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THE JOURNAL OF THE FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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ABRAHAM SHACKLETON AND THE IRISH SEPARATION OF 1797-1803

Anyone who attempts to find a way through the tangle of the Irish Separation is faced at the outset by the scarcity of contemporary evidence. In almost all the records for the years between 1798 and 1805 there are gaps. Letters have been destroyed, journals mutilated and even a folder of press cuttings which should begin in 1799 has been tampered with. From a minute of the National Meeting of Ministers and Elders in Dublin in 1798 it appears that the policy of silence was deliberate and it was felt that public discussion would only exacerbate the difficulties involved; the whole problem was too delicate for anything but the most careful and tender handling. In a short essay it is not possible adequately to cover all the complicated issues involved, so I propose to concentrate on the key figure of Abraham Shackleton the younger and to explore the radical difference between him and nineteenth century English evangelical Friends in their attitude to the authority of the scriptures.

It is first, I think, necessary briefly to sketch in the historical background to the events of these years. The Irish Separation took place against the background of the great Rebellion of 1798 and the communities of Friends scattered throughout the counties affected were inevitably caught up in the general ruin and desolation, the sense of loosening of restraint which often accompanies such calamities. Many

had lost all they possessed; the losses of Friends in county Wexford alone were estimated at more than £7,000¹ and a large subscription was started for their relief.² The easing of this financial burden, while considerable, was a practical measure about which there could be no difference of opinion; a far deeper reason for disquiet lay in the low and dull state of the Society and in a growing disunity on fundamental matters of religious belief. Throughout the greater part of the eighteenth century the Society of Friends in Ireland had remained inward-looking and self-contained to an even greater degree than had been the case in England; the discipline imposed by the elders was very strict, only ruffled by the emergence of the New Light movement in the 1770s, when a group of the younger members of the Society sought to ease the stranglehold of the elders on Quaker life and thought. This re-emerged in 1798 in the protests of younger members against the strictness of the marriage regulations. But the Quakers were part of the national life of Ireland, they could not forever remain immune to the conflict of ideas within society as a whole, nor to the ideals of political and religious freedom which became increasingly the goal of many Irish men and women.

In the spring of 1798 Friends in Ireland were faced with differences which had arisen in the interpretation of the scriptures and the value to be placed upon them as a guide to faith and conduct. A committee was appointed to examine the state of the Society and was charged with the task of visiting every quarterly and monthly meeting in the country. To the members of this committee, as is clear from the unpublished letters of one of its members,³ the Inward Light of Christ in the heart was still the primary rule, the 'counsel of Truth' contained in the scriptures a secondary guide to faith and conduct, as it has been to early Friends, and this position foreshadowed the controversy which developed in England during the nineteenth century. But the conflict between the relative importance of the Inward Light and the scriptures did not assume among Irish Separatists the direction it later took among those supporters of the evangelical movement in English Quakerism. It contained two definite strands of thought; the first, derived directly from Proposition III of Robert Barclay's *Apology*, that whatever in the scriptures could not be supported by the witness of the Inward Light of Christ in the heart had no claim to be accounted 'the principal Ground of Truth',⁴ a position completely opposite to that which obtained amongst English evangelicals; and the second that those parts of the scripture which presented a view of the nature of God inconsistent with one of divine mercy and love could have no claim to be called sacred writing. For this part of the Separation, the emotional and intellectual

criticism of the Bible, it is necessary to turn to Abraham Shackleton the younger, as its principal exponent.

For many years before 1798 Abraham Shackleton had been a member of most of the committees set up to consider the state of the Society in Ireland and he was a regular representative for Leinster province at the National half-year's Meeting in Dublin. He was sensitive and intelligent, a man of high principle, with a mind wide open to the intellectual climate of the time. He was interested in philosophy and what he described as metaphysical speculation, as evinced by a delightful letter to his sister Debbie⁵ and in due course was prepared to embark on criticism of the scriptures far more radical than anything hitherto seen within the narrow confines of Quaker religious thought.

The school he maintained at his home in Ballitore numbered the statesman Edmund Burke, who became a lifelong friend of the Shackleton family, among its former scholars and in the conduct of this school, which had been founded by his grandfather Abraham Shackleton the elder, he grew in his father's words 'in a concern for the religious prosperity of the rising generation among us, & is more & more regulating & modifying his school for this purpose'.⁶ So deep was his concern for the spiritual welfare of the boys in his charge that he ceased to teach them the classics, for fear that too great an admiration for the blaze of heroic prowess should obscure the meekness and gentleness of the 'mild author of Christianity'.⁷ John Keats' first acquaintance with Chapman's Homer opened the windows of his mind to a new vision of spiritual truth; for Shackleton Homer and Virgil were 'rocks of destruction to thousands of young minds, which are more pernicious as they promise so much safety, serenity and calm, covered over by the deceitful wave of specious appearance & a display of the milder virtues of the heathen world, dressed in the highest imagery and delusive language'.⁸ He set out his reasons in a letter to the parents of his pupils, but many of them were not Quakers and a knowledge of the classics was essential to a university education. For this and other reasons the number of his pupils steadily declined, until he was forced to close the school.

Rufus Jones, in *Later Periods of Quakerism*⁹, in his discussion of Abraham Shackleton's part in the Separation, has suggested that the American Quietist minister Job Scott, who arrived in Ireland in 1793, would have possessed the 'inward depth and spiritual insight' which would have preserved Shackleton from the extremes to which his subsequent thinking led him. There is no doubt that Shackleton was exposed to the influence of the charismatic American preacher. Job

Scott was intimate with Shackleton's circle of friends – he speaks in his Journal of 'returning to the house of my friend John Hancock'¹⁰, who with Shackleton became a leader of the later Separation, and while in Ballitore he stayed at the house of Abraham Shackleton's widowed mother. As well as being a well-known Quaker minister Job Scott was also clearly a scholar and in his Journal there is to be found not only evidence of his universalism and his reliance on the Inward Light of Christ in the hearts of all men as the true guide, but also the germ of the historical criticism of the Bible which Abraham Shackleton carried to much greater lengths. But while Job Scott comments merely on the fact that the Bible has been subjected to scholarly criticism,¹¹ Shackleton, ranging far wider, uses this criticism in order to refute its authority. Job Scott died in Ireland in 1793, but even if he had lived it is doubtful whether his influence on Shackleton would have been more than minimal, although his contact with Shackleton may have reinforced the latter's reservations as to the irreconcilability of a view of God as the God of mercy and love for all his creation with the warrior God portrayed in the pages of the Old Testament, reservations which came to a head in 1798.

It should also not be overlooked that the Quaker Samuel Fisher, a contemporary of Robert Barclay, who died in 1665, also pointed out that the text of the scriptures had been 'corrupted, vitiated, altered and adulterated in all translations'¹² and Shackleton would no doubt have been aware of this, but an equally potent contemporary influence may have been the writings of the sometime Quaker Thomas Paine, with which Shackleton would have been familiar through his own and his father's friendship with Edmund Burke¹³ and his consequent knowledge of the English revolutionary circle. Paine was a deist and wrote *The Age of Reason* on the threshold of imprisonment in France as an anti-Jacobin. He believed:-

...in a God, whose beauty he saw in nature; he taught the doctrine of conditional immortality, and his quarrel with revealed religion was chiefly that it set up for worship a God of cruelty and injustice. From the stories of the Jewish massacres ordained by divine command, down to the orthodox doctrine of the scheme of redemption, he saw nothing but a history derogatory to the wisdom and goodness of the Almighty. To believe the Old Testament we must unbelieve our faith in the moral justice of God ... From this starting point he proceeds in the later second and third parts to a detailed criticism designed to show that the books of the Bible were not written by their reputed authors, that the miracles are incredible, that the passages claimed as prophecy have been wrested from their context, and that many inconsistencies are to be found in the narrative portions of the Gospels.¹⁴

Shackleton's position led not, of course, to the elevation of the Bible as the primary guide to faith and conduct, as happened amongst nineteenth century evangelical Quakers in England, but to the total rejection of large parts of the scriptures as divinely inspired writings. His defence of his position, taken from *A Narrative of events in Ireland* published anonymously by the Liverpool Jacobin William Rathbone and echoing some of the statements made by Thomas Paine, is worth quoting at some length:-

These alleged commands of the Almighty [the Canaanite wars] for proceedings in some cases perfidious, and in others cruel and unjust, were either *wilful and impious pretences on the part of the perpetrators or original historians of such transactions; or subsequent interpolations in the history*; and that a right apprehension of ... the divine attributes would forbid our assent to such passages, as they could have no genuine claim to the appellation of SACRED SCRIPTURES ... it was highly derogatory to the character of the unchangeable God, 'with whom there is no variableness, neither shadow of turning', to conceive that the Divine Being would himself act in opposition to those moral laws which he has ordained to be of perpetual and universal obligation; or that he would ever suspend the obligation of those laws upon his *rational* offspring ... Consequently that neither wars, nor any acts of cruelty, treachery, or fraud, nor the exercise of any of the angry, revengeful or hurtful passions, were ever either approved of, or authorised by the God of purity, holiness, peace and love; and that it was altogether unnecessary and unwarrantable that such points should be deemed essential articles of Christian's faith¹⁵ (my italics).

A passage which echoes Thomas Paine's view of the moral values enjoined by God upon mankind and which in its terminology reflects words and phrases used by Paine.

John Hancock, writing an appreciation of Abraham Shackleton after his death, states that 'His opinions were his own and not borrowed'¹⁶, but as a scholar Shackleton would probably have been aware of the work of the seventeenth-century scholar Hugo Grotius, a pioneer of modern biblical criticism. Grotius quietly upheld the right to study and analyse the books of scripture exactly as one does any other books. Shackleton's thinking was in tune in its origin with the threefold analysis of the purpose of the scriptures set out at the beginning of Proposition III of the *Apology*, but that he also upheld Grotius's view is clearly demonstrated in the following quotations:-

[Of the scriptures] one [part] is matter of faith, whose truths are of everlasting obligation; these truths are revealed in the heart of every man for his guidance, the scriptures bearing witness thereto, and serving as collateral evidence, showing the uniformity, universality and perpetuity of the divine communications; this is the DOCTRINAL PART. The other [part] is HISTORICAL, teaching also by a sort of figure, but of the *literal and historical acceptance, we have as*

*good a right to question, as of the truth of any other history, standing upon its probability or the degree of clearness of the evidence*¹⁷ (my italics).

and again as follows:-

I believe there are some errors in the translation, more errors in the transcribing, but most of all in the original writing [of the scriptures] which, coming through men strongly tinctured with rabbinical mysteries, they were induced to muddy the fountain, to accommodate their darkened ideas. Now seeing that men have written, men have transcribed, and men have translated these writings, it is consistent with the excellence and dignity of truth, that they be perpetually subjected to the standard of incorruptible light, and the manifestation made thereby in the enlightened understanding of men, whereby these errors are detected ... Anything therefore on record which, subjected to this test, cannot stand the scrutiny, or has not an evidence in the correct illumined mind, is not an indispensable object of faith.¹⁸

Nothing could more clearly illustrate the distance between the Irish Separatists and nineteenth century English evangelical Friends, with their insistence on the infallibility of the scriptures as the revealed word of God. Shackleton may or may not have been aware of the biblical criticism of the eighteenth-century Frenchman Jean Astruc, who commented on the inconsistencies to be found in the biblical record and whose influence is principally to be found among later German biblical scholars, but although it should not be overlooked that Shackleton's condemnation of the Bible rested perhaps as much on a moral and emotional response to what he felt to be the true nature of God as on a careful scholarly analysis, his use of the historical method is well grounded in the technique of biblical criticism as used by Spinoza, Richard Simon, Johann Semler and others. His use of the term 'rational' is interesting and illuminating; a concept of the nature of God must satisfy the claim of human reason, in line with the natural theology of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, but it was to be 100 years before we find traces of such a view of the place of reason in relation to religious truth widely held among English Friends.

This is not to say that biblical criticism was unknown amongst Friends in England at the turn of the nineteenth century. Richard Morris's *Animadversions on the Scriptures*, first published in 1742 and re-issued by Morris Birkbeck in 1798, was used by Hannah Barnard in her appeal to London Yearly Meeting in 1801; Morris Birkbeck's reason for re-issuing this tract was that it seemed to him to point out not only what the scriptures are, but also what they are not and Richard Morris, like Job Scott and Abraham Shackleton himself, held that learned men give different interpretations of the scriptures and they cannot all be right.

William Matthews and other notable Friends shared Hannah Barnard's view that acceptance of the historicity of the Bible and several points of faith, as for example the virgin birth were not essential to salvation; too much infallibility had been imputed to the records of the Old and New Testaments, not only by Friends but by others as well and Abraham Shackleton, who accompanied her from Ireland to England, supported her views.

But the climate of opinion in the Society as a whole was inimical to such views and it is not until the 1880s and 1890s that we find English Friends troubled by 'speculation and unbelief'.¹⁹ As the nineteenth century progressed English Quakerism was held in tension between the rising tide of evangelical thinking, with its insistence on the infallibility of the scriptures as the primary rule, and those who desired above all else a return to the simplicity and purity of what they considered to be the beliefs and practices of early Friends (see my essay on 'Tensions' in the Society at this time, *JFHS* vol. 56, no. 1 and also Roger C. Wilson, 'Manchester, Manchester and Manchester Again', F.H.S. Occasional Series No 1, (1990)) and it was not until this tension was resolved in the liberalising influence of the Manchester Conference of 1895 that the use of reason as applied to the scriptures could be freely admitted. Abraham Shackleton lacked the scholarly equipment of nineteenth-century biblical critics such as Julius Wellhausen and his school, but he was not a lone voice and stood firmly in the line of biblical criticism since its beginnings in the history of the early church. His reference to 'men strongly tinctured with rabbinical mysteries' reveals an awareness of the circumstances in which it was thought the books of the Bible had been put together.

So a picture emerges of, on the one hand, a small group of Quakers in Ireland led by Abraham Shackleton and John Hancock, holding views on the fallibility of the scriptures totally at variance with those held by the Society in Ireland, which while asserting the supremacy of the Inward Light in the heart continued to acknowledge the Bible as a secondary rule; and on the other hand English Friends divided between those who supported the orthodox Irish position and those evangelical Friends at the opposite extreme from the Irish Separatists who elevated the Bible to a primary guide for faith and conduct. The Irish Separatists were, in the Society of their period, voices in the wilderness, but they anticipated the great swell of nineteenth-century biblical criticism and if the Society had not been, in general, inimical to theological questioning, and if the scholars there undoubtedly were among its members had turned their minds to the kind of questions raised by Shackleton, it could have been in the vanguard of religious thought and scholarship.

The turn of the nineteenth century was one of the great watersheds not only of religious but of political and social history and it is arguable that the Society chose the wrong way forward, losing itself in the narrow toils of evangelicalism when a wider destiny beckoned to it. It was perhaps too small in numbers to accept such a challenge, its frame of reference inhibited by its religious environment.

Abraham Shackleton was disowned in 1801²⁰ and wrote to Carlow Monthly Meeting pleading for a wider unity than that offered by the Society, in words which clearly express his universalist convictions:

First, I do not disown the Society, nor any society of men, nor *any* man; I am a man, subject to like passions as other men and like frailties; I cannot therefore *disown* any, but would rather *seek the good of all men, continually whilst I live ...*

Secondly, I disown not man, I disown the principle of *congregated societies*, of *religion housed up*, which has a tendency to separate the affections of man from man ... very much tending to lay waste those *brotherly sympathies* by which *all* the sons of men are, or ought to be, *united in common interest*.

These distinctions, whatever good they may have produced in individuals, in the days of ignorance, and the gloominess of religious bigotry and blindness, I am persuaded *the day is come* for their *annihilation*; and that they ought not to be *found any more at all*; but that *all* men everywhere *love as brethren*, and own no man nearer or dearer for any outward circumstance (of this kind) than another, seeing that all men are created of one blood, and *all* are *children* of ONE HEAVENLY BENIGNANT FATHER, all the world over.

This letter, which is too long to quote in full, goes on to condemn the violence of some parts of biblical history as impossible to be of divine origin, those influenced thereby as having as bloodthirsty a record as any other type of religious belief; also that as well as no ‘congregated societies’ there should be no “BOOK, having particular DOGMAS of belief, by which that society is to be distinguished; the *absurdities contained in your bibles, being a sufficient indication to any unprejudiced mind for their annihilation.*”

The letter illustrates with great clarity the advanced position to which Abraham Shackleton’s concept of the nature of God and the historicity of the scriptures had led him and raises two issues of great interest. The first concerns the authority on which he rests his position. The basis of religious authority has been the subject of dispute since the time of the early church fathers. Tertullian, for example, in about AD 200 saw the church as the guardian of the scriptures and of truth,²¹ while for Augustine they were to be interpreted in ‘the primacy of the law of love’ (Matt.22:40)²² and the argument has continued through the succeeding centuries. Of immediate interest, as contemporary with Robert Barclay and the early Friends was Thomas Hobbes, who in his *Leviathan*

published in 1651 put forward the view that the Bible is not in itself a revelation of God, but only a record of such revelation,²³ and the Jewish philosopher Benedict Spinoza, who in arguing for a rational approach to the Bible held that the scriptures are history, only authoritative for the irrational; he stated that 'everyone should be free to choose for himself the foundation of his creed, and ... faith should be judged only by its fruits'.²⁴ Biblical criticism was also part of the intellectual climate of the late eighteenth century, amongst such eminent men as the dissenter Joseph Priestley, the focus of the 'Church and King' riots in Birmingham in 1791. Abraham Shackleton clearly approached Spinoza's view; he discarded the central thesis of Proposition III of the *Apology*, thus denying the scriptural authority for faith and also as a dissenter abrogated the church's authority as the guardian of religious truth. He apparently removed the two traditional bases on which the authoritative apprehension of the nature of God rested and left himself with a concept of a God of love, the Father of all mankind, for which he had no authoritative foundation. Although he reached this position from the universalism explicit in George Fox's message, (Fox himself rested firmly on the Light of Christ in the heart and the secondary authority of the scriptures), Shackleton could not logically base his beliefs on those held by Fox, since he dismissed as only fit for annihilation the whole Bible, including the New Testament, the foundation of the Christian message of salvation through the sacrifice of Jesus Christ, the position held by the Society since its earliest days. There is no suggestion, in any of his writings examined in connection with this article, of personal mystical revelation or a sense of the numinous, and the essential weakness of his position, and of those who followed him, surely lies in this question of the authority on which he rested his concept of God. As his thought has been traced through this article he appears to have advanced from an original biblical concept of God as universal Father to ideas based neither on the teaching of the Old Testament nor of the New, which having no firm foundation collapsed into what William Savery described as the 'vortex of Deism'.²⁵

The second issue which this letter raises is the threat postulated by Shackleton's views not only to the existence of the Society of Friends and the Christian church, but to the whole social structure. He pleaded almost for a kind of universal religious commonwealth, ruled by God alone, in which all men and women would worship as equals, free from any kind of organization or ritual, even the minimum which George Fox found necessary to preserve Quakerism and which the disciples found to be essential for the spread and preservation of the early church. If the complete shift in the view of the Bible and the human situation before

God towards which Shackleton was groping had been taken up by Friends sympathetic towards his views and his criticism had been supported and modified by the scholarship of which some Friends of the period were undoubtedly capable, he might perhaps have been seen today not as the tragic figure which I think he was, but as one who had a unique contribution to make towards the religious thought, development and historical importance of the Society.

In the extreme lengths to which his thinking led him he raised the perhaps unanswerable question as to whether such a completely individualistic view of religion is in fact attainable by ordinary men and women in a complex society. Can the ideal of the man or woman alone before his or her Maker be held together through the generations without some form of structure, or 'congregated society' to enfold and preserve it? The whole history of religious thought and practice, from their earliest beginnings, bears witness to the need man have felt to organize their experience into more, or less, hierarchical structures, resting on a received and experienced body of religious belief. The Judaeo-Christian tradition, within which Christianity has its roots, reveals a structure as highly organized as any in the history of religion, and for Shackleton's insights to have had the effect on the Society's development to which I have referred earlier, it would have been necessary for them to have been tempered by a more acute awareness of the basis of social structure and the needs of the human condition.

In the complete universalism of his belief, which however owes nothing, as far as it is possible to judge, to knowledge of any of the other great religious traditions of the world, Abraham Shackleton stands apart, not only from contemporary Irish Quakerism with its rigid acceptance of the structures and discipline created by George Fox, and from the acceptance of the Bible as the primary guide to faith and conduct by evangelical Friends in England, but in his total rejection of biblical authority in his plea for the experience of the divine to be based only on the personal relationship between men and women and God, without any structure of formalised worship or 'congregated societies'. The conclusion to which he came, of the divisiveness of 'congregated societies' is inherent in the doctrine of the brotherhood of man and a logical conclusion from it. It is also borne out in the long history of conflict resulting from different and strongly held religious beliefs, both within and outside Christianity, but it fails to take account of human frailty, of the need men and women have to find support and comfort in identification with those like-minded with themselves. The impression he leaves is not only that of a man who thought deeply on the nature of God, but of an intellect which had the courage to think out its concepts

to their ultimate conclusion, to stand by them in the face of the considerable opposition he aroused and to subject his faith not only to the inspiration of the Holy Spirit but also to enlightened human reason.

Mollie Grubb

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CORK MUTUAL IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION (1859-84), AND ITS ANTECEDENTS

This study is concerned with a minute book for the Cork Mutual Improvement Association (CMIA), which was established in 1859 by individual members of the 'Cork Monthly Meeting', part of the 'Munster Quarterly Meeting' of Irish quakers. The minute book covers a period of 24 years and provides a unique index of the intellectual preoccupations of a small group of citizens and incidentally, of Irish quakers generally.

I

THE BACKGROUND (1800-60)

Irish quakers, concentrated mainly in rural towns and urban centres such as Belfast and Dublin, had by the 1860s entered on a period of overall numerical increase in membership, but the membership in Cork was declining.¹ Their traditional merchant-based businesses had yielded to a new professional and shopkeeping class that often chose to live in suburbs instead of central city locations.² Such a spatial segregation was reflected for most quakers in the social distance that they maintained, determined by the exigencies of their group discipline. Including the period covered by this account, this was to a lesser degree to be the case also during the last four decades of the nineteenth century. Such a distancing did not prevent quakers being actively involved in business, educational or philanthropic affairs but they avoided explicit or overt political activities.

To evaluate the scientific or social influences of Irish quakers on national life is not pertinent to the more limited aims of this study, but Irish quakers like English quakers, about whom more has been written,³ certainly made social and scientific contributions out of all proportion to what their minority positions would suggest. Although long excluded from formal or university education they maintained an active intellectual curiosity directed chiefly towards scientific enquiry and commercial improvement. An obituary of the Cork quaker Abraham Beale, who died of typhus as a result of his exertions in the organisation of relief during the Famine of 1845-8, would apparently reflect a popular perception of Irish quakers, 'He was a worthy type of the

Society of which he was a valued member, for in him were observed all that intelligence, uprightness and industry which peculiarly distinguish the Irish quaker'.⁴ Such accounts could be multiplied.

The pragmatic and rational approach inspired by their religious viewpoints made the promotion of scientific enquiry a congenial activity for quakers. The democratic and consensual approach inculcated in them through running the affairs of their own religious society made the promotion of secular societies on a similar pattern a natural activity for them. When they left behind the cares of their shops and businesses they showed that they were indefatigable scholars who, insofar as they could distinguish leisure from labour, turned their hours to intellectual profit geared towards the search for truth and integrity. Such serious interests were in line with the traditional doctrinal presentation of their classic apologist Robert Barclay, who advocated for relaxation, gardening and the study of history.⁵

II

QUAKERS AND THE LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC SOCIETIES OF CORK

The exclusion and self-exclusion of quakers from many elements of national life made their support of literary and scientific societies historically more important for them. Through them they met many people of differing religious persuasions and were able to taste, discover and participate in a wider world beyond their own Religious Society hence finding a variety of liberation from some of its more restrictive aspects. The names of quakers occur frequently in the annals of such Cork societies, in particular, and at different periods, in the Cork Library,⁶ The Royal Cork Institution (R.C.I.),⁷ The Cuvierian Society,⁸ and the Cork Literary and Scientific Society.⁹

Many Cork quakers kept fossil collections and took a great interest in their gardens. A number of these quakers emerge in an account of a visit by Abraham Shackleton to Cork in 1814. He had at one time been the proprietor of the quaker school at Ballitore.¹⁰ Many of his visits in Cork were to quakers who had once been his pupils. One of these was John Lecky whose interests were in astronomy and who was a friend of the antiquary Crofton Croker whom he provided with information towards his history of Cork. Lecky was a correspondent of Sir William Herschel.¹¹ Introductions were arranged for Shackleton to the Royal Cork Institution where he met the Revd Hincks and admired a book of butterflies priced at 12 guineas besides attending a course of lectures given by Edmund Davy, a Cornishman, a relative of Humphry Davy.¹²

He also visited Samuel Wright who was a notable quaker collector of fossils.¹³ Samuel Wright was closely associated with the Royal Cork Institution to the degree that it appears as his address in a list of Cork quakers ...¹⁴ He was a formidable geologist in his own right and in an account mentioning his contributions to science it is stated that he was visited by such 'contemporary notables as Sowerby, Phillips and de Verneuil'.¹⁵

Other quakers might be selected as representatives to illustrate the background to this account. The name of Thomas Beale could be mentioned. He had been for a period of perhaps 30 years the Librarian of the Cork Library.¹⁶ Abraham Abell, a member of the Royal Irish Academy is a quaker remembered as much for his amiable eccentricities as for his antiquarian leanings. His connection with learning was to become even closer when he took up residence in the R.C.I. building at what was known as Nelson's Place (now Emmett Place).¹⁷ He was associated with the group of Cork antiquarians including John Windele and Fr. Mat Horgan of Blarney. A successor to Abraham Abell at the R.C.I. was John Humphries, formerly a teacher and then apparently earning his living by a variety of small posts in the learned societies of Cork. He was in 1863 the librarian of the R.C.I. and also the assistant-secretary of the Cork Literary and Scientific Society and of the Cuvierian Society.¹⁸ Besides these labours he was an eminent conchologist.¹⁹ In the Cuvierian Society, were active also Robert John Lecky, the marine engineer,²⁰ and Joseph Wright F.G.S.I the palaeontologist who was to be its president 1866-7.²¹ We should not forget also to refer to the eminent botanist William Henry Harvey. He had been a pupil of the Ballitore School in 1824, then under the management of James White. Although born in Limerick his father Joseph Massey Harvey was from a Youghal quaker family. He was often to be found visiting his father's native county as well as becoming involved in its scientific institutions. He resigned from the Religious Society of Friends to join what was then still the 'church by law established'.²²

The membership of the Religious Society of Friends in Cork, and in the country generally was one in which the various families were nearly all intermarried over several generations. Hence they shared one another's intellectual, social and spiritual preoccupations to a high degree. There were in Cork in 1850-60 something in the region of 300 Friends.²³ Evangelicalism had made possible the closer assimilation of quakers to other Irish protestants to the degree that many of them found it hard to discover the rationale of being quaker except in terms of the inherited sectarian niche which history mapped out for them. In that

they identified their own variety of 'Irishness'. Ironically it was the anglican, 'church by law established' which began to exert an ever increasing attraction on Irish quakers. This had been the chief engine of their persecution for ages past and its role was only to be ended in Gladstone's Irish church act of 1869. Protestants generally felt the need to close ranks in the face of a self-confident Roman Catholicism with nationalistic overtones. Irish quakers were not immune to this protestant trend but also felt a need to preserve their unique communal traditions by having social groupings independent of their own disciplinary and spiritually based structures. As a counter-attraction to the pull exerted by the 'gravity-field' of the wider protestantism it was scarcely remarkable that Cork quakers in 1859 should feel that they would like to set up a literary and scientific society of their own. This might be seen as an attempt to assert their group solidarity in their own congenial atmosphere.

The multiplication of societies serving specific sectarian areas was a notable feature of Cork 1850-60. Besides societies such as the Catholic Young Men's Society (established 1853) there were equivalent bodies among various varieties of protestants. Among the protestant bodies might be mentioned in particular The Church of Ireland Young Men's Society set up in 1850. This, situated at 62, South Mall, provided a reading room, lectures, and 'mixed' entertainments all for a subscription of 5s. or 7s.6d. if books were borrowed.²⁴ There was also a Presbyterian Young Men's Society meeting at the R.C.I.²⁵ and a Wesleyan Methodist Church Young Men's Society.²⁶ There was no lack either, of auxiliary protestant institutions such as the Protestant Hall at 22, South Mall²⁷ or the Cork Religious Tract and Book Society at 35, Grand Parade.²⁸ There were also of course the literary and scientific societies. Cork had a long engagement with the provision of popular education both for the humbler as well as for the middle classes. The temperance movement also had been a prime influence in the promotion of popular education through its reading rooms and classes involving types of adult and mutual education. Many of these literary and scientific societies took their inspiration from the earlier and highly successful Royal Cork Institution (1806) which survived, if somewhat eclipsed by the establishment of the Queen's College Cork (1845) to which the first pupils were admitted in 1849.

III

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CORK MUTUAL IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION (1859-61)

The Cork quakers set up their literary and scientific organisation in 1859 under the title of the 'Cork Mutual Improvement Association (CMIA)'.²⁹ Such societies were to become a feature of many cities and towns where a substantial population of quakers lived. One was already in existence in Dublin in 1851, a Friends Young Mens Association (FYMA). It had been established primarily to serve as a social outlet for such Young Friends and others who might be in Dublin. There, it was seen not alone as helping to combat loneliness but to ensure that Young Friends might not mix below their social class! The FYMA is probably to be identified with a nucleus of groupings including the Dublin Mutual Improvement Association and Friends Institute.³⁰ The first entry in the CMIA minute book is for an indeterminate date in Eleventh-month 1859.³¹ The meeting to discuss the proposal to set it up took place at the house of Dr Joshua Reuben Harvey. He was the physician who had been appointed the first Professor of Midwifery at Queens College Cork in 1849.³²

Forty-six quakers including 21 men and 25 women were present at this first planning meeting. Among the better known quakers to be noted were Robert J. Lecky, a marine engineer much involved in the Cuvierian Society,³³ and Isaac Carroll whose family had long been involved in the City's shipping and wood importing and other mercantile businesses but who was himself involved in a stock and sharebroking business. Also present were James and George Cotter Beale,³⁴ closely associated with shipping and ship building. The context does not make it possible to say if James Beale the ship builder³⁵ or James Beale his nephew are referred to. The nephew was known as a poet.³⁶ The business methods of the CMIA were in some ways less typical of Friends' business procedures and more typical of contemporary practice in the running of such an organisation. Balloting with black and with white balls was resorted to for deciding questions of membership. There was a president, a vice-president and a committee of five to manage its affairs, with a quorum of four required. The annual subscription was to be 5s. and the sessions were to last from Tenth-month to Fourth-month with meetings beginning at 7.30 p.m. and finishing at 9.30 p.m. Members were to be issued with complimentary tickets for their friends. Lectures, and the reading and writing of essays, and the promotion of discussions were to comprise the chief business of the Association, Central to its operations was to be the principle,

enshrined in its fifth rule, that 'Party politics and sectarian or controversial questions of religion shall be carefully excluded.'³⁷

The first President elected was Dr Harvey with James Beale as his vice-president and Hewitson Edmondson as its secretary. The committee members were Thomas Chandlee, Samuel Wright, Isaac Carroll, John Cotter Beale and Joshua Carroll.³⁸ The first meeting was held on 4 First-month 1860 at no. 35, Grand Parade in the apparently delapidated room belonging to the Cork Tract Society. Some expense was made to redecorate it. Dr Harvey read an inaugural address.³⁹ The numbers attending and joining increased so rapidly that the committee felt encouraged to seek the use of a room at the Grattan Street (Duncan Street) Meeting House. That request was acceded to but perhaps the permission was not taken up for some time yet.⁴⁰ Expenditure for the next few years was to include such items as for a candle stick 7s. 9d. and purchased from Joseph Beale, a doorkeeper's book, a ballot basket, 'A gasolier on the Parade', gratuities and wages to the doorkeeper and postage and rent.⁴¹

The CMIA had access to a wide range of knowledge and skills among its members. Among subjects on which members presented papers in the first session were 'Structural biology', Penrose Beale;⁴² 'An essay on the analysis of light', Alfred Beale;⁴³ 'An essay on the adaptation of nature in connection with certain British mollusca', Samuel Wright;⁴⁴ 'The French Revolution and the causes that led to it', Thomas Chandlee;⁴⁵ humour and poetry were not neglected. It would have been interesting to have heard 'A complaint of the feet in verse' or an 'Account of an oyster and a mouse'.⁴⁶ The evident success of the CMIA made the committee seek more contributors to lectures. It was felt that, 'one of the great advantages to be derived from such an association as this is the favourable opportunity afforded to its younger members of becoming accustomed to express themselves in public as well as in the writing, an acquirement which may be of incalculable advantage to many in a later period of their lives'.⁴⁷

Many of the contributions were closely geared to contemporary economic and scientific developments and so, incidently provide an index to the preoccupations of many of Cork's well-informed citizens. A paper was read by Joseph Wright on the 'Geology and fossils of the neighbourhood'.⁴⁸ Joseph Wright was for a while the vice-president of the CMIA but removed to Belfast in 1868 to set up a tea merchants business. In Belfast he was to continue his palaeontological researches and achieve as a result a lasting place among Irish scientists.⁴⁹ John Charles Newsom read his paper on 'The introduction and progress of railway communication'.⁵⁰ Some contributions were occupational in

significance. Richard Baker, preferred to speak about 'The growth of tea and its manufacture'⁵¹ while Penrose Beale spoke on 'Flax and its culture'.⁵² The subject of flax growing was then very prominent in Cork, in particular where widespread efforts were underway in the western part of the County in increase flax acreage and to substitute linen for cotton manufactures as a result of the American Civil War.⁵³

IV

DEVELOPMENT (1861-72)

In 1861 the Dublin equivalent of the CMIA sent down a copy of its annual report. A letter enclosed with it suggested that members of the various similar quaker societies throughout Ireland and London, 'Yearly Meetings' should get together and share papers. There were by then similar groups to be found in Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham and later in Belfast.⁵⁴ One appears to have flourished on a limited scale in Limerick also. Its very short minute book survives.⁵⁵ The need for access to a library was a priority and a solution was found on 30 Fourth-month 1862⁵⁶ when the committee agreed for the privilege of borrowing specialist books, to pay three guineas to 'Morrow's' library. Arrangements were also made to share borrowing facilities with the Royal Cork Institution and other libraries.⁵⁷ It is not possible to say when the CMIA first assembled its own library but it did amass a very rich and useful collection of books.

More ambitious plans were embarked upon. It was planned to hold a 'Conversazione'.⁵⁸ This was eventually held at the beginning of 1864. The account of the event states,

§ Tea was served in the Rotunda at the conclusion of which the entertainment for the evening commenced in the large hall of the Atheneum which was well lighted and nicely decorated for the occasion.

§ The entertainment was of a varied nature, many members having liberally contributed objects of interest, such as geological specimens, collections of shells, paintings, stereoscopic views and also numerous curiosities of historical interest.

§ Apparatus was abundantly supplied for chemical, mechanical and philosophical experiments the result of which proved most successful and added much to the enjoyment of the evening.

§ The attendance on this occasion was very large and the general expression of satisfaction quite exceeded our expectations.⁵⁹

The event was so successful that it was still being referred to in the Report for 1865 where further details emerged concerning the exhibits. The whole of the published portion of the 'splendid "Geological Survey"' was lent by one of the members and occupied a prominent

position in the hall. 'Foucault's pendulum experiment' was also tried and attracted a lot of attention'.⁶⁰

It was hoped by the committee that more contributions on the social sciences would be read by members.⁶¹ If it was not part of the original plan a discussion society seems to have emerged in parallel with the lectures. Surviving 'syllabus' cards advertise the two groupings separated from each other. In 1868 the CMIA was favoured by a visit from William Thompson jnr, of the Dublin Friends Institute who read a paper on 'Church declension in connection with the Society of Friends'.⁶² The issue was an apposite one in view of the obvious overall numerical decline, since the beginning of the nineteenth century, of Friends in both Ireland and London Yearly Meetings. Only in 1859, as the result of such concern John S. Rowntree, an English quaker had written and had published an essay entitled '*Quakerism, past and present*'.⁶³ Contributions from women Friends were infrequent, but the implicit acceptance by Friends of the equality of women did result in an anonymous paper on 'The rights of women in the twentieth century'.⁶⁴ It is worth remembering that the Irish, pioneering woman feminist and quakeress, Anna Maria Haslam was born at Youghal, near Cork.⁶⁵ A further discussion on the subject was to occur in 1874 'That the electoral disabilities of women should be removed'.⁶⁶ Such discussions coincided in Cork with an extended period of intense debate on the subject of women's rights, the subject having been raised in the Cork Literary and Scientific Society.⁶⁷ In an attempt to encourage contributions from all, including women, the CMIA suggested to its members that the women Friends might like their offerings read for them!

There was no necessary shyness among women in the general conduct of the affairs of Friends, women of course, still having their own Meetings for Discipline. Elizabeth P. Addey scornful subterfuge was the first woman CMIA member to take the plunge. She read her own essay based on a selection of Irish poetry.⁶⁸ Thomas S. Wright read in 1877 a paper on 'Women Physicians' in which he maintained that the average man was immeasurably inferior to the 'picked woman' for any medical training.⁶⁹

A second 'Conversazione' was organised for 21 Second-month 1872, this time at the Protestant Hall, it was organised to coincide with the Munster Quarterly Meeting⁷⁰ so that Friends from a wider area might have the benefit of attendance. At the 'Conversazione' there were working models of steam engines on show, models of steamers, chemical apparatus and the electric light. More than 340 people came to see them, 'pretty' experiments illustrating galvanic and electrical 'forces'.⁷¹ A paper memento of the occasion still exists among the

Friends Archives. It was signed by 116 of the attendance, and by the committee members and the President. It was designed to 'illustrate the art of lithography'.⁷²

Advantage was occasionally taken of the possibility of a visiting lecturer. Many such itinerant lecturers, secular prophets of the scientific age, travelled out from London, Dublin and other centres, making their money on the lecture circuit. The first of these came to Cork in 1872. His name was Edmund Wheeler⁷³ and he attracted a comparatively massive audience of 199 people. He gave lectures illustrated by practical experiments on the subject of the 'phenomena of sound' and on 'ocean telegraphs'. Resultant confidence inspired the committee to arrange for another lecturer to come and to share the costs perhaps with the YMCA and with the 'Literary and Scientific'. Their plans were coolly repulsed. They did 'not care to!'.⁷⁴

V

FINAL PHASE (1871-1884)

Participation in the abrasive and occasionally sectarian or violent electioneering of the early nineteenth century had been regarded with great distaste by Irish quakers who saw such commotions as interfering with their attention to spiritual guidance. Such a viewpoint contributed to the CMIA rule that political questions should be 'practically excluded' from their discussions. Social conditions were now changing. The discussion of politics was beginning to emerge. As early as 1871 Home Rule was discussed by Alfred Addey.⁷⁵ George Scarr, a Friend from Dublin, in 1877 promoted a 'very animated discussion on Home Rule' under the title of 'Henry Grattan'.⁷⁶ Rule five, referring to political discussion was eventually removed in 1878⁷⁷ but the portion of it forbidding sectarian discussion was retained. Edward A. Wright was a live spark among Friends at this period in Cork.⁷⁸ Aspects of politics and social questions were of interest to him. He read papers on such topics as 'Is our civilization a failure? Is the Caucasian played out?'⁷⁹ In wider areas he was known as an advocate of the Home Manufacture Movement for which he occasionally lectured.⁸⁰ Articles from his pen appeared in the *Cork Daily Herald* and he was for a period the editor of *Southern Industry* the organ of the Home Manufacture Movement printed by Guys of Cork.⁸¹ Its lists of commercial concerns were to be the predecessors of Guy's well known Cork and Munster trade directories. Among advertisers in the paper were Wright's who advertised their own jams. The paper appeared for a few brief months before being absorbed idiosyncratically into the *Munster Military Journal*

where it scarcely survived much longer. Edward A. Wright was to adopt a very critical approach to the Religious Society to which he belonged. His views led to a very prolonged discussion in 1878.⁸² In other papers he advocated the Land League⁸³ and a variety of social welfare. Referring to a recent period of famine in the country he contrasted the action of the British government in giving enormous amounts to spend in fighting the Zulus and Afghans whilst resisting the idea of giving a half million pounds to help 'the poor starving Irish'. The discussion following these remarks was noted as 'being more lively than usual'.⁸⁴ In 1882 Edward A. Wright promoted a discussion on the 'Irish Question'. He was in favour of Home Rule.⁸⁵ It is noted in the committee minutes 'but with few of those who spoke advocating such a change as the essayist proposed'. There were 43 members present on that occasion.⁸⁶

As early as 1876 the CMIA committee was mentioning the fact that their Association was in a 'dwindling state'⁸⁷ but was not yet in danger of winding up its operations. The Library which had a separate committee of five men and five women Friends⁸⁸ reported an increase of borrowings to 532, an increase of 109 books over the previous year.⁸⁹ Members presented papers not alone about foreign countries but on their own visits to them. Alfred Cook had been a 'first class engineer' and had travelled on steamers to numerous ports in Spain, Turkey and Italy⁹⁰ and in 1880 Alfred Webb, of Dublin, one of the few Irish M.P.s to come of quaker background⁹¹ addressed the CMIA on thoughts suggested by continental travelling'.⁹² A notable lecture in 1881 was given by Joseph Bennis of Limerick whose speciality was phrenology.⁹³ He was renowned for his interest in this subject and is reputed to have gone round Limerick's graveyards to collect skulls as illustrations for his lectures.⁹⁴ In the same year Thomas Haslam, husband of Anna Maria Haslam and like her a pioneering feminist lectured on 'The prevention of pauperism', apparently advocating a variety of social welfare insurance.⁹⁵ Sixty-two Friends were present to hear that. Such an attendance was outshone by Edward Sparrow from the Dublin Friends Institute who in 1882 gave a talk under the irresistible title of 'Thoughts on a common failing of the genus Homo'.⁹⁶ Seventy-two people favoured him with their presence.

Lively essay and lecture topics were not enough to keep the CMIA going. The membership was probably by then predominantly old and perhaps tired.⁹⁷ Suggestions were made that it was time to dispense with the services of the librarian. By way of compromise the librarian was for a sum of £6 per annum retained to attend on Fifth-days (Thursdays) from 'the rise of meeting till one o'clock'.⁹⁸ The librarian was not to be

earning the honorarium for long. As a result of a meeting of the CMIA on 20 Eleventh-month 1884 and on the motion of Richard S. Baker and seconded by Barclay Clibborn, the CMIA was disbanded and its collection of books combined with the Monthly Meeting library⁹⁹ and its predominantly quaker collection of books. The new collection was called the Cork Mutual Improvement and Library Association. The remains of its large library of elegantly bound and gilded volumes was, on the closure of the Grattan Street premises transferred to the new premises at Summerhill. The books were sold off in 1989.

Richard S. Harrison

NOTES AND REFERENCES

I am grateful for many kindnesses to Mary Shackleton the present Curator of the Dublin Friends Historical Library. For the privileged access to its treasures which as its Deputy-Curator I enjoyed for many years. I acknowledge my lasting debts of gratitude to Terence Mallagh and to Professor T.W. Moody, both now deceased, who were so keen to back me up in my studies.

I also thank the Friends in Cork Monthly Meeting who gave me access to the C.M.I.A. minute book which is the subject of this study.

The assistance of Kieran Burke of the Cork City Library has been much appreciated in the locating of books that were needed during the preparation of this article.

NOTE ON DATING

In the interests of historical accuracy as also in accordance with the convictions of some quakers, all dates, where appropriate, have been retained in the numerical form of the quaker 'plain language'.

- ¹ The period 1865-79 was to show a national increase of 2.36 per cent in membership of the Religious Society of Friends in Ireland. The increases were chiefly located in urban areas, in Dublin (7.34 per cent), and in Ulster (36.22 per cent). Belfast (Lisburn Monthly Meeting) showed an increase of 21.22 per cent. Rural membership was declining in Munster (31.37 per cent) and Leinster (1.92 per cent) except in a small number of rural towns. Cork Monthly Meeting, the membership of which was chiefly urban, declined by 19.21 per cent. This information derived from *Proceedings of the yearly meeting of the Religious Society of Friends in Ireland* (hereafter *Proceedings IYM*) (printed annually from 1864), 1866, 1876, 1880.
- ² The phenomenon, in relation to Dublin, is commented on in Richard S. Harrison, 'Dublin quakers in business 1800-50', (unpublished M. Litt., University of Dublin 1987), pp. 40-2, The multi-class population of pre-Famine Cork, and both its residence and employment in the shared central environment of that city is noted by John O'Brien, 'Merchants in Cork before the Famine', in P. Butel and L.M. Cullen (eds.), *Cities and merchants: French and Irish perspectives on urban development, 1500-1900* (Dublin 1986), 221-2.
- ³ Arthur Raistrick, *Quakers in science and industry* (London 1950).
- ⁴ *Cork Examiner*, 23 August 1847.
- ⁵ Robert Barclay, *An apology for the true christian divinity* (8th ed., Dublin 1788), 540-1.

- ⁶ James Coleman, 'The Cork Library in 1801 and 1820' *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* (JCHAS), XI, (1905), 82-93.
- ⁷ M. MacSweeney and J. Reilly, 'The Royal Cork Institution', Part I, (1803-26), JCHAS XLVIII, (1957), 22-36, and Part 2, (1826-49) JCHAS XLVIII, (1957), 77-94.
- ⁸ Robert Day, 'Cork Cuvierian and Archaeological Society', JCHAS, X, (1904), 117-22, and see especially 117-8. See also *Report of the Cuvierian Society for the cultivation of the sciences, for the session 1854-5* (Cork, 1855). Quaker members therein mentioned include Samuel Wright, William Henry Harvey and John Humphreys.
- ⁹ F.W. Allman, 'Cork Literary and Scientific Society', JCHAS, I (1892), 463-70, at 466. Thomas Beale is mentioned as 'censor' for the Society in 1823.
- ¹⁰ Abraham Shackleton, 'An Eight Weeks Tour. Oct. 1814' [hereafter, Shackleton, 'Tour'], (Dublin Friends Historical Library [hereafter, DFHL]).
- ¹¹ C.M. Tenison, 'The private banks and bankers of the south of Ireland', JCHAS, 1, no 12 (Dec. 1892), 245. See also, Olive C. Goodbody, *Irish Quaker Records* (Dublin 1967) (hereafter, Goodbody: *Quaker Records*), pp. 80-3, John Lecky(1), 'the banker' (1764-1839), was the father of Robert John Lecky. John Lecky(2) was the son of Robert John Lecky, was born 11 Eleventh-month 1844 and died aged 84, on 29 Third-month 1929. See 'Obituary', JCHAS, XXXIV, no. 139 (Jan-Jun, 1929), 49-50. He was educated at Dr Newall's School on the South Mall, Cork. His uncle was James Beale, originally of the St George Steam-packet Company.
- ¹² Shackleton, 'Tour', p. 41.
- ¹³ Ibid., p. 22. 'Went to see Samuel Wright's collection. they consist mostly of fossils of the petrification kind - also smaller and precious stones'. He had 36 kinds, about half from the County Cork.
- ¹⁴ Alphabetical List, (1815), MM VIII M.5, (DFHL).
- ¹⁵ Samuel Wright (1780-1847) is mentioned in course of 'Joseph Wright F.G.S.', *Irish Naturalist's Journal* [hereafter INJ], XXII, no 5 (Jan. 1987), 169-80.
- ¹⁶ *Freeholder*, 27 January 1831, where scurrilous remarks are made about the fitness of Thomas Beale for office in the Cork Library, and, *Cork Constitution*, 31 January 1831, where Thomas Beale appears as secretary of the Cork Library.
- ¹⁷ John Windele, 'Abraham Abell of the South Munster Antiquarian Society', JCHAS, XXV, (1919), 63-7. Also, John Windele, 'Notice of the Death of Abraham Abell Esq., M.R.I.A.', JCHAS, XXV, (1919), 68-9. Abraham Abell was born at Pope's Quay, Cork, 11 Fourth-month 1783, and died in his native city, 12 Second-month (February) 1851, aged 68.
- ¹⁸ R.H. Laing, *Cork Directory* [hereafter, Laing, *Directory*], 1863, pp. 146, 147, 150.
- ¹⁹ Robert Day, 'John Humphreys', JCHAS, VII, (1901), 248.
- ²⁰ See above, n. 11, and also, account in Goodbody, *Quaker Records* (Dublin 1967), 80-3. Robert John Lecky was born 25 Third-month 1809, and died 11 Eleventh-month 1897, aged 89. He was, with 'Mr Mangan, one of the "correct timekeepers" for the City and had a special observatory built for the same'. He was chiefly educated at Ballitore School.
- ²¹ See above, n. 15. Joseph Wright, F.G.S.I., was the son of Thomas and Mary (née Dudley) Wright, and was born in Cork, 7 First-month 1834. He died in Belfast, 7 Fourth-month 1923.
- ²² Anonymous, *Memoir of William Henry Harvey* (London 1869) William Henry Harvey was born at Limerick Second-month 1811 and died 1866. He was the son of Joseph Massey Harvey of Youghal.
- ²³ *Proceedings*, LYM, 1867.

- ²⁴ *Guy's County and City of Cork Directory* [hereafter *Guys*], 1875-6.
- ²⁵ Laing, *Directory*, 1863, p. 160.
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*, 160.
- ²⁷ *Guy's*, 1875-6.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*
- ²⁹ Minutes of the Cork Mutual Improvement Association [hereafter, CMIA], (Eleventh-month 1859) – 20 Eleventh-month 1884), (In the possession of Cork Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends).
- ³⁰ Young Mens Association of the Society of Friends (18 Eleventh-month 1851 – 8 Fourth-month 1863), MM II R.2, (DFHL).
- ³¹ CMIA ... Eleventh-month 1859.
- ³² N. Marshall Cummins, *Some Chapters in the Medical History of Cork* (Cork 1957), 37, and 46, Joshua Reuben Harvey, (1804-?)A.B. Q.U.I., M.R.C.S. Eng (1828), Physician to the Lying-in Hospital, South Infirmary, and General Dispensary, Cork. He should not be confused with his relative Dr Joshua Harvey, (1790-1871). Neither should he be confused with Dr Reuben Joshua Harvey, his, and Elizabeth (née Todhunter) Harvey's son (17 Fourth-month 1845-1881). Dr Reuben Joshua Harvey was the founder of the Trinity College Dublin Medical Prize that carries his name.
- ³³ See Day, 'Cuvierian Society', loc. cit., 117-8.
- ³⁴ R.J. Hodges and W.T. Pike, *Cork and County Cork in the 20th Century* (Brighton 1911), 162. George Cotter Beale (2 Second-month 1827 – 15 Fourth-month 1914) was a son of Joshua Beale. Isaac Carroll (1828-80) is to be identified with the Cork Friend of that name referred to by Ernest H. Bennis in, 'Some Reminiscences of Limerick Friends' (1930), (DFHL), p. 10, as, 'in his day ... the best living authority on lichens'. See also R. Lloyd Praeger, *Some Irish Naturalists: A Biographical Notebook* (Dundalk, 1949), p. 60.
- ³⁵ James Beale, (c.1798 – 2 Seventh-month (July 1879), was a partner in the Lecky & Beale shipyard. He was the man who undertook the scientific and commercial challenge to prove the possibility of transatlantic steamship travel, and a shareholder and director in the St George Steam packet Company, a largely Quaker-inspired venture. See, Anonymous, 'Irish Friends and Early Steam Navigation', *Journal of the Friends Historical Society*, XVII, 17, no.4 (1920), 105-113 *passim* and 108-9.
- ³⁶ Evelyn Noble Armitage, *The Quaker Poets of Great Britain and Ireland* (London 1896), 36-7. James Beale, (5 Second-month 1829 – 24 Twelfth-month 1907), the poet, son of Joshua and Susanna Beale of 11, St Patrick's Hill was the nephew of James Beale. See above, n. 34.
- ³⁷ CMIA ... Eleventh-month 1859.
- ³⁸ CMIA 28 Eleventh-month 1859.
- ³⁹ CMIA 28 Eleventh-month and, 10 First-month 1859.
- ⁴⁰ CMIA 12 First-month 1860 and, 7 Second-month 1860.
- ⁴¹ CMIA 3 First-month 1861.
- ⁴² CMIA 24 First-month 1860. Penrose Beale (17 Third-month 1836 – 14 Eighth-month 1889), was the son of George S. and Elizabeth Beale. He had left the Society and his burial certificate notes that he was buried in the Cork Friends burial ground, 'by privilege'.
- ⁴³ CMIA 13 Third-month 1860. Alfred Beale (7 Fifth-month 1838 – 1 Sixth-month 1932) was an accountant of 1, Alexandra Place.
- ⁴⁴ CMIA 24 Fourth-month 1860.
- ⁴⁵ CMIA 14 Second-month 1860.
- ⁴⁶ CMIA 12 Second-month 1861.

- ⁴⁷ CMIA 3 First-month 1861.
- ⁴⁸ CMIA 26 Third-month 1861.
- ⁴⁹ Joseph Wright's uncle was Samuel Wright. See above, n. 10 and n. 20. His father Thomas, owned Baker & Wright, druggists of Patrick Street, Cork. The family lived at 39, Duncan Street, opposite the Meetinghouse (a fact not correctly noted in Wilson, *INJ.*) CMIA minutes for 23 Tenth-month (October) 1868, note Joseph Wright's departure for Belfast where he established a tea business.
- ⁵⁰ John Charles Newsom, was of the Newsom grocery and tea business of 9, French Church Street, Cork. His residence was at Ashton Lawn, Cork, according to *List of members (Munster)* (Dublin 1873).
- ⁵¹ Richard Baker, of a family of oil and colour merchants, Baker & Wright of 49, Patrick Street, Cork.
- ⁵² CMIA 13 Eleventh-month 1861.
- ⁵³ 'The Irish flax industry and the Flax Extension Association', in W.P. Coyne (ed.), *Ireland industrial and agricultural* (Dublin 1902), 127-34.
- ⁵⁴ CMIA 19 Fifth-month 1861. The Belfast 'Friends Institute' was apparently a result of a re-formation in 1863 of some earlier body and designed for young Friends away from home. No minute books are known to survive. For this information I am indebted to G. Leslie Stephenson the keeper of the Ulster Friends Quarterly Meeting Archives at Lisburn.
- ⁵⁵ Proceedings of the Limerick Mutual Improvement Association (12 Eleventh-month 1865) (DFHL). On internal evidence this was apparently a second attempt to get such an association together in Limerick. In addition, James Hill, *Diary* (1847-68), Shelf P. no. 16 (DFHL), entry at 4 Tenth-month 1847, mentions, the probably Friend-inspired Atheneum Society, of similar purpose in Limerick.
- ⁵⁶ CMIA 30 Fourth-month 1862.
- ⁵⁷ CMIA 13 First-month 1863, when at the Third A.G.M. it was reported that the Royal Cork Institution and other libraries were willing to make their facilities available to the CMIA. 29 Eighth-month 1863, Morrow's Library was situated at 90, Patrick's Street.
- ⁵⁸ CMIA 14 Eleventh-month 1862.
- ⁵⁹ CMIA 26 First-month 1864.
- ⁶⁰ CMIA 23 First-month 1865.
- ⁶¹ CMIA 23 First-month 1865.
- ⁶² CMIA 12 Second-month 1866.
- ⁶³ John S. Rowntree, *Quakerism Past and Present* (London 1859).
- ⁶⁴ CMIA n.a. 1869.
- ⁶⁵ Rosemary Cullen Owens, *Smashing Times* (Dublin 1984), 22. Anna Maria Haslam (1837-1922), was a daughter of Peter Moor and Margaret Anne Fisher.
- ⁶⁶ CMIA 8 Second-month 1874.
- ⁶⁷ Owens, *Smashing Times*, 19-23, and Scrapbook Cup. B/65 (DFHL).
- ⁶⁸ CMIA 25 First-month (January) 1875. Elizabeth Poole Addey was of a Wexford family. An account of her life is to be found in 'Recollections of Lizzie Poole Addey, written about 1875', in Deborah Webb, 'Reminiscences of Childhood' (DFHL).
- ⁶⁹ CMIA 12 Eleventh-month 1877.
- ⁷⁰ The Munster Quarterly Meeting was concerned with the disciplinary administrative and spiritual concerns of members of the Society in the Province. The Religious Society of Friends, operating as it does in consensual terms informed by a spiritual imperative therefore encouraged a widespread attendance at these meetings which were held alternatively in different centres. They incidently proved pleasant social occasions.

- 71 CMIA 21 Second-month 1872.
- 72 Portfolio 7 C. 16 (DFHL).
- 73 CMIA 20 Twelfth-month 1872.
- 74 CMIA 16 Tenth-month 1875.
- 75 CMIA 4 Twelfth-month 1871.
- 76 CMIA 26 Eleventh-month 1877.
- 77 CMIA 18 Eleventh-month 1878.
- 78 Edward A. Wright (1852-1924), was the son of William and Jane Wright of Summerhill. He died in California. His uncle was Joseph Wright, F.G.S.I.
- 79 CMIA 26 First-month 1873.
- 80 Edward A. Wright, *Irish industries: their promotion and development. A lecture* (Cork 1883).
- 81 *Southern Industry* n.s. (Cork) 1 April 1889.
- 82 CMIA 14 First-month 1878.
- 83 CMIA 22 Eleventh-month 1880.
- 84 CMIA 22 Third-month 1880.
- 85 CMIA 27 Eleventh-month 1882.
- 86 Ibid.
- 87 CMIA 13 Eleventh-month 1876.
- 88 CMIA 8 Eleventh-month 1875.
- 89 CMIA 3 Eleventh-month 1879.
- 90 CMIA 15 Twelfth-month 1879.
- 91 Alfred Webb (1834-1908), Home Rule M.P., represented Waterford West 1890-5. He was also treasurer of the Home Rule party. He resigned from Friends to join the Church of Ireland. Author of *A Compendium of Irish Biography* (Dublin 1878).
- 92 CMIA 1 Third-month 1880.
- 93 CMIA 3 First-month 1881.
- 94 Bennis, 'Reminiscences', p. 10.
- 95 CMIA 5 Twelfth-month 1881. Thomas J. Haslam (1825-30 January 1917), was a correspondent of John Stuart Mill. Some biographical details in Scrapbook Cup. B./65 (DFHL). See also, Owens, *Smashing Times*, 23.
- 96 CMIA 23 First-month 1882.
- 97 Membership of Cork Monthly Meeting stood at 248 members in 1879 and 197 members in 1889, representing a decline of 20.56 per cent. For which see, *Proceedings, IYM*, 1879, 1889.
- 98 CMIA 6 Third-month 1882.
- 99 CMIA 20 Eleventh-month 1884.

A QUAKER IN LOCAL POLITICS: WILLIAM GRAVESON OF HERTFORD, 1862 – 1939

William Graveson was the eldest son of Samuel Watson Ward Graveson, who was at the time of William's birth part owner of the draper's shop in Hertford which is still, in 1993, known as "Graveson's". William's grandmother on his mother's side came from a well-known Quaker family, the Hoylands, but she had "married out", as Quaker parlance had it, i.e., had married in an Anglican church,¹ and may even have been "disowned" (expelled from the Society of Friends) for doing so. She retained Quaker links however – three of her children were educated at the Friends' school at Sibford, whose records show that the family was badly off. Perhaps this is why six of Samuel's ten siblings died before they were three years old – though one lived to be ninety.²

When Samuel Watson Ward Graveson came to work in the drapery shop at the age of 24 it had been owned since 1793 by the Pollard family. The deeds show that the property was leasehold, and it was lucky for the Pollards and the Gravesons that the premises were not owned, as so much property in Hertford since the 1815 to 1832 period had been, by the Marquess of Salisbury.³ Both families were active liberals in politics, and would have been ruthlessly evicted by the Tory marquess for daring to vote according to their convictions at parliamentary elections. Part of the premises had at one time been a pub, "The Labour in Vain", and William Graveson later joked that he hoped it was not an appropriate name for his business!⁴

Shortly after arriving in Hertford Samuel Graveson joined the Society of Friends – reference was made to his Quaker forebears – and soon married Emma Salter, from a family whose Quaker connections went back to the seventeenth century.⁵ William was born "over the shop", and his first school was the charming building, now Hertford museum, with its big garden, only 200 yards away.⁶ Its headmaster later took over Hertford grammar school, which dated from James I's reign, and William moved on to that school.⁷ But at the age of 11 he went to Ackworth, the Quaker boarding school in Yorkshire, where he stayed, as children usually did, for four years.⁸ William must have been glad of his relationship to two extended Quaker families, the Hoylands and the Salters. Although Ackworth was a school for both boys and girls, the

sexes were strictly segregated, and only youngsters who were related to one another were allowed to meet and talk on the "flags", the recreation area in front of the school. Frederick Andrews, headmaster from 1877 to 1920, joining a group of pupils there one day, said to a girl, 'I am sure, Emmie, thou art no relation of George'. But Emmie had her answer pat. 'Alice's uncle married my aunt, and Bertram is her cousin, and Kathleen is Bertram's; and George's brother is going to marry Kathleen's sister, so we *are* all relations.'⁹ School life must have encouraged genealogical research. It was at Ackworth that William Graveson first developed his life-long interest in flowering plants; he spoke and wrote often in later life on the flora of Hertfordshire, and his book on British wild flowers ran to a second edition.¹⁰

At 15, Graveson was at home again in Hertford, but only for some 18 months; in 1879 he was apprenticed up north in Darlington, to a Quaker draper and silk mercer.¹¹ He must have enjoyed his time there; in 1927 he took the elegant Assembly Rooms in Hertford's Shire Hall to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of his becoming an apprentice, and invited not only his family and friends, but the staff of the Graveson shop.¹² Among his guests was his friend and fellow-assistant from his Darlington days, Stephen Gravely, now like Graveson, a pillar of the Society of Friends in the town where he was in business, Lincoln.¹³ It was at Darlington that Graveson first took an active part in the Adult School movement, another life-long interest of his, and one which continues to enjoy much Quaker support. Graveson's three brothers were also closely involved in Adult School activity.¹⁴

His apprenticeship finished, Graveson, now 21 years old, moved back to Hertford in June 1883. His father had died at the early age of 43, while William was still a boarder at Ackworth, and his mother, the former Emma Salter, one presumes, had been running the draper's shop in co-operation with her late husband's partner, Isaac Robinson.¹⁵ But the main responsibility on the Graveson side now devolved on William, the eldest son.

From his vantage point in Hertford market square, a few yards from the Shire Hall, Graveson had watched that hub of the town's political activity with a keen eye. As a boy of six he had seen the torchlight procession that accompanied Baron Dimsdale's victory at the parliamentary election of 1868,¹⁶ and Graveson never lost his interest in politics. Within 15 months of his return home from the north, he was secretary of the town's Liberal party,¹⁷ and he at once galvanised it into action. Liberalism had been in the doldrums in Hertford; for 16 or 17 years the Tories had dominated the town council, and for six the Liberals had not even put forward a candidate.¹⁸ If a man was known to be a

Liberal, his entrance to public life was barred. Candidates for the office of town councillor were chosen by “scheming wire-pullers” – the words are Graveson’s own – who met at the Green Dragon Inn.¹⁹ Edward Manser, an able and articulate Quaker miller, who in happier times for the liberals had been mayor of the town, put the situation even more succinctly – Hertford had been governed for years by a Tory caucus, made possible by money and beer.²⁰ At the notorious and well-documented December 1832 Hertford election, beer, accompanied by bread and onions, had flowed freely at a town pub for those who promised to vote Tory, and like inducements were available every Tuesday at “Rat’s Castle”, a disused corn-store.²¹ No doubt similar hospitality was dispensed at later Hertford elections. But the Liberal government, borne down at the 1874 general election by “a torrent of gin and beer”, as Gladstone tersely put it, passed in 1883 the Corrupt Practices Act; it made such overt forms of bribery impossible – the cards were not now stacked so high against the Liberals. The Marquess of Salisbury and Baron Dimsdale had still to be reckoned with, but the Liberals now could plead more persuasively to the voters, as they did in the leaflets Graveson distributed throughout the town, to “Give the Liberals a chance”.²² The Tory caucus at the Green Dragon nominally the committee of the conservative working men’s club, (though Manser said they were not working men at all), taking notice of the Corrupt Practices Act, hastily dissolved itself.²³

The election for seats on the town council always took place in November, and it was already October when the Liberals, whose election colour was golden yellow, decided to try to establish some “yellow sands”, as Graveson put it, in the sea of Tory blue. He was the Liberal election agent, and 20 years later he remembered the excitement of that time – the electioneering, the canvassing and re-canvassing of the voters, the floods of oratory, and himself watching with beating heart as the 3½ hours of counting votes went on at the Shire Hall.²⁴ Against all the odds the Liberal candidates, among whom was Graveson’s own business partner, the gentle Isaac Robinson, won all four seats!

One might have expected this 1884 victory to have whetted Graveson’s own appetite for civic office, and that he would himself stand for election as a town councillor, but it was 12 years before he did so. One must conclude that he simply could not afford the time for regular local government work – he had to concentrate his attention on the family drapery business. His partner Isaac Robinson was, as we have seen, one of the four Liberals elected in 1884, and was to be mayor in 1895, and probably the shop could not allow both of its managers to devote much of their time to municipal duties. It behoves us to

remember how long shop hours were in those days. According to G.R. Durrant, a Tory and a shop-keeper in Hertford himself, shop assistants in 1890 were working a 70-hour week; he moved an amendment at a debate that year in favour of limiting the assistants' hours to 66 a week!²⁵ As late as 1918 shops were open on Mondays, Tuesdays and Wednesdays from 8.45 a.m. to 7 p.m., on Thursdays they closed at 1 p.m., on Fridays at 8, and on Saturdays at 9 p.m.²⁶ It was a working week of 58½ hours. It is true that most of Graveson's staff lived on the premises. There was a dining room, a hall (later the directors' boardroom), a kitchen, and several bedrooms upstairs, and here lived, as William's brother Samuel remembered, their parents, the seven children, two women assistants and two men assistants.²⁷ Samuel also remembered that the men's clothing department gave off a pervading odour of rank corduroy trousers and smocks – a reminder of the agricultural labourers garb which would be a large part of Graveson's stock at that time.

But if running the shop left Graveson no time for taking civic office, he made time for the Adult School, and for local Quaker activities. As soon as he returned from Darlington he asked the Monthly Meeting for permission to use the Small Meeting House at Hertford for Adult School meetings.²⁸ It is hard to believe now, but in fact at that time most children left school at ten years of age, and the Adult Schools supplemented this meagre ration of education with a broad and everchanging curriculum on Sunday afternoons. The Hertford one, after a very slow start, with only two students²⁹, soon established itself, and lasted for some 60 years. Evening weekday sessions would not have been well-supported; the local Quaker Monthly Meeting minutes for 1888 sadly record that although Sunday meetings for worship were well attended by Friends, hardly any men who were engaged in business came to mid-week religious meetings,³⁰ and in view of the shop hours just described, one cannot be surprised.

Graveson's record of service to the local Society of Friends was a notable one; he was assistant clerk (that is, chairman/secretary) of the Monthly Meeting, the local area group, from 1889 to 1893, and clerk for the following 13 years.³¹ The Monthly Meeting was actively involved in peace work, through the distribution of literature and arranging public gatherings³², at this time there was much emphasis on arbitration as an alternative to war and social reforms were very much on the Quaker agenda too. Graveson himself was a delegate to a conference on allotments, and to another on Housing for the poor.³³ Housing continued to be in the forefront of his interests all his life.

Not until he was 34 years old did Graveson seek election to the borough council, in 1896. His opponent was a local brewer who was also

an officer in the Volunteers. Graveson cheerfully admitted that it was perhaps audacious for him, peaceful and non-combative Quaker as he was, *and* a teetotaler to boot, to put up for election against such a rival, but he pointed out that as the town council was not a licensing authority for public houses, his views on alcohol-drinking were not relevant. On the other hand, the town *did* have a great deal to do with water – in fact the town's water-supply, and its cost, had been a burning topic in Hertford for 40 years and more,³⁴ as Graveson well knew – and so a teetotaler like himself, of course an expert on water, would be a useful member of the town council!³⁵ Incidentally Hertford's citizens at that time do seem to have possessed an incredible thirst for alcoholic beverages; there were 37 public houses, many of them only a few yards from one another, in or near the centre of that town of only 8,500 people.³⁶ The brewer defeated Graveson, who continued however to take part in local politics,³⁷ and in 1901 he was rewarded by being returned at a by-election in All Saints ward with a handsome majority.³⁸ He had been nominated by men from both political parties, and by *ten* women! Women already had the vote of course for local councils, but Graveson was not in favour of allowing them to vote for parliament. He argued that year at a local debating society meeting that women had no organisational powers, and in any case they had not themselves asked for the vote. As a local poet put it,

But Graveson rose, in solemn state,
To urge his serious fear,
That these proposals soon would take
Our women from their sphere.³⁹

He took this same line on other occasions during this period – rather unusually for a Quaker.

Graveson's career as a county councillor began in 1913, and continued until his death in 1939. He did not have to defend his seat after his first election until February 1919; during World War I normal voting arrangements were suspended. When the challenge came it was from an unexpected quarter – the Independent M.P. for East Hertfordshire, Noel Pemberton Billing.⁴⁰ Billing, a wealthy mid-lander, owned among other things, a virulently anti-Jewish newspaper and a torpedo-shaped sports car complete with a loud-speaker. He was well-known to the general public chiefly as the successful defendant in a sensational libel case.⁴¹ During the war, at a political meeting in his constituency, Billing had advocated the mass bombing of German cities from the air, in order to bring the war to a speedy conclusion. (He himself owned aircraft factories, one of which produced the famous

“Spitfire” of World War II. Graveson, who was present at the meeting, roundly denounced such “saturation bombing”, and Billing did not forget. When, three months after the armistice, the county council elections were announced, Billing challenged Graveson for his seat.⁴² The M.P. was a formidable opponent; he was said to be as rich as Croesus, he was a most articulate speaker, and he had established his local credentials by buying a large house in Hertford.⁴³ From this vantage point he had looked with a critical eye on the slums of the town, and he described them as worse than those in Whitechapel.⁴⁴ He launched a vehement attack on Graveson as a pacifist and a tee-totaller.⁴⁵

Graveson rose to the challenge with relish and good humour. We Quakers, he declared, ‘may be looked upon by Pemberton Billing as pacifists, but he will find we can fight as well as pray when we have a just cause to contend for’. He admitted to hating war and loving peace, and he rejoiced that William Penn’s vision of a world without war was at last being realised in the League of Nations. Both he and his son *were* pacifists, he frankly declared; his son had joined the Friends’ Ambulance Unit, in which he had served without a penny piece of pay, and he had been bombarded on land at Dunkirk, and torpedoed at sea in the Mediterranean. He confessed he was a prohibitionist, he chose his own drink, but he allowed others to do the same. On public occasions his lemonade helped to pay for other people’s champagne! He urged the M.P. to live up to the associations of his Christian name, and sent him a copy of Graveson’s own book, *The Joys of the Open Air*.

This was all very well, but Graveson knew he was up against ‘a man of great abilities’,⁴⁶ and moreover that he would have to match Billing’s flair for publicity if he was to win. He devised a flag with his own party colours, blue, yellow and white – Billing’s rather surprisingly was red – he canvassed the voters vigorously, he flooded the town with posters, so Billing himself said, and he distributed widely a striking cartoon of his rival, depicted in a balloon (of hot air of course).⁴⁷ Graveson was full of confidence that he would win, and he did, by 672 votes to 624, though his victory speech from the balcony of the Shire Hall could not be heard because of the tumult raised by Billing’s supporters. He and his pacifist son laughed together as they chatted over the election later that evening.⁴⁸

William Graveson went on to play an important part, too long to recount here, in county council affairs, particularly in education, for 20 years, and ended his career as the council’s vice-chairman. But this work was only a part of the achievements of this many-sided man, who wrote books on wild flowers and on Charles Lamb, and long articles for the

Quaker magazine, was a justice of the peace for Hertford, a loyal supporter of the Adult School and other local organisations, and kept the accounts for his thriving business right up to his death.⁴⁹ His widow made extracts from the many letters of condolence which she received,⁵⁰ and it seems fitting to end with a few of these tributes. A telegram from Charles Holden, the distinguished architect of London University Senate House buildings, and of 50 London Underground stations, 'Grieved for our loss. Proud to have had the honour of his friendship.' Reginald Hine, a fellow Quaker and a fine amateur local historian, wrote, 'He was always a great encourager of my books, and it was due to just a few like him that I persisted, year after year, in a task that at first seemed hopeless. A genial, dear man, full of friendliness, full of the love of learning, a lover of flowers and birds no less than of men and women, and above all, a great lover of Hertfordshire.'

A. Neave Brayshaw, another well-known writer, in his letter to Gulielma Graveson, spoke of her husband as 'The Quaker citizen at his best.' And Miss Cadmore, a former housekeeper at the Graveson shop, and one of the firm's pensioners, sympathised with the widow in her time of sorrow, 'A sorrow I join in, for indeed I have lost my best friend in the world'.

Violet A. Rowe

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- ¹ Graveson family papers (hereinafter cited as G), in the custody of Mrs. Jenny Graveson of Reading, Berks, the wife of William Graveson's grandson. I take this opportunity to express my appreciation of her invaluable assistance in making the family archive, and her genealogical knowledge of related families, available to me.
- ² Sibford school records, quoted in the typescript "Dictionary of Quaker Biography" (henceforward DQB) in Friends House, London, under Michael Tyson Graveson, 1840-1930. "Father does nothing for the family" is the Sibford comment.
- ³ Copies of the shop premises, deeds. G. For the marquess, see the author's 'The Quaker Presence in Hertford in the Nineteenth Century', *The Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, LV (1987), 88 *et seq.*
- ⁴ *Hertfordshire Mercury*, (henceforward *HM.*) 17 Nov. 1906.
- ⁵ The Graveson family tree, researched by Mrs. Jenny Graveson.
- ⁶ *HM.* 7 Mar. 1914.
- ⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁸ *Ackworth School List, 1779-1879*, 1879, 200.
- ⁹ E.V. Faulds and E. Milligan, *So Numerous a Family*, 1979, 17.
- ¹⁰ *British Wild Flowers*, 2nd ed. 1919.
- ¹¹ Shewell's, 5, High Row. *Ex inf.* Thomas Eden, who kindly investigated for me the membership books of Friends at Darlington. Shewell's premises are still part of a (much larger) drapery store. See also the *Draper's Record*, 10 Nov. 1906. (Interview with William Graveson during his year as mayor of Hertford).

- ¹² *HM*. 24 Oct. 1927.
- ¹³ *DQB*. art. *sub.* Stephen Gravely, 1857-1945.
- ¹⁴ *One and All*. (Adult School magazine), Dec. 1906.
- ¹⁵ S.W.W. Graveson's will (copy in G) shows that he left his property to his wife. She may of course have been a sleeping partner, and one's only authority for concluding otherwise is a photograph of her in G., which shows her good-humoured and at ease looking out from under her Victorian bonnet with shrewd eyes.
- ¹⁶ *HM*. 20 Apr. 1907.
- ¹⁷ *Ibid.* 18 Oct. 1884.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.* 11 Oct. 1884.
- ¹⁹ *HM*. 29 Oct. 1891.
- ²⁰ *Ibid.* 18 Oct. 1884.
- ²¹ *Parliamentary Papers* ix, 1833 (449).
- ²² Handbill at Hertford Museum.
- ²³ As note 18.
- ²⁴ *HM*. 17 Nov. 1906.
- ²⁵ *HM*. 10 Jan. 1891. Durrant owned a photographer's business at Old Cross, Hertford.
- ²⁶ Memoir by one of Messrs. Graveson's shop assistants in the Graveson archive (henceforward GS) until recently on the shop premises.
- ²⁷ Recollections of William's brother Samuel. *Ibid.*
- ²⁸ Herts. CRO.Q 135.
- ²⁹ Diary of Graveson's future father-in-law, Daniel Peirson, for 1883.G.
- ³⁰ See note 28.
- ³¹ *Ibid.*
- ³² *Ibid.*
- ³³ *Ibid.* For his stress on the housing question, as of "utmost importance" see his letter to electors, on his nomination for a county council seat, *HM*. 11 Nov. 1901.
- ³⁴ For the town water controversy, see J.G. Pettman, 'The Sanitary Struggle in Hertford, 1831-1875', B.Ed. Dissertation, Wall Hall College, 1979. The *Report* by the inspector, William Ranger, despatched by Edwin Chadwick's Board of Health to investigate Hertford's sanitary condition is instructively different from the same inspector's report on Ware. *Report to the General Board of Health ... by William Ranger, 1850.*
- ³⁵ *HM*. 19 Sept. 1896.
- ³⁶ *Ibid.* 17 Nov. 1906. Census returns for 1890 and 1900.
- ³⁷ *HM*. 11 Oct. 1890.
- ³⁸ *Ibid.* 11 Nov. 1901.
- ³⁹ *Ibid.* 5 Mar. 1891.
- ⁴⁰ For Billing see G.R. Searle, *Corruption in British Politics 1895-1930*, 256 *et. seq.*, *Hertfordshire Countryside*, xxviii, 1933; M.Kette, *Salmone's Last Veil*, 1977.
- ⁴¹ Maude Allan, prominent actress and friend of Prime Minister Asquith's wife, had been accused by Billing of lesbianism, and unsuccessfully sued Billing for libel.
- ⁴² The contest can be followed in the *Hertfordshire Record* and the *Hertfordshire Mercury* of Feb. and Mar. 1919.
- ⁴³ His house was no. 11, Farquhar Street, Bengoe.
- ⁴⁴ *HM*. 8 Mar. 1919.
- ⁴⁵ As note 42.
- ⁴⁶ Graveson's own words. *Hertfordshire Record*, 8 Mar. 1919. They are borne out by the record of Billing's speeches, and by his business achievements.

⁴⁷ Copy in G.

⁴⁸ Graveson family recollection.

⁴⁹ *HM.* 4 Aug. 1939.

⁵⁰ G.

THE SPIRITUAL FERMENT – LUCY VOILET HODGKIN IN HAVELOCK NORTH, NEW ZEALAND

Travelling to New Zealand by small sailing ships in the first half of the nineteenth century was every bit as slow, uncomfortable, and adventurous an undertaking as George Fox's voyage to Barbados and America in 1671. The first Friend to set foot in New Zealand was the artist, Sydney Parkinson, who came on James Cook's voyage of discovery in 1769. In the ranks of the earliest settlers from 1836 onwards were small numbers of Friends, braving the long sea-passage to make a new life for themselves and their families in this unknown Antipodean land.

It was to these Friends, still few in number and scattered widely over the length of the country, that Thomas Hodgkin, a Minister and noted Friend then aged 78, with his wife Lucy Anna, and two of their family, Lucy Violet and George, came in 1909, following a concern to visit and encourage isolated Friends in New Zealand and Australia.¹ While staying with the Holdsworth family in Havelock North, the Hodgkins attended, with them, an ecumenical Quiet Meeting in the village church. At this gathering, Lucy Violet then aged 40, underwent a kind of mystical conversion, a sudden, wonderful revelation of the power of silent worship, that brought at last, a spiritual fulfilment to her inherited Quakerism.

What then was the nature of the spiritual environment in which this experience took place?

On the east coast of the North Island of New Zealand lies the small village of Havelock North, a few miles distant from the two provincial cities of Hastings and Napier. Established in 1860, the village grew slowly, the population reaching 374 by 1900 and passing the thousand mark around 1930. From its beginnings, the inhabitants have included a rather high proportion of intellectual, educated, contemplative and concerned men and women, a fact that, over the years has induced others of like mind to join them. It is noted today for its three large independent schools established around the beginning of the century. The climate is pleasant and there is none of the bustle of the nearby cities.²

To the locality where Havelock North now stands came, in 1854, John Chambers (1819-1893). In June of that year he with his wife

Margaret and their first three children, Hannah, William and John, arrived in Hawkes Bay and after looking at various possible areas on which to settle, chose to occupy a block of Maori-owned land – the Te Mata Block – where, by the end of the year he had built a homestead and taken up a further 6400 acres – the Mokopeka Block – nearby. By 1885 he owned 18,000 acres carrying 35,000 sheep, and had become one of the province's most prosperous landholders.³

John Chambers' parents had been accepted into membership in Chesterfield monthly meeting on 20 June 1814, five years before his birth on 20 January 1819 at Heanor in Derbyshire (12 miles north-east of Derby). He went to Ackworth School when he was 12 and stayed until he turned 14, following which he served an apprenticeship as a blacksmith. John Chambers emigrated to South Australia, where on 16 August 1848, he married Margaret Wills Knox, daughter of a Presbyterian minister and herself a staunch adherent of the church. Although John Chambers maintained his own connections with Friends all his life, and gave financial support to the Auckland meeting, the only formal meeting of his time, he joined his wife and children in membership of the Presbyterian Church. Indeed, until 1891 when the first Presbyterian church was built in the village, services were held at the Chambers homestead, "Te Mata".⁴ The homestead was, for several years after it was built, the only house in the district. Many travellers and visitors came to stay, amongst them, in 1860, Thomas Mason, a fellow-Quaker and friend of John Chambers. He too was an isolated Friend, living in Lower Hutt near Wellington, 200 miles away, whence he came (reputedly on foot) to act as godfather to the Chambers' new-born son, named after him, Thomas Mason Chambers. In 1860 also, John Chambers' sister Mary, married since 1839 to a Methodist portrait painter and no longer an active Friend, came to Havelock North where they settled on a few acres of Chambers land.

Two of the Chambers sons, John (1853-1946), Thomas Mason (1860-1948) and one of their daughters, Margaret (1857-1920) came to play significant roles in the development of the spiritual and cultural life of Havelock North. John Chambers senior divided his property in 1886 among three of his sons, each becoming the owner of a flourishing sheep station of 6,000 acres, and thus placed in the comfortable financial position with time freely available to pursue their personal interests.

As early as 1891, John junior, after some years of study with the American School of Correspondence in Chicago, used his considerable talents in electrical engineering to construct a hydro-electric plant on his land, that provided lighting, drove farm machinery, pumped water and

powered an electric cooking stove of his own design. (He had obtained some of the generator components from St Pancras station.)

He spent time and money in developing a library at his homestead "Mokopeka", for the use of his family and the station hands. Some remnants of his personal library survive at the Tauhara Centre at Taupo, amongst them *A Modern Zoroastrian* by S. Laing, 1898, *The Law of Psychic Phenomena* by Thomas Jay Hudson, 1905, *The Purposes of Education* by St George L.F. Pitt, 1913.

Mason Chambers devoted much of his life to service on local bodies, to charitable associations and in support of private school education. Woodford House School for girls, founded in 1894, moved from Hastings to Havelock North in 1911, Heretaunga (later Hereworth) School for boys came in 1913 and next year the Presbyterian Iona College for girls was established. All were built on or adjacent to what had been Chambers land, Mason giving four acres for Iona and selling twenty acres to Woodford House.

Although we do not have records of matters that were evidently considered highly personal, (Mason Chambers diligently kept a diary that he burned shortly before his death), yet every now and then the presence of the two brothers is apparent in the progression of events.

In 1873 Madame Helena Petrovna Blavatsky and Colonel H.S. Olcott founded in New York, the Theosophical Society – 'to form a nucleus of the universal brotherhood of humanity; to encourage the study of comparative religion, philosophy and science; to investigate the unexplained laws of nature and the powers latent in man'. The society had one of its bases in eastern mysticism but nevertheless its hope and search for truth and "the powers latent in man" made considerable appeal to seeking and enquiring minds. In January 1883 the London lodge was founded and in 1889 the first lodge was formed in New Zealand at Wellington.⁵ By the end of 1901 the New Zealand membership had grown to 209. Monthly lectures at the several branches ranged over topics such as "The Rosicrucians", "Invisible Helpers", "Reincarnation", "Fear – its Cause and Cure" – this last, by Emma Richmond president of the Wellington Branch, given in January 1902.

In October of that year, Harold Large, "a visitor from the Blavatsky Lodge in London" addressed the Ladies Meeting in Auckland. Harold Large was one of the children of a Napier cabinet-maker, educated there and in Wellington who had gone on at the age of 18 to Caius College, Cambridge where he emerged with a B.A. in 1891. In 1893, back in New Zealand, he took up a post as assistant master at Wanganui

Collegiate School. There for two years he taught Latin, produced and performed in concerts and plays and coached the rowing four. He was a capable pianist and popular vocalist. In the several long periods he spent in England he was a member of Sir Frank Benson's Shakespeare Company.^{6,7} His sister Lillie, a noted singer both in New Zealand and in England, was also an ardent Theosophist and from around 1900 to her retirement in 1920 was the singing teacher at Woodford House school for girls. From his return in 1902, Harold Large took an active part in the New Zealand Theosophical Society, over the next five years, editing its journal *The N.Z. Theosophical Magazine*, and becoming in 1903 the assistant general secretary. That year a branch was formed in Napier.⁸

Theosophy in those first years of this century was in a situation of some stress. In 1907 Annie Besant after a long interval, succeeded Helena Blavatsky as president, bringing a further emphasis on the Eastern mystic aspects of the society and two years later discovering in the young Krishnamurti the means by which the forthcoming Messiah would return to earth. The Church which had formerly accepted the practice of Theosophy as a not-incompatible activity on the part of its members, began (as least in New Zealand) to denounce the Society as 'a dangerous Gnostic heresy'. Whatever the total cause, Harold Large abruptly resigned and was confirmed in the Anglican Church by the Bishop of Auckland (a brand snatched from the burning). By 1907 he had come to live in Havelock North.

A number of Napier and Havelock North men and women of some standing were at this time active members of the Society: Elizabeth Jerome Spencer, for example, was headmistress of Napier Girls' High School (Amy Large, Harold's sister was the matron there from 1901 to 1904).

The library and all of the records of the Theosophical Society in New Zealand were destroyed in an office fire in mid-1906, so we can only conjecture that the two Chambers brothers might have been early formal members of the Society, as their later interests suggest, and part of the group of Theosophists in Havelock North, alluded to a few years later by Cyril Hopher.⁹

In 1867 John Holdsworth, then 17, the third and youngest son of John and Martha Holdsworth, a Quaker cotton-mill family, arrived at "Te Mata", with an introduction to John Chambers. In 1877 he returned to "Te Mata" and next year married Margaret, the Chambers' third daughter. The couple returned to Lancashire to live at the Holdsworth family home, Barclay House at Eccles and here they raised a family of two sons and a daughter. John Holdsworth having retired early, devoted

himself to the work of Friends, particularly on behalf of Penketh and Ackworth schools.¹⁰ By 1890 all of the family were members of the Society of Friends, belonging to Hardshaw East monthly meeting.

However, around 1900, a chance came for John Holdsworth to buy the sheep-station "Waikohu" near Gisborne and to settle his two sons on the property. The whole family, John and Margaret, the sons Granville and Bernard and daughter Beatrice came to Havelock in 1904, the boys taking up cadetships on their Chambers uncles' sheep-stations.

John and Margaret decided to settle there, buying land from her brother Bernard Chambers, on the Te Mata Road. After deciding on the house they wanted built, they returned to England and by the time they came back to Havelock in 1905, the house – Swarthmoor – (still standing) was almost complete. The Quaker population of Havelock rose from zero to five: John Chambers had died in 1893, his gravestone in the Havelock North cemetery testifying to his continued Quaker adherence with the inscription in Quaker fashion – "died 7th month 11th 1893".¹¹

Many visitors, Quakers and non-Quakers enjoyed the hospitality of Swarthmoor. Sometime before 1909 the custom had grown of holding regular "Quiet Meetings" of Quakers and other similarly-minded non-Quaker persons. The Vicar, the Revd. Allen Gardiner allowed these meetings to be held on Saturdays in the Anglican Church of St Luke and he himself took part, as did Harold Large and Reginald Gardiner, the vicar's brother. Large and Reginald Gardiner had joined John Holdsworth in establishing this ecumenical occasion¹², although Cyril Hephner remarks that it originated as a Friends Meeting in which others joined.¹³

To examine Reginald Gardiner's contribution to the spiritual and cultural atmosphere of Havelock North we look back to his origins and on to his continuing achievements.

He was born in 1872 in Orange, New South Wales, son of the Revd. A.W. Gardiner, who later, for a brief period before his untimely death, was a Church of England missionary in Africa. His mother died when he was not yet two years old, his father married again but himself died eight years later. Reginald was brought up by his stepmother Amy Gardiner and relatives in England and in 1885 came to New Zealand to live, in the vicinity of Napier, with his stepmother, his eldest brother Allen and his only sister, Rose, 12 years his senior. Allen Francis Gardiner was appointed as curate to St Luke's church in Havelock North in 1900. Reginald worked with an agricultural firm, later going farming, but giving up because of ill health in 1896 at the age of 24, returned to

England on medical advice. (If one suffered ill health in England one was sent to the colonies!)

In a London hotel he met Ruth Scott, daughter of J.G. Scott, head of a Canadian railway company. He later followed her to Quebec where in 1900 they were married. Gardiner worked for his father-in-law for some years but, suffering still from ill health, was advised to seek a warmer climate and he and his wife came in 1907 to Havelock North where in 1901 his brother had become the vicar. Here he met again with Harold Large whom he had known in his earlier years in New Zealand.

Reginald Gardiner brought to their association, a skill in involving people in activities that as his daughter tells us,¹⁴ had not previously found an opportunity for expression. In Havelock North the circumstances were propitious and he was able to engender enthusiasm and support for the idea of an enterprise that drew together in the community those of similar interests and inclinations. In the year following his arrival, the undertaking was formalised at a well-attended public gathering, as "The Havelock Work", to encourage activities 'leading to constructive thought of a cultural, literary, philosophical and dramatic nature'. Even in 1907, however, a small group of people with some literary talent had begun to meet together every month to read their own work in prose and poetry – a circumstance credited to the initiative of Ruth Gardiner.¹⁵ Before the year was over, they decided to bring their work together as a magazine called *The Forerunner*, partly written, partly typed and illustrated with water-colours. Six copies were made and circulated round the group. Twelve numbers appeared up to the end of 1908. But in May 1909, *The Forerunner* appeared in print.¹⁶ Two of the group, one of them Harold Large, now living in a cottage at "Stadacona", the Gardiners' house, learned how to set type and to print, and produced there the first of a series of²¹ issues of a journal with philosophic, literary, and informative content of remarkable quality and an extraordinarily high level of typographic attainment.

Poetry by Ruth Gardiner and by Hugh Campbell Chambers (the 21-year old son of John Chambers junior), a regular feature "Daily Thoughts for Meditation" by the Editors, "Socialism" by Harold Large, "Gift of the Spirit among Quakers" by Mary Mitchel McLean, appeared in the first year's issues. We should not forget that at this time the thoughts and work of William Morris were very much alive in the minds of many; the typeface of *The Forerunner* is similar to Morris's "Golden" typeface, and the use of ornamental initial capitals reflects Morris's style. In the issues up to 1914 when publication ceased, a number of notable New Zealand figures contributed to *The Forerunner's*

pages, among them H. Guthrie Smith and Francis Hutchinson junior, the naturalists; Mary C. Richmond, Theosophist and Anthroposophist; Emma Richmond, who became the earliest follower of Rudolf Steiner's Anthroposophical Society in New Zealand; and Elsdon Best, the country's leading ethnologist. Friends wrote for the journal – William B. Matheson of Rongomai, Hugh Goldsbury of Whakarongo, and Edwin Gilbert, organising secretary of the Bournville Adult Schools (in Havelock North for the New Zealand Friends 1913 Annual Meeting).

Some of the underlying philosophy is revealed in the introduction to the first issue, where we read – 'Let our aim be Unity in Diversity, and our joy will lie in sounding each his life-note and so producing infinity of opinion on the common theme "The Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man"'. Mason Chambers was president of "The Havelock Work" and Margaret Holdsworth president of the Ladies Committee. Weekly readings of Shakespeare and Dickens developed into regular Wednesday evening entertainments during the winter months. Lillie Large organised a glee club, Reginald Gardiner opened an Arts and Crafts supplies shop. Needing a more spacious meeting place they raised enough money to build a substantial village hall that seated 300. If we look ahead further, the group organised, in November 1911, an "Old English Fete" with procession, Morris dancing and 'entertainments continued into the night', but the crowning achievement, long-remembered, was the great Shakespearian Pageant at the end of 1912 in which almost the entire population of the village was involved.

These cultural activities, quite remarkable for their extent and continuity, had a deeper significance for the group at the heart of The Havelock Work. John von Dadelszen in his account records that Harold Large's resignation from the Theosophical Society had been occasioned by his conviction that 'eastern methods of training were unsuitable for western people – some form of esoteric training must also exist in the West and he was determined to find it. It was inconceivable that Christianity, of all the great world religions should be the only one lacking in this respect'.¹⁷ He inspired the Gardiners with his own enthusiasm for the quest.

The three were joined by Reginald Gardiner's sister Rose, and in 1907 by Mary Mitchel McLean, a Scottish school teacher then aged 52 who came from Edinburgh to join her two sisters in Havelock North, who had themselves come to New Zealand in 1883. One of them, Madge McLean, had married Mason Chambers.

Mary McLean was described as 'of the same mind as Large' and as 'having met people of similar interests in Britain'. We can amplify this rather guarded description, for one of these 'people with similar interests' was Father Charles Fitzgerald, an Anglican priest, a member of the Community of the Resurrection (commonly known as the Mirfield Fathers) and a member of the magical Order of Stella Matutina, set up by Dr Robert Felkin on the foundering structure of the Order of the Golden Dawn. Another friend of hers in Britain was Dr George Carnegie Dickson, for a time a chief of the Amen-Ra temple of the Order of the Golden Dawn in Edinburgh. They may well have been related in law, for her brother had married Annie Scott Dickson.

The group met regularly in meditation, and after Large left in 1909, began to increase in number and adopted 'a simple form of ritual'. Gardiner referred to The Havelock Work as an outward expression of this more personal quest – a cultural society built around this silent power station.¹⁸

The Hodgkin Visit and the Quiet Meeting

In May 1909 the Hodgkin family – Thomas, Lucy Anna, Lucy Violet and George – came to Havelock North in the course of their visit to Friends in Australia and New Zealand. They had already attended New Zealand Friends first General Conference in Wellington, had sought out isolated Friends in various parts of the country and met John and Margaret Holdsworth, who had invited the four to spend what amounted to a small holiday with them at Swarthmoor.

The circle of people whom they met in their short stay were the colonial social equivalent of their own friends and acquaintances back in England – the Gardiners, various members of the Chambers families, Sir William and Lady Russell, the Friends at Rissington, Francis and Sarah Hutchinson and Francis Hutchinson junior and his wife Amy Large, among them.¹⁹ They constituted a group of intelligent and affluent people, many of whom were spending a considerable portion of their energies in a search for an extension of human physical existence into the spiritual and mystical spheres beyond the bounds of their formal religious experience. We know by later references that those among them who were Theosophists were still strong in their adherence, actively pursuing the esoteric aspects of their beliefs; within the Anglican fold were seekers after further enlightenment; and the meditation group, pursuing a quest towards the hidden wisdom were following the path laid down by Harold Large and further marked by Mary McLean.

In this ferment, the initiation by John and Margaret Holdsworth of the regular weekly Quiet Meeting provided an ecumenical, non-ritualised focus. From the first it must have been designed to meet the needs of the wider group, for the Holdsworths, being the only Friends in Havelock North, could just as well have met in their own home.

We can think of those who most likely attended the Quiet Meeting that was held at the close of day on Saturday, 22 May of 1909 – John and Margaret Holdsworth, their daughter Beatrice, Revd. Allen Gardiner and his wife Agnes Gardiner, Reginald Gardiner, perhaps Harold Large, the four visiting Hodgkins and two others ‘friends and relatives’ – Theosophists – of whom we have no specific record, sitting in the gathering dusk of an early winter’s evening, tempered by the light of ‘one small hanging lamp’. Thomas Hodgkin wrote²⁰, ‘There were one or two prayers and a few short addresses, but the greater part of the time was spent in silence...’. Lucy Violet Hodgkin has herself described the meeting; ‘A short prayer from the brother of the vicar [Reginald Gardiner] set us free to utter our needs and share our thoughts. One or two Friends spoke and prayed’.²¹ One of these was Lucy Anna Fox who in her marvellous pictorial journal of the 1909-10 voyage to the Antipodes²² writes: ‘I spoke on “the Light that shined in darkness”. How we all naturally long for light.’ Her words were picked up by the Revd. Allen Gardiner who spoke of Christ as the Light of the World. Lucy Violet continued: ‘The words were beautiful. But the silence spoke loudest to some of us.’

It must be remembered that Lucy Violet Hodgkin, though a skilled lip-reader, was profoundly deaf; the thoughts and feelings that this meeting engendered cannot have come through words alone. She was of course, much accustomed to silent worship and to her own familiar responses, within her own private silence.

The gathering of searching souls that she so briefly encountered perhaps gave rise to wider insights; we can observe that the fact of a Friends Meeting of silent worship taking place among a diverse ecumenical group in the physical structure of the Anglican church, moved her profoundly and strongly reinforced her sense of mystical communion. She immediately sought to share her new-found enlightenment, writing an account in the last days of that same month and sending it off to *The British Friend*, where it appeared in July 1909. ‘Meeting in church on a Saturday evening gives a big shake in our Quaker ruts and grooves – the forms of our formlessness, of which we are hardly conscious till such a shake occurs.

‘It was a Friends Meeting, but it was more. We were in a church, but it was more. The atmosphere was different from anything I have ever

known. The two forms of worship seemed to unit in a reality. Then I understood. Our little separate folds were forgotten. We were all one flock, following the one Shepherd.'

Is this the key? In each of her subsequent writings on silent worship, it is the sharing, the fellowship of silence, that she emphasises. We can well understand that for her, private silence being a customary state, the feeling of sharing her silence across what might have seemed earlier to be impossible barriers was of tremendous spiritual significance.

Lucy Violet Hodgkin's life up to this visit to New Zealand, had run a course illuminated by her scholarship and literary talents. She had written *Pilgrims in Palestine* in 1891, a book based on a family visit, and in 1902 *The Happy World. Notes on the Mystic Imagery of the Paradiso of Dante*. But for the decade following her return to England she shared her newly-found conviction of the mystic wonder of silent worship with Friends, in articles in *The British Friend*, and more particularly when these and other writings were published as four chapters in Cyril Hephher's book, *The Fellowship of Silence* in 1915. In 1919 she was asked to give the Swarthmore Lecture and spoke on 'Silent Worship: the Way of Wonder'.

She was 40 years old when she had been in Havelock North. From this time until her last book (*Gulielma: wife of William Penn*) was published 38 years later, she wrote a succession of stories based on her studies of Quaker history, the best-known being *A Book of Quaker Saints* first published in 1917. She kept up a correspondence with Rufus Jones that reflected their mutual interest in the mystical aspects of religion. In 1937 other concerns were evident in her work, *A day-book of Counsel and Comfort from the Epistles of George Fox*. She became a recorded Minister of the Society of Friends and in the ways we have described and doubtless on many occasions of ministry she exerted a substantial influence on the life of the Society.

The Havelock North Quiet Meeting of this time had other and far-reaching influences.

In 1904, resolving to strengthen the Church in South Africa, the Church of England sent there a number of priests as a Mission of Help. Its evident success raised thoughts within the Church in New Zealand that a similar Mission would be of great advantage to their work in that country. Four years of earnest preparation in the New Zealand parishes²³ led to the arrival in early 1910, first of two "Forerunners", whose task was to make the needed local arrangements and draw up an itinerary, and secondly plan the Mission itself. Sixteen priests and one lay-missioner arrived at the end of August to spend a fortnight in each of the six dioceses, where individual missionaries were allotted a number of

parishes within the diocese as their particular concern. Its work in promoting the practice of prayer, the place of the sacraments and 'the importance of men in the work of the church', came to an end in December of 1910 and most of the missionaries set off for England by way of Cape Horn and Montevideo.

Within the diocese of Waiapu (the East Coast North Island area that includes Havelock North and Napier) two members of the mission, the Revd. Cyril Hepher (later Canon of Winchester) and Father Charles Fitzgerald, carried the mission to the church of St Luke in Havelock North (the Revd. Allen Gardiner's wife Agnes was a daughter of the retired Bishop Leonard Williams of Waiapu). Both these missionaries, breathing the spiritual air of Havelock North discovered for themselves experiences and affinities beyond the evangelical confines of the Mission itself.

After a time at New College, Oxford and service in various northern parishes (including Heanor in Derbyshire where John Chambers was born) Cyril Hepher had become vicar of St John the Baptist in Newcastle upon Tyne. In June 1910, on the occasion of the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh, John Holdsworth, then visiting England, attended (as did Lucy Violet Hodgkin), and afterwards at the house of his friend Thomas Pumphrey, was introduced to Cyril Hepher, invited there to meet "a Friend from New Zealand". Hepher by then knew he was to go to Havelock North, and asked if John Holdsworth knew where it was. John Holdsworth told him of the Quiet Meeting held in the Anglican Church there, and suggested that he attend when he came.

By the time Hepher arrived, two months later, he had overcome his immediate reservations – 'I took care not to commit myself'. He attended the Quiet Meeting and he too was touched with an uplifting of the spirit that influenced much of his later work in the church. He was moved to write 'I believe our Quiet Meeting to have been the consecrated use of latent psychic forces which led directly and deeply to the spiritual, to God Himself'.²⁴

He was led, on his return to England, to institute the practice of Quiet Meetings in his church. He invited Thomas Hodgkin to participate, which he did in April 1912.²⁵ Hepher carried his own ardent response to silent worship to his fellow clergy in England, to America, to Canada and to all who might read of it, in his books *The Fellowship of Silence* and later *The Fruits of Silence*.

At the fourth Conference of New Zealand Friends held at Christchurch in 1912, 'All gathered together on the sands [they were out on a picnic] to hear a letter read by John Holdsworth, from Violet

Hodgkin, giving a most interesting account of how she had attended a silent meeting at an Anglican church in London, which meeting was the outcome of the weekly meeting held on the basis of silence in the little Anglican Church at Havelock North'.²⁶

In a sense, Lucy Violet Hodgkin had found herself, for a brief time, carried by the flow of a spiritual development that had been growing, as we have described, up to that point and which has continued to flourish and diversify from then to the present day. It is truly remarkable that such a small village should have been the focus of so much spiritual energy.

Meditation to Mysticism

The small meditation group influenced by Harold Large up to 1909, developed further when Father Fitzgerald arrived as part of the Mission of Help in 1910, for he brought to them a more definite orientation of their quest towards 'that infinite world of truth – to that country where the light is such "as never was on sea or land" ' as McLean described it.²⁷ After 1910 the group began to expand, a simple form of ritual was introduced and it took the title of The Society of the Southern Cross.²⁸ There is little doubt that the continuing guidance that Fitzgerald gave to the group then and after his departure led them towards the mystical rituals and ceremonies of Dr Robert Felkin's Order of Stella Matutina to which Fitzgerald belonged.

In 1912 Fitzgerald advised the group that if they wished to make further progress he suggested that they invite Dr Felkin, his wife Harriot and daughter Nora Ethelwynn to visit them. John and Mason Chambers provided the £300 for the fares and the Felkins left for New Zealand on 12 October 1912. 'This they were the more ready to do because they believed that New Zealand was destined to play an important spiritual role in a future civilisation based on the countries bordering the Pacific Ocean'²⁹ – a reflection of Theosophist concepts. Charles Fitzgerald came again to New Zealand at the end of 1913, staying while in Napier with the Bishop of Waiapu and giving addresses there and at Havelock North. He reported at the end of his visit that 'one of the things that stood out was the sense of spiritual power, especially in Havelock North. They waited on God in silent prayer ... The power is evident in spiritual healing and conversion of life and the work is all so hidden that it cannot be spoken about, though much spoken against. Through it the Lord will do exceedingly abundantly for New Zealand and beyond all that we can ask or think.'³⁰

The way had been well prepared. By the time the Felkins' three-month visit was up, a temple, named Smaragdum Thalasses had been

established and consecrated and about 12 persons had been trained and received into membership. Soon after the Felkins' visit an ample plot of land was given by Mason and Madge Chambers. J. Chapman Taylor the noted architect was commissioned, two years later, to build there a house (called "Whare Ra" – the house of the Sun) above a basement temple with a seven-sided sanctuary. The Felkins returned in 1916 to settle and the mystical Order of Stella Matutina now established in Havelock North, continued there until 1978. The Order attracted a large following: there were 300 people in the lesser Outer Order and 100 in the Inner Order, which included many of the influential and educated people of Havelock North. The ritual and symbolism of Stella Matutina, like those of its parent Order of the Golden Dawn, came from Rosicrucianism and from Masonry. In 1926 Robert Felkin died.

The German branch of the Theosophical Society, led by Rudolf Steiner, had, by 1910, become disenchanted with Annie Besant's leadership and broke away in 1913. Steiner established the Anthroposophical Society in that year, retaining some of the mystical elements of the Theosophical Society but adding his own views on the place and practice of science and education.

Steiner's philosophy was spread in the form of a succession of "lectures" that very soon attracted many who had formerly been Theosophists. Notable amongst these was Emma Richmond, formerly president of the Wellington Branch of the Theosophists, who brought Steiner's lectures to Havelock North. Her daughter Rachel and her son-in-law Bernard Crompton-Smith went to Germany, just before the Great War, to study Steiner's educational methods, and returning to Havelock North, founded in 1915, St George's Preparatory School which they ran on Steiner principles. They picked up the mantle of Emma Richmond when she died in 1921 and the Anthroposophical movement commenced to grow. Two early members, Ruth Nelson and Edna Burbury ("saved from Felkinism")³¹ built on their property "Taruna" what became for many years the centre of Anthroposophy in New Zealand. A prominent European member of the Society, Herr Meebold, arrived from Heidenheim in Württemberg around 1930 and stayed for a number of years, a dominating figure in the Society's ranks. The Anthroposophical Society's natural pharmaceuticals enterprise Weleda, set up a garden and laboratory opposite "Taruna" in 1952 and has now bought John Holdsworth's former property, "Swarthmoor" to extend its operations. In the 1980s a teacher's training college was built on the "Taruna" site.

Robert Felkin in 1912 also brought with him to New Zealand 'the symbols and teachings, all new and fresh' of a School of Christian Chivalry known as The Order of the Table Round, of which he was the 41st Grandmaster. The teachings were based on the ideals of chivalry and the first members 'set to work to practice them and to spread them through the natural life'. Felkin on being promoted to the higher order of Mage, was succeeded as Grandmaster in 1914 by Sir Andrew Russell: very shortly afterwards Reginald Gardiner succeeded him and held the position until 1949. The Order is still active and meets regularly. Prominent in it until his death some years ago, was Jack Taylor, whose notes supply most of what is commonly known about the order.³²

Notable residents of Havelock North and the surrounding districts participated at various degrees within the Order – as Pages, Squires, or Knights: among them were George Nelson who had become the owner of the first house that Reginald Gardiner had built on coming to Havelock North and John von Dadelszen, Mayor of the Borough in 1958.

From this point on, the succession of spiritual and philosophic developments in Havelock North were not to affect Lucy Violet Hodgkin directly. Although she returned from 1922 to 1924 to live there, her own spiritual concerns were centred, as her journals of that period show, in the gathering of Friends in her own home and her encouragement and support for a regular meeting of Friends in Napier close by.

James and Audrey Brodie

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WILL THE INWARD LIGHT GO OUT IN IRELAND?¹

I

Introduction

Friends in Ireland have been concerned about the decline in their numbers for some time.² As one explores their experience, the reasons for this concern become readily apparent. The loss in numbers and meetings is, however, uneven. Some meetings have disappeared; others have declined and a few are growing. Early this century there were 11 monthly meetings and 36 preparative meetings. Now, in spite of the addition of two meetings in Ulster and one in Leinster, there are only five monthly meetings and 20 preparative meetings. Names of meetings like Bray, Carlow, Clara, Maghaberry, Moate, Mountmellick, Rathangan, Rathmines, Ross, Tullamore, Wexford, Wicklow, and others are now memories. Others, like Limerick, that were once monthly meetings, no longer take on that level of responsibility. Further, while one monthly meeting has seven particular meetings for worship, another can only claim one. Monthly meeting membership numbers now vary from more than 500, to as few as 25.

The quinquennial average membership in Ireland Yearly Meeting was 2574 for the 1897-1901 quinquennium. That was the membership peak for the last part of the nineteenth century. From that peak the number of Friends in Ireland has been in almost constant decline. In 1989 the number stood at 1672. Between 1911 and 1989 Irish Friends registered 861 births, and 2365 deaths. There were 226 marriages between Friends and 1160 Friends chose to marry non-Friends. If all the Irish Friends who married out had been disowned, and if nobody in Ireland had asked to join the Society of Friends, then Irish Friends would owe the world about 260 people. We can, therefore, give thanks for those who did not leave, were not disowned and for those who chose to join Friends.

Friends in the Republic are a small minority of the small non-Catholic part of the population. The non-Catholic minority has declined by about two thirds since Independence.³ In Northern Ireland, some Friends see themselves neither as a part of the Protestant majority, nor of the Catholic minority. However, in many ways they live as if they were a small part of the Protestant majority. The northern Protestant

majority, as in the South, is also declining in numbers.⁴ In this paper I will describe the decline in the number of Friends in Ireland Yearly Meeting. The reasons for and some of the consequences of the decline will also be described.

II

Background

In 1911, the date of the last census before Independence, 90 per cent of the people in what became the Republic were Roman Catholics. In a few years that proportion had grown to about 94 per cent where it has remained. Between 1911 and 1961 there was a steady loss of people largely as a result of emigration.⁵ The net loss due to migration has varied, going as high as 46,000 per year. Only during the period between 1971 and 1976 was there a net return to Ireland. By 1981 there were more Roman Catholics than at any time before.

In contrast, the members of "other stated religions" declined precipitously. Between 1911 and 1926, their numbers declined by about a third. Since 1926, a further loss has brought them down to about 40 per cent of what they were before Independence. The declines were greater among the larger Protestant Churches than among the smaller groups. By 1981 the three largest denominations had been reduced to about one third the number they had started with in 1911. They, along with Friends, have had a lower birth-rate than have Catholics.⁶ The decline is a reflection of these two variables, see table 1 below.

All the non-Catholic groups in the Republic have had the same experience. They have closed churches and have seen many of their ministers forced to serve more than one congregation. Methodists have combined forces with Presbyterians in some towns to share churches and ministers. Between 1971 and 1981 there was a net return of population. Even then the number of Anglicans and Presbyterians continued to decline. The much smaller Methodist Church just held its own.

In contrast, the number of people who claimed no religion has increased markedly. In 1961 there were 6732 people who claimed no religion. This number grew to 110,548 in 1981. Although the number is small, it comes at a time of decline in the Republic's churches. If we assume that the rate of growth of this group has been sustained since 1981, the number of unchurched would now be expected to be half as large again as the non-Catholic minority. The erosion will probably show up in the numbers of all religious bodies, including the majority Roman Catholics, in the 1991 census.

Table 1
Religious composition in Ireland
1911 to 1981

Year	Total populat. (X1000)	Roman Cath. num. (X1000)	Cath. %	Other Stated religions number	Stated %	No religion identif.	No info. suppl.	NR+NI %
1911	3,140	2,813	89.6	315,266	10.0	11,913*		.4
1926	2,972	2,751	92.6	210,993	7.1	9,730*		.3
1936	2,968	2,774	93.5	184,495	6.2	8,005*		.3
1946	2,955	2,786	94.3	160,961	5.4	8,113*		.3
1961	2,818	2,673	94.9	144,868	5.1	1,107	5,625	.2
1971	2,978	2,796	93.9	128,318	4.3	7,616	46,648	1.8
1981	3,443	3,204	93.1	128,481	3.7	39,572	70,976	3.2

Note: * These figures include people who claimed: "other stated religions" that were not Church of Ireland, Presbyterian, Methodist or Jewish; those who claimed "no religion"; and those for whom no information was supplied. From the census in 1961, these categories were separated.

In Northern Ireland, membership in the Catholic, Presbyterian, Anglican and Methodist churches grew in tandem with the population between 1911 and 1961. After 1961, while population numbers continued to increase, the largest churches began to decline. The provincial decline did not show up in the census until ten years later. By 1981 there are fewer members in the major denominations in Northern Ireland than at any time. The Methodists, although declining, still had more members than they did in 1911. In contrast, membership in other religions has tripled. This group includes the Free Presbyterian Church of Ulster. As in the Republic, the number of people who refused to identify themselves with any religious group has increased, see table 2.

Table 2
Religious Composition in Northern Ireland
1911 to 1981

Year	Popula.	R. Cath.	C of I.	Presb.	Method.	Free Presb.	O.ReIn.	Not Stated
1911	1,250,531	430,161	327,076	395,039	46,562		49,207	2,486
1926	1,256,561	420,428	338,722	393,374	49,556		52,177	2,304
1937	1,279,741	428,290	345,474	390,931	55,131		57,541	2,374
1951	1,370,921	471,460	353,245	410,215	66,639		63,497	5,865

Table 2 continued.

Year	Popula.	R. Cath.	C of I.	Presb.	Method.	Free Presb.	O.Rein.	Not Stated
1961	1,425,042	497,547	344,800	413,113	71,865		71,299	26,418
1971	1,519,640	477,921	334,318	405,717	71,245	7337	87,938	142,511
1981	1,481,959	414,532	281,472	339,818	58,731	9621	112,822	274,584

Note: 1. Other Religions includes the Free Presbyterian Church of Ulster.
 2. These data were extracted from census figures published by HM Stationery Office.

Three reasons can be advanced for the decline in both the Protestant majority and Catholic minority in the North. First, a small part of the loss is produced by the decline in the population. Second, the number of people who belong to "other small religions" had increased. Third, and perhaps most significantly, is the increase in people who claim no religion at all. Looking at the details, between 1961 and 1981 the number of people who claim to belong to a religion *other than* the large four increased by 58 per cent, from 71, 299 to 112, 822. The large four are the Roman Catholics, Anglicans, Presbyterians and Methodists.

Uniform growth cannot be assumed for the smaller churches. Some grew while others did not. All of the smaller religious bodies with a long history have declined. Among them is the Society of Friends. Their decline is disguised by growth in two other groups of small churches. One is a group of churches that have non-Irish identities. They include all the Eastern churches, the Church of England and the Episcopal Church of Scotland. The other small churches that grew provide certainty in theology, in politics, or in both. The largest is the Revd. Ian Paisley's Free Presbyterian Church of Ulster. It, like the other Pentecostal and Evangelical churches, has grown.

There are several reasons for the decline of the larger denominations. Emigration, declining birth rates and the increase in those people who refused to state their religion to the census taker provide the basic explanation. The "no answers" grew from 26,418 in 1961 to 274,584 in 1981. Another 22,403 people provided ambiguous answers to the question. These represent an increased level of secularization similar to that found in other parts of Great Britain, North America, and Western Europe.

III

Changes in Ireland Yearly Meeting

The membership of Ireland Yearly Meeting has been drifting downward from the turn of the century. The decline has been steady with few interruptions. There was a flattening of the decline around

World War II. However, this did little to change the trend. In contrast to the other non-Catholic groups in the Republic, Friends have not declined as much as did the other minority religious groups. Nevertheless, Friends in the Republic are now about 58 per cent of the number they were in 1910, see table 3.

Table 3
Ireland Yearly Meeting
Membership Statistics 1910 to 1988

Year	No*	Leinster Q M						Munster Q M						Ulster Q M							
		B	D	Trans.	Marry	No.		B	D	Trans.	Marry	No.	B	D	Trans.	Marry	No.				
		in	out	in	out		in	out	in	out		in	out	in	out						
1910	963	7	13	20	18	4	7	321	6	6	7	5	0	1	1156	5	4	28	42	5	1
1911	959	4	15	25	22	3	4	323	1	5	8	11	0	0	1123	9	16	51	36	6	9
1912	951	8	18	15	33	6	7	316	4	4	6	13	0	0	1131	2	13	31	34	4	8
1913	923	9	17	14	31	3	5	309	1	4	4	6	1	0	1117	11	17	53	40	6	1
1914	898	6	11	12	12	2	5	304	4	8	8	4	0	0	1124	6	13	46	52	3	0
1915	893	4	17	24	6	3	9	304	1	7	5	2	0	1	1111	15	13	21	23	4	5
1916	898	1	16	29	12	4	11	301	0	4	0	1	0	1	1111	8	13	48	18	1	0
1917	900	4	16	8	17	4	7	297	3	6	2	4	1	0	1136	13	22	31	18	3	3
1918	880	2	12	15	7	2	3	292	2	7	1	4	0	5	1140	9	18	28	14	3	0
1919	879	5	17	27	22	5	5	284	2	8	6	16	0	3	1145	13	21	19	10	0	8
1920	873	10	16	13	15	0	10	268	1	3	4	2	1	3	1146	8	20	26	12	0	1
1921	865	6	11	10	9	0	8	268	0	2	3	10	0	1	1148	12	17	37	18	1	5
1922	861	4	16	11	16	0	2	259	2	8	11	7	0	1	1162	7	21	51	24	1	12
1923	844	3	11	21	15	2	6	256	1	5	1	6	0	3	1175	14	17	40	29	2	3
1924	842	3	21	17	16	2	6	247	0	11	6	8	0	3	1183	4	22	37	26	2	3
1925	823	1	16	12	20	2	3	234	2	5	4	2	0	1	1176	5	26	35	25	2	0
1926	800	1	13	15	6	1	2	233	0	5	5	7	0	4	1165	11	13	24	15	2	12
1927	797	2	16	22	7	4	2	226	1	5	10	9	4	0	1172	6	14	16	4	0	7
1928	798	3	10	13	8	0	6	223	3	3	6	4	0	3	1176	8	17	21	30	2	15
1929	796	5	16	6	19	0	7	225	1	5	3	8	0	1	1158	15	15	21	23	1	11
1930	772	1	18	18	19	2	8	216	0	1	2	5	1	1	1156	9	10	21	12	0	8
1931	754	3	15	15	10	0	2	212	1	1	3	4	0	0	1163	11	17	20	13	1	7
1932	747	2	12	10	7	0	4	211	0	7	2	7	0	0	1164	7	16	21	7	3	8
1933	740	0	23	29	29	3	2	199	2	4	4	1	1	0	1169	5	14	21	10	0	7
1934	717	1	10	10	12	2	5	200	0	3	5	7	0	0	1171	4	14	22	11	2	10
1935	706	2	11	11	12	2	10	195	0	3	2	8	0	1	1172	7	19	33	22	1	3
1936	696	4	10	16	8	3	7	186	3	6	5	1	0	2	1171	7	19	31	25	0	8
1937	698	4	14	16	10	2	5	187	1	4	5	9	0	1	1165	3	18	37	10	2	7
1938	694	2	7	7	5	1	6	180	0	4	3	7	0	0	1178	11	16	36	28	2	7
1939	691	4	7	11	8	4	7	172	0	2	12	4	0	3	1181	9	18	16	12	0	11

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Table 3 continued

Year	No*	Leinster Q M						Munster Q M						Ulster Q M							
		B	D	Trans.	Marry	No.		B	D	Trans.	Marry	No.	B	D	Trans.	Marry	No.				
		in	out	in	out		in	out	in	out		in	out	in	out	in	out				
1940	691	3	19	20	3	3	6	178	0	6	8	3	1	3	1176	1	23	24	13	3	11
1941	692	5	13	20	1	1	8	177	1	5	0	7	0	0	1165	5	23	12	6	5	21
1942	703	1	6	11	5	2	6	166	0	3	4	4	0	1	1153	3	16	20	6	4	9
1943	704	8	13	13	7	3	9	163	2	4	4	2	0	1	1154	6	22	12	15	2	10
1944	705	2	14	18	12	1	5	163	2	3	2	4	1	2	1135	7	14	14	11	2	26
1945	699	4	10	14	8	5	7	160	1	9	4	2	0	3	1131	8	15	12	11	3	17
1946	699	3	14	10	8	1	6	154	2	5	3	4	1	0	1127	6	14	37	28	1	12
1947	690	6	15	8	10	2	9	150	2	3	1	0	0	0	1128	10	20	17	8	3	12
1948	681	2	8	21	8	4	3	149	3	3	4	7	0	2	1127	6	16	35	26	0	14
1949	688	4	17	20	12	2	9	146	1	0	8	4	0	0	1126	15	12	13	21	0	17
1950	683	6	12	3	4	0	10	151	2	4	1	0	0	0	1130	9	11	29	6	0	5
1951	677	5	15	14	2	0	12	150	0	3	1	2	0	0	1151	9	14	30	11	3	10
1952	679	4	12	10	9	1	6	146	2	1	2	1	0	0	1165	13	13	29	28	1	15
1953	673	6	11	21	9	0	5	148	1	4	3	0	0	2	1166	11	7	11	5	3	16
1954	679	2	12	18	1	0	3	148	0	1	3	6	0	0	1176	11	9	11	10	0	16
1955	686	5	13	18	8	0	8	144	1	2	2	6	2	0	1179	12	12	19	11	0	6
1956	688	7	16	6	17	3	5	139	1	2	10	4	0	0	1187	14	11	16	7	1	7
1957	668	1	13	14	13	0	4	144	2	3	13	9	2	0	1199	5	14	29	29	0	13
1958	657	6	13	13	10	0	6	147	1	1	0	2	0	2	1190	9	15	5	27	0	6
1959	653	8	6	9	6	0	8	145	0	2	0	0	0	0	1162	6	18	18	36	0	12
1960	658	1	9	13	6	2	4	143	1	1	1	0	0	0	1132	5	10	32	30	0	8
1961	657	4	14	10	5	2	7	144	1	4	2	6	0	0	1129	15	17	25	37	3	7
1962	652	3	11	7	11	2	0	136	2	1	0	0	0	0	1115	7	15	26	35	0	6
1963	640	2	14	19	7	2	1	137	2	4	2	3	0	1	1098	7	16	16	12	0	11
1964	640	3	9	9	11	0	9	134	0	2	2	1	2	1	1093	8	12	20	12	0	4
1965	632	4	9	18	9	4	7	133	0	4	1	7	0	2	1097	12	13	19	18	0	3
1966	636	2	8	16	1	2	3	123	0	1	0	1	0	4	1097	6	15	5	14	0	5
1967	645	2	9	8	6	1	11	122	0	3	1	5	0	0	1079	4	18	24	44	0	4
1968	639	1	13	6	6	2	6	115	0	4	2	1	0	2	1045	2	15	12	3	0	4
1969	627	3	13	14	22	1	2	112	0	4	8	0	1	1	1041	6	9	11	15	0	5
1970	609	3	13	14	2	0	5	116	1	3	2	0	0	4	1035	2	16	15	6	0	9
1971	611	1	11	5	6	0	7	116	1	0	2	0	0	0	1030	3	13	20	23	2	11
1972	600	2	9	20	5	3	5	118	0	3	8	1	0	0	1017	4	9	18	2	1	7
1973	608	2	9	7	6	0	2	122	3	2	1	1	0	0	1028	3	15	30	11	0	11
1974	602	2	12	14	4	0	5	123	0	0	2	3	0	4	1035	1	10	19	8	0	8
1975	602	1	15	11	1	0	4	122	3	3	2	3	0	0	1037	5	14	17	7	0	13
1976	598	0	9	7	2	0	0	121	0	2	3	1	0	5	1038	2	6	17	19	0	11
1977	594	0	3	19	3	0	5	121	0	2	6	1	0	0	1032	5	9	6	6	0	5
1978	607	0	11	6	1	0	4	120	2	1	6	1	0	0	1028	2	15	11	17	0	11

Table 3 continued

Year	No*	Leinster Q M						Munster Q M						Ulster Q M							
		B	D	Trans. in	Marry in	Trans. out	Marry out	No.	B	D	Trans. in	Marry in	Trans. out	Marry out	No.	B	D	Trans. in	Marry in	Trans. out	Marry out
1979	601	0	4	6	3	0	2	126	0	2	6	0	0	0	1009	2	13	15	11	0	5
1980	600	0	12	6	3	0	3	130	2	2	7	4	0	1	1002	4	17	13	15	0	5
1981	591	1	6	9	3	0	7	136	0	2	3	3	0	1	987	1	13	12	3	0	11
1982	592	2	10	9	4	0	4	134	1	3	5	0	0	0	984	3	17	9	3	0	13
1983	589	0	7	8	4	0	3	137	1	1	1	0	0	0	976	6	14	7	15	0	5
1984	586	0	8	0	7	0	3	138	0	1	12	1	0	0	960	2	16	21	12	0	9
1985	571	0	9	10	3	4	4	148	0	0	5	0	0	0	955	4	9	15	7	1	4
1986	569	0	5	2	1	0	4	153	0	2	15	5	0	1	958	2	16	15	16	0	5
1987	565	1	4	9	0	0	4	161	0	0	8	1	0	1	943	8	14	11	24	0	12
1988	571	0	4	10	6	0	5	168	0	0	7	2	0	1	924	3	6	13	5	0	6
1989	570	1	6	5	7	1	5	173	0	2	13	7	0	3	929	5	14	12	6	0	8
1990	563							175							925						

Note: The notation for column heads has the following meanings:

No. is the number of Friends in each Quarterly Meeting reported in the Yearly Meeting Statistical Report.

B is the number of births reported.

D is the number of deaths reported.

Trans. in, is the number of Friends who either joined the Society, or transferred their membership to the Quarterly Meeting.

Trans. out, is the number of Friends who transferred their membership to another Quarterly Meeting.

Marry in, is the number of weddings that took place between Friends.

Marry out, is the number of weddings between a Friend and another who is not a member of the Society.

In 1910 Friends in what became the Republic outnumbered Friends in what is now Northern Ireland. As the number in the South declined, the number in the North remained virtually unchanged for almost a half century. After 1957 a decline began that was almost as steep as that seen in the Republic between 1911 and 1940. The loss continued until 1972, when there was a five year lull. Since 1977, the creation of the new meetings of Coleraine in 1980, and Bishop Street in 1985, momentarily showed the general rate of decline. Between 1957 and 1989 Ulster Friends lost almost a fifth of their memberships. Their decline is similar to that of the larger churches, including the Roman Catholics.

Each of the Quarterly Meeting's experience is different. To begin in Leinster Quarterly Meeting, the period before World War II was one of decline. After 1936, and for 20 years there was little change. However,

since 1956, with a few minor hesitations, the number of Friends in this Quarterly has declined steadily. Their numbers went from 959 in 1911 to 570 in 1989, a much smaller proportionate decline than the large non-Catholic groups. At first glance this seems to be related to the gap between births and deaths. Only in 1959 during the entire 90-year period did the number of recorded births exceed the number of deaths, see table 3 above.

Table 4
Certificates of Removal Sent and Received by Dublin
Monthly Meeting of Friends

YEARS	Removals to:				Totals
	Great Britain	Northern Ireland	26 Irish counties	Elsewhere	
'31 '40	37	4	12	0	53
'41 '50	24	10	6	6	46
'51 '60	27	5	17	5	54
'61 '70	21	6	8	2	37
'71 '80	13	0	7	7	27
'81 '89	10	1	9	2	22

	Removals received from:				Totals
	Great Britain	Northern Ireland	26 Irish counties	Elsewhere	
'48 '50	7	1	4	1	13
'51 '60	14	2	8	4	28
'61 '70	8	3	4	2	17
'71 '80	5	2	8	2	17
'81 '89	9	1	1	3	14

Net Change of Removals in and out of
Dublin Monthly Meeting

	To Dublin	From Dublin	Net Change
'51 '60	54	28	26
'61 '70	37	17	20
'71 '80	27	17	10
'81 '89	22	14	8

Note: These data were produced from the registers of removals kept by Dublin Monthly Meeting.

The number of births needs to be treated with caution as this does not represent the real rate of demographic growth. This is due to the rule that only a "... child born of parents both of whom are members has a right to membership in the Society".⁷ Hence, a child of a Friend and a non-Friend is not entered in this column. Instead, the child may be given membership at request of the parent. These children are included in the transfer column. Annual statistical reports do not distinguish between the requests made for infants and for older children.

Friends' birth-rates have followed the pattern found in most of the industrial world. During and after the two major wars birth-rates increased. The increases are responsible for the slower decline observed at these times. Increase after the First War was followed by a steep decline during the Depression. Then, after the Second War, another decline in birth-rates began in the 1960s. However, for the 90-year period, deaths have outnumbered births.

The problem of emigration, as shown by new members and membership transfers, has countered the demographic loss to a small extent. Figures provided by the annual statistical reports overstate the case. However, they show that 1050 transfers have been received, while 739 have transferred out. The pattern of loss and gain through transfers is rather uneven. Net losses were seen just before and after World War I, and in the period just after Independence. There have been other years in which net loss was noted, particularly in 1956, 1969 and 1984. In the arithmetic of loss, Leinster Friends would find their numbers sadly depleted but for additions of new Friends and transfers from other parts of the Society.

Examining the removals in Dublin Monthly Meeting, the meeting that represents 95 per cent of the Quarterly, there has been a net gain. The difference, a net increase, is now a significant part of the membership of this monthly meeting, see table 4.

Returning to table 3, Munster Quarterly Meeting's numbers declined steadily between 1910 and 1950. The war-time respite in Leinster was not reflected in Munster's numbers though their birth-rate has been consistently higher. After a minor surge in the late 1950s, the decline continued until early in the 1970s. Since then, the number of Friends in Munster has grown from its low of 116; by 1989 it stood at 168.

Munster Friends demographic arithmetic is not as dismal as Leinster's. Unlike Leinster, they have had only a small excess of deaths over births. Like Leinster, they have had more transfers in than transfers out. However, the pattern is different. The steady decline between 1910 and 1969 is directly related to the excess of transfers out. Since then, the

transfers to Munster, and their ability to attract non-Friends seeking the religious experience provided by Friends has produced growth.

Numbers in Ulster Quarterly Meeting remained close to 1150 for more than 50 years, between 1910 and 1962. By then they had started a slow decline to the 1990 figure of 925, 80 per cent of the number in 1910. One part of the decline is associated with the decline in the birth rate. It declined from nine births per thousand population, to the present figure of about three per thousand population. Ulster Quarterly Meeting's steady loss for the last 30 years, has not been shared equally. Lisburn Monthly Meeting declined from 592 members in 1952 to 332 in 1989. Lurgan had 325 in 1951 and in 1988 it had 230. In contrast, Grange and Richhill Monthly Meeting, once the smallest of the three Ulster monthly meetings, grew steadily from 231 in 1950, to 367 in 1989.

Membership numbers are the basis on which the Society of Friends survives. However, perhaps the most important factor in the life of the Society is attendance at meetings for worship. We are fortunate that Ireland Yearly meeting began the practice of publishing this kind of information in 1966. These data are estimates provided by clerks of meetings of the average numbers who attended meeting for worship during the year. The estimates are made in different ways. Some clerks reported to me that they carefully counted the number present each First Day, and then provided an average. Other clerks confessed the numbers were "best" guesses rather than averages. As the clerk changes from time to time, the figures are more volatile than the membership numbers in the annual statistical reports. These data have been presented in five-year intervals to reduce the volatility and to show the trends, see table 5.

Attendance at particular meetings for worship in Leinster has reflected their loss of numbers. In 1966 an average of 221 people attended meetings for worship, in 1989 the number was 168. Two meetings had minor increases, and some retained their members while the others declined. In Munster the average attendance at meetings for worship was 52 in 1966. Attendance grew to 121 in 1974. Since then, it has dipped under 90. The number now stands at its highest point of 137. Individually, three of the four meetings in the Quarterly have shared in the growth. Cork has doubled, Waterford has almost doubled. Limerick has grown to almost four times the size it was in 1966. Growth in Cork and Limerick has taken place in the last ten years.

In 1966, attendance at particular meetings for worship in Ulster Quarterly Meeting was 391. Since then, attendance has grown and fallen slowly. In 1968 the number stood at 417, and in 1970 it was 400. There were some rapid changes recorded for three meetings: Frederick

St., Belfast South, and Brookfield. Their growth and decline account for the Quarterly Meeting's volatility. There was a decline from the early figures to a low of 321 in 1979. Then numbers grew to 360 in 1989. Recent increases are associated with the creation of Coleraine and Bishop Street meetings. Moyallon and Tamnamore grew slightly during the period. All the other meetings have fewer people attending meeting for worship now than they did in 1966, see table 5.

Table 5
Attendance at Particular Meetings for Worship
1966 and in 5 Year Intervals 1969 to 1989

	1966	1969	1974	1979	1984	1989
Leinster QM						
Dublin MM						
Dublin (Thursday)	11	12	6	6	5	7
Dublin	50	38	40	34	27	25
Monkstown	40	35	48	43	38	43
Churchtown	73	58	55	56	58	49
Rathfarnham	27	29	28	24	16	12
Edenderry	5	11	2	5	9	13
Co. Wexford MM						
Ballitore & Enniscorthy	15	14	8	6	9	9
Leinster QM totals	221	197	187	174	162	158
Munster QM						
Cork MM						
Cork	12	9	8	19	30	27
West Cork W. G.						12
Waterford MM						
Waterford	25	28	40	42	28	42
boarders in term	–	30	45	24	13	25
Tramore	8	7	11	5	6	6
Limerick	7	7	8	8	9	25
Munster QM totals	52	81	112	98	86	137
Republic Totals	273	278	299	272	248	295

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Table 5 continued.

	1966	1969	1974	1979	1984	1989
Ulster QM						
Lisburn MM						
Belfast Frederick St.	41	57	45	34	25	33
Belfast South	48	70	40	37	45	46
Bishop Street						12
Coleraine					13	10
Lisburn	45	60	40	42	37	35
Brookfield	15	24	14	8	7	7
Bangor	11	15	10	12	11	12
Lurgan MM						
Lurgan	50	40	55	40	36	35
Moyallon	8	14	11	5	22	13
Bessbrook	15	15	12	9	14	15
Portadown	31	38	27	23	35	32
Grange and Richhill MM						
Grange	60	65	55	50	45	45
Richhill	55	55	45	46	45	51
Tamnamore	12	15	12	15	12	14
Ulster QM totals	391	468	366	321	347	360
Yearly Meeting totals	664	746	665	593	595	655

Note: The data on this table were extracted from the material published with the Yearly Meeting Minutes.

IV

Explaining the Changes

Change in meeting membership is related to general social change. Industrial growth and decline affect the number of people available. Hence, growth in industrial towns and suburban fringes is related to growth in some meetings. New people usually choose to live in the suburbs. They will look for places of worship near where they live. Distance to the centre of town will serve to discourage them from active membership in the older meetings. There is also a tendency for people who live in the central part of towns to move to the suburbs. The two factors combine to reduce membership in the older meetings and increase the cost to those who remain in membership.

Inter-marriage, in Ireland, is a term fraught with emotion. It usually refers to marriage between Protestants and Roman Catholics. What has excited Friends about it in the past is the fear of loss of young people to the Society of Friends through inter-marriage to Roman Catholics. The term is not normally used when a marriage is celebrated between members of different Protestant groups.⁸ The demand by the Catholic Church that the children of these marriages be brought up as Catholics is thought to have led to a loss of members. The Catholic Church changed its policy when they published a new decree *motu proprio* "Matrimonia Mixta" in 1971. Since then, the loss of Friends who married Catholics has equalled the gain of former Catholics who chose to join the Society.

However, the sense of loss remains. In 1941 the annual marriage rate for Friends was almost double what it is today. Although the War affected marriage rates, it was a temporary effect. Also, the proportion of marriages to non-Friends has increased. A lower marriage rate, and a higher proportion of marriages to non-Friends, have combined. Now, the rate of marriage between Friends is about one seventh of what it was half a century ago. Unfortunately, the annual statistical report does not identify the religious denomination of the non-Friends in these marriages.

In an attempt to discover whether there has been an increase in the frequency of marriages between Friends and Roman Catholics, I examined the records kept on marriages "not according to rule". These are the marriages of members of Ireland Yearly Meeting that take place outside a Friends meeting, or outside of Ireland. The reports of these are sent to the Yearly Meeting office where they are recorded. The records provide the place where the wedding was celebrated, and the religion of the other partner. Using these records, I constructed table 6, below. Although it will not give a complete picture of the religions of the people who chose to marry Friends, it does indicate the direction of change.

First, table 6 confirms the general observation about the decline in rates of marriage. Second, the proportion of marriages between Friends or between a Friend and an Attender, even outside of Ireland has declined. Third, there has been a general decline in the frequency of marriage between Friends and members of all the other religious groups, except Roman Catholics. In contrast, the frequency of marriage with Roman Catholics has almost doubled in the period examined. In the most recent decade, the proportion of marriages to Roman Catholics has become a major part of the total. It is the combination of the general decline in marriage rate, and the increase in the proportion who have

married Roman Catholics that has caused Friends concern. That a Friend is as likely to become a Roman Catholic, as a Catholic is to become a Friend does not reduce the level of concern.

Table 6
Marriages in Ireland "NOT ACCORDING TO RULE"
1941 TO 1989

DECADES	BETWEEN FRIENDS AND						Total
	Friends or Att.	Presbyt.	Angl.	Other Prots.	Roman Caths.	Other Relns.	
1941-50	4	47	86	17	6	4	164
1951-60	3	31	62	15	5	1	117
1961-70	3	29	38	13	12	0	95
1971-80	1	20	25	16	10	9	81
1981-89	1	10	10	5	10	2	38
IYM Total	12	137	221	66	43	16	495

Note: The data are from the registry of "marriages not according to rule" kept in the Yearly Meeting Office at Swanbrook House in Dublin. The notation for Friends or Attenders in this table is for marriages that took place outside a Friends meeting, or outside of Ireland.

Reasons for the decline in Friends weddings are complex. Friends low birth rate has made it more difficult for a young Friend to find a suitable marriage partner who is also a Friend. Many Irish young Friends are related to each other. Many who are not related have known each other since early childhood. Romantic attachments between them are, therefore, less likely. Hence, young people who remain in Ireland either stay single, or if they marry they are more likely to choose non-Friends. It should be expected that most of the recent marriages between Friends and Roman Catholics have been celebrated in the Republic.

Two other variables have an effect on growth in the Yearly Meeting. They are related to the task of providing for a place of worship and a way to meet Friends' concerns. Buildings, burial grounds and committees are important. Also they are expensive in resources and Friends' time. When the Yearly Meeting was much larger, Friends built to meet the needs of those people. Now that the numbers are much smaller, many of the buildings are both old and too big. In several places there are too many of them for Friends' immediate needs.

The Yearly Meeting corporate structure has the same kind of problem. It is composed of levels of meetings, each with its own

complex set of committees. At Yearly Meeting in 1989, for instance, reports were received from 15 committees and people. At Yearly Meeting's committee in 1990, 12 more committees were mentioned that were not minuted at Yearly Meeting, to bring the total to twenty-seven. One of the committees, the Law Committee, was so obscure that many Friends had never heard of it. Quarterly meetings, monthly meetings and preparative meetings each have their own committees. The duties of the quarterly meeting are listed on one page of the Discipline. Those of the monthly meeting occupy nine pages. Not very much is written in the Discipline about the preparative meeting. However, some preparative meetings have several committees, and at least one building, of their own to care for.

Nominating committees have to struggle to find people for all the committees listed. Over time, the same names appear repeatedly on lists of committee members: a few dedicated souls are carrying a load once designed for a much larger group of people. The Discipline specifies the nature and content of the committee structure. From my observation, the committees in some Quarterly Meetings are not as elaborated as they are in others. In them a few Friends carry most of the responsibility.

Once a committee structure is established, people become dependent on it and are reluctant to reduce it. A reduced membership will remain wedded to a committee structure geared to the historically larger number. At first, the members may be quite willing to take on additional responsibilities, but, after a time, the load becomes more than they want to carry indefinitely. So, the personal cost of maintaining the human system is added to the cost of the architectural structures: the two demands combine with the other forces to drive away old members and to discourage the participation of new people.

V

Conclusion

The number of Friends in Ireland is declining. There is a sense of ageing as well. Emigration on school leaving drives the change. It shows up in the small size of the gatherings of young Friends, infrequent weddings between Friends, and the low birth-rates.⁹ In the gloom of the decline are some bright lights. A few meetings have been growing. The meetings in growing industrial towns have attracted people who have not been brought up as Friends. Growth has also come when Friends go out of their way to meet the spiritual needs of new members. This combination is to be found in all the meetings that have shown signs of growth.

Growth is found in several places. In Ulster Quarterly Meeting two new meetings have been formed: Coleraine and Bishop Street. They grew, in part, as a result of the growth in the University of Ulster, and the peace work in that part of Northern Ireland. Neither of them has a meeting house. Growth is also found in the older meetings of Moyallon and Tamnamore; both are in towns with new housing estates. However, attendance at meeting for worship in each of the northern monthly meetings was lower in 1989 than it had been in 1966.

Three meetings in Munster Quarter are growing. None of them has an old meeting house. Waterford built a new one less than 20 years ago. Limerick sold their meeting house and now rents space in it. Cork also sold its large meeting house, and now uses the small one by their burial ground. The West Cork Worship Group was formed recently and is showing signs of growth. Leinster Quarterly Meeting, in contrast, has been slowly shrinking. This is in spite of the growth in the population of Dublin. Friends in Dublin have a collection of valuable buildings and burial grounds. Although not all the meeting houses are old, none of them is in new suburbs. A sign of promise that has not affected the figures is the formation of worship groups in Drogheda, Bray and at Swanbrook. Growth in these places, if sustained, may herald a new period of growth for Leinster Friends.

The average attendance at meetings for worship – members, attenders and visitors – in the Republic during any one week in 1989 was about 295. In Northern Ireland the number was 360. These are enough to fill a good sized meeting in each part of Ireland. Yet these Friends are expected to provide energetic work for their committees, and keep their buildings in good repair. An obvious part of growth and decline is related to these factors, growing meetings that have either no meeting house, or a modest one. Meetings with an “Old Quaker Monument” find that growth eludes them. Growth is more likely when the burden of buildings and committee structures are in balance with the number of Friends involved. The message is the old one of simplicity. Here it is one of buildings and committees.

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NOTES AND REFERENCES

¹ This is a modified version of the report given to Ireland Yearly Meeting held in Dublin in 1990. My thanks go to: the people who work in the Library at Swanbrook House, Dublin, particularly Verity E. Murdoch, and Elizabeth (Betty) O. Pearson,

for their help and encouragement; Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, and the Department of Sociology, University of Dublin for the support given me during my sabbatical in Ireland; and, Woodbrooke College for the place to write the preliminary version of this report.

² The matter was brought to the attention of Ireland Yearly Meeting in 1940. Then, in 1989, Christopher Moriarty reanalyzed some of the membership data and reported his results to the Yearly Meeting.

³ The number of Anglicans and Presbyterians has been declining since the census of 1861, see R. P. McDermott and D. A. Webb, *Irish Protestantism, Today and Tomorrow: A Demographic Study*, Dublin and Belfast: Association for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, 1937, Table 1.

The studies done by Howard W. Robinson on the population of the Diocese of Ardfert in 1971, and on the Diocese of Ferns, in 1973 both Church of Ireland serve to confirm McDermott and Webb's description of population loss.

⁴ McDermott and Webb's figures for the late nineteenth century in the six counties of Northern Ireland are not as clear. The Anglican figures grew between 1861 and 1871, then declined to 1891, after which they showed growth to 1926. The Presbyterians, on the other hand, declined steadily from 1861 to 1891, after which there was little change for several decades.

⁵ See: W. E. Vaughn and A. J. F. Fitzpatrick (eds.), *Irish Historical Statistics*, Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1978.

⁶ Thomas Keane, 'Demographic Trends', in Michael Hurley, SJ, (ed.), *Irish Anglicanism 1869-1969. Essays on the Role of Anglicanism in Irish Life Presented to the Church of Ireland on the Occasion of the Centenary of its Disestablishment by a group of Methodists, Presbyterian, Quaker and Roman Catholic Scholars*, Dublin, Allen Figgis Limited, 1970, p. 175.

⁷ See: *Christian Discipline of the Religious Society of Friends in Ireland*, Dublin, Ireland Yearly Meeting, 1971, p. 16, Ch. 3, para. 5.

⁸ All of the Irish minority groups in the Republic appear to be concerned with this problem. Jack White wrote in 1975:

The threat to survival is very real ... as many as three out of every ten Protestant grooms and two out of every ten Protestant brides married Catholics. These figures are probably higher year by year; and mixed marriage in this generation must mean - if the rule of the Church is obeyed - an all Catholic family in the next ... (Jack White, *Minority Report; The Protestant Community in the Irish Republic*, Dublin, Gill and Macmillan, 1975, p. 130). The House of Bishops of the Church of Ireland discussed the matter in 1951, 1971, and again in 1980 where they minuted: '... the Inter-Church Joint Standing Committee on Mixed Marriages [is] ... greatly concerned with the inherent injustice towards members of the Church of Ireland of many applications of the Roman Catholic *motu proprio* "Matrimonia Mixta" decree ... The present regulations are socially and politically divisive ...'

Similar concerns have been voiced in all the other Protestant Churches in Ireland.

⁹ Friends are not alone in having fewer children. This is a trend that has affected the whole Irish population, see: Brendan M. Walsh, 'Marriage in Ireland in the Twentieth Century', in Art Cosgrove (ed.), *Marriage in Ireland*, Dublin, College Press, 1985. He found that although the marriage rate per generation has risen, the '... Trend in the fertility of marriage over the period 1961-1981 [fell] ... Since 1980 there has been a pronounced fall in the number of births recorded ...' (p. 140).

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Friends in life and death: the British and Irish Quakers in the demographic transition. By Richard T. Vann and David Eversley. Cambridge University Press, 1992. ISBN 0 521 39201 2 Pp, xix + 281. Price £32.50 (\$49.40).

The main reason for a scholarly study of Friends' records of births, marriages and deaths is that they exist; and, despite imperfections which are carefully set out in this book, they have a quality and continuity seldom matched in the parish registers or in other demographic records of the time. When George Fox exhorted Friends to 'buy convenient Books for Registering the Births, Marriages and Burials, as the holy men of God did of old', he began a tradition which is still continued in the meticulous work of registering officers and clerks of Monthly Meetings. But the body of Quaker evidence can be looked at from two points of view. If Friends were representative of the people of their time, then it is evidence which throws light on general demographic trends. But if Friends were a 'peculiar people' whose habits of marriage and conception and whose longevity differed from that of the general population, then the evidence throws light on the nature of their peculiarity.

But, in deciding between these points of view, there is a problem. It is clear that income, social class and occupation affect marriage, conception and longevity. In these respects, Friends were never representative of the population as a whole; and, to make matters worse, their characteristics changed from the seventeenth to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Many early Friends were peasant proprietors or small shopkeepers or artisans. But (for instance) in rural England, between the half centuries beginning in 1650 and in 1800, the percentage (among Quaker bridegrooms) engaged in agriculture fell from 30 to 9, while the professional and clerical classes rose from 7 to 34 per cent. Other areas show similar changes – a move towards the present position in which the Society is almost entirely middle class. The authors perhaps overemphasize the demographic significance of having had many of the important (and wealthy) leaders of the Industrial Revolution; but it is clear that, for each area and period, we really need comparative data from groups of similar social characteristics. Only fragments of such data exist.

Another problem is that the Society, in its efforts to keep itself pure and separate from the 'world', went through a long period of wholesale disownment. This changed the Quaker population in a way which is not readily measured. In addition, many emigrated, and some were 'convinced'. So, while the Society was in some respects a closed group tending to marry within its own number, it is not possible to assume that each Friend would appear in the registers at birth, at marriage and at death.

However, some striking calculations can be made of the number of children per family surviving to the age of 15. In Ireland in the eighteenth century this was over 6, making 'the Irish Quakers one of the most fertile populations known to historical demography' (p. 240) – far beyond replacement levels. In Britain, families increased in the second half of the century, and then fell somewhat in the period after 1800. The rise in marital fertility would have been moderated by a rise in the age of first marriage and by an increase in celibacy, were it not for the fact that the intervals between children

became shorter. At the same time, infant and child mortality fell from the very high levels around 1700. High fertility and falling mortality would have produced an explosion of Quaker populations, but there is evidence as we move to the nineteenth century of an early acceptance of family limitation.

It is misleading to compare Quakers with sects like the Hutterites, the Amish and the early Mormons, for – though also tending to marry within their own group – these were all people with a secluded agricultural life. Instead, the authors choose as comparators the British peerage and the upper bourgeoisie of Geneva. There are interesting parallels; for instance, the peerage also gave rise to many women who never married, it had a high fertility between 1750 and 1800, but also a high age of marriage. All three groups show low death rates, beginning to decline before those of the population as a whole. Indeed, in 1825 the expectation of life at birth for Quakers in Bristol was over 40 years, against 29 for the population as a whole and 20 for the poor. (These figures are still affected by high infant mortality; but even at age 20 a Quaker could look forward to living, on average, to 60, whereas the figure for ‘the poor’ is 52). Robert Rankin, who compiled these figures, commented ‘The moral habits for which the members of the Society of Friends are proverbially eminent, tend as certainly to the prolongation and enjoyment of life, as their opposites tend to abridge and embitter it’ (Quoted, p. 238). There is therefore some historical basis for the weekly habit of many Friends in counting the nonagenarians in the death column of *The Friend*.

This book is a very important scholarly contribution to demography. It is well written and clear, but cannot be recommended as light reading to Friends without demographic knowledge; for the story it has to tell is necessarily a very complex one, and honesty requires of the authors great caution in presenting their results. For instance (p. 254) – ‘Can we use the findings of this research to illuminate the demographic developments of the rest of the British and Irish population? On this point we remain agnostic, awaiting comparable family reconstitution analysis of much larger sections of the Anglican population. (Such material apparently will never be found for the Roman Catholic population of Ireland, as their parish registers have not survived).’ In other words, what our Friends have discovered is suggestive rather than offering clear proofs; even the evidence for early family limitation is an inference rather than a confirmed discovery. But from very difficult material they have achieved much, and deserve the thanks of Quaker historians as well as of demographers.

Charles Carter

Studies in Peace History. By Peter Brock, Wm. Sessions Ltd., York, 1991.
£8.00 + £1.00 p & p.

The author is Professor Emeritus of History at the University of Toronto. Over the years he has made a substantial and scholarly contribution to the literature on pacifism, especially on pacifism in Europe until 1914, and is also an expert on East Central Europe. ‘A friend of the Friends’, he was a conscientious objector during the last war and later worked as a volunteer in the Anglo-American Quaker Relief Mission in post-war Poland.

The nine studies, some new, others previously published in scholarly journals, bear testimony to the breadth of his interests in pacifism: one is on the Lollards, two on the situation in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Poland, three on American history in the

eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, one on pacifist witness in Hungary in the latter part of the nineteenth century, one on an episode in the life of Mahatma Gandhi, and, finally, one on the substantial rights enjoyed by pacifists in Lenin's Russia.

Although John Wyclif, the founder of the Lollards, who died in 1384, had not condemned war absolutely, some of the followers of the movement, which survived until the sixteenth century, did so. They became England's first avowed pacifists.

The two studies on pacifism in Poland are interesting because they suggest that the pacifist witness of the Anabaptists, strong in its early years, was weakened by some thinkers like Faustus Socinus (1539-1604), who justified the assumption of public office and the performance of military service by the nobility. Pacifism, however, did not entirely disappear. Some later thinkers still thought it wrong for Christians to fight, though they differed on whether governments should wage war, including so-called defensive wars.

Two of the studies on American history deal with conscientious objection. Seven young Virginian Friends, who were conscripted into the militia in 1756 to serve under Colonel George Washington, refused to do so on grounds of religious principle. The author says that Washington (then aged 20) was also one of the heroes of the story because he respected their rights of conscience.

The second study is based on the autobiography of Thomas Watson (1753-1811), who became a conscientious objector after fighting in the battle of Germantown in 1773. He later joined the Society of Friends. He was not apparently aware of the refusal of others to fight, but came to his views independently.

The third American study shows that while most American Friends remained loyal to their pacifist principles, they did not support the New England Non-Resistance Society set up by William Lloyd Garrison in 1838. It condemned not only war, but also civil government. As a result, the peace movement of the time was sadly deprived of Quaker support when it was badly needed.

The seventh study indicates that although there were only a few pacifists in Hungary during the latter period of the Habsburg Empire, the authorities were anxious not to encourage them. Pacifists tended either to belong to or be sympathetic towards non-Magyar and underprivileged groups. They were mainly Tolstoyans or Nazarenes. While the latter refused military service, they were prepared to do non-combatant duties. They were also active proselytizers.

Was Mahatma Gandhi ready to become a combatant in the summer of 1918? In his eighth study the author states his view that while Gandhi planned to remain true to his ideal of nonviolence and not use a weapon, he was apparently prepared to recruit and lead a unit on the battlefield, and allow them to use weapons.

The final study, perhaps surprisingly, reveals that pacifism flourished in the Soviet Union during the time of Lenin. V.G. Chertkov, the leader of the Tolstoyans, had appealed directly to him on behalf of the objectors. A very liberal decree was passed allowing those who objected to military service for religious reasons to do alternative service. With the death of Lenin in 1924 the age of pacifism was virtually ended.

Cecil Evans

Quakerism in York 1650-1720. By David Scott. Borthwick Paper No. 80 (1991) obtainable from the Secretary, Borthwick Institute, Peasholme Green, York YO1 2PW. £2.00 + 35p. p & p.

The Borthwick Papers include studies on many aspects of the City of York and surrounding areas, but this is the first on early Quakerism.

David Scott's approach is analytical rather than factual using the latter only to illustrate points in the development of his thesis. He is using as his basis Michael Mullett's questioning the 'extent to which eighteenth-century Quakerism had suffered a decline from sect to denomination', and Nicholas Morgan's endorsement of the same with reference to the unchanging character of Lancashire Quakerism during the seventeenth century based upon the earliest Quaker practices as opposed to the developments in London and the 'metropolitan South'. Scott considers the York Quaker meeting was ideal for a similar approach.

His purpose is 'to gain some insight into the attitudes and group behaviour of the early York Quakers and to determine in what way, if any, their outlook changed over the period 1650-1720', and also their relationship with the wider community and the municipal establishment.

The main part of the booklet uses factual information to illustrate the changes, if any. There are Tables on 'Social Composition..1650-1715' indicating the shift in the basis of recruitment after the 1660s; 'Friends attending P.M. 1670-79 and M.M. 1670-83' showing the latter to be dominated by civic Friends; 'Discipline in the York Men's P.M. meeting' and a detailed account of a matter of discipline concerning re-marriage which resulted in a number of York's Quaker community becoming separatists.

Friends' concern with morals arose 'as much from a perception of growing moral laxity in society as within the Meeting'. During the period studied the battle against such laxity in York was not waged by Friends alone and facing this problem together meant issues of doctrine and worship lost significance between the devout Christians in York – York Friends displayed rather less of the 'classic sectarian trait'.

David Scott frequently makes comparison between the rural Lancashire Quakers and the urban York Quakers. The political and social environment was more congenial and York Friends interacted with municipal, guild and parish officers as also with the city's business community whilst maintaining their religious stance.

The author concludes with an assessment of the character of civic Quakerism in York which did change over the period but in a far less dramatic way than the decline theory of Mullett and Morgan would suggest.

A study such as this on early Quakerism is valuable if only to show how areas/communities differed in their development.

Joan Goodwin

Experiences in the life of Mary Penington. (written by herself) Reprinted 1992 by Friends Historical Society. Pp xxix + 119. Price £4.50.

This neat little book is a worthy successor to Norman Penney's 1911 edition. It contains all the original material, the "exercises", the letter to her grandson and the abstract of her will, together with the family tree, Norman Penny's excellent footnotes, biographical introduction and bibliography. A new frontispiece portraying Lady Springett replaces the photograph of Jordans Meeting House. There is now also a map of south-east England drawn specially by David M. Butler, and further bibliographical notes by Malcolm Thomas. We are grateful to Gil Skidmore for her preface analysing and evaluating the spiritual autobiography as a seventeenth-century literary form and Mary Penington's in particular.

Although she spent the whole of her life in the south-east, Mary Penington's writings reflect the turbulence of events and the ferment in thinking that preceded and accompanied the rise of Quakerism in the country as a whole. She was 17 years old when the Civil War began, 18 when she married the gallant Sir William Springett, and 20 when in 1644 he died of a fever at the age of 22. Charles Thomas-Stanford in his *Sussex in the Great Civil War* describes her writings as presenting an unrivalled picture of an aspect of the times – not very commonly appreciated – the life of a country gentleman who was yet a Puritan of the strictest upbringing and practice.

We would take his point further. She herself was one of the privileged and influential, with estates and stately homes, who were also Parliamentarian and Puritan. She tells of how she and William were, in fact, in open revolt against what they saw as vain repetition and superstitious symbolism in Puritan worship. After his death she suffered years of isolation as she continued her search for spontaneity in prayer and genuine religious experience. She did, however, eventually meet others like herself, and among them, Isaac Penington whom she married in 1654. Then at last they came into contact with Quakers, who, that very year had begun their mission to London and the South.

Shortly after their conviction they moved to Buckinghamshire where for the next 20 years, in spite of the recurring hazards of persecution, their home was a meeting point for travelling and local Friends and a place for worship. Particularly close to them as a family were Thomas Ellwood and William Penn. Together with the Peningtons they can be seen as belonging to a group of early Friends, perhaps more numerous than one might suppose, who stemmed from the same background, who had much to lose but who gave so much to the young movement, and indeed to us in the Society of Friends today.

Mary Penington's writings supplement the journals of Fox and Ellwood. We see the struggles that preceded conviction, the price that had to be paid for it afterwards, the way they supported one another and the joy of the gathered fellowship which came so soon to include men and women of a different way of life, with different gifts but with the same inward experience and the same spirit as their own.

At the centre there was Mary Penington herself, courageous and competent, with her spiritual dreams and practical decisions, loving and loyal even in danger and disaster and, above all, as we see from her initial self-confessed reluctance to subject her social status to Quaker ways, a woman able to come to terms with herself.

Hope Hewison

Women & Quakerism in the 17th Century. By Christine Trevett. William Sessions Ltd., 1991. £5.00.

Christine Trevett's book on women and Quakerism in the seventeenth century is the first to be published on this subject in Britain. Although herself a specialist in the early Christian Church, she embarked on the exercise because there was no easily manageable source book on the subject for teaching purposes. As she herself notes, the study is only a beginning.

Christine Trevett provides a highly detailed account of the struggles and tribulations of early Quaker women, set against the extraordinarily complicated and changing backdrop of the seventeenth century. The book (which is attractively illustrated) is

divided into three chapters: the first setting the scene and examining the lives of a number of individual women; the second dealing with women who ministered in public; and the third of marriage, children, education and the special Women's Meetings. Within the compass of what is a short book (131 pages of text), the author draws heavily on original sources and other material on the subject of early Friends.

Many of the women were extraordinary by any standards, such as Elizabeth Hooton, the itinerant minister imprisoned both in England and in Massachusetts, whipped and humiliated in public, and an early advocate of prison reform. But of particular interest is Christine Trevett's portrayal of the early women charismatics and the tensions between that strand of Quakerism and the organization and discipline that were eventually to prevail.

Perhaps mistakenly, I had expected this to be a book about the impact of women on Quakerism. Instead, it is much more a book about the impact of Quakerism (and the wider scene of the seventeenth century) on women. The specific contribution that women made to early Quaker beliefs and practices remains an elusive subject. While the wealth of source material is to be welcomed, it is not, I feel, set within a sufficiently clear conceptual framework, so that it is often left to the reader to make generalizations and draw the conclusions.

At the same time, there are real nuggets to be mined. Perhaps one of the more surprising findings to emerge from the material is the fact that so little deference was made to women, and that, as Christine puts it, 'there was only a tilting, rather than an upturning of the prevailing order'. Only 82 out of 650 early writing Friends were women. By the end of the century men and women were worshipping on different sides of the Meeting House. Earlier, the Women's Meetings of the 1670s were far from universally supported within Quakerism, and were remarkable for their *lack* of power.

As the author concludes, in the 'age when women were believed to be beset by moral and physical weaknesses, by ignorance and love of frivolity, when they were linked in the minds of Christian men with carnality the task of these women Friends was not one which was accomplished lightly'. Bringing this turbulent, extraordinarily complex period to life is an accomplishment for which we may be grateful, although I for one would have been glad for the book to have had a broader sweep.

Jan Arriens

Jean E. Mortimer: 'Joseph Tatham's School, Leeds' and 'Thoresby's "poor deluded Quakers": the Sufferings of Leeds Friends in the Seventeenth Century', *Miscellany*, Publications of the Thoresby Society, 1990 Second Series, volume 1. Available from the Society, 23 Clarendon Road, Leeds, LS2 9NZ. Prices £1.70 and £1.20 respectively, postage extra.

In 1756 Joseph Tatham set up a private school in Leeds, under the auspices of Leeds Meeting and housed on the Meeting's premises. It survived until 1838. Jean Mortimer's account of the history of the school draws on Leeds Friends' records and for its later part also on memoirs, journals and obituary notices. She describes the range of subjects

taught, the charges and the school rules. Two contemporary lists of boarders with 367 names are printed and some individuals amongst them are described. This is a brief but valuable account of an interesting Quaker educational enterprise.

Jean Mortimer's other article is informative on the ways in which Friends suffered, on the sources for studying sufferings and on the varied reasons for those experiences. These are well illustrated from local examples which carry on into the nineteenth century despite the title.

David J. Hall

Cork City Quakers, 1655-1939: A Brief History. By Richard S. Harrison, Privately Published, 1991.

Richard S. Harrison sets out the purpose of this study in his Introduction. 'This short book sets out to highlight some of the chief themes of Cork quaker history'. The key word here is 'highlights'. Adopting a chronological approach he presents the establishment, witness and activities of Cork Friends across nearly three centuries. Some chapters benefit from a chronological division of time within a given topic, enabling the stages or diversity of the theme to be clearly seen. This is particularly effective in his account of the Cork Quaker business community from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. Irish Quaker involvement in business is one of Richard Harrison's major research interests. However, later chapters on Social Life and Education and Cork Friends from 1850 to 1939 present problems. These most probably arise from the material available but also from the 'Highlight' and chronological approach pursued. They become selective glimpses of events, individuals and institutions, worthwhile to read, but lacking a firm analytical framework to bring them together.

Some items find an uneasy place in specific chapters. Do Friends' concern not to bear arms in the 1790s and their opposition to the death penalty fit appropriately within the theme of philanthropy? Here Richard Harrison writes perceptively on the relation of Cork Quaker involvement within the wider community in philanthropic activity undertaken in the city. Also might it not have been more effective to have included all the Quaker civic and philanthropic participation across the period in one thematic chapter? There are no references in the notes for his account of Cork Friends in the troubled period of 1916-23 and one hopes that more evidence might exist for those years than the examples given.

Quaker history is not the easiest to write. Quaker minutes and other records can give us detail but, as John M. Douglas observed, so much of Quaker endeavour and witness comes from the Meeting for Worship which does not provide material for historical writing. This said, Richard Harrison has, within his remit, used a wide range of primary and secondary sources, with well chosen illustrations, to present the richness of Quaker history in his chosen theme. As he rightly says all books are 'preliminary' given the nature of the evidence available and the previous study undertaken. He also indicates some themes he is undertaking further research into. Could he, with this encouraging start, undertake a more detailed historical study which fits Cork City Friends into their regional and national context as one highly significant community in the wider presence of Quakerism in Ireland?

Howard F. Gregg

I Will Not Fight: Conscientious Objectors and Pacifists in the North West during the Second World War. By Pat Starkey. Liverpool University Press, 1992. £5.00.

This pamphlet fits Pat Starkey's previous study of the Liverpool and District Pacifist Service Unit into a wider regional context. *Companions in Caring* was reviewed in Volume 56 Number 1 of this *Journal*. This pamphlet is one of a series of Liverpool Historical Essays published by the Department of History, University of Liverpool. Its 38 pages of text provide a balanced and comprehensive account of many aspects of its major themes. It will jog memories for those who were conscientious objectors between 1939 and 1945 or those who remember their courageous, practical and sometimes awkward witness. For those who do not, the pamphlet will serve as a valuable introduction to what is now the historical experience of active objection to participation in the military conduct of the Second World War.

Dr. Starkey reminds us that conscientious objectors and pacifists are not the same thing and goes on to examine the political as well as religious reasons for a refusal to fight. A useful survey of peace groups as well as individuals is made. The legal process for conscientious objection, with its options and penalties, is clearly described. The historical balance in this section is well maintained between accounts of unsympathetic judges at tribunals in Manchester and those conscientious objectors whose stand 'asked for trouble'. The loss of personal popularity and employment in areas of diverse work in the region for those who refused to fight is detailed, together with the ill treatment of pacifist soldiers in detention in Liverpool in 1940. The various forms of service open to pacifist and conscientious objectors is then given in detail, with sections on the role of Pacifist Service Bureaux, Non-Combatant Companies in the Army, Fire-watching and Pacifist Service Units. This last section is a concise summary of *Companions in Caring*. Of particular interest is the different attitudes of the staff at two Manchester hospitals to those conscientious objectors who undertook fire-watching duties there after their day's work.

Besides references elsewhere in the text, the Society of Friends has six pages for the considerable, varied and active service Friends and Meetings undertook for the larger community in the region and abroad. M. Shearer's 1979 account of *Quaker peace work on Merseyside* is a key source for Dr. Starkey here.

The pamphlet ends with a brief account of regional initiatives in reconciliation and participation in reconciliation and relief work in post-war Europe. This was largely undertaken through the Friends Relief Service and the Friends Ambulance Unit. The significant service of the Pacifist Service Units in Liverpool and Manchester led to the establishment of Family Service Units in 1948 to continue and extend their pioneering work. The measure of what conscientious objectors did achieve is well conveyed in this study. Dr. Starkey's careful and well researched pamphlet should encourage similar regional studies elsewhere to lay the groundwork for a future national synthesis of this important topic.

Howard F. Gregg

Quakers & Railways. By Edward H. Milligan. W. Sessions, York 1992. £4 + £1.00 p&p.

This is a book to be cherished; splendidly set out with pictures, drawings, maps and photographs. The Quaker originators, devisors and inventors – some rather grim-

looking, others rather handsome – are portrayed beside the account of that which they originated, devised or invented. Most people have a smattering of knowledge about railways. Bradshaw is conceivably still a household word in some establishments, and the name Edward Pease indissolubly linked with the Stockton and Darlington Railway; the year of 1825 being recalled in some circles as easily as that of 1066.

In this engagingly produced work the smatterings are drawn together, and much more added and set out clearly and lucidly and, where appropriate, amusingly. It is one of those books which can be dipped into. The cover is indeed eye-catching: it might be seen as a form of Outreach, demonstrating that a Quaker is not always “some very melancholy thing”. And although the book gives an introduction into parts of the history of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, children will love it just because it is a book about trains. Study of the maps will trace the development of what is now known as the rail network, but a good magnifying glass is needed both for this and the timetable reproductions.

The book will sit happily on Quaker bookshelves, shedding its bright colours over more sombre tomes. It should also be required reading for Ministers of Transport.

Patricia R. Sparks.

NOTES AND QUERIES

DAVID HARRIS SACKS:

The widening gate – Bristol and Atlantic economy 1450-1700. (University of California Press, 1991)

This book, in its later chapters, deals in some detail with the expansion in trade and interest in trans-Atlantic development which marked the port and city of Bristol in the second half of the seventeenth century. The author has used local and national records to good effect. There are many points which will interest Friends.

In 1654, the same year that Camm and Audland first came to Bristol, George Bishop's candidacy was canvassed (unsuccessfully) at the parliamentary election. The author notes: 'Of the one hundred twenty-eight men who supported Haggatt and Bishop with their votes or in petitions, forty-one were Quakers by 1665 or, if deceased, had close kin who were Quakers by this time'. John Haggatt, a judge in the Interregnum on the South Wales circuit, never became a Friend, but George Bishop did so, and at his death in 1668 a newsbook dubbed him the 'king of the Quakers'.

Studying the organisation of the Society of Friends in Bristol, and drawing parallels with the established church and other sectarian bodies, the author notes that Friends 'turned the Men's Meeting into something akin to a medieval merchant gild' in regulating the activities of its members.

"The dissenters in Bristol were no newcomers lacking roots in the city. They had kinship and business ties with a wide variety of their fellow Bristolians and could neither be confined to a sectarian ghetto nor be driven from the town into exile...

"As the dissenters became established in their chosen trades, some ... grew wealthy and could not be ignored. This was due to their importance in the colonial trades ... So long as the Quakers and Baptists owned ships and sugar refineries, they would have support from at least some Anglican traders and shopkeepers.

"In Bristol and many other places, the sectaries had become sufficiently important to the economy to make it necessary for their neighbours to accept them in peace and work with them in trust and harmony."

Fifty years ago, Charles MacInnes wrote a book about Bristol, *Gateway of Empire*, he might not have chosen quite that title if he was publishing today, although he did go on to grace the chair in Imperial History at the university. David Harris Sacks has produced a book well fitted to carry the story and research forward.

Russell S. Mortimer

AN AMERICAN QUAKER IN THE BRITISH ISLES:

THE TRAVEL JOURNALS OF JABEZ MAUD FISHER, 1775-1779. Edited by Kenneth Morgan. (Oxford University Press, 1992)

The obituary notice in the *Leeds Mercury*, for 7 December 1779, tells the story of the loyalist American who was packed off to England on the family merchanting business, to

look up and report on trading possibilities with the many contacts which the firm of Joshua Fisher & Sons of Philadelphia had with firms in the British Isles.

Leeds Mercury, Tues. Dec. 7, 1779.

Wednesday died in this town, of an ulcerated sore throat and scarlet fever, after an illness of 7 days, Mr Jabez Maud Fisher, one of the people called Quakers; a young gentleman of Philadelphia in America, but was obliged to retire to this country on account of his firm adherence to the Royal cause. He was much esteemed for his probity and good sense, and his death much lamented by a very numerous acquaintance.

[Extract printed in Thoresby Society publications, 40, p.110-111]

Jabez Maud Fisher died 1 xii 1779, at the house of Emanuel Elam in Leeds, and was buried in the burial ground in Meadow Lane, 'of Philadelphia, in province of Pennsylvania, merchant. Supposed 28 years.'

An entry in the journal for 9 May 1776, gives a flavour of the work. Jabez is coming out of Durham ...

'now having passed through the County of Durham twice, I pronounce it a fine County.

And so is Yorkshire. I never entered it without pleasure. It affords every Sort of Variety, and has a vast deal of American Grandeur, lofty Hills and towering Mountains, and has as great a Share of Cultivation, and contains as many objects worthy the Notice of a Traveller as any County in England. We got to Richmond to Breakfast...' (p. 181)

p.197 note 43 Sister Arthington = Mary (1752-1821) ARTHINGTON dau. of John & Mary, who married Joshua WALKER, 24.iii. 1781, at Brighouse.

p. 197 note 42, wife of John Dilworth was Sarah ARTHINGTON.

p. 44 note 89 Samuel Elam died 1777 (not 1797, copied from R.G. Wilson).
R.S.M.

BRIDGWATER FRIENDS

The recent volume (Somerset, vol. 6. Edited by R.W. Dunning. Oxford University Press, 1992) of the Victoria History of Somerset includes references to Friends in the Bridgwater district, and the footnotes provide directions to where the studies may be pursued profitably.

In Bridgwater itself, the story begins in 1670 with John Anderdon, and continues with a lightning sketch of the Society in Friarn Street. Friends' activities in the 17th and 18th centuries in Bawdrip, Durston, North Petherton and Pawlett are noticed. In Creech St Michael the meeting house at North End was sold in 1804. Rathbones and Richard Reynolds the Bristol philanthropist (d.1816) held property in the district.

VICTORIAN QUAKERISM IN LEEDS

Mark Andrew Ellison MA University of Leeds School of History Sept. 1991.

Aspects of Victorian Quakerism in Leeds and Bradford: Brighouse Monthly Meeting, 1836-1905.

A4 ff. iv, vi, 167; 2 plates

DR JOHN SIMPSON'S VIEW OF QUAKERS

A sight of "The Journal of Dr John Simpson of Bradford, 1825", issued in 1981 by the City of Bradford Metropolitan Council, Libraries Division, Local Studies Department, prompts a correction to Harry Hodgson's *The Society of Friends in Bradford*, 1926, p.57.

Hodgson states that a Bradford Friend 'Thomas Simpson was senior physician of the free dispensary opened in 1825. He subsequently moved to York'.

The source of this mistake in identity is probably to be found in the *Bradford antiquary*, vol. 1 (1888), p.95. There is no mention of Thomas Simpson in Friends' records in the Carlton Hill Archives deposited at the Brotherton Library (Special Collections), University of Leeds, and there is no mention of any Bradford interlude in the career of Thomas Simpson in the obituary notice which appeared in the *Yorkshire Gazette*, 7th March 1863. Thomas Simpson M.D., died, unmarried, at his residence, Minster Yard, York, on 28 February 1863, in the 75th year of his age. He was conservative and Protestant, 'yet tolerant of the opinions of those who differed from him', a pillar of York's medical establishment for nearly 40 years.

John Simpson's Journal gives an intimate picture of a man who practised as a physician in Bradford (and disliked the place) from 1822 to July 1825, when he gave up his profession in favour of life as a country gentleman on the death of his uncle Dr John Simpson of Malton. John Simpson married and eventually adopted the name Hudleston. John Hudleston died in London, 8th October 1867, aged 74.

There is no mention of Dr John Simpson (the M.D. was gained at Edinburgh, 1821) in Friends' records, but the Journal records on 25 January 1825 that he was elected as senior physician to the Dispensary about to be established in Bradford. Three surgeons were likewise elected, and the second of them, John Ness Blakey (born 5 iii 1784, son of Samuel (stuffmaker/worsted stuff manufacturer) & Alice (Ness) Blakey, who were married at Pickering, 8 v 1783) had a difference of opinion with Dr Simpson at a general meeting of the Dispensary of 9 May 1825, about allowing physicians to attend and see surgical operations. Dr Simpson wrote in his Journal:

... for some reason or other he wanted to exclude the Physicians from seeing the operations. I can only attribute it either to illiberality or want of dexterity in operating. I spoke at some length on the subject and gave Blakey such a cutting up that he had not another word to say on the subject ... Mr Blakey is a Quaker and one of the most ignorant illiberal fools I ever met with. ... I am too independent, and I hope too liberal and gentlemanly in my ideas to please such a low bred vulgar fellow as Blakey. I don't like Quakers in the least.

Not all references which concern Friends (e.g. Armistead, Harris, Hustler and Lister) are so heated. In early March 1825 Simpson had ridden his new pony to Rawdon, 'having to meet Mr. Tatam there in consultation. Mr. Tatam is an old respectable Quaker Surgeon, who is completely under the dominion of his wife. He has frequently sent for me in consultation...' The surgeon is identifiable as James Tatham (1765-1831), surgeon and apothecary of Wray, who married Sarah Metcalfe at Wray, 16 iv 1789. At Rawdon they built, and resided at Westfield House, Apperley Lane. Sarah, the dominant partner(?), died, "late of Rawdon" widow, aged 68, 20 x 1835, at Pontefract and is buried there. James Tatham is buried at Rawdon.

R.S.M.

BIBLES IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

In *Cheap Bibles: nineteenth century publishing and the British and Foreign Bible Society* (Cambridge, 1991) Leslie Howsam writes about the explosion in bible production resulting from the evangelical movement and the foundation of the Society in 1804.

Many Friends supported the non-denominational Society which produced the text of the bible in vast quantities and many languages without note or comment. Josiah Forster served for 42 years on its committee. Luke Howard's service between 1813 and 1825 included undertaking a technical investigation of the paper used. Others occurring in the text are William Allen, Charles Stokes Dudley, J.J. Gurney and Richard Phillips.

David J. Hall

EAST ANGLIA

There are several references to Friends in the published papers of a conference held in Cambridge in 1989: *Religious Dissent in East Anglia* (Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 1991). William Stevenson's 'Sectarian cohesion and social integration, 1640-1725' is particularly concerned with Friends and papers about the Family of Love and mapping nonconformity in Suffolk are also relevant. There is a brief summary of Brian Phillips on 'Cambridge and the Quaker Renaissance'.

D.J.H.

WOMEN MINISTERS

Sheila Wright contributes a paper to *Studies in Church History* volume 27 (Oxford, 1990) entitled 'Quakerism and its implications for Quaker women: the Women itinerant ministers of York meeting, 1780-1840'.

Anne Laurence's article 'A priesthood of she-believers: women and congregations in mid-seventeenth-century England' contains a number of references to Friends. It appears in *Studies in Church History* volume 27 (Oxford, 1990).

D.J.H.

ELIZABETH ASHBRIDGE

In *Women's Studies*, 1991, pp.271-81, Christine Levenduski contributes an article 'Remarkable Experiences in the Life of Elizabeth Ashbridge Portraying Public Woman in Spiritual Autobiography'. She argues that 'Ashbridge's narrative [has] a decidedly different tone from other eighteenth-century Quaker spiritual autobiographies'. The article gives an interesting outline of Ashbridge's unusual life and her difficult relationship with her second husband. Her third husband, Aaron Ashbridge, was a prominent Friend.

D.J.H.

ANNOUNCEMENT

Proposals for papers on any aspect of Quakerism are invited for the tenth biennial meeting of the Conference of Quaker Historians and Archivists. The meeting will be at Guildford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, June 24-26, 1994. Send a one-page abstract to Charles L. Cherry, Office of Academic Affairs, Villanova University, Villanova PA 19085. Deadline is December 31, 1993.

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 MM Monthly meeting
 PM Preparative meeting
 QM Quarterly meeting
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ERRATA

- Page 72, line 11. *For Hill read Hall*
- Page 89, line 13. *For opon read upon*
- Page 91, line 10. *For Wiliam read William*
- Page 113, lines 11 and 16. *For L.Y.M. read I.Y.M.*
- Page 119, line 7. *For I.Y.H. read I.Y.M.*
- Page 123, note 50. *For 16-8 read 16-18*
- Page 125, line 2. *For mentons read mentions*
- Page 127, line 40. *For Jonathon read Jonathan*
line 41. *For Houghton read Haughton*
- Page 132, line 37. *For of the Species read of Species*
For Tischerndorf read Tischendorf
line 39. *For Mills read Mill's*
- Page 133, line 21. *For of the Species read of Species*
- Page 134, line 8. *Delete comma after disabused*
- Page 136, line 12. *For Frederick read Frederic*
line 14. *For Scripture read Scriptures*
- Page 137, line 16. *For A Gospel read The Gospel*
- Page 138, line 21. *Insert future before biographer*
- Page 139, line 3. *For Jonathon read Jonathan*
line 33. *For Willhelm read Wilhelm*
line 36. *For non-combattants read non-combatants*
- Page 141, line 22. *For A. Marriage Wallis read Henry Marriage Wallis*
- Page 146, note 12. *For Ann read Amy*
- Page 152, line 5. *For unparaelled read unparalleled*
- Page 156, line 4. *For letter read latter*
- Page 166, line 27. *For to read by*
line 32. *Insert well- before documented*
- Page 168, line 32. *Insert civil before marriage*
- Page 169, line 17. *For opening read openings*
- Page 171, line 23. *For Stratford read Strafford*
line 24. *For brutual read brutal*
- Page 172, line 20. *For ever read even*
- Page 173, line 3. *For was read seemed*
line 14. *Insert what before men*
- Page 174, line 12. *Insert perhaps ultimately before get*
- Page 178, line 37. *Insert wearing quaint, old-fashioned homespun clothes,*
before using
- Page 185, line 5. *For other read one*
- Page 222, note 2. *For 1942 read 1942*
- Page 225, note 58. *For Stomateis read Stromateis*
- Page 230, line 12. *For know read knew*
- Page 254, line 4. *For Burlington read Burlingham*

Supplements to the Journal of Friends' Historical Society

12. ELIZABETH HOOTON, First Quaker woman preacher (1600–1672). By Emily Manners. 1914. 95pp., £3.00.
20. SWARTHMORE DOCUMENTS IN AMERICA. Ed. Henry J. Cadbury. 1940. £1.50.
21. AN ORATOR'S LIBRARY. John Bright's books. Presidential address 1936 by J. Travis Mills. 1946. 24pp., 50p.
22. LETTERS TO WILLIAM DEWSBURY AND OTHERS. Edited by Henry J. Cadbury. 1948. 68pp., £3.00.
23. SLAVERY AND "THE WOMAN QUESTION". Lucretia Mott's Diary. 1840. By F.B. Tolles. 1952. £2.00, cloth £3.00.
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