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THE JOURNAL OF THE FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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EDITORIAL

Howard F. Gregg apologises for the very late despatch of this issue.

There being no President there was no Presidential Address in 2013.

David Ian Hamilton explores the reality behind a 'classic' account of a Quaker family's experiences during the Irish Rebellion of 1798. How reliable are Dinah Goff's memories of a major historical event? In what ways can someone else manipulate them for purposes of their own? How does the discovery of an alternative version of the same memories modify and revise the previous account? What effectively can we trust in the memories recorded?

Peter Smith introduces an article of August 1914 by the distinguished pacifist publicist, Norman Angell, which *The Friend*, at request, reprinted from another publication. His explanation of why Britain found itself at war and why the peace movement failed to prevent it raises pertinent issues for us today.

The Reviews Editor, Chris Skidmore, has secured reviews covering major work in Quaker historical scholarship and related topics.

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

Volume 65 for 2014 will shortly follow.

Howard F Gregg,
Editor 2013

The *Divine Protection* of Dinah Goff

In 1857 William and Frederick Cash of London published *Divine Protection through Extraordinary Dangers; experienced by Jacob and Elizabeth Goff and their family during the Irish Rebellion in 1798*, by D.W. Goff. The preface states that 'Dinah Goff, having occasionally related to her young friends some of the striking incidents of which she was a witness during the rebellion, has often been requested to commit the account to paper, that it might not be forgotten. As the result of her kind compliance with this request, the following pages are offered to her friends and the public'. Thirty-seven pages later Dinah ends with 'The foregoing has been written from memory after a lapse of nearly fifty-nine years, the affecting events being still vivid in my recollection'.

Dinah would presumably have admitted that the result was not objective history, rather a set of episodes revealing how 'The Christian disposition of meekness and forbearance proved the means of safety amid circumstances of extraordinary trial'. Yet most extraordinary of all was how she could compose a long and quite complex account of these distant events purely by remembrance. Older people may be able to reminisce about their youthful activities with accuracy, but Dinah's accomplishment appears almost miraculous.

In fact, there was no miracle involved. I aim to show in this article that Dinah never actually wrote a word of *Divine Protection;* that her work includes events that she knew little about, or that never really took place; and that some of her stories have been enhanced by the stuff of ancient folktales. Yet Dinah did experience sixteen days in 1798 when her home was in the hands of rebel forces. It may therefore be possible to extract from this mass of material some of these actual experiences, and to form an impression of what the real Dinah felt and thought about it all.

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Divine Protection presents a narrative of events centred around Horetown House in County Wexford, the residence of the Quaker Goff family. Elizabeth Goff had produced twenty-two children, of whom fourteen grew to adulthood. Dinah was the youngest. She was aged 14 at the time and was at home with her parents and two of her older sisters, plus numerous servants.

The author carefully points out at the start that the rebellion was led by an unnamed 'Protestant gentleman and two Roman Catholic priests, John Murphy and Philip Roche. The aims of the insurgents were various; all determined to liberate themselves from the unequal yoke, as they believed it, of the British Government and to become a free people; some to bring all Ireland to Catholicism, etc'. A friendly Catholic neighbour had actually advised Jacob to leave and offered him a passage to Wales, but he courteously declined. He and Elizabeth 'concluded that it was right for them to remain at home, placing their confidence in Him who alone can protect and who has promised to preserve those that put their trust in Him'.

Once arrived, the rebels realised that Horetown House was of strategic importance: 'this central position caused a constant demand on us for provisions, and they often said that they spared the lives of the family for that purpose'. Dinah described the removal of their livestock and cellar contents, but then backtracked to record the rebel victory which preceded Horetown's occupation and which led to the arrival of refugees at the house. These consisted of the Heatly family, cousins to the Goffs, and a Catholic family from Enniscorthy, so that 'about twenty persons surrounded our dinner table each day, beside those in the kitchen'. No rebels actually lodged in the house, although they felt free to enter as they pleased and 'many hundreds were daily on our lawn, and our business was to hand them food as they demanded it'. Yet somehow Elizabeth Goff managed the situation, remarking that 'provisions were wonderfully granted' and that 'hinds' feet appeared to be given her, 'in being enabled with extraordinary ease to get through the numerous household duties that devolved upon her'. Under all the stress she kept her Quaker composure. When a rebel asked her if she thought they would triumph, 'after a pause she replied "the Almighty only knows"' And when a priest told her 'to put up the cross', she refused the outward sign but believed 'that her

Heavenly Father was enabling her to bear the cross'.

Interspersed with developments inside the house, Dinah recorded some events that she did not personally witness. Three in particular stand out. First, her sisters successfully walked the three miles to Forrest Meeting House on Sundays in spite of attempts to disrupt them. 'Their minds were not resting on outward help but on that Omnipresent arm which was mercifully underneath to sustain.' Secondly, 'A severe conflict took place at Enniscorthy, the garrison being forced to surrender and many hundreds left dead in the streets'. Yet two days later Leinster Quarterly Meeting was held there and was attended by David Sands, a visiting American Quaker, even though he had 'to alight and assist in removing the dead bodies from before the wheels of his carriage'. And thirdly a massacre at Scullabogue barn, less than two miles from Horetown, included the torment and execution of John and Samuel Jones, brothers 'who attended our meeting though not members'. They were supported by Samuel's wife who 'stood between them when they were shot and held up a hand of each'.

Meanwhile back at the house a series of crises threatened the family. Twice an angry mob converged on the property but were deterred by two men who reminded them that the Goffs 'are doing all they can, feeding and providing for you'. Twice also Jacob was personally threatened. 'A large company appeared carrying a black flag' and surrounded him, but they were dragged away by some women: 'thus a higher Power appeared to frustrate the murderers' and he was 'graciously delivered'. Another time 'a company came with two horses, saying they had orders to take my dear father and J. Heatly to the camp'. Heatly was removed but Jacob was spared because Elizabeth eventually produced 'protections from the generals'. These were issued by the rebel commanders to loyalists who could be useful to them. Although Dinah claims that 'these documents had been sent without any request made by the family', they may help to explain the outcome of the other incidents.

Some of Dinah's other stories are not so desperate. A group of insurgent officers appeared, demanding dinner in 'the best parlour in the house': the hall was not good enough for them until Elizabeth assured them that noblemen had been entertained

there. But after further complaints about her 'theeing and thouing them as if speaking to a dog', they 'ate their dinner and went off peaceably'. On another day a rebel soldier got Dinah and her young cousin to admire his finely decorated hat, but when he invited them to visit the camp Elizabeth providentially appeared and 'asked him how he dared to request the children to go to such a place'.

Eventually the British army's cannon fire was heard, much to Dinah's delight, but Elizabeth took a more measured attitude. 'We must rejoice with trembling', she declared. 'We know not what may be permitted; we have only to place our trust and confidence in Him who hath hitherto preserved us!' Help was still given to two wounded rebels, one of whom cried out that 'I don't mind the pain so that I may but fight for my liberty'. When some Hessian hussars arrived, they were welcomed by Jacob who immediately told them that 'We have Friends in Germany'. More edifying stories then follow. One of Dinah's sisters found their coachman weeping in the kitchen: he had sympathised with the rebels but 'Oh, our plans are too wicked for the Lord to prosper them!' Some officers 'shed tears when they reflected on the danger we had been in', because they had nearly blown up the house. Finally, David Sands, apparently unperturbed by his Enniscorthy experience, arrived for a solemn Meeting for Worship at Horetown in which the Catholic refugees joined. They attested that 'they had never before heard plain truths so declared' and that the American 'must be an angel from Heaven'.

Dinah extended her recollections to touch on how both her Goff and Wilson cousins (Elizabeth's family) had suffered similar experiences. They had also been 'wonderfully favoured with faith and patience', though the Wilsons abandoned Ireland soon afterwards. But her own family's trials were not over. Jacob had refused the offer of an armed guard, and was twice visited at night by rebel fugitives, or 'babes in the wood' as they called themselves. Both times he was told that his last moments had come, but Elizabeth stayed firm, telling her daughters that 'I have faith to believe they will never be permitted to take his life'. She was right, but Jacob was so traumatised by his ordeals that he died the following December aged 62. Elizabeth lived on until 1817, 'perfectly conscious to the last and sweetly resigned to her divine Master's will'. And so the record ends, in a mix of pieties

and regrets that their author is 'the only one now remaining of twenty-two children ... all the rest, I humbly trust, united in that happy state where all trials and sorrows are at an end'. A footnote is added that 'Money was raised by Government to compensate the sufferers in property and a portion was offered to my father; but as a member of the Society of Friends, and not taking up arms in defence of Government, he felt that he could not accept it'.

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'Divine Protection' was finished on 23 December 1856 in Penzance. A year later it was in print, with a short preface and an appendix entitled *'Record made by the Yearly Meeting of Dublin in 1810'*. This describes how Quakers destroyed their guns from 1795 onwards and how the Yearly Meeting in 1799 had raised more than enough money to compensate needy Friends. Offers from both London and Philadelphia Meetings had therefore been declined.

Dinah died in January 1858 but the work proved a continuous success, at least among Quakers. A Third Edition was printed at Dublin in 1871 and also at an unspecified date in Philadelphia. Then in 1911 there was published in Waterford a twenty-seven page essay with the title of *'Memoirs'* by Dina Wilson Goff (*sic*).

At first glance it looks like a reprint of *'Divine Protection'*; the introduction starts off with the familiar phrase that 'At the request of some friends, the following memoirs have been printed'. But the opening paragraph recounts that 'It was about the middle of the 5th month 1798 that the County of Wexford became the scene of a rebellion headed by Bagnall Harvey and two Roman Catholics. Their aim being to extirpate the Protestants and bring Ireland again into subjection to the Pope.' The essay then continues along the same lines as the earlier publication but with many differences, both large and small. It ends with Jacob Goff's death, which is followed not by the Yearly Meeting report but by extracts from three historians of 1798[1].

This *Memoir* is not readily available. The edition of which I have a copy was presented to Mrs E. Jacob (probably a member of the prominent Wexford family of that name) by Sir William Goff. This baronet, who died in 1917, was a non-Quaker descendant

of Jacob Goff and the introduction includes a paragraph on Horetown House, 'still the family place'. Perhaps he was its instigator, circulating it to his acquaintances. Yet this does not explain its origin.

This is to be found in a manuscript deposited in the archives of Trinity College, Dublin[2]. Its introduction, written in a different hand, explains that it was 'dictated by D.W. Goff, a Quaker, in 1850 to a friend at Falmouth (query Mary Forster of Tottenham as she lived a good deal at Falmouth and the book was found among Forster's documents): note by Francis Arnold Forster, March 15, 1911'. And indeed the final handwritten sentence reads '3rd month 1850 when in Falmouth'. The published *Memoir* is an almost exact reproduction of this manuscript, except that it adds two short passages identical to those in *Divine Protection* concerning the 'babes in the wood' and concludes with the postscript about Jacob's refusal of compensation.

The *Memoir* publisher had clearly read *Divine Protection* but had discovered that a more authentic picture of Dinah Goff and her family was available. Dinah had actually produced her oral recollections six years before *Divine Protection* was composed, only for them to vanish for another fifty-five years. Comparing the two will reveal the additions and alterations introduced by the anonymous editor of *Divine Protection* (who I shall refer to simply as 'the editor') for an ulterior motive[3].

After the altered opening, the most glaring addition is the Catholic neighbour's visit and offer of a passage to Wales, which goes unrecorded in the *Memoir*. It could be argued that Dinah might have recalled the event at a later date, or that another contemporary provided it. But the rebellion spread so rapidly that many were caught unawares, like the two families that took refuge at Horetown, and this is the most likely explanation of the Goffs' continued presence. I would conclude that the story is a pious fraud, composed by the editor at a time when the aged Dinah could no longer influence the text. It might be borrowed from the story of the Jones brothers, of which more will be said later. This may seem an unlikely thing for a Quaker to do, but we already know that the concluding statement about 'writing from memory' is false. Nothing therefore in the text of *Divine Protection*, as amended from the original *Memoir*, can be trusted.

Many of the editor's other changes are small but significant, particularly after the arrival of the British army. Elizabeth's cautious homily is an insertion, as is Jacob's remark on Friends in Germany; two rebels came into the house for wound dressing, but their lament about liberty is unrecorded; and the remorseful coachman does not appear. Whereas the editor spares the house from destruction because it was 'inhabited by a loyal Quaker and his family', the *Memoir* has it 'occupied by loyal Protestants'. And the editor acknowledges that 'twenty or thirty of the officers breakfasted with us'; but the Goffs of the *Memoir* 'could not but rejoice to see them' until they 'became so intimate with the family that when drinking our health they would say "If this be war, may we never have peace".'

Another episode, not witnessed by Dinah, shows the difference in outlook between the *Memoir* and *Divine Protection*. John Heatly after his arrest was placed with others in a prison ship at Wexford. Most were killed but he and a friend survived. *Divine Protection* states that 'the prisoners were called out by two and two, and when it came to his and his friend's turn, he made some excuses for delay. At this juncture, a rumour reached their guards that the English army was marching into the town; and this report throwing them into a state of terror, the lives of the two prisoners were saved. John Heatly often related the circumstance afterwards, saying that Providence had in an extraordinary manner saved his life.' The *Memoir*, however, has more to add. 'When it came to his and his friend's turn, he said "We have taken many good bottles of wine together and there is one left, let us take it and die like men". They remained to finish their bottle ... J.H. often related the circumstances, saying that that bottle of wine, under providence, was the means of saving his life.'

The *Memoir* reveals a less sophisticated Dinah who both as girl and adult was a supporter of the Protestant Ascendancy and who was happy to rejoice in the military victory of her side. But this was not the image that the editor wished to promulgate. He or she intended to publish a pacifist tract[4*], and to achieve this end was prepared to censor out undesirable passages and concoct edifying alternatives. Dinah's *Memoir* does include samples of her personal piety, but the editor lays them on with the proverbial trowel.

It is understandable, therefore, that later relatives chose to publish a more accurate version once it had come to light, though they seem to have circulated it discreetly.

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The preface to *Divine Protection* advises readers that more information can be found 'in a small interesting volume published in 1825 and entitled *The Principles of Peace Exemplified in the conduct of the Society of Friends in Ireland during the Rebellion of the year 1798*, by Thomas Hancock M.D.' This author 'studied in Edinburgh and Dublin before settling in London where he built up an extensive medical practice'[5]. Coming from an Irish Quaker family, he married the daughter of Thomas Strangman of Waterford, a relative by marriage to the Goffs. His book proved popular and went through many editions. It influenced Dinah's *Memoir* and profoundly affected the editor of *Divine Protection*, who was (literally, as will be shown) under his spell.

Thomas believed in an absolute pacifism which is expounded in his opening chapter. Classical and biblical examples culminate in the Gospels, for 'Christianity is altogether a religion of Peace'[6]. His main purpose is to provide examples of how effective a pacifist attitude had proved in the events of 1798, 'obtained from those who were concerned, either as actors or eye-witnesses in the scenes which are depicted'. He 'assures his reader of his undoubted belief in the truth of the incidents recorded. Every contribution may have some little weight in the balance to determine the minds of hesitating Christians on the side of Peace.'

The doctor was anxious to point out that he neither wished to stir up old hatreds nor to glorify the Society of Friends. He claimed to have 'omitted some circumstances of peculiar atrocity', and he deliberately left out participants' names in an effort not to over-praise them[7]. Yet in fact he does the very opposite of what he claims. Apart from one mention of a Moravian community near Antrim, all those who suffer (sometimes at excruciating length) are Quakers; and all those who torment them are Catholics, including their treacherous servants.

Thomas believed that all the Quakers caught up in the

1798 rebellion were in the end, maybe after severe sufferings, providentially preserved. This was not a new idea to the Society. As Friends could not rely on creeds or scripture, they had to live by the evidence of their own experiences; and so the recording of past experiences, including preservation from danger, became important. This was then seen as evidence of God's favour towards faithful members. Thomas's particular contribution is his claim that the converse was also true. 'If they let into their minds unchristian fears', he wrote, 'they must expect to reap the corresponding fruits'. And he goes on to lament the dreadful fate of certain non-Quakers, in particular those who had abandoned or otherwise abused the Society.

This medically educated man turns out to be a strange combination of erudition and credulity. The Dublin Yearly Meeting Epistle quoted at the end of *Divine Protection* claims that 'no member of our Society fell a sacrifice but one young man', whose tale Thomas gladly relates. 'He put on a military uniform and fled to a garrison town' which the rebels captured. 'He sought to conceal himself, where he was soon discovered and put to death'. Thomas has more stories to tell in the same vein. An elderly man was killed 'who had been a short time before disunited for inconsistency in his conduct'; a member who 'under the influence of an improper curiosity looked out of a window during an engagement was wounded in the chest but recovered'; and a Protestant clergyman who 'requested that the clothes of a Friend might be given him, expecting that in such a dress he might be preserved' was nonetheless 'found and murdered'.

In spite of anonymity, it is clear that several of Thomas's examples concerned the Goffs, and these appear accordingly in both the *Memoir* and *Divine Protection*. Thomas may have spoken to Dinah; but Elizabeth Goff, who died eight years before the First Edition was published, had sixty descendants alive at the time of her death plus numerous cousins. Any of these could be the source for stories about Horetown House[8]. However, I shall look in more detail at the three external episodes recorded in both 1850 and 1856, all of which first appeared in *The Principles of Peace*. These shed light on how the doctor's mind worked.

First comes the sisters' walk to Forrest Meeting House. Thomas

wrote that 'a strange dog accompanied them home, as an escort for some miles; and on seeing them safe to the house, which he could not be prevailed upon to enter, left them'. It may well be true that the girls on their return commented on this stray, but Thomas cannot leave the dog alone. He admits that 'This might have been only an accidental occurrence, but it engaged their attention at the time; and though simple in itself may prove nothing more than that their minds were not resting upon human help'. Maybe he was recollecting the apocryphal Book of Tobit, in which Tobias was accompanied on his travels both by his faithful hound and an angel in disguise. Yet this biblical dog was in no way a guide. Thomas's story is more reminiscent of various fairy tales in which the hero embarks on his quest with the help of a magical animal.

Second is the macabre journey to Enniscorthy Meeting House. Thomas has tales of three County Wexford Meeting Houses (Enniscorthy, Forrest and Cooladine); all were threatened with destruction or 'converting into a Romish chapel'. Instead they were not just providentially saved but, after the battle at Vinegar Hill on 21 June, the rebels 'actually assembled about the door and windows of (Forrest) Meeting House as a place of safety to themselves'. The editor of *Divine Protection* has the American David Sands visit Enniscorthy on 30 May. He subsequently attended Forrest Meeting but did not get to Horetown House until late June. The *Memoir* states only that he attended Quarterly Meeting at Enniscorthy on 22 or 23 June, when he had a different set of bodies to wade through, and afterwards repaired to Horetown. It looks likely that the *Memoir* is more accurate, as a Quaker historian notes that 'The Quarterly Meeting was held after the battle of Vinegar Hill and local Friends helped in the task of burying'[9]. Yet Thomas, their likely source, wanted to have it both ways; on the first occasion, Friends were threatened with fire but carried on regardless and returned a month later, when 'they were obliged to remove the dead bodies of the rebels out of the way'. He is unconcerned at the devastation all around. 'The way seemed to be opened and the members who attended were comforted together under a humbling sense of the providential care they had so largely experienced'. Once more he is in Fairyland, where the Quakers in their magic garb overcome all thorny obstacles to reach their enchanted Meeting House.

The events at Scullabogue barn come third. The prisoners

were massacred in a panic after rumours reached their guards about the rebels' defeat at New Ross, and the proceedings were subsequently testified by witnesses. Around thirty-six men were ordered out of the barn in groups of four and briskly shot, until it was decided that this was taking too long and the rest were burnt to death inside. Among those shot were John and Samuel Jones, described on later lists as Quakers[10].

The death of the Jones brothers presented Thomas Hancock with a problem. He had to admit that 'preservation is not the *necessary* effect of peaceable conduct', but they should have been saved if they were Quakers. They were unrecorded in Dublin Yearly Meeting's Epistle because they were not members and presumably did not wear plain dress. Thomas therefore stages a short debate outside the barn in which 'Some person said they were Quakers. It was replied that if they could make it appear they were Quakers, they should not be killed. As they were not in reality members of the Society, this was not attempted to be done'. Instead, Thomas turns them into exemplars of pacifist behaviour. Unlike the real Quakers, they were named. Their self-denying virtues were elaborated, including Samuel's refusal to abandon their home despite urgings from neighbours. In words later attributed also to Jacob Goff, 'he and his wife thought it right to remain at their own residence'. Once imprisoned they were constantly pressurised into conversion. Yet in spite of all temptations they remained firm and, with Samuel's wife between them, they were finally shot.

The doctor was familiar with the gruesome accounts in John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs,* to which he refers. But the prolonged sufferings of the two Joneses have a quality of their own, resembling those of a much more distant time. Thomas had an interest in early Christians, and at the end of his book quotes examples of their peaceable conduct 'under most heavy persecutions'. He may have been familiar with the saintly brothers Cosmas and Damian, perhaps martyred in Syria after many tortures but at an uncertain date[11]. And there might be echoes of pagan mythology behind these legendary figures[12].

The Principles of Peace contains many more stories, none of which are likely to be pure invention but which are distorted by Thomas Hancock's quirky imagination. The true Quakers

are all preserved; the backsliders are extirpated; and the virtuous non-Quakers die like ancient martyrs. His book, at least its County Wexford sections, could be dismissed as a work of harmless fiction were it not for the sinister anti-Catholic prejudice lurking beneath its pacifist facade. It also has to be taken seriously because of the influence it cast over later Friends.

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The manuscript version of Dinah's *Memoirs* is written out in a fair hand, with few mistakes and no crossings out. Clearly Mary Forster or a colleague noted down Dinah's recollections, maybe over some time, and then compiled them into the essay we now have. At least one of these reminiscences is out of context. Dinah states that her father destroyed his fowling piece 'on hearing of the approach of the rebels', but this probably occurred two years earlier and the editor, who knew better, omits it. Others show signs of duplication. I am not convinced that an angry mob was twice deterred from entering the house, or that Jacob's life was twice personally threatened, or even that the 'babes in the wood' called on two separate occasions.

Mary Forster also decided to include some of the tales spun by Thomas Hancock, (presumably with Dinah's approval?). Dinah may not have gone along with Thomas's version of pacifism, though she would be sympathetic to his view of the Roman Catholic lower class. (She had a better opinion of the respectable Catholic family who took refuge at Horetown, though eventually they have to acknowledge the power of David Sands' ministry.) But for the editor of *Divine Protection*, the doctor's *Principles of Peace* was a godsend. His anti-Catholic prejudice was largely set aside, but his worthy stories and his streams of pious sentiment were incorporated into the reworked text wholesale.

So in the end we have two versions of Dinah's memories, both of them affected by the concerns or prejudices of other minds. Thomas Hancock, the well-meaning Mary Forster and the shameless editor have all distorted events that none of them witnessed for themselves. But beneath these layers we can still catch sight of what was actually happening at Horetown House during 1798. There are the vivid personal encounters between Dinah and the rebels; one example already mentioned was the

soldier with the fine hat, another was when a priest 'drew me towards him saying "my dear child, we shall have you all to ourselves"'. Dinah 'saw and smelled the smoke' coming from Scullabogue, as the *Memoir* puts it (though the editor mangles this into 'the dreadful effluvium which was wafted to our lawn'). The sense of relief when the British army arrives is still tangible. So is the subsequent bitterness over Jacob's death which Dinah blames on the rebellion and its consequences.

In addition, Dinah has provided an intimate portrait of her mother, Elizabeth Goff, who faced with a sudden crisis, rose to the occasion and demonstrated management skills which to her daughter in later years seemed miraculous. Ultimately it is this flesh and blood matriarch, without the pious platitudes which others would foist on her, who emerges as the true heroine of the piece.

David Ian Hamilton

END NOTES

1. The histories quoted are Sir Richard Musgrave's *Memoirs of the Rebellions in Ireland* (1801), William Hamilton Maxwell's *History of the Irish Rebellion in 1798* (1845) and the Revd James Bentley Gordon's work of the same name (1801).
2. Trinity College Dublin MS 5116.
3. The preface in the Third Edition was written by "JA", but these initials do not appear in 1857.
4. The Philadelphia print was 'published by the Tract Association of Friends, to be had at their depository, 304 Arch Street.' (*Note: The Tract Association of Friends in the United States has been, since 1816, republishing 'religious books and pamphlets such as explain and reinforce the doctrines of the Christian religion' (constitution of the Tract Association).)
5. Glynn Douglas *Friends and 1798* (Religious Society of Friends in Ireland, 1998) p. 85. There is a summarised version in this *Journal* (Vol. 58 No. 2).
6. I have looked at three editions of *The Principles of Peace* and taken quotations from the Second Edition 1826). The Third Edition (1828) appeared as Tract Nine of The Society for the Promotion of Permanent and Universal Peace, in which Thomas Hancock was an office-holder. In 1843 it was published by the American Peace Society.
7. Glynn Douglas adds that 'Quaker curiosity being no different to anyone else's, later editions include the names of the actors as footnotes!' (*Friends and 1798*, p. 85).
8. The Third Edition includes a narrative provided by a Goff cousin living near Horetown. Incidents from this narrative appear in earlier editions, but are not attributed.
9. Maurice J. Wigham, *The Irish Quakers* (Religious Society of Friends in Ireland, 1992), p. 66.
10. Sir Richard Musgrave, *Memoirs of the Rebellions in Ireland* (reprinted by Round Tower Books, 1995), pp. 398-401. He also gives the name of another Quaker, Henry Reason, who was shot and 'left a widow and two children.'
11. Donald Attwater, *The Penguin Dictionary of Saints* (Penguin Books, 1965), p. 94.
12. Pollux, son of Zeus, sacrificed his divinity for his mortal twin Castor, and they then shared it, becoming patrons of healing: *Oxford Dictionary of the Classical World* (OUP, 2007). Cosmas and Damian inherited this role.

I would like to acknowledge the help of Christopher Moriarty of Dublin Friends Library; Glynn Douglas, who supplied me with a copy of *Memoirs*; and my cousin John Patterson, who discovered the Trinity College Dublin MS. Without them this article would not have been written.

Norman Angell on the Outbreak of War in August 1914

Articles by Roger T. Stearn and David Rubinstein in the *Journal of the Friends Historical Society*, Vol. 62, No 1, 2010, pp. 49 - 86, discussed British Quaker opposition to militarism in the years before the outbreak of the Great War and Friends' responses to the outbreak of hostilities. In this issue we reproduce an article given prominence in *The Friend* published on 21 August 1914. Its author was a non-Friend, Norman Angell, and the article had appeared previously in the political journal *The Nation*. A week earlier *The Friend* had given publicity to Quaker responses to the outbreak of war as expressed at Meeting for Sufferings. Now it turned to an avowed secularist and self-labelled pacificist (*sic*) to express anti-war arguments in political terms and language. That decision is interesting in its own right but the article also expresses an anti-war case in terms that remain relevant to this day.

Ralph Norman Angell Lane was born in Holbeach, Lincolnshire in 1872. Throughout his adult life he campaigned internationally for peace and co-operation between nations. He did so not so much on ethical, moral or religious grounds but on economic and common sense terms. His case was set out in *The Great Illusion* in 1909. After 1918, Norman Angell continued to work for peace. He was briefly a Labour MP and was knighted in 1931. His work as a peacemaker was recognised when he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1933.

Peter Smith

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THE UNSOUND FOUNDATIONS

We print this week, at special request, and by permission of the Editor of the NATION, an excellent article by Norman Angell - which appeared in that journal a week ago. It seems to us that the present war has abundantly confirmed some of Norman Angell's first

principles and we are glad to do anything to spread a knowledge of his views.

All other speculations as to the causes of this catastrophe, or lessons to be drawn from it, must take into account this central and pivotal fact: that the men of Europe have not yet learned so to organise their society as to make their conduct obey their intention. We are all of one mind to do one thing, and we all do the exact reverse. We are slaves and puppets of forces which make our conduct, not something which our minds and consciences have settled upon, but something as divorced from moral responsibility and human choice as the bending of the growing corn before the wind.

This fact is most generally cited as demonstrating the inevitability of war: as proving that men have no choice. It only proves, of course, that so far men have failed to lay even the foundations of their society aright.

It is not in this present case even a matter of uncontrollable elemental passion. There is no passion. A Chauvinist journalist writes of it as "a war without hate", and all first-hand testimony as to feeling in France and Germany is to the effect that the millions are going submissively, unresistingly, to kill and be killed for some cause concerning which they have little feeling and less understanding. Nor is it a question of the collision of two rights. The general population does not know in all this tangle on which side right lies. So that, in simple fact, we have a population of 350 million souls, the immense majority of whom – and by that I do not mean something more than half, but more nearly a proportion represented by 349,900,000 as against the 350,000,000 – were in favour of peace. And all these millions who wanted peace have gone to war. Everybody has gone to war. The action which we did not intend we have taken. The action we did intend, we have not taken.

This essential helplessness of men, their failure to have formed a society which can carry out their intention, goes a great deal deeper than mere political machinery. It would be easy to show, of course, that in our own country, in some respects the

most democratic in Europe, the determining factor of policy has been the secret action of three or four men, incurring, without popular sanction, without the nation knowing to what it was committed, obligations involving the lives of tens of thousands and the destiny of our Empire. We find that we have obligations of "honour" of which not one man in a hundred thousand was a week ago aware - obligations which, indeed, we had been assured solemnly did not exist. The particular political contrivance which makes that possible may, perhaps later, be changed, if, after the welter into which we are entering is over, sufficient civilisation is left to us. The more superficial aspects of the trouble we may be able to change, unless the improvement of Parliamentary institutions in Europe becomes something which the quite possible development of this war in the direction of a Slav hegemony of Europe places outside practical politics.

But one must look for the prime cause beyond the mere defects of machinery: in the defects of an education which makes it impossible for the mass to judge facts save in their most superficial aspect, or to think of war as other than a jolly football match: which also makes it impossible for the average man to keep two co-related facts in view at the same time. In all this business, the average man has overlooked so capital a fact as the predominating part to be played by the Russian autocracy manipulating 150,000,000 of peasants, at the real head, it maybe of 200,000,000, in control of a country impregnable by its bulk, much more resistant to the paralysis of war than more developed nations, largely hostile to Western conceptions of political and religious freedom. This fact is obscured because another fact, the alleged menace of Germany, has taken hold of the public mind. Yet even our present public is capable of realising that a country of 65,000,000, highly civilised, wedged in between hostile States, with a culture that has contributed in the past so much to civilisation, racially allied to ourselves and with moral ideas resembling our own, with a commercial and industrial life that is dependent upon an orderly and stable Europe, is necessarily less of a menace than the Slav hegemony.

But the collective mind as it exists in our age can only see one such fact at a time: in the Crimean War we saw Russian barbarism

but not Turkish; in 1914 we can see German barbarism but not Russian. The first step to a better condition in Europe will be some demonstration enabling the collective mind to seize upon a truth so wide and embracing as to render the eclipse of minor facts of little practical importance. Such a demonstration might come with the collapse of credit and industry dragging with it so much of the structure of civilisation, thus making visible the essential unity of European civilisation and the futility of that struggle for purely political domination, which the present war constitutes. A war which the great mass certainly did not desire is accepted passively as inevitable because parties representing the protection of old privileges, attached to an older form of society, can appeal to the momentum of old political conceptions so intimately associated with ideas as to the prepondering need of military power and political domination.

And there is this curious psychological fact. The parties which may be termed the parties of ideas, seem to show less capacity for ready movement and effective action in imposing their point of view than do the parties composed of men who have simply taken over old prejudices. The military and chauvinist elements in Parliament and in the press are, numerically perhaps, in a minority. But their effectiveness in propaganda, in the presentation of their case, has in this crisis been greater than that shown by their opponents. Take the incidents of the last week or two. As soon as the possibility of war became evident, forward sections of the Opposition carried on, with the help of the *Times* and the *Daily Mail* and the allied papers, what was in fact a war propaganda with "a kick and a punch", as the Americans would call it, that swept the inert mass of the country to the point at least of "accepting the inevitable". At that early stage a move was made among small groups on the anti-war side to resist this propaganda with an equal "kick and punch"; but immediately considerations of "not being controversial", "not alienating X, Y or Z", began to paralyse, to some extent at least, the clear, downright expression of opinion hostile to intervention. There seemed to be no general realisation on the peace side that the danger was desperate, that we were on the edge of a volcano; that the war party were not hampered by considerations of "not embarrassing

the Government"; and of not being "too controversial". There was thus created a situation in which all the psychological momentum which goes for so much in these things was on the side of war, while the forces which might have been ranged on the side of peace were in large part inert or disorganised.

The instance is only worth noting at this early stage after the catastrophe, as bearing upon what the attitude of democrats and pacifists must be if we are to salve anything from the wreck. If such a case for peace as that which this week's situation presented cannot win to itself the element of pugnacity and fight which are put into the opposite case, cannot redirect those elements of human nature to its own cause, then it is incapable of grappling with the problems which will confront it in the years that face us. We who favour peace have suffered in the past from the general impression that good intentions and high aspirations would in some way atone for the absence of the humbler virtues of technical efficiency in the method and management of propaganda, in the direction and control of the fighting forces.

Perhaps this catastrophe will help us to realise the magnitude of the problem which faces us. Peace is not a section of certain social problems which we have to solve, not one among many. It is the basis of the whole democratic and social problem. Our schemes of social reform must now be shelved. Perhaps they will wait for a generation, perhaps longer. The efforts of many years of social endeavour will be nullified because, instead of so marshalling all the forces of reform as to make them in some measure all parts of the army of peace, we have conceived of anti-war propaganda as a separate and limited task. The problem of peace is neither more nor less than the problem of so laying the foundation of civilised society that a stable and secure superstructure becomes possible. It is all one general interdependent problem. Constructive social work depends upon making peace secure; peace depends upon an educated democracy; the military organisation of states is in the long run fatal to democracy; if democracy is to survive, the general War problem must find solution.

In so far as that problem is one of change in ideas – and it is mainly that – it is essential that the old fallacies concerning the place and efficacy of force and the nature of political power should not merely be relegated to the background by the preoccupation of the public with other things, but so undermined as to be destroyed. If the old ideas are definitely to pass from politics, a large body of the public must see fairly clearly how and why the arguments that supported those ideas are false. Failing this, it will always be possible to revive the old ideas by some incident like that through which we have passed. The importance of securing the realisation of certain economic and material truths is not the hope of dissuading men from going to war because their bank account would suffer, but of showing that the interdependence of the modern world has made the whole conception of society as a conglomeration of rival States an absurdity, an impossible foundation for our work in the world. What is now happening to the credit system of the world is important in this; that it is a very visible demonstration of the unity of mankind, of the need for confidence and co-operation, if States are to fulfil those functions for which they were created.

Norman Angell

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

The Early Quakers and the 'Kingdom of God': Peace, Testimony and Revolution. By Gerard Guiton. San Francisco: Inner Light Books. 2012. xvi + 506pp., paperback. £20. ISBN 978-0-9834980-3-2.

Gerard Guiton has produced a large and very detailed book that will be of interest primarily to those wanting to understand early Quaker theology, rather than to the historian of seventeenth-century England. In addition to a general analysis of early Quaker religious ideas, Guiton seeks to demonstrate the peaceable intentions of first-generation Quakers and to argue that between 1659 and 1661 a corporate 'Pentecostal' or 'paracletal' experience produced three public 'peace declarations' and a reinvigorated movement with sufficient community cohesion and spiritual steadfastness to withstand the severe persecution of the Restoration period.

The book is divided into two main parts. Part one (chapters 1-3) outlines the Puritan understanding of the Kingdom of God and describes the religious and political complexities of the post-English Reformation context. Part two (Chapters 4-13) provides an extended analysis of early Quaker theology based on the concept of the Kingdom of God as an organising principle, as well as material about the 'peace testimony'. In addition, the book includes a chronology of events between 1599 and 1663, a twelve-page glossary of terms, a set of seven appendices (made up of an analysis of the use of the term 'Kingdom' in early Quaker writings between 1652 and 1662, the texts of the three 'peace declarations' produced by Edward Burrough, Margaret Fell and George Fox/Richard Hubberthorne written between 1659 and 1661, the text of James Nayler's short tract *Not to Strive, but Overcome by Suffering* from 1657/8, an index of phrases taken from the declarations of Fell and Fox/Hubberthorne, a list of 206 early Quaker works using the term 'Kingdom' between 1652 and 1661, a list of 41 early Quaker works written between 1650 and 1660 in which outward violence was clearly condemned, and an analysis of references to Jesus and Christ in Fox's writings between 1657 and 1659), an extensive bibliography of primary and secondary sources and a well-structured subject index.

This book offers a comprehensive and well-written analysis of early Quaker theology. The use of primary references is impressive and the footnotes are extensive and useful. In addition to the focus on the peaceable principles of Friends and his proposition about a Pentecostal/paracletal moment in the period 1659-1661, Guiton takes a wide-ranging look at early

Quaker language, the group's association with popular radical causes, Friends' use of the Bible, the hostile response they provoked, their Christology of divine indwelling, the nature of Quaker testimony, the position of women within the movement and the use of outward signs as theological statements. While Guiton's account of early Quaker theology does not break any significant new ground, it does offer a level of detail beyond that of most other studies in this area. Guiton argues that early Quaker experience and the theology it generated led inevitably to a rejection of Quaker history (represented by scholars such as Christopher Hill and Barry Reay) in which first generation Friends are portrayed primarily as a socio-political movement who, in the face of defeat and the fall of the Commonwealth, adopted a pacifist position as a matter of political expediency. David Boulton has, in this journal, recently published a vigorous critique of Guiton's position, in which he rejects the idea that the violent language and imagery contained within early Quaker writings and the actions of some Friends in the 1650s can be simply explained away in metaphorical terms (*JFHS* Volume 63, 2012).

My sense is that it is possible to find a more nuanced position within this dispute that takes seriously the arguments on both sides. It is clear that, in the theology of early Friends, individual spiritual regeneration involved liberation from the lusts and motivations that lead to violent conflict. In their understanding of the new covenant, it is clear that early Friends believed that ultimately evil would only be defeated by means of spiritual warfare. Fighting evil physically with outward weapons was regarded as a characteristic of the old covenant, which had been superseded. Testimony within the Quaker way was never regarded as a rule to live by but, rather, the fruit of inward spiritual transformation. Therefore, at any one time, individual Friends would be at different stages of spiritual transformation and this would inevitably be reflected in their conduct within the world. Early Friends claimed to be in the world but not of the world. However, this did not mean that they were entirely liberated from the ways of the world. They remained a people of their specific time and place. In particular, they retained the Puritan understanding of divine providence. It is clear from their writings that they witnessed God acting through the violent actions of individuals, governments and the military in order to achieve divine ends.

In this sense, early Friends appear to have operated with two distinct understandings of divine providence: one for the regenerated people of God living in the new covenant; and one for the fallen world. In seeking to achieve divine ends, God

might work through both the 'harmless' regenerated people of God living in the new covenant (who had been liberated from the urges that led to violent conflict) and through the powers and peoples of the fallen world who were living by the terms of the old covenant and who were still captive to the ways of darkness, violence and injustice. Despite this two-level understanding of divine providence, early Friends do appear to have had an unshakeable conviction that the old way of darkness, violence and injustice was dying and that a new way of light, peace and justice was being born and would ultimately triumph. This may help explain the apparent contradictions in early Quaker writings and conduct.

To some extent, Guiton's attempt to provide a detailed analysis of early Quaker theology combined with his desire to answer the position of the Marxist historians has created a problem. Despite the amount of useful information, there is probably insufficient new thinking here to fully engage the serious scholar of early Quaker theology, but too much detail to make the book attractive or accessible to the more casual reader who is interested in Quaker ideas and history. It may have been better to deal with the two matters separately, particularly given that Guiton has already exercised his arguments about early Quaker peaceable principles and the experience of a Pentecostal/ paracletal experience at the end of the Commonwealth in his previous book *The Growth and Development of Quaker Testimony, 1652-1661 and 1960-1994: Conflict, Non-violence, and Conciliation* (Edwin Mellen Press, 2005). Unfortunately, on a few occasions Guiton makes statements that seem to be at odds with the very vision of early Quaker theology he sets out so carefully and thoroughly. He asserts, for instance, that early Friends adopted the Sermon on the Mount ... 'as the absolute rule for their internal and external conduct' (p.2) and ... 'that early Quaker knowledge of the Kingdom resulted from a painstaking analysis of each passage in the Gospels in which it appeared' (p.151/2). However, it is clear that, in the circumstances of the new covenant, these Friends believed that they were being taught directly and inwardly by Christ and that all external rules, including the letter of scripture, had been fulfilled and ultimately replaced by the law written on the heart. He also claims that early Friends ...' disagreed; for instance, with Paul's theology of justification from faith alone rather than from faith and good works as found in the Letter of James' (p.184). Even a casual glance at the writings of early Friends will indicate how significant the apostle Paul was to them (in an analysis undertaken by the Quaker Bible Index, 73 out of the top 100 most frequently quoted Bible passages in the writings of early Friends were drawn from the Pauline epistles. None were

drawn from Matthew's Gospel or the Letter of James). Early Friends firmly rejected the Lutheran/Reformed interpretation of Paul's theology, but this did not mean that they disagreed with Paul. It meant that they interpreted him differently.

Despite the reservations outlined above, this book provides a wealth of excellent information and analysis about the nature of early Quakerism and its religious and political context that will be appreciated by those who wish to draw on such a comprehensive collection of resources all held in one volume. In this sense, Gerard Guiton has made a most valuable contribution to this area of Quaker studies.

Stuart Masters

Making Toleration: the repealers and the Glorious Revolution. By Scott Sowerby. Cambridge, Mass. London: Harvard University Press. 2013. [x] + 404pp., maps, hardback. £30. ISBN 978-0-674-07309-8.

A number of historians in recent years have been engaged in a reassessment of the reign of James II and of his replacement in 1688 by William and Mary in what we are accustomed to refer to as the Glorious Revolution. The events of 1688 are now more likely to be seen as an armed invasion by the Dutch in order to maintain the balance of power in Europe, hand in hand with an Anglican-inspired counter-revolution to prevent the loss of the Restoration religious settlement. That one outcome of this change of government was the Toleration Act of 1689 seems ironical set beside James's campaign in the preceding years to secure toleration and political rights for all those outside the Anglican Church.

This is the context of this book in which Scott Sowerby sets out to tell the story of this campaign, to analyse the characters and motives of those who publically supported James's call for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts (who he refers to as 'the repealers') and to assess its influence on the eventual achievement of the Toleration Act. The interest here for Quaker historians is that this potentially throws new light on the behaviour of William Penn during this period, when he has been portrayed as thoughtlessly pursuing absolutist policies, disregarding the testimonies and acting as little better than James's lackey.

Sowerby is able to show that the movement for toleration had wide support across the country, drawing on both ends of the

political spectrum and from every Christian group in England. Equally their opponents were also broadly based. Sowerby admits that Penn was 'an intellectual architect of James's toleration project', as early as 1679 calling for a 'Magna Charta' to secure religious liberty. In his progress of 1687 James, having published his *Declaration for Liberty of Conscience*, took up in his speeches Penn's call for a 'Magna charta for Conscience' while Penn undertook a parallel but coordinated campaign. Penn published four pro-repealer pamphlets during this time, the only Quaker to have joined him in publication seems to have been Ann Docwra.

However there was further Quaker support. When James asked leading landowners, potential electors, for their attitude to repeal we know that, at Lancaster, Thomas Lower replied in the affirmative. And when in 1688 James reformed a number of town corporations in order to ensure an electorate more prepared to support repeal, Quakers were appointed as aldermen and councillors in twelve towns, including Devizes, Banbury and Norwich. Penn wanted central support for these Friends but the Yearly Meeting of 1688 followed George Fox in not giving outward encouragement to the repealer cause.

Of course the projected election of 1688 did not take place, rather the trial of the seven bishops, and the birth of James's heir led to the Dutch invasion and James II's eventual flight. There is evidence that Penn urged James towards conciliation with the bishops but his public support of James led to a period after the invasion in which he came under suspicion as a Jacobite.

Sowerby's work is solidly based on an analysis of the archival materials which remain from this period, which we must assume underwent some contemporary sifting and redaction in order to reinforce the argument for the legitimacy of the revolution. Nevertheless, James II emerges as a less authoritarian figure, one who was at least as keen as his brother to build consensus and act through established institutions but who was, also, like his brother, keen to remove the legal sanctions from his co-religionists. Penn, who was, we must remember, a family friend [his father and James, as Duke of York, had been prime movers in the building up of the Navy during Charles's reign], saw nothing wrong in helping James to an aim which would move towards the sort of society he had sought to establish in Pennsylvania. Quakers, like all other Nonconformists, were divided as to whether this was a wise course, given the behaviour of the Roman Church in other jurisdictions, particularly in France.

Making Toleration is a lively and readable book, as well as a scholarly one, whose 260 pages of text are supplemented with the usual bibliography, notes and index.

Chris Skidmore

Quakers in Northeast Norfolk, England, 1690-1800. By Sylvia Stevens, with a foreword by Peter Rushton. Lewiston, Queenston, Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2012. ix + 411pp., map + tables + illustrations, paperback. £39.95 to individual scholars direct from the publisher. ISBN 978-0-7734 2909-3.

Sylvia Stevens was awarded her Ph.D. in 2005 for her thesis on the Quakers of north-east Norfolk. This work, issued by the academic publisher Edwin Mellen Press, is a revised and updated version of her thesis.

The justifications for this study are clear. The Friends who appear in this volume are those whose lives are largely unknown to modern Quakers, members of the Gurney family being perhaps an exception. This does not mean, however, that a study of these obscure Friends is irrelevant. Rather, it is crucial to our greater understanding of eighteenth-century Quakers to examine the lives of those who do not appear in standard histories of Quakerism. Furthermore, the eighteenth century is still an under-explored area as far as provincial Friends are concerned, and studies such as this recover aspects of Quaker history which have receded from view.

The first chapter of this study is an overview of current literature on the period, along with a discussion of the primary sources and methodology used. The breadth of Sylvia Stevens's original research is most fully demonstrated in chapters two to six, which each take a theme and discuss it with relation to Norfolk Quakers, and research undertaken in other localities.

Chapter two examines the pattern of settlement and the social context of Quakers in north-east Norfolk. Chapter three discusses Quaker travel in the service of truth. A number of Norfolk Friends were recognised ministers, some travelling widely throughout England and into Ireland and Scotland. Furthermore, Norfolk Quarterly Meeting hosted ministers from other meetings, some who had come in their ministry from as far away as North America. In chapters four to six, Sylvia Stevens

considers tensions over Quaker beliefs and practices. Despite the alleged 'quietism' of Quakers in the eighteenth century, there were several debates in the course of the period between Quakers and opponents. Though most were conducted in print, a notable public debate was that held between Quakers and the Anglican clergy at West Dereham in 1698 over whether or not Quakers could be considered Christians. However, a more usual cause of dispute between rural Quakers and parish clergy, or on occasion lay impropriators, was over the non-payment of tithes, though Sylvia Stevens does suggest that some Quakers may have adopted strategies to avoid prosecution for tithes. But many debates and challenges were internal to the Quaker movement. As this study illustrates, some involved a spirited individual at odds with authority, though more usually the difficulties faced by a meeting involved such issues as a member running into debt, or marrying before a priest. As the author shows, this latter offence would appear more frequently in the minute books from mid-century onwards, though this may have been due to an earlier reluctance to record such cases, rather than to them not occurring at all.

Quakers in this part of Norfolk may be little known because they left few accounts of their lives. Two exceptions were the mariner John Secker, and the museum keeper Daniel Boulter, both of whom left manuscript autobiographies. While neither could be called a spiritual autobiography, each account shows a man living and working among non-Quakers, perhaps at times making compromises to integrate themselves in that world, but never abandoning their faith. (John Secker's autobiography has now been published by the Norfolk Record Society.)

This is a specialist work, but its focus is by no means solely provincial. Sylvia Stevens takes the Quakers of north-east Norfolk and compares her research with other studies, resulting in a volume which is a valuable addition to the existing, and growing, corpus of material on eighteenth-century Friends.

Rosalind Johnson

From Peace to Freedom. Quaker Rhetoric and the Birth of American Antislavery, 1657-1761. By Brycchan Carey. London and New Haven: Yale University Press. 2012. xi + 257pp., hardback. £25. ISBN 978-0-300-18077-0.

This is an extremely important book which will be of great interest to all students of Quaker history. But it is also a vital

text for anyone interested in the history of African slavery and its abolition. At first glance it might seem that Carey is treading a familiar path. And although others have outlined the Quaker origins of abolition, no one has undertaken the kind of detailed forensic research we find here, and no previous scholar has teased out so persuasively the deep intellectual and theological roots of abolition sentiment. In large part Carey does this by what he calls a 'close reading' of texts. But there is more to this book than re-interpretation. It is highly original in conception, in research and in its literary execution.

It had become a commonplace among historians of abolition (that drive to end first the Atlantic slave trade, and then slavery itself) to see its political origins in the Society of Friends. Carey's claim to originality lies in pushing back that process much further than generally accepted. Indeed his prolonged research, on both side of the Atlantic, in manuscript and printed sources, takes the process back to the earliest days of the Society itself. Unusually, he also locates much of the original debate in that remarkable Quaker community which developed, not in Pennsylvania, but in Barbados (the initial and pioneering centre of British slavery in the Americas). Carey persuasively illustrates the critical origins of abolition to lie in Barbados. In a way this ought not to surprise us. After all, British slavery (and sugar) first flourished in Barbados. The initial worries about slavery among founding Quakers were compounded by the fact that they faced the apparently insurmountable obstacle of widespread commercial and social support for slavery (and not merely on that island). Indeed the success of slavery was to prove a major hurdle for abolition from its founding days through to its triumph in the early-nineteenth century: how could the philosophical and theological objections of a relatively small band win, in a transatlantic community which was increasingly carried forward on a tide of slave-based prosperity?

As slavery boomed in that island, the Society of Friends withered - largely under persecution - and Quakers found a more sympathetic home in Pennsylvania. But there too, slavery grew. So too did Quaker objections. Throughout the Delaware Valley, Friends discussed and worried about the institution of slavery (visible all around them, though not as violently oppressive as its sister model in Barbados). And long before the Society struck out in public opposition to slavery, its members had debated, written and spoken out against the issue. The foundations for a more overt opposition and an openly political campaign, was laid in the late years of the seventeenth century.

In the first quarter of the new century, Quaker discussion

about slavery became increasingly focused in Philadelphia, New Jersey and London. This was the axis on which the subsequent Quaker campaign was to hinge. Yet the debate remained 'in-house', and its participants were not yet ready to embark on a more public and overtly political campaign. The debate was promoted by figures familiar to historians - notably Benjamin Lay and John Woolman - but the extent of that debate has been largely ignored - until Carey's meticulous researches.

From the mid-eighteenth century this largely internal discussion took an entirely new direction. Through publications, peripatetic preaching and personal correspondence, leading Quakers moving around the communities of North America and across the Atlantic – created a remarkable climate of increasingly strident anti-slavery sentiment. The effect was to persuade the major Quaker communities in London and Philadelphia to insist on a ban on slave trading. And the outcome was the resolve of Philadelphia Quakers to ban local slave trading. It was Anthony Benezet's work which was critical in expanding the case for a total ban on Atlantic slave trading. By 1761 the Quakers had laid the basis not merely for the Society's antipathy to the slave trade, but had created the intellectual and social foundations for a much wider political hostility to the trade – and indeed to slavery itself. It was a quite remarkable achievement, forged by persistent and continuing intellectual and theological discussion among Friends. Their arguments, available in printed format, began to reach an ever-growing circle of readers on both sides of the Atlantic, and formed the substantive case against the slave trade which became so political in the 1780s.

The scholarly detail of Carey's study, the clarity of its exposition and the persuasiveness of the argument will establish this as a work of major importance.

James Walvin

Dr John Rutty (1698-1775) of Dublin: a Quaker polymath in the Enlightenment. By Richard S. Harrison. Dublin. Original Writing. 2011. xxii + 271pp., illustrations, hardback. £22. ISBN 978-1-908024-17-6.

John Rutty is an interesting character in his own right but also one who illuminates many of the characteristics of eighteenth-century Quakerism. A second-generation Quaker from Wiltshire, he studied to become a physician at Leyden,

settled in Dublin and practised there for the rest of his life. Beside his practice he devoted his life to the Society of Friends and to scientific study. He wrote books on meteorology, natural history and on medicinal plants, but is best known for continuing Thomas Wight's history of Quakers in Ireland (1751) and for a pioneering study of the mineral waters of the British Isles and their medicinal properties (1757).

Rutty followed the French Quietists in his religious practices, practising self-denial and searing self-examination: from 1753 until 1774 he wrote a spiritual diary which was published after his death as *A spiritual diary and soliloquies*. The review of this volume caused Dr Johnson some hilarity 'particularly at his mentioning with such a serious regret occasional instances of "swinishness in eating and doggedness of temper"'. But Rutty's Quakerism was not purely inward-looking as, unlike some other Quaker doctors, he deliberately limited his practice and concentrated on serving the Dublin poor.

In his book Richard Harrison tells the story of this humble man, good but not great. It is not always an easy read. As Harrison himself admits, he has had to struggle to interpret Rutty's scientific works to the modern reader since chemical and mineralogical terminology has changed so greatly in the last three hundred years. In sticking largely to that old terminology he has not helped the reader. His attempt, as his subtitle indicates, to place Rutty firmly within the context of Enlightenment thought is also not wholly successful. Rutty did not extend his scientific methodology to his religious beliefs and he was critical of deism, saw the links between Methodism and Quakerism [he acted as physician to Wesley on more than one occasion] and exhorted his fellow Quakers to keep to the good old ways.

Richard S. Harrison has a deserved reputation as a historian of Irish Quakerism and this is a well-researched and scholarly book. As the only modern biography of Rutty, the book repays reading by anyone interested in eighteenth-century medical and Quaker history. The Quaker historian will regret that so little is available to illustrate the Quaker aspect of Rutty's life but will be grateful to Richard Harrison for illuminating a little further the obscurity into which the Quakers of the eighteenth-century have been allowed to recede.

Chris Skidmore

BIOGRAPHIES

DAVID IAN HAMILTON is currently Clerk of Stockport Meeting in East Cheshire. He is retired, and has written items for various family history and genealogy journals, as well as *Friends Quarterly*. His article entitled *The Banker and the Marine* was published in this *Journal* (Vol. 62 No 3) in 2012. It concerned the Irish Quaker Fade family, and the present piece is about their descendant Dinah Goff. David is not a birthright Friend, though he is Dinah's distant cousin.

After a career in local journalism and as a spokesperson for local government in Westminster, PETER SMITH retired from paid employment in 1997. He was awarded a Fellowship of the Chartered Institute of Public Relations and the MBE. He graduated in history from the University of East Anglia in 2003, gained an MA with distinction there in 2005 and was awarded a doctorate in early modern English history in 2013. He has been a member of the Religious Society of Friends since 1963.I

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