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TENSIONS IN THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS IN ENGLAND IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The history of the Religious Society of Friends, or Quakers, discloses many causes for tension within the structure of its belief. The zeal which characterizes any reforming movement and which in the early days of the Society united within its fold people of varying types of religious thought, is rarely transmitted in its original purity to succeeding generations. The causes of the tensions which developed within the Society in the nineteenth century have their origin in this early period, in the teaching of George Fox and the early Friends of the later years of the seventeenth century. Fox was not an early forerunner of nineteenth century biblical criticism and he approached the Scriptures with the literal and not analytical view common to the age in which he lived. In his own words he 'opened the Scriptures,' turned them upside down and turned his hearers round to an entirely different concept of their meaning. He used a principle of interpretation which was based on a particular understanding of figure, type and anti-type. The inner meaning of the intended sacrifice of Isaac by Abraham, for example, by this method becomes a type or figure of the sacrifice of Jesus on the cross, the sacrament of baptism an outward figure of the true inward baptism by the Holy Spirit in the heart. The true message of

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the Scriptures could only be perceived by those who looked beyond the event portrayed to its inner significance and it is this stress on inner reality and outward form which lies at the heart of Quaker theology. The Inward Light in the heart, which is given to every man and woman whenever and wheresoever they may be born, is all that is necessary to lead humanity to the knowledge of God. Fox saw this inward experience of Christ as the substance, the edifice built upon the Scriptures by the church as but a shadow, and such a view of the Scriptures had enormous implications for the nineteenth-century crisis in the religious history of the Society.

About the year 1800 the evangelical movement started by the Wesley brothers in the early years of the eighteenth century began to make its impact on the Society and the means by which I propose to explore the tensions it created is principally by an examination of the epistles sent out to all members of the Society from the years 1800 to 1900. These epistles, which are lengthy source material, provide teaching, exhortation and advice and most accurately reflect the changes in religious thought throughout the century.

Hitherto it has been generally accepted that evangelicalism provided the religious direction for the Society throughout this period, but if that is so the question which demands an answer is - 'Why did the authors of these epistles feel it necessary to include the statements they did in fact make?' It is the purpose of this essay to show that, far from evangelicalism being almost universally accepted by the Society, the situation was very complex, and that up until about 1870 the epistles reveal an almost desperate desire to find refuge from the traumatic years of the early part of the century in a return to the principles and practices of early Friends. Such a return to the roots of a religious faith is not uncommon in a period of turmoil and was indeed characteristic of the seventeenth-century founders of the Society in their rediscovery of primitive Christianity.

The evangelical movement inaugurated by the Wesley brothers, which was making a noticeable impact on the Society about the year 1800, has been described by Rufus Jones as at that time having doctrinal significance, embodying a definite theory:-

of man, of Christ, of Scripture and of salvation. Man is a fallen and ruined being, devoid of spiritual capacity, totally depraved in his own nature and sundered by an infinite chasm of separation from God. Two bridges only span or have spanned that chasm, both of them in every sense supernatural images. One is Scripture and the other is Christ. Scripture is the word of God marvellously transmitted across the chasm of separation ... every word of this revelation is

divinely given and an infallible revelation. Christ the other supernatural gift is a wholly Miraculous Person who has come into the world to inaugurate a dispensation of Grace and to make human redemption possible.¹

The doctrine of the depravity of man in the fall and his complete separation from God is familiar territory and can be found in proposition IV of Robert Barclay's *Apology*. But one of the most important differences between Barclay's theology and that of nineteenth century evangelical Friends lay in the position given to the Scriptures as a primary rule for faith and conduct as against the continued illumination by the Holy Spirit, traditionally held by Friends to take precedence. Early Quaker thought also spritualized Christ in the concept of the Seed which could enlighten the heart of every man who came into the world, whether or not he possessed scriptural knowledge of Christ, which Barclay explored in Proposition VI of the *Apology*, whereas in evangelical thought Christ is depicted in military language as the captain of salvation, the Christians as his army in continuing conflict between the forces of light and those of darkness. Those Friends who accepted evangelical doctrine had to disavow Proposition III of the *Apology*, which they were clearly prepared to do, having come to regard the prevailing Quietism of the latter half of the eighteenth century as a spiritual strait-jacket, a stultifying influence particularly in the meeting for worship. It is illuminating at this point to include a passage from the *Christian Advocate* of 30 May 1836, quoting Luke Howard, a leading evangelical Friend, as saying:-

There was no society of Christians, in which the Scriptures were so miserably quoted, and so much misapplied, by public preachers as among themselves [Friends], the reason of which might be, that they have not the Bible before them for the context to be under their notice; nor were they accustomed to prepare themselves for a public exercise by previous meditation and study of the Bible.

But Luke Howard was criticized for taking a Bible into Tottenham Meeting and that, and the passage quoted, articulates the conflict between the use of the Bible as an inspiration for worship and the direct and sole reliance on the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. It was in these conflicting views that the roots of all the religious tensions of nineteenth-century Quakerism lay. The doctrine of the depravity of man does not make its appearance in the epistles until almost the close of the dark period of the 1870s, in the epistle for 1879, which contains the following statement:-

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We think it right once more plainly to declare that we have never acknowledged any principle of spiritual light, life or holiness inherent in nature in the heart of man. We confess, with the Apostle, that "we are by nature the children of wrath, even as others" (Eph.2:3).

In the years before the 1870s the large body of middle-of-the-road Friends, to whom I have referred in my article on the *Beacon Controversy*, (*J.F.H.S.* vol.55: no.6) wanted neither evangelicalism nor eighteenth-century Quietism. Again and again, as the epistles will show, the emphasis is on a return to what is described as the simplicity and purity of the worship of early Friends and a desire to go forward unhampered by what many regarded as a betrayal of their religious convictions.

The phrasing of the epistle issued by London Yearly Meeting in 1832 articulates for the first time, in its careful choice of language, the difficulty of holding a balance between two conflicting lines of thought:-

let us bear in mind that it is only through faith in Jesus Christ that they [the Scriptures] are able to make wise unto salvation ... the evidence of the Spirit of God in our hearts most satisfactorily confirms our belief in the divine authority of these inestimable writings.

The epistle for 1835 bears traces of characteristically evangelical language, but such language can also be found scattered through the pages of the 1765 edition of Barclay's *Apology* and the epistle's insistence on the light of the Spirit of Christ as leading to a living faith, the assurance that the basic principles of the Society remained intact, highlights the dilemma in which the authors of this epistle found themselves. The epistle sent forth in 1836 contains the following passage:-

The declarations contained in them [the Scripture] rest on the authority of God himself, and there can be no appeal from them to any other authority whatsoever ... whatsoever any man says or does which is contrary to the Scriptures, though under the immediate guidance of the Spirit, must be reckoned and accounted a mere delusion.

This seminal epistle could be seen as a clear victory for the evangelical wing and it was no doubt influenced by the *Beacon Controversy*, but if it was a triumph it was short-lived, as subsequent epistles will show. The epistle issued in 1838, while accepting the testimony of the Scriptures, asserts that:-

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we therefore feel that it would be on our part a dereliction of duty, an abandonment of an open testimony to the power and all-sufficiency of the Holy Spirit, to countenance any change in the simplicity, which has uniformly existed, of holding our meetings for worship.

Perhaps a reference to Luke Howard and his Bible! We have here perhaps the first indication of a disavowal of the practice of Bible reading and hymn singing which grew up in some meetings for worship.

In 1839 the epistle reminded Friends of the reliance their fore-fathers placed on the 'continued influence of the Holy Spirit' and denounced any departure from the practice of early Friends as evil. The epistle looked back to the concept of Friends as a 'peculiar people', destined to be a source of light to the established church, a 'city set upon a hill, which cannot be hid', and the necessity that they should be faithful to the charge laid upon them.

In 1840 an extract from the epistle speaks of -

our sense of the spiritual character of the reign of Christ, and of the inadequacy of these forms [church ritual] to satisfy the soul, and we continue to feel ourselves conscientiously restrained from uniting in any of those modes of worship which others think it right to adopt ... In the experience of past and present times it has been felt, and we believe by the waiting soul it continues to be felt in our meetings for Divine worship, whether in time of silence, or under the exercise of ministry, or vocal offering in prayer, thanksgiving and praise, that the words of the apostle are applicable: we are those who "worship God in the spirit, and rejoice in Jesus Christ, and have no confidence in the flesh" (Phil. iii:3)

In 1842 a reference reminiscent of George Fox is made to the apostasy of the church and the light given to early Friends, the true heirs of the Reformation, and in these recurring references in the epistles to the roots of Quakerism can be seen the urgent desire of the leaders of the Society to find a way forward between the Scylla and Charybdis of Quietism and evangelicalism in a return to the faith of their forefathers. In 1843 the epistle exhorts Friends:-

constantly to remember, that exalted as the standard is which is set before us, Christ hath left us an example that we should follow in his steps ... we believe it to have been given to us to uphold Christianity in its primitive purity ...

In 1845 great emphasis is laid upon the Quaker 'peculiarities' of simplicity in speech, dress and manner of life, reaching back into the teaching of George Fox and which had been valid since the beginning of the Society and this epistle also hints at the Society's inner tension:-

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We think that with a right sense of the inestimable value of religious truth no truly conscientious man could join in supporting rules and practices which he believes contrary to the law of Christ, and the spirit of his religion ...

While in 1846 the epistle, despite the slightly evangelical colour of some of its language, refers to early Friends with approval:-

It was to this experimental knowledge of Christ that our early predecessors were engaged to gather all men, that they might really know their bodies to be prepared, sanctified, and made fit temples for him to dwell in. By one Spirit they were baptized into one body; and, rooted and grounded in love, they were, through the help of their Lord, united one to another in upholding an open and decided testimony to the Gospel in its primitive purity.

In 1847 Friends felt themselves, in relation to early Friends, 'encompassed with a cloud of witnesses', whose example should quicken their souls to a more fervent zeal. They were concerned that as a religious Society they did not live up to their calling and that through the help of the Holy Spirit they should be enabled to be a source of peace and usefulness among mankind. In 1849 the ground of the Society's testimony and worship is described as a belief in the immediate teaching of the Holy Spirit, which inspired early Friends, in the gathering of the Society, to bear testimony to Christ as 'their Redeemer, and Mediator, as their Prophet, Priest and King', language unacceptable to either the Quietist or evangelical wing of the Society.

In 1850 the work of the Spirit is described as an 'inward work' often gradual in its progress, to be waited for and sought in prayer. The Scriptures, recognized as invaluable and precious, are described as a revelation of the will of God, to be accepted in the simplicity of faith, to be studied under 'the enlightening influence of the Holy Spirit', by which they may be opened (as they were to George Fox). The phrase 'to be accepted in the simplicity of faith' is interesting and foreshadows the Society's later reaction to nineteenth century biblical criticism.

In 1852 the epistle affirms that 'it is only as the heart is, in very truth, quickened by the Spirit of the Lord, that any can be made truly alive unto God through Jesus Christ,' while that for 1854 contains the following message:-

It is only they who are washed, who are sanctified, who are justified, in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God, who can enjoy the unspeakable privilege of membership of this spiritual Israel. No rite, no outward membership in any church can suffice to make us children of Abraham. There must be circumcision of the heart, the putting off of the old man which is corrupt ... and the putting on of the new man which, after God, is created in righteousness and true holiness ...

The thought in this passage goes straight back to George Fox, in pages 76 and 77 of the 1871 edition of his *Journal* and also to Proposition VII of the *Apology* (p.181 of the 1765 edition). In its closing sentences it raises several questions, among them the extent to which early Friends identified themselves with the Jewish roots of christianity and also the problem of justification.

The phrase in question is based on Ephesians 4: 22-23 and Fox's words - "the putting on of the new man, which, after God, is created in righteousness and true holiness" - rest on the theological concept of justification articulated by Luther, in the dictum that righteous deeds can only be performed by the man who has achieved righteousness, in opposition to the Aristotelian concept of righteous deeds producing righteousness. God creates the new man *ex nihilo*; the old man, whose sin has reduced him to the state of nothingness implicit in a non-relationship with God, is destroyed and the new man is born by the grace of God, in "righteousness and true holiness", capable of performing righteous deeds and justified in the sight of God. Justification, therefore, is an act of God and although it may issue in good works they cannot be its cause. This was the position held by Robert Barclay:-

Thus then, as I may say, the former Cause of Justification is not the works ... they being but an Effect of It ... ²

This was the position held by Friends; there is no reference in the epistles before 1870 to good works, although they are thereafter enjoined as a Christian duty and obligation.

A further pointer to the preoccupation of the majority of Friends with the beliefs and practices which characterized the early years of the Society is the extent to which the writings of early Friends were republished in this period. In 1851, after a lapse of nearly 200 years, a memoir to Edward Burrough, *A Faithful Servant of Christ and Minister of the Gospel*, was reprinted, a memoir of John Camm was reprinted in Philadelphia in 1841, *Some Account of the Exercises of Francis Howgill* in 1842 and James Nayler's *A Candle lighted to give the sight of the Good old way* was reprinted in 1840 without his name. *The Works of Isaac Pennington* were reissued in four volumes between 1861 and 1865 and *Primitive Christianity revived* by William Penn was republished in Philadelphia in 1857.

In 1864 the epistle contained the following statement, reflecting orthodox Quakerism in the teaching of early Friends:-

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Having, as a religious Society, maintained, from the first, our belief in the reality of the continued immediate presence of Christ in the church, we recur with thankfulness to our no less constant acceptance of the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, as the authentic record of the Spirit in past ages, divinely preserved as “the great record of truth” (William Penn); “able”, now, as ever, “to make us wise unto salvation through faith which is in Jesus Christ” (2 Tim. 3:15).

The great end of the Old Testament Scriptures, like the word of the Spirit which inspired them, is to testify to Christ ... Receiving their authority from the inspiration of Him “with whom there is no variableness”; the works of the Spirit, as truly submitted to, will ever be found to prepare and incline the heart to receive their teaching. In proportion as any become taught of God, “rooted and built up in” Christ, “and stabilized in the faith”, in that proportion will the Scriptures become precious to them, and be made efficacious for the ends for which they were given.

Throughout the 1860s the epistles continued to dwell on the theme of the role of the Holy Spirit in the interpretation of the Scriptures, but in 1859 an anonymous Friend instituted an essay competition on the state of the Society. It was won by John Stephenson Rowntree, the son of Joseph Rowntree and an active younger Friend, with an essay entitled *Quakerism Past and Present*. This essay took as its point of departure the view that the Society’s ills stemmed from its adherence to the teaching of early Friends and was deeply critical of their denigration of the part the intellect could play in the religious life, of their emphasis on the spiritual significance of Christ at the expense of his outward appearance as Jesus of Nazareth, of their extreme condemnation of the sacraments and ritual and of their view of the arts as a means merely of perverse sensual delight, a view which had failed to make Quakerism acceptable to those whose response to the divine was emotional rather than intellectual. The fact that Rowntree thought it necessary to take this line is a clear indication of the extent to which the beliefs and practices of early Friends were espoused by some sections of the Society.

The mixed reception which the essay received reflected the division within the Society. The favourable review in *The Friend* for 1 January 1860 expressed the desire that the Society might go forward unhampered by the testing of faith by reference to the views of individual Friends and the author proposed a ban on the publication of all works by Friends, ancient and modern, including those of Fox, Barclay, Penn, Joseph John Gurney and other later writers, a catholic sweep of the board. The author of this review went even further than Rowntree in condemning the views of early Friends, who in his opinion presented a picture of Jesus at variance with the simple truths of Holy Scripture. The *British Friend* of 1 February 1860, hinting at the

evangelical sympathies of the adjudicators, was, as might be expected, deeply critical of Rowntree's essay. The author of the review firmly maintained the position of the founders of Quakerism and regarded any decline in membership of the Society as due to a lack of conviction as to its spiritual nature. If Friends were to fulfil their mission 'it can never be by departing from the original purity of the Christian profession, but by a faithful adherence to it' and he criticized the desire in some quarters for the introduction of Bible reading and hymn singing into meetings for worship.

One result of the tension existing at this time was the withdrawal of a small number of Friends, who had remained faithful to the Quietist tradition, from the main body of the Society and in 1863 they established themselves as an independent group at Fritchley, where they maintained a separate existence until 1967. But apart from this minor separation there was no open breach in the ranks of the Society and while in the 1870s the tone of the epistles gradually underwent a subtle change, the epistle for 1870 still contained the following passage:-

The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament are the authentic record of the revealed will of God, and of the purposes of his grace towards fallen man. They are they which testify of Jesus. With our predecessors, we accept this blessed testimony ... It is as the Gospel of the grace of God is received in faith, that it works to the saving of the soul; and this faith can only be wrought through the quickening operation of the Spirit of God. This work of the Spirit leads to a deeper knowledge of Jesus Christ and Him crucified, and to a more reverent subjection to his work and reign.

This affirmation of the place of the Spirit in the work of salvation is in complete accord with Proposition II of the *Apology*, which states that 'these Divine Revelations are not to be subjected to the Test, either of the outward Testimony of the Scriptures, or of the Natural Reason of Man,'³ and in 1872 strictures on the use of reason in relation to religious faith open with words strongly reminiscent of Deuteronomy 6:4 - "The Lord our God is one Lord". Why was this particular text used? Deuteronomy goes on to enjoin the "Love of the Lord your God" upon the Israelites and this could perhaps be seen as an attempt to affirm unity within a religious group threatened with fragmentation. Quaker language, both of this and earlier periods, contains much Old Testament usage; there are references to Zion and to Quaker women ministers as 'mothers in Israel' and there was strong identification with the Israelites as a people chosen by God, but it would be a mistake to see the quotation from Deuteronomy as an attack on trinitarian doctrine, about

which Barclay has nothing to say.

The 1872 epistle continues in a way which once again hints at the unease caused by nineteenth century biblical criticism:-

it becomes us reverently to watch, that, in our meditations upon Him, we in no way attempt to limit his infinite perfections by our own reasonings, or permit ourselves to dwell upon any one of his attributes to the exclusion of others ...

The epistle also contains a condemnation of 'amusements' which became a feature of the religious thought of the 1870s and the early 1880s. The Christian is enjoined:-

to abstain from costly and worldly amusements; and as his inducements to large expenditure are thereby diminished, it becomes his religious duty to keep down accumulation by a course of wise and large hearted benevolence ...

John Stephenson Rowntree's Essay, liberal in its view for its time, may have temporarily ruffled the surface of the Society but it failed to stir its depths. There was in earlier tendencies towards evangelicalism, as for example in the baptism of Maria Hack in 1837, a sense of peace, of gentle spiritual reassurance, but the epistles of the 1870s move steadily towards the austere and earnest piety of late Victorian England. The Quaker no longer walked cheerfully over the world, answering that of God in every one. He was obsessed with a sense of sin and guilt, of the utter corruption of mankind in the Fall, whose only hope lay in the salvation offered through Jesus Christ and everlasting bliss in the kingdom of God in the life to come.

How is it possible to account for this apparent triumph of rigid, judgemental evangelicalism? The 1860s and 1870s were years which saw not only the outbreak of war in America but also conflict between two major European powers in the Franco-Prussian War of the early 1870s, closely followed by the Russo-Turkish War. In 1872 the authors of the epistle wrote as follows:-

Our attention has been again directed to the enormous evil attending the spirit and practice of war ... Scarcely have two of the principal nations of Europe emerged from one of the most awful conflicts of modern times, than we see them again arming, in seeming preparation for fresh struggles ...

and in 1877 this was followed by a further denunciation of all war as:-

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inconsistent with the spirit of his Gospel ... [and] it is with feelings of distress, mingled with solemn awe, that we mark the commencement of the conflict now raging between the widely extended empires of Russia and Turkey.

To the Quaker, to whom the whole life and teaching of Jesus was a continued testimony against war, the horror expressed in these epistles at the total renunciation of the Gospel hope may perhaps account for that of 1874, which asserts that the world is a place of horror and wickedness, from which he stands apart. The epistle for 1873 contains the words:-

The true Christian is not of this world. His life is a continued warfare, calling for constant vigilance against the wiles of his unwearied enemy [the Devil] ...

and in 1874:-

We are called upon to testify that we are not our own, and to realise the fulfilment of the Saviour's words, "They are not of the world, even as I am not of the world" [John 17:16].

In these words Jesus commends his disciples to the care of his Father and we see here the close identification which early Quakers felt with the apostles and the first Christians, carried forward into nineteenth century conservative Quaker thought.

But during the 1870s a situation had arisen in Manchester, home of the Beacon Controversy, which may throw additional light on the Society's preoccupations during this period, and for information relating to what is known as the 'Manchester Difficulty' I am indebted to the recent research of Professor Tom Kennedy. ⁴

In 1861 David Duncan, a Scotsman who became a Quaker by conviction, was invited to lecture to the Manchester Friends Institute. He took as his subject a series of essays and reviews, written by seven Broad-Church Anglicans, insisting that the bible, in the light of modern scientific and historical discoveries, should be treated like any other book written by human beings. Duncan felt that 'these so-called "seven against Christ" had been unfairly judged and determined to use the Friends Institute as a forum for putting the questions they raised into proper perspective' (Kennedy). The evangelically biased *The Friend* barely took notice of Duncan's lecture; the *British Friend* the 'sounding board of traditional Quakerism' (Kennedy) found nothing in the lecture to criticize and much that met with approbation. The attitude of *The Friend* reflected the current attitude of the Society towards biblical

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criticism and three decades were to pass before the Society could accept the more liberal view and open its mind to, and accept, the full implications of such criticism.

The controversy over David Duncan's lecture rumbled on in Manchester into the 1870s and rippled through the Society to such an extent that in the epistle for 1879 it was felt necessary to re-affirm the evangelical view of the Bible as the premier source of the revelation of religious truth and it is perhaps in this unease, so close to the heart of the Society's belief, rather than in the contemplation of conflict abroad, that the bleak insistence on sin and depravity of the epistles of the 1870s have their roots. In 1879 the Society stated its position as follows:-

We have ever accepted the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament as the authentic record of the truth of God, given by his inspiration and able to make us "wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Jesus Christ" (2 Tim.iii: 15) ... To the Christian the Old Testament comes with the solemn and repeated attestation of his Love ... The great Inspirer of Scripture is ever its true Interpreter.

All these epistles reflect the Quaker sense of destiny as a 'peculiar people, chosen by God', and exhibit a high moral tone in keeping with the spirit of the age. There is emphasis on 'mission' and 'good works' as a Christian obligation and duty. But the final triumph of the kind of evangelicalism described by Rufus Jones reinforced a way of life in which the intellect as applied to religion was rejected, the aesthetic spirit which gives grace to life was stifled and all the rich variety of gifts with which mankind is endowed were confined within the denying ordinance of a rigid and narrow understanding of all that religious faith can give to the human spirit.

The work of the Holy Spirit was not completely lost sight of. It was referred to occasionally, but with a subtle shift of emphasis as to its purpose. Whereas to earlier Quakers it had represented the illumination of their whole lives and ministry, in 1894 it comes to have a narrower understanding, being almost completely confined as follows:- 'It is the work of the Holy Spirit of God to convince us of sin; to show us our need of a Saviour to free us from its guilt and bondage.'

But the century had not finished with Quakers. As the epistles move through the 1880s they reveal the Society forced at least to face the twin problems of evolutionary theory and the development of biblical criticism. If the Bible was not in its entirety the revealed word of God, where did religious belief stand? The leaders of the Society continued to close their minds and in 1879 affirmed their position as follows:-

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To the Christian the Old Testament comes with the solemn and repeated attestation of his Lord ... The great Inspirer of Scripture is still its true Interpreter ... Such a knowledge as this is still the true antidote to that speculative unbelief which under the character, it may be, of "advanced science" or "higher culture", pervades so much of the popular reading of the present day. For the Truth there is nothing to fear; it is safe in the keeping of God.

In 1884 the epistle contained the following passage:-

there is another and very different danger to which some are exposed at the present day. Weary with speculation and longing for rest, men think the mysteries, by which they are surrounded, impenetrable. ... Christianity has claims which they would not deny, but which they decline to admit ... The Bible has not created these problems, but it offers for our acceptance the one solution in which believers have, in all ages, found peace and consolation. That solution is not presented in the form of mere theory, but in a series of facts which are imbedded in the history of the world. These facts cannot be set aside by declining to grapple with them. The character of the Holy Redeemer, as portrayed in the pages of the Evangelists, is one impossible to have been conceived by man's unaided thought. The portrait proves its original divine; and it is vain to think of being neutral in such a presence.

and in 1888:-

As a church gathered under the presidency of our one crucified Redeemer ... we dare not disclaim any portion of those testimonies which are set forth in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, as to his person, work and reign ... as a church we have ever accepted these testimonies in their plain and obvious meaning ...

It took ten more years for the Society to open its mind to biblical scholarship and to a vindication of the intellect which would have been approved by John Stephenson Rowntree. An extract from the epistle for 1898 reads as follows:-

We rejoice at the increased attention which is being given amongst us to the careful and thoughtful study of Holy Scripture. The Book and its story must ever be a profoundly interesting theme, even in respect of the literary form and historical development of that Divinely inspired library which is the Bible. We accept with reverent thanksgiving every fresh light thrown by modern investigation and discovery upon the sacred pages which record how "men spake from God, being moved by the Holy Ghost"; we would lovingly remind all those who have entered upon this research, that, valuable as is the intellectual study of Scripture, the truth which it contains will only be fruitful, as regards the heart and life of the student, in so far as he yields himself to the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

In this extract there can clearly be seen the shift away from the evangelical emphasis on the absolute authority of the Scriptures to an acceptance of the view that historical criticism, the use of reason, may throw new light on the truths which they contain, but which can only be truly understood by the work of the Holy Spirit in the heart of man. The evangelical position, for so long a cause of spiritual conflict and distress, has finally been abandoned, to give place to the supremacy of the Holy Spirit, not conceived in precisely the same way in which it was held by early Friends, but as the Light by which the outcome of historical research may be judged and accepted.

To the epistles of the 1890s also belongs a movement of thought away from the obsession with sin and guilt, the depravity of man before God in a judgemental concept of the relationship of man with the Divine, to a rediscovery of the freedom of the human spirit in the concept of the love of God for his creation. Love had no place in the dark period of the 1870s; duty and obligation were the key words which inspired good works. But in the acceptance of the love of God, as opposed to his judgment, there lies the corollary of love for one's fellow, a more hopeful view of the world and the inspiration of all true service.

It is more than likely that this shift in thought, the freer, easier tenor of the epistle for 1898 owes much to the influence of younger, intellectually gifted Friends such as John Wilhelm Rowntree, Silvanus P. Thompson and Edward Grubb, all active participants in the 1895 Manchester Conference. The final admission that intellectual exploration, even in matters concerning religion, was valid, together with freedom from the burden of guilt inherent in evangelicalism, led inevitably to the death of the movement, with all that this implied for the easing of tension within the Society. The *British Friend* ceased publication in 1913; in the liberal climate of the opening years of the twentieth century its role had disappeared. In the event, the kind of evangelicalism outlined by Rufus Jones at the beginning of this essay had a comparatively brief flowering, if indeed so grim a view of religion may be said to flower at all.

Mollie Grubb

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- ¹ Jones, Rufus: *Later Periods of Quakerism*, 276.
- ² Barclay, Robert: *Apology*, 1765 ed. Prop. VII, 172.
- ³ *Ibid*: Prop. II, 4.
- ⁴ See also Roger C Wilson: *Manchester, Manchester and Manchester Again*, Friends Historical Society, Occasional Series No. 1, 1990.

THE QUAKER INTERNATIONAL CENTRE IN BERLIN, 1920-1942

The date was April 1917, the place Skipton-in-Craven and the occasion the annual Easter gathering of northern Friends. It was at this meeting that Carl Heath first gave expression to his belief in an active role for Friends in carrying 'the message of the Universal Christ and the humane and democratic spirit to every part of the new Europe that will arise out of the destruction of the old'¹. An integral part of these proposals was the establishment in every European capital of a 'Quaker embassy', later defined by Carl Heath as "centres of mission, service, study and interchange... setting forth anew the way of reconciliation"². The idea and the opportunity captured the imagination of Friends and within two years had been formally endorsed by Friends both in Britain and in Ireland. A Council for International Service was set up in 1918 with Carl Heath as General Secretary with the object of linking up all existing Quaker work abroad and setting up Quaker embassies³. One such embassy was established early in 1920 in Berlin initially in cramped quarters in the Mohrenstrasse.

As in the case of plans for post-war reconstruction formulated during the Second World War, however, the vision of post-war opportunities for Quaker international service in Europe conjured up during the closing months of the First proved in many respects to be unrealistic in the face of actual circumstances. Already by April 1920 the field workers in Berlin had abandoned the description 'Quaker embassies' in favour of the more general title 'Quaker International Centres' which, by January 1922, had been accepted by Carl Heath and had become the accepted orthodoxy⁴. It was the international structure of these centres that gave them their distinctive character, a feature preserved in Berlin throughout the inter-war years. But the actual role played was deeply influenced by external circumstances and in some degree by the experience and insights of the Friends who worked in them.

The circumstances which most deeply affected the work of the Berlin Centre in its early years were the near famine conditions prevailing in Germany resulting from the war and sustained by blockade and inflation. Inevitably the Centre's preoccupation with feeding and medical programmes claimed precedence over other activities. The main relief effort was administered by the American Friends Service Committee using funds made available by the United States

Government through the American Relief Administration⁵, but owing to official American sponsorship, this programme had to be carried out separately from the relief work of British Friends. A separate and limited child feeding scheme based on the schools was organised by British Friends in Cologne in December 1920. In 1921 a preventive campaign against tuberculosis, which had spread alarmingly during the war, was organised from the Quaker office in the Behrenstrasse and extended to six other centres. The basis of this effort to contain the spread of tuberculosis was the distribution of certain essential foodstuffs, clothing and articles of personal hygiene⁶. Friends also instituted a student feeding scheme in May 1920 in premises in the Breitstrasse in co-operation with Dr. Reinhold Schairer, the head of the economics department of the Studentenschaft. Similar feeding schemes were also set up in other German universities, but in 1921 the responsibility was taken over by their World Student Christian Federation except in Berlin and Tübingen, where Friends remained in charge in conjunction with the Studentenschaft and its rival the Studentendienst⁷.

The Berlin Centre also handled food parcels from London and Melbourne sent by individual Friends to individuals in Germany, though this work proved a distraction from work on more generalized relief programmes for categories in special need⁸. In March 1923 substantial consignments of clothing, potatoes, vegetables and rye were received from Holland and arrangements for distribution in children's homes, orphanages, night shelters and welfare centres were made by the Berlin office⁹. Towards the end of 1921 news came in of the famine conditions in Russia and a letter was sent to the papers appealing for help. The result was the establishment of the 'Russenhilfe der deutschen Freunde der Quäker'. In February 1923, however, the maintenance of this programme proved impracticable and was reluctantly abandoned.¹⁰ While the child feeding programme as a Quaker responsibility was brought to an end in April 1925, there remained certain residual obligations, such as relief for Russian refugees.¹¹ The Centre also served as intermediary in a variety of other ventures. In February 1923 John Percy Fletcher reported on a Danish plan for the reception of German children in Danish families, a scheme subsequently administered by the Danish Red Cross.¹² Under a similar scheme children were received into families in Holland for periods of recuperation of two or three months.¹³

But relief operations, however demanding in time and energy, did not wholly absorb the attention of Friends at the Centre. Soon after its

establishment in 1920 the Centre was busy responding to callers and enquirers interested in knowing more about the Society of Friends and Quaker beliefs. A literature department was established initially in the charge of Corder Catchpool for the distribution of books and pamphlets on Quakerism and for translation and publication.¹⁴ Articles were written for placement in national and provincial papers.¹⁵ Workers from the Centre made widespread contacts among many sections of society, with peace organisations, which proliferated in the early post-war years, and with youth organisations, student clubs and religious groups. One colleague from the Centre worked at a social settlement in East Berlin founded by Friedrich Siegmund-Schulze in 1911 and help was also given in the establishment of a residential offshoot of the settlement at Wilhelmshagen in the outer suburbs.¹⁶

Several notable religious thinkers, such as Rudolf Otto (whose book 'Das Heilige' was translated into English by the Quaker philosopher John Harvey), Rudolf Bultmann, Emil Brunner and Martin Buber, came into close contact with Friends largely through the initiative of Joan Mary Fry and in some cases participated with Friends in conferences of various kinds during this period.¹⁷

Other close contacts were made with Alfons Paquet, playwright and *feuilleton* editor of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, and with Gerhard von Schultze-Gävernitz, author of the 1930 Swarthmore Lecture.¹⁸ Both later become members of the Society.

With the spread of knowledge about Quaker thought and beliefs through literature, meetings and personal encounters, it was inevitable that the question of membership should arise. In many cases interest in Quaker thought was the result of pre-war contacts through residence in England and friendships with individual Friends. After the establishment of the Council for International Service in 1918 responsibility for admission to membership of persons abroad was vested in the Council and a number of applications were received by the Council in the early post-war period. As the procedure involved personal interviews with applicants, the task of arranging interviews and making recommendations fell to the Berlin Centre and was undertaken initially by Gertrude Giles and later by Elisa Behrend.¹⁹ On the whole this work appears to have been marked by a certain caution and reflected a feeling in the early years that Quakerism in Germany should be regarded as a movement within the existing churches rather than a sect in its own right. This point of view was given credence by the emergence of a substantial group of people who were not members, but regarded themselves as friends of the Friends.²⁰ An office called the *Mittelstelle*

für Quäkerarbeit in Deutschland, opened by Dr. Elisabeth Rotten, a Swiss Jewess who did not herself apply for membership until many years later, catered for the needs of such people.²¹ On 1st February, 1922, the Mittelstelle moved into the same premises at Behrenstrasse 26a into which the Centre had moved in the previous month and on 16-17 December 1922 a conference on the position of Quakerism in Germany was arranged jointly by the Centre and the Mittelstelle and was attended by 40 people. It was decided that the Mittelstelle should send out regular information to various groups and individuals, should arrange visits and organize occasional lectures leading to district conferences and an annual conference.²² An immediate outcome was a series of eight conferences held respectively at Leipzig (Jan. 6-7), Eisenach (Jan. 13-14), Kassel (Jan. 17-18), Barmen Elberfeld (Jan. 20-21), Frankfurt-am-Main (Jan. 27-28), Stuttgart (Feb. 17-18), Fürth/Nürnberg (Feb. 23-25) and Berlin (Mar. 10-11). These and later conferences appear to have been the joint work of the Centre and the Mittelstelle, but it is not possible to establish the respective roles of the two bodies.²³

Members of the Berlin Centre visited Friends and others in various parts of Germany and also called periodical field committees consisting of Friends working in different towns and at the Quaker centres in Frankfurt, Nürnberg and Dresden. Although the Berlin Centre had in practice little operational responsibility for the work undertaken by these scattered Friends, it was regarded by the home committees as their headquarters for Germany with a broad responsibility for the welfare of the workers. In January 1922 the work of the Berlin Centre was seen as consisting of the translation and publication of Quaker pamphlets and the distribution of books and pamphlets on Quakerism and subjects helpful in the dissemination of Quaker principles; the answering of letters of enquiry about Quakerism; the summoning of periodical meetings of the field committee; the tuberculosis relief programme; the student feeding centre at the Breitestrasse premises and the associated student club; the distribution of personal food parcels; correspondence with the German authorities; the work of making widespread contacts and learning about the outlook of Germans and their cultural institutions; and dealing with the applications for membership.²⁴

But the role of the Centre was changing. Already in 1922 the words 'aus England und Amerika - Kommission für Deutschland' were omitted from the Centre's letter-heading under the words 'Religiöse Gesellschaft der Freunde' as seeming to have one-sided and missionary implications.²⁵ The Centre had already become a truly international enterprise and by the end of 1922 the Centre Committee included three

German Friends. More fundamental changes were provoked by the ending of the Quaker child-feeding programme in April 1925 and by the decision taken at a meeting of German Friends in Eisenach on 22 July 1925 to form an independent Germany Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends.²⁶ These changes in the environment in which the Centre operated were considered at meetings in Berlin, London and Philadelphia.

Carl Heath drew a distinction between functions rightly handled by the local Society of Friends and functions proper to the International Secretariat. These he described as 'a co-operation of nationalities for specific purposes, namely, the representation as truly as possible of the international life of men as seen from the standpoint of what we conceive the Christian religion to be...'. The functions proper to Germany Yearly Meeting he saw as lying mainly in the field of ministry, 'the local spiritual service of groups', while the International Centre he visualised as concerned with 'such things as the Danzig conference, or the study and action upon minorities questions, or the international club in Berlin, or the problem of the Quäkerverlag'.²⁷ Thomas Kelly, writing from Berlin to Philadelphia, conceived of a Centre as providing a base for the American Friends Service Committee and the German Friends. The staff would be 'in touch with all kinds of persons and movements', would travel in connection with such contacts to all parts of Germany and would respond to invitations to speak or lecture. The Centre would also maintain the Student Club, undertake publicity both in German for local consumption and in English for publication in the home countries and maintain an interest in the Folk High School movement. The Centre would offer services to short-term visitors travelling under concern and would provide a focus for foreign Friends employed at German universities maintaining contact with student life.²⁸

In April 1924 the 26 groups of Friends in various parts of Germany were loosely associated in the Bund deutscher Freunde with Heinrich Becker as secretary, which took over the functions of Elisabeth Rotten's Mittelstelle. At a meeting of German Friends at Eisenach on 22 July, 1925 the decision was taken to form a German Yearly Meeting as an independent unit in the world family of Friends. It was also decided, with the full agreement of Thomas Kelly, to remove the focal point of the new Yearly Meeting from Berlin to the historic Quaker centre of Bad Pyrmont.²⁹ The Quäkerverlag was transferred to Leipzig in charge of Heinrich Becker³⁰ and from 1933 of Leonhard Friedrich, who moved the office to Bad Pyrmont in the following year. Meanwhile, the

capacious offices at Dorotheenstrasse 2 were closed on 8 December 1924 and the employment of Ernst Lorenz, Elisabeth Rotten and Elisa Behrend at the Centre came to an end.³¹ The Centre was reopened in more modest premises at Prinz-Louis-Ferdinandstrasse 5. Apart from the Centre, the new premises provided accommodation for Berlin Friends for meetings for worship and other gatherings and for the Student Club, which continued to meet after the ending of the student feeding programme.³² Hitherto, the Centre had been managed by a Centre Committee involving all the principal workers, but with the establishment of Germany Yearly Meeting management was entrusted to an International Secretariat consisting of one representative each from the American Friends Service Committee, the Council for International Service in London and Germany Yearly Meeting.

Work with students had always been regarded by Friends as having special importance, not only because of the destitution prevailing among students in the early days, but also on account of their critical importance as potential leaders. In a letter to Carl Heath in November 1922, Joan Mary Fry wrote that 'the student situation is very complicated and very serious. The forces telling for reaction and militarism are naturally reinforced almost every day by the financial distress and it would be foolish to shut our eyes to the possibility that the supervision of student feeding may fall into the hands of reactionaries, when it would necessarily be directed on political lines'.³⁴ Students in those days included older men who had been to the front and had postponed their studies until the end of the war and numbers were inflated by widespread unemployment and a desperate search for higher qualifications acceptable in the labour market. These circumstances together with the humiliations suffered by Germany in the aftermath of the Treaty of Versailles contributed to the widespread radicalisation of a whole generation of students, which had dire consequences in the Nazi period.

The work of the Centre after the move to the new offices was largely concerned with international relations. Gilbert MacMaster had a special concern for the pockets of Germans who, as a result of the Treaty, now lived as minorities in neighbouring countries, in some cases under difficult conditions, providing a continuing excuse for irredentist ambitions. This concern led him to make numerous visits to Poland, the Baltic States, Czechoslovakia, Italy and France and to attend most of the Minorities Conferences under the League of Nations that were a feature of political endeavour at this time.³⁵ Joint conferences were organised by the Centre for the examination of border problems and other

questions of common concern. A Franco-German Conference was followed by Polish-German meetings.³⁶ Arrangements for a German-Danish Conference were called off when a new Prussian law on education provided for language rights in Danish in North Schleswig.³⁷ The staff of the Centre also maintained close contacts with peace movements within Germany and attended some of their gatherings. At the first Yearly Meeting of German Friends held at Sonnenfeld in April 1926 the desire of Yearly Meeting to take an active part in the international work of the Centre was affirmed.³⁸

Meantime the Student Club continued to be an important concern of the Centre at first in the hands of Anna L. Curtis and from March 1926 of Bertha Bracey.³⁹ The club continued to meet until 1935, when it was closed in view of the political situation. The Centre continued to provide services for visiting Friends and gave help and advice on request to other organisations concerned with contacts between Britain and Germany, such as the Wayfarer's Travel Association and the Holiday Fellowship Association, with both of which Friends had at some time been associated.⁴⁰ Beyond these specific tasks the Centre continued an administrative role and the maintenance of necessary financial records. Finance for the centres at Frankfurt am Main, Nürnberg and Dresden was routed through the Berlin Centre.

After Easter 1931 Corder and Gwen Catchpool returned to the Centre. Their first preoccupation was with the continuation of the work for reconciliation and in 1932 Corder visited France with a German Friend, Gerhard Halle, who as an officer during the Great War had been responsible for implementing a scorched earth policy in the Pas-de-Calais during the German retreat and wished to express his horror and remorse before audiences in the area devastated.⁴¹ But such activities came to an end with the accession of Hitler to power in January 1933. Corder was briefly detained by the GESTAPO on charges of subversion. After this his efforts were devoted to an endeavour to understand the motives that underlay the Nazi revolution and seemed to be attracting the loyalty and support of so many. At the same time he responded to urgent appeals for help from the relatives of those imprisoned by the Nazis, necessitating in some cases visits to the GESTAPO. Together with William Hughes and Gilbert MacMaster he visited several concentration camps and in 1935 he paid a second visit to Esterwegen to see the well-known pacifist Carl von Ossietzky, the social democrat Ernst Heilmann and some others.⁴² Financial aid from a support group in Paris for Frau von Ossietzky, who was rendered destitute by her husband's imprisonment, was channelled through the Berlin Centre.⁴³

Inevitably the rough methods used by the new rulers towards their opponents created new and serious problems. Large numbers of Jews and persons considered unfriendly to the regime lost their jobs. The arbitrary imprisonment of communists and social democrats caused great fear and anguish and often resulted in severe economic problems for their families, while the first wave of persecution of the Jews in the form of a boycott of Jewish shops and premises in April 1933 contributed to the atmosphere of fear and alarm. Many despairing people turned to the Centre for help. In London the Quaker reaction was twofold. First, a German Emergency Committee was set up on 7 April 1933 to provide help for the refugees who began to pour into the country and, secondly, William Hughes was sent to Germany in October to investigate the situation and to give to those affected such help and moral support as lay within his powers. He was provided by Germany Emergency Committee with a modest fund of about £1,500 during the twenty months of his service in Germany in this capacity, with which he made small grants in special cases of need.⁴⁴

William Hughes did not use the Centre as his base and interviewed applicants in their homes, or in cafés. Some relief work, however, continued at the Centre. Corder Catchpool received monthly remittances of £20 from Friends Service Council, which he used to help non-aryans and others reaching the Centre. In addition, he received two grants of \$215 each from Clarence E. Pickett, the General Secretary of the American Friends Service Committee, which he employed almost entirely to support the work of other organisations and individuals active in providing relief for the victims of persecution. A letter to Clarence Pickett written from Switzerland gave details of the organisations in question and provided a picture of the relief facilities, other than those available to the members of the Jewish community, existing in July 1936, which, as Corder himself recorded, fell sadly short of the urgent needs then arising.⁴⁵

During this period Olga Halle was recruited to help at the Centre. On two occasions she was summoned by the GESTAPO to explain her attitude towards the Jews. With characteristic courage she affirmed her belief that all people of whatever colour or race were children of God.⁴⁶ Leonard Kenworthy, too, was interrogated by GESTAPO agents on more than one occasion during his service at the Centre in 1941-42.⁴⁷ Whether the survival of the Centre was a grudging recognition by the government of the services rendered by Friends in the aftermath of the Great War, or a desire to avoid needless foreign policy complications, or a reflexion of the small scale of relief work at the Centre, or a

combination of these causes, must remain a matter for speculation. It may well be that the brief arrest of Corder Catchpool and the interrogation of Olga Halle and Leonard Kenworthy were intended as warnings not to go too far.

In July 1935 Gilbert MacMaster received word from an acquaintance that 83 members of the German minority in Memelland, a strip of territory on the German border administered by Lithuania, had been sentenced to prison for treason by a court in Kovno and were suffering from bad prison conditions. One of the prisoners was reported to have died and another, whose life was considered to be in danger, was suffering from lung infection and was unable to get proper medical help.⁴⁸ At Gilbert MacMaster's suggestion, Corder went to Lithuania and managed, after much delay and difficulty, to visit the prisons. His report, made jointly with a representative of the Howard League for Penal Reform to the Lithuanian authorities, was followed by some amelioration in prison conditions. The prisoners were released in batches and by 1938 only six of the original defendants remained in prison. Corder saw this outcome not only from the point of view of the prisoners and their families, but also as a vindication of Friends' humanitarian values.⁴⁹

After the promulgation of the Nürnberg laws, which devastated the rights of Jews and robbed them of their German citizenship, the number of Jewish families deciding on emigration steadily increased. This worsening situation deteriorated dramatically on the night of 9-10 November 1938, when synagogues all over the country were set on fire, shop windows smashed, 91 Jews killed and over 30,000 removed to concentration camps. An immense 'fine' was imposed on the Jewish community in retribution, it was said, for the murder of an embassy official in Paris by a mentally unhinged Jew. Persons of Jewish race according to German law, that is, members of the Jewish community and persons of Jewish extraction, who had ceased to belong to the synagogue and become Christians, or had no religious affiliation, were all 'Jews' in the eyes of the government and equally in danger, as were to a lesser degree persons who were the product of mixed marriages. Those who had still hoped against hope that some kind of accommodation with the regime might still be possible, or retained some vestige of hope that the situation might improve with time, now turned to emigration as offering the only remaining way of escape.⁵⁰ For the moment the Jüdischer Hilfsverein, paralysed by the arrests, closed its doors and despairing and frightened people filled the courtyard outside the Quaker Centre. A few days later Philadelphia cabled to say

that 'ample funds' were available if relief work could be organised, while London sent Ben Greene for consultations on steps that might appropriately be taken in response to the emergency. The Centre had never been registered by the authorities for relief purposes and it was considered that no substantial scheme would be possible without government endorsement. Furthermore, the Centre, for which German Yearly Meeting shared responsibility, could scarcely undertake relief work on any scale without the full concurrence of German Friends. Those who were consulted, including Hans Albrecht, Gerhard and Olga Halle and Ewald Nass, were far from enthusiastic. In any case, the distancing of any relief operation from the Berlin Centre was seen to be necessary, though the suggestion that Cologne might be a convenient centre of operations was not looked upon with favour by Wilfrid Israel and other Jewish leaders.⁵¹

The next few days brought the reopening of the Jüdischer Hilfsverein and steps taken by Pastor Grüber of the Confessional Church. A meeting was called at the Centre of 29 November presided over by Pastor Grüber, which included pastors from many parts of Germany facing despairing appeals for help from their parishioners, Professor Rutgers and the Rev. Hylkema from the Comite voor Niet Arische Christen in Amsterdam, William Hughes and Joan Clapham from Friends Service Council in London, Laura Livingstone of the Anglican Church and Luise Lieftinck of the Amsterdam Centre of the Society of Friends. A number of decisions were taken with regard to the establishment of a central office to which non-aryan Christians might appeal for help with emigration and other concerns.⁵² The result was the opening by Pastor Grüber of an office at Oranienburgerstrasse 20 in December and a much larger office at An der Stechbahn 3-4 on 25 January 1939, to which all work on emigration was transferred.⁵³ The Centre took an active part in the negotiations with the established bodies concerned with the rescue and relief of non-aryan Christians, such as the Büro Livingstone and the Büro Spiero, and discussions took place as to the future case work role of the Centre.⁵⁴ It was arranged that Hertha Israel, a German Friend who had been helping in the work at the Centre, should be transferred to the Büro Grüber at An der Stechbahn and that in future the Centre should limit itself to the cases of persons without religious affiliation, the so-called 'dissidents' and any other cases lying outside the scope of the denominational organisations. Work on such cases at the Centre was entrusted mainly to Irmgard Wedemeyer, who continued in this role until the closure of the office in 1942.⁵⁵

Meantime, the Centre had been in touch with the *Comite voor Niet Arische Christen* in Amsterdam concerning a plan to provide refuge for non-aryan Christian children in Dutch families. The Centre also took part in the arrangements at the German end for the inclusion of the children of non-aryan Christian and 'dissident' families in transports to England that were being organised by the Movement for the Care of Children from Germany. It was arranged that the *Büro Grüber* should provide for the administration of such work at *Oranienburgerstrasse 20* under *Frau Dräger* and the Christian families helped in this way should include both protestants and catholics. The main responsibility for the physical movement of the children lay with the *Jüdischer Hilfsverein*.⁵⁶

Notwithstanding the pressure of work that fell on the Centre after the *Kristallnacht*, it still proved possible for members of the staff of the Centre to visit Friends in various parts of the country, some of whom were deeply involved in helping persons suffering from persecution and welcomed the chance for consultation.⁵⁷ The Centre drew up a list of some 22 Friends in different parts of Germany who were active in this work and with whom the Centre corresponded on administrative matters.⁵⁸

One member of the Secretariat made several visits to Ommen in Holland on behalf of the American Friends Service Committee, where a Quaker school had been set up to provide Jewish children with education denied to them in Germany. A visit was paid to the Vienna Centre in February 1939 partly for discussions on the relief programme.⁵⁹ In September 1938 came a visit to Prague in company with *Corder Catchpool* and *Clarence Pickett*, the General Secretary of the American Friends Service Committee, at the time of the Munich crisis, partly to assess the political situation and partly to visit Czech Friends at a time of great sadness and stress.⁶⁰ A further visit to Prague took place in February 1939. In the early summer of 1939 a member of the Secretariat visited Danzig with *Charles Roden Buxton*.⁶¹

Under an amendment to the *Reichsbürgergesetz* in June 1939, money was set aside by the government out of sums plundered from the Jews to finance emigration, welfare and children's schooling for Jews and non-aryans.⁶² The Centre was represented by *Frau Wedemeyer* on a committee charged with the use of these funds. There was also a Centre representation on a committee set up to deal with welfare problems among non-aryan families and also on the committee responsible for the inclusion of non-aryan children in the transports to England and Holland.⁶³

Thus by the middle of 1939 the various organisations had completed arrangements to deal, so far as circumstances allowed, with the formidable problems exacerbated by the German government in the previous November and by subsequent oppressive measures. In this work the Centre was to play a marginal part, while continuing in a supportive role of the work of rescue and relief as a whole. With the outbreak of the war the British member of the Secretariat withdrew and responsibility for the Centre fell to American and German Friends, notably Howard Elkinton, Elizabeth Shipley, who left finally early in 1940, Martha Roehn and Olga Halle. In 1940 the staff was strengthened by the arrival from America of Leonard Kenworthy. In 1941, with the entry of America into the war, he returned to the United States and the residual functions of the Centre lay in the devoted hands of German Friends. Olga Halle records that after Leonard Kenworthy's departure they succeeded in enabling but one child and one stateless Jew to emigrate safely through Lisbon, a sad reminder of the hideous fate that was overtaking what remained of the Jewish community at that time.⁶⁴ In July 1942 the work of the Centre came to a final end.

In retrospect it is clear that the original vision of a 'Quaker Embassy' was never realised. Nevertheless, in the cataclysmic years between the wars the Centre was able within its limitations to play a useful part. In the earlier years the relief programme and what was called message work occupied much of the time and thought of the Centre staff, while other activities, including international concerns, contacts with peace organisations and continuing support for the student club were also pursued during this period. When crisis struck in 1933, Elizabeth Fox Howard suggested to the International Secretariat at a meeting on 21 September 1933 that relief work, which had never been completely run down since the early post-war years, might again be expanded in response to the new emergency. But conditions were completely different from the early twenties and the idea met with unanimous disapproval from the four German Friends present at the meeting.⁶⁵ Any major co-operative Quaker relief scheme involving German and foreign personnel on the precedent of the child feeding programme would only have been possible with official blessing and it is unthinkable that such approval would have been forthcoming for a scheme targeted, at that stage, mainly at the government's political opponents and their families. Later, when the main objective of relief action was the succour of persons of non-aryan parentage, there emerged a certain tacit coincidence of aim between the government and the relief organisations. The government wanted to get rid of as many

Jews as possible and the relief bodies were trying to get them out. In these circumstances, the Büro Grüber of the Confessional Church and the Raphaelsverein of the Catholic Church gained explicit recognition as special branches of the government sponsored Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland.⁶⁶ Even so, however, it is extremely unlikely that the government would ever have tolerated a major role for an organisation sponsored by Friends in Britain or America. The continuing resistance of German Friends to any substantial commitment of the Centre to relief may be explained in part by their more acute sense of the true situation than prevailed in London or Philadelphia at that time.

But there were other considerations in the minds of at least some Friends that weighed in the scales against any substantial direct involvement in relief. In the first place, it was seen to be a diversion from the true purposes of the Centre as an instrument of contact between Friends in Germany, Britain and America and a source of information about Quaker beliefs. But some German Friends also felt that the child feeding programme, though it had brought unquestionable material benefits and conveyed a message of hope and concern, had nevertheless stamped 'the Quakers' in the minds of many as a charitable organisation, neglecting altogether its religious basis. It was feared that any renewed large-scale relief effort could reinforce such erroneous ideas at a time when the Germany Yearly Meeting was finding its feet in very difficult circumstances and establishing its rightful place in the religious life of the country.⁶⁷ Moreover, so far as German Friends were concerned, any major corporate relief programme in which they might be involved would run counter to the advice offered by the Executive Committee of the Yearly Meeting in April 1933, which included the following words: 'We urge all Members, with a full inward sense of responsibility and preparedness, to bear witness to and express this spirit of non-violence, friendship and service wherever they are brought face to face with spiritual or other needs. But we ask them to act with careful restraint and on their own responsibility and not to assume that they must act as Quakers, or could achieve more by acting in the name of Friends than on their own'.⁶⁸ Action in the face of suffering was to be a matter of individual conscience rather than corporate concern. Many Friends responded with the utmost courage to the call of conscience, in particular the 22 Friends in various parts of Germany, who looked to the Berlin Centre for information and guidance in the course of their work for the victims of persecution. In the circumstances of Hitler's Germany this steadfastness, so often unrecognized and

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unrecorded, upheld and fortified many in the hour of need.

J. Roger Carter

NOTES AND REFERENCES

A shorter account of the work of the Quaker Centre by Käte Tacke and Friedrich Huth appeared in 'Zeichen der Zeit, evangelische Monatsschrift für Mitarbeiter der Kirchen', 42. Jahrgang, November 1988, and also in *Der Quäker* for June and July 1989.

¹John Ormerod Greenwood, *Quaker Encounters* Vol. 3, 200-201.

²Greenwood, Vol. 3, 214-215. These words were said at a Jordans conference on Friends' activities abroad in September 1919.

³Greenwood, Vol. 3, 204.

⁴Greenwood, Vol. 3, 213.

⁵Greenwood, Vol. 1, 221-222.

⁶Greenwood, Vol. 1, 223.

⁷Greenwood, Vol. 1, 223-224.

⁸Greenwood, Vol. 1, 219.

⁹Ernst Lorenz to Carl Heath, 29-3-23: Minutes of the Berlin Centre Committee, 9-1-23.

¹⁰From a memorandum dated 19-12-21. It seems that the Berlin Meeting was also associated with this initiative, but no other information has come to light. The Minutes of the Field Committee of 14-2-23 record that the scheme was reluctantly abandoned and converted into 'Heimathilfe'. Possibly the severe deprivation caused by run-away inflation was the cause.

¹¹Henry Harris to Carl Heath, 4-9-24.

¹²John Percy Fletcher to Carl Heath, 8-2-23: also Ernst Lorenz to Carl Heath, 16-3-23 and John Percy Fletcher to Carl Heath, 20-3-23.

¹³Memorandum, Ernst Lorenz, 13-3-23: also Memorandum, Anna Lorenz, 10-4-23.

¹⁴William Hughes, 'Indomitable Friend', 57: also John Percy Fletcher to Carl Heath, 21-12-22.

¹⁵Draft letter to the *Frankfurter Zeitung* by Joan Mary Fry, 10-3-21. It ended with a description of the Quaker message as being 'not in a tiny ecclesiastical enclosure, fenced round with creeds, but out in the great wide world of God, where His law of love always works, when men will trust themselves to its upholding power, as the swimmer trusts himself to the upholding ocean'. An article by Martha Steinitz also appeared in the *Breslauer Volkswacht*.

¹⁶See 'Friedrich Siegmund-Schultze 1885-1969: Begleitbuch zu einer Ausstellung des Evangelischen Zentralarchivs in Berlin anlässlich seines 100. Geburtstags: Evangelisches Zentralarchiv, Berlin 1985, 5-6. Cecilia Garrett Smith worked at the settlement in East Berlin: see Council for International Service, 17-12-24.

¹⁷Greenwood: Vol. 3, 258-259.

¹⁸Gerhard von Schultze-Gävernitz worked with American Friends in the child feeding programme after the First World War. Before the war he resided for some time at Toynbee Hall settlement in London. There were several other Friends who had lived in England before the war, such as Emil Fuchs, who was minister at the German church in Manchester, and Elisa Behrend, who taught at Sheffield High School. See also Greenwood, Vol. 3, 257.

¹⁹Gertrude Giles to Carl Heath, 15-1-21: Elisa Behrend to Carl Heath, 4-4-23.

- ²⁰Elisa Behrend to Carl Heath, 4-4-23. 'We here, in our Centre, are however unanimous in the conviction that the time has not yet come for the formation of a German Society...': also Thomas Kelly to Wilbur Thomas, 4-12-24 '... that it is not good for the Quaker movement to crystallise too soon is extremely important. That fluid, liberal, forward-looking spiritual movement in which Quakerism here stands is far bigger and is found in thousands of people who have no membership with the Bund and who never have heard of the Friends of the Friends. There are many, many people who probably never would unite with an outward organisation, but who belong in spirit with this group. Certainly our task, as an international committee, is with this group...': see also Greenwood, Vol. 3, 264-271.
- ²¹Greenwood, Vol. 3, 266.
- ²²Report on a special conference held at the Centre on 16-17 December, 1922.
- ²³See reports of the Field Committee held on 14-2-23 and 13-3-23. These meetings appear to have been well attended. For instance, the attendance of a public meeting in Fürth was recorded to be 500 and at Nürnberg 350. A report on the Frankfurt conference is given in Elisa Behrend to Carl Heath of 2-2-23.
- ²⁴Minutes of the Field Committee held on 27-1-22.
- ²⁵Jane Bell to Carl Heath, 28-1-22: also Minutes of Field Committee held on 27-1-22.
- ²⁶Greenwood, Vol. 3, 270-271.
- ²⁷Carl Heath to Headley Horsnaill, 8-1-26.
- ²⁸Thomas Kelly to Wilbur Thomas, 22-12-24.
- ²⁹Thomas Kelly to Wilbur Thomas, 10-7-25 and 27-7-25.
- ³⁰Greenwood, Vol. 3, 271.
- ³¹Council for International Service, 31-12-24, minute 397.
- ³²Gilbert MacMaster to Wilbur Thomas, 27-11-25.
- ³³Thomas Kelly to Wilbur Thomas, 4-12-24: also Minutes of the International Secretariat 19-1-22.
- ³⁴Joan Mary Fry to Carl Heath, 10-11-22.
- ³⁵Thomas Kelly to Wilbur Thomas, 2-7-25, reporting on the third international conference of Friends held in Berlin on 27-28 June 1925. At this meeting the respective roles of foreign and German friends was discussed. Thomas Kelly detected a danger of paternalism on the part of the former. Reference was also made to the need for co-operation with German peace organisations: see also Thomas Kelly to Wilbur Thomas, 1-4-25, on the problem of dissatisfied German minorities on Germany's borders.
- ³⁶There are numerous references to the German-Polish conferences, of which at least three were held, in the minutes of the Council for International Service in 1926 and 1927. A report on the conference held on 12-13 February 1926 appears in the minutes of the International Secretariat held on 17 February 1926.
- ³⁷Minutes of the International Secretariat for 24-2-26.
- ³⁸Minutes of the International Secretariat for 13-8-26.
- ³⁹Bertha Bracey to Fred Tritton, 4-3-26. Bertha Bracey moved from Nürnberg to Berlin on 8-2-26.
- ⁴⁰The secretariat's offer of active co-operation with the Holiday Fellowship Association is noted in the minutes of the Council for International Service for 20-4-27: see also Greenwood, Vol. 3, note 66 on 379.
- ⁴¹See the account of this episode written by Gerhard Halle himself on 30-12-53. The enterprise appears to have been suggested by Corder Catchpool, but the impetus certainly came from Gerhard Halle's conscientious longing to seek forgiveness from

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those he had wronged. Another moving account appears in the diaries of André Trocmé, the French protestant pastor at Douai, who organised the tour.

⁴²William R. Hughes, *Indomitable Friend*, chapter 6, *passim*.

⁴³'Carl von Ossietzky und das politische Exil: die Arbeit des Freundeskreises Carl von Ossietzky, 1933-1936', 58.

⁴⁴'An account of the work of the Friends Committee for Refugees and Aliens, first known as the Germany Emergency Committee of the Society of Friends, 1933-1950', Lawrence Darton, FCRA 1954, 5-6.

⁴⁵Corder Catchpool to Clarence E. Pickett, 7-7-36.

⁴⁶Olga Halle to H.J. Wider, 3-1-73.

⁴⁷'Another Dimension of the Holocaust: an American Quaker inside Nazi Germany', Leonard S. Kenworthy, 1982, 46-48.

⁴⁸Corder Catchpool to Paul Sturge, 15-7-35.

⁴⁹This episode is described in William Hughes, *Indomitable Friend*, 124-132 and in Greenwood, Vol. 3, 310-311.

⁵⁰The various-categories of persons persecuted by the Nazis on account of their Jewish extraction were analysed by Hans Albrecht in a letter to Bertha Bracey of 4-1-36. An account of the situation and the earlier measures taken to bring help to non-aryan Christians is given in Corder Catchpool to Clarence Pickett of 7-7-36.

⁵¹See Roger Carter to Paul Sturge of 22-11-38.

⁵²This meeting is described in an anonymous memorandum in Dutch dated December 1938, believed to have been written by Luise Lieftinck of Amsterdam Meeting, entitled: 'Memorandum over de wenschelijkheid van de stifting van een Zentralstelle für die Auswanderung nicht-arischer Christen, aangeboden an het Comite voor Niet Arische Christen'. Both Jim and Luise Lieftinck visited Berlin during this period and Luise may have been present at the meeting in question. The fact that the Dutch is imperfect lends verisimilitude to the belief that Luise wrote the document, as she was Austrian. In the event the organisation of the Zentralstelle differed in some respects from the recommendations made on this occasion.

⁵³See 'Büro Pfarrer Grüber', published by the Evangelische Hilfsstelle für ehemals Rasseverfolgte in October 1988. Some account of the office 'An der Stechbahn' is given in a commemorative booklet of that name published in 1952 by the Evangelische Verlagsanstalt G.m.b.H., Berlin.

⁵⁴Conversations with Miss Laura Livingstone, Dr. Spiero and others with a view to consolidation with the Büro Grüber are briefly mentioned in Howard Elkinton to Fred Tritton, 14-2-39.

⁵⁵The role of the Centre in relief work is defined in Roger Carter to Dr. Otto Hirsch of the Reichsvertretung der Juden in Deutschland, 21-6-39. The general pattern of relief work for the Jews and the role of the Centre is described in a 'Memorandum on the Relief Work of the Quäkerbüro, August 1939', signed by Roger Carter.

⁵⁶The Netherlands operation is described in a letter from the Kinderkomite, Amsterdam, to Roger Carter of 22-12-38. A conference on child transports was held in Amsterdam on 15 to 19-4-39. See Kinderkomite to Roger Carter, 14-3-39 and Roger Carter to Kinderkomite, 30-3-39. The transports to England are briefly described in Bertha Bracey, 'Quaker Help to Jews', 20-12-71. Mr. G.H. Langdon, the Hon. Organising Secretary of the Movement for the Care of Children from Germany, appears to have regarded the Centre as his point of reference in regard to Christian non-aryan children.

⁵⁷See Roger Carter, 'Report on the Work of the Berlin Centre, February 1939'.

- ⁵⁸A list of the 22 German Friends actively helping non-aryans in their areas is attached to Roger Carter to Dr. Otto Hirsch of the Reichsvertretung der Juden in Deutschland, 21-6-39.
- ⁵⁹Roger Carter, 'Report on the Situation of the Vienna Group of the Society of Friends', 1-3-39.
- ⁶⁰Roger Carter, 'Report on a Visit to Prague and Warsaw', 27-9-38.
- ⁶¹Minutes of the Germany and Holland Committee, London, 21-6-39: also Victoria de Bunsen, *Charles Roden Buxton, a Memoire*, 161-162.
- ⁶²Roger Carter, Memorandum an alle Vertrauensleute, 26-3-39.
- ⁶³Roger Carter, 'Relief Work of the Quäkerbüro', August 1939.
- ⁶⁴Olga Halle to H.J. Weider, 3-1-73.
- ⁶⁵The four German Friends present were Hans Albrecht, Gerhard and Olga Halle and Lotte Hoffmann.
- ⁶⁶See 'Büro Pfarrer Grüber', *op. cit.*, 15. The Büro Grüber also acquired the legal status of an 'eingetragener Verein'.
- ⁶⁷Hans Albrecht to Paul Sturge, 8-6-38: also, Roger Carter to Paul Sturge, 22-11-38 (written shortly after the Kristallnacht).
- ⁶⁸Heinrich Otto, *Werden und Wesen des Quäkertums und seine Entwicklung in Deutschland*, Sensen Verlag, Wien, 1972, 299.
- ⁶⁹This personal steadfastness is well illustrated by an article by Anneliese Feurich entitled: 'Auf eigene Verantwortung: Marie Pleissner, 1891-1983', *Kirchliche Bruderschaft Sachsens*, Dresden, 1988. The subject is also treated in more general terms in 'Alle Menschen sind unsere Brüder: über Quäkerhaltung und Quäkerarbeit, 1933-1941', by Anna Sabine Halle in 'Tribüne' No. 90 of 1984.

‘STANDS SCOTLAND WHERE IT DID?’ SOME THOUGHTS ON QUAKERS IN SCOTLAND DURING THE LAST HALF CENTURY

I think I first heard the word Quaker from my father. It was in rather curious circumstances. I can have been only five or six years old, but I have a very clear picture of him, jogging around the small parlour in the manse in Lochgelly in a sort of shuffle as he intoned the words (one could scarcely call it singing):

Merrily danced the Quaker's wife,
Merrily danced the Quaker.

I had no idea of the significance of the words, and I do not know what they meant to my father. Only many years later was I to learn that the tune and the words were traditional and that Robert Burns, that great authority on the folk music of Scotland, had written to the tune what he thought was ‘one of the finest songs I ever made in my life’. but the words, the catchy tune and my father's enthusiasm stirred my youthful interest and I had an immediate and lasting impression of Quakers as happy joyful people. Then some two years later when I was beginning piano lessons with the church organist you can imagine my pleasure when I found in my Hemy's Tutor that one of my first practice pieces was ‘Merrily danced the Quaker’.

The first Quaker I met I came across perhaps five or six years later in the pages of Sir Walter Scott's novel, *Redgauntlet*. I would not have you think that I was reading the Waverley novels, complete and unabridged, when I was ten or twelve years old, even though I had a father and an uncle who were devoted admirers of the novelist. One of the tales of their childhood that I was often told was how my uncle, scarcely into his teens, was bursting with pride and boasting of his achievement when he could claim he had read them all, but my father almost two years his junior trumped his ace: Uncle Willie, having read all Scott, had exhausted that pleasure, while my father with two of the Waverley novels yet to read had still in store a pleasure his brother was now denied.

My first introduction to Scott was in an abridged version, *Scott for Boys and Girls*, retold by Alice F. Jackson. I started with *Redgauntlet* and I think it remains my favourite among Scott's novels. One of the most attractive characters in *Redgauntlet* is the Quaker, Joshua Geddes, whom the hero Darsie Latimer, meets during his adventures in Galloway.

Scott knew something about Quakers¹. His father's great-grandfather, Walter Scott of Raeburn, had become 'infected with the error of Quakerism', along with his wife, 'probably at the time when George Fox made an expedition into the south of Scotland about 1657', and had suffered for his convictions by imprisonment first in Edinburgh tolbooth and then in the prison of Jedburgh, while their children were 'taken by force from the society and direction of their parents, and educated at a distance from them, ... where they might be free from all infection in their younger years, from the principles of Quakerism'; and on his mother's side, his great-great-grandfather, John Swinton, was also a convert and suffered a long imprisonment in Edinburgh castle, where it is said his 'admonitions had a considerable share in converting to the tenets of the Friends Colonel David Barclay, the father of Robert Barclay, author of the celebrated *Apology for the Quakers*'. But Sir Walter tells us elsewhere: 'I am glad I escaped the honours of the stiff-rumped Quakers which threatened to descend on me from two different channels.'

You remember Darsie Latimer's first impressions of Joshua Geddes:

At this moment the horseman approached us. His whole exterior at once showed that he belonged to the Society of Friends, or, as the world and the world's law call them, Quakers. A strong and useful iron-grey galloway showed by its sleek and good condition that the merciful man was merciful to his beast. His accoutrements were in the usual unostentatious but clean and serviceable order which characterises these sectaries ... A comely and placid countenance, the gravity of which appeared to contain some seasoning of humour, had nothing in common with the pinched puritanical air affected by devotees in general. The brow was open and free from wrinkles, whether of age or hypocrisy. The eye was clear, calm, and considerate.

They start talking, and Joshua offers hospitality to our hero. At home the Quaker speaks of his forebears:

'A better judgment was given to my father's father, Philip Geddes, who, after trying to light his candle at some of the vain wildfires then held aloft at different meetings and steeple-houses, at length obtained a spark from the lamp of the blessed George Fox, who came into Scotland spreading light among darkness.'

and when he has concluded his account of himself and his family 'his sister, Rachel, the only surviving member of it', enters the room:

Her appearance [Darsie tells his friend] is remarkably pleasing. ... The absence of every thing like fashion or ornament was, as usual, atoned for by the most perfect neatness and cleanliness of her dress; and her simple close cap was particularly suited to eyes which had the softness and simplicity of the dove's. She had a well-formed mouth, teeth like pearls, and a pleasing sobriety of smile, that seemed to wish good here and hereafter to every one she spoke to.

The company then settled to their breakfast 'after a blessing, or rather an extempore prayer, which Joshua made upon the occasion, and which the spirit moved him to prolong rather more than Darsie Latimer felt altogether agreeable'. During the meal there is one delightful episode. Darsie Latimer had been offered some sweet-cake, which at the moment he declined, but a little later, seeing it within his reach, he naturally enough helped himself to a slice, putting it on his plate, whereupon his host 'in a very calm and quiet manner, lifted it away and replaced it on the dish, observing only "Thou didst refuse it before, friend Latimer." '

It is an amusing anecdote and not untypical of Friends, even today: I have myself known such polite precision.

Later Rachel Geddes shows our hero into 'a small study containing a little collection of books, in two separate presses', and Scott appends a note, as he says, 'not very necessary for the reader', explaining how in his youth, when he resided for a considerable time in the vicinity of Kelso and had few acquaintances, and books which were at the time almost essential to his happiness, he was particularly indebted to the liberality and friendship of an old lady of the Society of Friends who allowed him to rummage at pleasure in her late husband's small but well-selected library. She permitted him to carry home whatever volumes he chose, on condition that he should take, at the same time, 'some of the tracts printed for encouraging and extending the doctrines of her own sect'.

She did not even exact any assurance that I would read these performances, being too justly afraid of involving me in a breach of promise, but was merely desirous that I should have the chance of instruction within my reach, in case whim, curiosity, or accident might induce me to have recourse to it.

This episode, of Darsie Latimer's stay with the Quakers, is reported in the course of his correspondence with his friend, Alan Fairford, into which Alan's father interjects a word of warning:

It is come to me also by a side-wind, as I may say, that you have been neighbouring more than was needful among some of the pestilent sect of Quakers - a people who own neither priest, nor king, nor civil magistrate, nor the fabric of our law, and will not depone either *in civilibus* or *criminalibus*, be the loss of the lieges what it may. ...

Now, Mr Darsie, ye are to judge for yourself whether ye can safely to your soul's weal remain longer among these Papists and Quakers, - these defections on the right hand, and fallings away on the left; and truly if you can confidently resist these evil examples of doctrine, I think ye may as well tarry in the bounds where ye are.

Despite the single derogatory remark, put into the mouth of a character in the novel, of course, and so not to be taken as representing in any way Scott's own point of view (I am thinking of the statement that 'The Quakers, with all their demureness, can bear malice as long as other folk'), the picture of the Quaker that emerges from the pages of *Redgauntlet* is such as to evoke the reader's respect and admiration and, in particular, to impress an impressionable boy.

I was a pupil at Dunfermline High School before I made the acquaintance of other Quakers, also in a book. One of our prescribed home readers was John Galt's *Annals of the Parish*. Galt called his novels 'theoretical histories of society' and the *Annals* is such a history. It fascinated me when I first read it, and it fascinates me still. The successive chapters narrate the incidents the minister thinks worthy of record year by year, and it is in 1795 that the Quakers appear.

Two English quakers, and a quaker lady, tanners from Kendal, who had been at Ayr on some leather business, where they preached, but made no proselytes. The travellers were all three in a whisky [a light gig], drawn by one of the best ordered horses, as the hostler at the Cross-keys told me, ever seen. They came to the inns to their dinner, and meaning to stay all night, sent round, to let it be known that they would hold a meeting in friend Thacklan's barn; but Thomas denied they were either kith or kin to him; this, however, was their way of speaking.

In the evening, owing to the notice, a great congregation was assembled in the barn, and I myself, along with Mr Archibald Dozendale, [one of my elders], went there likewise, to keep the people in awe; for we feared the strangers might be jeered and insulted. The three were seated aloft, on a high stage, prepared on purpose, with two mares and scaffold-deals [trestles and planks], borrowed from Mr Trowel the mason. They sat long, and silent; but at last the spirit moved the woman, and she rose, and delivered a very sensible exposition of Christianity. I was really surprised to hear such sound doctrine; and Mr Dozendale said, justly, that it was more to the purpose than some that my younger brethren from Edinburgh endeavoured to teach. So, that those who went to laugh at the sincere simplicity of the pious quakers, were rebuked by a very edifying discourse on the moral duties of a Christian's life.

So my acquaintance with Quakers grew. I knew them as straightforward, plain, and honest, whose word was their bond, their yea, yea, and their nay, nay, and that they worshipped in a way that seemed unusual to a young Presbyterian used to hymns and prayers, scripture readings and long sermons: they had no ministers and worshipped largely in silence.

Some years later I came across George Fox himself, but not yet in his own Journal. I found him in the pages of Thomas Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus*, a set book in my second year at Edinburgh University.

This man, the first of the Quakers, and by trade a Shoemaker, was one of those, to whom, under ruder or purer form, the Divine Idea of the Universe is pleased to manifest itself; and, across all the hulls of Ignorance and earthly Degradation, shine through, in unspeakable Awfulness, unspeakable Beauty, on their souls. ... Sitting in his stall; working on tanned hides, amid pincers, paste-horns, rosin, swine-bristles, and a nameless flood of rubbish, this youth had, nevertheless, a Living Spirit belonging to him...

Picture George Fox on that morning, when he spreads-out his cutting-board for the last time, and cuts cowhides by unwonted patterns, and stitches them together into one continuous all-including Case, the farewell service of his awl! Stitch away, thou noble Fox: every prick of that little instrument is pricking into the heart of Slavery, and World-worship, and the Mammon-god. ...

George Fox, the greatest of the Moderns ... stands on the adamantine basis of his Manhood, casting aside all props and shoars; yet not, in half-savage Pride, undervaluing the Earth; valuing it rather, as a place to yield him warmth and food, he looks Heavenward from his Earth, and dwells in an element of Mercy and Worship, with a still Strength.³

Carlyle's rhetoric, his 'piebald, entangled, hyper-metaphorical style of writing' (his own description), is heady stuff, potent and intoxicating, and I can still remember how it gripped me when I first read *Sartor Resartus* some 57 years ago.

I have spoken at some length about my literary encounters with Friends, for until I was in my twenties I had never met a real live Quaker. My personal experience thus confirms what William Marwick had to say in the *Short History of Friends in Scotland* he wrote for the holding of London Yearly Meeting in Edinburgh in 1948:

In Scotland, Friends have always been a very small and rather obscure community.

Four years later he made the same point in the Epilogue he contributed to George Burnet's *Story of Quakerism in Scotland* (London: James Clarke, 1952). Writing on 'Friends in Scotland during the Last Century, 1850-1950' he said:

In Scotland ... it must be admitted, the Society has had ... but an inconspicuous part in the life of the nation.

(Incidentally, as it happens, I knew Dr Burnet quite well. His first charge as a Church of Scotland minister was in the Guthrie Church in Cowdenbeath and my father had been, as it is designated, the interim moderator during the vacancy, so there was considerable coming and going between the two manses when George Burnet arrived to take up his call, and he naturally came to look upon my father as his senior colleague, friend and adviser. I doubt if he had at that time any intention to become the historian of Scottish Friends.)

How small and obscure and inconspicuous Friends have been - and still are - in Scotland is illustrated by the immediate response of a highly intelligent and generally well-informed mathematician in the University of Strathclyde when a mutual friend happened to mention to him that I was a Quaker. He was being neither derisive nor condescending when he said simply, 'Are there any Quakers in Scotland?'

The explanation for this comparative obscurity and inconspicuousness of Friends in Scotland is largely because in this northern kingdom there is a national church which is Presbyterian in government, plain and simple in its forms of worship, democratic rather than hierarchical in its organization. In England, Friends (as William Marwick puts it) 'are one of the powerful company of Free Churches, in a land where Nonconformity is as important historically as the Establishment'. In Scotland, on the other hand, the majority of churches and church members are, in English terminology, 'Nonconformist'.

The Presbyterian form of church government, not only in the Church of Scotland but in the other Presbyterian sects in the country, is remarkably similar to the church government of Friends. There are the individual congregations meeting regularly for worship throughout the country, each with its body of elders meeting as the kirk session and (according to the sect) its managers or deacons' court looking after the material affairs of the church buildings, halls and manse. The congregations in a convenient area are grouped into presbyteries, meeting more or less monthly, where the main concerns of the church are discussed and its business conducted, and decisions passed up or down to the other courts of the church, or indeed to the world at large. For example, the recommendation that a translation of the Bible be made in the language of the present day, which eventually resulted in the publication in 1970 of the New English Bible, was first made in an overture from the Presbytery of Stirling and Dunblane to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1946.

The presbyteries in a convenient area are grouped into synods, meeting quarterly, and the church's annual general assembly is its Yearly Meeting. The parallel is wonderfully exact.

There are, of course, significant differences. The churches in Scotland lay great emphasis on the preaching of the Word and so honour and value their tradition of an educated separate clergy, though the contribution of the elders, and indeed of the laity in general is recognized. The churches also celebrate the sacraments of baptism and communion, but communion is offered infrequently, in some congregations only twice a year, more generally quarterly, though more frequent celebrations are increasingly the pattern.

So with the ecclesiastical environment of the country firmly in the Protestant tradition and with a simplicity in its forms of worship and its church architecture and furnishings there was perhaps not so much for the Quakers to protest against and their position in Scotland, it has been pointed out, has been similar rather to Continental than to English Friends. Nevertheless, in my twenties I did meet my first real live Quaker, one whom some of you may have known, and if so, you will remember him, as I do, with warm affection: Alec Hay.

In Dunfermline in the years before the Second World War there was an active branch of the League of Nations Union and I used to attend its meetings with the school friend and library colleague whom I later married. She had known Alec Hay as the art teacher who came round the primary schools of West Fife to encourage the appreciation and the practice of drawing and painting. He was a Quaker and a pacifist - his elder brother had been killed in the South African war and his letters from the front had stirred the younger brother's conscience - and it was natural that Alec should be interested in the League of Nations Union and the people, particularly the younger people, who attended its meetings. We came to know and love this wonderful man.

There is a glowing memoir of Alec Hay by Marion Holbourn (privately printed, n.d.), and this is how it begins:

To describe this lovable character the adjectives which spring to my mind are:- generous and warm-hearted; hot-tempered, impulsive and stubborn; humble and child-like, scrupulously honest, outspoken and sincere; unpunctual, impatient, human.

I would like to add - essentially good; but this would be treason, for he was acutely aware of his own imperfections and his liability to be beaten in his struggles against them. The suggestion that he could be described as 'good' would probably have produced a burst of his characteristically uninhibited laughter.

Alec Hay's influence and example, more than anything else, I believe, brought my wife Betsy and me into the Society of Friends. There are delightful reminiscences of this good man in Marion Holbourn's memoir, including the account we can vouch for of his habit of digging over and tending street verges in his part of the town, and surreptitiously and late at night planting roses where he thought they were required in plots of open ground where streets met, but I would add a further memory from our own experience. During the Scottish Friend's family conference at Bonskeid in 1956 or 1957 Alec buttonholed us - we had by then been attending for some time the meeting in Perth in the home of Cyril and Ethne Walmesley - and he said gently but firmly: 'Don't wait to apply for membership until you think you're good enough. That way you'll never join. Apply now' and he added: 'To attend Meeting and not apply for membership is like taking all the privileges of the trade union without paying your dues.'

Among other Friends no longer with us who have made their mark on the Society in Scotland, and indeed in the wider world, I remember with particular gratitude William Marwick. I cannot now recall when and under what circumstances I first met him. He was so open, friendly and approachable and you felt immediately at ease with him, as if you had already known him for a very long time. We met frequently and not only at Quaker meetings. He stayed with us in Ayr when he and Crawford Thomson were attending meetings of the Historical Association, and Betsy and I visited William and Maeve Marwick in Edinburgh on various occasions. For almost 55 years, from their marriage in 1923 to her death in 1978, they loyally and lovingly supported each other, and he faced with stoical fortitude the bleakness of his last years without her.

On my frequent visits to the National Library of Scotland I rarely entered the reading room without finding William Marwick already there. His son has told us that what he most associated with his father was books.

He was a great man for bookshops, libraries, and of course his own collection which, my mother always said, would some day come through the ceiling into the living-room below.

The affinity I came to feel with William Marwick owed something to our shared background: his father was a minister of the United Presbyterian Church and my father was brought up in that same church and trained for its ministry, although he was not ordained until after the

union of 1900, when the United Presbyterians joined with the Free Church in the United Free Church of Scotland.

William Marwick graduated at Edinburgh University in 1916, with first-class honours in history. A pacifist by conviction, he had been accepted for war relief work with Friends, but the tribunal he faced refused to exempt him from military service, and he was arrested and court-martialled and served a sentence of hard labour. Eventually he was allowed to join Friends' War Victims Relief Service in March 1918.

After the war the conscientious objector seeking employment frequently found himself victimized for his views, and a year passed before William Marwick was appointed a tutor-organizer for the Workers' Educational Association in Glasgow and the West; then 12 years later he became Edinburgh University's first full-time extra-mural tutor, until in 1948 he was appointed a lecturer in economic history. Over the years he published books and pamphlets and innumerable articles, and his pre-eminence in his field was recognised in 1978 by the publication in his honour of a volume, *Essays in Scottish Labour History: A Tribute to W. H. Marwick* (Ed. Ian MacDougall. Edinburgh: John Donald, 1978).

To consider separately his life and work within and outwith the Society of Friends is to make a distinction that William Marwick himself would not have drawn, for he was a whole man who lived his life all of a piece. He joined the Society only in 1938 and characteristically he was immediately active in Friends' affairs. For many years he served on Meeting for Sufferings, the Northern Friends Peace Board, and Friends Service Council; he was for ten years, from 1943 to 1952, clerk of General Meeting for Scotland, and for more than 20 years editor of its *Newsletter*; from 1948 to 1952 he was chairman of the European section of the Friends World Committee. He was a frequent contributor to *The Friend*, writing many articles and reviews, and even more letters to the editor.

On his retirement in 1964 he was appointed for a year to a fellowship at Woodbrooke, and it is typical of the man and his thinking that the outcome was his provocative pamphlet, *Quaker Social Thought*, published in 1969. In that same year he was president of the Friends Historical Society.

At the time of William Marwick's death in his 88th year our Friend Fred Nicholson, another Scottish Friend, now a member of Ambleside Meeting, whose father also had been a minister of the United Free Church of Scotland, wrote this tribute:

Of similar origin and upbringing we had many common interests and enjoyed a close friendship for many years. ... It was a rare and treasured experience to encounter a man of such absolute integrity, with a mind so amply furnished yet so free from conceit or envy. His quiet, undogmatic manner may have hidden from some his profound concern to promote social welfare and the just distribution of material resources. Such continuous concern for others, his courage and patience even in his old age, will remain an example and encouragement for which I shall always be deeply thankful.

When William Marwick died in 1982 I was editing my second issue of the *Scottish Friends Newsletter* and it seemed to me a good idea to print as a tribute to him a message pieced together from his contributions to *The Friend* over the years 1961 to 1969. I called it ‘A Radical Social Testimony’. Here then is William Marwick speaking:

In the society where money remains the measure of social value, the true spirit of service must be thwarted or perverted for the majority. Our present social order is based on the struggle for existence and survival of the fittest: its characteristics are the rat race and the pecking order. Yet our national Press is full of encouragement to money making, as the main aim in the professions as well as in business - surely the most contemptible aim ever set before civilised man.

Our peace testimony is weakened because we persist in seeing it in terms of personal relations. Even the most extroverted has a narrow limit to those with whom he has genuine personal relations. Our opponents argue that the spiritual and moral principles applicable to individual relations are irrelevant to collective relations, especially those of the State. Here we have still to find the missing link by working out the collective relations which express the same spirit of love as we invoke in individual relations. This is the real crux of the situation, of the Niebuhr contrast between Moral Man and Immoral Society.

The same reasoning applies to the economic order: living in a society where these relations are essentially collective, we as citizens must find ways of applying to the economic order as a whole the principles we cherish as private individuals. We cannot contract out of the community. Friends have never adopted a hermit asceticism. We must eat to live, and we are all dependent on others for our daily bread. If we rightly seek ‘creaturely’ comforts, we cannot reject ‘creaturely’ activities to obtain them for ourselves, still less to seek to secure them for others. A chief function of religion is to overcome the self-centredness which, in Toynbee’s language, is a necessary outcome of man’s attainment of consciousness and freedom of will. The most God-centred are the least self-centred, spending themselves in the service of their fellows.

William Marwick’s writing and his ministry were both memorable and aptly illustrated. One of his favourite quotations was the passage from Joel about the old men who dreamed dreams and the young who saw visions. Although in his later years he classed himself with the old men, all who heard his vigorous voice recognized that his dreams had the

clarity and the inspiring quality of visions, for William Marwick remained always young at heart.

When Perla Campbell died less than six months later Scottish Friends suffered a great loss. She was born in Edinburgh and became an active member of the Scottish Episcopal Church, but later she was disappointed that her church did not respond more positively to the challenge of nuclear weapons and in 1961 she came to the Society of Friends. She had a warm, quiet, sympathetic personality which made a great impression on me when she led a Quaker retreat at Scottish Churches House.

We remember her particular concern that as many Friends as possible should write to the Prime Minister in support of disarmament at the time of Yearly Meeting 1981, in view of the approaching United Nations Special Session on Disarmament. Her concern was brought to Monthly Meeting and endorsed by Meeting for Sufferings, and it is recorded that the volume of Mrs Thatcher's correspondence was so great at that time that additional civil servants had to be recruited to deal with it.

Fred and Martha Matthews - one always thought of them together - Betsy and I met only when they retired to Ayr. Fred was, I think, the first birthright Quaker I came to know well. His family connections with the Society of Friends were recorded for more than 200 years in the Family Bible in which he took a very natural pride. Despite his early involvement with Friends in the old Kilmarnock Meeting he had felt he should enlist in the 1914-18 war. He was an upright man of character who followed a disciplined way of living, dependably regular in his attendance at the Meeting that had just been started in Ayr, eloquent in his ministry, and always concerned and helpful in his service.

Another Friend I came to respect and admire I never met, but when Betsy and I moved to the west of Scotland in 1958 some five years after Lewis Fry Richardson had died, our first home there was in a house that belonged to his son Olaf, named after the author Olaf Stapledon, whom Richardson had met while serving with the Friends Ambulance Unit in France, and from him we learned something of his father.

Lewis Richardson, a birthright Quaker, was principal of Paisley Technical College from 1929 to 1940, and during that period and after, he and his wife played an active role in Glasgow Meeting. His distinction as a meteorologist was recognized after his death when in 1972 an extension to the Met. Office HQ was named the Richardson Wing. His keen mind, which owed much, he thought, to his boundless and insatiable curiosity, combined with a healthy scepticism and habit of

doubt, found many interests beyond meteorology. He had been a conscientious objector in the First World War, and he later applied what has been described as his 'rare mathematical talent' to a consideration of the causes of war and how to maintain peace. His 'daring attempt to deal mathematically with foreign politics' and his statistical analysis of the arms race make him a pioneer in peace studies, and it is entirely appropriate that his name is perpetuated in the Richardson Institute for Conflict and Peace Research at the University of Lancaster.

So far this very personal view of Quakers in Scotland in the last 50 years or so has mapped my own pilgrimage towards and among them. A more objective survey can be found in the pages of the *Scottish Friends Newsletter* to which I have referred more than once. It is an indispensable source for any study of Quaker life in Scotland in the last half century.

In his Epilogue to Dr Burnet's history William Marwick had written that 'a problem that exists for Friends everywhere is particularly acute in Scotland, that of the isolated member, for geographical reasons normally severed from his fellow members and from Meetings for Worship and other activities of the Society', and he noted that the issue of a periodical newsletter had recently facilitated a measure of contact.

This newsletter had been launched as a four-page broadsheet in autumn 1944, while William Marwick was clerk of General Meeting. The first editor was Katie Ratcliffe, wife of the Fabian journalist S. K. Ratcliffe, but before the third issue was published in summer 1945 the Ratcliffes had returned to England and with the fourth issue she laid down the editorship.

I wish I might have met her successor, but I never did. The second editor was an Edinburgh Friend, Mary Baird Aitken, no relation of mine though we share the same surname, and curiously my mother was a Mary Baird, and so after her marriage to my father another Mary Baird Aitken. I knew Mary Baird Aitken first as the writer of a novel, *Soon Bright Day*, a story of Edinburgh at the time of the French Revolution, and I learned that she was a Quaker from a note appended to a perceptive article on the poetry of Hugh MacDiarmid she contributed to a Scottish literary periodical in 1949. Sadly the note announced her recent death. It was only when I was myself appointed editor of the *Scottish Friends Newsletter* and began to take an interest in its history that I found that Mary Baird Aitken had been one of my predecessors and had been responsible for five issues before retiring through ill-health in 1947.

There was a succession of editors, various changes of style and format, and a number of broken sequences of irregular issues until William Marwick assumed the editorship in 1954. Since 1969 its format has been broadly consistent and it has appeared at regular quarterly intervals. Stanley Johnson followed William Marwick as editor in 1975, and I served six years, from 1982 to 1987, before handing over to the present editor, Sheila Miller. You will find that the pages of the *Scottish Friends Newsletter* have provided a number of items for the anthology, *Quakers in Scotland*, published for the holding in Aberdeen of this year's London Yearly Meeting.

From time to time a supplement is issued with the *Newsletter*, most recently the reports and minutes to General Meeting in September 1986, which were published under the title, *The State of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) in Scotland Today*.

At the General Meeting in Edinburgh when the reports were received there was a large map of Scotland on the wall behind the clerks' table and the reports from the different Meetings were taken in an order determined by their geographical location in a roughly clockwise circuit from Dumfries and Galloway in the south-west to the Borders in south-east Scotland. Passages from some of these minutes and reports are included in the anthology, *Quakers in Scotland*, I have just mentioned, but I may make two points now: first, as the clerk pointed out in introducing the reports, one of Scotland's four Monthly Meetings, that for the North of Scotland, covers about one-fifth of the area of Great Britain, which dramatically emphasizes the geographical problems northern Friends have to surmount; and, second, that the supplement included reports and minutes from some 27 Meetings - or groups of families of Friends - throughout the country.

This is perhaps the most significant fact to emerge from the whole exercise. When London Yearly Meeting first came to Scotland in 1948 the number of Friends' Meetings in Scotland was eight; by 1950 there were seven; in 1960 there were only six... These were grouped into Edinburgh Monthly Meeting and Aberdeen Two-Months Meeting. The number of Friends in Scotland in 1948 was given as 316.

In contrast, the latest Summary Tabular Statement in *Quaker Work in 1988* records for Scotland four Monthly Meetings, 24 Recognised Meetings and a membership of 600, with some 500 attenders and 279 children not in membership. One statistic that is over the years consistently high among Friends in Scotland is the ratio of attenders to members, currently 500 attenders to 600 members, and as we all know some of our attenders are our most loyal and committed supporters.

Even more remarkable than the figure of 24 Recognised Meetings recorded in the 1988 Tabular Statement is the fact that the Arrangements Card for 1989, published by General Meeting, lists no fewer than 34 Meetings for Worship currently held in Scotland. Granted, a number of these meet only once a month, but there are 12 that meet every week. Further, some are inevitably very small - but size is not everything, and the smallness of Friends Meetings is nothing new: in 1947 Alec Hay was reporting from the Dunfermline Meeting.

at which, week after week, the same little group of five or six attend. But all feel it to be very well worth while, and believe it not only a duty, but truly a privilege to worship together.

There are indeed unique strengths and values in small Meetings. For one thing, everyone knows everyone else in the Meeting, so any absences are immediately noticed and the reasons can be investigated, problems can be shared and support given. In a small Meeting there is a greater sense of community, as of an extended family, and as Bob Hay puts it, ‘There are few inactive Friends in Scotland because it is hard to hide in a group of ten.’

Certainly, there are many activities that the members of a small Meeting cannot tackle on their own, but then Friends are so scattered and so few in numbers even in the whole of Scotland - our total membership is scarcely more than half the membership of one of the larger congregations of the Church of Scotland: Dunblane Cathedral, for example, has well over 1000 members - that we are all of necessity used to working with others in our religious and communal concerns: peace activities, bread and cheese lunches for Christian Aid, the World Day of Prayer, local committees for race relations, housing conditions, unemployment, and so on.

We can rejoice that the number of Friends in Scotland and the number of Meetings for Worship has so increased that there are now these groups of Friends, however small, in different parts of the country to provide a Quaker witness, and (who knows?) some influence.

So I come finally to ask the question with which the exiled Macduff greeted his ‘ever gentle cousin’, Ross: ‘Stands Scotland where it did?’

Ross, you may remember, had no good news for Macduff:

Alas, poor country,
Almost afraid to know itself! ... where nothing
But who knows nothing is once seen to smile.

For Friends today, however, the answer would seem to be: 'Scotland is in good heart and advances steadily.' In Scotland Friends are indeed a very small and rather obscure community, but when in 1986 we considered the state of the Religious Society of Friends in our country and reviewed the strengths and diversity of our Meetings, we were reminded not only of our weaknesses, but of the common strands that bind us together. The minute which concluded that meeting continued:

The exercise of examining ourselves has opened up questions which we must continue to address. Some of us have been prompted to explore more fully the meaning of 'unity'; others to consider our commitment to shared concern.

Fortunately in Scotland we are recognized and accepted by the other churches in the community and can co-operate with them happily; we join fully with them in the Scottish Churches Council and in their ecumenical committees, projects and activities, both locally and nationally, and our fellowship with these other churches is both sought and welcomed.

In 1948 William Marwick concluded his *Short History* thus:

Scottish Friends ... are glad to feel that they are now as active and united a body as at any date in their history:

and in his Epilogue to Dr Burnet's book he reaffirmed his conviction:

Scottish Friends are as alive and active a group as ever they have been, enjoying a genuine community life, 'knowing one another in things temporal and things spiritual'.

Forty years later we can with equal confidence say that Scotland, in this respect, stands where it did.

William R Aitken

The above is a shortened text of the Presidential lecture given to the Friends Historical Society during London Yearly Meeting at Aberdeen on 2 August 1989 (Ed.).

NOTES AND REFERENCES

¹See his note to the Prolegomenon the *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*: 'Author's connection

with Quakerism'. I have used Andrew Lang's Border Edition (London: Nimmo, 1893), vol. I, p.1 p.365-9. The last sentence is quoted from a memorandum Scott enclosed with a letter to Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe (*The Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, ed. H. J. C. Grierson and others, vol.IV, London: Constable, 1933, 153).

²Ed. James Kinsley (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), 151-2.

³Ed. P. C. Parr (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), 150-2.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Fighter For Peace: Philip Noel-Baker, 1889-1982. By David J. Whittaker. William Sessions Ltd., York, 1989. Paperback £15 + £1.50 p&p.

Historians of twentieth century British politics and of international relations have good reason to feel grateful to David Whittaker. He has taken on the near-heroic task of being the first scholar to plough through the hundreds of boxes of Philip Noel-Baker's papers now available to researchers at Churchill College, Cambridge. The result is our first comprehensive assessment of the extraordinarily rich and varied life of the man who was arguably the pre-eminent Quaker statesman of the twentieth century. The outline of Noel-Baker's career will be familiar to several generations of Friends: Nobel Peace Prize laureate; architect of both the League of Nations and the United Nations; long-time Member of Parliament; international relations professor; and Olympic athlete. Perhaps most importantly, his unceasing efforts to wed rigorous scholarship to disarmament campaigning over seven decades helped to lay the groundwork for the emergence of peace research as an academic discipline of legitimacy and authority in the late twentieth century.

David Whittaker sets out the primary dimensions of Philip Noel-Baker's life in a manner that is largely satisfactory. Noel-Baker's accomplishments as a politician, diplomat, scholar, and disarmament campaigner are discussed in a series of well-organised chapters which offer ample evidence of the thoroughness of Dr. Whittaker's research. The most engrossing chapters of the book are perhaps those that cover the inter-war period, when Noel-Baker's optimism was tested severely in his struggles to preserve the League of Nations and his dream of a principled world order firmly rooted in international law. Dr. Whittaker has succeeded admirably in conveying the sense of urgency and frustration which Noel-Baker and his fellow League-supporters must have felt as they watched their vision steadily undermined with the rise of fascism abroad and the appalling lack of official support for the League's structures and objectives at home. In his chronicle of Noel-Baker's tireless criss-crossing of the Continent on the League's behalf, Whittaker manages to capture something of that terrible momentum toward war that characterised the late 1930s - as well as the desperation of Noel-Baker and his colleagues as they undertook to prevent the final collapse of the League system. Whittaker weaves these events into a narrative that I found both exciting and finally very moving. Quakers of today are quite likely to be as exercised by Noel-Baker's passionate advocacy of the League's collective security arrangements as they were in the decade before the Second World War. Of particular value, too, is the author's treatment of Noel-Baker, the private man. Extensive quotation from the letters between Philip and his formidable wife Irene provide us with a fascinating glimpse into the tensions of a life lived out with an almost obsessively public man. Whittaker's careful survey of the attitudes and responses of Noel-Baker's Labour Party colleagues to his customary attempts to bring his towering idealism to bear on the daily grind of Parliamentary politics is also especially illuminating.

I must confess to finding Dr. Whittaker's prose style rather puzzling from time to time. The occasionally over-complicated syntax made it necessary to read a number of sentences several times over before the meaning became clear. A firmer editorial hand

applied to the text before publication could easily have remedied this relatively minor shortcoming. But as an introduction to a truly remarkable life and as a stimulus to further consideration of the man and his disarming mission, *Fighter for Peace* will undoubtedly prove to be a valuable contribution to contemporary Quaker historiography. The book extends a most attractive invitation to a host of scholars to produce additional, perhaps more interpretive studies of selected aspects of the singular career which Dr. Whittaker has so thoughtfully presented in its entirety here.

Brian D. Phillips

The Religious Census of Sussex 1851. Edited by John A. Vickers. Sussex Record Society volume 75, Lewes, 1989. £17.50

Not for nothing did Friends ask 'shall a cloudy sky, a little wet, a little cold...' keep one from attending worship? for one of the stock comments (or excuses) of those filling in their return for the 1851 census of places of worship had to do with the weather. 'The attendance... almost as variable as is the weather' (Hamsey parish church), 'In the afternoon (if the weather be fine) the church is full' (Rusper parish church). Thus do the returns transcribed in this book convey a good deal more than the bare facts and figures of the survey.

Of the 602 congregations then worshipping in Sussex, Quakers account for a mere five. This small proportion may account for some inattention to Quaker matters in the editorial remarks. The form, prepared specially for the Society, is mis-represented on the question of seating capacity, and the ambiguity of some Quaker answers is not mentioned. This and other aspects are discussed in *Journal FHS* vol.55 (1986). These reservations do not impair the value of the Quaker census figures given in the body of the book, which appear to be based on both sets of returns, that held at the Public Records Office at Kew and the other at Friends House (Ms.vol.227). In one instance this comparison has yielded useful additional information.

The text gives to all appearances a thorough and careful presentation of the census returns, incomplete only because of the unwillingness of some ministers to take part; it also shows the large variety of denominations and discusses the difficulties of classifying them. Comparisons are made with some nearby counties, and the point is made that local trends do not respect local boundaries. Within Sussex, however, the work gives all there is to give.

David M. Butler

The New Zealand Journeys of Lucy Violet Hodgkin. By Frances Henry. Quaker Historical Manuscripts No. 2. Published for New Zealand Yearly Meeting by Beechtree Press, Wellington, N.Z. 1989.

This book is largely based on the journals of LVH, 1922-3 and 1928-9 and, for the earlier visit in 1909 with her parents, on the diary of her brother George. There is a wealth of detail about people and places and the journeying in between, of gatherings

attended and friendships formed and renewed, not only in the cities but also in little places with musical multi-syllabled Maori names. There is special reference to the family's attendance in May 1909 at one of the regular, inter-denominational Quiet Meetings for Worship in the Anglican Church at Havelock North. It was a moving experience for them all but for Lucy Violet aged 40 and already very deaf, it was profound, with so strong a sense of mystical communion and the power of silent worship that it influenced her ministry and writings for years. It was, Frances Henry believes, a turning point in her life.

There emerges throughout, the portrait of a remarkable woman, every inch a lady - to use an old-fashioned unQuakerly phrase - competent, scholarly, talented with brush and pen, energetic, adaptable and not without humour who, both before and after her marriage to John Holdsworth, gave much to New Zealand Quakerism.

Slight though the volume is, it has good photographs, a bibliography of LVH's writings, a list of her water colour sketches and a note on Frederick Cayley Robinson, some of whose original illustrations for *A Book of Quaker Saints* hang today in the Friends Educational Centre at Wanganui.

Hope Hewison

Thomas Clarkson. By Ellen Gibson Wilson. Macmillan, London, 1990. Pp. xii + 269.

Thomas Clarkson has suffered comparative anonymity in the history of the struggle to abolish first the slave-trade and secondly slavery itself. Eclipsed by Wilberforce during his lifetime and afterwards by the mountainous biography written by Wilberforce's sons he has received little recognition. Yet, in his time, he was revered on both sides of the Atlantic for his advocacy of abolition and liberty.

His early ambition was to join the Church of England but involvement with Friends and the campaign to persuade slave traders to abandon the illtreatment of not only slaves but also seamen led him away from the ministry to devote his life to the cause of abolition.

His involvement with radical issues of the time included disillusionment with the events of the French Revolution after 1792, a disappointment that he shared with his friend Wordsworth. His incessant travelling, lack of funds and impetuous campaigning undermined his health. Fortunately marriage to Catherine Buck in 1796 brought him happy companionship which was to last him the rest of his life and a period of tranquillity in the Lake District until 1804 when the Abolition Committee was revived. Thereafter, despite setbacks, one goal after another of the campaigners was achieved, not least the publication of *The History of the Rise, Progress, and Accomplishment of the Abolition of the African Slave-Trade by the British Parliament* in 1808.

Clarkson's pertinacity led Coleridge to describe him as a 'moral steam-engine or the Giant with one idea' (1809); as such he threw himself into the international campaign for abolition. No opportunity was lost, and regardless of the consequences he continued to make interventions on the diplomatic front which, from a lesser figure, might have been less successful. He became the 'eminence grise' of all abolition movements, receiving plaudits and accolades and returning autographs and locks of hair. Outliving his earlier co-campaigners, including Wilberforce whose death coincided with the passage of the

Emancipation Act in 1833, Clarkson was left to defend his own position and his reputation as interpreted by a new generation. He rose to the challenge and continued to pour out tracts and pamphlets for the American campaign.

It is no easy task to rehabilitate a reputation but Ellen Wilson has done so with a thoroughness which is convincing. The picture she paints is of a man of considerable contrast, not universally appreciated for his methods but highly respected for his views. But you do not have to like a man to do him justice and her admiration for his work is abundantly clear. She has worked from a wide range of sources and produced a scholarly and readable book.

Helen Forde

The Charlbury of our Childhood. By Caroline W. Pumphrey. Ed. Patrick I. King. William Sessions Ltd., York 1990. Pp. xiv + 102, Illus. £5 + 60p p&p.

What more evocative than the recollections of a happy childhood? Caroline Westcombe Pumphrey set down her memories of Charlbury with unsentimental clarity. Fortunately her family preserved the manuscript and it is now presented with a Preface by her greatniece Isabel C. Eddington, a Foreword by Paul Eddington and an Introduction by Patrick King who, with Arthur Bissell, has been engaged in preparing the book for publication.

Isabel Eddington's preface begins to turn the clock back with references to the too-prickly horsehair sofa, the enveloping feather-beds and the back kitchen pump; and then we are in the mid-1850s watching through Caroline Pumphrey's acute eyes the daily life of a closeknit Quaker world within the life of an ancient country town. Home, local people, town and countryside all come under her scrutiny. She sees and conveys the significance of small things, the anxious economy in the husbanding of candles, the arduous work of the cook, the laundering required when roads were unsurfaced, the small windows and scarce ovens in cottages. There is a quizzical look at Friends' garb, at the oddities of 'ministering Friends' and long Meetings for Worship; she is sceptical about the good behaviour of earlier generations - "or else they surely would not have carved their names upon the forms". Her love of wild plants, fostered by Uncle John Marshall Albright, rings through the account of local walks and, blessedly, there is a map for identification of the ways, woods and streams, but no note to tell us whether we could still find there her narcissus biflora and gagea lutea.

'The Child is Father of the Man' wrote Wordsworth. To show us Caroline Pumphrey the Woman who looked back upon the Child in Charlbury there is H.M. Newman's account of her life from a booklet of testimonies first published in 1925.

Kathleen Cotterell

Haddenham Quaker History. By Walter Rose. Edited by James and Audrey Brodie. Published for New Zealand Yearly Meeting by Beechtree Press, Wellington, N.Z. 1988. Pp. 67.

It is fortunate for us that New Zealand Yearly Meeting has taken the initiative to publish this interesting little book 72 years after it was completed in manuscript by Walter Rose in 1916. This has come about because the author's second cousin Richard Ricketts Harris (1877-1962) was the first Clerk of Wellington and Hawkes Bay Monthly Meeting when it was formed in 1932.

The editors have added some useful notes, a family tree and maps, as well as eight photographs of people or places mentioned in the text. They were given much assistance by Elsie Rose (1896-1989), the author's daughter, who was living in Haddenham and was a faithful member of Aylesbury Meeting. She was delighted to see the book in print shortly before her death and we discussed it in my last conversation with her.

Walter Rose (1871-1960) joined Friends in 1907 and he was chiefly responsible for the reopening in 1933 of Aylesbury Meeting House (built 1727) after it had been closed for nearly 100 years. He was keen to trace his Quaker roots as the Rose family had lived in Haddenham for many centuries and some of them had become Quakers at the time of George Fox. During the next 200 years the history of Quakerism in Haddenham is mainly a history of the Rose family. They do not appear to have had formal membership of the Society in the eighteenth century as there is no mention of Haddenham in the records of Luton & Leighton Monthly Meeting between 1698 and 1797, and they were probably disowned for marrying out. However, Meeting for Worship was held regularly at the family farmhouse, they had their own burial ground, and there is evidence that they upheld Quaker customs and principles. Both Walter Rose's great-grandfather and great-great-grandfather were known locally as "Quaker Rose", though out of membership.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century some members of the family gave their support to the Baptists and Methodists, but Phillis Rose and her husband Richard Ricketts (the grandparents of Richard Ricketts Harris of New Zealand) were admitted to membership by conviction in 1844. Meetings continued to be held at the house of Richard Ricketts till his death in 1870.

At first sight this book appears to be of rather limited interest, but it is more than just the history of a Quaker family in Haddenham. It also gives a clear picture of the changes in social conditions and village life that took place in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and also how these changes had good or bad results for different sections of the community. As the farming fortunes of the Rose family declined they turned to other occupations.

Walter Rose was a master carpenter, as were his father and grandfather before him, and he knew the life of his village at first hand. His book *The Village Carpenter* (published 1937 and reissued in 1973 and 1987) gives a fascinating description of the varied jobs carried out by a carpenter in the nineteenth century and his important contribution to so many aspects of village life. That book, like this one, is written in a charming and concise style, and the somewhat old-fashioned language helps to convey the reader back into a past atmosphere.

A. Christopher Lake

The Transformation of American Quakerism, Orthodox Friends, 1800-1907.
By Thomas D. Hamm. Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1988.

The apparent simplicity of our own nineteenth-century history with serious threats to unity only from the Beacon crisis in 1836 and the formation of the Fritchley General Meeting is deceptive and historians are beginning to work on new interpretations of the period. In the United States a far more complex story has to be told, albeit about a body of Friends six or seven times the size. Thomas Hamm's account of Orthodox Friends in the period 1800 to 1907 describes all the strands in the American experience in order to analyse the Orthodox and demonstrates the unsubtlety of some oversimplified portrayals of the period. Some of his terminology will be unfamiliar to readers without a theological grounding but on the whole terms are explained rather than used glibly. While there are obviously many connections and parallels between Britain and America there are great differences too, we escaped the creation of the pastoral tradition or the extremes of pentecostalism and the socio-economic backgrounds contrast strongly. In 1800 there were six Yearly Meetings in the United States, between 1813 and 1908 nine new Orthodox Yearly Meetings were formed. The Westward movements of population were of great significance and the migrations changed the whole population pattern of American Quakerism. Hamm does not feel that tensions resulting from these migrations, between the possible sense of freedom at the frontier and settled conservatism in the East, were central as factors in the divisions.

The study is devoted to the development of the divisions and doctrines of those Friends who generally rejected the Hicksite position after the separation beginning in 1827. Elias Hicks had defended traditional Quakerism and its position on the doctrine of the Inner Light against evangelical trends. Orthodox, that is initially non-Hicksite, Friends took a stand similar to that of many non-Quaker evangelicals while maintaining their adherence to Quaker traditions. Eventually they ran into difficulties in reconciling the traditions with evangelical innovations and particularly the revival or holiness movement. Division was not peculiar to Friends in the period, Methodists, Presbyterians and Baptists had similar problems.

In the late eighteen-thirties the English Friend Joseph John Gurney played a major role in influencing the move of the majority of Orthodox Friends to an evangelical position with increased emphasis on the Bible, with a new view of the relationship between justification and sanctification and a willingness to work with non-Quaker evangelicals at reform causes. One notable development was the Bible Association of Friends in America which aimed to place a Bible in every Quaker family. Not all Orthodox Friends could accept the entire evangelical approach and John Wilbur's resistance to Gurney's views led to a further separation in New England Yearly Meeting in 1843. The Wilburites felt that other Orthodox Friends were departing from Quaker tradition and becoming worldly as well as involved in the world while they were left to maintain the quietist vision and the emphasis on the Holy Spirit above scripture.

The majority group among Orthodox Friends remained the evangelicals influenced by Gurney and experienced a movement for renewal in the eighteen-sixties. Hamm argues that by this time socio-economic changes, not least the expansion of transport systems breaking down the isolation of communities, were a major factor in the changing face of Quakerism. He identifies two major themes in this renewal movement, a stress on 'not just the atoning sacrifice of Christ but also the efficacy of his shed blood as propitiation for sin' and emphasis on Bible study. The latter led to a drift away from dependence on the writings of early Friends and the doctrine of the Inner Light.

The next major development was revival, a movement even more in line with mainstream evangelicalism in America and unlike the earlier renewal threatening the continuing practice of traditional Quaker worship. The revival produced congregational singing, the employment of altar calls and mourners benches, public confessions,

conversions and eventually pastoral meetings and professional pastors. These all followed more moderate manifestations in 1867 and 1868. Hamm is clear that the precise sequence of events leading to this whirlwind of change has yet to be established. The revival was a joyous movement bringing in hundreds of new members but some conservative Orthodox Friends were unable to accept its extremes. Here the story becomes more complex and difficult to summarise in few words. The Richmond Conference of 1887, proposed by moderates in the Indiana Yearly Meeting produced the Richmond declaration of faith. Hamm reminds us that this was essentially more moderate than might be assumed and thus upset Friends at either extremity of the Orthodox spectrum. Controversy over water baptism and physical communion proved divisive with holiness or revival Friends seeing both as clearly commanded by Christ and the Apostles. Developments after the Conference show the pastoral system becoming firmly entrenched by 1900, the coming together of most American Gurneyite Yearly Meetings into the Five Years Meeting with a uniform discipline by 1902, the rise among the Gurneyites of modernist, intellectually liberal tendencies (paralleled in Britain) and of a new interest in Friends' history with a growth in Quaker educational institutions offering a formal theological training. The holiness Friends continued with an emphasis on conversion experience and the doctrine of eternal punishment. By the end of Hamm's account there were four main strands in American Quakerism, the three Orthodox, modernist, evangelical and Wilburite and the Hicksites. The careful definitions elaborated in Hamm's text enable the reader to distinguish between these strands with a degree of confidence.

The text is quite concise, running to only 173 pages but it is supported by 52 pages of notes and 23 of bibliography. Following up particular themes will be greatly aided by notes and bibliography though much of the published material cited may be difficult to track down in this country. More examination of average Friends, of the types of people influenced by the leaders depicted in the text, would have been interesting but perhaps the evidence does not exist. Very many individuals are named in the text and a more comprehensive index would have been helpful.

Thomas Hamm has provided a particularly valuable contribution to the study of the whole area of change and division among American Friends needed to replace Rufus Jones's account of the nineteenth century. Aspects of the subject have received a good deal of attention in print in recent years but a good starting point still remains Edward Grubb's *Separations their causes and effects*, 1914. John Punshon's brief account in *Portrait in Grey*, 1984 is easily accessible. David Holden's *Friends Divided*, Richmond, Indiana, 1988 covers a very broad area but needs to be read with caution. Three recent and more specialised works are of importance. In *The Eye of Faith*, Barnesville, Ohio, 1985 William P. Taber Jr. provides a history of one Yearly Meeting, the Wilburite conservative Ohio Yearly Meeting. Edwin B. Bronner's *The Other Branch, London Yearly Meeting and the Hicksites 1827-1912*, 1975 helps to understand British responses to American developments. Larry Ingle deals with the Hicksites at greater length in *Quakers in Conflict: The Hicksite Reformation*, Knoxville, Tennessee, 1986. There is still scope for further work, for example on the origins of the Orthodox/Hicksite debate and, in due course, for a new authoritative synthesis.

David J. Hall

William Reckitt An Eighteenth Century Quaker Transatlantic Traveller. His Journeys to America, England, France and the West Indies: from 1756. By B.N. Reckitt. Sessions Book Trust, York, 1989. Pp. xii + 68. £3.75 post paid.

B.N. Reckitt has selected passages from Thomas Wagstaff's 1776 edition of Reckitt's Journal and added an introduction, details of family history and of the earlier and later life, four maps, a family tree, a detailed itinerary of the first visit to America (occupying ten pages) and an index. The extracts concentrate on the interesting accounts of Reckitt's travels and leave out much material from the relatively brief original published journal about visits to meetings in America on the grounds that "it makes somewhat tedious reading". In this very abridged version there is a long account of Reckitt's capture by a French ship and his ensuing imprisonment and briefer sections of interest on the two successful trips to North America and the West Indies with a vivid account of a thoroughly unpleasant further imprisonment.

This volume would make a useful companion to the original edition of the journal which should still be found in some meeting libraries. B.N. Reckitt's concise account of his ancestor is a valuable reminder that Friends in the eighteenth century could lead adventurous lives answering a call to serve in the ministry.

David J. Hall

Man of Two Worlds: Portrait of Brother Klaus, Saint Nicholas of Flüe in Switzerland 1417 to 1487. By Christina Yates. W. Sessions, York, 1989. £5.50 + £1.00 p&p.

Christina Yates first heard of Brother Klaus when she was working at the École d'Humanité in the Bernese Oberland 1953-70, and the present small book is the fruit of her involvement in studying the life of this remarkable man. Brother Klaus became famous in his lifetime as a wise and holy man and was consulted by many, but, like Joan of Arc, he was not canonized until the twentieth century, in his case 1947. He is now regarded as Switzerland's national saint, to a large degree because of his peace-making counsel in the events that led up to the Covenant of Stans, one of the great turning-points in the history of Switzerland.

Brother Klaus is a strange figure to modern eyes. As a married man of fifty with ten children, the last only just born, he left his wife and family, apparently with his wife's agreement, to become a hermit. For the next 20 years he lived a life of contemplation in a small wooden building about ten minutes' walk from his own house in a remote valley in the mountain canton of Unterwalden. He is reputed to have observed a total fast during this long period. To modern minds this is a puzzle and a physiological impossibility, but his contemporaries clearly believed it, as the seven eye-witness reports indicate. Klaus himself seems to have avoided claiming that he ate nothing at all, so it may be that what is meant by 'fast' is abstention from meat and dairy products and any liquid other than water; but the facts are not clear. The actions of the mature man follow youthful mystical experiences and fasts, so his decision to become a hermit is not a bolt from the blue. Brother Klaus's visions and his image of the Godhead as a wheel are

recounted in some detail. The book concludes with a few pages on the ecumenical significance of Brother Klaus today. This is an attractive introduction to a fascinating late medieval personality, whose life incorporated the 'two worlds' of the practical everyday and visionary detachment.

David Blamires

Dynasty of Iron Founders: The Darbys and Coalbrookdale. By Arthur Raistrick. Sessions Book Trust. York in association with the Ironbridge Gorge Museum Trust. Revised second edition, 1989. A5, pp. xvi + 331.

This book needs no introduction to Quaker historians. First published in 1953, it was soon acclaimed to be a major historical contribution. It was highly influential in establishing a major Museum complex of a new type in the Ironbridge Gorge and thus in helping to stem the incredible dereliction which had long infected the area before this.

Such a well known book hardly needs a full review, especially as this 1989 edition is 'substantially a facsimile reproduction of the original edition', with only ten small listed corrections to the reprinted first 14 chapters (pp vii-xii and 1-265). The additions comprise a very welcome new series of illustrations, including four plates in colour. Dr. Raistrick has completely rewritten chapter 15 'The later years 1850-1966' and added a new postscript 'Friends in Scorn called Quakers', whilst a new chapter 16, ambiguously titled 'The next 30 years [i.e. 1959-1989]', is by Stuart Smith, since 1983 the Director of the Trust which co-publishes a book which has to be welcomed. With its fine new illustrations and impressively low price of £9.00 (or £10.50 including postage and packing from the Ironbridge Gorge Museum, Ironbridge, Telford, TF8 7AW, Shropshire) it deserves to be, and undoubtedly will be, read by a whole new generation who are unaware of the earlier edition.

It is the new sections of this book which deserve a reviewer's attention. The first point to be made, with some force, is how much has been written about the history of the Coalbrookdale area and its industrialisation since 1953, but how little we are here told of it. Historical attitudes to the whole Darby enterprise and the Quaker role in it have changed and been put into context. This is largely the achievement of Barrie Trinder, whose magnificent *The Industrial Revolution in Shropshire* (first edition 1978, second edition 1981) has set a model for the study of the Industrial Revolution in local context. Some might think that Raistrick's book should have been properly revised to take account of all this additional literature. But Dr. Raistrick is already in his mid-nineties and we must respect the limitations this placed on him.

But I felt we should have, at least, been made aware of the enormous amount of first-rate historical writings which has appeared between these two editions. Raistrick's new postscript tries to place the whole Darby enterprise within a Quaker context but Trinder has several times remarked on the Quakers' social isolation within the whole industrial enterprise in Shropshire. I was unable to find Barrie even mentioned by name in this book.

The new chapter on the last 30 years I also felt had rather a self-congratulatory tone, as if progress at the Museum here was necessarily all in one, "right" direction. The fact

that the appalling levels of unemployment in the area in the 1980s 'allowed the Museum to recruit extremely skilled people' may not have been seen by those involved as progress, however much it has so clearly benefited the Museum. The whole Ironbridge Museum complex has certainly broken new ground in our "Heritage Industry", but I would have like to find in this last chapter some reference to the critics of the Museum who have claimed that it divorces "the past" from its social contexts. Such people simply see the rise of Industrial Archaeology as an ironic commentary on the decline of the industries it studies (e.g. Robert Hewison's *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of Decline*, London: Methuen 1987 or even more critical Robert Lumley (editor)'s *The Museum Time Machine: putting cultures on display*, London: Routledge 1988).

I re-read this book high in a hotel in Pyatigorsk on the borders of Russia with the Soviet Union. Society there is now facing a crippling decline, just as the Ironbridge Gorge has, but where individual incentive seems to have been swamped beneath collective decision. As the caption to one of the new plates in this welcome reprint points out, Ironbridge succeeded 'in an age confidently believing in progress through human endeavour'. This is a message for our own times, whether Russian or English. But we do need to ask what we mean by "progress" and that our Museums discuss this problem.

H.S. Torrens

Cockermouth Quaker Meeting - the First 300 Years. By J. Bernard Bradbury. £3.

With the passing of the Tercentenary of the Toleration Act it will not be surprising if some other Preparative Meetings publish accounts of the 300 years since the building of their Meeting Houses. This is what Bernard Bradbury has done for Cockermouth. The erection of a Meeting House was usually the opportunity to regularise a Meeting which could have been in existence for many years. Cockermouth was one such Meeting.

This short book, as Bernard Bradbury states, 'is not a complete account of the various aspects of the Meeting's history. More perusal of minutes and other documents would reveal further interesting facts. This has been a historical survey'.

Within the 18 short chapters he covers many aspects of Quakerism including the early beginnings of the Society, the various buildings and renovations of Cockermouth Meeting, marriage, discipline, travelling in the Ministry, Advices and Queries, war and relief, education, industry, the burial ground, the Meeting's organisation and its future. The pattern of the chapters gives a historical perspective, using examples from the Minute books and other sources, covering the whole period to the present day.

It is an informative publication, not only for interested Friends, but also for the local community. An interesting addition to the local history of the area.

Joan Goodwin

Margery Fry - The Essential Amateur. By Enid Huws Jones. William Sessions, York, 1989. £7.50 + £1.20 p&p.

This is a facsimile copy of a book first published in 1966 about a woman who was something of a pioneer in areas which are much in the news today - feminism and penal reform.

She was born into a notable Quaker family, and even though she eventually left the Society her work in so many fields reflected this heritage. Her many roles at Somerville College, Warden of a Birmingham University Women's hostel and as an original member of the University Grants Committee, heralded the subsequent entrance and acceptance of women in areas previously dominated by men. She became the first Secretary of the Howard League for Penal Reform and was one of the first women magistrates. She had a magnificent voice and sense of humour and was a popular broadcaster and became a Governor of the BBC.

The profits from this reprint will be given to the Howard League as it is the area of penal reform that made the greatest claim on her time. Abolition of capital punishment, introduction of children's courts and observation centres, the creation of the probation service; all came within the orbit of her work.

Her reforming zeal was not confined to this country and in 1935 she took over the Howard League Bureau at Geneva which was opened each year during the session of the League of Nations Assembly. Through contacts during these sessions she hoped to persuade member nations into taking some interest in penal problems and reform.

She travelled far and wrote much on this concern and a lasting memorial to this effort came in 1955 when the United Nations' First Congress on the Prevention and Treatment of Crime adopted the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Offenders.

Margery Fry had many interests outside these public concerns - art, bird-watching, needlework and this book expresses the many facets of her life with perception by one who knew her personally. She was always very close to her sisters and brother and one of them has the last word in this book - 'she was wonderful as a sister as well as a penal reformer'.

The book is not only a reminder of Margery Fry's many public contributions but is also a yardstick by which we can measure how far we have progressed in the area of penal reform.

Joan Goodwin

Companions in Caring. By Pat Starkey, Arthur H. Stockwell, Ilfracombe, 1989. £3.20.

To find a collection of documents which yield a rich and complete story must be the dream of many historians. A cupboard and a "tip off" were the beginnings of Dr. Pat Starkey's interest in the Liverpool and District Pacifist Service Unit. This was formed in October 1940 and continued until July 1947 when it became one of the first Family Service Units. This was a recognition of the pioneering work this Unit and others in London and Manchester had been able to initiate with families in difficult social circumstances brought to light by the war. Two statistics in particular show the depth of the social and economic deprivation the Unit found itself working amongst. A 1936 survey found that 30 per cent of families living in parts of Merseyside were below the poverty line and in 1938 the School Medical Service reported that nearly 30 per cent of Liverpool's school children were found to be verminous.

The Unit's pacifist basis led to no official recognition from the City of Liverpool during the war years and the pacifist title had to be dropped if the Unit's work was to be continued in a wider context after 1945. However, the book has a fine story to tell, of concern, courage, determination, heart-break and some humour. The work of the Unit is firmly set in both its historical and social context. Always working on a financial shoestring, its members moved into considerable problem areas with good intentions and dedication but not professional training. This became a major cause of tension with one Liverpool social organisation which dogged the Unit's efforts but they did win recognition and respect from hard pressed local government agencies. Liverpool Friends also played a part in the development of the Unit and its service. The volunteers probably brought the first real contact of hope and friendship to many difficult cases. Their practise of family casework had important results in post-war social work development whilst some of the Unit's members were to give distinguished service in Social Service administration in different parts of Britain. Twenty-three professionally trained Family Service Units are now the heirs of Liverpool's war-time needs.

All major aspects of the Unit's work, difficulties and achievement are clearly and concisely presented in 79 pages of text. A thorough knowledge of the available documents has been superbly integrated into a very readable book. This remarkable story deserves a wide readership.

Howard F. Gregg

A Victorian Quaker Courtship: Lancashire Love Letters of the 1850s. Edited by John Dilworth Abbatt. W. Sessions, York, 1988.

This collection of letters traces the courtship of Jonathan Abbatt of Preston and Mary Dilworth of Calder Bridge from the first formal approach by Jonathan in January 1853 to the eve of their wedding in June 1855. The personalities of the two young people are revealed through their letters which also give us glimpses into the realities of mid-Victorian urban and rural life set in a Quaker context. The growth of their love is set against the measured pace of parental approval, the ability of Jonathan to provide an adequate home with a sound business to support it and the Quaker marriage discipline then required if they were to be wed according to Friends usage. There is no doubting their love for one another which can be expressed both teasingly and touchingly on occasion.

The letters also enable us to experience the extended inter-relationship of Quaker families in one area at a time when marrying non-Friends was still unaccepted by the Society. The book has an exhaustive genealogical commentary, a good collection of photographs, both of place and family, and a useful map. Quaker language and practice is helpfully explained for non-Quaker readers and there are interesting chapters on family origins, education and family life after 1855.

The enclosed world of Meeting, business, home and family are well conveyed but the letters can give us only partial glimpses of this world. They were only part of the courtship as Jonathan and Mary were able to see one another on a regular basis. Thus much that the letters might otherwise give in greater detail was not necessary. There are few references to the larger national or regional scene. Yearly Meeting makes no appearance and the Crimean War is briefly noticed. The letters therefore, being limited

by both purpose and context, cannot provide a complete picture. Clearly, however, their presentation has been a labour of love for their editor.

This then is a record of lively but ordinary Friends, at an important moment in their lives' journeys. If one is tempted to undervalue it, Thomas Hardy, in his poem 'In Time of "The Breaking of Nations" ', provides a profound insight into the quality of such experience.

Howard F. Gregg

BOOKS RECEIVED

Ruskin and Bewdley. By Peter Wardle and Cedric Quayle, Bentham Press, 1989. £2.95. ISBN 0 905772 24 5.

Becoming Real: an introduction to the thought of John Macmurray. By Jeanne Warren, Sessions Book Trust, York, 1989. £2 + 50p p&p. ISBN 1 85072 061 4.

The Universal Jesus. By Meg Chignall, Sessions Book Trust, York, 1990. £5. ISBN 1 85072 067 3.

Glimpses of Colthouse Meeting. By John Anderson, Colthouse P.M., 1988 n.p.

'A Bygone Quaker Meeting' (Tadcaster-Wetherby-Clifford). By W. Pearson Thistlethwaite, 1988. Available from the author at 2, Rossett Holt View, Harrogate, £2.50.

NOTES AND QUERIES

THE ESTABLISHMENT AND DISSENT IN LOCAL POLITICS

Jonathan Barry (Exeter University) in an essay entitled 'The parish in civic life: Bristol and its churches, 1640-1750' (included in *Parish, church and people: local studies in lay religion, 1350-1750*, Hutchinson, 1988) studies both the turbulent seventeenth century, and the more quiescent eighteenth century, and notes of the latter period

'While religion was still an indispensable ingredient of public action... the Church of England was bound to have an advantage which its adherents were tempted to exploit and its rivals to resent'.

Barry's survey includes the Nayler episode (with his account based on the hostile publications of Ralph Farmer and William Grigge). He notes that each dissenting body was concerned with education and the maintenance of membership through the influence of family and patronage, 'reproducing in miniature the parochial model of unity.'

'Baptists, Quakers and, to a lesser extent, Presbyterians offered their poorer members relief and education, while they all sought to control the morals of their congregation.'

The study also brings in the Corporation of the Poor, the Society for the Reformation of Manners, and the (later) Infirmary, in which Friends and others, city-wide and above the parochial level, worked together in spite of religion and political tensions.

Russell S. Mortimer

SUFFOLK QUAKERS

An Historical Atlas of Suffolk. Edited by David Dymond and Edward Martin. 2nd edition. (Ipswich, Suffolk County Council, 1989). This volume includes a map showing the distribution of Protestant Nonconformity in the county based on seventeenth-century and Religious Census (1851) materials. Quakers appear in more than a score of the 500-plus parishes, a spread ranging from Clare and Haverhill down on the Essex border to the town of Beccles in the north east on the Norfolk margin, and Leiston on the coast. Friends, and other nonconformist bodies form clusters at particular centres like Aldeburgh, Bury, Ipswich, Sudbury and Woodbridge. There is a page of explanatory text accompanying the map by Kenneth Glass and David Dymond.

R.S.M.

'BRISTOL QUAKERS IN COMMERCE

Studies in the Business History of Bristol. Edited by Charles Harvey and Jon Press. (Bristol Academic Press, 1988).

This volume contains ten essays on Bristol's industrial and commercial development, particularly since 1800. Among other subjects, chapters are devoted to banking, locomotive building and printing and packaging, and there is a 20-page study on the firm J.S. Fry & Sons based largely on a reading of Fry's and Cadbury's records.

The names of Friends noticed range from Abraham Darby, Thomas Goldney and the Harfords in the early eighteenth century, to John Wright, Fox Walker & Co. and the Frys in the last 150 years.

R.S.M.

LONDON QUAKER IMPRINTS

Michael Treadwell's essay 'On false and misleading imprints in the London book trade, 1660-1750' (*Fakes and frauds*. Edited by Robin Myers and Michael Harris. Winchester, St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1989, pp.29-46) has the following passage (p.31) concerning the imprint -

LONDON: Printed, and Sold by...

'... in the period with which we are concerned there are few imprints which it is correct to interpret as meaning that the named seller also printed the work "Printed, and sold by" him or her. The only substantial group of such imprints known to me occurs on the works of Quaker printers like Andrew Sowle or his daughter Tace Sowle Raylton, it having been the policy of the Society of Friends that their authorized printers also distribute the Society's works.'

R.S.M.

WILLIAM BACKHOUSE (1807-1869)

In *The Naturalist*, 1987, vol.112 no.982 Peter Davis describes the work of William Backhouse of St. John's Hall, Wolsingham in an illustrated article. Backhouse's father William (1779-1844) was a botanist of some repute and his son continued the interest in natural history as entomologist, geologist, ornithologist and metereologist. He was particularly noted for the development of new varieties of bulbs, especially narcissus and lilies.

David J. Hall

DANIEL BOULTER

The activities of Daniel Boulter of Yarmouth, 1740-1802, as a collector and dealer in paintings are described in Andrew W. Moore's *Dutch & Flemish Painting in Norfolk*, 1988. In addition to being a dealer in general goods, Boulter established in 1778 a museum in which most of the objects were for sale including approximately 150 pictures.

D.J.H.

In *Perfection Proclaimed Language and Literature in English Radical Religion 1640-1660* (Oxford, 1989). Nigel Smith presents a very detailed examination of aspects of language in the publications of radical religious groups. He compares Familist, Quaker, Seeker and Ranter literature in studying the origins of styles, the images used and the general use of language.

D.J.H.

JOHN BOUCHER, OF HOBART, TASMANIA, 1837

The appearance in 1988 of the first volume in the Gloucestershire Record series, issued by the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, entitled *Transportees from Gloucestershire to Australia, 1783-1842*; edited by Irene Wyatt, brings to notice a name which appears in Marjorie and William Oats, *A biographical index of Quakers in Australia before 1862* (1982-89). John Boucher is recorded as an Attender at Hobart Meeting and appears in the letters of James Backhouse preserved at Friends House Library, London.

It seems possible that John Boucher is the same man as the John Boucher, labourer, Newnham, Glos., aged 48, who was sentenced to be transported for 7 years, and arrived in Van Diemen's Land on 6 October 1829 on the Bussorah Merchant. (G.R.S. 1, p.16).

James Backhouse records that John Boucher worked as a labourer in a brewery under difficult circumstances; he was seldom able to get to Meeting in a forenoon, but 'he is often refreshed by sitting in silence communing in heart with the Lord'. (Letter, 8 x 1837).

No further information is available at present.

R.S.M.

ALGERNON SIDNEY AND WILLIAM PENN

Jonathan Scott's *Algernon Sidney and the English republic, 1623-1677* (Cambridge studies in early modern British history), Cambridge University Press, 1988 is the first volume of a two-volume study of the English republican politician who was executed after the Rye House plot. The author points to parallels in the careers of Sidney and Penn, their common interests and collaboration in politics and the attempt to promote liberty of conscience.

'Sidney himself showed a particular tendency towards political and personal friendships with quakers, or the friends of quakers, like Vane, Furly, and Penn, men who combine inward spirituality with outward action to protect it.'

Penn's *One project for the good of England* (1679), pointing to the two facets of public interest - of the state internationally and of the citizen within the body politic, is held to show something of Sidney's influence, which was to be a beneficial element in the developments in America, reaching beyond the drawing up of the Pennsylvanian constitution.

R.S.M.

DARLINGTON TOWN MAP

The manuscript 'Plan of property belonging to the Friends in the Township of Darlington in the County of Durham' by J. Sowerby, 1849, is one of the exhibits to figure in the catalogue *What use is a map?* (1989) of a recent display at the British Library's Map Gallery.

The map is Additional Manuscript 64815 in the British Library's collections. The catalogue description notes that the Quaker meeting house is depicted in the margin, and suggests that the work may have been commissioned by John Beaumont Pease, whose home, North Lodge, is shown twice.

R.S.M.

ACKWORTH LETTERS HOME, 1949-51

A collection of over 150 letters from Ackworth written by Jill Sykes (then Jill Tallant) to her parents during the time she was a pupil at Ackworth School has recently been presented to the Brotherton Library, University of Leeds by Alfred Tallant. They provide a detailed and personal view of life at Ackworth during the intermediate post-war years, and the fact that they were preserved mainly in sessional bundles enabled the items to be dated (aided by *The Cupola* lent by Ackworth) with a high degree of certainty. Jill tended to date her letters, often with just the day of the week only. There is a lesson to be learnt here.

R.S.M.

VICTIMS OF CRIME IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY BRISTOL

Whether Martha, wife of William Grove, was hanged by the "Neck until she shall be

Dead", as directed by the Bristol jail delivery, 26 August 1775 is not certain. She was still in prison at the next jail delivery, 11 April 1776, and there to remain "until his Majesty's pleasure be known". According to the recent Bristol Record Society volume (no.40): *Bristol gaol delivery fiats, 1741-1799* (edited by Georges Lamoine, 1989) her crime was 'privately and feloniously stealing the Goods of Truman Harford, above the value of Forty Shillings, in his Shop.' This may well be the shop of Truman Harford, eldest son of James and Ann Harford, born 18 vii 1758, in Queens Square, as entered in Friends' registers.

There are other Harford victims of crime in the book, including Mark, son of Mark (merchant) and Love (Andrews), born 4 iii 1738, in Wine Street, who married Sarah (daughter of Samuel and Sarah) Lloyd, 26 xi 1762 at the Friars in Bristol. Noted are a fine and jail sentence in 1786 for receiving goods stolen from Mark Harford; and pleadings (one guilty of petty larceny, fined 1s.) in 1795 for stealing the property of Isaac Lewis, Thomas Corser and Mark Harford, partners, including 'one piece of Castile soap, of the value of one shilling, one glass bottle of the value of one penny, containing four ounces of syrup of poppies, of the value of four-pence'. In these latter cases it was Isaac Lewis who laid information on oath. Perhaps Mark Harford retained some of his Quaker upbringing, and hesitated about taking legal action through the courts.

The Isaac Riddle & Co., whose bearer draft was among the bank securities stolen in 1783, may well be a company formed by Isaac Riddle, eldest son of William and Betty Riddle, born 20 xi 1753.

R.S.M.

SUSSEX FRIENDS IN 1851

The religious census of Sussex, 1851. Edited by John A. Vickers. (Sussex Record Society, volume 75). (Lewes, 1989).

Friends met in five places in Sussex for worship on 31 March 1851. Morning meetings were attended by 235, and the 4 meetings in the afternoon were attended by 160. Individual meetings recorded as follows:

Brighton (Ship Street) Morn. 135; Aft. 95 [Reported by] Richard Patching, 26 Duke St., Brighton.

Chichester (St Andrews) Morn. 14; Aft. 11 Thomas Snutte Smith, Overseer.

Horsham Morn. 10; Aft. 9. Richard Pollard, West Street, Horsham.

Ifield Morn. 16. John Cheal, Charlewood, Surrey.

Lewes (All Saints parish) Morn. 60; Aft. 45. Burwood Godlee, Lewes.

R.S.M.

TWO ARTICLES BY DAVID J. HALL

In 'Studies in Church History' 26, 1989, "A Description of the Qualifications necessary to A Gospel Ministry - Quaker Ministry in the eighteenth century".

In 'Pioneers in Bibliography' ed. R. Myers and M. Harris, 1988, "The earlier bibliographers of Quakerism". (Copy in Friends House).

G.A.J.H.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE RECORD OFFICE

Summary of accessions 1979-1988 (*Transactions Bristol & Gloucestershire Archaeological Soc.*, 106 (1988) 225-7, from Cotswold Collotype Co., Wotton under Edge, 1901-78

including the nineteenth-century albums of photographer Francis Frith (D 4140); Player family of south Gloucestershire, seventeenth-c. 1900 (D 5090).

R.S.M.

RESTORATION ENGLAND

The politics of religion in restoration England (Basil Blackwell, 1990) is a series of eight essays on a wide range of topics, edited by Tim Harris, Paul Seaward and Mark Goldie, dealing with the events which led through the persecutions of dissenters up to the Act of Toleration. One essay in particular, by Jonathan Barry of the University of Exeter, treads a careful path through the minefield of city politics in Bristol, and deals in masterly fashion with the sources which survive. The essays provide ample documentation for students of religious history, and Quaker studies in particular, to pursue their own researches.

R.S.M.

FRIENDS' REGISTERS OF BIRTHS, MARRIAGES AND BURIALS

We know that Friends' registers are incomplete. Missing volumes, deficiencies in entry, have both been identified as elements in the problem; but how incomplete are the records?

As early as 1678 Bristol Friends knew that they were not getting registration right, and they employed a Friend to go round the city collecting birth certificates.

The difficulties encountered by the earnest seeker are identified in *My ancestors were Quakers*, by Edward H. Milligan and Malcolm J. Thomas (Society of Genealogists, 1983).

A particular enquiry led me to make a spot check in the Yorkshire records (deposited at the Brotherton Library, University of Leeds) of the ancient Thirsk Monthly Meeting. The monthly meeting minutes for 1759 to 1764 revealed that in the overwhelming majority of cases of marriages accomplished, no register copy of the wedding certificate survived in Friends' custody when Friends' registers were surrendered to government seventy years later. Therefore no entry appears in the Digests of Yorkshire Registers available at Friends House Library, London.

Of the six marriages of which records do survive (see list below), two are revealed only by information in the register of the monthly meeting from which the bridegrooms came (Malton, and Owstwick), although the weddings took place in Thirsk Monthly Meeting, at Thirsk and Bilsdale.

It may be noted that although the wedding of Thomas Johnson and Frances Flounders took place at Thirsk, 2 ii 1764, the fact was not reported until seven weeks later (20 iii 1764), because monthly meeting on 27 ii transacted no business. The minute book (Clifford Street Archives F 3.4, p.144) says:

No representatives appeared from any meeting excepting Thirsk... Friends being hindered as we apprehend from attending from other meetings, occasioned by the roads being very difficult on account of the great fall of snow & stormy weather.

How incomplete are the records? Will we ever identify the gaps?

NOTES AND QUERIES

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Thirsk Monthly Meeting: Marriages reported in monthly meeting as having taken place in the period 1759-64

Clifford Street Archives volume F 3.4, page no.	Names of Parties	Date of report, & probable place of the wedding	Register entry (if any)
17	Samuel Pickering Elizabeth Walker	18 ix 1759 Thirsk	no
24	Nicholas Atkinson Ann Baldrige	29 i 1760 Thirsk	no
31	Simeon Webster Elizabeth Duning	29 iv 1760 Bilsdale	no
33	Joseph Mason (Gisbro. MM) Ann Flower	27 v 1760 Thirsk	no
34	James Kendray Mary Ventriss	27 v 1760 Bilsdale	no
38-9	Richard Moak Elizabeth Hunter	26 viii 1760 Huby	no
45	William Brown Mary Bradley	25 xi 1760 Thirsk	no
58	John Webster (Malton MM) Elizabeth Helm	23 vi 1761	1604.17: 7 vi 1761 at Bilsdale
69	Isaac Smith (Owstwick MM) Hannah Flower	24 xi 1761	1441.59D: 28 x 1761 at Thirsk
70	George Unthank (Gisbro. MM) Elizabeth Chambers	22 xii 1761 Thirsk	no
75	John Barker Mary Torr	26 i 1762 Thirsk	no
78	John Smith Hannah Barker	16 iii 1762 Thirsk	no
88	Peter Buck Mary Flower	22 vi 1762 Thirsk	no
100	William Grimshaw (Knar. MM) Hannah Adamson	26 x 1762	1331.1 1327.132: 7 x 1762 at Thirsk
111	John Coldbeck Elizabeth Hardacre	22 ii 1763	1327.134: 27 i 1763 at Thirsk
114	James Masterman (Richm. MM) Hannah Fossick	22 iii 1763 ?	no
120	James Masterman (Gisbro. MM) Lydia Fossick	31 v 1763 Rounton	no
123	Richard Brown Mary Proud	22 vi 1763 Thirsk	no

139	Joseph Hardy	20 xii 1763	1327.140: 1 xii 1763
	Mary Webster		at Thirsk
145	Thomas Johnson	20 iii 1764	1327.137: 2 ii 1764
	Frances Flounders		at Thirsk
158	Christopher Barker	28 viii 1764	no
	Mary Hutchinson	Thirsk	

Of 21 weddings reported to Thirsk Monthly Meeting in this six-year period, six only have entries in the Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting Digest of Registers.

An extended, but not so detailed, survey of Settle Monthly Meeting records in the Carlton Hill Archives made with the assistance of Arthur Olver's index to the minute books, points to the register entries for 100 of the 500 marriages in that Yorkshire monthly meeting between 1655 and 1852 being defective or completely missing.

Russell S. Mortimer

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