

Introduction

The Remapping of Quakerism, 1830–1937

PINK DANDELION

This is volume 4 in the Penn State University Press New History of Quakerism series. The series begins with the second edition of Rosemary Moore's seminal *The Light in Their Consciences: The Early Quakers in Britain, 1646–1666*, detailing the history and theology of the first two decades of the nascent Quaker movement. Richard Allen and Rosemary Moore coedited and contributed essays to the second volume, *The Quakers, 1656–1723: The Evolution of an Alternative Community*. The third volume, edited by Robynne Rogers Healey and in press at the time of the writing of this book, looks at the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. A fifth volume, edited by Stephen W. Angell and David Harrington Watt, will complete the series, covering the years after 1937.¹

The vision for this series is to provide scholars and general readers with an updated version of the Rowntree History Series, which appeared in the first two decades of the twentieth century and was overseen and largely written by Rufus Jones and William Charles Braithwaite, building on the vision of John Wilhelm Rowntree, who never lived to take part in the endeavor. These are slimmer volumes in the present series than the ones penned by Jones and Braithwaite, but we trust that they are able to make full use of the advances in scholarly thinking over the previous one hundred years

and provide a fuller and more nuanced picture of the complexities of the Quaker past.²

2 The period from 1830 to 1937 is of great significance for the modern expression of the Quaker way. Three main tropes underpin the analysis in this volume: (1) the end of a single Quaker tradition and the development and growth of multiple types of Quaker theological emphasis, (2) the restarting of Quaker missionary work, the introduction of pastoral Quakerism, and the development of Quakerism as a global faith, and (3) the considerable change in Quaker attitudes and responses to the wider society and a cultivation of conformity as Quakers embraced citizenship and civic participation. These changes would come to alter what had counted as “Quaker” before 1830 and create a template for the following two centuries. Here, these three tropes are considered in turn, followed by an overview of the scholarly literature to date and the gaps this volume fills. This introduction ends with a dedication to Edward H. Milligan, former head librarian at the Friends House Library in London, who knew more about this period than we will ever see set down in one place.

THREE KEY ELEMENTS OF CHANGE

Multiple Quakerisms

The 1830–1937 period saw the end of a single Quaker tradition and its subsequent splintering into multiple schismatic tendencies—a splintering that occurs when counterbalancing emphases are separated from one another. As Carole Spencer’s chapter in this volume attests, wholly new variants of the Quaker faith emerged during this period, with a pattern of four main groupings taking shape by the end of the nineteenth century: revival evangelical, renewal evangelical, conservative, and modernist. In the twentieth century, these solidified around umbrella organizations such as Five Years Meeting (FYM) and Friends General Conference (FGC), even as further schisms appeared and change occurred within each of these branches (see chapter 8). At the same time, Quaker groupings began to work together more, particularly on peace and social justice issues, and the decentralized nature of Quaker ecclesiology accommodated a network of cooperation that eventually led, as Douglas Gwyn’s chapter in this volume charts, to the 1920 All-Friends Conference and, in time, to the formation in 1937 of a global

organization (Friends World Committee for Consultation) to help coordinate fellowship among the “world family of Friends” (see chapter 13).

Underneath this series of splits lay deep theological differences. As Emma Lapsansky explains in her chapter in this volume, the root issue was one of spiritual authority (see chapter 3). For some Quakers, such as Elias Hicks of New York, authentic spirituality lay inwardly, and any outward form, including scripture, lacked compelling religious authority. Thus, those who came to be labeled as Hicksites questioned or disregarded biblical claims at the very point in time when other Quakers were being drawn into a more scripture-centered sensibility, influenced by their work with evangelical Christians and attracted by their dynamism. For these Quakers, who became known as the Orthodox party, the faith could be renewed by this wider vision and adaptation of traditional Quakerism. During the series of schisms known as the Great Separation, many yearly meetings separated into two camps, and there were arguments over property and minute-book ownership. Each yearly meeting disowned the membership of the other. Yearly meetings that had not divided needed to decide which of the two new factions to recognize and, in particular, whose epistles to receive.³

Within both groups, there were some with hesitations about ecumenical cooperation, but both were invested in maintaining their interpretation of the true Quaker tradition. Indeed, in time, some Quaker practices such as plain dress fell out of favor because others (people who had previously been Quakers but who had been disowned) also adopted the practice, and thus it was now considered “worldly” or creaturely. Schism depends on both a strong sense of vision or identity and a strong sense of “othering” those in opposition to that vision or identity. Groups separating on doctrinal grounds are more prone to further schism as doctrine is debated. In the Quaker context, then, the Hicksites, who were grouped around a commitment to traditional practice, suffered only the separation of the progressives, who wished for a more radical political outlook on issues such as slavery and women’s rights, as well as a congregational ecclesiology.⁴

The Orthodox, on the other hand, would splinter again within seventeen years of the Great Separation. John Wilbur of New England believed that scriptural authority needed to be balanced against the authority of revelation, whereas British traveling minister Joseph John Gurney favored the primary authority of scripture. British Quakers had experienced a schism of the “Beaconites” in 1835, led by Isaac Crewdson, who had labeled

direct revelation a delusive notion, and while Gurney did not go that far, British Quakers took an increasingly scripture-centric line in the mid-nineteenth century. When Gurney traveled to America between 1837 and 1840, the seeds of a schism within the Orthodox were sown. Wilbur's own yearly meeting divided in 1845, and further schisms took place in the following decade. By 1854, there were three kinds of Quakers (Hicksite, Gurneyite, and Wilburite) in Ohio. To avoid further schism, Philadelphia's Orthodox Quakers decided not to send or receive any epistles to and from other yearly meetings.⁵

Initially the Gurneyite branch maintained traditional Quaker worship based in silence and stillness. Gurney maintained that this liturgical form helped worshippers best interpret scripture. For others, however, silent worship had become formulaic in its own way and spiritually arid. By the late 1850s, many young Friends in the Midwest were supplementing Quaker silence with prayer meetings, public tract readings, and even hymn singing. When the Holiness revival spread across the Midwest in the 1860s, many Quakers were keen to join in with the Methodist meetings and then to replicate them in Quaker settings. The first Quaker revival meeting was in 1867. Thomas Hamm offers an overview of Quaker revivalism in this volume. Within a few years, the success of these meetings had been such that pastoral committees were established to help teach the Quaker faith to the thousands of converts coming to Quaker meetings (see chapter 4). This soon translated into the decision to "release" ministers for pastoral work, and once there were Quaker pastors, the move to a form of worship led by a pastor seemed the logical next step. The first Quaker pastor was hired in 1875, and the term "Friends church" came into use at the same time. Isaac May's chapter in this book explores the development of the Quaker pastorate (see chapter 5). For more traditional Quakers, "programming," or "pastoral Quakerism," was too different from traditional Quaker understandings of the free ministry of all arising through the silence of open worship, and there was a series of antipastoral schisms in the 1880s by groups who found an affinity with Wilburite Quakers. Indeed, the Wilburite branch, together with these antipastoral Friends, would in time form the basis of modern-day Conservative Quakerism, conserving traditional theology and practice.⁶

Within the remaining Gurneyites, two main camps emerged: revival Quakers and renewal Quakers (see fig. 1). The renewal Quakers wanted to reinvent traditional Quaker understandings and practices with organized Bible study and "First Day" schools, whereas the revival Quakers, the subject

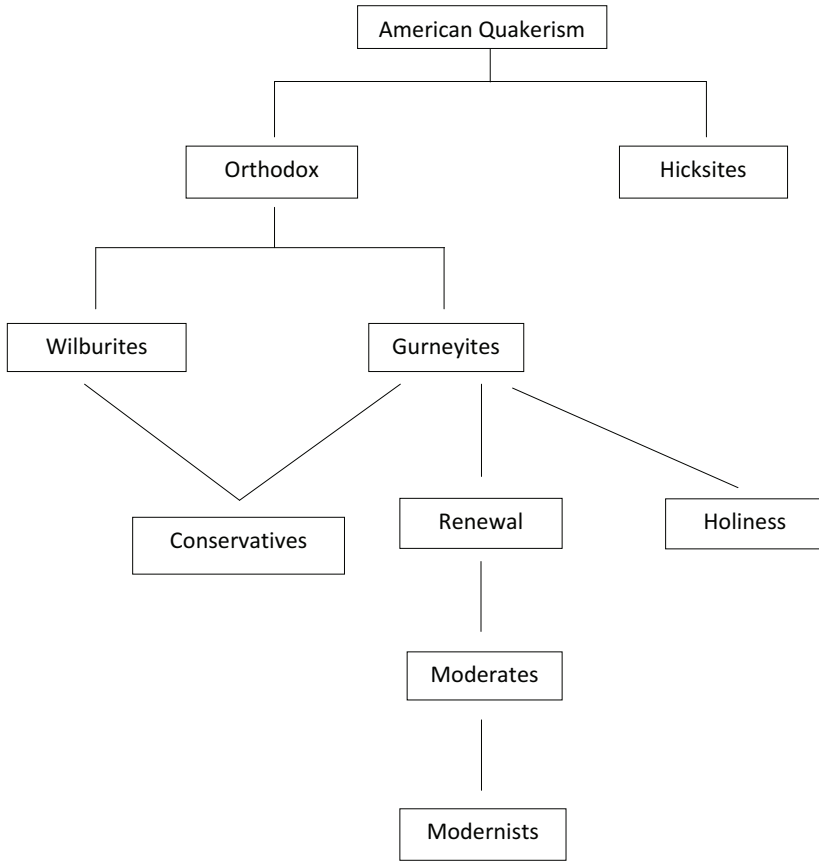


FIG. 1 The Evolution of American Quakerism, 1800–1907. From Thomas D. Hamm, *The Transformation of American Quakerism: Orthodox Friends, 1800–1907* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), 176. © Indiana University Press.

of the chapter by Thomas Hamm, were keen to follow what they saw as the leadings of the Spirit, wherever it may take them, even if that meant a wholesale departure from previous Quaker practices. For the latter, denominational affiliation became less crucial than Christian affiliation. Revival Quakers were thus more open to spiritual innovation, and the next major division occurred around the revivalist wish for some ministers to be baptized outwardly with water instead of simply inwardly, as Quakers had traditionally held. A “water party” led by Ohio minister David Updegraff began to advocate for this option, and in 1887, all the Gurneyite yearly meetings sent representatives to a conference in Richmond, Indiana. The

conference produced the Richmond Declaration, a confession of faith similar in format to a creedal statement, which specifically clarified that water baptism was not a Quaker practice.⁷

6 Ohio Gurneyites did not unite with the declaration, and while other Gurneyite yearly meetings held conferences every fifth year and set up an umbrella organization in 1902, FYM, other yearly meetings would leave this grouping in the first decades of the twentieth century because of perceived progressive drifts in doctrine or because of how the Richmond Declaration was seen to be optional rather than central. Oregon left FYM in 1926, Kansas, in 1937. The renewal Quakers tolerated the more radical modernists led by Rufus Jones, seen by revivalists to include FYM general secretary Walter Woodward, whereas the revival party wanted to draw a strictly evangelical Christian doctrinal line that would deprive modernists like Jones and Woodward of any leadership positions within FYM. Woodward, however, remained general secretary until his death in 1942.⁸

Revivalist Holiness yearly meetings in the first decades of the twentieth century would face two influences from wider Christianity. The first was the Pentecostal revival that began in 1905 and the question of whether speaking in tongues (glossolalia) could be part of the Quaker faith. FYM decided that it could not and gradually became more renewal centered. Yearly meetings such as Ohio, Kansas, and Oregon experienced instead the influence of the “fundamentals” movement and drew in an opposite direction. In the 1940s, a period outside the scope of this volume, as fundamentalism gave way to neoevangelicalism, they would start the Association of Evangelical Friends and later the Evangelical Friends Alliance (now Evangelical Friends Church International). Their primary affinity was with other evangelicals rather than Quakers. In 1924, Central Yearly Meeting was formed from evangelical meetings that moved out of Indiana and Western Yearly Meetings, and in 1926, Central left FYM.⁹

The Hicksite branch, in contrast, found itself increasingly shaped by modernist sensibilities in which science and faith no longer needed to be set apart. This modernism underpinned what became the “liberal” tradition of Quakerism that emerged in the 1880s, but it also influenced some renewal Gurneyites (as Joanna Dales explores in chapter 7). Quakers like Rufus Jones and Elbert Russell pioneered a modernist aspect to FYM and, in doing so, paved the way for greater cooperation between those Friends and Hicksites around service and social justice work.¹⁰

The liberals maintained the Hicksite emphasis on inward revelation and used it as a way to circumvent the challenges to biblical authority identified by higher criticism. They were also “renewal” in sensibility and reformed the Quakerism of their parents to adopt a more world-accepting stance. History was seen to be about progress, and, as newly minted citizens in Britain with no prohibitions facing them after 1871, Quakers wished to play a part in that progress. In Britain, the shift from Gurneyite to liberal was complete within a generation. In North America, Hicksite yearly meetings set up their own umbrella organization, Friends General Conference (FGC), to share resources and to foster fellowship. Unlike the more corporate FYM, which claimed authority over its constituent yearly meetings, FGC was more like a subscription organization, providing services to its members. Under the influence of an ecumenism increasingly defined by liberalism, many within some Hicksite, Gurneyite, and Conservative yearly meetings sought to heal nineteenth-century separations, and while this reunification movement made headway during the period up to 1937, the resulting merger or consolidation of fourteen Friends’ bodies in eastern North America into five combined yearly meetings (New England, Canadian, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore) did not take place until later, between 1945 and 1968, outside the purview of this volume.¹¹

United by the Quaker witness against war, Friends from all traditions gathered in 1920 for an All-Friends Conference in London (see chapter 13). In the one hundred years since 1827, Quakerism had gone from being a single faith tradition made up of different yearly meetings to one that included four distinct groupings along with other independent yearly meetings. By 1937, when a second world conference prompted the formation of the Friends World Committee for Consultation, fewer evangelical Friends were present, but the sense of a “world family of Friends” was nevertheless maintained across the different liturgical and theological emphases.

Mission Work and Global Quakerism

The period this book examines, 1830 to 1937, witnessed the rebirth of missionary Quakerism, which had been largely dormant since the 1670s. It saw the introduction of a pastor-led liturgical form as a response to large-scale revival recruitment, which, in turn, through mission work, became the dominant form of Quakerism. Most significantly, Quakerism became a truly global faith; it was no longer confined to the United States, the British

Commonwealth, and parts of Europe. By 1937, Quakerism was established in East and Central Africa and Central and South America. Stephen Angell's chapter on Quakers and missions gives a comprehensive overview of the different dynamics of these overseas endeavors (see chapter 10).

8 Mission work began again for Quakers in the form of "home mission," attempts to spread Christianity among the poor, and in "adult schools" with literacy programs. In Britain, large programmed meetings were organized on Sunday evenings in the 1850s and 1860s as part of a moral Christian crusade aimed at the working classes. In 1860, George Richardson, in a letter to *The Friend*, suggested the value of foreign mission work, and in 1866, Rachel Metcalfe became the first Quaker overseas missionary when she sailed to India. The Friends Foreign Mission Association was founded in 1870.¹²

Missionary organizations spread throughout Gurneyite Quakerism in North America as well, and newly formed educational institutions helped prepare Quakers for full-time ministry as pastors or as missionaries. Missions to Palestine and Lebanon started in the 1860s and 1870s and to Japan in 1885. In 1886, Quaker missionaries reached China. Before the end of the nineteenth century, Quaker missionaries had also worked in Mexico, Syria, Jamaica, Cuba, and Madagascar. In 1902, three Quakers based at the Cleveland Bible Institute, run by Holiness Friends Walter and Emma Malone, sailed to Kenya and then took a train from Mombasa to the far west of the country to start a Quaker mission. Thus began what would eventually become the major growth arc of Quakerism in the twentieth century, one that would outstrip the North Atlantic regional membership of its Quaker colonist missionaries. As Angell recounts, work in Kenya was followed by missionary activity in Burundi in the 1930s. Missionary activity in Central America began in earnest in 1901, and missionaries from California, Oregon, and Central Yearly Meetings started going to South America after 1902. Indigenous cultures were often disregarded by these missionaries, but there are also examples, as Angell shows in his chapter, of syncretic hybridized versions of Quakerism emerging as a consequence of the dynamic between missionaries and local converts or because of Indigenous encounters with Quaker literature such as Robert Barclay's *Apology*.¹³

As British Quakerism became liberal rather than evangelical, its home missionary activity declined in the early twentieth century, and its foreign mission was eclipsed by war relief and then by social missionary activity. The American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), founded in 1917 with

participation from different yearly meetings across the separate traditions, focused far less on conversion than on general welfare, including work to improve race relations in the United States from the 1920s onward. Indeed, the lack of explicit Christian witness at the heart of social mission work led some evangelical yearly meetings to leave AFSC.¹⁴

Unprogrammed worship soon became shorter, and, in contrast to the development of the pastorate discussed in Isaac May's chapter in this volume, the recording of ministers was abolished in some yearly meetings in the twentieth century. In Britain, this led to a change in the seating arrangements for meeting, with less importance given to the "facing bench." The introduction of tables into the middle of meetings would see an increase in the habit of placing flowers at the heart of the worshipping group. At the very point at which parts of Quakerism were flourishing and expanding, liberal and conservative Quakerism sought new variants of stability and, in part, a sectarian identity without the aspiration or felt need for increased numbers.

Citizens and Outlaws

Wolf Mendl has described Quaker witness in terms of two contrasting strands, the prophetic and the reconciliatory. This refers to the division between absolutism and pragmatism—the decision as to whether to oppose a wrong outright, potentially as an outlaw, or work to ameliorate the injustice, perhaps even by compromising as a Godly citizen. George Fox decided to remain in jail in Derby in 1650 rather than take up a captaincy in the battle against the monarchist cause, but in 1661, a declaration of harmlessness and opposition to war was used to try to persuade the new king, Charles II, that he need not persecute the Quakers. The first action, I suggest, fits what Mendl called prophetic; the second is reconciliatory. The first made Fox an outlaw; the second presented Quakers as good citizens.¹⁵

In the period from 1830 to 1937, we can see Quakerism emerging from a guarded domesticity of "world-rejecting" attitudes toward an orientation, in most branches, of "world-acceptance" and of assimilation. It is a century in which conformity was both offered by the state and cultivated within the group.¹⁶

Critical to this process was that, from the 1830s, Quakerism stopped seeing itself as the one true church but rather as part of the true church, with each tradition having its own obvious allies in other parts of Christianity. This ecumenism became married to a greater sense of civic participation

and a decreased perception of that activity as “worldly” or apostate. In general, we can view this period as one in which Quakers increasingly styled themselves as Christian citizens rather than sectarian outlaws.¹⁷

10 As Emma Lapsansky explains in her chapter on the loss of peculiarity, by 1840, Quakers were united against slavery, if not unified in terms of strategy. Julie Holcomb’s chapter on Quakers and antislavery highlights the debates about slavery within each of the branches of nineteenth-century Quakerism (see chapter 2). There was, in addition to this, a growing concern for penal reform and care of the mentally ill. Richard Evans looks at the Quaker approach to mental illness, religious madness, and rational thought in his chapter in this volume (see chapter 6). Temperance and adult literacy became key social issues for Quakers in the nineteenth century. In all of these concerns, Quakers worked closely where they could with other Christians and began to question why, if salvation was available to those less set apart, Quakerism needed to be so guarded in its relationship with wider society. Driven by concern over falling numbers or geographical expansion in which Quakerism was too insignificant to endure such sectarianism, distinctive Quaker peculiarity (particularity) in dress, speech, customs, and practice gave way to a more world-accepting sensibility in which Quakers assimilated into wider society; in Britain, partly as the laws prohibiting nonconformist participation as full citizens were abolished. After 1861, Quakers in Britain were no longer obliged to wear plain dress, use the plain language, marry only other Quakers, and be buried without a headstone. Hannah Rumball’s work highlights the way in which embellishments were slowly added to Quaker sartorial norms in the nineteenth century, while Brian Phillips records how hats at yearly meetings in London in the early years of the twentieth century were large enough to block the view of the clerk’s table for Friends sitting behind.¹⁸

The shift toward denominationalism and away from sectarianism would not be smooth or wholesale (Conservatives would maintain their preference for a peculiar or particular Quakerism, and in all branches, there would be debates about whether it was appropriate to work for social justice with “the world’s people”). Yet increasingly, Quakerism began to see itself no longer as the one true church but as a part of the true (Christian) church. The chapter by Sylvester Johnson and Stephen Angell and the chapter by Julie Holcomb outline how this shift impacted campaigns around slavery and issues of race (see chapters 1 and 2).

In Britain, Quakers were admitted to the Houses of Parliament after 1832. Joseph Pease famously affirmed rather than taking an oath of office, and in the 1870s and 1880s, longtime Quaker member of Parliament (MP) John Bright was part of Gladstone's cabinet but felt it made him unfit to be an Elder. This dichotomy between spiritual and civic service would disappear in the 1890s: political involvement grew alongside a sense of spiritual civic leadership to allow nine Quakers to enter the British Parliament in 1906 and Herbert Hoover to become president of the United States in 1929, as Stephanie Midori Komashin and Randall Taylor discuss in their chapter (see chapter 13). Between 1869 and 1879, US Quakers (both Orthodox and Hicksite) cooperated with President Grant's "peace policy" to administer settlements for Native Americans. This aspect of the Quaker past and its general entanglement with the mechanisms of empire is highlighted by Sylvester Johnson and Stephen Angell in the opening chapter of this volume. They find that Quaker integrity surrounding equality (particularly regarding race) and peace was often compromised by implicit and explicit cooperation with the empires of the global north. Brian Phillips has highlighted the imperial hubris and folly of British Quakers at the turn of the twentieth century in the way that they imagined themselves as global players.¹⁹

The chapter by Richard Evans is particularly illuminating in this regard. It is different in outlook from the other chapters in this volume but reflects well this shift in perspective and participation in wider society. Rather than offer a history of Quakers in this field, Evans illustrates how Quakers took their place on the wider playing field of developments in psychology and debates within religion more widely. He does not focus on internal denominational developments but, significantly, uses the Quakers to explore wider cultural and intellectual developments (see chapter 6). In short, Quakers became involved in the ecumenical and political order, and with civic participation came a greater openness to formal and higher education, with a concomitant growth in the number of Quaker educational institutions. In time, this involvement in education, both as students and teachers, was one of the factors that drew the group away from an earlier inclination toward business and industry.²⁰

Testimony (Quaker witness) advocating plainness was adapted to the encouragement of simplicity, and testimony against war was reclaimed as a propeace stance. This diffusion of focus and intent was accompanied by a broadened theological basis for justification of particular actions and a less

prescriptive attitude toward individual choice. Quakerism gave its members more freedom to choose how to live their faith, and there were fewer mechanisms to proscribe or police those choices. After 1861 in Britain, for example, a Quaker could leave Sunday morning meeting, be inaudible and invisible as a Quaker in the street, and head home to a Methodist spouse.²¹

Over the late decades of the nineteenth century, a “private life” became a possibility for some Quakers for the first time, in that what took place away from the meetinghouse was no longer seen to be the direct concern or business of the meeting. As suggested by the conversion success of revival Quakerism and the freedoms afforded Quaker children in the liberal tradition, it was also the end of dynastic Quakerism in every branch, with more joining from outside than had joined since the seventeenth century. Within the organization, women’s and men’s business meetings were slowly united. What counted as “worldly” or apostate shrank. In time, Quaker involvement with the arts grew, as Roger Homan’s case study of Birmingham tempera revivalist Joseph Edward Southall highlights. Southall talked of involvement with craft rather than art, but Quakers became increasingly less concerned about emotion and self as enemies of the spiritual life.²²

In only some areas of life did most parts of Quakerism maintain a countercultural position. The most obvious and enduring has been opposition to war. Quakers faced a civil war in the United States, the 1837 rebellion in Canada, and a raft of British imperial wars. In World War I, one-third of eligible British Quaker men enlisted. Others took one of four positions: joining a noncombatant army regiment such as the medical corps; joining the Friends Ambulance Unit, an unofficial Quaker organization that helped the war wounded; registering as a conscientious objector after the introduction of conscription in March 1916; or refusing to register and take alternative service (as it would enable someone else to go and serve in the military) and thus, as an “absolutist,” spending time in jail. Robynne Healey’s chapter in this volume looks at the Quaker response to this war (see chapter 11). Thomas Kennedy has argued that those who took the absolutist stance became the interwar leadership of British Quakerism, but in different ways, the newly styled testimony for peace was challenged. We can also see this period as one in which the nature of Quaker witness changed dramatically.²³

Thus, Quakerism between 1830 and 1937 underwent a revolution. It split dramatically and severally and then partially gathered itself back together; it created new liturgical forms and became a global faith thanks to the

missionary efforts of some Quaker branches; and, in general, it became a permissive denomination, leaving behind sectarian “true church” sensibilities and privations. It was a spreading out of the Quaker faith in many senses—a remapping of the Quaker world.

PREVIOUS STUDIES

The scholarly coverage of the 1830–1937 period is sporadic. The Rowntree History Series included this period up to the start of the twentieth century, but its authors, Rufus Jones and William Charles Braithwaite, were themselves key players in the realignment of Quakerism taking place at the time. Jones, for example, was successfully trying to unite FYM around a modernist renewal vision over and against revival Holiness—in 1907, a correspondent claimed that he had them “whipped for all time now.” Later scholars would point out the ways in which these authors’ own theological preferences affected the presentation of their analysis. Other histories of the movement only devote a few thousand words to this crucial century of Quakerism.²⁴

National or regional studies help fill in some of the picture. Rosemary Mingins has written about the Beaconites. Elizabeth Isichei’s socio-theological approach to the three types of Quakers (evangelical, conservative, and liberal) that dominated British Quakerism in the Victorian period remains a classic. Thomas Kennedy’s volume on British Quakerism from 1860 to 1920, demonstrating how it so quickly and completely transformed from an evangelical to a liberal movement, has proved seminal and complements Brian Phillips’s doctoral work on the way British Quakers combined their newfound identity as citizens with the ideology of empire. Martin Davie has looked at theological change within British Quakerism between 1895 and 1980 but thus covers only part of our period of concern. Anna Kett has looked at women’s antislavery work in the nineteenth century. Elizabeth O’Donnell’s doctoral work on Victorian British Quaker women’s experience argues that in the northeast of England, the most politically radical Quaker women left the movement in order to find freedom of expression. This contrasts with the experience of women in the southwest, and O’Donnell’s work sits alongside Sandra Stanley Holton’s on the Priestman-Bright-Clark kinship circle, a microhistorical approach that reveals the strength of politicized women’s networks. Mijin Cho’s doctoral work on Isabella Ford, Isabel

Fry, Margery Fry, and Ruth Fry complements Holton's work while highlighting the elastic nature of what was permissible for women activists within early liberal Quakerism. Many of the women whom O'Donnell studies resisted the merging of women's and men's business meetings for fear of losing the agency they had gained over the centuries; meanwhile, Pam Lunn's study of attitudes toward women's enfranchisement reveals a mix of attitudes across the sexes in the first decades of the twentieth century. Julia Bush has written in particular about Caroline Stephen and her opposition to women's suffrage.²⁵

As regards North America, in a deeply researched volume, A. Glenn Crothers has illuminated the dilemmas and increasing hostility from non-Quaker neighbors confronting antislavery Quakers living in Virginia, a part of the American South where slavery was deeply ingrained in society prior to 1865. There have also been book-length studies of Quakers in New York, the Delaware Valley of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, Massachusetts, North Carolina, California, Oregon, Alaska, Canada, and other regions. Some of these studies are illuminating, like Crothers's, while others are now dated and need supplementation.²⁶

Biography is a further way of gaining insight into the broader Quaker picture. Clare Brown has written about the principles underlying Joseph Sturge's antislavery work. Helen Smith's work on Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury highlights the political and social capital of the great Quaker cocoa dynasty and what could be achieved by a progressive philanthropist. Sian Phillips's work on Francesca Wilson looks at another Birmingham-based Quaker, in this case, one devoted to relief work. Joanna Dales has completed extensive work on John William Graham, described as an "apostle of progress" for his advocacy of a progressive Quaker message linked to worldly advances, and she has built on that work to look at the liberal "Quaker Renaissance" more widely. Mark Frankel is currently focusing on Quaker member of British Parliament T. Edmund Harvey. Alessandro Falcetta's magisterial biography of J. Rendel Harris includes his Quaker work and role as first director of Woodbrooke College. (Harris is an intriguing character: a friend of Rufus Jones's, a prominent player in a key liberal institution, and yet cast by Carole Spencer as a Holiness Quaker.)²⁷

Women's suffrage and antislavery activist Lucretia Mott has recently been the subject of an excellent new biography by Carol Faulkner, and those wanting to know more about Mott can also consult a new edition of her speeches and sermons, complementing an existing collection of her letters.²⁸

A new biography of Progressive Friend Amy Kirby Post similarly illuminates a life devoted to both antislavery and women's rights but also with an interest in spiritualism, not one of Mott's causes. Carole Spencer's work on Hannah Whitall Smith is significant, given Whitall Smith's key role in Holiness spirituality within and outside the Quaker movement.²⁹

The rest of Europe has also only been covered in brief. Yearly meetings began in Germany and Austria in 1925, in the Netherlands in 1931, in France in 1933, and in Sweden in 1935, often as a result of Quaker relief work and Quaker "embassies." Norway had set up a yearly meeting in 1818; Denmark did so in 1875. Hans Eirik Aarek has written about Norwegian Quaker history, and Sheila Spielhofer has researched relief work in Vienna after World War I. Farah Mendlesohn has written on relief work during the Spanish Civil War, starting in 1936.³⁰

For Quaker history in the United States, we have Thomas Hamm's book *The Quakers in America*. Hamm has also written the seminal study of Orthodox Quakerism, and its companion volume on the Hicksites is in press. The Great Separation is the subject of volumes by H. Larry Ingle and Robert Doherty. Timothy Burdick has analyzed the changing theological identity of Oregon Yearly Meeting. Oregon's difficulties with FYM and AFSC were representative of how some yearly meetings in that branch of Quakerism gradually left the organization. Guy Aiken has researched the connections of AFSC's humanitarian work with "social Christianity," presenting some of the other side of that tension. Arthur Roberts has written about evangelical Friends after 1887, J. William Frost has written about the history of FGC, and Douglas Gwyn has analyzed its emblematic gatherings as an exercise in personalism.³¹

Rufus Jones remains one of the central figures in modern American Quaker history. He drew together modernist strands in FYM and Philadelphia Yearly Meeting and helped build coalitions around service work—he was one of the founders of AFSC—that, in turn, would lead to the reunification of yearly meetings in New England, Philadelphia, and Canada after World War II. However, the scholarly work on Jones is limited. Christy Randazzo and David Russell have made a start on Jones's theology. Matthew Hedstrom considers Jones's written work within a wider analysis of American liberal Christianity and, in particular, shows how Jones influenced Harry Fosdick, a prominent American liberal Protestant minister. Jones also influenced Howard Thurman, as highlighted by Stephen Angell in the volume on Quaker mysticism edited by Jon Kershner. Haverford

colleague and Harvard biblical scholar Henry J. Cadbury is being researched currently by David Watt and Jim Krippner.³²

16 Chuck Fager has detailed the previously under-researched role of the Progressive Quakers, with their congregational ecclesiology and radical political stance. What began as a Hicksite schism in the 1830s soon advanced ahead of their parent body on women's rights and antislavery. The last Progressive Quaker meeting closed in 1940. Thomas Hamm has explored the history of a branch of Progressive Quakers in Ohio and Indiana.³³

Lloyd Lee Wilson has charted Conservative Quaker history in the United States, while Wilmer Cooper's autobiography highlights the temptations of revival meetings for his Wilburite father: they would ride out to the revival meetings and stay just a little way off so they could hear the proceedings without taking part.³⁴

Robynne Rogers Healey has written on Quakers in Upper Canada and how they negotiated their Quaker identity in relation to the demands of frontier life. She also charts the separation of David Willson and the Children of Peace, a group that built the Sharon Temple, boasted one of the finest silver musical bands in Ontario, and endured as a counter-cultural advocate of peace until the group's dissolution in 1889. Albert Schrauwers has also written about this schismatic group.³⁵

The history of Quakerism in East Africa and Central and South America remains a significant gap in the scholarship. Esther Mombo's doctoral work on the early days of the mission to Kenya is thus of crucial importance. She shows how the early Quaker missionaries to Kenya disregarded the local social fabric, enforcing monogamy on converts even though this resulted in abandonment and destitution for second and third wives. Eating chicken, previously reserved only for men, became seen as a mark of women becoming Christian. Nancy Thomas's recent work on Central and South America complements a chapter in *The Cambridge Companion to Quakerism* on Quakerism in the region by Ramon Longoria and Nancy Thomas.³⁶

Thus, while there is still much to do, we believe that this collection moves us further forward in our scholarly understanding. This volume is ambitious, then: it seeks to cover the breadth and depth of one of the most dynamic periods of Quaker history and the one of greatest—indeed, seemingly perpetual—change. As editors, we have been privileged to work with such a fine set of scholars and writers, and we trust that this volume does justice to its task.

Edward Milligan died in August 2020, as I was preparing this chapter. Born in 1922 in Coventry to John Lloyd Milligan and Jennie E. Rowlands, “Ted” spent time at Ackworth Friends School in the 1930s and served in the Friends Relief Service from 1941 to 1946. He studied librarianship and worked at the University of Southampton library before taking over from John L. Nickalls as head librarian at Friends House, London, in 1958, a post he held until 1985. In those days, employment was no impediment to yearly meeting service, and Ted served on the 1955 book of discipline revision committee under the clerkship of Wilfrid Littleboy and on the agenda committee on three different occasions for a total of fourteen years. He also served on the Committee on Christian Relations for eleven years and Home Service Committee for twenty-one. However, for those of us interested in Quaker history, it was in his role as librarian, or in relation to his work with the Friends Historical Society for over four decades, that we most likely had the privilege to meet or correspond with him. Either was a great pleasure. Always witty, always twinkling, Ted had an encyclopedic knowledge of all things Quaker. A birthright Friend, he knew the family connections within the Quaker world firsthand, and he lived through a period of enormous change in the way Quakerism operated in Britain while becoming an expert on earlier centuries, especially the nineteenth century of his parents’ youth. His letters were always humorous and kind, and he was a most generous soul and mentor. All of us who knew him will miss him, and it seems fitting to dedicate this chapter to the person who knew the most about this period—not just its outline theology and practice but also the intricate genealogical web of endogamy and its consequences—though, alas, he wrote so little of it down.³⁷