOTLAND,

TO

LONDON,

The Last Winter, &c.

Veni, Vidi, Vici.

By a Rural Pen.

LONDON,
Printed on S^t^ *GEORGE'S* Day, for *George Thomason,*
at the *Rose* and *Crown* in S^t^ *Pauls* Churchyard, 1660.

Volume 63 2012

CONTENTS

FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Annual membership subscription due 1st January (personal, Meetings and Quaker Institutions in Great Britain and Ireland) £12 US $24 and £20 or $40 for other institutional members. Subscriptions should be paid to Gil Skidmore, Membership Secretary, 46 Princes Drive, Skipton, BD23 1HL. Orders for single numbers and back issues should be sent to FHS c/o the Library, Friends House, 173 Euston Road, London NW1 2BJ.

Volume 63 2012 (issued 2013)

THE JOURNAL OF THE FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Communications should be addressed to the Editor of the *Journal*
c/o 6 Kenlay Close, New Earswick, York YO32 4DW, U.K.
Email: h-fg@hotmail.co.uk

EDITORIAL

The Editor regrets the late despatch of this Journal.

It is with sadness that several deaths must be noted in 2012.

Sir Christopher Booth, President of FHS in 2005. An honorary Professor at the Wellcome Centre for the History of Medicine at University College, London, he made contributions to both medical and Quaker history. His Presidential Address 'The Quakers of Countersett and Their Legacy' was much enjoyed and appreciated at Britain Yearly Meeting, 2005. (JFHS, Vol. 60, No 3, pp 157-176).

Melanie Barber, President of FHS in 2007, whose distinguished career as Deputy Librarian and Archivist at Lambeth Palace Library was reflected in her Presidential Address 'Tales of the Unexpected: Glimpses of Friends in the Archives of Lambeth Palace Library' (JFHS, Vol. 61, No 2, pp 87-123).

Melanie gave much valued service to the Society as a member of the Executive Committee. Some FHS members attended Melanie's Memorial Service at Lambeth Palace Chapel on 20th November 2012, an occasion of appreciation, respect and affection.

Clifford Crellin gave quiet and faithful service on the Executive Committee, particularly as Assistant Treasurer.

Each is remembered with gratitude for their contributions to FHS.

Starting with the 2012 Journal each year's Journal will be a volume in its own right. Thus 2012 is Volume 63.

In his Presidential Address David Boulton re-evaluates a key question of early Quaker history. Were Quakers pacifists in the English Republic or was 1660 a new departure made necessary by the Restoration?

David Blamires explores the range and different purposes of Quaker educational books for children between 1670 and 1800 and

the Friends who prepared them.

Nigel Lemon investigates the contribution of Quaker poetry and Quaker hymn writers to the hymn books of the Dissenting tradition now within the United Reformed Church.

Winston Duguid and Timothy Phillips introduce a major historical research project being undertaken by the Quakers and Business Group.

The Assistant Editor, David J Hall, has again secured reviews of a broad range of Quaker historical scholarship and research.

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 the Subscription Department, Maney Publishing, Hudson Road, Leeds LS9 7DL (www.mhra.org.uk).

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

The Editor regrets the delay with the issue of the Supplement.

Howard F Gregg

'ELVES, GOBLINS, FAIRIES, QUAKERS, AND NEW LIGHTS': FRIENDS IN THE ENGLISH REPUBLIC

It is St George's Day, April 23 1660, and a new poem is rolling off a little hand-press run by George Thomason at the Rose and Crown in St Paul's Churchyard, London. There's a crowd there, eager to snap up this new and no doubt delightfully scurrilous work by a Presbyterian minister turned ardent royalist. The Revd. Robert Wild DD has a certain renown as a pious preacher, but his greater fame is as an impious satirist, the scourge of his political enemies, whose merciless wit can make a laughing stock of yesterday's hero and kill a well-earned reputation in a cryptic couplet. And who, in any age, doesn't enjoy a good laugh at the expense of hapless politicians?

In what we might call (if we want to be fashionable) the 'royalist spring' of April 1660, the crowds on the streets of London were restless and volatile. They had seen a rapidly passing parade of hapless politicians, in today and out tomorrow. The death of Oliver Cromwell two years earlier had been succeeded by weeks of political mayhem, followed by his son Richard's short and ineffectual Protectorate which protected nobody, then a Committee of Safety so unsafe that it lasted a mere twelve days, then a Council of State that fell immediately into permanent implosion, all with occasional guest appearances by the recalled Rump Parliament. The army, now a shadow of the New Model Army that had deposed the Lord's Anointed and created the republic, was as divided as the politicians, General John Lambert in England and General George Monck in Scotland leading their troops in opposite directions, Lambert's towards a permanent republican settlement imposed by the army and Monck's towards a restoration of the Stuart monarchy - imposed by the army.

That January, the start of the swinging sixties of the seventeenth century, Monck had marched his men from Scotland to London to end the anarchy, drive out what he called the 'fanatics', and pave the way for the return of a king. He read the situation well enough. London and the country at large had had enough of civil war, endless political strife, relentless religious agitation, bellicose Bible bashing and joy-killing puritan sermons by sour-faced Malvolios.

George Monck promised the people cakes and ale and a bit of peace and quiet. So what better day to honour General George than St George's Day, April 23? And who better to eulogise him and excoriate 'the Divel' Lambert and his defeated followers than the current celebrity poet, satirist and hireling priest, the Revd Robert Wild.

Wild's poem, hailing the wind of change from the north, was called *Iter Boreale* - literally 'Northern Journey'. More fully it was *Iter Boreale: Attempting Something upon the Successful and Matchless March of the Lord General George Monck from Scotland to England, etc.* In it, Monck was hailed as the hero who

> ...took Rebellion rampant by the Throat,
> And made the Canting Quaker change his Note.

Monck's rival Lambert was of course the arch-villain of the piece, and principal butt of Wild's poison-tipped pen. Rather as Milton seven years later was to picture Lucifer raising his army of fallen angels, Wild characterised the arch-demon Lambert.

> A legion then he rais'd of Armed Sprights,
> Elves, Goblins, Fairies, Quakers, and New Lights
> To be his under-Divels; with this rest,
> He Soul and Body (Church and State) possest...
> Churches and Sacred Grounds they haunted most,
> No Chappel was at Ease from some such Ghost.
> The Priests ordain'd to Exorcize those Elves
> Were voted Divels, and cast out themselves.
> Bible or Alchoran, all's one to them,
> Religion serves but for a Stratagem.[1]

John Dryden recalled later that when the poem rolled off the Thomason press work stopped in the markets and exchanges while the dealers devoured it. 'So vehement they were at it,' he wrote, 'that they lost their bargain by the candles-end.'[2] Copies continued to circulate[2] throughout the king's reign, Samuel Pepys recording in his diary on Sunday August 23 1663: 'Lord's Day. Up to church without my wife, she being all dirty, as my house is ... and so home to my wife, and with her read *Iter Boreale,* a poem made just at the king's coming home ... [I] like it pretty well, but not so as it was cried up.'

Robert Wild is forgotten now by all but a few scholars specialising in early-modern political literature, but *Iter Boreale,* and particularly its enthusiastic reception and continuing popularity throughout the king's reign, is surely of more than passing interest (and amusement)

to today's students of Quaker history. It offers a telling glimpse into how early Friends were seen by a substantial slice of the general population at the collapse of the Commonwealth. Wild's depiction of Quakers as 'Armed Sprights' in Lambert's rag-bag republican army of elves, goblins, fairies, weirdos and fanatics clearly struck a familiar chord and delighted the crowds.

Why? We should remind ourselves that the Quakers had a political programme in the 1650s: the total abolition of clerical ministry; of the universities that were the clerics' breeding ground; of the tithes that supported both ministers and a legion of lay appropriators; and of the entire legal establishment. They demanded that the government deliver this godly reformation, including the nationalisation of church lands and the estates of recalcitrant gentry. They had spread from the dark corners of the north at the start of the decade, to number tens of thousands all over the country by its end. They were not to be satisfied by a New Heaven. As Edward Burrough made clear, they wanted a New Earth as well.

It is plain enough why the ruling elites hated and feared them. But why so many of the common people? Why that crowd of Londoners whooping with glee at Wild's mockery of Quakers? Let us remember where the mass medium of the day was located: the pulpit. 'If justices were generally ahead of governments in their severity towards Quakers', writes Barry Reay, 'ministers, particularly Presbyterians, were way ahead of the magistrates'. If Paul had been alive, preached one minister, he would have stoned Quakers - 'it was Christian zeal to stone them'. Another, preaching on the text 'follow peace with all', told his congregation 'they were not to follow peace with sectaries'. There were allegations of buggery, witchcraft, and orgies at meetings for worship. A rumour was spread that some Quakers 'had killed their mother... following the light within them'. And much was made of genuine examples of bizarre Quaker behaviour - walking naked as a sign, Solomon Eccles climbing into a pulpit during a sermon to do some sewing, a Norwich man sitting trouserless and quaking on the communion table, an Aldermanbury man bursting into church with his hands covered in excrement to signify the filthiness of the hireling preacher's biblical ministry. Combine hundreds of such examples with 'a mixture of xenophobia, class conflict, economic rivalry and the dehumanizing effects of propaganda', writes Reay, and we see why hostility to Quakers, as to radicals in later eras, was widespread even among the very people who would have benefitted most from the New Earth they sought to build.[3]

2

I revive the memory of minor poet Wild in order to revisit a running controversy among Quaker historians and historians of Quakerism: one in which I have meddled for many years. Put at its simplest, were Quakers pacifists in the Commonwealth period, or were they - or some of them - 'Armed Sprights'? Did the Peace Testimony of 1660-1 reassert and consolidate a commitment to non-violence, ways of gentleness and paths of peace, that had been at the heart of Quakerism since the emergence of the movement in the early fifties? Or did it mark a turning point, a U-turn, the end of a decade of ambivalence about violence and a re-branding of Friends as 'the Harmless and Innocent people of God called Quakers'?

It is clear that George Fox and his fellow-authors of the resonant peace declarations that followed the restoration in 1660 wished them to be understood, once and for all, as a clear assertion that Friends were *and always had been* opposed to the use of 'carnal weapons', and that they never had and never would take up arms for one party against another. Not 'this is how we are going to be in the future', but 'this is how we have always been from the beginning'. And that is how successive generations of Friends were led to understand their history. The Dutchman William Sewell, Quakerism's first historian, published the English version of his *History of the Rise, Increase and Progress of the Christian People of God Called Quakers* in 1722 and dedicated it to George I because, as he informed the king, it described 'the rise of a people who are no small part of his faithful subjects, since they never (how much soever wronged and oppressed) offered any resistance to the Government and thus at all times they behaved themselves like a peaceable people'.[4] Quaker republicanism and support for the New Model Army as the 'Battleaxe of the Lord'? Sewell knew nothing of that, or if he did he wasn't going to tell King George.

Two centuries later William C Braithwaite in *The Beginnings of Quakerism* effectively goes along with Sewell. 'During the succession of changes which attended the downfall of the Puritan regime,' he writes, 'Friends, with one or two exceptions, took no active part in the shaping of affairs.'[5] They were, broadly speaking, unpolitical and pacifist from the start. That was how it looked at the cutting edge of Quaker historical scholarship in 1912 when Braithwaite's undeniably great work was published, and this comfortable conclusion continued to be comfortably endorsed within the Society of Friends.

Until well into the twentieth century very nearly all Quaker history was done by Quakers. Understandably, the picture that

emerged tended to be favourable to the established Quaker self-image as reflected in Fox's *Journal,* understood to have been put together under the leadings of the Spirit. The letters, tracts and pamphlets of early Friends (dubbed the 'First Publishers of Truth', with a capital T) were studied in this light, and the works of Quaker critics tended to be dismissed as ungodly ignorance or malice. In such circumstances enthusiasm tends to trump objectivity and the notion of a Spirit-led consistency is preferred to the kind of human fallibility that leads to tactical rethinks and embarrassing U-turns.

But the early Quaker movement suddenly became of interest to secular historians as the civil war and Commonwealth periods began to be studied not as 'The Interregnum' - a bizarre interruption of normal service - but as England's historic attempt at social, economic and political revolution, the first of the great upheavals that created early-modern society. Scholars like R.H. Tawney, Eduard Bernstein, David Petergorsky and Eric Hobsbawm pioneered a new 'history-from-below' methodology focused on popular movements. 1961 saw the publication of H. Noel Brailsford's unfinished but encyclopaedic study *The Levellers and the English Revolution,* linking Levellers and Quakers as a radical continuum. This was followed in 1972 by Christopher Hill's best-selling study *The World Turned Upside Down,* placing Friends in the broader context of Levellers and True Levellers, Seekers and Ranters, Muggletonians and Fifth Monarchists - all those 'Elves, Goblins, Fairies' mocked by the Revd Robert Wild but now given their due as the popular movements which would begin to nudge open the door to modern freedoms and democratic institutions. The new history, at first distrusted by Friends as owing more to Marxist materialism than to Quaker metaphysics, was by now filtering into the Friends Historical Society with revisionist contributions by Alan Cole, Hugh Barbour and others. It climaxed in 1985 with the publication of Barry Reay's *The Quakers and the English Revolution,* to which Christopher Hill contributed a Foreword where he made a bold claim, italicised in this quotation:

'During the present generation our understanding of the early history of the Quakers has been transformed. Thanks especially to theses and articles by Alan Cole and Barry Reay, *we now know that for the first decade of their existence Quakers - with the exception of some individuals - were by no means pacifists.* There is a natural tendency when writing the history of religious sects to read backwards, to push back into the seventeenth century the image of the sober, grey-clad, moderate, industrious and prospering Quakers which we know from the eighteenth century. This image has now been

shattered for the first decade of Quaker history.' While Reay' s book was given pride of place for turning the world of Quaker history upside down, Hill added that 'it is greatly to the credit of the *Journal of the Friends Historical Society* that it has contributed its share to recovering the often bellicose radicalism of Quakers in the 1650s'.[6]

Despite the collaboration of our own respected journal in promoting this revisionist understanding of how it was in the beginning, Friends out in the meetinghouses, perhaps more concerned with immediate problems such as avoiding nomination to yet another committee, remained for the most part blissfully ignorant of the way in which their traditional understanding of the Society's infancy was being undermined. The old view had been based on Quaker sources (letters, pamphlets, Fox's *Journal)* with little awareness of how these had been selected, redacted or censored by a later Quaker leadership anxious to rewrite the Society's history and downplay some aspects of its radical past. Reay described his book as 'a response to what I perceive to be a major shortcoming in all studies of early Quakerism, the failure of its historians to make use of non-Quaker sources. This is unfortunate, for there is a wealth of seventeenth-century materials: state papers, church court, quarter sessions, assize and Exchequer records, non-Quaker diaries and collections of correspondence, a mass of anti-Quaker literature. It is from this source material that it is possible to construct an account of what can be described as the other side of the coin of Quakerism: the image of the early movement, how Quakers were perceived by their contemporaries; their actual impact on seventeenth-century politics and history.'[7]

3

Inevitably this unashamedly secular analysis provoked a reaction from Quaker historians, and I am now proposing to look at some of the key contributions. First, the American Friend and scholar Douglas Gwyn offered his own reinterpretation of the tradition in an influential book *The Covenant Crucified,* published in 1995. Gwyn re-emphasised the spiritual over the political, covenant over contract, in 1650s Quakerism, writing, as an admirer commented, not only as a scholar but also as 'a prophet... with the burning coal of the Lord upon his lips'. Gwyn found Christopher Hill 'especially irritating' in his 'over-interpretation of the Quaker movement's relationship to the Army'. 'Perhaps guided by Marxist theories of revolution', he argued, both Hill and Reay 'have strained to find violent tendencies in the early Quaker movement.'[8] But his repudiation of the 'Marxist' conclusion that most Friends were not

pacifists in the 1650s is only one strand in an otherwise innovative and complex analysis of early Quakerism and its relevance today.

Next to contribute to the controversy was Rosemary Moore, a distinguished president of the Friends Historical Society (2002), with *The Light in their Consciences*.[9] Less polemical and 'prophetic' than Gwyn, Moore cast a cool, analytical eye over 'some fifteen hundred mostly ephemeral publications of the period, together with large quantities of manuscripts, comprising letters, reports, epistles, and memoranda'. She had no theory to propagate, no hypothesis to prove. Her objective, brilliantly realised, was to make some sense of this mass of half-forgotten, long-neglected, often contradictory material and impose some order on it.

As with Gwyn, the question of whether 1650s Friends were pacifists was only one of a host of matters Moore's researches touched on, but her conclusions were clear and concise: 'Few Quakers,' she wrote, 'were pacifists to begin with'. Recognising the prevailing ambiguity over the use of violence, she commented that 'Fox's attitude to armed conflict was not fully worked out at this time. He had warned Cromwell that his failures in war were due to his disobedience to God, and he had praised Quaker soldiers. He had not made any pronouncement against the use of force by the lawful government about its lawful occasions, nor against Quakers being soldiers, although he had consistently warned Friends not to take part in plots against the government, but to fight with spiritual weapons only. As the government began to collapse it became increasingly difficult for Quakers to know their right course of action.' Uncertainty only increased, Moore suggested, when Fox apparently suffered a nervous breakdown in August 1659, 'probably due to the difficulties of the situation and to a feeling that the Quaker movement, like the country as a whole, was running out of control'.[10] It was perhaps at this time, while Fox was indisposed, that Edward Burrough, never one to reach for gentle persuasion when divine denunciation came to mind, penned a broadside to the Government explicitly warning that Quakers did not exclude the use of armed force if the Government would not act in the godly manner approved by Friends. 'Now blood is like to run down', he wrote, 'and the innocent like to be devoured, and this is because of your transgression.'[11] The pamphlet was never published at the time, possibly because the London men's meeting, which acted as the Friends' censorship committee, found Burrough's language impolitic. But its suppression is telling evidence of indecision among the Quaker leadership. What did it mean to renounce 'carnal weapons' and at the same time hail the

English republican army, in Margaret Fell's words, as 'the Battle-axe in the hand of the Lord'?

So Douglas Gwyn had found the Hill-Reay thesis 'irritating' and 'over-interpreted', and Rosemary Moore had contented herself with noting that the early literature contained both pacifist and militant rhetoric in unresolved ambiguity. Gwyn never quite delivered a mortal blow to what he called the Marxist thesis, and Moore wasn't interested in delivering even a mild box on the ears. Who would come up with the scrupulously researched, diligently annotated scholarship that would seek to put to rest, once and for all, the troublesome reinterpretations of the secular historians and those within the Friends Historical Society who had been seduced into dancing to their tune?

This year (2012) Australian Friend Gerard Guiton published *The Early Quakers and the 'Kingdom of God?.'*[12] In more than 500 pages of densely and passionately argued exegesis, Guiton spells out his own vision of Quakerism, past and present, as not just another socio-political phenomenon but a theocratic 'Pentecost/Paracletal' movement. His theme is not so much Quaker history as Quaker theology. History is stories, and 'stories, after all, can be set aside', he writes, while Quaker theology is 'unrestricted by time and space'. But within this wide (and disputable) perspective he devotes a major chapter to the pacifist question which must surely rank as the most thorough assault yet attempted on the radical revisionism of Hill, Reay and their school.

Guiton begins by acknowledging the violence of much early Quaker language. George Fox, Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill in particular frequently threatened their opponents with divine retribution by 'the sword of the Lord God' or the 'sword of justice'. Such passages have been cited by 'the Marxists', he complains, as evidence of the early Quakers' acceptance of violence in the cause of the revolution. Guiton argues that, on the contrary, 'sword here is clearly not a physical weapon. Rather, it is a metaphor, most likely from Revelation 19: 18, depicting ... an outpouring of divine wrath': a metaphor for 'law in general'.[13] This, by itself, is hardly controversial: Friends were by no means the only ones who drew on the Biblical metaphor of the sword of the Spirit. But when Burrough reassures the soldiers in Ireland (including Quaker soldiers) that 'your sword will be a terror and dread to them that fear not the Lord and live contrary to the Light', note how easily the sword of the Lord God has become *your* sword, in the hands of the troops. One wonders whether the Irish would have grasped that threats of 'the sword', 'terror' and 'dread' in the mouths of

the zealous enemy attacking them were mere metaphors which, as Guiton confidently assures us, when properly understood speak not of violent retribution but 'redemption, justice and compassion'.[14]

Guiton, however, pursues his argument far beyond the distinction between the sword of the Spirit and the sword in a soldier's hand. He does not shirk the task of tackling two of the most contentious passages in early Quaker literature, a short address by Fox to Cromwell beginning *Oh! Oliver* and a similar but longer one headed *To the Council of Officers and the Army.*

This is *Oh! Oliver* (in Guiton's occasionally awkward modernisation):

> 'Had you been faithful and thundered down the deceit, the Hollander had been your subject and tributers; and Germany had given up to have done your will; and the Spaniard had quivered like a dry leaf, wanting the virtue of God; the king of France should have bowed under you his neck; the Pope should have withered as in winter; the Turk in all his fatness should have smoked. You should not have a-stood trifling about small things but minded the work of the Lord as he began with you at first... Arise and come out, for had you been faithful you should have crumbled Nations to dust...'[15]

And this is Fox's address *To the Council of Officers and the Army:*

> 'Had you been faithful to the power of... God ... [and] gone into the midst of Spain ... to require the blood of the innocent that there had been shed and commanded them to have offered up their inquisition to you ... and knocked at Rome's gates ... and set up a standard... then you should have sent for the Turk's idol, the Mahomet, and plucked up idolatry.'[16]

The open letter goes on to address the troops directly, over their officers' heads. In words that cannot but remind one of any army padre delivering a morale-boosting parade-ground sermon he urges them to 'see that you know a soldier's place ... and that you be soldiers qualified'. One Quaker soldier, he boasts, is worth seven non-Quakers. If the army grandees would not see the work through, 'the inferior officers and soldiers' should bypass them and take on the task themselves. What task? 'Never set up your standard [that is, call a halt] till you come to Rome.'

I confess it seems to me that the plain meaning here is that, at a time when radicals of all colours were accusing Cromwell of betraying the Good Old Cause and halting the revolution in its tracks, Fox shares their bitter disillusionment. Cromwell and the

Army Council, as he sees it, had failed in their divinely appointed task to see the revolution through in England and then take it on to Holland, France, Spain, Germany, the Vatican, and the heart of the Ottoman empire - a holy war in which Fox would presumably have had Quaker soldiers (seven times more worthy than their comrades) participate with the sword of the Spirit in one hand and a more deadly blade in the other.

It takes some ingenuity to read these passages as pacifist metaphors or allegories, but Gerard Guiton is up for it. He does momentarily wonder aloud whether Fox might have 'wobbled', as he puts it, in what he insists is the Quaker leader's otherwise consistent pacifism, and he doesn't neglect to remind us that some scholars have found it hard to believe that Fox himself authored such bellicose documents (notably M. Hirst in *Quakers in Peace and War* where she suggests Fox the Younger, or Burrough as likely culprits). But he does not rely on such speculation. Instead, we are asked to understand these passages, and all other early Quaker statements that seem on a plain reading to support or advocate armed force, as having a quite different, hidden meaning; one that becomes accessible to us only if we recognise that early Quaker discourse was 'apocalyptic, theophanous and anagogical', going 'hand in hand with the use of metaphor, allegory, symbolism and rhetoric'. Such apocalyptic and theophanous thinking, says Guiton, 'was second nature to the Quaker imagination, indeed, characteristic of their daily discourse and writing'. So, the argument runs, *Oh! Oliver*, with its *apparent* call to take the revolution to quivering Spaniards, a withering Pope and the fat, smoking Turk, 'does not advocate physical invasion' as the simple reader might suppose. Instead, the letter 'urges the Protector to open himself to the Light so that it may invade his soul and by implication the nation and world ... This thinking,' Guiton continues, 'allowed outer events, looming large in the public imagination, to be interpreted as stark inner realities that needed urgent attention so that people could experience the reality of the Light, the Kingdom, and the salvation it freely offered'.[17] Marxists just wouldn't get it. One hopes that Cromwell and the army generals had more discernment and instantly grasped the nature of apocalyptic, theophanous and anagogical expression (which my *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* helpfully defines as 'mystical, spiritual, allegorical words with a hidden spiritual sense').

It is worth repeating, however, that while I find it impossible to accept Guiton's interpretation of such unambiguous, plain-speaking rants as *Oh! Oliver* and *To the Council of Officers*, he is clearly right to argue that a good deal else of what seems violent

and abusive in early Quaker discourse was not intended to be understood literally. Early Friends, along with pretty well everyone else engaged at the time in religious polemics, drew much of their rhetoric from the apocalyptic prose of *Revelation*, the dire warnings of the Hebrew Old Testament prophets, and not least the terrifying threats of Yahweh himself. After all, John Lilburne, when rebuked for the virulence of his language towards his enemies, answered that he got it all from the Bible.

So sometimes when Friends employed violent imagery it is plausible that they thought of themselves as prophets of divine rather than Quaker retribution (assuming that they were always clear about the difference). But this will surely not do as a blanket explanation covering every Quaker threat and warning, written and spoken. In particular, theophanous metaphor cannot credibly serve as an explanation of or apology for documents like Fox's *Oh! Oliver* or the disturbingly belligerent language of leading Friends such as Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill.

So we are back with the problem: how are such bellicose passages to be reconciled with the frequent expressions of what seems like pure pacifism found in even the earliest Quaker literature and throughout most of the fifties? The most familiar example is Fox's answer in 1651 where he is recorded as twice refusing to join the New Model Army when enlistment was offered to him as a get-out-of-jail-free card. The first occasion was in April when he was visited by the army commissioners in Derby jail where he was serving a sentence under the 1650 Blasphemy Act. To their offer of a commission he responded, according to his *Journal*, that he 'lived in the virtue of that life and power that took away the occasion of all wars,' and that he 'was come into the covenant of peace which was before wars and strifes were'. Four months later, in August, when the army was passing near Derby gathering reinforcements for what would prove to be the final battle of the civil war, Cromwell's 'crowning mercy' at Worcester, the army tried again, this time offering him money to enlist as a common soldier. He told them, according to the *Journal*, that he was 'brought off from outward wars', since 'where envy and hatred are there is confusion'.[18]

There is little ambiguity here. But a year later in 1652 Fox has his Pendle Hill vision and begins his own recruiting campaign. I have drawn attention elsewhere[19] to the strong emphasis on making military contacts that is evident in the *Journal's* account of his iconic Pendle-to-Swarthmoor journey, when the Quaker movement achieved lift-off. Middle-ranking army officers, the men Cromwell had recruited for their commitment to the godly cause, now held

considerable power and influence in local communities across the country, and a plain reading of Fox's own account of his 1652 journey makes clear that he was deliberately seeking out these godly army officers as potential Quaker supporters. They are named and listed by rank, before Fox homes in on Judge Thomas Fell, Vice-Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and effectively Cromwell's regent in the North-West.

Clearly Fox was not just going a-wandering along the mountain tracks. He was purposefully networking his way across the dales and south Lakeland, picking up recommendations which helped him target influential men with known radical sympathies, particularly the military leaders of their local communities, Cromwell's newly-appointed guardians of the fledgling English republic. The army had failed to recruit Fox in 1651. Nine months later Fox sets about recruiting army men to the Quaker movement - and succeeds.

A conscientious objector in 1651, building an alliance with army radicals in 1652? The puzzle only begins to make sense when we realise that what Fox is reported to have said in Derby jail about living in 'the virtue of that life and power that took away the occasion of all wars', now considered the classic expression of Quaker pacifism, is not a contemporary record. The event itself occurred in 1651 but the account we have of it, and of Fox's pacifist response as he reports it, was first dictated by Fox in Lancaster jail some time in 1663 or 1664. An elaborated version is found in the longer text dictated by Fox to his son in law Thomas Lower when they were both in Worcester jail in 1673 and 1674. That text underwent further revision by Thomas Ellwood for publication in 1694. Christopher Hill suggests that in telling and retelling the story many years later Fox and his editors provided a prime example of how Friends at the time unconsciously projected the pacifism of the post-restoration period back to 1651.[20] That Fox was offered an army commission in 1651 and refused it is not in doubt. But that his refusal was made in the Quaker pacifist language of the 1660s looks highly anachronistic.

What might we reasonably conclude from all this? It is surely clear that in the early fifties Friends looked to the English republican army to open up the revolutionary space in which the newly emerging Quaker movement could fulfil its divine mission. The army, with Cromwell at its head, was both the agent and the guarantor of the revolution. No army, no revolution: no revolution, no godly reformation ushering in a kingdom of peace and justice. Of course Friends backed the army: their godly enterprise depended on it. But their support was always conditional. When the Army Council acted in ways of which Friends approved, the army was

indeed 'the Battle-axe in the hand of the Lord'. When it faltered, Friends railed against it, limiting their support to what they saw as the more radical and godly factions within it.

This was the case as the fifties drew to a close in ungodly anarchy and it seemed that paradise promised would turn into paradise lost. The army is divided, Cromwell is ill and no nearer finding a religious and political settlement. The army leaders are denounced by Friends, not for militancy but for lack of it, and the army not for its armed strength but for its weakness and indecision. Cromwell dies and there are rumours of royalist rebellion and fears of a renewed civil war. General Lambert tries to rebuild the army, seeking reinforcements from among the radical sects, the largest and most vociferous of which is the Quakers. George Fox himself, under intolerable pressure, is at a loss as how best to instruct Friends, offering contradictory advice. In one letter he chastises the 'foolish, rash spirits' among Friends who were taking up arms, and in another, when asked by Bristol Friends whether Quakers could serve as soldiers, he answers that 'there is something in the thing... and you cannot well leave them seeing you have gone among them'.

Nor was it all talk. Barry Reay documents the appointment of leading Quakers in the new militias hastily assembled in 1658 and 1659: Nicholas Bond, William Woodcock, Amos Stoddart, Richard Davis and Steven Hart for Westminster, George Lambol and Thomas Curtis for Berkshire, Edward Alcock in Cheshire, Humphrey Lower in Cornwall, Henry Pollexfen in Devon, Mark Grime in Gloucestershire, John Gawler in Glamorganshire, Theophilous Alie in Worcestershire, Edward Stokes in Wiltshire, Thomas Speed, Dennis Hollister, Henry Rowe, Thomas Gouldney and Edward Pyott (all leading Friends) in Bristol. By the end of the year there were Quakers in army garrisons in York, Bristol, Holy Island and Berwick-upon-Tweed, Lancaster, Carlisle, Chester, Kent, Northamptonshire, Norfolk, Shrewsbury and London.[21] Lambert called on Quakers to help crush George Booth's royalist rebellion in Cheshire. The only hope now for the party that had dreamed of creating a new heaven and a new earth, declared the radical Quaker sympathiser Henry Stubbe, was that it was 'possessed with the militia of the nation, and under good commanders'. When the Rump fell and absolute power reverted to the army, the rush into the militias increased. One of the Quaker leaders most actively involved was Anthony Pearson, and I want to use him as a brief but illustrative case study by way of steering this address towards a close.

4

Anthony Pearson was a brilliant young lawyer, a judge in three counties before his twenty-sixth birthday. He was on the bench that tried James Nayler in Appleby in January 1653 and was dramatically convinced by his prisoner. With all the zeal of a new convert he turned his home at Ramshaw Hall, Durham, into the centre for Quaker operations in the north-east, where the movement spread rapidly, shielded from persecution by his personal protection. He immediately became one of Fox's inner circle, advising him on legal affairs, and represented Friends in an audience with Cromwell in the summer of 1653, barely six months after his convincement. With his fellow-justice Gervase Benson he published the first account of Quaker sufferings and the standard Quaker book opposing tithes. With Benson and Thomas Aldham he presented Parliament with a petition calling for the abolition of tithes signed by more than 15,000 Friends (and probably others) from Westmorland, Cumberland, Lancashire, Cheshire, Durham and Yorkshire, supplemented by a petition signed by 7000 women. Pearson was at the centre of Quaker action and all the more effective because of the pains he took to maintain key contacts in the political world and the army. He had been secretary to Arthur Hesilrige, one of the more militant Parliamentary leaders, and had served as clerk and registrar to the Government's Committee on Compounding. He was much the best politically-connected of all the Quaker leaders.

Pearson clearly identified with what we might call the left wing critics of the Commonwealth regime, those who feared that Cromwell's autocracy was stifling the revolution. As early as 1654 he attended meetings organised by Hesilrige's ally John Wildman who was plotting to replace Cromwell with Leveller support. The plot was discovered and Wildman thrown in the Tower, but Pearson avoided detection - for the time being. Again, in 1659 and now one of the many newly-appointed Quaker Commissioners for the Militia, Pearson was active in 'raising the country' and attempting to recruit Kendal and Lancaster Friends into a new militia under General Lambert's command.

What was the attitude of Pearson's Quaker colleagues to such direct involvement in politics and military activity? Some certainly expressed unease. Francis Howgill wrote to Edward Burrough that 'there is a good thing in him if he did keep out of the world's spirit, for that betrays him and hurts him'. Margaret Fell expressed similar misgivings, though it was at this time that she praised the

army as 'the Battle-axe in the hand of the Lord'.[22] As we have seen, George Fox himself seemed unable to give clear directions at this critical time when the very survival of the republic and perhaps of the Quaker movement was in doubt. But, crucially, despite these privately-expressed misgivings, Pearson's political and military activities were never disowned by the leadership. Moreover, throughout the final months of 1659 and right into the early weeks of 1660, Pearson played a critical part in establishing the Monthly Meeting, General Meeting and Yearly Meeting system which was to consolidate Quakerism in the coming period of virulent persecution. Recommending the new Quaker discipline in what William C Braithwaite picked out as 'a document of great importance', Pearson wrote to Friends spelling out the need for Quaker democracy and avoidance of the kind of top-down leadership that had thwarted previous attempts at church reform throughout history. He urged that 'none may exercise lordship or dominion over another, nor the person of any be set apart, but as they continue in the power of truth'. This turns out to have been Pearson's last service to the movement. Informed on after the restoration for his anti-royalist activities and threatened with the death penalty for treason, he made terms with Charles II, apologised for having embraced 'the chimerical notions of those giddy times', and died at the age of 37 a true son of the king's own Church of England.[23]

I see the Pearson story as illustrating all the contradictions inherent in early Quaker attitudes to the violence/nonviolence question. Whatever this was, it wasn't pacifism. That was to come later, not in a sudden instant of divine revelation, but as the fruit of bitter human experience of the consequences of violence and its corrosive effect on the best of causes. John Lilburne, whose life had been one long personal civil war against both royalist and republican tyranny, got the message as early as 1654, two years before he announced his conversion to Quakerism. In *A Declaration to the Freeborn People of England* he wrote: 'When political change begins with violence, the many who have been wronged will not rest until they find an opportunity of revenge'. This was the radical pacifist insight - that violence is mimetic, one violent act always sowing the seeds of the next - that the Quaker leadership caught up with in 1660, two years after Lilburne's death while a prisoner in Dover Castle.

We know what happened to the Revd Robert Wild's 'Armed Sprights' after the restoration. They finally renounced violence and found a better way of pursuing their dream of a new heaven and a new earth, though it cost them dearly through decades of

persecution. But what of Wild himself? It seems that he changed too, abandoning versified slapstick and emerging as a man of religious principle. Offered a bishopric by Charles II, he rejected it on the grounds that he was an unrepentant Presbyterian. Refusing to sign the Act of Uniformity of 1662, which required all ministers to conform to the episcopal Church of England, he was ejected from his parish. We last hear of him in 1669, hauled before Warwick and Coventry assizes for running a Nonconformist Conventicle, seditious and illegal as any Quaker meeting. It seems that the scourge of sectarian elves and goblins had himself gone off with the fairies.

The *Iter Boreale* had temporarily proved an ill wind for all those Quakers and New Lights, but its author too had come to find the wind's tooth, though keen, not so unkind as man's ingratitude. He was pretty well forgotten, while his despised Quakers, living experimentally and learning from experience, are with us still. If it were not too unquakerly a sentiment, you might say it was the elves, goblins and New Lights who had the last laugh.

David Boulton

Presidential Address given at Friargate Quaker Meeting House, York, 20 October 2012, and repeated at Britain Yearly Meeting, Friends House, London, 25 May 2013

ENDNOTES

1. Research Group for Electronic Textuality and Theory, ett.arts.uwo.ca/rump/site/rsrctxts/1660/WW2132.html
2. Dryden, *Essay of Dramatick Poesie,* 1668.
3. Barry Reay, 'The Quakers, 1659, and the Restoration of the Monarchy' in *History* vol. 63, No. 208, (June 1978), p. 204.
4. From the Dedication in the 1722 edition (my modernisation).
5. William C. Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism,* 2nd ed. (York: Sessions, 1970), p.480.
6. Christopher Hill, Foreword to *The Quakers and the English Revolution,* by Barry Reay, (London, Temple Smith, 1985).
7. Reay, ibid, p.3.
8. Douglas Gwyn, *The Covenant Crucified,* (Pennsylvania, Pendle Hill Publications, 1995), pp. 222 and 112 respectively.
9. Rosemary Moore, *The Light in Their Consciences: the Early Quakers in Britain, 1646-1666,* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000).
10. Moore, pp. 122, 169-170.
11. Moore, p. 171.
12. Gerard Guiton, *The Early Quakers and the 'Kingdom of God': Peace, Testimony and Revolution,* (San Francisco, Inner Light Books, 2012).

13. Guiton, p. 337.
14. Guiton, p. 337.
15. Guiton, p. 345. The original manuscript is at Friends House, London, Bound Parchment Portfolio 9, p. 79. Edward Burrough quoted it approvingly in *Good Counsel and Advice Rejected,* 1659.
16. Guiton, pp. 340-341 in his own modernisation.
17. Guiton, pp. 346-347.
18. Fox's *Journal,* Nickalls edition (1975), pp. 65-67.
19. David and Anthea Boulton, *In Fox's Footsteps,* (Dent, Dales Historical Monographs (DHM), 1998); 'The Quaker Military Alliance' in *Friends Quarterly,* (October 1997), revised in my *Real Like the Daisies or Real Like I Love You?,* (DHM, 2002), and reprinted in *Militant Seedbeds of Early Quakerism,* Quaker Universalist Fellowship (USA, 2005).
20. Christopher Hill, 'Quakers and the English Revolution', address to the 1991 international conference at Lancaster University commemorating the tercentenary of Fox's death. Printed in *New Light on George Fox,* ed. Michael Mullett, Sessions, (York: Sessions 1994). The suggestion that Fox and early Friends tended to read back their post-restoration pacifism into the republican period had been made earlier by Alan Cole in 'The Quakers and Politics, 1652-1660', University of Cambridge thesis, 1955.
21. Reay, *The Quakers and the English Revolution,* pp. 88ff.
22. Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism,* p. 114. Margaret Fell wrote in her letter *To the General Counsel and Officers of the Army,* October 1659, 'You have bin the Instrument of warre, and the Battle-axe in the hand of the Lord'. See Bonnelyn Young Kunze, *Margaret Fell and the Rise of Quakerism,* (Macmillan, 1994), p. 134.
23. Braithwaite, pp. 112-114.

20

EARLY QUAKER EDUCATIONAL BOOKS FOR CHILDREN

Quaker writers did not enter the field of entertaining books for children until the end of the eighteenth century with authors like Priscilla Wakefield and Maria Hack, but there are a number of earlier instructional books by Quakers that are rarely, if ever, mentioned in the standard histories of children's literature. Harvey Darton does refer to the *Battle-door for teachers and professors to learn singular & plural* (London: Robert Wilson, 1660), written by George Fox, John Stubs and Benjamin Furley, but this is a lively polemical work on what early Quakers felt was the misuse of *thou* and *you* in the social usage of their time. Illustrated with copious examples from many languages, it is more a linguistic tract than a book written for children.[1] This book is also noted by Humphrey Carpenter and Mari Prichard,[2] but under Fox's name they first mention another book that has a definite claim to be regarded as a book for children. This is entitled *A primmer and catechism for children: or a plain and easie way for children to learn to spell and read perfectly in a little time,* by G. and E.H. ([London]: printed in the year, 1670).[3]

The authorship of this little book, 144 pages long, is credited to George Fox and Ellis Hookes. Fox was of course the founder of the Religious Society of Friends, and Hookes was the first secretary. It seems odd that the initial of Fox's surname was not printed. The book opens, as was common practice in works of this kind, with a number of alphabets in various fonts, the letter I doing service for I and J, and similarly V for U and V. After them follow words (some of them quite long) divided into syllables under each letter of the alphabet. Then comes 'The Childs Lesson': 'Christ is the Truth. Christ is the Light. Christ is my Way. Christ is my Life. Christ is my Saviour. Christ is my hope of Glory.' etc. This leads on to a long summary of the Old and New Testaments. The Catechism (pp. 58-90) focuses particularly on Christ.

As with the famous epistle addressed to the Governor of Barbados in 1671,[4] Friends were concerned to emphasize that they held to the traditional doctrines of the Christian faith, however radically different they were in other respects.

After dealing with basic faith and quoting proverbs, Fox and Hookes's little book reverts to explaining consonants and syllables, followed by an explanation of 'hard words' (pp. 97-111). Then they deal with proper names in scripture and their significations in

English (pp. 112-30). Finally, they proceed to numerals, reckonings and weights and measures. Carpenter and Prichard point out that the Catechism is unusual in that the child asks the questions and the teacher gives the answers. They also inform us that the book, revised in 1673, went through at least twelve reprints in England up to 1769. It was also the first English spelling book to be published in America with an edition printed in Philadelphia in 1702.[5]

The popularity of Fox and Hookes's book was virtually eclipsed in America by the publication of *The New England primer,* a deeply Calvinist work that first appeared sometime between 1686 and 1690 and was reprinted by multitudes of printer-publishers up to nearly the end of the nineteenth century. The first surviving edition dates from as late as 1727, but between then and 1830 some 362 different editions are known. Over the course of its long history changes naturally occurred to the text, format and content.[6] One of the aspects of *The New England primer* that strikes the modern reader strongly is its emphasis on being prepared for death. Mortality during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was much higher than it is now, and children were particularly at risk of succumbing to disease, harsh conditions and accidents. James Janeway's *A token for children* (1672) is the best known of books that put examples of holy deaths before child readers as an encouragement. It remained in circulation till the end of the nineteenth century. Quakers also shared this concern, as a number of tracts and other publications show. *The work of God in a dying maid* (1677), William Rogers, *A brief account of the blessed ends of the two sons ** of Colchester* (1709) and a couple of accounts in John Tomkins's *Piety promoted* (1701) are cases in point.[7]

Friends were interested in the provision of appropriate education for their children from an early period. John Punshon notes:

> In 1668 George Fox set up a boys' school at Waltham Abbey in Essex, and a girls' school at Shacklewell near Hackney, a few miles down the River Lea on the eastern edge of London. Perhaps because of the contemporary apprenticeship system, Friends tended to favour boarding, and by 1671 it is estimated that there were at least fifteen boarding schools under the care of quarterly meetings quite apart from a large number of others opened by individual Friends, and often open to non-Quaker children.[8]

Probably some of these schools used Fox and Hookes's book in its various editions.

We now change scene to America and the latter part of the

eighteenth century. John Woolman (1720-72) of Mount Holly, New Jersey, is the Friend best known today from this period, but he is little, if at all, known as the author of *A first book for children,* written and first printed *c.* 1769. This slender work has recently been scrupulously edited and reprinted by James Proud in a collection of short writings by Woolman.[9] It survives in a unique copy of the third edition, dated by Joseph Smith as 'around 1774'. This copy is held in Friends House Library, London. The 32-page booklet was printed and sold by Joseph Crukshank of Second-street, Philadelphia, and also by Benjamin Ferriss, stationer and bookbinder, in Wilmington. No other copy is known.

Joseph Crukshank printed a handful of other children's books that are listed in d'Alte A. Welch's *Bibliography of American children's books printed prior to 1821.*[10] They include Isaac Watts, *Divine songs,* sixteenth edition, 1773?; John Huddlestone Wynne, *Choice emblems, natural, historical, fabulous, moral, and divine,* 1790; Robert Dodsley, *Select fables of Esop,* 1786; William Darton, *Little truths better than great fables,* vols I and II, 1789; Cebes, *The circuit of human life: a vision,* third edition, 1790. William Darton (1755-1819), founder of the publishing firm that carried the family name in various combinations through much of the nineteenth century, was a Quaker. Joseph Crukshank was likewise a Quaker.[11]

Woolman was a practical man and knew the hazards that books were liable to at the hands of children. Immediately after the title follows the sentence: 'Much useful reading being sullied and torn by children in schools before they can read, this book is intended to save unnecessary expense.' The Friends House Library copy is a fragile, unbound, unpaginated 32-page booklet bearing the signature 'SBirkbeck' at the top right-hand corner of the cover, i.e. p. 1. The text is printed throughout in roman; there is no use of italics (perhaps a pointer to simplicity). After printing the alphabet in capitals and lower case, there follows an extensive syllabary, beginning ba be bi bo bu and similarly through the rest of the alphabet, after which come ab eb ib ob ub, ac ec ic oc uc, and so forth. In the three-letter sequence, beginning bla ble bli blo blu, the child will begin to recognize the occasional actual word rather than a mere syllable.

Then we have nine short sentences that reflect the child's real-life experience and the simple morality that informs it:

> The Sun is up my Boy,
> Get out of thy Bed,
> Go thy way, for the Cow,
> Let her eat the Hay.

Now the Sun is set,
And the Cow is put up,
The Boy may go to his Bed.
Go not in the Way of a bad Man;
Do not tell a Lie, my Son.

The columns of four-letter words that come after this build on the child's developing knowledge of the two- and three-letter syllables, but with different combinations of the initial letters, viz. blab crab stab swab; chub club grub snub; bred bled fled shed. Everything is very carefully organized so that the child has patterns of familiar sequences to help him learn further (throughout the text the child is always a boy apart from one illustrative sentence where it prints 'The good Boy and the good Girl learn their Books'). When Woolman arrives at words of two syllables and, ultimately, of three and four syllables, the words in the initial row of each set present the syllable division firstly with hyphens and subsequently with a simple space. The child is thus led gradually and progressively forwards. The range of vocabulary increases from the simple and concrete to the complex and abstract, but all the steps relate to the child's growing understanding of the world and the social, moral and religious values around him.

In his introduction to *A first book for children* James Proud makes reference to the contrast in pedagogics between *The New England primer* and middle-colony Quakerism, which he locates primarily in their illustrative reading texts. This is true, but I think we can also see Woolman's values and attitudes implied in the shorter passages and even his choice of words in his various lists. It seems symptomatic and very appropriate that Woolman's first long Biblical passage focuses on the relationship of rich and poor in the parable of the rich man and Lazarus. In his third long passage his focus is the parable of the Good Samaritan. In addition to these examples that explore the moral life and practice rather than theory, Woolman has a second passage that consists of various injunctions and brief quotations. These conclude with a few lines that encapsulate what many would regard as the spiritual essence of Quakerism:

> God is our Re-fuge and Strength, there-fore will I not fear, though the Earth be re-mov-ed. Be-cause we trust in the liv-ing God, we shall not be a-fraid of ev-il Ti-dings, but in Qui-et-ness, and in Con-fi-dence shall be our Strength, may they say who faith-ful-ly fol-low Christ.

Within ten years of Woolman writing his primer the Philadelphia Quaker Anthony Benezet produced a different primer with the same title as Woolman's, *A first book for children* (Philadelphia: J. Crukshank, 1778). There is a copy of this too in Friends House Library. Since John Woolman died of smallpox in 1772 while on a religious visit to England, his friend Benezet may well have composed his primer because Woolman's was no longer available. Though the text is different, the format is similar with a syllabary and lists of words, increasing in the number of letters and syllables. Benezet intersperses the syllabary with little phrases, e.g. I am, he is, we go; An ax, an ox, to us. Later comes the verse: 'The sky is red, / Go now to bed. / Let all go up, / So we may sup.' After the four-letter words we find the statement 'The Lord sees all we do. / His eye is on all that fear him.' Gradually more and longer words are introduced, followed by religious quasi-credal passages and the beginning of the gospel story: 'Behold a virgin shall bring forth a son, and they shall call his name Jesus, for he shall save his people from their sins.' Pages 31-32 of this little booklet concludes with ten quatrains headed 'The Danger of delaying Repentance'. The tenor of Benezet's primer is different from Woolman's, laying greater emphasis on doctrinal matters. It is not entirely clear whether the statement that 'The Lord sees all we do' is meant to be understood in terms of protection or of admonition. 'The Danger of delaying Repentance' also reads to us today like a veiled threat. On the more practical aspect of learning letters and words Benezet's work does not evince the same care and teaching experience that is evident in Woolman's booklet. The differences between the two primers probably arise from the two writers' individual personalities more than from any general religious change over the period of less than a decade.

Interestingly, there is a further brief publication that we can consider in the context of the education of Quaker children. This is Abiah Darby's *Useful instruction for children. by way of question and answer. In two parts* (London: Luke Hinde, 1763). This was not conceived as a primer, but as a catechism such as we find in Fox and Hookes's *Primmer and catechism* and in *The New England primer,* which we know had an English antecedent in Benjamin Harris's *Protestant tutor.*[12] Abiah Darby's booklet, as she explains in her introductory remarks 'To Parents of Children', was compiled for her own children and the children of others in the meeting to which she belonged (Coalbrookdale). Although she admits she knows of similar 'greatly superior' productions she had 'a Desire to have it generally spread among the little Children of our Society, for their Instruction'.

Abiah Darby (1716-93) was the second wife of Abraham Darby II (1711-63). Born in Sunderland, she married Abraham in 1746, and they had seven children of whom three died in infancy. In 1748 she felt a call to the ministry and with the complete agreement of her husband undertook several ministerial journeys. She gave brief accounts of her ministerial visits in her journal, which is the basis for Rachel Labouchere's biography.[13] Abiah's journeys were often linked with attendance at Yearly Meetings in Wales and London and visits to her relatives in Sunderland. She often bewailed the fact that in various localities Friends had done little to facilitate meetings for her. In any case she did not always feel the call to speak. Without independent witnesses it is hard to gauge the impact that she made.

The first publication of *Useful instruction for children* was printed in London by William Phillips of George Yard, Lombard Street, in 1754 and widely distributed in the Society. A later edition came from Luke Hinde at the Bible in George Yard in 1763, the year of her husband Abraham's death (23 March). Abiah's procedure in *Useful instruction* was to give a simplified outline of the Old Testament in Part I and the New in Part II in question and answer form. Interestingly, Part I consists of 106 questions, Part II of 84, though the number of pages allotted to each part is roughly equal (1-23 and 25-45). She focuses not so much on belief and doctrine as on factual information, i.e. names and deeds, particularly with regard to the Old Testament. Some of the questions are formulated in a leading manner, e.g. question 11: 'Did [God] give Man Dominion over the animal Creation? *Answ*. Yes; the Lord gave him Dominion over the Fish of the Sea, over the Fowls of the Air, and over every living Thing that moveth upon the Earth.' This Biblical passage can be viewed as particularly important in the era of colonial expansion and exploitation. Often it is omissions that strike the modern reader. For example, Eve is not singled out as temptress, but both Adam and Eve are guilty of disobedience in eating the fruit of the tree of knowledge. A little later, Abraham's readiness to sacrifice his son Isaac in obedience to God's command is not mentioned. A considerable amount of space is given to the quotation of the Ten Commandments, key verses from Psalms and Proverbs, and the Messianic prophecies of Isaiah and Micah.

When Abiah gets to the New Testament her questions and answers give a much stronger sense of Quaker difference from that of the Established Church. Her account of Jesus Christ as Lord and Saviour opens with the Johannine 'In the Beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God' before going on to the Nativity stories from Luke and Matthew. Christ identifies

himself principally as the Light of the World, the Bread of Life, the Resurrection and the Life, the Good Shepherd and the True Vine. Abiah centres more on Christ's teaching than on matters of traditional belief. She quotes the Beatitudes and the Lord's Prayer, talks about prayer more generally and emphasizes that 'God is a Spirit'. As far as baptism is concerned, she stresses the Quaker position that baptism is a matter of the spirit, not of water. Similarly, with regard to the Lord's Supper, she explains this as 'an inward and spiritual feeding upon Christ the Bread of Life'. Question 68 asks bluntly, *'Is the Ministry of Christ confin'd to Men only? Are not Women also call 'd to that Work?'* The answer is: 'Male and Female are one in Christ. For this, as the Apostle *Peter* declared unto the Jews, is that which was foretold by the Prophet *Joel;* And it shall come to pass in the last Days, saith God, I will pour out of my Spirit upon all Flesh, and your Sons and your Daughters shall prophesy.'

One further question (77) refers to another distinctive Quaker position, namely, the testimony against what is here called 'the Observation of Days and Times', i.e. particular days and feasts in the traditional Church calendar. Abiah is here somewhat elliptical, and not all of her readers would have understood what she meant:

> *Quest. 77. What saith the Apostle to the Galatians, concerning the Observation of Days and Times?*
>
> *Answ.* But now, after that ye have known God, why turn ye again to the weak and beggarly Elements, whereunto ye desire again to be in Bondage. Ye observe Days, and Months, and Times, and Years; I am afraid of you, lest I have bestow'd upon you Labour in vain.

Abiah does not label distinctive Quaker positions as such, but she includes them prominently in what she writes.

John Woolman's writings frequently advert to the danger of riches to those who seek simplicity of life and 'pure wisdom', and Abiah too concerns herself with advice to the rich as in the answer to her question 80:

> Charge them that are rich in this World, that they be not high-minded, nor trust in uncertain Riches, but in the living God, which giveth us richly all Things to enjoy. That they do good, that they be rich in good Works, ready to distribute, willing to communicate, laying up in store a good Foundation, that they may lay hold on eternal Life.

This was undoubtedly a matter that touched Abiah Darby herself.

The various instructional books for children that I have discussed

here are not all of the same character. Both Woolman's and Benezet's booklets concentrate on the task of learning to read, while Darby focuses exclusively on basic Christian teaching as shown in the Bible and interpreted according to Quaker practice. Fox and Hookes, as in many other primers of this early period, combine the exercise of learning to read with a long catechism on Christian faith. It is surely no accident that Woolman provides reading practice mainly through passages from the Bible. Neither he nor Benezet follow the practice of *The New England primer* in illustrating their text with woodcuts and rhyming couplets to assist and reinforce children's learning. Early editions of the famous verses in *The New England primer* that begin with 'In Adam's Fall / We Sinned all' go on to give for K 'Our *KING* the good / No man of blood' and for O 'The *Royal Oak* / it was the Tree / That sav'd His / Royal Majestie.' Editions of 1777 and later replace these references with others mentioning Korah and Young Obadias. The woodcuts, not only those for K and O, are comprehensively replaced.[14] Benezet, however, is not quite as purist as Woolman in avoiding verse: he ends his booklet with ten quatrains on 'The Danger of delaying Repentance'.

It is interesting that three of the Quaker publications come from a quite short period in the late eighteenth century (1754-78). Carpenter and Prichard note that Fox and Hookes's *Primmer* was reprinted at least twelve times in England up to 1769 and that an American edition was printed in Philadelphia in 1702.[15] By the 1770s it was presumably felt either that the *Primmer* was no longer serviceable or that the breakdown in relations between Britain and America necessitated home-grown American products.

What was used in Quaker schools in Britain before the founding of Ackworth (opened 1779) requires further investigation. Several non-Quaker books teaching children how to read were published in the course of the century. The catalogue of the Osborne Collection lists, for example, William Scoffin, *A help to true spelling and reading* (second edition 1705); Daniel Fenning, *The universal spelling book* (first published 1756); *A pretty book for children: or, an easy guide to the English tongue* (J. Newbery, S. Crowder, and B. Collins, tenth edition 1761; third edition advertised 1748); *The royal primer* (J. Newbery and B. Collins, [c. 1765]); Charles Vyse, *The new London spelling-book* (first published 1777); William Rusher, *Reading made most easy* (first published 1783).[16] Around 1831 the poet John Clare (1793-1864) alludes to 'Fennings Spelling book' in a poem entitled 'Childhood', attesting to its use in rural Northamptonshire in the last decade of the eighteenth century.[17] Whether any of these books were utilized by Quakers is doubtful.

Vyse's *New London spelling-book* had a long life, going on to be published until at least *c.* 1825, with improvements and additions. It was designed for young gentlemen and ladies and was more than a simple spelling-book. It contained a good deal of instruction about personal conduct, especially towards masters, governesses and social inferiors, about religion and morality, basic geographical information and so on. It was a more or less complete manual of polite education. The text and various lessons go well beyond the scope and age-range of what primers offered in the late eighteenth century.

Ackworth School produced in 1790 *The English vocabulary, or spelling book.* It was compiled by Jonathan Binns and printed by James Phillips. A second edition was published by Darton & Harvey in 1806. A twenty-first edition appeared *c.* 1845.[18] This work, amounting to 172 pages in the sixth edition (1815), was designed for pupils who had already learnt to read, It was not so much a lesson book as a work of reference with long alphabetical lists of words consisting of a particular number of syllables, providing information about pronunciation, stress and so-called silent letters. A lengthy appendix listed words pronounced the same, but spelt differently. Finally, there was an alphabetical collection of moral and practical observations, described as 'Very useful for Copies, and which ought to be learned at an early Age'. It began with 'Anger should never punish, Avoid all affectation. Avoid evil company' and ended with 'Zeal needs caution, Zeal often lessens charity. Zeal without knowledge is like wild fire'.

A few years later, in the spring of 1795, the first edition of Lindley Murray's *English grammar, adapted to the different classes of learners* (London: Darton and Harvey) was published, having been written at the request of teachers at the girls' school in York founded by Esther Tuke. Murray's *A first book for children* and *An English spelling-book* (York: Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme; London: Darton and Harvey) followed in 1804. Lindley Murray (1745-1826) was an American Quaker lawyer from New York, who came to England for the sake of his health and stayed the rest of his life. His *English grammar* and other educational writings, which included *The English reader* (1799), dominated the first half of the nineteenth century in a vast number of editions. Murray's work lies outside the scope of this article, both temporally and in terms of its publication history.[19] What it reveals is a quantum leap from the mid-eighteenth-century concentration on educational (including religious) material for the restricted circle of the Society of Friends to the broad general world of nineteenth-century children's education.

David Blamires

ENDNOTES

1. F. J. Harvey Darton, *Children's books in England: Five centuries of social life,* third edition, revised by Brian Alderson (Cambridge, etc.: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 61-62, See also Judith St. John, *The Osborne Collection of early children's books 1476-1910. A catalogue* (Toronto: Toronto Public Library, 1975), vol. II, 708-09, for details of the copy in the Osborne Collection.
2. Humphrey Carpenter and Mari Prichard, *The Oxford companion to children's literature* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 189.
3. Copy in the Library of the Religious Society of Friends, Friends House, Euston Road, London NW1 2BJ.
4. See *The Journal of George Fox,* ed. John H. Nickalls (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1952), 602-06.
5. Carpenter and Prichard, 189.
6. Carpenter and Prichard, 376-77, and Charles F. Heartman, *The New England primer issued prior to 1830* (Manfield Centre, CT: Martino Publishing, 2005).
7. See David Blamires, *Quakerism and its Manchester connexions.* An exhibition held in the John Rylands Library, 6 February-23 May 1991 (Manchester: JRULM, 1991), 15. The first two items are tracts forming part of the Midgley Library, now transferred to the John Rylands Library, Deansgate, Manchester.
8. John Punshon, *Portrait in grey: a short history of Quakers* (London: Quaker Home Service, 1984), 87.
9. James Proud (ed.), *John Woolman and the affairs of truth: the journalist's essays, epistles, and ephemera* (San Francisco: Inner Light Books, 2010), 129-45 (text 10).
10. D'Alté A. Welch, *A bibliography of American children's books printed prior to 1821* (American Antiquarian Society and Barre Publishers, 1972). See index and individual entries.
11. See Lawrence Darton, *The Dartons. An annotated check-list of children's books issued by two publishing houses* 1787-1876 (London: The British Library; New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2004), xxix.
12. See Charles F. Heartman, *The New England primer issued prior to 1830,* xvi.
13. Rachel Labouchere, *Abiah Darby (1716-93) of Coalbrookdale* (York: William Sessions, 1988).
14. See Patricia Demers & Gordon Moyley (ed.), *From instruction to delight: An anthology of children's literature to 1850* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1982), 30-33.
15. Carpenter and Prichard, 189.
16. Judith St. John, *Osborne Collection catalogue,* in the sections on 'Books of instruction'.

17. See John Clare, *The midsummer cushion*, ed. Kelsey Thornton and Anne Tibble (Ashington: Mid Northumberland Arts Group; Manchester: Carcanet, 1990), 102.
18. See Lawrence Darton, *The Dartons*, 3-4, entry G5.
19. See Lawrence Darton, *The Dartons*, xxi-xxii, 187-98, and Stephen Allott, *Lindley Murray* 1745-1826, *Quaker grammarian of New York and old York* (York: Sessions Book Trust, 1991), 27-38, 66-84.

QUAKER HYMNODY - SUNG WITHIN THE REFORMED TRADITION

1. Introduction

Denominational hymnbooks have almost invariably been ecumenical in content. However specific may be our attendance at Sunday worship, Christian singing rarely distinguishes against authors and poets on the simple grounds of inherited or chosen allegiance. A cursory glance at the Author Index of, for example, the United Reformed Church's 1991 main hymnbook *Rejoice and Sing* will confirm its reliance on not only old and newer Dissent but also on the ancient church, the churches of the Reformation, and even groups less prescriptive about central Christian doctrines. This present paper came to birth as its author was engaged in the study of Geoffrey Hoyland (1889-1965), a hymnwriter represented in both *Rejoice and Sing* and its predecessor *Congregational Praise* but who belonged to the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers).[1]

Although Quakers in Britain do not normally sing in Meetings for Worship, the poetry of the American John Greenleaf Whittier and of a very few others Friends is used as hymns in most mainstream denominations. Any sense of irony that Dissenters might feel through singing words written by a Quaker would overlook a variety of occasions when Quakers themselves have sung. The recent authoritative volume about 'Dissenting Praise' edited by Isabel Rivers and David Wykes has no chapter devoted to Quakers: contributors nonetheless mention not only two specific Quaker writers but also the permitted early practice of 'serious sighing, sencible *[sic]* groaning and reverent singing'.[2] This paper therefore seeks to address first in no more than outline the less frequently recognized practice of devotional music among Friends, and then what Quaker writers have offered to hymnbooks of the traditions which are now within the United Reformed Church. The examples cited here as Quaker Hymnody are simply illustrative, the account makes no claim to being comprehensive, and the author is aware of writing from outside the Society of Friends.

2. Quakers and hymnsinging

Alongside the traditional silence and also vocal ministry of the Meeting for Worship, some other Quaker practices of a more or less regular nature showed a marked similarity with the singing

denominations. This generalisation may be illustrated from both individual and communal instances.

Not only might a Baptist family turned Quaker by conviction retain its earlier Sunday evening tradition of hymn singing at home:[3] so equally in a birthright Quaker setting, the young Hoyland brothers would choose favourite hymns to be sung after the family's First Day evening Bible lesson:[4] former Baptist and lifelong Friend could be alike in their home devotions. Elizabeth Taylor, the future Dame Elizabeth Cadbury, was on occasion an alternative organist to Ira D. Sankey during a London evangelistic campaign:[5] the Hoyland and Cadbury families, who would be linked by marriage in two successive generations, had expressed their Evangelical Quakerism through attendance at and home prayers for the 1875 Moody and Sankey campaign in Birmingham.[6] Later, after the founding of the Bournville village, its earliest local Meetings for Worship often included the singing of a hymn, Elizabeth Cadbury's way of helping new residents from other denominational backgrounds to feel at home in their now rather different atmosphere. Woodbrooke, the Quaker settlement at Selly Oak, was regularly the scene of hymn-singing during the Wardenship of John Somervell ('Jack') Hoyland: his missionary years in India inaugurated a lasting friendship with Mohandas 'Mahatma' Gandhi, who stayed briefly at Selly Oak during his 1931 (political) visit to Britain. When the Mahatma was later imprisoned in British India, Woodbrooke's Friday evening 'Silent Fellowship' not only remembered him in prayer but also chose to sing Cardinal Newman's 'Lead, Kindly Light' at an hour when Gandhi and his prisoner associates were singing the Roman Catholic's words.[7] In a 1939 American journal, Frederick Gillman wrote of 'the increasing use of music in Quaker worship'[8]: and there was singing at the 2011 Britain Yearly Meeting Gathering in Canterbury.

For obvious reasons there has been no specifically Quaker hymnbook: but from its beginnings in the early nineteenth-century, the largely Quaker Adult School movement felt a need for suitable hymn collections. In charting this particular development to 1914, F.J. Gillman showed how known hymnwriters and homegrown Quakers, the Moravian James Montgomery and Jane Crewdson respectively, were in fact used quite early by Friends and their teacher colleagues.[9] His list of eighteen Hymn Books or 'Hymn Sheets' to 1909 included both local collections for Gainsborough (1822) or Bristol (1845), and personal compilations such as M.C. Albright's *Golden Hymn Book* (1903). By 1905, Friends and their teacher colleagues sought a bespoke collection of hymns for their

Christian gatherings of mostly young, frequently working-class scholars meeting to supplement their earlier and often meagre schooling. In consequence, a joint committee representing the National Adult School Union and the Brotherhood Movement issued *The Fellowship Hymn Book* in 1909: it was extended with a *Supplement* in 1920 and published in a *Revised Edition* in 1933. These various versions were used widely by Adult Schools, at Pleasant Sunday Afternoon lectures and services, in Sunday evening Quaker meetings, at their Schools, and in other- or non-denominational settings: relevant memories remain from Friends School Lisburn and from English village chapel life.[10]

The Adult School and Brotherhood Movements shared the aim of 'seeking after a basis of Christian fellowship which transcends denominational barriers':[11] their *FHB* 1933 selection drew from the breadth of the Christian church with an opening hymn by William Blake and immediately subsequent items from Anglican, Unitarian and Roman Catholic writers. No single author dominated, as may happen in denominational books: indeed, only seven have more than five hymns each, among them three Friends. One was the well-established John Greenleaf Whittier: the others were Frederick Gillman and Ernest Dodgshun, both members of the book's committee.

3. Quaker Hymns and Hymnbooks of the Reformed Churches

The United Reformed Church, specifically in England and Wales, has its background in the Congregational Church (formerly Union) of England and Wales, the Presbyterian Church of England, and the Churches of Christ. The work of nine known writing Friends has appeared from the 1850s onwards in hymnbooks of these three traditions and their successor: brief biographical details here precede a modest discussion of some of their hymns and characteristic thoughts.

Bernard Barton (1784-1849) lived mostly in Essex and Suffolk, employed in local family businesses and as a bank clerk: known as 'the Quaker poet', he enjoyed friendships with literary contemporaries Lord Byron, Charles Lamb and Edward Fitzgerald; and dedicated to James Montgomery his verse denunciation of capital punishment, *A Convict's Appeal.* Cornish-born Jane Crewdson (1809-1863), nee Fox but married at Exeter Meeting to a Manchester manufacturer, published various volumes of poetry including *Aunt Jane's Verses for Children;* she contributed several hymns to Lovell Squire's *Selection of Scriptural Poetry* (1848); her 'devotional verses in *Sudbury Leaflets'* were often used in late-1860s evening worship at Friends School,

Lisburn.[13] John Greenleaf Whittier (1807-1892) from Massachusetts was widely published as editor and campaigner as well as poet; he was committed to temperance, political and Anti-Slavery causes; he disclaimed being a hymn-writer, 'for the very good reason that I know nothing of music',[14] but selected verses from his often long poems were recast by hymnbook editors of varying denominations. Author and poet Jessie Adams (1863-1954) was born to Friends in Trimley, Suffolk, living largely in East Anglia as a schoolteacher and (reputedly) long-time local Adult School leader; she died at The Retreat in York, where she was buried.[15] Frederick Gillman (1866-1949) published widely on hymnology: his 1909 hymn 'God send us men', not vaunting nationalism but seeking truth and the laws of God in the ways of the state, was among fifty chosen by the Primitive Methodists for their wartime 1918 Conference. Ernest Dodgshun (1876-1944) had a Congregational background and became a Board member of the London Missionary Society: he joined Friends in 1908, and after an early retirement was deeply involved in Adult School work.

Geoffrey Hoyland (1889-1965) was for most of his working life the proprietor and headmaster of The Downs, a boys' preparatory school at Colwall near Malvern: his publications included devotional, educational and narrative content; one of his five hymns in the *Fellowship Hymn Book* was taken up by Congregationalists and their successors. Of more modern time and idiom was Sydney Carter (1915-2004), an English poet, songwriter, folk musician and lyricist for Donald Swann's 1950s/60s reviews and musicals: although never joining Friends, he may claim tenuous inclusion here through not only his committed pacifism which led him to serve with the Friends' Ambulance Unit during the Second World War, but through some Quaker attendance and his pronounced and obvious Quaker sympathies.[16] Contemporary with Carter was John Ferguson (1921-1989): his Nigerian academic experience made him passionate for African education, he helped to establish the Department of Peace Studies at the University of Bradford, and whilst President of the Selly Oak Colleges, he held simultaneous Quaker and United Reformed membership.[17]

The art critic, author, poet and playwright Laurence Housman (1865-1959) falls into a different category. He was confirmed in the Church of England, attracted towards Roman Catholicism, a convert to Socialism and pacifism, and through the latter to the Quakers. He and his sister Clemence moved to Street in 1924 becoming close friends with the shoe-manufacturers Susan and Roger Clark, but only in 1952 did he actually join Friends.[18]

Yet others knew Quaker influences. Anna Laetitia Waring (1820-1910) grew up in the Society of Friends, but her father also preached for Wesleyans: she was baptised in early adulthood in the Church of England, and her 'In heavenly love abiding' was amongst the twentieth century's most widely used hymns. John Cennick (1718-55) seems promiscuous in his denominational allegiances: from upbringing and choice, he was successively Quaker, Anglican, Methodist with first Wesley and then Whitefield, before finally joining the Moravians; his 'Lo! He cometh, countless trumpets' would be reworked by Charles Wesley to become the infinitely better known 'Lo! He comes with clouds descending'.[19] At least two URC writers, both ministers with some Congregational background, felt a very close sympathy with Quakerism: Ian Page Alexander (1916-1998) moved towards a 'Quaker universalist point of view', yet stayed within his home denomination; the social and even pacifist expressions in many of the hymns of Fred Kaan (1929-2009) paralleled a long-standing unity with Quaker ideals.

As for Congregational hymnbooks, we may note six books published by the Congregational Union and one set from among the innumerable independently produced collections.[20] *The Congregational Hymn Book* (1836) however, the first to be 'compiled by direction of the Congregational Union of England and Wales', seems to have contained no works by Friends: of those mentioned above, only Barton may have been available at that date. Quaker content made its debut in these books certainly no later than 1858 on the publication of *The New Congregational Hymnbook,* the second issued under the Union's supervision: Barton was present in the main book, Crewdson in the 1874 *Supplement to the Congregational Hymn Book,* both would remain in successive Congregational books into the mid-twentieth century. Perhaps unknowingly, Congregationalists and Unitarians joined in concurrent introduction of Whittier to Britain as 'hymn writer' in 1874:[21] the Congregational *Supplement* had six verses from the 38-stanza poem 'Our Master';[22] J. Martineau's *Hymns* of *Praise and Prayer* contained five Whittier hymns, one being a five-verse 'Dear Lord and Father of mankind'.[23] Next comes W. Garrett Horder's personally issued trilogy of *Congregational Hymns* (1884), *Hymns Supplemental to Existing Collections* (1894), and *Worship Song with Accompanying Tunes* (1905). *Congregational Church Hymnal* (1887), *Congregational Hymnary* (1916) and *Congregational Praise* (1951) were all authorized by the Congregational Union of England and Wales, with *Rejoice and Sing* (1991) the similar work of the United Reformed Church.

It is from hymnbooks used by the Presbyterian Church of England

and the Churches of Christ that we then add the work of Adams, Dodgshun and Gillman, usually alongside other Quaker authors: the only Quaker pieces in the Presbyterian *Church Praise* (1883) however were just two by Jane Crewdson, her 'Oh, for the peace that floweth' being in no other book mentioned here *(ChP* 1883, No.392); *The Church Hymnary* (Revised Edition 1927) had fourteen hymns by six Friends, seven of these retained into *CH3* (1973);[24] the Churches of Christ *Christian Hymnary* (1938) contained thirteen from five authors.

Horder was influential, even though not universally used: his publications reflected and evoked change in Congregationalism's hymnsinging. Influences then abroad ranged from extreme liberalism in T.T. Lynch's *The Rivulet* (1852) to the rediscovery of ancient treasures from the unreformed churches; both Horder and Martineau valued in American writers their meditative hymns and those with an ethical challenge; A.G. Matthews noted 'the divorce of the union which wedded the hymnbook to the Bible'.[25] *The Congregational Church Hymnal* (1887) represented for Bernard L. Manning what was best in the denomination: it was at once catholic (Quaker content numbered nine hymns from three authors), evangelical, scholarly and orthodox, '[laying] under contribution every age, every nation, every communion'. Although never unchallenged by other collections, this main hymnbook was prominent among Congregationalists until after the 1916 publication of its authorised successor and still in use even in the 1950s.[26]

Congregational Hymns (1884) contained twelve hymns written by Friends: the Quaker element in Horder's definitive 1905 collection comprised twenty-five from Whittier (far more than Watts's fourteen) and three by Barton. Of Whittier's, nine are repeated in *Congregational Hymnary,* but only three remain into *Rejoice and Sing;* two of Barton's three were used in the 1916 book, 'Lamp of our feet' alone surviving into *Congregational Praise;* Crewdson's sole piece was in both books. Simply to count number of entries of Whittier pieces is misleading: Harder's twenty-five include one single-verse hymn more usually found within 'Dear Lord and Father of mankind'; the penchant for hymnbook editors to make their own selections from multi-stanza poems inevitably leads to some overlaps or versions of hymns which are peculiar to just one hymnbook. But near the turn of the twenty-first century, *Rejoice and Sing* would retain the subjective writing of a Whittier, whilst noting the changing agenda of an external world.

Verse by Quakers appears consistently in each of thirteen books published from 1858 to 1991, most numerous in the number of

hymns in *Worship Song* (at least twenty-eight), in number of authors in the 1927 Revised Edition of *The Church Hymnary* (six).

4. Quaker thought in the Hymn Books

It may be tempting for non-Quakers to expect Quaker hymnody to display clearly some attitudes or beliefs known to resonate for Friends: it would be superficial to claim successful discoveries simply because well-known words are used; but it is equally unhelpful to ignore or deny obvious glimpses of known Quaker thought and expression, of whatever date or period. The following modest observations recognize these dangers and limitations.

The Inward Light

Barton's two most Congregationally favoured hymns - 'Walk in the light' *(NCHB* 1855, No.682) and 'Lamp of our feet' *(CP* 1951, No.229) - each refer to light, but perhaps only tenuously to the Inner Light. However, his less published 'Say not the Word / is hidden from thee, or afar removed' *(WS* 1905, No.152) seems explicit in asserting the normal presence of the divine in the believer: it continues, 'That Word is heard / Whene'er *within* its voice is sought and loved' (Horder's italics). In Whittier's time, the phrase 'inward light' would have been the norm, 'inner light' being popularised little more than a century ago: his 'But, dim or clear, we own in Thee / the Light, the Truth, the Way' from *Our Master* underwent early modification with 'Life' replacing 'Light' in many English books. The prominence of light in Hoyland's 'O fount of light unfailing' *(FHBr* 1933, No.364) may simply contrast God's active light with human darkness rather than reflect George Fox's view that there was that of God in every man. But both writers know the essential experience of God which is crucial for Quakers, as does Jessie Adams's hymn, 'I feel the winds of God today': this continues to be sung or admired into the twenty-first century, whether seen as hymn or folk-music *(ChH* 1938, No.502; *CH3* 1973, No.444).[27]

Nineteenth-century Quaker writers, in common with others, seemed particularly concerned with personal and inward religion, whereas their twentieth-century successors might concentrate more on ethical or social issues and challenges. If Whittier's *Our Master,* the poem from which both 'Immortal Love' and 'O Lord and Master of us all' were taken, has an all-pervasive message of love and trust, then the inward assurance of the writer continues in *The Eternal Goodness* whose hymn-verses 'Who fathoms the eternal thought' include the lines 'I only know I cannot drift / Beyond his love and care' *(RCH* 1927, No.558). Similarly personal, although

more idiosyncratically, Sydney Carter's 'Lord of the Dance' *(R&S* 1991, No.195) exhibits his own view of Jesus, informed also by a statue of Shiva as Nataraja: he wrote that Jesus was the Lord of the Dance whom he knew first and best, and so sang of 'the dancing pattern in the life and words of Jesus'.[28] In 'O brother man, fold to thy heart thy brother' *(ChH* 1938, No.557; *RCH* 1927, No.485), a hymn now the casualty of inclusive language policies, Whittier's hand elevates humanitarian attitudes and actions into worship:[29] whether individual or communal, these are Christian responses to God in the everyday world, an inner life expressed in outward love.

Inclusive religion

Traditionally, Friends avoid fixed and thereby restricting statements of belief. The positive side of this trait is Whittier's liberal writing in *Our Master* such as, 'Our Friend, our Brother, and our Lord, / what may thy service be? - / Nor name, nor form, nor ritual word, / but simply following thee' *(CP* 1951, No.186[ii]). Negatively, there is the strange position that Reformed Christians, whose history encompasses the Westminster Confession, the Savoy Declaration and many local church covenants, are apparently invited by their hymnbooks to deny the need for specific beliefs long shared with co-religionists. Whittier also broadens the religious community in ways that may seem anathema to those seeing doctrinal conformity as central to Christian faith: the hymn 'O Love Divine! whose constant beam', from his poem *The Shadow and the Light,* asserts 'Nor bounds nor clime nor creed Thou know'st / wide as our needs thy favours fall. / The white wings of the Holy Ghost! / stoop unseen o'er the heads of all' *(WS* 1905, No.153; *CoH* 1916, No.197).

The Peace Testimony

The Quaker commitment to the peace testimony is not unexpectedly explicit in some hymns. In 'What service shall we render thee', Dodgshun's call to the 'Lord of the nations' entreats God to 'Enlist us in thy ranks to fight / Fair freedom's holy war, / Whose battle-cry is "Brotherhood"': an internationalism, communalism and Commonwealth are also patently proclaimed by the sought-after 'arts of peace, / [and] true ministries of life' *(RCH* 1927, No.644). The inevitable Whittier anticipates the time of brotherly peace that follows a universal adoption of the way and manner of Jesus: 'Then shall all shackles fall: the stormy clangour / Of wild war-music o'er the earth shall cease' *(CP* 1951, No.541).

A superficial tension is, however, at the very least apparent when militaristic imagery appears alongside peace ideals. Ferguson's

'Am I my brother's keeper?' *(R&S* 1991, No.609) or Carter's 'When I needed a neighbour, were you there?' *(CH4* 2005, No.544) raise no problems: but, building perhaps on St Paul's strong images as in Ephesians 6, there surface examples of military or fighting vocabulary. Hoyland's 'Captain, deliverer ... true comrades all' *(FHBr* 1933, No.118) and 'Conqueror ... courage ... trumpets ... Tread them to dust beneath thy conquering feet' *(CP* 1951, No. 466; *R&S* 1991, No.533) seem to express a similar martial manner. But a full 'reading of [Hoyland's] words will show that the writer was as fully aware of the weaknesses as of the strengths of human nature and aspirations'.[30] Indeed, 'Glory to God who bids us fight for heaven / here in the dust and joy of human life!' displays the author's realism, drawn from working amongst the young boys who might appreciate military imagery but whose own living inevitably experienced the dull and ordinary.

Laurence Housman's 'Father Eternal, Ruler of Creation' *(RCH* 1927, No.645; *ChH* 1938, No.536) was apparently prompted by the author's Life & Liberty Movement Anglican co-activist H.R.L. Sheppard, and considerably pre-dates his arrival in Friends: but the hymn may anticipate his later spiritual home with 'Lust of possession worketh desolations' and 'by wars and tumults Love is mocked, derided'; a prayer that on earth 'Thy kingdom come, O Lord, thy will be done' concludes all five verses.

The Quaker high view of humanity, that men and women pursue and practise goodness to bring about a fuller Kingdom of God on earth, is necessarily accompanied by the realism of human frailty. Ferguson's belief in the one but dysfunctional human family finds him pleading for total commitment: 'I am "my brother's keeper"; / I dare not wash my hands'. Whittier's popular 'Dear Lord and Father of mankind' *(CCH* 1887, No.336; CP 1951, No.408) had its origin in his poem *The Brewing of Soma,* inveighing against any claimed spiritual enlightenment stimulated by drugs, physical abandon or even repeated ritual: hymnbook editors however sometimes look past its stated penitence to use it primarily to announce a renewed trust and hope for the Christian's future.

Surprises

Finally, Quaker hymnody also includes some perhaps unexpected imagery. Hoyland's 'Praise be to him / who calls us comrades' appeared in the *Fellowship Hymn Book* (1920 Supplement, No.418) a year after he moved from Uppingham Lower School to an initial joint headship at The Downs: 'O Christ, who here / Hast taught us of Thy passion to partake, / And giv'st Thy body in the bread

we break' suggests a formal Communion Service, and reflects both Hoyland's strongly held ecumenism and a background in Uppingham's Anglican environment.

5. Wider Observations

For over one hundred and fifty years, congregations within the broad British tradition of Reformed Christianity have sung Quaker Hymnody, using the idioms of their various times. Barton, Crewdson and Whittier wrote verse simply as poetry to be read and savoured by people privately: the personal element in it often illustrates that origin. Some of the more recent examples, however, have been deliberate instances of Quakers or associates writing for singing, Carter and Ferguson among them; Hoyland's hymns were sometimes specifically for the boys of The Downs School,[31] only later appearing in print. His best-known hymn 'Lord of Good Life', illustrates the possibility of a three-phase life: first published in 1932 in *Inner Light,* a Quaker-inspired collection of devotional readings,[32] it had earlier been given music by his former Uppingham colleague, J. Barham Johnson; with a different tune, it was then included successively in *Congregational Praise* and *Rejoice and Sing,* to enjoy continuing popularity among congregations within the Reformed tradition (*CP* 1951, No.466; *R&S* 1991, No.533).

Times change, thought and expression attract criticism, hymns are discarded or modified because of altered emphases or through strictures about language. Nonetheless and despite its nineteenth-century origin, Whittier's 'Dear Lord and Father of mankind' seems set to hold its place well into the future, this in large part because of the happy marriage of its words with Parry's romantically attractive tune 'Repton'. The inclusivism of Carter's words have also proved popular, particularly in schools.

This Quaker Hymnody may seem light in stating specific Christian doctrines: but the implications of the Incarnation, a basic Christology, a sense of Salvation and the demands of Christian ethics are all clearly evident; and the Quaker characteristics and ideals cited above are not unique to Quakers alone. The history of Friends has long been one of individuals and groups holding a variety of views.

If congregations were to wonder about the source of words they sing week by week, they may be surprised at this continuing Quaker presence in our hymn books: but Christians will usually sing whatever words they find helpful for their own lives; and we will doubtless remain eclectic in our choices, save for among the narrowest and most dogmatic communities. We should meanwhile

not overlook the possibility of that eclecticism being able to draw on material from seemingly unlikely sources to evoke a deeper faith, to articulate previously unexpressed thoughts or to help uncover new and unexpected dimensions to Christian faith and action.[33]

Nigel Lemon

ENDNOTES

1. Nigel Lemon, 'The Dust and Joy of Human Life' Geoffrey Hoyland and Congegationalism' in *Journal of the United Reformed Church History Society* (2012), Vol.8 No.10, pp. 610-623: the present article continues and expands some of this earlier material. The author acknowledges the particular helpfulness of the staff of the Library of the Religious Society of Friends, London, and of Dr. Williams's Library, London; he is grateful to Howard Gregg for his helpful comments on the initial draft of this article.
2. So Clyde Binfield and Nicholas Temperley in Isabel Rivers & David Wykes, *Dissenting Praise* (London: Oxford University Press, 2011), particularly, pp. 165-167, & 201.
3. *'The gift doth* me *inflame'*, a *portrait of Wilfred Brown* (BBC Radio 3 broadcast, date unknown but probably pre-1991).
4. H.G. Wood, *John William Hoyland* of *Kingsmead* (London: SPCK 1931), p. 76ff.
5 Richenda Scott, *Elizabeth Cadbury* 1858-1951 (London: George Harrap, 1955), p. 32.
6. H.G. Wood, op. cit., 49ff.
7. Reginald Reynolds, *John Somerville Hoyland* (London: Friends Home Service Committee, 1958), pp. 48-53 (passim).
8. *The Friend* (Philadelphia, 1939), Ninth Month, 92-96.
9. F.J. Gillman, 'A brief history of Adult School hymnody' in *The Friends' Quarterly Examiner* (1914), Vol XLVIII, 221-233.
10. eg, *Notes on the* [1932] *origin of Luddington Methodist Chapel,* website version.
11. F.J. Gillman, *The torch of praise: an historical companion to the Fellowship Hymn Book* (London: National Adult School Union, 1934), p. 78.
12. J. Crewdson, her married surname well-known through the Beaconite controversy, also had one hymn in each of Sankey's original *Sacred Songs and Solos,* and the *Fellowship Hymn Book* (1933).
13. N.H. Newhouse, *A History of Friends School Lisburn,* ch. 3, website version.
14. Quoted in F.J. Gillman, op. cit. (1934), 71.
15. *Dictionary of Quaker Biography* (unpaginated typescript at Friends Library, London), from *The Friend* (1945) p. 835, lacks specific biographical detail. J. Moffat *Handbook to the Church Hymnary* (London: OUP 1927), p. 245, describes her as local Adult School

leader 'at Frimley', perhaps mistaken in place but then copied on websites: a Guildford correspondent of *The Friend,* op.cit., notes Adult School involvement The author is indebted to current Friends in Guildford, Suffolk and York for helpful correspondence regarding Jessie Adams.

16. Paul Oestreicher wrote in an obituary, 'If any church could come close to holding [Carter's] allegiance, it was the Society of Friends ... [with] its reliance on personal experience and affirmation of God's presence in every human being' *(The Guardian,* 17 March 2004).
17. I am indebted to Professor Clyde Binfield for this last information.
18. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* and K.L. Parry [ed.], *Companion to Congregational Praise* (London: Independent Press, 1953), p. 428.
19. United Reformed Church, *Companion to Rejoice and Sing* (Norwich: Canterbury Press, 1999), p. 788.
20. The CUEW also published some abridged versions, a Mission Hymnal and collections specifically for Sunday Schools.
21. This is earlier than the 1887 date offered by Erik Routley in the *Bulletin* of The Hymn Society of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol.8 No.13 (1977), pp. 221-7.
22. NCHBs, No.1057, 'We may not climb the heavenly steeps'. At least six lines are already altered, providing a more evangelical reading.
23. Cf *Companion to Rejoice and Sing,* naming Garrett Horder's *CongH* 1884 as introducing this hymn: the all-pervasive Wikipedia gives the same. In general, some Martineau alterations seem to exclude an over-sensual element.
24. The Presbyterian Church of England cooperated with other British Presbyterian churches to produce *RCH* and *CH3.* The Church of Scotland alone prepared *CH4* (2005).
25. A.G. Matthews in K.L. Parry, op.cit., xxv/vi.
26. These two preceding paragraphs draw on A.J. Grieve, 'Congregational Praise: Some Back Numbers' in K.L. Parry, op.cit.; B.L. Manning, 'Some Hymns and Hymn Books' in *Transactions* of *the Congregational Historical Society,* hereafter *TCHS,* ix. 122-142 & 170-9; and T.G. Crippen, 'Congregational Hymnody' in *TCHS,* vii. 224-234 & 288-299.
27. A web search for Adams's words yields numerous hits: admirers reflect liturgical, devotional and perhaps non-Christian spiritual usage, with Vaughan Williams's arrangement of the tune 'Kingsfold' enhancing the hymn's popularity.
28. Quotation from *Green Print for Song* (London: Stainer & Bell, 1974), noted here from various websites.
29. *Church Hymnary* (3rd Edition 1973), No.460 may be the final hymn book appearance of 'O Brother Man'.
30. *Companion to Rejoice and Sing,* p. 647.

31. Personal conversation with Dr H.J. Hoyland, son of Geoffrey and himself a pupil at The Downs.
32. M. Catherine Albright *et al.* (Compilers), *Inner Light,* a *devotional anthology* (London: No pub., 1932 [2nd edn]).
33. The hymns-books cited in this paper are given here in chronological order, each with its abbreviated form shown in brackets. *Congregational Hymn Book,* 1836 (CHB); *New Congregational Hymnbook, 1859* (NCHB); *New Congregational Hymnbook with Supplement,* 1874 (NCHBs); *Church Praise,* 1883 (ChP); *Congregational Hymns,* 1884 (CongH); *Congregational Church Hymnal,* 1887 (CCH); *Hymns Supplemental to Existing Collections,* 1894 (HS); *Worship Song with Accompanying Tunes,* 1905 WS); *Fellowship Hymn Book,* 1909 (FHB); *Congregational Hymnary,* 1916 (CoH); *Fellowship Hymn Book with Supplement,* 1920 (FHBs); *Church Hymnary,* Revised Edition 1927 (RCH); *Fellowship Hymn Book,* 1933 (FHBr); *Christian Hymnary, 1938* (ChH); *Congregational Praise,* 1951 (CP); *Church Hymnary,* 3rd Edition 1973 (CH3); *Hymns & Psalms,* 1983 (HPs); *Rejoice & Sing,* 1991 (R&S); *Church Hymnary,* 4th Edition 2005 (CH4).

44

RESEARCHING 20TH CENTURY QUAKER BUSINESS HISTORY

The Quakers & Business Group (Q&B), a recognised interest group within Britain Yearly Meeting and also a registered charity, has launched a research project. The project's goal is to research Quaker business history in the twentieth century, and to seek lessons from it to apply in the twenty-first century business world.

Quaker economic and business history has been researched up to about the end of the First World War. Emden, Raistrick, Kennedy, Walvin, Milligan, Elliott, Chapman-Huston & Cripps, and others have explored the nineteenth century and earlier Quaker business and economic experience and contribution. A number of studies set partly or wholly within the twentieth century have been completed and published, but no comprehensive study of the post First World War period has yet been attempted.

Q&B's proposal is designed to make a first attempt at filling that space. The overall project goal is to establish how we can promote Quaker business values in the twenty-first century, by learning from Friends' business, economic and concomitant social experiences in the twentieth century. The project outline is as follows:

Background

In the early nineteenth century, four thousand Quaker families ran seventy four Quaker banks and more than two hundred Quaker companies. Straight dealing, fair play, honesty, paying the taxes due on the transactions in question within the jurisdictions where substantively they occurred, accuracy and truth in all things formed the basis of Quaker capitalism.

Just as important to these Quakers families as their values was their vision that wealth creation was for the benefit of the workers, the local community, society at large as well for themselves, the entrepreneurs. The influence and spread of Quakerism in business began a slow decline in the second half of the nineteenth century, with the introduction into UK and USA law of the joint-stock company with limited liability, and as Quaker businesses were sold by their family owners, or merged with other organisations. Some of the original firms grew into global businesses, but Quaker start-ups failed to keep pace with those which exited. The twentieth century saw a continued decline in Quaker businesses and in the number of Quakers following business careers. In the early twenty-first century

the symbolic takeover of Cadbury, in a hostile bid by Kraft, left only Clarks Shoes and Scott Bader (a chemicals company) amongst the few surviving medium to large Quaker, or substantively Quaker influenced businesses.

Objective

The Quakers & Business Group's purpose is to be the custodian, modern interpreter and promoter of Quaker principles in business and the work place. In order to fulfil this purpose, Q&B feels it is important to understand more fully what happened to Quaker, and Quaker influenced, businesses in the twentieth century, and why their numbers declined. Learning from this experience, Q&B wants also to understand how Quaker values and purposes can most effectively be encouraged in British business today, in the light of contemporary trends in twenty-first century capitalism. Twentieth century Quaker business history has not yet been substantively researched and published, though a number of useful studies, often company focused, have been completed. Therefore Q&B is suggesting that an in depth academic study of Quaker business activity, in the period 1918-2009, be conducted. A possible starting point might include reference to 1918 London Yearly Meeting's publication of the eight Foundations of a True Social Order (QF&P 23.16), as well as the 1918 and subsequent decennial Quaker Employers' Conferences. A possible concluding point might be the hostile takeover of Cadbury by Kraft, and the subsequent impacts of that business change on the two companies at least, set within the wider financial crisis of the time. The research project might be able to discern causes for the decline of Quakers' engagement in business, coming both from within and beyond Quakerism. By studying the wider evolving economic, social, legal and business contexts of these trends amongst Friends, broader lessons may emerge about the recent history of capitalism.

Such research work, will, we believe, provide strong foundations for recommendations and action on how to strengthen the Quaker contribution to business and its role in society in the twenty-first century. Applying such lessons will form the second part of this Project.

Methodology

Q&B believe the best way to gain this understanding and knowledge as a sound foundation for action, is by commissioning a PhD thesis. The period covered would be from the 1918 Quaker Employers Conference through to the takeover of Cadbury by Kraft and the major debt crisis of 2008-9. The PhD thesis is supported by

the Centre for Postgraduate Quaker Studies (CPQS) at Woodbrooke, which has agreed to provide academic supervision through its established PhD studies programme. CPQS will assist also with setting up opportunities for discussion and dissemination of the findings. Q&B, the Edward Cadbury Trust and the Friends Historical Society have now committed financial support.

Part 2

The Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust has expressed interest in funding Part 2 of the project, the dissemination and impact building phase.

Winston Duguid & Timothy Phillips, Quakers & Business Group.

(Editor: The Project is now fully funded and further developments will be detailed in the 2013 J.F.H.S.)

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Authority and the Early Quakers. By Jack P. Dobbs. Frenchay, South Gloucestershire: Martin Hartog. [2006]. [vi] + 269pp. £10 plus postage and packing. Available from the Frenchay Village Museum, Begbrook Park, Frenchay, South Glos. BS16 1SZ. (e-mail: frenchaymuseum@hotmail.com; telephone 0117 956 9850).

Jack Dobbs's 'Authority and the Early Quakers' was an Oxford D.Phil thesis submitted in 1995 and published in 2006. The bibliography lists manuscript sources, a considerable range of seventeenth century texts and as well secondary sources and unpublished dissertations up to 1994. A substantial body of footnotes not only gives sources but a considerable amount of helpful additional information.

Dobbs covers the period up to 1699 and is concerned 'with the question of religious authority as it was understood by the early Quakers'. An introductory chapter examines carefully other views of religious authority in the period leading up to the beginnings of Quakerism. The authority of the Bible was prime for Protestants while the monarch (or state) claimed to interpret it for a national church. The pre-civil war development of Protestant dissent from the established church shows some bodies with beliefs similar in some respects to those of early Friends e.g. the Familists, Seekers and General Baptists.

For the first Quakers 'the Holy Spirit was the primary authority for the lives of Christians' expressed through the inward light. Part I of the book examines the authority of the spirit and the inward light in the writings of Fox, Barclay and Penn. Part II consists of one short chapter on the Bible in the understanding and teaching of early Friends. Part III is the longest part of the book examining in six chapters the authority of the church with particular reference to Fox and Barclay and to the questioning of authority by John Perrot in the 1660s, by the author of *The Spirit of the Hat* in 1673, the Wilkinson-Story controversy in the 1670s and the George Keith affair at the end of the century. Part IV, one chapter, addresses doctrine in the Society, looking in detail at two of the areas that troubled critics of the Quakers, the doctrines of the Trinity and of the divinity and saving power of Christ. A third, the divine inspiration of the scriptures, was dealt with in chapter 4. A six page conclusion sums up the main themes of the book.

David J. Hall

Is there not a new creation? The Experience of Early Friends. By Anne Adams. Luston, Herefordshire: Applegarth Publications. 2012. vi + 41pp. £5. ISBN 978-0-9570408-0-9.

Anne Adams is known amongst British Friends as a committed environmentalist and has previously published on the subject, *The Creation was open to me,* (Quaker Green Concern 1996). Her concern for the natural world combined with her membership of the Society of Friends has led her to produce another short but dense booklet in which she looks at early Friends' attitude to the creation.

'The Creation' is a term which crops up in the booklet a good deal. Anne Adams has great admiration for the zeal and energy of seventeenth century Quakers, but it becomes apparent at an early stage in the book that early Friends were not environmentalists in the sense that we would use that term today. Friends' thinking on the subject reflected their experience of the closeness of God in their everyday lives, hence - We worship God, God created all things therefore we must respect and care for what God has created. Quite what seventeenth century Friends made of the competitiveness and rapaciousness of some aspects of the natural world is not explored!

The booklet is divided into nine short sections, each of which develops aspects of the theme, e.g. 'Animals', 'Education'. Quotations from a wide variety of Friends, and minute books, add interest. The title is a quote from Isaac Penington. Another example is from Aberdeen Monthly Meeting which issued an anti-hunting minute in 1698.

Anne Adams believes that the holistic approach, which she argues was held by the original members of the Society, has been lost. She argues that Barclay was in part responsible by trying to make Quakerism respectable and by his attempts to persuade the general public that Quakers were not extremists with bizarre ideas. She believes that the originally held passion and commitment by Friends to God's creation was further diluted by the division of the holistic approach into individual testimonies.

Nevertheless this direct link between God and the natural world no doubt lingered in the minds of many Friends and was part of the stimulus for the many Quaker naturalists, many of whom came to prominence in later centuries.

Currently there is .much talk (and action) by British Quakers about sustainability so perhaps something of that lost zeal is making a return.

There is an extensive bibliography of over 50 sources, some of which discuss relevant ideas formulated many years before the beginnings of Quakerism.

Rod Harper

Quakers and Quakerism in Bolton, Lancashire 1650-1995. The History of a Religious Community. By Peter Collins. Lewiston, Queenston, Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2010, x + 263 pp. ISBN 13:978-0-7734-1414-3.

This is a substantial piece of research making use of all kinds of Quaker records from the earliest times to the time of writing. They are helpfully listed in a lengthy bibliography of manuscript sources and printed materials. Peter Collins describes his work as a labour of love, and it must have occupied a great deal of his time. The result is extremely interesting as a much fuller local Quaker history than one usually finds.

Bolton lies on the south-western edge of the West Pennine moors and is now the largest meeting in Pendle Hill Area Meeting, known for most of its existence as Marsden Monthly Meeting. Although there were Friends in the area around Bolton from early times, it was not until 1794 that Edgworth and Bolton became a Preparative Meeting separate from that in Rossendale at Crawshawbooth. Edgworth is about five miles north of Bolton, and it was the building of a meeting house there in 1771 that led in slow fashion to the new Preparative Meeting. The detailed costs of building are given on pp. 70-72. (Edgworth Meeting was discontinued in 1828 and the meeting house was sold in 1845. See David M. Butler, *The Quaker Meeting Houses of Britain,* vol. 1, pp. 304-05.) Friends had been meeting in Bolton at Acres Field since 1720-21, but in 1768 they moved to other premises. A meeting house was proposed but it was not built until 1820 at Tipping Street. These locations may be known to present-day local Friends, but it would have been helpful to other readers to have had clear maps to identify places properly. Those printed in the book are inadequate.

The fortunes of Friends in Bolton depended to a large extent on local and national factors that Collins carefully portrays. They relate to the growth of industry and social conditions, as well as reflecting the disastrous consequences of the routine Quaker disownment of members for 'marrying out'. Indeed, one feature of Collins's overall story is Friends' slowness in coming to terms with social and religious changes. This is illustrated in the more detailed minutes and documents that Friends produced from around 1850 onwards, dealing for example with the development of the Adult School movement and reactions to evangelical trends of the time. Other notable features of the book are a list of active members of the Meeting and their occupations from the mid to late nineteenth century; an account of the influential Ashworth family and its role in the Meeting, in local society and industrial development (pp. 112-

23); and a complete chapter devoted to women Friends and their position in the Quaker male-dominated organization (pp. 175-93).

The Meeting House at Tipping Street was subject to a compulsory purchase order for the construction of a dual carriageway, and Friends vacated the premises in 1969. They moved to their new purpose-built Meeting House in Silverwell Street in 1971. It is a pity that the architect's name is not given amidst all the other information about the official opening.

David Blamires

The Goodbodys - Millers, merchants and manufacturers: The story of an Irish Quaker family 1630-1950. By Michael Goodbody. Dublin: Ashfield Press. 2011. xx + 530 pp., illustrations in text. £35. ISBN 978-1-901658-82-8.

My flour scales found an appropriate use for this book which weighed in at about a kilo and half. When it is considered how weightless is a little electrical discharge or chemical spark of thought, it is even more remarkable to think of the millions of such discharges needed to make up the substance of a book as heavy as this. If the amount of travel, the research, the photo-copies, the conversations and the memories that went to create it, are taken into account, as well as the typesetting, the negotiations and the printing, this can only reinforce the sense of the sheer challenge of the undertaking. At the centre of it all are human transactions and the spark of the Divine that prompted Michael I. A. Goodbody to his particular endeavour - and he is remembered already for his much slighter and 'lighter' book 'The Goodbodys of Ireland' which was published in 1979 and reprinted in 1981.

Quaker family histories are relatively common and not all of them provide much interest or relevance outside of a small coterie of family members or connoisseurs of that genre. Some endlessly recycle Quaker historical commonplaces and add relatively little to the sum of knowledge or understanding in the context of a Quaker community, or even, of the wider community, and can verge on the hagiographical or the 'Quaker name drop'. Michael Goodbody's book, however, leaps all these conventional hurdles and contributes a great deal to the understanding of a particular Quaker family and the communities in which it has flourished, mainly in Ireland.

The author attains a praiseworthy degree of objectivity in evaluating the various enterprises of his forbears and his book stands out from the common-run of Quaker family history. It is the result of cool, considered and properly contextualised research as shown by the critical apparatus displayed in it. Out of its 532 large

pages there is a twenty-eight page three-column index and a useful bibliography of five pages. There is a chronology correlating Quaker, family and national events. An appendix conveniently lists the various business enterprises in which Goodbodys employed their energies and a second one gives an extensive collection of pedigrees arranged according to the geographical locations of several of the families major branches, and derived from the collection of Thomas Henry Webb pedigrees in the Irish Friends Historical Library. There are copious footnotes that show the extensive use that Michael Goodbody has made of the Registry of Deeds in Dublin, which as many know, is a place where a lot of time can be spent and where, if significant results are to be achieved, an act of supreme will is needed to resist the following up of pleasant historical byways.

This book will have a special appeal to students of industrial and business history and especially regarding that of the Irish midlands where John Goodbody, the eponymous ancestor, started out in the seventeenth-century. Michael Goodbody traces the advance of the family against the background of the obvious external historical contexts of Quaker tithe resistance, and their peaceable Christian reactions to the war situation during the Rising of 1798. During the nineteenth century the family showed the same varieties of entrepreneurship displayed by other major Irish Quaker families with which they were allied. They were intermarried with the Perrys of Ballinagore and Dublin; the Pims of Mountmellick and Dublin; and with the Richardsons of Bessbrook. They utilised their intelligence and access to capital to take advantage of contemporary trends and technologies and set up industries useful to themselves as well as generating employment. Goodbody employees were properly housed and in a noteworthy move employees from the bankrupt Malcomson enterprise at Portlaw were taken on at Clara.

Building on their successful milling enterprises the Goodbodys were quick to divert into alternative industries as commercial conditions changed. In 1848 a branch of the family set up a tobacco manufactory at Tullamore which lasted until 1924, and in Clara, in 1865 moved from milling into the manufacture of jute sacks at a period when cotton was hard to access. At Clara under their paternalistic guidance the town developed into an industrial hub with its own gas works. Michael Goodbody reproduces in his book invaluable information from business ledgers and this is doubly important when such information has frequently not survived in any widespread way in Ireland. The book shows how the Goodbodys, in the face of American competition, were impelled to invest in 1894 in new technologies at their Erry and Clara mills. Useful sections of

it refer to Goodbody reactions to Land League activities during the 1880s and to their reaction and adaptation to the conditions of the War for Independence and the new regime that followed.

Increasing profits by the Goodbodys enabled them to become part of a rentier class living on its income from shares in the infrastructural companies they had invested in and helped to set up. Plenty of family drama concerning property, finances and shares is highlighted in this book. Many individuals were dependent on their income from family concerns and this made developing Limited Company status seem protectively desirable for mutual survival. There was also the emergence of a professional class which was not directly involved in the central family enterprises anymore. Not all Goodbodys or allied families felt very enthusiastic about co-religionists who thought social activism was part of Quakerism. A down side to the wealth-generation of the Goodbodys as for other Irish Quaker families was in the move from houses with few material goods to those where silver, cutlery, glass, fine linen and costly furniture had become common-places. Quite clearly the dynamism of the founding fathers did not transfer in equal proportions to successive generations, and Michael Goodbody's book can be recommended as a most stimulating account and index of the ups and downs of an Irish Quaker dynasty.

Richard S. Harrison

John Woolman and the Affairs of Truth. The Journalist's Essays, Epistles, and Ephemera. Edited by James Proud. San Francisco: Inner Light Books, 2010. xi + 310 pp. Hardcover $45, ISBN 978-0-9797110-6-0; paperback $25, ISBN 978-0-9797110-7-7.

John Woolman is perhaps the only eighteenth-century Quaker writer who is read today for non-historical reasons. His concerns have many resonances for present-day spiritual life and social witness. His *Journal* has been read and appreciated since it was first published, but his other writings have remained to a large extent the province of specialists. Woolman's measured, carefully qualified and frequently lengthy sentences do not make for quick or easy reading. James Proud has performed a great service in putting together this collection of his shorter writings, some fourteen varied texts, providing each with bibliographical details and historical context and slightly modernizing the original language. Not only this, he has provided substantial appendices on Woolman's manuscripts, his links with other Quaker reformers of the period, his involvement with composing Philadelphia Yearly Meeting's

epistles to other American Yearly Meetings, and his memorial of his brother Abner.

The texts were written over the period from 1746 to 1772 and thus document the developments in Woolman's experience and thinking based on his many journeys among American Friends and to the Indians. They vary considerably in length. They include 'Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes' (printed 1754) and the follow-up 'Considerations on Keeping Negroes: Part Second' (printed 1762); also 'Considerations on Pure Wisdom, and Human Policy; on Labor; on Schools; and on the Right Use of the Lord's Outward Gifts' (printed 1768). Although several items have been printed before in other collections of Woolman's writings, the value of Proud's book lies in having together the range of his writings apart from the *Journal,* all of which benefit from Proud's lucid commentaries.

One of the texts stands out, for me at least, in its difference from the rest. This is *A First Book for Children,* written and first printed *c.* 1769 (pp. 129-45). It is known through the unique surviving copy of the third edition held by Friends House Library, London, dated by Joseph Smith as 'about 1774'. Like several other publications by Woolman, it was printed by Joseph Crukshank of Philadelphia. In his helpful brief introduction to the text Proud compares its content and tenor with that of the very different Puritan *New-England Primer,* which was first printed in Boston between 1686 and 1690 and of which around 362 editions dated on the title-page are known between 1727 and- 1830. Woolman's *First Book for Children* was based on his own experience as a schoolmaster and is but one expression. among the texts printed by Proud of his concern for education.

David Blamires

Quaker Pegg. By George Drury. [Ripley, Derbyshire]: George Drury. 2011. 83 pp. including 19 plates. £7.99 plus postage and packing. ISBN 978-0-9568910-0-6. Available from the author: 157 Heage Road, Ripley, Derbyshire, DE5 3GG.

William Pegg (1775-1851), a gifted ceramic artist, specialised in flower painting at the Derby China Works. The exceptional quality of his work is evident in the many examples surviving in public and private collections to this day. But he was also a man of deep religious convictions, beliefs which led him from the Calvinist faith of his parents to attending meetings of Baptists, and finally to becoming a member of the Society of Friends in 1800. Finding his work decorating luxury goods to be incompatible with his Quaker faith, he soon afterwards abandoned his career at the china works,

and attempted to earn a living as a stocking-maker and sometime school-teacher. For some twelve years he existed in poverty, worn down by mental and physical privations, finally returning to his old craft in 1813.

His return to painting sat uneasily with his conscience. In 1817 he wrote to his wife that he felt he was 'acting contrary to what was required of me', and eventually, in 1820, he abandoned ceramic painting for good, to run a grocer's shop with his wife in Derby.

Many sources survive to document 'Quaker' Pegg's life and work and George Drury has ranged widely through this material to write an account of a man of great complexity and apparent contradictions. Some questions remain a subject for speculation; why did Pegg return to ceramic painting? Where the archive is silent George Drury suggests that Pegg's financial problems led to tensions with Friends, and he returned to his old employment through economic necessity.

William Pegg spent the greater part of his working life away from the china works, yet it is as a ceramics painter that he is remembered. Books about Quakers are not often noted for their illustrations, but this small volume is a glorious exception, with seventeen pages of colour plates demonstrating the beauty and detail of Pegg's exquisite flower painting. A short appendix gives details of where examples of Pegg's work can be seen.

Rosalind Johnson

Cousin Ann's Stories for Children. By Ann Preston. Ed. by Richard Beards. San Francisco: Inner Light Books. 2010. [40 pp.], with new colour illustrations by Stevie French. ISBN 978-0-9797110-8-4 (hard cover), 978-0-9797110-9-1 (paperback).

As Richard Beards relates in his concise and informative introduction, Pennsylvania Quaker Ann Preston (1813-1872) had educated her brothers as well as local children and was involved in the anti-slavery movement when these stories were published in 1849. The short poems and stories in prose convey their moral messages in the explicit manner of such nineteenth-century publications but many of the themes - including the outsider in your play; observing the natural world with respect; eating healthy food - have a present-day relevance that is enhanced by the vivid illustrations by Stevie French. The morality is tempered by the author's keen observation of children's everyday behaviour. For historians there are examples of the way in which the subject of slavery was written about for children with unsentimental realism by an abolitionist author. The story of Henry 'Box' Brown, for

example, who escaped from slavery in 1849 by hiding in a crate that was conveyed to Philadelphia, was probably the immediate cause of publication and had a comparatively good outcome. Brown was separated from his family, but he did himself attain freedom. In the tale of Tom and Lucy the brother and sister are separated, Tom is led off in chains and their fate is unknown.

In writing for children Ann Preston was engaging in an occupation appropriate for women of her time. She went on to have an outstanding career in the Women's Medical College of Pennsylvania and as such has been the subject of a dissertation by Pauline Poole Foster, Ann Preston, M.D. (1813-1872): a Biography. The Struggle to Obtain Training and Acceptance for Women Physicians in Mid-Nineteenth Century America. http://repository.upenn.edu/dissertations/AAI8417297 [title and abstract accessed 12.6.2012].

Sylvia Stevens

Chocolate Wars From Cadbury to Kraft - 200 Years of Sweet Success and Bitter Rivalry. By Deborah Cadbury. London: Harper Press. 2010. xii + 320pp. 8pp. colour plates + illustrations in text. £20. ISBN 978-0-00-732555-9.

Written for the general reader this well-constructed account of the rise, growth and fortunes of the British Quaker chocolate enterprises ends with their passing out of Quaker ownership and their demise as British owned companies. Deborah Cadbury begins by setting out concisely the origins of the Society of Friends and early Quaker attitudes to trade, making welcome use of the books of discipline. She also recounts the development of chocolate making on the continent, especially in Switzerland, and the later rise of the American Hershey company, another with enlightened and generous attitudes to its workforce.

While Cadbury and the Cadbury family are the main centre of the study the beginnings and growth of the Rowntree and Fry firms are also described, as are the competition between the three and the role of evolving technology (with important references to continental rivals) in the attempt to improve the product, the development of sales techniques and of exports. George and Richard Cadbury's commitment to social reform and the welfare of their workforce is thoroughly considered. Nor are the political complications overlooked whether in George Cadbury's opposition to the Boer War and his newspaper ownership or the crisis over the inadvertent purchase of chocolate being produced by slave labour in a Portuguese African colony in the early twentieth century.

At the end of the First World War, a challenging time for the Quaker manufacturers, Cadbury and Fry merged. Cadbury became a public company in 1962 and merged with Schweppes in 1969. Nestlé (itself immune from takeover under Swiss law) controversially bought Rowntree in 1988, Cadbury being prevented by British competition regulations from attempting this. And finally Kraft took over Cadbury in a well publicised and equally controversial move in 2010, made possible by the British Takeover Code and the activities of hedge funds.

David J. Hall

(Mostly) After the Tin Hut In our own words: A history of Watford Quaker Meeting. Ed. by Bridget Wilkins. Watford: Watford Quaker Meeting. 2011. 126 pp., illustrated in text. ISBN 978-0-9568946-0-1. Obtainable from the Clerk, Watford Quaker Meeting House, 150 Church Road, Watford, WD17 4QB £10.

Apart from four pages of what might be described as conventional history, this book is an oral history of Watford Meeting, mostly spoken by those attending now. The contributions therefore don't cover much more than the last fifty years, when the present Meeting House was constructed and the tin hut abandoned. It is noted that there have been Friends worshipping in the Watford area since the 1690s.

Bridget Wilkins has performed an impressive and sensitive task in selecting contributions from 100 or so Friends and attenders connected with the Meeting. They have been arranged in sections covering different aspects of the life of the Meeting such as children, wardens, spiritual journeys, meeting for worship, building, etc. The whole gives a rounded picture of a thriving Meeting dealing with both joys and challenges, some or all of which will be recognised by those attending meetings around the country.

It gives a flavour of those things within the Society which have changed over the last half century, and those which have remained. For example, when speaking of ministry there are hints that there used to be more 'weighty' Friends who gave 'academic' ministry, not always, by the way, considered a good thing - 'hardly anyone else dare stand up, you just couldn't equal that sort of thing'.

'At Watford there is a feeling that we are more ordinary and informal now, less theological', 'more people speak now and for shorter periods', 'the speakers are less erudite' and again 'when I first came to Watford there were Bibles all over the seats', 'there was more stuff from the Bible', and perhaps surprisingly for less than

fifty years ago, 'the elders all sat in one row at the back'.

There is a suggestion that the Society is more democratic now: 'it felt as if two people ran the Meeting - we don't really get that nowadays', and perhaps most significant 'at that time the emphasis was more on receiving guidance directly from God - that's rather given way to the testimonies'.

Any Friend reading this book today will recognise many of the themes voiced here, all scope for heart-searching and discussion in business meetings. Despite the inevitable frustrations, they will no doubt find an echo in sentiments expressed by one of the contributors: 'Watford Meeting House is perfect - to go to Watford fills me with joy' - even if he does qualify it by expressing a wish that the Meeting House was situated in the Yorkshire Dales!

The book is charmingly and creatively produced, with some excellent photographs. It even contains a glossary explaining Quaker jargon to non-Quakers - including an excellent definition of 'weighty Friends'!

Rod Harper

BIOGRAPHIES

DAVID BOULTON is a journalist and retired broadcaster. His most recent books are *The Trouble with God* and *Who on Earth was Jesus?* He is a member of Kendal & Sedbergh Area Meeting, convenor of the Nontheist Friends Network, and has been an associate tutor at Woodbrooke Quaker Study Centre, Birmingham U.K.

DAVID BLAMIRES belongs to Central Manchester Quaker Meeting. He edited the *Friends Quarterly* 1987-2007. His first Quaker historical publication was *A History of Quakerism in Liversedge and Scholes (1973)*, his most recent is *Pushing at the frontiers of change: a memoir of Quaker involvement with homosexuality* (Quaker Books, 2012).

NIGEL LEMON grew up a Methodist on the Kentish edge of London, was successively a Methodist Local Preacher, Congregational Lay Preacher, United Reformed Church Lay Preacher, Local Pastor and ordained Minister. He is a graduate of the Universities of London and Lancaster and has taught Religious Education in both secondary schools and Higher Education. He maintains an active interest in the history of British dissent.

Supplements to the Journal of Friends Historical Society

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

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

29. SOME QUAKER PORTRAITS, CERTAIN AND UNCERTAIN. By John Nickalls. 1958. Illustration. £1.00

33. JOHN PERROT. By Kenneth L. Carroll. 1971. £2.00

32. JOHN WOOLMAN IN ENGLAND, 1772. By Henry J. Cadbury. 1971. £2.00

34. "THE OTHER BRANCH": LONDON Y.M. AND THE HICKSITES, 1827-1912. By Edwin B. Bronner. 1975. £1.25

35. ALEXANDER COWAN WILSON, 1866-1955. By Stephen Wilson. 1974. £1.00

FHS, Occasional Series No. 1 MANCHESTER, MANCHESTER AND MANCHESTER AGAIN: from 'SOUND DOCTRINE' to 'A FREE MINISTRY'. By Roger C. Wilson. 1990. Members £2.00, Non-members £3.00.

Back issues of the *JOURNAL* can be obtained for £3 per issue for members and £5 for non-members to include postage and packing. Overseas applicants are asked to add £2 to cover the additional cost of post. Requests should be made to the Treasurer c/o The Library, Friends House, 173 Euston Road, London NW1 2BJ

Journals and Supplements Wanted

FHS would be glad to receive unwanted copies of back issues of the *Journal* and of the Supplements. Address to FHS, c/o The Library, Friends House, London NW1 2BJ.

ISSN No. 0071 9587

Quacks the Printers, 7 Grape Lane, York