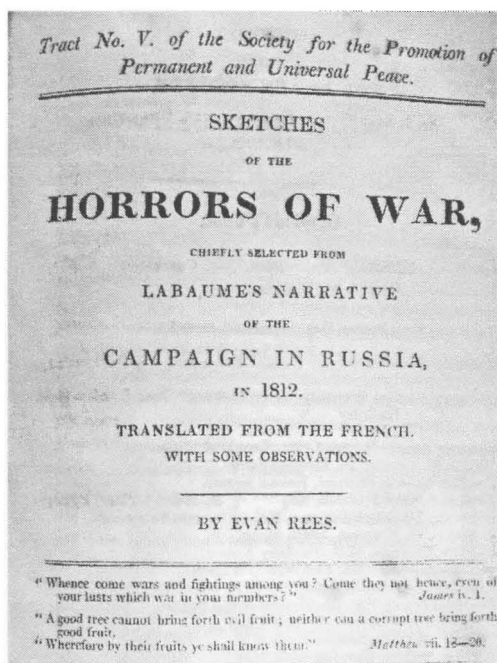


The
Journal of the
Friends Historical
Society



CONTENTS

page

- 1-2 Editorial
- 3-15 'Providing a Moral Compass for British People': The Work of Joseph Tregelles Price, Evan Rees and *The Herald of Peace*.
Richard C. Allen
- 16-34 John Edward Southall: Quaker and Welshman
Gethin Evans
- 35-41 No 'Friends' Of Home Rule ?
Seán Beattie
- 42-56 Mary Elmes (1908-2002), the first Irish 'Righteous'
Bernard Wilson
- 57-78 Recent Publications
- 79-80 Biographies
-

FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

President 2016:

Clerk:

Membership Secretary

Treasurer:

Editor of the Journal:

Newsletter Editor

Richard C. Allen

Howard F. Gregg

Gil Skidmore

Rod Harper

Gil Skidmore

Sylvia Stevens

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

THE JOURNAL OF THE FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Communications should be addressed to the Editor of the *Journal*
Gil Skidmore, 46 Princes Drive, Skipton, BD23 1HL
email: gilskidmore@waitrose.com

Reviews Editor: Chris Skidmore, 46 Princes Drive, Skipton, BD23 1HL.
email: chrisskidmore@waitrose.com.

EDITORIAL

First of all I must apologise that this volume has been delayed. I hope to produce another before the end of 2018 and that by the end of 2019 we will be back on track.

All four of the articles in this journal have a Celtic connection. Richard Allen's Presidential Address explores the work of two Welshmen, Joseph Tregelles Price and Evan Rees, in the setting up of a peace society in the nineteenth century.

Gethin Evans explores the life and work of a little-known Friend, John Edward Southall, and particularly his championing of the Welsh language.

Sean Beattie considers the ambivalent attitude of nineteenth century Quakers to Irish Home Rule.

Bernard Wilson explores another little-known life - that of the Irish woman Mary Elmes - who worked with Quakers during the Second World War and was posthumously honoured for her role in saving Jewish families.

The Reviews Editor, Chris Skidmore, has again brought together an interesting range of book reviews.

I am very happy to consider articles for future volumes of the *Journal*. If you have something already written, a talk you have given or perhaps a work in progress please do not hesitate

to contact me. Also if you would like to suggest people working in any area of Quaker history who might like to write for the Journal please feel free to do so.

Gil Skidmore, editor

'PROVIDING A MORAL COMPASS FOR BRITISH PEOPLE': THE WORK OF JOSEPH TREGELLES PRICE, EVAN REES AND *THE HERALD OF PEACE*.

Some years provide more notable anniversaries than others, and 2016 was certainly one that offered many. It was 800 years since the death of King John, 400 years since the literary world lost William Shakespeare and it was the anniversary of the death of Miguel de Cervantes of Don Quixote fame. There were anniversaries of civil wars and international conflicts, including the 1716 exile of the 'Old Pretender' James Edward Stuart to France after the failure of the Jacobite rising; in 1916 the battle of the Somme saw the death or wounding of up to a million men; and the Irish Republic was proclaimed the same year along with the taking up of arms by the Irish Republican Brotherhood in the Easter Rising in Dublin. Of course, there were many more anniversaries, but the most significant for Friends was the establishment of a peace society in 1816.

Quakers had an established opposition to military activity and their pacifist inclinations were given greater prominence in the post-Restoration years of the seventeenth century. The international conflicts of the following centuries, and especially the Napoleonic Wars (1793–1815), provided further evidence of the barbarity of so-called civilised societies and the recourse to armed conflict. One nineteenth century social commentator observed:

During an eventful period of twenty-five years of nearly unremitting warfare, every nation of the civilized world has been involved in the contest [the Napoleonic Wars], and each has, in turn, shared its miseries, or groaned beneath its burdens. On some of those countries which have been the theatre of combat, the storm has burst with the fury of a volcanic eruption; whole provinces, systematically devoted to destruction, have exhibited a scene of extended havoc, that has left few vestiges of civilization; in a few fleeting moments, flourishing cities have been reduced to a heap of smoking ruins; and the

fields of Europe have been stained with the blood of millions.

He went on to add that these were 'the genuine effects of war' and thereafter sketched out the horrors associated with military campaigns. In his important study Martin Cadeal has observed that there was a transformation in attitudes towards war, whereby fatalism was 'replaced by a variegated peace-or-war debate in which an articulate minority went as far to argue for the achievability of positive and lasting peace' and this 'affected all countries to varying degrees; but it occurred first in Britain'.

Two of the leading Quaker campaigners were Joseph Tregelles Price (1784-1854), whose family owned the Neath Abbey ironworks, and Evan Rees (1791-1821), the son of a Neath ironmonger, who wrote the piece of social commentary above. Both men sought an end to such barbarity. In a letter to his sister, Junia, written in May 1814, Price wrote that he was determined to create a peace society that, he hoped, would lead to 'the general and universal preservation of peace', and significantly that he had 'a host ready to join'. On 7 June 1814, the day that war between France and England officially ended, he outlined the necessity for the society at Plough Court Pharmacy in Lombard Street, London, with, among others, William Allen (1770-1843), Basil Montagu (1770-1851) and Frederick Smith (1757-1823). The purpose here is to explore the work of Price and his efforts to secure peace as well as that of Rees who was the corresponding secretary of the Society and the first editor of the monthly journal, the *Herald of Peace*, which he began publishing in 1819. These developments were important for the way in which Quakers and others provided a moral compass for British people, particularly as the Religious Society of Friends was, at this time, redefining itself as a reformist body rather than an allegedly inward-looking community of believers.

Joseph Tregelles Price, a Cornishman, was born in 1784 and educated in Dorset until he was fourteen. After this he was employed in his father's mercantile business and, in 1818, became a partner at the Neath Abbey coal and ironworks in Wales. In 1821, on the death of his father, he was appointed as manager and subsequently (c.1829) the Managing Director of the company. He was known for his engineering skills, dogged perseverance and philanthropy, while the workers at the Neath

Abbey ironworks believed that 'the work of their hands, under the inspection of their beloved master, could not be surpassed anywhere'. A later testimony acknowledged that Price had 'won the respect and regard of the large number of persons over whom he presided, and he was ever alive to promote their moral and religious welfare'. Indeed, he implemented welfare programmes, provided educational facilities for the working class, and sought an end to poverty.

After the Peace of Paris in 1815 and Napoleon Bonaparte's final surrender, there were calls for an organisation that would promote international mediation when conflict seemed likely. Consequently, on 14 June 1816 a meeting of like-minded men took place and led to the creation of the London-based Society for the Promotion of Permanent and Universal Peace as well as a number of regional societies. The London-based group consisted of ten participants, including the prominent reformers Thomas Clarkson and Joseph Hall, but Price's mother was anxious that her son ought to avoid the complications of involvement in a high profile organisation. He nevertheless unequivocally informed her that he felt 'the subject so deeply, that if brought upon a death-bed, he believed he should not feel acquitted if he omitted to make this effort'. Although there was strong external opposition to the society, Price helped to construct a programme of activity that promoted negotiation to prevent war, a reduction in armaments manufacturing, and an international court for the settling of international disagreements. The aims were advanced elsewhere, including the establishment of a subscription-based auxiliary peace society in the Neath-Swansea area (c. 1817) which provided members with a number of short publications amounting to half the subscription rate of 5s. per annum. Whether it was the cost of membership or its largely Quaker configuration, the Swansea and Neath Auxiliary Peace Society initially remained a small body of peace campaigners.

During the 1820s Price and other members reiterated the intentions of the society and fostered greater participation. This is illustrated in 1822 in the Swansea and Neath Peace Society's publication, *A Summary of the Purposes of the Society for the Promotion of Permanent and Universal Peace*, while, in a speech at Swansea Town Hall on the tenth anniversary of regional society (3 July 1827), Price articulated the need for the wider distribution

of the society's literature throughout the country. At this time, the Swansea and Neath Peace Society had forty registered subscribers, but, despite concerted efforts, the Peace Society failed to create additional regional groups. In contrast, Price had greater success on the international stage as a campaigner for peaceful mediation. From 1819 he had actively encouraged French pacifists and the establishment of La Société de la Morale Chrétienne (SMC – the Society of Christian Morality). With his French counterparts, Price advocated the peaceful resolution of conflict, the abolition of slavery, and the reform of laws which prescribed capital punishment. There was one surprising beneficiary from such activity. In 1830 Prince Polignac, a principal advisor to unpopular King Charles X, claimed that he had avoided execution largely because of Price and his work with the SMC. It was stressed that the SMC had been very influential in amending the law for political prisoners just prior to Polignac's trial as a traitor.

In his search for peace, Price steadfastly refused to let his deteriorating health hinder his work. In June 1843 he attended the international peace convention in London, and on 25 August 1843 he and a number of other Quakers sought a peaceful resolution to the disturbances in west Wales associated with the Rebecca Riots. Showing sympathy for the plight of the labourers as well as promoting peaceful resolution to the rural disturbances, Hannah Backhouse who accompanied Price to Carmarthen recorded that this activity was primarily 'directed against the number of turnpike gates and the heavy taxes tolls on a population unable to bear them'. The magistrates approved of the advice of the Friends, and others were equally attentive when the Quakers held an additional large gathering 'on the benefits of peace and the horrors of civil war'.

On 18 May 1847 Price presided over a public meeting in London, the aim of which was to convince the government to accept arbitration between Britain and other countries if war was the likely outcome of strained diplomatic relations. A year later, Price petitioned parliament to secure peaceful solutions via international arbitration and observed that this would lead to a corresponding reduction in national spending on 'our large military and naval establishments'. Yet he was aware that if he and his fellow campaigners were to change hearts and minds

then such an undertaking would take considerable time and effort for these proposals to be adopted. His commitment to the Society was unwavering as he continued to promote the benefits of peaceful resolution to the end of his life. This was noticeable during the conflict (c. October 1853) between Russia and the Ottoman Empire (and subsequently France) over the rights of Orthodox Christians in Ottoman-held territories and the Tsar's resolve to have control over the Caucasus. The French argued that they were defending the rights of Roman Catholics in the region and any assumption of sovereign authority for Christians in the Ottoman Empire undermined eighteenth century treaties. The weakness of the Ottoman Empire, alongside the fear of Russian expansion, made this a complicated international disagreement. The situation deteriorated when, in March 1854, Britain and France declared war on Russia to curtail its territorial encroachments on the Black Sea and Crimean peninsula. The Crimean War lasted until February 1856. During the ever-increasing violence, particularly because of the use of new military technology, the war attracted considerable newspaper coverage and enflamed Russophobia. One consequence was the creation of several Foreign Affairs Committees to monitor the progress of the war, while Price and other members of the Peace Society advocated negotiation for the long-term settlement of the Eastern Question. For others who worked in the armaments and ordnance manufacture the question of peace and war posed a different challenge, one that might lead to unemployment and great financial hardship. Naturally, they believed that the pacifists were entirely unpatriotic. On 28 July 1854, Price chaired a meeting of the Peace Society in Neath where the speaker was accused of being anti-monarchical and unpatriotic. Although Price was able to restore order, an impromptu band played 'God Save the Queen' to drown out the speakers. Undaunted, in December 1854, he delivered a speech in London in opposition to the Crimean War, but this was to be his last peace testimony. He would nevertheless have endorsed the unequivocal view of the 'Duty of Peace Men' that they were 'to abide faithful in their testimony to the truth' and, although 'numerous and formidable may be the forces arrayed in opposition to their views, He that is with them is greater than all they that are against them'.

In contrast to Price, Evan Rees is little known in Wales and

perhaps only slightly better acknowledged in Quaker circles. He was the sixth son of Evan of Esgaircoch in Montgomeryshire and Elizabeth Rees of Neath, and was born in Neath on 15 December 1790. His father had come to Neath between 1770 and 1773, and established himself as an ironmonger. Significantly, in the early years of the nineteenth century Evan Rees assisted Price as secretary of the Peace Society. In a meeting at Plough Court in June 1816 it was agreed that one of the aims of the Society was to 'print and circulate Tracts, and diffuse information tending to shew, that War is inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity', and Rees agreed to participate, alongside Price, as a member. Significantly, he agreed to be the editor of the Society's journal, the *Herald of Peace* which provides evidence of an astute individual whose aim was to promote a better world where peaceful negotiation was the norm rather than perpetual conflict and the incalculable misery it brought in its wake.

From the detailed memoirs of his brother, Jonathan, written in 1853, it is possible to get a better insight into the character of Evan who was 'not a man of gloom', despite living through some difficult periods in British and European history, but rather a person who had 'a lively temperament and cheerful disposition'. Moreover, he was 'always accustomed to truth and candour, he detested falsehood, equivocation, and meanness'. He was raised among Friends and his father was determined that young Evan would receive an education that would equip him with the necessary tools to produce a better world. The memoir throws light on Evan's childhood, his education at Sidcot in Somersetshire, and the scrapes that young boys usually got into. What was unusual, given his Quaker upbringing, was his interest in the military. On one occasion, while in school, he was distracted by music and pageantry associated with a company of soldiers who passed by. He was not allowed to see them, but this did not seem to deter him 'as he threatened to jump out of the window' in order to have a look at this passing spectacle. Evan was a lover of books, but what is clear is that in his early years he had what was described as 'a taste for warlike achievements, and an admiration of what is called heroic valour'. The memoir naturally went on to comment that he had yet to discern 'the painful effects and demoralising tendency of war'. A childhood accident nevertheless deprived him of sight in his

right eye, but he persevered in his schoolwork and became an apprentice in Birmingham before returning home to Neath when he was twenty-one years old. He initially used his talents to help establish a public library in Neath in 1813.

A brief tour of southern England in 1814 brought him to Portsmouth where, as in his childhood, he was won over by the 'grand naval and military spectacles which were then exhibited for the amusement of the Royal visitors'. The assessment of these displays and its impact on Rees is evident in the memoir:

In this circumstance the effects of his early reading, which we are told induced a taste for warlike achievements, may be clearly traced; and whilst it stands out to his subsequent opinions on war, and his strenuous advocacy of the principles and practices of universal peace, it proves not only that a great change must afterwards have taken place in his views on this important question, but that this change was a result of a thorough conviction of the sinfulness of war.

A subsequent visit to France shortly thereafter was the key to this change as his 'susceptible mind revolted at the heartless cruelties and ruthless misery it [war] entailed'. He related stories of conscription to the Napoleonic army even among French Quakers at Congénies, and the consequent loss of family members. Napoleon's return from exile on Elba in February 1815 caused further consternation. Mothers were concerned for the safety of their sons and visualised them starving or dying in the frozen wastelands of Russia, while the French military 'exulted in the return of their furious leader, under whose blood-stained standards they threatened to renew their atrocities, and again to deluge Europe with blood'. On his return home, Evan was offered a job in London, but as the merchandise included guns and swords he declined the post. Nevertheless, he permanently removed to London and became a member of the Peel Meeting.

In the aftermath of Napoleon's return to France and subsequent defeat at the Battle of Waterloo in June 1815, Rees energetically joined those individuals (Quaker and non-Quaker) who sought a peaceful resolution to conflict and he willingly took up the position of corresponding secretary and the first editor of the Society's journal, the *Herald of Peace*. In a later editorial of the journal, the Peace Committee recognized that

he was intrinsic to the vitality of that organisation, particularly because he had invested considerable time and effort into the successful running of it. He was simply 'its centre and its soul', and they acknowledged that his exertions were exceptional as he 'communicated to others the feelings which occupied his own mind; and certainly a public society never possessed a more zealous, judicious, and devoted labourer'.

During this period of editing the journal, Rees found time to compile the *Sketches of the Horrors of War* which was based on Eugène Labaume's accounts of the 1812 Russian campaign. The extracts provide evidence of Napoleon's ill-fated attack on Russia, but the text also provides Rees' assessment of the consequences of war, particularly noting the loss of half a million lives in 173 days in 1812. In the introduction, he explained that historians and other social observers naturally concentrated on 'the achievements of the warrior', but ignored 'the sufferings of the wounded' or the 'tears of the widow and the orphan'. In contrast to his youth, the glorification of war was stripped bare:

All the powers of language, and every embellishment of style, have been lavished to immortalize the soldier's fame – to veil the hideous deformity of war – to give perpetuity to deeds of destruction – and to transform the destroyer of man into the most exalted of the human race. War is represented as the field on which the noblest energies of man are displayed; but to form a just conception of its nature we must view it in its characteristic abominations, not through the delusive medium by which it is invested with an alluring and baneful splendour.

He reflected on the popular adulation of Wellington's victories over Napoleon's forces in January and April 1812, and the 'acclamations of unhallowed triumph' which he roundly condemned:

The injury sustained by the vanquished, will be found to regulate the demonstrations of public joy. If they have lost their thousands, it will call forth general congratulation; if tens of thousands have perished in the fight, it will kindle a transport of delirious exultation. But to rejoice in the calamities of our fellow men, must surely be inhuman, and ungenerous; it must... render the heart callous to the finest feelings of humanity.

Then, as now, these extracts serve to show the brutality of conflict and 'convince every ingenuous mind of the monstrous irrationality and great wickedness of war'. Rees' overall conclusions were equally thought provoking. He considered that instead of celebration there should be sombre reflection of a battlefield drenched in blood, and that the appropriate music should be that of the 'groans of the wounded', and ultimately posed the question: 'what is the value of human life, or what the importance of human woe'? The publication of the tract was naturally contentious and even a relative of Rees thought that it should not carry his name on the title page, but he argued that 'a work without a name is not by any means so respectable'. He felt that if he was to combat 'public vice and error' then it was his responsibility to have a public face rather than to hide behind the anonymity of his words. Despite ill-health, and a request to resign as editor in 1818, Rees worked on the journal for another two years before his resignation was accepted in the autumn of 1820.

Although of failing health, Rees invested his time in serious matters: political and social reform, emigration, and commerce. He also found time to write to the Peace Society one last time. He acknowledged that there was an efficient organisation in place despite the retirement of some leading members, including himself, but noted that subscriptions had fallen due to the worsening economic situation in Britain at the time. He expressed delight at the first signs of democratic rights in Spain, Portugal and Naples, but was worried by the establishment of the Holy Alliance of Austria, Prussia and Russia, and the attack on Naples. He thereby questioned Tsar Alexander I's former commitment to peaceful negotiation -

The Emperor (Alexander) of Russia, the advocate of Peace Societies, - where are now the principles he once professed? From the extent of his influence, one word, would from him extinguish in its embryo this iniquitous, this atrocious war! But alas! That influence, that power is thrown into the opposite scale, and the Emperor sanctions a war undertaken to prevent a monarchy from giving to his subjects the blessings of a free constitution.

Rees's campaigning was still not over as he sought better

social and working conditions both at home and overseas. In November 1820 he sought permission from Friends to make a visit to New South Wales, both for the improvement of his health and particularly because of his dissatisfaction with the condition of prisons and in the treatment of criminals in the penal colonies. He embarked on his journey in March 1821, but caught a fever while on-board and died before he reached Australia on 28 June 1821. He was aged just thirty. The obituary notices recorded his ability, integrity and devotion to good causes. Finally, the *Cambrian* recorded in March 1822 that Evan Rees had simply been the 'friend of human kind'.

To conclude, it was fitting that on the two hundredth anniversary of the Peace Society on 14 June 2016 FHS members were asked to remember these two significant Welshmen who have remained largely in the shadows. They certainly deserve wider recognition as some of the decisions they took were not easy. They faced considerable opposition and challenged the prevailing ethos of the period that they were living in, but, as Quakers, they had a long-standing history of activism to fall back on. Believing that their course of action was the right way forward they helped to challenge prevailing attitudes towards war and peace. As shown, Joseph Tregelles Price lived a long and meaningful life in stark contrast to that of Evan Rees, but the handsome tributes in the newspapers to both men are indications of their high standing. Although, arguably, Price's death signalled the end of a particular period where peaceful negotiation and reconciliation were the watchwords of so many of his fellow campaigners, these two men had dedicated their lives to improving the lot of others. Their advocacy of humanitarianism, opposition to war, and their sense of justice represented a fine legacy for future generations to emulate.

Richard C. Allen
Visiting Fellow, Newcastle University

This paper was delivered at Friends' House, London, in June 2016 as the presidential address of the Friends' Historical Society. It was a privilege to be the President of FHS for 2016, particularly given the memorable list of people who have formerly acted in this capacity. I am thereby grateful to the committee for asking me to serve in this role.

END NOTES

1. See M. E. Hirst, *The Quakers in Peace and War* (London: Swarthmore Press, 1923); Peter Brock, *Pacifism in Europe to 1914* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1972); Martin Ceadel, *The Origins of War Prevention: The British Peace Movement and International Relations, 1730-1854* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996) and his 'The Quaker Peace Testimony and its contribution to the British Peace Movement: An Overview', *Quaker Studies*, 7, 1 (September 2002), 9-29.
2. Evan Rees, *Sketches of the Horrors of War* (London: London Peace Society, 1819), p. 1. These details were extracted from Eugène Labaume, *Relation Circonstanciée de la Campagne de Russie, en 1812...* (Paris: C.L.F. Panckoucke, 1814).
3. Ceadel, *The Origins of War Prevention*, p. 2.
4. William Bacon Evans, 'Joseph Tregelles Price', *Annual Monitor* (London, 1855), pp. 158-9.
5. This is discussed in Elizabeth Isichei, *Victorian Quakers* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), 150ff; Robynne Rogers Healey, 'Quietest Quakerism, 1692-c.1805', in Stephen W. Angell and Pink Dandelion (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Quaker Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 47-62.
6. Thomas Mardy Rees, *A History of the Quakers in Wales and their emigration to North America* (Carmarthen: W. Spurrell and Son, 1925), p. 258; Evans, 'Joseph Tregelles Price', p. 158.
7. For a wider assessment of Price's personal and business interests, the promotion of educational opportunities in industrial south Wales, and his philanthropic activities, especially trying to save the life of 'Dic Penderyn' who was later executed for his alleged part in the Merthyr Riot of 1830, see Richard C. Allen, 'An Indefatigable Philanthropist: Joseph Tregelles Price (1784-1854) of Neath, Wales', *Quaker Studies* (forthcoming).
8. Evans, 'Joseph Tregelles Price', p. 159.
9. *Seren Gomer*, 1 (1818), 155; 2 (1819), 294-5.
10. See *Seren Gomer*, 5 (1822), 148-9.
11. *Herald of Peace*, n.s. 6, part 1 (1827), p. 131; *Cambrian*, 14 July 1827.

12. Goronwy J. Jones, *Wales and the Quest for Peace: From the Close of the Napoleonic Wars to the Outbreak of the Second World War* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1969), pp. 3–5. pp. 3–5. For further interpretations of this period, see Ceadel, *Origins of War Prevention*, pp. 222–79.
13. *Herald of Peace*, 4 (1825), pp. 186–9; 5 (1826), pp. 139–42; John D. Crossfield, 'Richard Smith and his Journal', *JFHS*, 14, 3 (1917), 120–1, n. 78. Also, see Hirst, *Quakers in Peace and War*, p. 244; Vanessa Fabius Lincoln, 'Organizing International Society: The French Peace Movement and the Origins of Reformist Internationalism, 1821–1853', University of California, Berkeley, Ph.D. thesis, 2013.
14. *Courier*, 1830; *Cambrian*, 13 November 1830, p. 4; Evans, 'Joseph Tregelles Price', p. 162.
15. John Jefferson (ed.), *The Proceedings of the First General Peace Convention Held in London, June 1843* (London: Society for the Promotion of Permanent Peace, 1843), pp. 8, 9, 23.
16. See H. C. Backhouse, *Extracts from the Journal and Letters of Hannah Chapman Backhouse* (London: n.p., 1858), pp. 258–61; H. Tobit Evans, *Rebecca and her Daughters* (Cardiff: Educational Publishing Co., 1910), pp. 148, 153. For other assessments of the Rebecca movement, see David Williams, *The Rebecca Riots: A Study in Agrarian Discontent* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1955); Pat Molloy, *And They Blessed Rebecca: An Account of the Welsh Toll-Gate Riots, 1839–1844* (Llandysul: Gomer Press 1983); Rhian E. Jones, *Petticoat Heroes: Gender, Culture and Popular Protest in the Rebecca Riots* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2015).
17. *Herald of Peace* (1847), p. 281.
18. *Cambrian*, 20 May 1848. Also, see Jones, *Wales and the Quest for Peace*, pp. 13–14.
19. For additional information, see M. S. Anderson, *The Eastern Question, 1774–1923: A Study in International Relations* (London: Macmillan, 1968); A. L. Macfie, *The Eastern Question, 1774–1923* (London: Longman, 1989).
20. *Cambrian*, 28 July 1854.
21. Hirst, *Quakers in Peace and War*, p. 244.
22. 'Duty of Peace Men', *Advocate of Peace*, 1847–1884, 11, 7–8 (July and August 1854), 122–6.

23. Jonathan Rees, *Memoirs of Evan Rees* (London: privately printed for Jonathan Rees, 1853), pp. 1, 6–10. The secretary was a Welshman on three occasions: Rees, then Henry Richard ‘the Apostle of Peace’ from 1848 until 1883, and lastly William Jones of Ruthin. See Emyr Wyn Jones, ‘William Jones of Ruthin: Quaker and peacemaker’, *Cylchgrawn Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru/National Library of Wales Journal*, 26, 4 (Gaeaf/Autumn, 1990), 401–26 (401–3).
24. This is included in Rees, *Sketches of the Horrors of War*, p. 3.
25. Rees, *Memoirs of Evan Rees*, pp. vi, 2, 11.
26. Rees, *Memoirs of Evan Rees*, pp. vi, 12–13. See also *Herald of Peace*, New Series, II (1823), 9–13.
27. Rees, *Memoirs of Evan Rees*, p. 16.
28. Rees, *Memoirs of Evan Rees*, p. 21.
29. Rees, *Memoirs of Evan Rees*, pp. 28–30.
30. Rees, *Memoirs of Evan Rees*, p. 31.
31. Rees, *Memoirs of Evan Rees*, p. 37.
32. Rees, *Memoirs of Evan Rees*, pp. 45–7.
33. Rees, *Sketches of the Horrors of War*, p. 23.
34. Rees, *Sketches of the Horrors of War*, p. 3.
35. Rees, *Sketches of the Horrors of War*, pp. 3–4.
36. Rees, *Memoirs of Evan Rees*, p. 63.
37. Rees, *Sketches of the Horrors of War*, p. 24.
38. Rees, *Memoirs of Evan Rees*, p. 67.
39. Rees, *Memoirs of Evan Rees*, pp. 67–9.
40. Rees, *Memoirs of Evan Rees*, pp. 85–6.
41. Rees, *Memoirs of Evan Rees*, pp. 86–8.
42. Rees, *Memoirs of Evan Rees*, pp. 85–6.
43. Rees, *Memoirs of Evan Rees*, pp. 99–106.
44. Rees, *Memoirs of Evan Rees*, pp. 109–115; *Cambrian*, March 1822.

The illustration on the cover is the title page of Evan Rees, *Sketches of the Horrors of War* (London: London Peace Society, 1819)

JOHN EDWARD SOUTHALL: QUAKER AND WELSHMAN

We respond to the concept of genocide – the deliberate extermination of a people with revulsion and horror. But what then of cultural and linguistic genocide? Colonialism, inherently, drives the extinction of both culture and language, perhaps not always consciously, but for speakers of the Celtic languages that extinction has been their experience over many hundreds of years.

Reading section 10.14 of *Quaker Faith and Practice* might help orientate some Friends in Britain to ask themselves – what does this say about Britain Yearly Meeting, and did Quakers contribute to the current state of our native minority languages?

At the National Eisteddfod in Newport in 1897 a prize of five pounds was shared for an essay on the subject *Y modd goreu i gadw a dysgu Cymraeg i blant rhieni Cymreig mewn cylchoedd lle y siaredir Saesneg* or *The best way of preserving and teaching Welsh to children of Welsh speaking parents in areas where English is spoken*. One winner, using the *nom de plume*, Galar Gwent (Gwent's Grief) wrote his essay in English, as was then allowed, and the following year published the essay under the title, *Preserving and teaching the Welsh Language in English speaking districts*. The author was John Edward Southall. He and his brother had established themselves as publishers in Newport in 1880 – Arthur left in 1882. His *nom de plume* reflected his concern for the fate of the Welsh language in his adopted county. According to Geraint H. Jenkins, renowned for his academic studies on the history of the Welsh language, Southall 'was one of the sharpest observers at the end of the nineteenth century on linguistic matters, at the language's vivacity in the face of very difficult circumstances.'¹

'A forthright man' said another of him. Southall was a busy publisher, a prolific author in English, and a regular correspondent in the Welsh press; he had personal connections across Wales, and as a Quaker, was stubborn in his opinions. One question that should be asked is, why did an English Quaker become such a muscular spokesman for Wales and her language?

Despite his prominence in Wales his denomination paid him little heed. On his death there was no testimony to his life by his Monthly Meeting. Searching for his name on the web under J. E. Southall directs the searcher to the artist, Joseph Edward Southall. The only remnant of him within Britain Yearly Meeting is a popular leaflet entitled *Silence* and circulated at one time by Quaker Life, which ascribes authorship to him. In a letter to *The Friend* he clarified that this was not the case – he published the original version under the title *The Power of Stillness*.²

John Edward was born in Leominster in 1855, the second of three children and the eldest son of John Tertius and Elizabeth Trusted Southall. Tertius was a wealthy draper and investor, prominent in the Liberal politics of Herefordshire, and in the public life of Leominster. He was a faithful servant to the Society with an interest in the future of Quakerism in Wales, and in Pales, that iconic meeting house in Radnorshire. His name appears on the foundation stone of Llandrindod meeting house built in 1898.

John Edward's lineage was decidedly Quaker. One of his paternal ancestors was Roger Prichard, who gave land on which another iconic meeting house, Almeley Wootton in Herefordshire, was built. According to Evelyn Whiting, Quaker historian of the Marches, the surname comes from 'picardy' following the Norman conquest, and is not a corruption of ap Rhisiart to Pritchard as some have claimed, giving him sound Welsh ancestry. A branch of the Southall family did live in Llanbadarn y Garreg, Radnorshire in the eighteenth century holding a Quaker meeting at their home.³ The Trusteds [his mother's family] came from south Herefordshire, and his grandparents lived and ran a business in Clyro, and then in Hay on Wye, but his mother was born in Somerset.

John Edward refers to several influences which aroused his interest in Wales. At the age of nine he read the 1757 poem by Thomas Grey, *The Bard*, the story of the poet's curse on Edward I, with the victory of Henry Tudor seen as the final victory to the Welsh. The family did have a nanny, originally from Whitford, Flintshire and Sarah Hanmer was a descendent of Owain Glyndwr, but much to Southall's disappointment she had no interest in her ancestor.⁴

When twelve, John Edward was sent to Bootham, where he edited the school magazine. Amongst the archives of the school

there is an essay written by him when, aged twelve, he describes a family holiday to Tywyn, Meirionethshire. He recounts:

The next day was Sunday on which for the first time in my life I heard a Welsh service. It sounded very nice... The Welsh language is getting spoken less and less every year a fact which [they] themselves are very slow in acknowledging for even within the memory of an old man in Radnorshire there were Welsh sermons delivered in a district there regularly where now no such thing is heard of, so that in times to come this language may cease to be spoken.⁵

He went home with a copy of a Welsh newspaper - *Yr Herald Gymraeg* - 'a trophy' - and he marvelled at the longevity of Welsh. Much later on he talks of a journey he made two or three years later to the Quarterly Meeting at Neath, and when he heard Welsh spoken on the train he vowed to learn the language, adding,

Being of a contrary mind to a certain English tradesman of my acquaintance, who almost felt himself insulted by some people speaking Welsh at Gloucester station. Think what 'positive nuisance' it is to an Englishman to be in the company of persons whose speech he doesn't understand!⁶

It was not possible for him to learn Welsh whilst at school but this did not prevent him from writing to the Professor of Welsh at Lampeter, then an Anglican institution, asking which books he should read to expand his understanding. He was advised to read, not surprisingly, some bilingual tracts by the SPCK, also *Y Cyfaill Eglwysig*, [*The Church's Friend*] being an Anglican magazine, and *Drych y Prif Oesoedd*, [*The Mirror of the Old Ages*] by Theophilus Evans, an Anglican priest. This, written in 1716, is in effect a sombre, prejudiced and entertaining version of the early history of Wales and the antiquity of the Welsh nation, and naturally promotes the Church of England as the true form of Protestantism.

Southall began to learn Welsh in earnest after he left school, buying a grammar text book and a bilingual testament, but he said that business demands impeded progress. He did learn a poem by Ieuan Glan Geirionydd, *Cyflafan Morfa Rhuddlan* [*The Rhuddlan Salt Marsh Massacre*], although the content, he knew,

was totally contrary to Quaker ideals given its warlike and bloody descriptions.

In 1878 he wrote to the South Division Monthly Meeting asking if they would give him a duplicate copy held in Neath Meeting house library of *Annerch i'r Cymru* [*Salutations to the Britons*] and a translation of one of the works of William Penn. They agreed to this.⁷

At this time he was apprenticed to the Quaker author, publisher, innovator, lexicographer and archaeologist, John Bellows of Gloucester. Bellows was a controversial figure, independently minded, who had supported the Confederacy during the American Civil War, although he was against slavery. He was a vocal supporter of the South African wars and opposed Gladstone's home rule policy for Ireland - in essence an anti-Catholic position which can also be detected in Southall's writings. Thus, writing to *The Friend* in 1923, he blamed the economic condition of Ireland on Roman Catholicism.⁸ Bellows also adhered to the old discipline, dressed conservatively and used thee and thou, a decided influence on Southall's ideas, who also clung to thee and thou throughout his life.

By February 1880 Southall had transferred his membership to what was then known as the South Division of Wales Monthly Meeting.⁹ Between 1880 and 1884 few books came from his company since he was intent on building the business, but by 1881 his company employed seven men, seven boys and four girls. But business may not always be sweet and in 1883 he was fined for not registering and ensuring medical examinations for the young people he employed, contrary to the Factory Acts.¹⁰ By 1884 his business links meant that he could support the establishment of a Chamber of Trade in Newport.¹¹

In August 1882 he gave notice of his intention to marry Anne Berry, the daughter of a silk weaver from Sidbury, Suffolk. His mother was decidedly unhappy:

Went to Newport ... It was more uncomfortable than usual but the knowledge that he (John) had still on his mind to carry out his connection with A. Berry hung as a heavy burden on me.¹²

And she later added 'One had hoped all along that something might turn up and the marriage not really take place.'¹³ What were the reasons for her disapproval? Anne was a mere maid,

from a poor background and thus not a suitable wife for her son, even though Anne had been accepted into membership of the Society in 1879. However, by 1883 she would say this about her daughter in law:

We ought to feel very thankful that Annie is, as far as we can see, much better suited than we at first saw and there is a comfort in his having someone to take care of him.¹⁴

But the mother had other hesitations in that she did not think her son was a capable businessman, which was probably true, and his religious attitudes were a real burden.

The Southall family were affected by the growth and influence of evangelism within London Yearly Meeting. John Tertius Southall, a birthright Friend, declared he was 'converted' and 'saved' and felt he was thus 'a Friend by conviction.' Indeed, Leominster meeting proved to be an important centre for evangelical missions, being one of the first to hold general or tent meetings and extending activity into Radnorshire. Changes to Yearly Meeting discipline and strong emphasis on biblical preaching led many Friends to believe that the Society was in disarray. The plain or primitive Friends felt they were being marginalised. A reflection of this was the establishment, in 1878, of Fritchley as an independent Quaker meeting, to be shortly followed by a branch in Bournbrook, Birmingham.¹⁵

John Edward turned towards these plain Friends.¹⁶ There was a lively group of them based in Cardiff meeting, who proved to be a source of embarrassment to the Monthly Meeting. The story of Charles Allen Fox, Tonnes Andreasen and William Mills cannot be told here, but all three were witnesses to John Edward and Anne Berry's wedding at Cardiff meeting-house. His parents did not attend the wedding. His sister did, and his mother wrote about the wedding:

Poor John's wedding day. Now is consummated the pain and anxiety of two and a half years. Let us hope that the future may develop some as yet hidden good and pray for a greater spirit of resignation. Hannah was the only one of the family there. She describes it as a somewhat memorable sight. Four very broad brims seemed to be the only thing which displayed itself in the way of dress - no outward appearance of a wedding, the bride dressed very neat, says it was sad to see poor John

only surrounded by fanatics.¹⁷

One aspect of the life of the plain Friends of interest to the press was their refusal to take their hats off before the courts. In June 1884 the *South Wales Daily News* reported:

Just as the last case came to a close Mr John Edward Southall, printer, a member of the Society of Friends, entered the Court and remained covered. On seeing him the Judge said, 'Take off your hat sir. You are bound to take your hat off in a court of justice Quaker or no Quaker.' Mr Southall: I cannot do that. The Judge: Then leave the Court, sir - Mr Southall lost no time in complying with his Honour's request.¹⁸

In May 1910 there was a similar event, the *Cymro a'r Celt*, a Welsh language publication, reporting on a kinder judge who said, 'If the complainant prefers to wear his hat, he can do so.'¹⁹

In April 1892 John Edward applied to join Fritchley, but withdrew his application - was distance a factor? In November 1893 he made a second application and in June 1894 he was accepted into membership, his name being associated with the group at Bournbrook. In 1898 he became a trustee of the meeting house at Fritchley. From 1899 until 1902 he was Clerk to Fritchley General Meeting, and in 1901 he was registered as recorded minister amongst them.²⁰ Despite this he retained his membership with South Wales Monthly Meeting.

There appears to have been some tension between Fritchley and the group in Bournbrook, with Southall supportive of Bournbrook. Some felt Fritchley was too liberal. By 1898 Bournbrook wished to establish their own Monthly Meeting and Southall handled the correspondence. That did not transpire, and by 1909 the elders of Fritchley discussed his failure to attend their meetings, and in 1911 the Monthly Meeting minuted as follows, 'And it is the judgement of the meeting that his name be now removed from the list of our recorded ministers.'²¹

In 1924 he was disowned by Fritchley because of 'continued disaffection and opposition.' The fact that he was evangelising on the continent without a minute from the Monthly Meeting was an important factor. The Monthly Meeting does refer to a mission in the USA but there is no evidence that he crossed the Atlantic, although he did mission work in France, Germany and Denmark. There is a sense of sadness in the divorce and part of

the Fritchley minute reads:

It would have been a great satisfaction to us if John Edward Southall had seen his way in response to the labour extended to him to have made such acknowledgement as would have resulted in his restoration to unity with the meeting and to serviceableness thereto and we should rejoice if he should be brought to see where he has missed his way and become reunited in the bonds of true Christian fellowship.²²

If John Edward was a rebel in the eyes of Fritchley his relationship with South Wales Monthly Meeting was not so sweet either. In November 1890 the Meeting refused to reimburse him seven and sixpence, being the cost of replacing glass in the windows of the meeting place in Newport because he had done the work without their permission. Then in 1910 the Monthly Meeting decided to sell the old meeting house at Trosnant in Monmouthshire. One of the trustees to the property was John Edward but he would not agree to the sale. Indeed the Monthly Meeting sought the help of the Quarterly Meeting in the matter noting that perhaps the issue might have to be passed up to Yearly Meeting. The Quarterly Meeting wished to avoid any unnecessary friction and called upon the refusing trustee to sign the conveyance. 'We trust that when our Friend realized the terms under which he was appointed as Trustee he will see his way to do this.'²³ He duly signed by January 1912 on condition that the Monthly Meeting earmarked one hundred pounds from the sale for the use of Newport Friends for a period of five years. This was agreed.

His Quakerism was central to his life. As an author he published many tracts, some twenty-five in all, five of them being translated into Welsh. In 1899 he produced sections from the journal of Richard Davies, *Cloddiau Cochion* under the title *Leaves from the history of Welsh Nonconformity*. It was an appeal to Welsh nonconformists, placing Quaker witness and mission alongside theirs. He did not publish anything original in Welsh about the Quakers, but there was hardly anyone amongst Quakers in Wales who could have authored such a volume except perhaps for Henry Tobit Evans, the overlooked Ceredigion Quaker, whose story is also worthy of note. But in July 1901 Southall did write an article in Welsh for the *Genninen*, a literary, theological popular

monthly, under the title *Paham yr wyf yn Grynwr* [*Why I am a Quaker*], the only original piece written in Welsh on Quakerism since the publication in America in 1727 of Ellis Pugh's *Annerch i'r Cymry* [*Salutations to the Britons*].

This article is a key to understanding aspects of Southall's world view:

I have great objection to calling Quakerism a form of religion – it is a profession, and more than that an experience ... The Spirit of Truth which we listen to is given priority (something that was not found, he added, amongst the Nonconformists. It was not words, prayers and hymns that was at the heart of worship, these were mere shadows of the spiritual things.) Worshipping in the Spirit, is through the perfect stillness of everyone gathered ... so that the breath of the Divine Spirit, which blows where it will, encompasses all.²⁴

He then goes on to explain Quaker understanding of the ministry, baptism and the eucharist. His aim without doubt was to raise questions, if not provoke those who would not have been familiar with his subject.

In October, in the same journal an article written by Dewi Môn, the bardic name of the Rev. David Rowlands, Principal of the Congregational College at Brecon, appeared under the title *Why I am not a Quaker*. Dewi Môn admired the Quakers and congratulated Southall on his excellent article, but said, of the only Quaker worship that he had ever experienced, that 'the silence was overbearing.'²⁵ In January 1902 Southall responded with another article in the same journal. He rebutted Dewi Môn's arguments but also condemned his fellow Quakers in Britain because 'as a body they were distanced from the truth, and were closer in practice to the Methodists than to their forefathers.' He insisted that the church had to rediscover 'the still small voice ... and reach out to the true worship.'²⁶

In 1902 he began publication of a journal under the title *Waymarks; A Religious and Literary Journal in Unity with the Testimony of the Early Quakers* noting that the two popular journals amongst Quakers in Britain at that time did not present Quakerism as they should. By 1903 it was clear that the venture was not a success. This was partly because of Southall's health but there were also insufficient subscribers.

In January 1880 Southall's first article in the *Friends Quarterly Examiner* appeared. The article encompasses his Quakerism and his feelings about Wales under the title *The Society of Friends and Wales*. It is a flowery article, with a hurried glance at the history of the Quakers in Wales and an appeal to his fellow Quakers to acquire a better understanding of Wales and her religion especially since there were so few of them since many 'are of English descent.' This, in his estimation, had been the weakness of the Quakers in Wales, asking the question, 'Have we realised that it is through their mother tongue that people will appreciate and hear about the wonderful works of God, as on the day of Pentecost?' He was not going to belittle the work of Friends in Wales over the years, but why were Quakers not living amongst the people, sharing their concerns, touching their passions and speaking that magnificent language, and bringing them to God? What was necessary to bring the literary Welsh to a better understanding of the teachings of the Quakers, considering the number of multiple religious and spiritual publications that were available in Welsh, why not one by the Quakers? The Quakers had not appreciated the strength of Welsh nonconformity and it was not on the success of their mission work in Radnorshire as an example - Pen y Bont, Pales, Llanyre and Llandrindod, four meetings within a radius of eight miles - that they could measure their efforts. The Welsh loved their sermons, their hymns and their religious literature, those things being overlooked by Friends. The core of his message, however, was that everything was in English and directed to the principal towns in Wales. In the article we find Southall's understanding of Welsh nationhood: 'The people of Wales - a distinct nation as they feel themselves to be.'²⁷

He published three other articles with a Welsh theme in the *Examiner*. One a translation of a poem by Moelwyn, *A Glywaist ti Cyfrinach Duw?* [*Hast thou heard the secret of God?*] adding his own verses to the original to strengthen its mystical spiritual essence. Then in 1916 a translation of the poem, *The Dewdrop*, by John Davis, known by his *nom de plume* of Ossian Gwent. Southall rendered the title as *The Wren* [in 1898 he had published a volume of Ossian Gwent's poetry]. Finally, in 1919 he wrote a piece entitled *Morgan Llwyd and his times* emphasising, not

surprisingly, the link between the poet/preacher and the Quakers.

In 1888 he published a volume of the evidence presented to the Royal Commission on education. In the introduction he congratulated Henry Richard, a member of the Commission, for ensuring that the commission looked at the needs of bilingual education. Henry Richard was better known amongst Friends as secretary of the Peace Society, MP for Merthyr Tydfil and congregational minister in London. Southall's comments in the introduction reflect his commitment to the language, observing that 'some of the Commissioners were evidently but poorly informed on the question, and looked at it through English spectacles,' condemning those who saw the language 'as a vexatious obstacle to the unification of the country.'²⁸ He knew full well that Welsh had to coexist alongside English, could not ignore her influence, but Wales had her own unique identity which had not been sufficiently developed in the past and had suffered because of it. That is why, in his opinion, bilingual education was so important, and that everyone should possess a certain ability in Welsh. The successful creation of The Society for the Utilisation of the Welsh Language/Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg was a hopeful encouragement to any developments. It is likely that he joined the Society when it was established at the National Eisteddfod in Aberdar in 1885. In 1904 he was elected onto the society's council. He saw that the language had educational as well as literary value, and that bilingual publications were essential, but then he was also a businessman! In the opinion of the *Cardiff Times* this volume was a labour of love by its author.²⁹

If this volume was a labour of love then it would be difficult to improve on that as he published in 1892 his *magnum opus*, *Wales and her language considered*. The drafts of the book had been read by Henry Richard and Henry Tobit Evans, the Ceredigion Quaker, both native born and Welsh speakers. The book was described by *The Times* as starting 'from the assumption that it is desirable on all grounds to preserve the Welsh language ... (and) ... squanders energy for the sake of bolstering up a sentiment and racial differences which were better destroyed.'³⁰ It was no surprise that the *Western Mail*, a Tory paper, although recognising that the book was founded on through research, said

it was 'mistakenly saturated with the ideas which are popularly associated with extreme sections of the Welsh Nationalists.'³¹ The *Cymro* was not overly kind, describing the book as worth reading but saying that it 'was slightly scattered'³²

In 1893 there was a second edition, and this time he had a quotation by Ceiriog, at that time a much loved poet, on the opening page 'Ac na boed man yn Nghymru mwy, O afon Gaer i afon Gwy, Heb siarad y ddwy - siaradwch y ddwy.' ['And let everywhere in Wales, from the Dee to the Wye speak both - speak both'] This is not the place to go into detail on the contents of the volume but the author's objective was not to explain anything to the English, but rather to awaken the Welsh nation to the condition of their language and to save her from demise as the result of a deficient educational system. One eccentric aspect of the book, reflecting its author's religious ideals, was his refusal to use the word Saint before place names -in his opinion a Papist practice - and he also expounded:

It will also be noticed, that I have abstained from calling any places built of stone and mortar *Churches*. I believe that a religion which attaches any sanctity to PLACES, is nearly nineteen hundred years out of date, at least, when as opportunity is afforded to know better.³³

In 1895 he published another volume, *The Welsh Language Census of 1891*, which he dedicated to T. E. Ellis MP, who was Chief Whip to the Liberal Government, 'In small recognition of his continuous endeavours to ensure a reasonable status for the Welsh Language in education and government.' Southall had corresponded with T. E. Ellis in 1894, hoping that he could use his influence to persuade the senate of the University of London to support a petition from the Normal College, Bangor to have Welsh as a subject of choice for entry into the university. Looking at the census he outlined the weaknesses and errors in it, but his concern was about the future of the language in light of the in-migration into Wales. What he called the 'non-naturalized foreigners' who were smothering the language, the answer to which had to be bilingual education which could also promote and enhance the concept of Welsh nationhood. It was also necessary to nourish the language in the home:

I would urge upon the middle-class English families in Wales the question of the desirability of procuring

Welsh-speaking nurses for their children. Cardiganshire and North Carmarthen should furnish plenty such for the shores of the Bristol Channel.³⁴

Overlooking the needs of the thousands in the coal mining areas with a somewhat bourgeois idealism.

In October 1898 he had another article in the *Genninen* being his response to an article entitled *A ydyw y Gymraeg yn marw?* [*Is the Welsh language dying?*] which had been published a year before by Ap Dewi Môn, the son of the Rev. David Rowlands, who had written 'I shall attempt primarily to show that the death of the Welsh language is something to be desired: and secondly, that this is busily happily happening.'³⁵

The editor of the journal was of the view that the author was writing brutally, tongue in cheek. Southall's response was direct. He felt the Welsh were sleeping, careless of their language, and that monolingual English education was killing it, but nevertheless that there were favourable signs of 'a quiet tremor spreading and deepening' and that 'this was a silent national awakening,' but perhaps not enough to undo the damage already done. Considering all the difficulties and obstructions it was a miracle that the language was alive at all, especially since it was being neglected and ignored by the authorities. He believed it was possible for the Welsh to act to save their language and that it was the colleges and schools who would take the lead. 'Let us give to Welsh fair play and proper place in the education of coming generations ... can the nation be bilingual, or unilingually English?'³⁶

We find him writing to the press about the state of the language in the schools, and in 1905 he published a personal tract on *An Educational Need in Monmouthshire* drawing on the experience of the success in using Welsh at the local school in Llanofer. He felt strongly that Monmouthshire was inextricably Welsh, and one of its thirteen counties, and that the language was essential for the county's identity:

One of the most powerful natural bonds of unity is the native language, whose power of expression in certain directions English cannot rival, and of which the educational value, apart from sentiment, is hardly fully realised.³⁷

His last public act relating to the language was the

presentation of evidence on behalf of those publishers who published in Welsh to the Departmental Committee established by the Board of Education on the place of the Welsh language in the educational system in Wales in March 1925. The concern of the publishers before the committee was the absence of school books in Welsh and authors to write them. He stood alongside six other notable figures in Welsh national and literary life. One was Ifan ab Owen Edwards, whose father Southall would probably have met through Welsh Language Society. This was Owen M. Edwards, the Chief Inspector of Education in Wales and former MP for Merionethshire. A prolific writer, historian and publisher, Southall had reviewed his works, but wished Edwards had given more attention to the history and influence of early Quakers in Wales, and was critical of his sympathy towards Roman Catholicism.

As a publisher, there was a wide breadth to his publications, with emphasis on school books, many of them bilingual. This is not the place to examine this aspect in detail, but in 1910 he corresponds with T. Gwynn Jones, whom he had met at Abaty Cwm Hir, acknowledged to be one of Wales' most prominent poets and academics, asking if he would translate from the German and Italian the works of two women poets. The poet responded, but it does not look as though Southall published. He actually corresponded again with him, this time in Welsh in 1921, again asking for translations. Two others with whom he corresponded were D. Rhys Phillips, Swansea's Librarian and J. Glyn Davies of Liverpool University, the brother of George M. Ll. Davies, the Welsh pacifist who had deep links with Quakers, but that is another story.

Southall was not blind to social problems, although it was religious and denominational viewpoints that inspired him. He was sympathetic to the conditions of the miners during the strike of 1905, noting that their wages were low and trade and use of capital was to be criticised. He was liberal by stance, and not a socialist. We find him in court for refusing to pay his rates during the great Welsh Revolt against the 1902 Education Act, and appearing before the court without his hat, the *Weekly Mail* commenting 'he had forgetfully taken it off [and] fear began to steal over the habitués that he had joined the hatless brigade.'³⁸

Towards the end of his life he was possibly less dogmatic.

There is a suggestion that with other Quakers he was at the ecumenical conference COPEC [Conference on Christian Politics, Economics and Citizenship] in Birmingham in 1924, supporting the objectives of that conference. It is clear that he had connections with other denominations in Wales. When in 1912 a group of Quakers were sent to South Wales by the Yearly Meeting to enquire into the fate of what were known as the Children of the Revival, it was Southall who arranged for the group to meet Dan Roberts, the brother of the revivalist Evan Roberts, as well as other churchmen. The Children of the Revival were those who had left the traditional churches in the shadow of the 1904 Revival. They would become the seed from which the Pentecostal movement in Britain grew.

Southall also attended the Keswick Holiness Convention, at least in 1911. In terms of the 1904 to 1905 revival he did not agree that it was Quakerism re-born. In a letter in *The Friend* of December 1904 with a *nom de plume* Siluriad – Southall without doubt – he complimented certain aspects of the revival that reflected Quaker discipline – these were the secondary role given to ministers, no set form, expression of personal spiritual experience and the freedom for women to minister. In 1905 in *The British Friend* he had another letter where he is far more critical. Evans Roberts was not one of the old giants, he was far too slight. In time perhaps value would be placed on how silent waiting was used in the meetings, and eventually the Welsh would relinquish their traditional forms in worship including community singing.³⁹ He could not of course condone singing in worship, which was a form of idolatry alienating the worshipper from true spirituality.⁴⁰

In 1912 and again in 1915 he was evangelising on the continent. We can be certain that he could communicate in French and German. There are no indications that he said anything about the First World War. Yet when Samuel Broomfield – one of the few Quakers in Wales to be imprisoned as an absolutist – refused to take off his hat before the military tribunal it was undoubtedly because of Southall's influence, since Broomfield was a Quaker by conviction who lived and worked in Newport. Indeed, in 1914 Southall and Broomfield were joint secretaries of the town's committee to support aliens in distress.

However, there was never much success for Quakers in that

town. The meeting was established there around 1885, five years after Southall arrived in the town, and by 1896 it had fourteen members. In 1896 the Home Mission Committee placed a worker there - Jasper Sayce - who stayed until 1904. The meeting closed in 1905. Sayce was a fervent biblical evangelist and it is difficult to see how he and Southall could have worked harmoniously together. In any case Southall's attentions would have been focused on Bournbrook. The meeting reopened in Newport in 1915 but was again closed by 1923. Southall seems not to have been that visible a Quaker in his adopted home town, although without doubt his denominational attachment would have been known.

In February 1927 his life was deeply shattered when he found his wife dead in bed, asphyxiated by coal gas fumes which had seeped in to the bedroom. True to his beliefs, he did not take the oath but the affirmation also caused him difficulty since, he could not, he said, arrive at the whole truth. The coroner suggested to him that he could perhaps add the words to the declaration 'the whole truth so far as I comprehend it.' This he did but also added the words 'to the extent that I remember them.'⁴¹ Within very little time he retired to Leominster to live with his brother, and in November 1928 he was buried at the Quaker burial ground in the town. His wife was to be buried at Christchurch cemetery, Newport. There is a note in his sister's personal papers to the effect that by the beginning of 1928 Southall's memory was failing.

It is difficult to measure Southall's success, but he would probably have been saddened to see the state of the Welsh language across Wales today, though he would have been delighted by the fact that an education through the medium of Welsh is now possible and that instruction in Welsh carries no opprobrium. He would undoubtedly have been supportive of the passage of the Language Acts, and possibly supportive of the agitation of the late 60s, early 70s in defence and promotion of the language. It would be gratifying to think of him with his broad brimmed hat joining in the public demonstrations, as he had been willing to do regarding the 1902 Education Act. His voice was familiar across Wales and he was much admired for his efforts. The fact that he was an Englishman who had learnt Welsh, and was enthusiastic for the language, was much respected. He was

well embedded in the life of his monthly meeting, but probably not a thriving business man. His mother in her diary in 1884 noted that her son was a poor businessman and that his father had found his accounts to be in an unsatisfactory state. This was also what his sister discovered in 1927 - a tenant of her brother who lived in a house he owned in Chepstow had not paid his rent for twelve months.

Perhaps in 1923 he had been disappointed. In that year there was a competition at the National Eisteddfod at Yr Wyddgrug [Mold] for an essay, on the history of Quakers in Wales and their emigration to Pennsylvania. There was a prize of forty pounds, the gift of John Henry Lloyd, Birmingham, one of the descendants of the Lloyds of Dolobran, the Montgomeryshire Quakers. Eight had competed and Southall was amongst them. In a letter of May 1923 to a worker at the library in Devonshire House he commented, 'I note that I did not include in my submission to the Eisteddfod reference to the history of Quakers in Wales in the nineteenth century.'⁴² Sadly there is no trace of his submission.

This report from the *Cardiff Times* from August 1905 is a fine description of Southall, a piece written in relation to a summer school in Welsh held that summer:

A picturesque student is Mr John Edward Southall of Newport. Mr Southall is a Quaker even to using of thee and thou in colloquial conversation, he is a good hater of prefixes and suffixes to personal names. In costume he follows the quaint Quaker costumes we see in picture books, but he is not a sober face, unless he is attacking Welshmen for neglecting their native tongue. Then, indeed, he looks lightning, and speaks with a voice of thunder, and his tongue becomes as a double-edged sword. His acquaintance with everything that is favourable to the preservation of the Welsh language is unlimited, and so insinuating is his personality that it is only necessary to know him, and a new friend is made on the spot. Hir oes iddo! [Long life to him]⁴³

The poet and writer Meic Stephens has a poem written especially for the National Eisteddfod in Newport in 2004, a tribute to the man from Leominster. It is the only piece of poetry in Welsh written in memory of a Quaker, apart from pieces written about Waldo Williams:

*Sais o Lanllieni oeddwn i, a Chymru oedd fy mhopeth: Cerais
y wlad fach hon fel be baem yn gwneud iawn am ormes y
canrifoedd*

Trwy goleddu'i hiaith a mawrygu ei thraddodiadau.

*....O Gymry, blant y Goleuni, ... Garu eich iaith fel y'i cerais, a
bod yn deilwng o'ch cenedl, un o deuluoedd Duw.⁴⁴*

*[I was an Englishman from Leominster, but Wales was my
everything*

*I loved this small country as though I wished to make up for the
oppression of the centuries*

By loving her language and upholding her traditions

*... Welsh, children of the Light ... Love your language as I
loved it, and be proud of your nation, one of the families of
God.]*

Gethin Evans

*This lecture was first given in Welsh, under the auspices of
Meeting of Friends in Wales, at the National Eisteddfod at
Abergafenni in 2016.*

END NOTES

1. Geraint H. Jenkins, 'Cymru, Cymry a'r Gymraeg: Rhagymadrodd', in *Gwne wch Bopeth yn Gymraeg*, ed. by Geraint H. Jenkins (Caerdydd, Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1999), p. 32.
2. *The Friend*, 18.8.1911.
3. Trevor Macpherson, A 'Measure of Grace: Quakers in Radnorshire', in *Transactions of the Radnorshire Society*, Vol LXIV, 1999, pp. 8-33.
4. John Edward Southall, *Wales and Her Language considered from a historical, educational and social standpoint with remarks on modern Welsh Literature and a linguistic map of the country* (Newport: J. E. Southall, 1892), p. 251.
5. 'A Tour in North Wales' by J. E. Southall, Bootham School Archives.
6. Southall, 1892, p. 253.
7. Glamorgan Record Office (GRO), South Wales Monthly Meeting (SWMM) minutes, m12, 11.7.1878.
8. *The Friend*, 1.6.1923, p. 407.
9. GRO, SWMM minutes, m9, 12.2.1880.
10. *Cardiff Times* 4.8.1883.
11. *Monmouthshire Merlin*, 25.1.1884.
12. Herefordshire Archives, BG 99/2/140, Diary Elizabeth R Southall (ERS), 6.8.1880.
13. *ibid* 19.8.1882.
14. *ibid* 3.2.1883.
15. See W. Lowndes, *The Quakers of Fritchley* (Fritchley: Friends Meeting House, 1980).
16. In 1881 he published a pamphlet challenging the Quaker orthodoxy of the day entitled *A Faithful Warning to those Calling Themselves Friends, more particularly in Western Quarterly Meeting, England*.
17. ERS, 18.9.1882.
18. *South Wales Daily Post*, 2.5.1884
19. *Cymro a'r Celt Llundain*, 28.5.1910.
20. Fritchley Meeting minute books, 1878-1921 at Fritchley meeting house.
21. *ibid*, m5, 4.11.1911.
22. *ibid*, m3, 18.6.1924.

23. SWMM, m 3, 13.7.1910.
24. *Y Genninen*, No 3, xix, July 1901, pp. 173-176.
25. *Y Genninen*, No 4, xix, October 1901, pp. 281-285
26. *Y Genninen*, No 1, xx, January 1902, pp. 77-79.
27. J. E. Southall, 'The Society of Friends and Wales', *Friends Quarterly Examiner*, 1st Month 1880, pp. 86-97.
28. J. E. Southall, *Bilingual teaching in Welsh Elementary Schools or minutes of evidence of Welsh witnesses before the Royal Commission on Education in 1886-7 with introductory remarks* (Newport: John E Southall, 1888), p. i.
29. *Cardiff Times*, 27.10.1888.
30. *The Times*, 28.7.1892.
31. *The Western Mail*, 7.9.1892.
32. *Y Cymro*, 22.9.1892.
33. Southall, *Wales and Her Language*, London, 1893 ed, p. vi.
34. J. E. Southall, *The Welsh Language Census of 1891* (Newport: Southall, 1895), p. 35.
35. Ap Dewi Mon, 'A Ydyw y Gymraeg yn Marw?' *Y Genninen*, 4, xv, October 1897, pp. 265-267.
36. J. E. Southall, 'A Ydyw y Gymraeg yn Marw?' *Y Genninen*, 4, xvi, October 1898, pp. 243-247.
37. J. E. Southall, *An educational need in Monmouthshire: Welsh Teaching - Testimony of Headmaster at Llanofor, a new life in school*, (Newport: Southall, 1905).
38. *Weekly Mail*, 1.9.1906.
39. *The British Friend*, January 1905, p. 19.
40. J. E. Southall, *Music in Worship and Frances R. Havergal's Dream* (Newport: J. E. Southall, 1895).
41. *South Wales Daily News*, 4.2.1927.
42. Friends House Library, Portfolio 39, letter to Ethel Crawshaw, 29.5.1923.
43. *Cardiff Times*, 12.8.1905.
44. Meic Stephens, *Hunangofiant Meic Stephens: Cofnodion* (Talybont: Y Lolfa, 2012), p. 211.

NO 'FRIENDS' OF HOME RULE ?

From their first arrival in Ireland in 1654 as a group of radical Christians, the Quakers have played a prominent role in Irish society. By the time of the Great Famine, they numbered approximately 3000 and were concentrated mostly in the south and east of the country. They came to national attention in 1846 in the midst of the Great Famine. In response to appeals for help, they held a meeting in Eustace St., Dublin on 13 November and set up the Central Relief Committee to coordinate famine relief.¹ Following a fund-raising campaign, food, clothing and money were sent from America. Boilers were shipped from Liverpool in 1847 to ports in the west of Ireland, thus ensuring that the most distressed areas received the benefits of relief schemes. To assist with short-term measures, the Quakers set up soup kitchens which later formed a model for government relief programmes. The Quaker famine pots scattered across the countryside have survived as lasting icons of a remarkable period in Quaker philanthropic activity. Long-term assistance was provided through loans, the distribution of seed and emigration schemes. The Society of Friends succeeded in charting a distinctive role for themselves while at the same time standing apart from the political and religious controversies of the period.

Following the Famine, individual Quakers continued to maintain a keen interest in social issues. Among them was the English Quaker, James Hack Tuke, who had a close association with the country for almost fifty years. Raised in a wealthy family noted for its philanthropy in Yorkshire, he moved to Hitchen in Hertfordshire, where he became a partner of the old established firm of Sharples and Company. In the winter of 1846 to 1847, he left the luxury of his stately home in Bancroft to accompany William Forster as they monitored conditions during the Great Famine in Connaught. Forster's aim was to assess conditions in Ireland in respect of food supplies, wages and employment.² Tuke returned to Ireland in the autumn of 1847, recording his impressions of poverty, seeking remedies, raising awareness through correspondence in the press and a series of pamphlets.³ Both Tuke and Forster helped to inform public opinion in Britain that absentee landlords alone were not to blame for the levels of

deprivation and that there were more complex factors involved. In 1880, Tuke highlighted some of the problems in *Irish Distress and Its Remedies: A Visit to Donegal and Connaught in the Spring of 1880*.⁴ His letters to *The Times* raised public awareness in Britain which resulted in important relief measures being approved by Westminster. Because of his extensive knowledge of Ireland and his political impartiality, Tuke was consulted by Arthur Balfour when the latter as Chief Secretary established the Congested Districts Board in 1891, particularly in relation to the designation of disadvantaged areas and the promotion of long-term relief measures. The Board played a major role in the regeneration of the west in relation to agriculture, fishing, cottage industries, textiles and land ownership. Tuke was an active member of the original Board.

As a religious institution, the Quakers won widespread recognition for their charitable work in Ireland as they were perceived as an independent and neutral voice with no political allegiance. Throughout the world, they became known for their fairness and toleration of others' religious beliefs, a factor which was instrumental in their rapid expansion throughout the British Isles and America. Bearing witness to peace and in opposition to military action, their advocacy and testimony, which eschewed the great political controversies of the period, earned them international respect. Although they had representation at Westminster, it was Quaker policy to avoid involvement in the political controversies of the day.

The Act of Union of 1800 was intended to improve relations between England and Ireland in constitutional, political and economic affairs, but did not succeed in winning the support of Irish nationalists. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, Home Rule emerged as a major political issue and this presented a challenge for Quakers. In 1886, William Gladstone, Prime Minister, introduced his first Home Rule Bill in Parliament but it was defeated and Gladstone's administration collapsed. The Quaker MP, John Bright, was among those who voted against the Bill. Traditionally, Quakers had supported Gladstone's Liberals but the Home Rule controversy adversely influenced the relationship between the Liberals and the Society of Friends. In Ireland, Quakers strenuously opposed the Bill. In 1893, Gladstone returned to office and a second Home Rule Bill was

introduced. On the second occasion, the Bill passed the House of Commons but was thrown out by the House of Lords. The fact that the measure won the approval of the Commons was a cause of alarm among Quakers, particularly among the business community and it was at this juncture that a number of Irish Quakers proposed to make their concerns known publicly. In March 1893, Irish Quakers decided to organise a conference of Quakers in England to discuss the Government of Ireland Bill before parliament which, in the opinion of Quakers, if passed into law 'would be extremely injurious to the moral and material prosperity of this country'.⁵ In effect, Irish Quakers were looking to their English co-religionists to support their opposition to Home Rule. As a result of this policy, Quakers in Ireland were aligning themselves with the Protestant Unionist tradition and becoming ensnared in what the Irish historian F.S.L. Lyons has described as a 'conflict of cultures'.⁶

The Quaker conference took place at the Cannon St. Hotel, London on 21 April 1893 under the chairmanship of James Hack Tuke with Thomas Hodgkin as Secretary. In an address distributed to fellow Quakers in Ireland, Tuke outlined his reasons for his objections. He deplored the possible damage to the constitutional bonds between the two countries and expressed concern about the impact on trade and commerce, despite the fact that Irish MPs would continue to sit in Westminster. Such issues were routinely raised in parliament but he added that the Bill would 'promote interference by clerical and party domination' of Irish affairs to the detriment of a minority. The address was signed by 1376 of the 1690 adult members of the Society of Friends resident in Ireland.⁷ Reminding the audience that he counted many Roman Catholic clergymen among his acquaintances, he believed that there was no interference with religious liberty in Ireland 'other than that exercised by the Roman Catholic Hierarchy'. The Conference was attended by some of the leading Quakers in Ireland.

Jonathan Pim of Dublin recalled Quaker objections to the first Home Rule Bill of 1886. The Pims had played an outstanding role in the early development of railways in Ireland. J. Theodore Richardson of Lisburn expressed fears that Home Rule would undermine the prosperity they enjoyed under the Union. Coming from a prominent industrial family engaged in the manufacture

of linen, he rejected the argument put forward by Home Rule supporters that Irish industry and agriculture would benefit by the introduction of a system of protection. In his opinion, the Home Rule movement had grown out of agrarian discontent with the support of the Catholic hierarchy. He criticised English liberals who argued that Catholics did not get 'fair play', adding that all positions were open to them with the exception of the Lord Lieutenantcy. With reference to Belfast, he noted the growth of shipbuilding, rope works and tobacco manufacture. He said that in 1850 there were fifty-eight power looms but by 1893, their number had grown to 28,233, adding that prosperity was enjoyed by members of all religions. His greatest concern was that a parliament in Dublin would be controlled by members of the Land League and 'dominated by members of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy'. Both Pim and Richardson were prominent in the Irish Quaker Unionist community.

The strongest denunciation of Home Rule came from John Pim of Belfast, adding that what he dreaded most was 'the invisible and visible tyranny of the Romanish clergy'. He went so far as to accuse the clergy of keeping the people poor because of the expenditure of £300,000 per year on the construction of churches. His comments were supported by George Grubb of Cork who criticised the role of priests in the election of Nationalists to parliament. Priests were influential in the selection of candidates at party conventions for the Irish Parliamentary Party at Westminster. Bishop O'Donnell of Raphoe acted as treasurer of the party and was a supporter of John Redmond. On the same theme, Joseph T. Pim of Dublin believed that Home Rule would bring Ireland under the control of what he called 'a political Pope'.

A small handful of Quakers stood apart from the controversy and supported the Home Rule movement. They included prominent figures such as Alfred Webb, T.H. Webb and Henry Wigham, who were members of the original Irish Protestant Home Rule Association in 1886 and had supported Isaac Butt in his Home Rule campaign.⁸

Among Unionist opponents of Home Rule, the rallying cry was that 'Home Rule meant Rome Rule' and this was a recurring theme in the speeches at the London conference.⁹ On one hand, this viewpoint was unexpected as cordial relationships existed

between the Society of Friends and clerical leaders of the majority religion throughout the nineteenth century. The engagement of the Society of Friends with the anti-Home Rule campaign also stood at odds with the traditional Quaker policy of non-involvement in party political feuding. On the other hand, as a minority, the Society of Friends had experienced discrimination at many levels and consequently felt particularly vulnerable. During the Land War in Donegal, Tuke had taken a firm stand on behalf of evicted tenants and pleaded with the Chief Secretary, Arthur Balfour, to curb the power of the landlords and the police. He had lengthy meetings with Fr McFadden, parish priest of Gweedore in west Donegal and they appeared to have a sound working friendship. Privately, Tuke had reservations and he referred to him in correspondence with Arthur Balfour as a 'supreme dictator'.¹⁰

As a member of the Congested Districts Board, Tuke worked harmoniously and tirelessly with Catholic clergy on the Board.¹¹ His objections to Home Rule were founded on the belief that constitutional reform would bring no improvement in the lives of the people to whom he had dedicated his life's work. He believed the first Home Rule Bill offered nothing to destitute peasants and consequently in 1893, he decided to take an active stand in opposing Home Rule.¹² Tuke's opposition had only one outcome: the Home Rule controversy was responsible for creating a serious division among the Society of Friends, with a majority of Irish Quakers opposing it and a British majority supporting it.

Tuke died in 1896 and the Home Rule controversy lay dormant for almost a decade and a half. By the time the Home Rule Act was passed by parliament in 1914, Europe was at war and the Society of Friends had harnessed their resources in a different direction. Following the Easter Rising of 1916, Quakers in Ireland found themselves on opposing sides. With the formation of the Irish Volunteers in 1913, the Co. Down-born Quaker, Bulmer Hobson, played a prominent role. It is believed that it was Hobson who suggested to Eoin MacNeill at a meeting in Wynn's Hotel in Dublin that he should establish the Irish Volunteers and lead the movement.¹³ Silently bowing to the inevitable, other Quakers held positions in the newly-formed Irish Free State. One of the best-known was James G. Douglas

whom Michael Collins invited to assist in the drafting of the first Constitution. He held the position of Vice-Chairman of the Senate and served over three terms as Senator between 1922 and 1954.

Irish Quakers emerged in glory because of their philanthropic activity during the Great Famine of the 1840s but their opposition to Home Rule in the 1890s resulted in their role being re-defined as the majority aligned themselves with the Protestant Unionist tradition. In the 'conflict of cultures', they drew closer to the Anglo-Irish and Protestant Unionist establishment. With the formation of the Irish Free State in 1921, Irish Quakers were once again forced to come to terms with a further re-assessment of their role in an Ireland partitioned into two different jurisdictions.

Seán Beattie

END NOTES

1. *Transactions of the Central Relief Committee, 1846-7* (Dublin: Edmund Burke, 1996), p. V111.
2. Helen E. Hatton, *The Largest Amount of Good: Quaker Relief in Ireland 1654-1921* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill - Queen's University Press, 1993), p. 94
3. James Hack Tuke, *A Visit to Connaught in the Autumn of 1847*, (London: C. Gilpin, 1848).
4. James Hack Tuke, *Irish Distress and its Remedies: A Visit to Donegal and Connaught in the Spring of 1880*, (London: W.Ridgway, 1880).
5. *An Appeal to the Religious Society of Friends in Great Britain, Third Month, 1893*, Library of the Society of Friends, London (LSF)
6. F.S.L.Lyons, *Culture and Anarchy in Ireland 1800-70* (Oxford, 1979) quoted in Howard F. Gregg, 'English and Irish Quakers and Irish Home Rule 1886-93', in *A Quaker Miscellany for Edward H. Milligan* ed. By David Blamires, Jeremy Greenwood and Alex Kerr (Manchester: David Blamires, 1985), p. 88.
7. *To Our Fellow Members of the Religious Society of Friends in Ireland, Fourth Month, 1893* (LSF)
8. Maurice T. Wigham, *A Short History of the Religious Society of Friends in Ireland* (Dublin: Society of Friends, Ireland Yearly Meeting, Historical Committee, 1992), p. 102
9. *Conference of Friends upon the Home Rule Question, 21 April 1883* (London: Simpson, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Co., 1883), p.49 (LSF)
10. Tuke to Balfour, 4 May 1889, Add MSS 49817, ff. 169-255, Arthur Balfour Papers, British Library, London.
11. W. L. Micks, *An Account of the Constitution, Administration and Dissolution of the Congested Districts Board for Ireland from 1891 to 1923* (Dublin: Eason & Son, 1925), p. 174
12. Temporary Mss. 369/4/8, J.H.Tuke, Anti-Home Rule, (LSF).
13. *Easter Rising 1916*, ed. By Leanne Blaney (Cootehall: Willow Design & Publishing, 2016), p. 24

MARY ELMES (1908-2002), THE FIRST IRISH 'RIGHTEOUS'

Mary Elmes was born 5 May 1908 as Marie Elisabeth Jean Elmes in Cork. Her parents had a family business in Winthrop Street, J Waters and Sons, Dispensing Chemists, her father being the pharmacist. She was educated at Rochelle School and Trinity College Dublin where she gained First Class Honours in Modern Literature (French and Spanish) and the Gold Medal. She went on to the London School of Economics as a scholarship student, where she was awarded the LSE Scholarship in International Studies which led to a summer school in Geneva in 1936.

No doubt Mary was heading for a brilliant career in business or academia, but the Spanish Civil War changed all of that. A letter dated Gibraltar 12 March 1937 from a Mrs Small of the Geneva office of Save the Children told how she had found her colleague Mrs Petter there, and that she was accompanied by a certain Miss Elmes, who wished to work in Spain voluntarily. Miss Elmes had obtained a permit for Spain for five days only. 'After discussion it seemed to me that it would be better to let Miss Elmes attach herself to the University Unit.'¹

The University Unit in question was the London University Ambulance Unit just set up by Sir George Young, a retired diplomat who had served in Spain, had written several books on Spain and was an acknowledged expert on that country. Mary travelled from Gibraltar to Almeria by a British warship, probably in the company of Sir George himself who had just arrived by ship. A letter to Edith Pye written five days later by Violetta Thurston, Sir George's leader of the Ambulance Unit, says 'Later, a worker came from Gibraltar, Miss Elmes, and I gave the feeding station to her'².

This was the feeding station set up at Almeria to help cope with the stream of refugees arriving from Malaga. 80,000 women, children, and old and infirm men had struggled into the town having walked or shuffled the 120 miles from Malaga, having been bombed and machine gunned daily. A further 20,000 had given up and turned back, and more than 5000 had died en-route, either shot, drowned or starved.³ What dreadful sights must have greeted this young Irish girl on her arrival in Spain!

It was not long before Mary's many talents were discovered and utilised. She spent a short time working in the children's hospitals at Almeria and Murcia before moving on to Alicante where she took charge of the hospital there. Shortly after moving there she received news that her father had died but she refused to leave until a replacement could be found. No replacement was forthcoming and so Mary stayed on. However, there was a serious problem with the hospital. Although a new building and well equipped, it was ideal except for one thing. It was near the coast and was being continually shelled by destroyers. The terrified children had to be moved to the basement, and it soon became obvious that somewhere safer would have to be found. After much searching, Mary found a deserted villa in the mountains at Polop, a small town some ten miles inland from the little fishing village of Benidorm.⁴

There is a letter in the Friends House Library written by Nurse Dorothy Litten soon after she arrived at Polop in August 1938. She says:

The hospital is now settled in the summer residence of a rich man who has fled to a more suitable spot for rich men. The land is being worked by five peasants but the house stood empty and really makes a surprisingly good hospital. The rooms are a bit crowded, but that does not matter now that the children are out all day, and perhaps before winter it will be possible to return to Alicante.⁵

She goes on to say that twenty-three children were moved there from Alicante, and that Mary Elmes, the responsible person in charge of the hospital, was marvellous at planning meals out of their very meagre resources. Sixty years later, in a rare letter to a friend, Mary remembers an incident from that time in Polop:

Dear Rose,

Have I spoken to you of Palmira? She was a beautiful little girl of 21 months, wounded in a bombardment of the market in Alicante in 1938. Her mother was holding her in her arms at the time of this happening. In the confusion which followed, she lost her daughter. The child was very severely wounded in the left leg, of which the foot was only held on by a few strands of flesh. The surgeon who was responsible for her wanted to amputate the foot. Fortunately, the doctor of our little hospital who was a paediatrician, opposed this and

brought her to our place where she lay on a plank for three months, at the end of which she was able to get up and eventually to walk normally.

It was a triumph for Doctor Blanc and the English nurses, who should be admired for their devotion and patience. Being so young, she was not able to explain who she was and her family didn't find her for many days - what tears and what joy when finally her father found her! ⁶

Despite her mother's pleas that she should return home, Mary carried on with her work until the war came to an end with the victory of General Franco. In an interview given in September 1998 Mary described the headlong rush to the coast of thousands hoping to escape before it was too late, although she seems to have stayed on at the hospital in Polop well into May when she describes the conditions as becoming 'very uncomfortable'.⁷ She says that she was rescued by the Quakers in the person of Howard Kershner of the AFSC who drove her and a few other workers, across the border into France bringing with them all the records of their work in Spain.⁸

After more than two years, Mary was now out of Spain and able to return home to her widowed mother in Cork. But she did not stay very long, because her heart was with her Spanish friends who were enduring new hardships in France. In July 1939 she attended an interview in Paris with the International Committee for Child Refugees, and on the fourteenth of that month she wrote to the Spain Committee in Friends' House informing them that she had been appointed to work with her old colleague Dorothy Morris in the cultural work in the camps. She writes:

I think that the work will be most interesting and I hope that the years that I spent at college in the study of Spanish literature will prove of something more than the purely personal pleasure that they have been so far and be useful now in the choosing of books for the libraries that it is proposed to start for the men... Thank you very much in getting me back into this work again. I cannot tell you how glad I am to have the prospect of doing something for my Spanish friends again.⁹

In the meantime a mass exodus had been taking place across the Pyrenees dividing Spain from France. In the first two

weeks of February 1939, half a million Spanish men, women and children had struggled into France, bombed and machine-gunned by planes, while enduring the hardships of the terrain and the winter weather. The French response was to section off areas of the beaches with barbed wire, and to enclose the refugees between the wire and the sea. The French authorities hoped that their unwelcome guests would return to Spain - some did, but most refused knowing what fate might await them there. Pablo Casals, himself a refugee, was horrified by what he saw when he visited the camp of Argeles-sur-Mer.

The scenes I witnessed might have been from Dante's 'Inferno'. Tens of thousands of men and women and children were herded together like animals, penned in by barbed wire, housed - if one can call it that - in tents and crumbling shacks. There were no sanitation facilities or provisions for medical care...Scores had perished from exposure, hunger and disease. At the time of my arrival the hospitals at Perpignan still overflowed with the sick and dying.¹⁰

Later, Casals was to cooperate with Mary in providing help for needy neighbours, and the archives contain a number of letters written by Casals to Mary.¹¹

By the time that Mary arrived in France, things were somewhat more organised, there were now many more camps along the coast and some attempt at shelter and provisions had been made. There was still a pressing need for clothing and food, and conditions were still woefully inadequate. She saw however, that if these camps were to remain for any length of time, there was a need for schooling, for reading matter suitable for both children and adults, for the means to occupy their time and provide some kind of purpose to their existence. She saw the need for books in Spanish, and shortly after her appointment was in Paris buying books for the libraries she was soon to open. She became a familiar figure in the camps, thousands knew her as 'Miss Mary' and turned to her for solutions to their problems.

But things were to become worse still. With the outbreak of war in September of that year, German refugees who had sought shelter in France were immediately rounded up as enemy aliens, many of them ending up in the already overcrowded camps on the Spanish border. The following year, with the German

invasion of the Low Countries, another tide of refugees poured into the region. Now everyone was short of food. Mary and her colleagues in Perpignan opened canteens and provided meals in schools throughout the region, while still continuing the work in the camps

With the fall of France, British workers had to leave. Mary drove Dorothy Morris, her colleague, to Bordeaux, a harrowing journey, where they met up with Edith Pye. Mary saw them safely on board the last ship to leave, the SS *Madura*, but Mary as an Irish neutral returned to Perpignan. She was now in charge of the AFSC office in Perpignan and her work included the various camps for Spanish refugees on the coast, of which Argeles was the largest, and canteens in schools throughout the region, extending as far as Montpellier and Carcassonne. There was scarcely a town or village in the whole of that huge area that did not receive help in some form or another from the AFSC office in Perpignan.

Soon after the fall of France, Howard Kershner, in charge of the AFSC work in France, wrote a memorandum to all the Quaker offices. He reminded his staff that the AFSC received cooperation from both the German and French authorities including customs exemptions, free rail transport, warehousing and other facilities. He ended with these words:

It is our desire to help those who wish to emigrate. We may furnish support while such people are waiting for their opportunity to go; we may help them to get in touch with their relatives who may be able to assist them financially; we may help them secure visas and other papers; the one thing that we must not do under any circumstances is to aid or abet any person in trying to leave France without the French 'visa de sortie'.¹²

In January 1941 Kershner was successful in obtaining an interview with Philippe Pétain, who was now the *de facto* dictator of France. The two men seemed to have got on very well together. Kershner stressed the non-political nature of the AFSC work in France, and avoided any reference to the Statute of Jews, published on 3 October 1940. This law effectively banned all Jews from employment in the Forces, press, commercial and industrial activities, and the civil service. Nor did the immediate internment of 40,000 non-French Jews on 4 October appear to be mentioned.

Meanwhile, Mary received a letter from Helga Holbek at Toulouse in which she was informed that Dr Limousin of the Ministry of the Interior was planning to use the former military camp at Rivesaltes as a model camp for families with children who would be transferred there from the existing concentration camps. There were to be separate dormitories for men and women and for the children of various ages, and each dormitory would be supervised by a trained nurse. There would also be a hospital at the camp. All the various aid organisations would be encouraged to cooperate. Helga writes:

This all sounds very beautiful; however, snag No.1. is that it, in the best of cases, will take a long time; No.2 is that he thought there were only about 2000 children in all the camps while the actual figure seems to be between 4000 and 5000.¹³

By March 1941, a letter from Helga Holbek to Mary makes it clear that at a recent meeting of the Nimes Committee all was not well. (The Nimes Committee was set up to co-ordinate the work of the various organisations in the camps). It would seem that the feeling of most of the aid organisations was that they should not accept the offer to cooperate in the working of Rivesaltes until representatives were permitted to have offices there and conditions in the camp were greatly improved. Helga felt that the presence of the Quaker delegation would give the impression that conditions were not so bad after all, but she accepted that Mary must decide for herself.¹⁴

For her part, Mary completely disagreed with the attitude of the Nimes committee. She felt that a boycott of the camp would only have the effect of causing more suffering for the children there.

During the summer conditions worsened. In July alone twenty-three infants died¹⁵. Dr Weil of the Nimes Committee alleged that this was due to malnutrition.¹⁶ Mary would not accept this, but believed it was due mainly to the intense summer heat.¹⁷ The camp was built on a vast open plain with no trees or shelter of any kind. In fact it was said that the reason it was not used as an army camp - the original intention - was because the heat of the summer and the severe cold of the winter and the almost continual wind of the tramontane made it unsuitable for the horses!

This difference of opinion between the majority of the committee members and the Perpignan delegation continued throughout the year. It is clear that Mary was fearful that their critical attitude would bring reprisals and possibly even their expulsion from the camp. Was she simply being 'non-political'. Was collaboration a necessary evil given these circumstances? One thing is certain, her presence in the camp brought comfort and hope to many of the inmates there. A visitor in 1942 remarked:

Everywhere Mary went she was greeted with great warmth and affection and we could not walk very far without being stopped by someone who wished to talk with her. One could see very plainly that 'Miss Mary' as they all call her, brought joy to many people on her regular frequent visits to the camp.¹⁸

Nevertheless, Helga had been right to be pessimistic. The camp had opened on 14 January 1941. Conditions soon deteriorated dramatically. By the end of the year there were well over 4000 in the camp, of which nearly 1500 were children. The monthly report by the AFSC read as follows:

The internees are now going through a time of great suffering. Winter has finally descended on the region with the bitter winds that characterise it in this part of the Midi. To their miseries of hunger and lack of liberty is now that of cold. They are cold during the night, they are cold during the day and their food is served to them cold. They crouch in unheated barracks and have no extra blankets or clothes to protect them against the searching wind. There has been an almost entire lack of wood in the camp - the supply has even been insufficient to cook the miserable soup that is served disguised as a meal. The infirmaries and nurseries are unheated and the ill and the babies shiver in their beds and their hands are covered with chilblains.¹⁹

In the meantime, Howard Kershner was continuing his close contacts with Pétain. Again, he met with the Marshal most cordially and spent a couple of days meeting various ministers and officials, but there is no mention of the Jewish question, even though the second Statute of the Jews had been enacted three months earlier depriving all Jews of their employment in any of the professions.²⁰

The dictator asked him to join the Presidential visit to the Haute Savoie region. There are several pages in his diary headed 'Two days with Marechal Pétain' in which he recounts with gusto the fine time he had with the French dictator. He remarks:

There is no doubt that the Marechal has a remarkable hold on the affection of the people of France and there is likewise no doubt that he is devoted to their welfare and shows the greatest interest in and concern for them. It is quite evident that he is the leader of the people.²¹

It would seem that this interest and concern did not extend to the inmates of the camps. At Rivesaltes at this time there were 6500 internees, and Mary was concerned about the state of the men's health. She says that even a mild illness was sufficient to cause death.

Meanwhile, Helga Holbek was having a private struggle with Kershner. Several times the letters between them are strongly worded, and on two occasions she offered her resignation, which of course was not accepted! She felt that it was no longer possible to tolerate conditions in the camps without protest. Matters came to a head in February 1942 when, at the end of a long letter to Ross McClelland in the Marseille office, Helga ended with these words:

It is also good news that Mr Kershner at last has realised that we cannot watch people being locked up and leave them to starve to death from hunger and cold without a heavy responsibility.²²

Unfortunately, the recipient of this letter carelessly left it open on his desk, and it was seen by Kershner. Needless to say, he was not pleased! Apparently he sent Helga an extremely angry letter which has not been retained in the archives. But Ross McClelland, in apologising to Helga for his carelessness in leaving her letter exposed, says that Kershner 'had it coming to him'. 'He keeps making ridiculous general statements to the effect that "many children in the camps are better fed than lots of children outside."²³

It was a fact that the popular press frequently came up with stories of this kind, and Howard Kershner tended to put the needs of the French children in the homes and schools above that of the camp inmates. McClelland goes on:

One is always suspicious that his propaganda for aiding French children is motivated by a desire to receive favourable personal publicity (which helping the camp children certainly would not bring him).²⁴

The worst was yet to come. In 1942 Rivesaltes became the holding centre for all the Jews in non-occupied France. They were brought there from wherever they could be found, and then, between 13 August and 19 October, nine trains left the Rivesaltes camp for Drancy in the suburbs of Paris filled with Jews, a total of 2251 persons, of whom 110 were children.

The number of children would have been considerably greater had it not been for the intervention of Mary and her colleagues in the other organisations. The Vichy authorities allowed the aid organisations to take children out of the camps and lodge them in so-called 'colonies'. This had to be done officially of course. There was much paper-work and the understanding was that it was only a temporary measure and that after a period of convalescence the children would be returned. This involved Mary in a great deal of work, finding suitable places in the country or by the sea, staffing the centres, arranging food supplies, and above all, the necessary documentation. Obtaining permission from the parent was also necessary of course, but this was not difficult when it was clear that the children were simply going on a kind of holiday. But when the deportations commenced, mothers were urged to part with their children without any guarantee that they would be reunited. This was much more difficult, and more children could have been saved if more parents had agreed to part with their offspring.

Eventually, the children in the colonies were also at risk. On 29 August 1942 Mary writes to Lois Gunden who was in charge of the Mennonite colony at Canet Plage:

I should warn you that there is a possibility that the children whose parents are still at Rivesaltes may be recalled to leave from there with the rest of the family. We are doing everything possible to prevent this however, but it is unfortunately still an eventuality.²⁵

She goes on to say that she is getting the parents to sign a legal document in case they are deported without their children, giving the aid organisation the status of guardian. Two weeks later there is better news, Mary learns from the Head Office in

Marseille that all children in the colonies have been granted exemption from deportation, but that any children taken into care after 13 September 1942 will not be so protected.²⁶

It was in September 1942 that an American professor, Ronald Friend, then Rene Freund, a baby of eighteen months, was being taken by his family to the border with Switzerland in an effort to escape from France. Unfortunately, they were discovered, arrested, and sent to Rivesaltes. They arrived there on 7 September. Already four convoys had left for Drancy and the east. In the AFSC files there are a series of letters in which Mary Elmes confirmed that she knew the family well and was going to take the Freund children out of Rivesaltes that evening.²⁷ The date of this letter was 25 September 1942. In other words, almost two weeks after the exemption from deportation guarantee. Rene Freund and his brother were taken to the colony in Vernet les Bains where they were found to be suffering from scabies and promptly sent to hospital.²⁸ After that they seem to disappear from view, no doubt taken into hiding by OSE. They and their mother survived the war, being sheltered by a family in Albi, but Hans Freund, their father, a professor of engineering who had come to France to work for the SNCF, was transported by that same organisation to his death in Poland.²⁹

No one knows what other rescues Mary may have had a hand in. Obviously the AFSC files do not contain anything incriminating. Her daughter, Caroline Danjou, has no knowledge of any, but she does remember her mother said that she had a secret hiding place in her bathroom where she would keep sensitive documents. Alice Resch tells us that Mary hid children in the boot of her car,³⁰ and Andree Salomon says that on 7 August 1942, when the aid workers were informed that children were now to be included in the transports, 'Mary Elmes, the Quaker delegate, immediately took a first group with her in her own car and came back the same day in search of others. The camp administration agreed to validate this departure as a regular liberation'.³¹

Some of the adult internees had been given jobs by the aid organisations. In late October 1942 when the deportations had been raging all summer, Helga wrote to the Marseille office in a desperate attempt to save two of her team who had been placed in Rivesaltes and were about to be deported. Lindsley

Noble, Kershner's successor, replied that there was nothing that could be done. He suggested that it was wiser not to 'irritate the authorities' with individual requests for exemption which might jeopardise larger projects. Helga Holbek was furious. She wrote:

I must say to you that I am entirely and completely in disagreement with your position that one should ignore individual cases when there are negotiations with Vichy concerning large groups...The request for exemption in individual cases cannot be regarded as a 'little thing which might irritate Vichy.' Each case presented is someone's life. It is the duty of the Vichy Office to examine each case, and it is my duty to present each case.³²

What more could they have done? Alice Resch tells us what she had to do in order to save the children she had taken and placed in the French orphanage at Aspet in the Pyrenees. When in November 1942, the Allies landed in North Africa and this prompted the Germans to occupy the so-called Free Zone, Alice realised that the Aspet children were now in danger. She says:

Gradually, we simply smuggled the children away from Aspet. We claimed that the colony was too far away and gave Coste (the Director of the Office for Aliens) a fictional list of people who were willing to take the children into their homes. The youngest came to Larade where we erased the 'JUIF' mark from their papers.³³

In November 1942, the Germans occupied the southern zone and the Jewish children in the colonies were in grave danger. It seems almost certain that Mary was instrumental in arranging safe hiding places for the children in her care, but of course we would not expect to find details of this in the files. But early in 1943 Mary was arrested by the Gestapo and imprisoned in Toulouse. She was suspected of a series of hostile acts against Germany, secret border crossings, information of all kinds, and propaganda against the Reich. She was to be charged with espionage.³⁴ Helga and the Toulouse delegation were able to visit her and take food parcels. But then she vanished, and although they were told she had been moved to the Fresnes prison in Paris, the Paris office could find no trace of her. Eventually it was discovered that her name Elmes had been recorded as Helmes, and the Paris Quakers were able to visit her and send

her supplies. After almost six months incarceration she was released without having been charged with any offence. Alice Resch says that she reappeared 'as attractive and well-groomed as always'³⁵ and it is recorded that when asked much later about her experiences she just replied 'Oh we all had to suffer some inconveniences in those days!'³⁶

Could she have done more in the camps, could she have saved more children? Could she and the aid workers have saved some of the adults if they had spoken out? Some thought that they should and could have done more. Rene Kapel was a Rabbi in the camps, a social worker and a resistance fighter. He was captured and sent to Auchwitz from Drancy on the last deportation train on 18 August 1944, just as Paris was being liberated. He managed to escape from the train before it reached Poland. Many years later he wrote of those days:

Of course, now that we know of the atrocities committed in the Nazi extermination camps, we realise that we should have acted differently. We were too inclined to respect a certain legality, in the hope of better serving the interests of the internees. Without doubt we should have silenced our scruples and bribed the Vichy officials, the internment camp directors...We should have furnished false identity cards to a larger number of internees, and done everything to facilitate their escape...³⁷

And Dr Weill of the Nimes Committee, just after the war, defended the Committee's reluctance to cooperate in the camps by admitting that:

To work to improve the camps...is to come little by little, unconsciously, to tolerate, then to admit the camps as conditions of life for certain categories of people...³⁸

It is easy for us today to say that more could and should have been done to protest and refuse to cooperate in this crime of stripping innocent people of their dignity and livelihood by herding them into unheated cages in appalling conditions, only to hand them over to the Nazi killing machine. Maybe this thought haunted Mary throughout those remaining sixty years of her life.

Mary refused to accept the salary which had accrued while she was in prison, and according to her family she also refused the Legion d'Honneur, though her name does not appear on the

official list of those refusing the honour. She was not a Quaker, though she led the Quaker work in Perpignan throughout the war. When the war ended she married Roger Danjou and had two children who continue to live in the area where their mother worked. Mary Elmes died on 9 March 2002, aged 94.

Sixty-five years later, when her name was totally forgotten in the area where she had done and risked so much, a stele was unveiled on the seafront at Canet Plage on the spot where one of the colonies had operated. It was followed by a ceremony at which her children and grandchildren were presented with the gold medal of Yad Vashem, honouring Mary Elmes as 'Righteous among the Nations' for her work in saving Jewish lives. A journalist writing in 1947 summed up her achievements:

Tirelessly, with courage and simplicity, she brought to the most deprived the food and clothing which prolonged their lives and the hope of survival. Her confident, affectionate and smiling presence kept the memory of happiness and liberty alive.³⁹

Bernard Wilson

This article is based on a talk given at the Library of the Religious Society of Friends, Friends House, London on 25th November 2014.

END NOTES

1. Friends Service Council Spanish files Letter dated 12.3.37
2. FSC Letter. Dated 17.3.37
3. Linda Palfreeman, *Aristocrats, Adventurers and Ambulances: British medical units in the Spanish Civil War* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2013), p.129
4. FSC Letter dated 18.1.38 and report dated 2.8.38 from Dorothy Litten
5. FSC letter dated 2.8.38.
6. Letter dated 1.12.98. In Danjou family collection.
7. Interview in the Danjou family collection.
8. Farah Mendlesohn, *Quaker Relief Work in the Spanish Civil War* (Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 2002), p. 118
9. FSC Letter dated 14.7.39
10. Albert E. Kahn, *Joys and Sorrows: Reflections by Pablo Casals* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1970), p. 233.
11. AFSC Records Relating to Humanitarian Work in France 1933-1950 box14 folder 64, pp. 28-39
12. AFSC b12, f36, p.5
13. AFSC b9 f4 pp. 43-44
14. AFSC b9 f4 pp. 55-56
15. AFSC b6 f1 p. 23
16. AFSC b11 f27 p. 10
17. AFSC b11 f27 p. 10
18. AFSC b15 f77 p. 51
19. AFSC b6 f1 p. 8
20. AFSC b60, f55, pp. 70-72
21. AFSC b60, f55, p. 74
22. AFSC b27 f10 p. 28
23. AFSC b27 f10 p. 30
24. AFSC b27 f10 pp. 30-31
25. AFSC b2 f16 p. 124
26. AFSC b55 f83 p. 49
27. AFSC b11 f29 p. 66
28. Oeuvre Secours Enfants Service Recherche 21/3/45
29. Yad Vashem, Central database of victims' names

30. Alice Resch Synnestvedt, *Over the Highest Mountains: a memoir of unexpected heroism in France during World War II* (Pasadena CA: Intentional Productions, 2005), p. 117
31. Vivette Samuel, *Rescuing the Children: A Holocaust Memoir* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002), p. 78
32. AFSC b56 f84 p. 59
33. Synnestvedt , p.143
34. Letter from Ministere de L'Interieur 22.12.43. From the collection of Caroline Danjou, daughter of Mary Elmes
35. Synnestvedt, p. 144
36. Quoted in Howard Wriggins, *Picking Up the Pieces from Portugal to Palestine: Quaker Refugee Relief in World War II* (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 2004)
37. René S. Kapel, *Un Rabbin dans la Tourmente 1940-1944: Dans les camps d'interement et au sein de l'Organisation juif de combat* (Paris: Editions du Centre, 1985)
38. Dr Joseph Weill, *Contribution à l'histoire des camps d'internement dans l'anti-France* (Paris: 1946) pp. 177-178
39. *The Republican* 12.7.47 quoted by Tristan Castanier in article of December 2007.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS 2016

The Quaker Clockmakers of North Oxfordshire. By Tim Marshall. Ashbourne: Mayfield Books. 2013. 252pp., illustrated in colour, hardback. £48. ISBN: 978-0-9554460-6-1.

In North Oxfordshire, in and around the market town of Banbury, the structured and respected Religious Society of Friends grew hand in hand with the respected craft of clock-making. Both Society and craft were served by succeeding generations of families with devotion and skill. The author, Tim Marshall, is a specialist in watch and clocks and, although not a Quaker himself, is clearly well acquainted with Quaker archives. The volume he has produced is not only a pleasure to hold and to look at – it contains five hundred colour illustrations not all of them of clocks – but contains biographical histories that are well researched and presented and of interest to local, social and Quaker historians as well as horologists. The result is an illustration of the inter-linked networks of Quaker Meetings, business interests and family relationships in the second stage of Quaker development.

Much of the book consists of detailed family histories of two or three extended families who thrived in Oxfordshire during the late seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The family and trading networks generated by the Gilkeses, Mays and Fardons also embraced the Quaker networks centred on Sibford, Adderbury and Deddington and stretching out from Banbury Monthly Meeting to Chipping Norton, Burford, Witney, and to Oxford and London, too. Tim Marshall places individual lives, each described in some detail from Quaker records, into both their Quaker background and local communities.

Ironically, the first of the clockmakers Tim Marshall describes was neither from Oxfordshire nor a Quaker. John Nethercott was born just over the county boundary in Long Compton, Warwickshire in 1665, just four years after the Quaker meeting was first established there. Tim Marshall suggests that his parents may have been associated with that meeting. But it is one of his early clocks which set the design pattern for what were to become the Oxfordshire Quaker clocks: a dial engraved with two bands of rings and zigzags radiating from the centre. More central to the story is that of the Gilkes family of Sibford. The

family had been in Sibford since at least the fifteenth century but Thomas Gilkes, blacksmith, founded the clockmaking dynasty that thrived from 1675 to 1855. Thomas died aged eighty-two having been a Quaker minister for about fifty years. The testimony concerning their 'ancient and honourable friend' recorded by Monthly Meeting said that 'we may safely say that God's glory and the good of his fellow creatures was what he prefer'd before his chiefest joy and his care over the church was very great he might be called a steady watch man' (sic).

Advice given by Half-yearly Meeting of 1694 discouraged 'large looking glasses and all hangings' and 'As to making great mouldings one above another about press beds and clock cases etc they ought to be avoided, only what is decent according to Truth'. Richard Gilkes's cases were truly simple. But those clock faces, those mechanisms, functional yes but surely made to convey delight in skill and craftsmanship. And by the end of the period considered, the early 19th century, the clock cases had all those 'great mouldings' to which earlier Friends had taken such exception.

Tim Marshall concludes with several pages about Theodore Lamb, the 'Sibford hermit'. Born in 1881 and an old Sibford scholar, he trained as a watch and clock repairer in Banbury before 'dropping out' and living rough for the best part of his life. Theodore died in Banbury Hospital in 1951. Ten years after that, Banbury Meeting became my home meeting; the villages and family names that fill this volume were a daily part of my life as a local reporter. Even without the nostalgia those names now engender, this book comes well recommended.

Peter Smith

The Oxford Handbook of Quaker Studies. Edited by Stephen W Angell and Pink Dandelion. Oxford: OUP. 2013. 672pp., hardback. £95. ISBN: 978-0-19-9608-7-6 [also available as an e-book].

The Oxford Handbook of Quaker Studies deserves to become a standard work of reference, on the shelves of every meeting house library and (if they can afford the price tag!) in the homes of all who profess a serious interest in Quakerism. It provides a collection of short essays, each offering a synthesis of the current state of understanding about a particular aspect of Quakerism,

taking account of the most recent work in the field. This is particularly valuable, as popular understanding often lags well behind the cutting edge of research. The past quarter century has witnessed an explosion of scholarly interest in all aspects of Quakerism: the tercentenary of Fox's death and the Fifth World Conference of Friends in 1991; the foundation of the Quaker Studies Association in 1992 and, in Britain, the establishment of a postgraduate programme in Quaker Studies at Woodbrooke in 1998 have all contributed to renewed interest and fresh research into the journey of Quakerism from its roots in Civil War England, through its fragmentation into ever-divergent streams in nineteenth-century North America, to its recent rapid growth in east Africa and Latin America.

The book is the product of more than forty authors. It is divided into thirty-seven chapters, grouped into four sections. Part 1, 'History of Quakerism' contains eight chapters, four charting the story up to the schisms of the nineteenth century and the Richmond Declaration of 1887, four following the different strands of Quakerism (the mainstream under the umbrella of Friends United Meeting, and the smaller liberal, evangelical and conservative traditions) to the present day. The second section, 'Quaker Theology and Spirituality', prefaced by an incisive overview of the theological context of Quakerism by Carole Spencer, explores a series of themes, from Quaker conceptions of the divine and attitudes to scripture, eschatology and the Kingdom of God to women's spirituality, discernment, worship and the sacraments. The third section, 'Quaker Witness', provides a wide-ranging survey, from ministry and mission, through expressions of the testimonies – plainness, anti-slavery work, peace, social reform – to the domestic sphere. Some of these topics (business and philanthropy, the family, sexuality, youth work, for example) might have been better in the final section, Part 4, 'Quaker Expression', which is something of an eclectic mixture, covering print culture, visual culture, science, ethics, and 'philosophy and truth' (which might more naturally have been placed in the 'Theology and Spirituality' section). A final chapter by Margery Post Abbott on 'Global Quakerism and the Future of Friends' forms a fitting concluding reflection. Throughout, the authors take a broadly chronological approach to their topic, so the whole book dissects Quaker Studies from an

historical perspective.

The authors faced a common set of challenges: ensuring that their chapters took account of the latest literature; preserving clarity and accuracy in their distillations; providing comprehensive coverage (chronological, geographical and doctrinal) of the Quaker story. The majority have risen to these challenges successfully, though, inevitably, some chapters are more successful than others. Most of the chapters in the History section work very well, notably those by Rosemary Moore on the origins of Quakerism, Thomas Hamm on the nineteenth century and J. William Frost on the liberal Quakers in the twentieth: these are models of the sort of synthesis required in a handbook such as this: brisk, crisp and penetrating. As someone with little knowledge of theology, I found two of the chapters in Part 2 to be particularly enlightening – indeed, exciting. Carole Spencer's dissection of the evolution of Quaker theology ('a theology of paradox and polarities', as she calls it) is a model of clarity and accessible writing. It presents a complex topic brilliantly for the lay reader, as does Doug Gwyn's essay on 'Quakers, eschatology and time' which is a deeply scholarly and (to me) convincing survey.

Some repetition and overlap between chapters was perhaps inevitable but this does not detract from the overall coherence of the book; indeed, the differences of emphasis and interpretation offered by different authors form an integral part of the flavour of the volume. There are some omissions: the collection is strong on doctrine and witness but weaker on the socio-economic context of Quaker faith communities. Some aspects of witness have slipped through the net, perhaps the most surprising being temperance, a testimony important to most branches of Quakerism in the nineteenth and earlier twentieth centuries.

A key challenge in putting together a volume such as this has been to take a genuinely global view of Quakerism. All the authors are from the 'Global North' (in which I include Australia), which inevitably means that the focus is on Anglophone Quakerism in Britain and North America. Yet the numerical weight of world Quakerism now lies in the Global South, especially among the Luhya of western Kenya and the Aymara peoples of Bolivia and Peru. Their story receives attention, particularly in the chapters in the section on Quaker witness, but is only

touched on superficially in the historical overview – and their own voice is almost silent. Despite this, the breadth of Quaker background represented by the authors will be invigorating for British Friends. The book is important in placing the Quakerism found in Britain Yearly Meeting squarely in its wider context, reminding us that liberal theology and silent worship do not represent mainstream Quakerism today. It will be sobering for many to read accounts of Quaker history, theology and witness written from the perspective of American evangelical Friends.

The publication of the *Handbook* announces that Quaker Studies has come of age as an area of scholarly endeavour. The book is a satisfyingly hefty tome, dressed in a stunning dust jacket emblazoned with a vibrant and colourful painting of Pendle Hill by Keith Melling. It is therefore all the more disappointing that the standard of copy editing and proof reading falls far short of what might be expected in a volume from a university press. It is to be hoped that the *Handbook* will be so successful that a second printing is required – and that the opportunity will then be taken to correct the numerous typos and punctuation errors.

Angus J. L. Winchester,
Lancaster University

Conscientious Objectors of the First World War: a determined resistance. By Ann Kramer. Barnsley: Pen & Sword History. 2014. 176pp., hardback. £19.99. ISBN: 978-1-84468-11-9-8.

Watford's Quiet Heroes: Resisting the Great War. A project of Watford Quaker Meeting. Ipswich: Concord Media. 2014. CD [available to hire].

Of all First World War Quaker experiences, conscientious objection has received the greatest attention. Even so, the Centenary offers to uncover the variety of war resistance and a previously-overlooked richness in the past. In some ways, Anne Kramer's book and Watford Quakers' documentary film should be considered part of the beginnings of doing this 'in public' in the twenty-first century. What they are not – and nor were they designed to be – is critical or academic reappraisals of conscientious objection. The two are intended to be accessible and engaging popular histories, and for the most part they achieve their goal.

Kramer, an author involved in the peace movement, organises her book logically, taking the reader in nine sequential chapters:

through the start of the war; conscription and initial reactions to its 1916 introduction; tribunals for men seeking exemption; the non-combatant, alternative service of those willing; the arrest and detention of men rejecting any part in the war machine ('absolutists') and their treatment under military authority; their prison experiences; the Home Office Scheme of manual labour for those prepared to move from prison; conscientious objectors' (COs') ongoing determination and coping mechanisms; their release, and the aftermath of the conflict.

The book is crafted to include little superfluous information. This is partly due to Kramer's measured writing style, although it may also be because her research was limited. The text, very much a popular history, has no references; it is the two-page bibliography which reveals the issue. Some key literature has been employed, though vital texts are missing: Cyril Pearce's work, for example, and Thomas Kennedy's history of the No-Conscription Fellowship (N-CF),¹ which was the key support organisation for COs. *A Determined Resistance* is not solely about Quakers, but the limited reading explains fundamental mistakes: the wartime name of Friends' War Victims' Relief Committee is given incorrectly; not realising the Friends' Ambulance Unit (FAU) established the General Service Section, which went on to place several hundred COs in 'work of national importance'. Perhaps most seriously, Kramer writes that '[e]xactly why [a conscience clause]' was inserted in the Military Service Act, which introduced conscription, 'is not absolutely clear'. Yet the efforts of Quaker MPs Arnold S. Rowntree and T. Edmund Harvey were instrumental and are well-known and covered by books cited in the bibliography.

A Determined Resistance is at its best and most vivid when employing COs' own words and the recollections of a handful of their descendants, the latter standing out as one of its most successful elements. Through Kramer's careful and honourable contact with relatives, she has been able, however fleetingly, to feature material not found elsewhere. So, for example, we hear of Richard Porteous, a Presbyterian minister's son and erstwhile FAU member.

Kramer also uses several oral histories from the Imperial War Museum. These include Howard Marten, whose story – as a Quaker amongst the thirty-five early COs bundled across to

France and sentenced to be shot (later commuted) by the military authorities – is one of the three spotlighted by the half-hour film *Watford's Quiet Heroes*. Like Kramer, the documentary-makers (supported by Watford Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends) selected stories to highlight the variability of COs' experience. The film also features Percy Leonard, a Congregationalist tailor, whose resistance was supported by Friends, and Lionel Penrose, a young Quaker from a wealthy family who initially wished to be an absolutist CO, before deciding to join the FAU. Leonard's Imperial War Museum oral history is included in the programme, as are the diary and sketches of Penrose. Together the sources allow the film to centre on the COs' stories, rather than the wider framework and trajectory of conscription and resistance, as Kramer does.

Like Kramer, the documentary draws on the recollections of those who knew resisters, in this case, the engaging presenter, Simon Colbeck, who knew the elderly Marten and is a distant relative of Quaker Suffragist and important N-CF figure, Catherine Marshall. These two points help to explain both the success and the main issue which arises from the documentary; I will return to these shortly.

While it is apparent *Watford's Quiet Heroes* was completed on a limited budget, that does not detract from its charm, and it uses the same sorts of story-telling techniques employed by the BBC's genealogy programme, *Who Do You Think You Are?* Colbeck is a mobile presenter, walking through Watford and driving to interview Marten's cousin. The 'talking heads' also include historians Jo Vellacott and David Boulton, and two young Quaker Activists, Owen Everett of Forces Watch and Hannah Brock of War Resisters International. These four interviews appear in full in the DVD's 100 minutes of excellent 'Additional Material', alongside a four-minute film of the International Conscientious Objectors Day Ceremony (London, 2014).

The documentary's strength is that Colbeck is invested in telling the story of First World War COs and he understands the nuances of conscientious objection. He recognises that feeling *compelled* to be a CO is different from *deciding* to become one. The subtlety infuses the documentary and also the selection of interviewees and interview questions. This means that the DVD is able to suggest how conscientious objection remains relevant

to young people today. Indeed, the sleeve emphatically states that the DVD is 'suitable as a stimulating educational resource in different areas of the secondary curriculum'. If the primary rationale for making the film was this, other decisions might have been reached to help: a presenter closer to the age of the anticipated audience, or else a selection of COs of younger years, with the documentary therefore becoming more prescient to students.

Taken together, the insight offered by *Watford's Quiet Heroes* and the broader tableau featured in *A Determined Resistance*, are an effective introduction to the history of First World War conscientious objection for a general and uninitiated audience. The stories offer a different kind of heroism based on principle and not violence and should prompt some to seek out more in-depth discussions of such an important topic.

Rebecca Wynter
University of Birmingham

1. Cyril Pearce, *Comrades in Conscience: The Story of an English Community's Opposition to the Great War* (Francis Boutle, 2001); Thomas Kennedy, *The Hound of Conscience: A History of the Non-Conscription Fellowship, 1914-1919* (University of Arkansas Press, 1981).

Holy Nation: the transatlantic Quaker Ministry in an Age of Revolution. By Sarah Crabtree. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2015. 276pp., hardback. £45. ISBN: 978-0-226-2557-6-7 [also available as an e-book].

By the middle of the eighteenth century the Quakers in America were one of the leading colonial religious bodies. There were sizeable concentrations of Friends in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York, Delaware, Maryland and North Carolina, with smaller groups in New Hampshire, Connecticut and South Carolina while in Pennsylvania Quakers dominated the political and economic scenes. Despite all the difficulties facing them, Quakers maintained close relationships not only with each other but with Friends in England, 'the old country'.

According to Arthur Mekeel¹, 'A primary reason for this was their self-identification as a "peculiar people" who were called upon to shun the ways of the world, although they were deeply

involved in its activities’.

The resilience of that Holy Nation is the subject of Sarah Crabtree’s painstakingly researched and deeply argued book.

Friends, she writes, envisioned themselves as a (holy) nation, like the Hebrews, a chosen people embodying Zion in a world with which they had an ambivalent relationship. Their ‘nation’ would be a transnational community founded on the principles of divine law, an entity at once theologically inspired and politically informed. Their ‘citizenry’ would unite around a world view informed by inclusivity, equality, humility, and peace. There would be no ‘state’ and no ‘magistrates’ as all authority rested with God. The chapters that follow explore this ‘holy nation’ and the fraught relationship between its citizens and the governments under which they lived.

Quakers cautioned people not to mistake nationalism for spirituality, actively opposing the growing correlation between God and country, religion and citizenship, spirituality and patriotism. For that and much else they found themselves harassed and persecuted. Crabtree accepts that Quakers were not the only persecuted religious group – Jews, Catholics, Baptists, were too – nor were they the only peace church, (Moravians), nor the only ones to use Zion language. But she says they actually walked away from power when they had it, in Pennsylvania. She also seems to claim that Quakers refused to fight or fund fighting. Mekeel, whose work is not mentioned at all by Crabtree, published evidence suggesting that unity was achieved through hard discipline: 2350 Friends were disciplined for failing to conform of whom 1724 were disowned; two thirds of those disowned were for performing military service, fourteen per cent for paying fines or taxes, eleven per cent for taking tests of allegiance. Mekeel speculates that perhaps one in five Quaker men of military age chose to serve. Some joined independent groups calling themselves Free Quakers or Fighting Quakers: Crabtree discusses this ‘rival organisation’ at some length. Crabtree estimates that there were about 100,000 Friends in North America at the time of the War of Independence (0.03 percent of a population of about three million people) but that numbers declined over the next century through persecution, disowning, schism etc. until it became a small, scattered sect, often marginalized and frequently maligned. Their infamous

peculiarities made them particularly vulnerable to persecution, and as a result, acutely attuned to changes in the world around them.

This age of revolutions was marked by the Society of Friends by a renewed attention to discipline and by a revitalized itinerant ministry. This ministry particularly interested Sarah Crabtree. She spent a decade or so 'reconstructing this holy nation' through a close study of the sermons, diaries, and correspondence of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Public Friends. 'One hundred and ten recognized ministers crossed the Atlantic on "truth's errand" from roughly 1750 to 1820, a peak period of Friends' transatlantic activity. Of those, fifty-nine were from the American colonies, forty-two from Great Britain, six from Ireland, one from Scotland, and two from France'. Nearly half of these itinerants were female Friends (fifty-one women to sixty men).

If all those sources seemed to be telling a similar story it was hardly surprising. Crabtree says that London Yearly Meeting's Second Day Morning Meeting, 'oversaw (and edited) the publication of all Quaker writings to ensure that each tract conformed to the proper standards of Quaker faith and practice'. Nevertheless the Quakers' holy nation was 'a lived reality, a spiritual, emotional, ideological, and material community that spanned geopolitical borders'.

This transatlantic Quaker community survived, collectively, more than half a century of almost continual warfare. It weathered the harassment of neighbours and withstood persecution at the hands of the governments under which they lived. They had established schools for their children, eradicated slavery among their membership, and waged campaigns of peace and reform outside of their borders. Those remarkable achievements were made possible, she writes, by the Quakers' faith, unity, loyalty, and resolve.

But by 1822, the same religious body now mourned that 'the love and unity which characterizes the followers of Christ, is in many, but little felt, and in some places, is almost entirely laid waste'. Crabtree uses her final chapter to detail the course of the schisms that devastated the Society in the early nineteenth century. She claims that the unity of the society had been its strength during the times of external trials but that paradoxically

an attempt to tighten and unify discipline across the yearly meetings in 1805 began the disintegration.

Quaker unity of course had never been solid, total, in the eighteenth century any more than in the seventeenth, the twentieth or the twenty-first. Within a movement that emphasises individual as well as collective leadership by the Spirit, unity has to be able to embrace difference and diversity. The Quaker movement will live or die by its ability to celebrate that diversity.

Peter Smith

1. Arthur J. Mekeel, *The Quakers and the American Revolution* (York: Sessions Book Trust, 1996).

Essays in Quaker History. By David Rubinstein. York: Quacks Books. 2016. xiv +249pp., paperback. £12.99. ISBN 978-1-9044467-1-2.

One thing that must fascinate those interested in Quaker history is the difference between Quakers today and those in times past. In this collection of essays there is plenty of material to satisfy. David Rubinstein specifically points us in this direction his essay on James Backhouse. For example, today Friends are increasingly turning their charities into limited companies to protect themselves from financial penalty. James Backhouse and Friends in the early nineteenth century had a different approach – they gave thanks to ‘the great head of the church who has supported and preserved our beloved Friend in all the perils of his service’. Indeed there had been perils in the extraordinary journey of James Backhouse to South Africa, Australia, Tasmania and New Zealand. The purpose was to evangelise and establish Quaker congregations, and to see to the building of Meeting Houses, to visit prisons and to attempt to improve conditions. In doing so he endured perilous sea journeys and passed through dangerous and wild country. Protection then, was a sense of being guided and cared for by providence. Backhouse was called to go on this journey because of ‘an apprehension of religious duty resting on my mind’. He was out contact with his family and friends for ten months and away from England for ten years.

Another difference pointed out in this essay is of nineteenth

century Friends attitude to death. Backhouse spoke on the day of his death of the increasing clarity with which he saw the truth of the gospel. His wife when dying at the age of forty said 'Surely I believe that the everlasting arms of God are stretched forth to receive me'. Rubinstein laconically comments that comfort of this kind would be denied to Friends alive today.

The second essay about individuals focuses on Annie Crichton (nee Sturge) a York Friend, living in the early-late twentieth century. This essay will not be of so much interest to those whose concern lies with Quaker biography as to those whose interest is in the long struggle of women to be properly represented in public life. Rubinstein makes it clear that her birth into a liberal Quaker family with a tradition of public service was instrumental in setting her on path as a pioneer in this respect. Annie Crichton was active for over thirty-six years as a York city councillor as alderman, mayor, and magistrate as well as being involved in a host of other concerns. Although retaining her membership of York Meeting until her death her name, as Rubinstein puts it, 'is largely absent from the minute books' of Friargate meeting.

It soon becomes apparent that Rubinstein's interest in Quaker history is stimulated by the area in which he lives. It is a deprivation for Hampstead Friends that he found the time only to chronicle the first seven years of its formulation and progress, 1907 to 1914. This is an entrancing essay displaying his usual forensic attention to detail (how much it cost, how many attended, what were to professions of those who did), interspersed with interesting and sometimes amusing extracts from minutes and newspaper reports which give a flavour of just what the meeting was like in those times. Some themes are familiar, Friends holding differing views 'strongly expressed' over details (such as the arrangement of the chairs), but we also get insight into things less familiar such as the nature of ministry. It 'followed a more orthodox Christian pattern than is common a century later'. There were readings from the Bible, explorations of the teachings of Jesus and prayers during which everyone rose. It would surprise us today to learn that a thirty-year old woman was asked to obtain the permission of her parents to get married in the Meeting House.

It has to be admitted that some accounts of the history of

meetings can be a little dry. Those contemplating that useful activity could do well to read this beguiling account which is of wider interest than to those associated with Hampstead.

The last paragraph of this essay mentions the outbreak of war: he wrote the Hampstead essay in 1994. It is a precursor to the much more detailed and revealing studies that he has written more recently, of the effect of the 1914 to 1918 war on the Society. It perhaps should not be a surprise that so many members of the Society chose to take up arms and abandon the ancient testimony to nonviolence, but, Rubinstein points out that the peace testimony was 'rusty with non-use', and that unanimous opposition to the war was decidedly not the case. He details the reasons for this, and the attempts by the Society to avoid alienating those who joined the armed forces, and how a schism was avoided. What statistics there are, are carefully analysed and the often excruciatingly difficult decisions faced by the young men and women Friends at that time are presented. One part of the essay, perhaps rather uncomfortably, points out that the Friends Ambulance Unit (joining this organisation was a compromise taken by many), could not in strict terms be described as a pacifist organisation. It worked closely with the military, was given commissions, uniforms were worn and military decorations awarded.

An essay on how the Rowntree family reacted to the war gives concrete examples of the differences within a single family. They are perhaps not a typical family because of their wealth and position in public life: they nevertheless give a clear reflection of how individuals reacted to the bellicose atmosphere at the time and the demands of the state. Perhaps unsurprisingly in such a large family the reaction to war varied from acceptance and joining the forces to absolute refusal to do so and imprisonment. Perhaps what is remarkable is the lack of discernible personal animosity between those who held different views 'probably none of us feels too sure of himself'. The overriding view of the family was that adopted by Joseph Rowntree himself - that war had come and it was useless to deplore the fact and that efforts to alleviate the worst effects was what was needed. Just how this was achieved by different members of the family make this one of the most interesting chapters in the book.

From Hampstead the author moved to York and here

instead of a period of a few years he attempts what he calls an introductory essay of the history of Yorkshire Friends from 1651 to 2004. What is striking from the outset is that Quaker history in Yorkshire has similarities to Quaker history in every other county, and can be of wide interest. The account runs chronologically through the centuries offering both facts and Rubinstein's own engaging commentary, bringing the flavour of the different phases of Quakerism vividly to life. He draws on a very wide range of sources to add to the interest. His comment 'George Fox was nothing if not reckless as well as, fortunately for his spiritual descendants, persistent and brave', immediately engages. We hear that there were more Quakers in prison in York Castle than in the Quaker meeting in the town, that punishment in the early years of Quakerism was inevitable because of harsh public opinion and hostile laws. To be a Quaker, was to invite punishment especially as they were prone to describe those who disagreed with them as sinful or worse. At least 21,000 Friends in the country were fined or in prison by 1689.

The transition to the quietist period is well aired, sustaining the level of persecution experienced in the early years became intolerable. Alternative views have been put forward about this under-researched period of Quakerism, both that it was a period of spiritual decline and that it allowed the soul of Quakerism to be preserved. Despite the move towards being a peculiar people, virtuous and reserved, we are reminded that not all adherents to the faith could be described as such. Joshua Ledger, for example comes to the Meeting House on the day of his wedding, intoxicated and 'wishes all Quakers to the devil'. Those who were guardians of Quaker morality and respectability were kept busy with disownments. It is refreshing to hear of nineteenth century Friends increasing engagement with philanthropic and political concerns, although the Society was still largely made up of birthright Friends. One report said that many Quakers had hardly any personal friends outside the Society.

The Manchester conference, disownment and the fading of ancient practices are all discussed even if all too briefly, as well as odd occurrences, such as the spontaneous singing of 'When I survey the wondrous cross' at Yearly Meeting in 1905. There is also reference to Quakers and war which is enlarged in other essays. We are brought up to date with an analysis of a survey

undertaken amongst Yorkshire Friends in 2004 with Friends giving their views as to the state of the Society at that time.

Each of these seven essays throws a good deal of light on the topics chosen. This is a book that the general reader can't but find enjoyable, but at the same time it will be invaluable to the serious scholar.

Rod Harper

Liberty, conscience and toleration: the political thought of William Penn. By Andrew R. Murphy. Oxford: OUP. 2016. 320pp., hardback. £47.99. ISBN: 978-0-1902711-9-0 [also available as an e-book].

William Penn is a hero of Quakers, a man whose words have inspired generations since he burst on the scene as a newly convinced Friend in 1668. There are a score of Penn quotations in the current edition of *Quaker Faith and Practice*. One of the favourite of these aphorisms is Penn's claim that 'True godliness don't turn men out of the world but enables them to mend it.'¹ The quotation is dated to 1682, a time when the persecution of Quakers in Britain was still being pursued with vigour and when many Quakers were convinced that the World was un-redeemed and possibly even unredeemable.

Penn plunged whole heartedly into the world of court politics in Britain, defending parliament, befriending kings, antagonising magistrates and protestants of all kinds and conditions. He campaigned passionately on issues of equality and religious toleration and attempted to put his theories into practice in the trans-Atlantic colonial world. He was frequently jailed including at the end of his life for being a debtor.

That Pennsylvania Friends have a slightly embarrassed view of William Penn is inferred in a recent edition of their *Faith and Practice*.² For a start the territory that became Pennsylvania was 'given' to Penn by King Charles II in settlement of a debt the king owed to William's gung-ho militant father, Admiral Penn. The Quaker Penn intended the colony to be a Holy Experiment, says *Faith and Practice*, based on New Testament principles and with liberty of conscience guaranteed. Things worked out messier in practice. 'Penn's political practice was by no means consistent with his theory' say Philadelphia Friends adding: 'Then as now, the tension between practice and theory, social engagement and

mystical illumination, yielded as much heat as light.’

The tensions and conflicts of Penn’s life and roles are meticulously revealed and unravelled by Andrew Murphy in his magisterial and readable volume. For Murphy, Penn was a significant and sophisticated political thinker. Just why he reaches those conclusions is closely and carefully argued here: the book is far from hagiography. There was ‘sharp tension’ between Penn’s ideas and his practice; Penn ‘expected deference and subordination from others, consistently lived beyond his means, was never without servants and even owned slaves’. While there was no doubting Penn’s commitment to Friends his approach to toleration wasn’t just a matter of defence of a threatened sect; it was positive and outward looking and dynamic. Penn cannot and should not be corralled into a pen labelled Quakers and for the man himself there was never a division between politics and religion.

Murphy’s book is about the exercise of political power; about how Penn actually did what he did and why, where he made progress and where he failed. But it is also about still disputed territory: that between top-down absolutism and egalitarian democracy. Penn was a controversial figure deeply involved in the great issues of his – and, indeed, our – day.

From the moment of his conviction it was clear that Penn, the wealthy, brilliant son of a respected war hero, would be an irrepressible public face of radical Quakerism. He went off on missionary trips to the continent and began writing what was to become a flood of pamphlets and larger publications. At a time of intense persecution of dissidents in general and Quakers in particular, Penn published *The Great Case of Liberty of Conscience* (1670). Murphy not only analyses the importance of Penn’s thinking but also that of his opponents. The latter saw libertarians as demanding the right to disobey laws that remained binding on everyone else; what dissenters wanted was not liberty of conscience but ‘a virtually unlimited liberty of action’.

The same year of the *The Great Case*, Penn became embroiled in the famous, law-defining case known now as the Penn-Meade or Bushel’s Case. The outcome is famous: judges were shown not to have the power to direct juries to bring in guilty verdicts (although they still retain the right to direct juries to enter not guilty verdicts). Murphy reminds us that early modern

courtrooms were, frankly, chaotic and that ‘hallmarks’ of justice such as presumption of innocence, exclusion of hearsay evidence, and rights to silence did not have a place in them. Judges were also used to getting their own way. As is to be expected, Murphy offers us an enjoyable narrative, skilled analysis and his own judgements about the importance of the action.

Penn became ‘the public face of Quakerism’. Escalating tensions between Crown and Parliament threatened during the Exclusion Crises to re-open the bloody wars of the 1640 to 1660s. Penn paradoxically threw himself wholeheartedly into the support of the Parliamentary leader Algernon Sidney. As Murphy reminds us, Parliament was the source of all the persecution and woes of dissenters. They were victims of acts of parliament not arbitrary action by Kings. But at least Parliament was a potential source of relief: having cast the chains, it could also break them free.

However, Penn’s burgeoning friendship with King Charles II and his brother, the future James II, offered a more promising avenue for progress on toleration. From 1685 to 1688 Penn was closely (often covertly) involved in working with James II to progress Royal plans for a version of religious toleration. Penn even went on a speaking tour of the West Country with James to drum up support for the Declaration of Indulgence. Murphy devotes a chapter of his book to this period and its paradoxes. Again, however well you may think you know this period, Murphy’s expertise as a political scientist bring insights and new understanding.

As an American Murphy is much concerned with the inter-relationships across the early modern Atlantic World and quite properly devotes a large space to Penn’s Holy Experiment in Pennsylvania. He also attempts to appraise Penn’s legacy as a political theorist and practitioner. He clearly found the task difficult but concludes that Penn had ‘played a vital role in the articulation of religious liberty as a fundamental element of legitimate government’.

Both as a student of history and a politically interested Quaker, I found this volume full of information and insights, close arguments and sound judgements. Murphy has promised another, fuller, volume about Penn in time for the tercentenary of the Quaker’s death in 2018. When that book joins this on

the many shelves devoted to Penn material at Friends House Library, I sincerely hope *Liberty, Conscience and Toleration* will not be overlooked.

Peter Smith

1. Quoted at 23.02, *Quaker Faith and Practice: The book of Christian discipline of the Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) in Britain* (BYM, 1994)

2. *Faith and Practice: A Book of Christian Discipline Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends* (1955 as revised 2002), p.4.

SHORT NOTICES

The Anti-War. By Doug Gwyn. San Francisco: Inner Light Books. 2016. 208pp., paperback. £12. ISBN: 978-0-9970604-4-7.

In this fascinating book, which is addressed primarily to those interested in contemporary Quakerism rather than to scholars of Quaker history, Douglas Gwyn offers a robust challenge to Friends of all shades of belief and practice about the dangers of assimilation into the dominant culture of the time. This challenge is aimed at both pastoral Evangelicals, who have been tempted to accommodate themselves to the right-wing, militaristic aspects of Western cultural Christianity, and unprogrammed Liberals, who 'have become habituated to middle class progressive respectability' under the influence of Enlightenment humanism. He argues instead for a return to the uniquely prophetic and apocalyptic dimensions of the Quaker heritage, in which Friends are called again to be a peculiar people, whose witness reveals a radical alternative to the dominant ways of the world. The book is made up of two extended essays set back to back. In essay one; Gwyn seeks to caution the Quaker community about the dangers of individualism and assimilation into the world, and commends their historic role as a peculiar people. This may produce discomfort and test the faithfulness of Friends. It could well bring them into conflict with the world. However, he suggests that this has always been the calling of the people of God. In essay two, Gwyn suggests that modern Friends tend to take a reactive approach to the peace testimony. They are

inclined to 'episodic reactions to symptoms' which fail to pay sufficient attention to the deeper causes embedded in larger power systems. In response, he argues for a re-engagement with the apocalyptic vision of the early Quaker movement, rooted in the imagery of the book of Revelation. Gwyn asserts that this can lead Friends 'to a stark, world-ending revelation and stance of resistance - the anti-war'.

Gwyn argues that the apocalyptic vision retains great value in helping Friends to understand the state of the world today, with its globalised economic and political systems and the domination of the military-industrial complex. In the face of massive power systems that undermine well-being, demean life, and destroy the basis of existence in this good creation, Quakers may be called again to be a peculiar people, engaged in the prophetic struggle of the Lamb's War. In the context of growing political, economic and ecological crisis, Douglas Gwyn challenges Friends to draw deeply on the vision and the tried and tested practices their heritage. He suggests that, only by doing this, will they find the empowerment and courage needed to offer an adequate response in a world that has gone so badly wrong. While this book will be of limited interest to the Quaker historian, it is essential reading for all Friends who are willing to take up the challenge that Gwyn so forcefully places before them.

Stuart Masters
Woodbrooke Quaker Study Centre

Quakers in Hastings: The making of a community, 1673-1920. By Paula Radice. Hastings: Hastings Friends Meeting. 2016. xv + 308pp., illustrated, paperback. £9.50 [available from www.lulu.com]. ISBN 978-1-326-5076-7-1.

Hastings Quakers were fortunate that as they planned to celebrate the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of their Meeting House they had an attender (now a member) who had a doctorate in historical research and several months to devote almost full time to the project.

With the exception of a single meeting in 1673 there seems to have been no Quaker activity until a meeting was set up in 1730, but in 1785 there were only about a dozen Friends in the town. By the 1830s there were a few Quaker residents, but as

Hastings became a popular watering-place and after the railway was completed many Quakers went to stay in the town. Almost everyone at meeting was a visitor, and at one time the meeting was discontinued because there were so few local Friends. As the number of visitors increased the momentum built up and in 1870 the present Meeting House was completed.

Newspaper reports of visitors to the town, the meeting's visitors book and then lists of members provides a rich list of names, many from prominent Quaker families. In 1877 a newspaper reporter wrote, 'The number of people attending worship on each Sunday ranges from around forty to twelve. From all parts of the kingdom the Friends whose names were set down in that book had come - they were, of course, visitors to Hastings, and for Quaker visitors and not Quaker residents the meeting-house had been built.' Paula Radice, of course, had access to the Preparative and Monthly Meeting minutes, but also to local history sources, and, through the internet, census returns and other genealogical material which enabled her to produce a long list of potted biographies.

The stories of these individuals throw light on changing thinking within the Quaker movement and its relationships with the wider community. Friends opened a Mission in one of the poorer parts of the town with a building which was completed in 1901. There were some uneasy interactions between Friends and the users of the Mission, and some concern within the meeting about the amount of work which had to be done and about the costs. Peace work began in 1883 and the book records some dissent within the meeting and within the town, both during the South African War and the Great War.

The author concluded, 'To Quakers, there is no such thing as an "ordinary person" ... This book may serve as a reminder that every life is extraordinary.' When I worked intensively on the records of earlier Friends there were times when I felt that I knew them better than I knew many of the people around me. I believe that Paula Radice felt the same and her book is evidence of this.

David Hitchin

Sheffield Adult Schools 1850-2010: From Quaker Evangelism to 'Friendship through Study'. By Richard Hoare. York: Quacks

Books. 2016. x+119pp., paperback. £12. ISBN: 978-1-9044467-3-6.

As the book's publicity says: 'The Adult School movement is largely forgotten today or at best a folk memory'. Yet at its peak in Edwardian times, the movement - which was Quaker led, supported, nurtured and, initially, taught by Friends - had over 100,000 scholars.

There were experiments in providing basic education for working men as early as 1798. The true foundations of the adult school movement came in the wake of the social upheavals of the early nineteenth century. The impetus was expressed by one pioneer, Sheffield Quaker banker, James Henry Barber, when he spoke of the 'standing Christian miracle of changing the lives of the degraded'.

From the 1840s, Friends First-day Schools Association gave nation-wide encouragement to a movement now teaching literacy and bible study to working people and instilling practical Christian and social values. Over the rest of that century there were substantial changes in the way adult schools worked and the curriculum they offered. In 1899, a new national organisation was formed that linked regional unions of adult schools including non-Quaker ones. By now the object of adult schools had shifted away from basic literacy and bible study towards the social and educational enhancement of the by now universal compulsory education system. As the curriculum of the schools became more secular so Mission Meetings emerged offering a context in which taught and tutors could continue to worship together; one such Mission Meeting survives to this day in my own area meeting.

The second part of Richard Hoare's book is a gazetteer of the adult schools that grew and dispersed in the Sheffield area: over fifty locations with dates, key workers and details of classes together with a full general index.

There have been several previous books on the movement. What Hoare provides is very much 'history from below' - a detailed study, in considerable depth, of the growth, fluctuations and eventual demise of adult schools as experienced in and around Sheffield in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. His book is liberally spiced with insightful analyses of the social pressures and changes that brought about the constantly evolving nature of the movement.

All this activity must have made an enormous impact

on individual lives and also on Quaker Meetings. While proportionately few adult school scholars became Quakers, those that did made a disproportionate difference to the receiving meeting. Hartshead (Sheffield's central meeting) was, says Hoare, largely working class in the 1920s because of the adult school recruits. And he reports reminiscences of an elderly Friend who recalled hearing 'beautiful thoughts with dropped aitches'.

Peter Smith

BIOGRAPHIES

RICHARD C. ALLEN is a Visiting Fellow in History at Newcastle University and a supervisor at the University of Birmingham/Woodbrooke College. He is a former Reader in early modern cultural history. He has published widely on Quakerism, migration, and identity. His most recent works are *Quaker Communities in Early Modern Wales: From Radicalism to Respectability* (2007) and the co-edited *Irelands of the Mind: Memory and Identity in Modern Irish Culture* (2008); *Faith of Our Fathers: Popular Culture and Belief in Post-Reformation England, Ireland and Wales* (2009); and *The Religious History of Wales: A Survey of Religious Life and Practice from the Seventeenth Century to the Present Day* (2014). Alongside Rosemary Moore (and specialist contributors) he has produced *The Quakers, 1656–1723: The Evolution of an Alternative Community* (2018) for The Pennsylvania State University Press. He is currently writing *Welsh Quaker Emigrants and Colonial Pennsylvania* and co-authoring, with Erin Bell, *Quaker Networks and Moral Reform in the North East of England*.

Email: richard.allen@ncl.ac.uk or R.Allen.1@bham.ac.uk

SEAN BEATTIE is editor of *Donegal Annual*, the journal of County Donegal Historical Society and has published several books on the history, heritage and folklore of the County, including *Atlas of Donegal* (Cork University Press). He is chairman of the Ulster Local History Trust. He was awarded a Ph.D by the University of Ulster for his research on the Congested Districts Board, which has been published under the title *Donegal in Transition* by Merrion in 2013. He has also received an honorary degree from Galway University for his record of historical research

GETHIN EVANS was born in Wales, not far from the foot of Yr Wyddfa, and is Welsh speaking. He is a retired local government officer who drifted into academic study and research, and has completed three postgraduate degrees, with a PhD in 2009 on the history of Quakers in Wales, circa 1860-1918. He has been active in Quaker work both locally and nationally serving as a Woodbrooke trustee, at the Yearly Meeting table as 2nd assistant Clerk, as a Britain Yearly Meeting trustee 2007-2015, and on CCR

and QHS (later Quaker Life). He was assistant Clerk of Meeting of Friends in Wales, and was the first Clerk of its precursor, the Committee for Quaker Work in Wales. He also spent a year at Brummana High School, Lebanon. He is currently on Meeting for Sufferings, QCCIR and Committee on Clerks, and is Clerk to trustees of his Area Meeting.

BERNARD WILSON is a retired lecturer in Education with degrees in Theology and Education.

Supplements to the Journal of Friends Historical Society

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Back issues of the *JOURNAL* can be obtained for £4 per issue for members and £5 for non-members to include postage and packing. Overseas applicants are asked to add £2 to cover the additional cost of post. Requests should be made to c/o The Library, Friends House, 173 Euston Road, London NW1 2BJ

Journals and Supplements Wanted

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

ISSN No. 0071 9587

Quacks the Printers, 7 Grape Lane, York