

'SOME ACCOUNT OF THE PROGRESS OF THE TRUTH
AS IT IS IN JESUS': THE WHITE QUAKERS OF IRELAND

James Gregory

University of Southampton, England

ABSTRACT

The White Quakers were a small but vocal sect of schismatic Quakers in Dublin, Waterford, Clonmel and Mountmellick, under the leadership of Joshua Jacob and Abigail Beale, between c.1840-1854. The history of the sect, its connections with contemporary utopian leaders in England, its contemporary reputation in the Quaker and non-Quaker world, and treatment in historiography are examined. White Quaker ideas on religious authority, gender and marriage, capitalist and commercial activity, are also outlined in the following study.

KEYWORDS

White Quakers, Religious Society of Friends in Ireland, utopianism, communism, free-love.

Thackeray in *The Irish Sketchbook* (1843) noted that Irish Quakers had established 'a sort of monkery'. Outside Carlow he encountered 'a couple of cars drawn by white horses, and holding white Quakers and Quakeresses, in white hats, clothes, shoes, with wild maniacal-looking faces, bumping along the road.'¹ The White Quaker sect's often bizarre activity from c.1840 - 54, under the leadership of Joshua Jacob (1801 - 77), and his partner Abigail Beale (1797 - 1849) is remembered by connoisseurs of the eccentric and historians of radical subcultures. Early nineteenth century Irish Quakerism had been disturbed by the deistic 'New Lights', while the White Quakers, a few ultra-conservative members,² emerged in decades of anxiety about the moral state of Irish Friends. In the late 1830s the discontented found a leader in Jacob and, following his expulsion, a 'chosen remnant' joined him in the creation of a Quaker church. The sect became recognised as a herald of the coming times by radical social-regenerators in Britain such as Goodwyn Barmby, leader of the 'Communist Church',

and the Ham Common Concordists. Their supporters, although few in number, praised their reforms in clothing and hygiene, simplifications of domestic arrangements, communism in property, opposition to taxation and tithes, and – most notoriously for their many critics – the alleged abandonment of conventional marriage. Their tenets were advocated through several communities and often dramatic public appearances. The sect had meetings at Dublin, Waterford and the 'Quaker towns' of Clonmel and Mountmellick. To date, there has been no detailed account or analysis of the sect, which had a richer and more complicated history than previous brief references have suggested. This study begins by outlining the historiography of the sect and summarising its history. The sect's beliefs and attitudes concerning Quakerism, religious authority, gender, commerce and capitalism are examined. Brief reference to their connections with other reformers prefaces the conclusions.

THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE SECT

Their activities from 1843 - 44 are recorded in the extraordinary serial *Some account of the Progress of the Truth as it is in Jesus*.³ This comprised reports from Joshua Jacob, supporters' and opponents' letters, minutes of the sect's meetings, and material relating to the sect's prehistory in the form of letters and accounts of dreams from c.1832 onwards. Any attempt to understand the members' psychology must study the dreams precisely recorded in their private journals – a common practice in mainstream Quakerism – and published in *Progress of the Truth*. They offer insight into the emotional relationships between members, and between them and their Quaker relations. They express anxiety about the Quaker majority from which they were alienated and which they saw as their persecutors, and a sense of themselves as a divinely-favoured body.

Some of their critics' often extremely hostile letters, tracts and posters were reproduced in *Progress of the Truth*. This material and the journal's general tone, according to the English radical Thomas Frost, were 'decidedly unique in journalism, and worthy of preservation as one of the curiosities of literature.'⁴ A Quaker critic called it a 'rake's progress to untruth.'⁵ Jacob's (and his followers') fierce denunciations were printed as handbills, and many are preserved at the Friends' Libraries in Dublin and London. An important, though biased contemporary account, is provided in Sarah Greer's *Quakerism, or the Story of My Life* (1851).⁶ Scattered references appeared in the Owenite paper *New Moral World*, Barmby's several journals, the freethought journal *The Reasoner*, and two other progressive journals: *Howitt's Journal* and Joseph Barker's *The People*. Shortly after its demise, White Quakerism was briefly discussed in the British antiquarian journal *Notes and Queries*. A succinct synthesis of material largely from *Progress of the Truth* formed a mostly accurate and well balanced account, in two unsigned articles in the *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle* of 1876.⁷

Joshua Jacob fascinated contemporaries. One antiquarian claimed somewhat

hyperbolically that he had 'divided public attention equally with [Daniel] O'Connell', the Liberator.⁸ His notoriety secured an entry in the late Victorian [British] *Dictionary of National Biography* and the Quaker Alfred Webb's *Compendium of Irish Biography*, and a modern *Dictionary of Irish Biography*. The basic biography is supplemented by a recent short article by Lena Boylan drawing on local memories of the sect in an article in *The Irish Times* (1888). Most recently Jacob's character and his sect are explored in John MacKenna's novel, *A Haunted Heart*.⁹ Given their radical, utopian and communitarian connections, the sect appears but is not closely examined in W. H. G. Armytage's classic study of English utopian experiments; Barbara Taylor's *Eve and the New Jerusalem*; Edward Royle's *Robert Owen and the Commencement of the Millennium*, and Jackie Latham's study of the 'sacred socialist', J. P. Greaves. Quaker examination of this small but contentious sect is limited, for reasons which will become understandable. They appear only briefly in Isabel Grubb's *Quakers in Ireland* and Maurice Wigham's recent study, *The Irish Quakers*.¹⁰

THE HISTORY OF THE SECT

Joshua Jacob was born in Clonmel, one of the southern Irish 'Quaker towns' (so-called due to the importance of Quaker economic activity).¹¹ The son of a bankrupt businessman, he was thrown on his own resources. After receiving an education in Leeds, Waterford and Ballitore, he was apprenticed to a Dublin grocer and candlewick manufacturer. In 1829, he married Sarah Fayle and fathered seven children. He saved enough to establish a profitable shop, 'The Golden Teapot', selling tea and sugar in ha'penny and farthing packets. In the Quaker community he was known as a prosperous tradesman and 'Friend in good standing, a regular attender of meetings for worship and discipline, a good neighbour, kind to the poor, and greatly respected.'¹² Around 1835, convinced that Quakers were backsliding, Joshua preached intemperately against worldliness and mammonism.¹³ He was disowned by the Society in 1838 and soon followed by other critics of decadence, such as the former Overseer Abigail Beale, a respectable and wealthy spinster. Retiring from his trade, Jacob felt required by God to dispose of furniture and household goods; and to wear simple, undyed clothing that was to give the sect its popular name and which symbolised the contrast with the 'Black Quakers'. By 1842, the rejection of worldly goods was the next requirement. Most Quakers ignored the actions precipitating his ejection but Jacob's condemnation of worldliness attracted supporters among 'the more rigid professors, in many of the Monthly Meetings'¹⁴ who also wanted a return to an earlier purity:

They looked on him, as he looked on himself that is to say, they had a very high opinion of him; they espoused his cause, talked of a persecuted recusant, prophesied an evil day to the society, preached like him, were

equally refractory, and were in like manner disowned, were kept out of the meeting like him, and held forth in the passages as he did.¹⁵

Supporters included close relations, notably Jacob's brothers Samuel and William, sister Mary, and niece Lucy, while a sister-in-law was another follower, and many of the members were cousins. According to Greer, his wife Sarah was 'united heart and hand,' and Jacob's symbolic public smashing of their household's coloured and gilded china and earthenware met with her applause.¹⁶ She was particularly 'efficient in the women's Meeting',¹⁷ but in reality, her support wavered and she was dramatically rejected by her husband and other members.¹⁸ Membership of the sect split many other families and friends:

mothers left their grown-up children and grandchildren, husbands their wives, and wives their husbands and children, denouncing and inveighing all sorts of bitter things against all their old acquaintances who were unprepared to go the whole hog with them.¹⁹

They were of good and wealthy Quaker families, 'educated as good as Friends generally have', and of hitherto 'highest respectability'.²⁰ Webb recalled 'many rich people, particularly rich women'.²¹ In total, about fifty adults joined in the early 1840s. In addition, members had children, and were naturally keen to train them in the 'Truth'. Jacob felt it a 'requiring' from 1841 to educate them through personal example 'to learn to serve themselves in the creation; to make their own beds, and to clean their rooms every morning.'²² Until the famine years, when the sect, like mainstream Quakers, continued their charitable work by offering relief, they recruited few from outside the Quaker middle classes, although they were 'open to all'.²³ An exception was the painter Isaac Dickenson, whose lower status was highlighted by himself and by his Quaker opponents.²⁴ In the later 1840s few original White Friends remained, and recruits were of humbler, non-Quaker background.

The sect's development from the time of Jacob's disownment was minutely detailed in almost three thousand pages of *Progress of the Truth* to late 1844. This text revealed the drama from the establishment of several houses and Meetings,²⁵ Joshua's imprisonment in the Four Courts Marshalsea (until 1846), for principled refusal to return money vested in the community, which belonged to the children of a deceased brother;²⁶ his 'putting away' of his wife and 'marriage' to Abigail (March 1843), which critics thought threatened the inauguration of a free-love community along the lines of the Owenites; through to the enforced auction of goods at the community house at William Street, Dublin (October 1843),²⁷ and establishment of a new house at Usher's Quay.²⁸

The *Progress of the Truth* ceased in late-1844,²⁹ but there are accounts of their community in the mansion and estate at Newlands outside Dublin. This was represented as a cheerful, self-sufficient vegetarian paradise but in reality by 1850 it was a failing experiment.³⁰ By this date, through desertion³¹ especially after the 'marriage' of Abigail, abduction³² (although presented as 'rescue' by the

male relations and friends who carried out these forcible removals from the community) and early death,³³ there were almost none of the original White Friends.³⁴ Such was the history of the sect. It began as an internal protest against tendencies in contemporary Irish Quakerism, formed itself into a society of self-proclaimed authentic Quakers and latterly operated as a community with only a handful of former Quakers as members, albeit with a co-founder, Joshua Jacob, still in charge. The ideals and ideas which defined, sustained and divided the sect now need to be examined.

WHITE QUAKER BELIEFS CONCERNING QUAKERISM

In a study of this length it is only possible to examine the White Quakers' most important beliefs. Their religious and socio-political ideas will need to be comprehensively analysed elsewhere. These beliefs were presented in writing, but required practical manifestation: 'We cannot call Christ our Saviour in sincerity without witnessing Him in this way.'³⁵ Their understanding of their task was provided in a statement given by Joshua and Abigail to an inquirer who was a follower of Barmby. It was:

simply and entirely the work of God. Different from all other communities, we live by faith; no plans, no commerce, no speculations, no contrivances, no taking thought for the morrow, nor taking thought for any of those things which the nations of this world seek after, because our Father who hath begotten His Son in us, and has given us this faith, knoweth what he have need of, and will supply all our need, as we continue in the exercise of it.³⁶

Weaned of the world, they rejected its 'heap of things'.³⁷ God's blessing superseded mere familial ties. Their lifestyle was chaste, temperate, healthy and robust: 'the means, whereby those who have been during their life time otherwise, have become so.'³⁸ Physician, lawyer, priest and soldier were not required, while servants were not allowed.³⁹ Forbidden items included clocks, watches, carpets, bells, mirrors, wallpaper, bed curtains, silverware, mahogany furniture, sofas and pictures. Indeed,

Only a change of raiment, simply made without dye. We cook, bake and wash, scour the floors, make and mend our clothes and shoes; in which, as well as useful learning, the children are instructed, having no thoughts of toys or pastimes in use in the world. Parents have no control out of the truth over their own children, but generally find coming amongst us that they have much to learn themselves.⁴⁰

Obedience by children and 'in all to the Spirit of God' was insisted on as 'unity is held in the bond of peace.'⁴¹

Although much that they insisted on can be seen as reasserting the practices of a 'Peculiar People', their Quaker opponents viewed their doctrines and practices as eccentric and scandalous.⁴² They also astonished English radicals who supported Owen or Fourier, but others were less quick to condemn their eccentricities. In 1844, the Englishman George Ruby told the *New Moral World's* editor that their 'internal arrangements as respecting diet, domestic accommodation, demeanour to each other, &c, are distinguished by great practical good sense'; nor did the costume look 'so singular as one would expect from the description.'⁴³ Nevertheless, given that Ruby was but a brief visitor, while the sect continued for a decade, his testimony has the value of a snapshot of a staged scene.

The examination of their beliefs naturally begins with their interpretation of Quakerism. The White Quakers saw themselves as a 'pure body' which had attempted to reform a once highly favoured church.⁴⁴ Claiming from George Fox's time the 'highest and purest standard of Christian religion and worship, even of being led and guided by pure unerring Spirit of God', divine vengeance rightly would fall first on Quakers for worldliness and abandonment of old principles.⁴⁵ The sect represented a tendency apparent elsewhere, notably among followers of John Wilbur in America who were hostile to 'modernisers' like J. J. Gurney.⁴⁶ Jacob reprinted John Barclay's letters (c.1818) against innovations in children's religious education.⁴⁷ A letter to Richard Allen in 1837 also reflects this conservatism. In June 1837, Jacob stated that the Moral Reform Society was 'inconsistent with the principles of our religious Society, and inadequate to the end proposed by it.' He felt that it was grievous 'to see those who profess the only guide into all truth, and dependence on it alone, now turning to this human invention as a substitute.'⁴⁸ He claimed to have long felt burdened by impure tracts full of 'modern trash... such as Gurney and others being too much resorted to and delighted in.'⁴⁹

In their youth, Jacob, Abigail Beale, and a leading follower, Mary Pim, had met John Conran (1739 - 1827), recalled by Jacob as 'a champion in his day against the same infidelity that under another form then sought to trample on the life of Christ among us' - an allusion to the late-eighteenth century Irish schism.⁵⁰ Jacob declared that, meeting Conran during his apprenticeship, he had been told about Conran's sufferings at the hands of 'false brethren' (the 'New Lights'), and charged with continuing Conran's defence of the doctrine of Christ's divinity. Perhaps Conran knew or sensed that his young auditor was a fervent Friend. If the incident truly happened then the commission to preserve the purity of the Society is important. Abigail corresponded with Conran, and a letter from January 1820 to 'My dear cousin, Abigail Beale' was reprinted in *Progress of the Truth*.⁵¹

Not only were they hostile towards the 'evangelical' modernisers whom they interpreted as a new danger equivalent to the 'New Lights', but they publicly charged in printed and spoken testimony, particularly in the *Progress of the Truth* and in broadsheets, their Quaker relatives and their friends with worldliness, and found fault with the lives of 'weighty' Quakers. The majority Quaker response

to their critique of an endemic 'backsliding' tendency had been expulsion. The language was heated with White Quaker supporters characterised, according to the White Quakers, 'not by the thoughtless ones only, but those holding the chief seats', as: 'rangers, fanatics, heretics, deep dark spirits, Hicksites, unbelievers, without love, without natural affection, disturbers of the peace, mad, deluded, self-righteous, devils.'⁵² White Quakers, including women, were forcibly ejected from meeting houses.⁵³ Further response was shaped, naturally, by activity as an independent body. This confirmed Quaker fears, and ensured they emphasised the sect's schismatic status. The recording clerk of the Religious Society at London felt it necessary to stress that Jacob was no longer a Quaker when *The Times* reported the sect's extraordinary behaviour in Waterford in 1842.⁵⁴

Behaviour on both sides was intemperate. White Quakers attacked opponents as individuals, showing no reluctance to publicise the family quarrels and hostilities.⁵⁵ The schism was complicated in part by being a familial conflict, and the legal proceedings by Joseph Beale against Jacob and his sister-in-law Anne Joseph Jacob (on behalf of her children).⁵⁶ Individual Quakers resorted to violence, appeals to the authorities, and tactics such as sending people to beg charity from the sect in 1843, to bankrupt or embarrass them.⁵⁷ Handbills and papers spread misinformation,⁵⁸ and bitter language was again resorted to. Anonymous letters castigated Abigail as a harlot, and her mother-in-law was similarly described.⁵⁹ Condemned for sexual immorality, the sect received letters and took notice of sentiments which confirmed their view that the Society harboured lewd members. One correspondent, claiming to have admired Jacob's early 'consistent walk', spoke of 'Thy Tea Pot as it is technically called Poking its nose into forbidden Ground.'⁶⁰ It was alleged that they were embracing Owenite free-love under the guise of religion. The grounds for this allegation was the 'marriage' to Abigail Beale, which will be discussed below.

Undoubtedly the White Quaker episode was deeply embarrassing, painful and shaming to Irish Quakers. Their publications exposed the family conflicts and alleged moral failings of prominent southern Irish Quakers. They divided husbands from wives and children, and seemingly advocated free-love. Unsurprisingly, the Society avoided publicising the schism through discussions in its journals. Only the most opaque of allusions were made in an article in *The Friend* of 1849, and transmitted as a response to Barmby's *The Apostle and Chronicle of the Communist Church*.⁶¹ The conservative *Irish Friend* was also wary, though some paragraphs and correspondence show that several White Quaker concerns were shared by others (assuming that the letters were not from them). The journal, which intended to serialise a 'Life of John Conran', printed correspondence calling for simplicity in clothing and habitation, and paragraphs opposing compromises to simplicity involved in modern trade.⁶² It published a letter from 'J. P.' of Islington, which stressed that George Fox and early Friends had 'minds of that which pressed upon them as their religious duty to declare', regardless of reputation, worldly interest or safety.⁶³ But as 'a salutary watchword' it printed a passage from Isaac Pennington's *Works* which enjoined tenderness in dealing with weaknesses. This may be an allusion to the new 'fault finders' in the Society.⁶⁴

RELIGIOUS AUTHORITY AND DISCIPLINE

Jacob could have turned to another denomination after his expulsion, but he believed the Religious Society of Friends was originally 'favoured by God' and could not conceive of religious purity being maintained through structures derived from other denominations which he viewed as worldly compromises. He knew little about non-Quaker beliefs and practice as the Society discouraged members from visiting other places of worship, and he had led attempts to revive rules making such visits the grounds for discipline and even disownment.⁶⁵ He had never attended another place of worship when he felt called to attend and 'testify' at the Anglican Cathedral at Waterford at Christmas 1841.⁶⁶ For him, Anglicanism was lifeless and 'a whore'. Catholicism was condemned for its Pope and priesthood, though his handbill, *To those calling themselves Roman Catholics*, criticised his gaoler's description of Catholics as unlettered and turbulent.⁶⁷ He wrote that labels such as Catholic, Protestant, Baptist and Quaker were 'only Nicknames which the devil has invented to keep people from the right way of the Lord; there being in reality none but the two, the good and the bad, the sheep and the goats, the wise and the unwise.'⁶⁸ Jacob knew nothing of sects such as the Southcottians and Swedenborgians, and was unimpressed by apologists' tracts sent to him.⁶⁹ Acquainted through English reformers with Shakerism, he rejected its basic tenet of celibacy.⁷⁰ Moreover, given the centrality of Quakerism to Jacob, it is strange that he should later marry a Catholic woman and convert to Catholicism.⁷¹

Aside from the Bible, White Quakers recognised early Quaker texts, though Jacob also praised the work of James, Bishop of Armagh and, like many conservative Quakers, the quietist Madame Guyon. A paragraph on the medieval Paterine sect represented another model of 'primitive' Christianity.⁷² Extracts from George Fox's *Journal*, the writings of Isaac Pennington, John Woolman, and Robert Barclay were reprinted in *Progress of the Truth*. Old prophetic Quaker material was extracted, and the recent prophetic Quaker Job Scott was quoted. The affiliation went beyond text. Action was suggested and interpreted along early Quaker lines, which explained many of the 'eccentric' actions of the sect, and tenets, notably opposition to payment of church tithes, were ostentatiously maintained.⁷³

Exotic as the sect may seem, in their attitudes concerning religious authority they were an expression of that major debate within nineteenth-century Quakerism:⁷⁴ where did authority in religion ultimately reside? The departure point for the breakaway movement was conservative/quietist principles. For White Quakers authority was not in the Bible, since the devil was the 'greatest scripturarian in the world'.⁷⁵ Evangelicals who maintained its primacy knew nothing of God and Christ beyond what was 'gathered in human wisdom and natural understanding of man which cannot know things of God.'⁷⁶ White Quakers held to the 'Inward Light' tradition. For critics, their history illustrated the danger of this belief, which had exposed them to 'negligence, folly and crime'.⁷⁷ Criticism of Quakerism during the controversy surrounding Greer's

My Life (1851) identified the danger of the 'Inward Light' doctrine. Quaker and non-Quaker apologists evidently were too embarrassed by the sect to allude to them in their critique of Greer's distortions, but the Rev. E. Nangle felt that the 'fearful manifestation of evil' was but a doctrinal development. He noted that it should have been a new 'beacon' to the Society and was 'an added testimony that there is nothing in man to direct his steps; nor can he safely detract in any degree from the omnipotent authority of the written word of the living God.'⁷⁸ Grubb's history of Irish Friends similarly represented White Quakerism as a perversion of the 'Inner Light'.

Jacob was not advocating anarchy, but rather 'obedience' to this 'Inward Light', and he condemned the eclipse of Quaker morality: 'If the light in thee becomes darkness, how great is that darkness.'⁷⁹ He viewed free will and free-thought as 'infidelity'. True earthly joy came through the 'leadings and guidance, prompting and restraints' of the Holy Spirit and not through reason, whose right place was 'subserving to revelation'.⁸⁰ Action had to be understood and presented as the result of a higher agency: 'we could not preach in our own wills, but in the Lord's way and time.'⁸¹ Belief in the 'Inward Light' meant a continued watchfulness for the Spirit's promptings. Jacob, as a traditionalist, felt 'a thrill of horror' when he heard of any White Quaker speaking lightly or complacently 'of the smallest motion of God's spirit secretly manifested to them; which they have not faithfully attended to, and obeyed.'⁸² However, promptings might not originate in God. Jacob alluded to trials against opposing spirits, and noted that backsliders succumbed to the devil's temptations. This belief in a division between the spiritually enlightened and those in spiritual darkness was symbolised through plain white clothing and habitation, simple food, and domestic or agricultural occupation, expressed a division between the damned and those working for their salvation. It might be assumed that the White Quakers believed in the doctrine of original sin but Jacob believed this doctrine was 'cursed'.⁸³ In stressing the 'Inward Light', White Quakers were liable to charges of antinomianism, but the latter doctrine was not what Jacob advocated.⁸⁴ The White Quaker Rebecca Ridgway vehemently denied the 'Ranter' label as Ranters had been

an immoral loose people who gave out, that what was sinful in others was not sin in themselves, and consequently they were guilty of many gross sins: they used to go into the Meetings of our early Friends singing and dancing.⁸⁵

The dreams that frequently figure in *Progress of the Truth* provided another source of guidance. They were carefully recorded and returned to, and represented an effort to continue Quaker traditions. It was important not to question their validity. For example, it was recorded: 'If I were to enter into reasoning with thee on these things, I might destroy the Lord's work and endanger my own soul.'⁸⁶

Though denying the supremacy of Scripture, White Quakers were steeped in it, especially the Old Testament and Book of Revelation. Quotations from, or

echoes of, the Bible appeared throughout the sect's writings. This was partly a conscious effort to show that they were not heretics. Critics naturally thought this the clothing of hypocrites and sinners. Alighting on random passages of the Bible also provided guidance, a regular practice in Quakerism and the wider Protestant world. Dreams were recorded for their significance as warnings or comfort; difficulties could be interpreted as tests of obedience, as 'close trial and proving of faith'⁸⁷ while complex tasks were embraced as 'crucifixions'. The *Progress of the Truth* gives numerous instances of personal testing by Jacob and others. He required members to demonstrate 'obedience beyond what worldlings are willing to yield', and argued that:

This people must be a separate people, not a mixed people; and to enable them to stand for the honour of God, they must go through the trials, siftings and provings that are appointed for their purification: that this temple may be holy.⁸⁸

Some of these tests appear perverse and cruel, such as the order given to a wealthy, aged Quakeress, to eat a bowl of 'stirabout' on the steps of the Bank of Ireland one winter's morning, dressed only in white calico with no shoes or stockings. This incident can be read as a cult-leader's attempt to humiliate, or at least to make humble, and break the will of a follower. However, it can be argued such a task may have been willingly undertaken. The Bank had also become the subject of Jacob's ire because he thought his gold coins were weighed dishonestly there.⁸⁹ His early followers were mostly unused to hard manual or menial work, and it was alleged that a 'delicate young lady' died because of overwork when ordered to wash clothes for the whole community.⁹⁰ Such acts curbed individual will, asserted leadership, and publicly expressed White Quaker values.⁹¹

The verdict of one close and critical observer indicates the group nature of the sect's discipline. It was a 'white nunnery' where recruits had to 'give up their own will, they must have no will of their own, and be subject *one unto another*, And give up even all their outward substance, every bit.'⁹² James 'Shepherd' Smith, an English radical, thought that though Jacob was professedly leader he actually 'exercises no perceptible authority... there is no appearance of any regular system of government amongst them.'⁹³ In fact there was, in the form of structures following Quaker practice, disciplinary meetings and procedures, such as private admonition, testifying and letters of disownment. Jacob's primacy is clear. The authority to command came from his prophetic status, as the servant of the Lord. Moreover, he was disingenuous when he denied that he was 'leader' of a sect because 'disunity' and damnation followed disobedience and questioning of his authority.⁹⁴

The anathematising and insults strikingly departed from the public face and reputation of Quakerism. In contrast to their continuing acts of private charity and philanthropy was their vehemence towards backsliders.⁹⁵ Yet, although Joshua spoke in *Progress of the Truth* with supreme confidence about his mission,

there are indications of doubts and struggles. For in the presentation of 'requirements', as the result of a struggle between two spirits, between good and evil, there was more than a wish to express a sense of drama.⁹⁶ In these moments of crisis Jacob was supported by his 'handmaid' Abigail Beale, and her importance should not be minimised. An obituary in the radical English paper *The Spirit of the Times* described her as 'the master-mind and guiding spirit of the White Quakers'.⁹⁷ Although the conclusion must be that Jacob was the leading figure, Beale's role deserves recognition and examination. This examination is placed in the context of White Quaker ideas on gender.⁹⁸

WHITE QUAKERS, GENDER AND MARRIAGE

Abigail Beale was a woman of strong resolve and moral courage, who assumed and was accorded the *de facto* position of second in authority to Jacob. She was required to play an important role in the sect's affairs when, following Jacob's refusal to return money belonging to his nephews and nieces, he was incarcerated in Four Courts prison (remaining there for four years and eight months). The prominence which she enjoyed as a result of her freedom of movement was supported by a conviction that 'by her faith, strength and beauty the true church will be enabled to cut off the head of the wicked one.'⁹⁹ Abigail belonged to a prominent southern Irish Quaker family. She was the daughter of the manufacturer William Beale of Irishtown (1765 - 1818) and his first wife Mary, a 'religious young woman' who died shortly after Abigail's birth.¹⁰⁰ In 1799, William married his second wife, Elizabeth (née Garratt), and the relationship between stepmother and stepdaughter was very close, as Elizabeth was a loyal supporter of 'Abby' and the sect. Abigail's dreams often featured Annegrove, her mother's house and a significant point of contention between the sect and male Quaker relations.¹⁰¹ Her half-siblings Anne, Mary, William and Joseph were actors in the White Quaker drama.

William Beale was concerned about the Society's moral state in his latter years, and from *Progress of the Truth* it is clear that his daughter was similarly, and deeply, concerned in the early 1830s, when Abigail supported a member who had been told to keep quiet in Meeting although the truth of his testimony had not been denied.¹⁰² She returned gifts from a newly married relation, shocked at the vanity and worldliness displayed.¹⁰³ She was also troubled by her brothers' behaviour towards her stepmother. These concerns were manifested in dreams which she interpreted at the time or revealed later in *Progress of the Truth*. The thirtieth part of *Progress of the Truth*, and significantly the longest number, was wholly devoted to a retelling of her 'trials and exercises'. As she dramatically recalled, she was rejected by the Quaker body 'for endeavouring to stand in the simple Testimony of Truth.' The circumstances (summer 1836 - May 1839) were exhaustively detailed in the sixteenth part of *Progress of the Truth*.¹⁰⁴ Abigail and two other women Overseers of the Waterford Monthly Meeting, Sarah Waring

and Anne Goouch, were disowned after being charged with bringing mischief into families, difference into the Meeting, trouble upon their own heads and meddling between a mother and daughter. One irritant had been Abigail's rigour against a 'swindler' of a respectable family who had impersonated another Quakeress, Rebecca Grubb, to obtain goods in London in 1831.¹⁰⁵ If the sect's account is true then there was an attempt, on the part of members of the Men's Meeting and Elders, such as Sarah Allen and Elizabeth Strangman, to silence the Overseers and shield the wrongdoer. Goouch, Waring and Beale were accused of being unfit to judge the case, and it was alleged that Goouch was motivated by a spirit of vengeance in interfering in a quarrel between the mother and daughter, Elizabeth and Eliza Goouch, her relations.

Abigail alleged defamation of character at her Women's Meeting but was treated as the transgressor and told to leave as a delinquent. The Meeting appealed to the men for support and force was used to prevent her attending the Meeting. Relatives appealed to her to make amends and own up to her guilt rather than embarrass them.¹⁰⁶ Disowned finally in May 1839, she was uncertain how to proceed in making her separation more publicly known, when she was visited by Joshua Jacob whose testimony she had accepted as 'sound doctrine'. In 1837, she defended these doctrines in correspondence with a conservative English Quaker, Lydia Barclay.¹⁰⁷ At this time she had little personal acquaintance with Jacob, when, according to his own account, he visited his cousin Isaac Jacob, her brother-in-law, with whom she was staying in spring 1839 whilst recovering from an illness which weakened an 'already weakly frame'.¹⁰⁸ Recovering, in late October 1839 she attended Meetings at Jacob's house in Nicholas Street, and visited him in Dublin gaol when he was incarcerated in November 1839. She established a Meeting at Waterford, 'in order publicly to manifest our dependance [*sic*] on holy help and protection', and rented a house to hold future Meetings. She organised a more public Meeting in Dublin in 1840 and persuaded Jacob to reject 'outward matters', which he thought stood in the way. She felt the choice of house, at William Street, was a divinely appointed and irresistible act.¹⁰⁹ She arranged a separate graveyard at Little Newtown in 1840, purchasing the land on the community's behalf. Again, the choice of site was presented as a decision literally imposed physically on her, as the Lord's doing.¹¹⁰ The sect's Dublin Monthly Meeting noted the 'increased weight' devolving upon her with Jacob's imprisonment, describing her as a 'Mother in Israel, giving the portion of bread in due season, an Elder worthy of double honour, who travails for the living birth in souls.'¹¹¹ As shown by this and other passages, she was identified by sect members (and critics) with Deborah, the only female 'Judge of Israel' (Judg. 4-5) who encouraged Barak's victory against the Canaanites.¹¹² She superintended work at the community house at Usher's Quay, and seemingly played a major part in life at Newlands until her death.

Abigail was wealthy, having inherited a large sum of money from her father. Unfortunately, her brother Joseph refused to hand this over, and £800 was lost in his business's 'disgraceful failure'.¹¹³ His intransigence seems to have been a

punishment for her support for Jacob. This hostility was strengthened after the shame she brought to her non-White Quaker relations and the Quaker community through the 'marriage' which was so publicly discussed in *Progress of the Truth*. Her plight was echoed in the experiences of other White Quakeresses, deprived of property by sons and abused for disobedience to husbands and fathers.¹¹⁴ Male relations forcibly removed them from the community houses. One example of this was the experience of Abigail's sister Mary, who married Thomas Thacker Pim in 1826. He was devastated when she joined the sect (acting as Jacob's amanuensis in prison) and, visiting her in February 1842, wanted to know how he could make amends and what would happen to the children. She evidently surprised herself by calmly receiving him as a stranger. Her request not to send the children to her at Mountmellick Meeting House demonstrated a sense of a higher duty, but critics saw it as another instance of White Quaker immorality.¹¹⁵ Joseph forced the Waterford White Quaker Meeting to read out a letter condemning her 'dereliction of maternal duty' and transformation from loving and affectionate wife. In 1843, Thomas could no longer tolerate the situation and she was forcibly taken from the sect's house. She then faced denunciations by her former White brethren.

One of the sect's critics accused a visiting White Quakeress of being 'most flippant' and thinking herself 'somebody'.¹¹⁶ The women, in public distribution of literature and refusal to accept warnings from policemen and magistrates, in their silent 'witness to the truth' outside opponents' homes and above all in their departure from their families, were acting in culturally unacceptable ways.¹¹⁷ It is easy to see the prominence of women in the sect's early years,¹¹⁸ as amounting to yet another sect where women especially were drawn to a charismatic male leader.¹¹⁹ Critics treated them as Jacob's harem, while Abigail was presented as an aberration, an unnatural or misguided woman who had succumbed to Jacob's magnetism. He was described as 'a man travelling about making women leave their husbands and children'. White Quakeresses were 'honest but Silley [sic] Women... made the dupes of cunning but designing men.'¹²⁰ Information on his attitude to female involvement is limited, but it clearly was not conceived as concubinage. He was disgusted at one tract which condemned 'the advancement of woman in the scale of civil and religious society', and identified its author as a non-Quaker because the Society had been most active in 'the work of reformation since the dark ages... to restore to woman her Christian rights and free privileges.'¹²¹ He also evidently agreed with feminist sentiments expressed in letters by Goodwyn and Catherine Barmby, and Anne Knight.¹²² The community did attract at least one battered wife seeking shelter, and violence against women was never alleged against the sect.¹²³

The attitude towards family ties can also be examined. One White Quakeress acknowledged that 'it had been a great cross to her to separate from them, but she knew it was right and required of her.'¹²⁴ *Progress of the Truth* reports several instances where relatives attempted to contact White Quaker siblings or parents, only to be rejected for having supported the expulsions from the Quaker body.¹²⁵ There were at least four attempts at abduction or 'rescue'.

The sect knew that Quakers 'cannot endure having our burial ground used,'¹²⁶ and the death of one prominent female member (Mary Ridgway) involved unpleasant attempts to undermine her wish to be buried there.¹²⁷ Samuel Jacob followed his brother in 'divorcing' his wife Elizabeth when she was unable to accept the community life.¹²⁸ Others divorced spouses for the same reason. It was seen as an 'imperative duty' because husband and wife needed to be a 'heavenly kindred' and a 'bond of union'.¹²⁹ This was different to 'free love', with which the sect has occasionally been associated.¹³⁰ Had White Quaker wives and husbands been in harmony, this formulation probably would not have emerged. Crucially, the White Quaker doctrine on divorce was presented not as 'freedom' from rules, but as a response to God's inviolable command. In the absence of a specific divine command it remained adultery, and was not to be justified by self-centred criteria, such as personal happiness.

The twentieth part of *Progress of the Truth* was prefaced by a statement that primeval man 'never looked upon the woman with delight, neither the woman desired the man but in the movings of God's holy Spirit in the divine mind and will.' Christian redemption restored this 'happy state' and was the only ground of 'true and sacred marriage'. The entire number was a reprinting of Francis Rous' *The Mystical Marriage*.¹³¹ White Quakers maintained that marriage and sexuality were divine requirements, and rejected the socialist-turned-mystic William Galpin's attempt to connect them with celibate American Shakerism. A poem published in the Owenite *New Moral World* praised 'wedded Love' as the 'true source/of human offspring', and maintained, against allegations of polygyny, that it was the 'sole propriety/In paradise of all things common else.'¹³² The 'marriage' to Abigail Beale, at least initially in 1843 - 44, does not seem to have been consummated,¹³³ but Jacob's subsequent marriage, after Abigail's death, demonstrates his continued opposition to celibacy.¹³⁴ Allegations of public displays of nudity, apparently spread by opponents in order to discredit them, naturally encouraged a view of the sect as a group of morally (or mentally) unstable people.¹³⁵ White Quaker denials failed to silence these stories, which remain attached to them.

COMMERCE AND CAPITALISM

The sect's attitude to commerce and communism is a further topic of interest. Barmby recognised them as the 'Communist Church in Ireland'. Community of goods was an important tenet, and demonstrated the return to 'primitive Christianity'.¹³⁶ To further this, the auctioning of new members' goods was encouraged. This tested the commitment of wealthy supporters who had much to give up, publicly witnessed the Truth and secured funds. For example, Elizabeth Pim's auction of luxury items, such as mahogany furniture and delftware, in February 1844, was announced as 'For the Honour of Truth'.¹³⁷ Anne Isaac Jacob was 'divorced' by the sect for refusing to sell her goods. She justified

her opposition on the grounds that selling luxurious goods to others was inconsistent with rejection of worldly goods, as destruction was more moral.¹³⁸ The 'Community of goods' joined other beliefs condemnatory of a capitalist and commercial life which Quakers had embraced and excelled in. Jacob's apprenticeship had convinced him of the 'pernicious' effect of bills, and he refused to issue them in his own business.¹³⁹ A dream set in Dublin Bay (recalled in 1843), reflected his condemnation of practices condoned by Quakers: the word 'Grab-all' expressed its mood when he 'reviewed' it.¹⁴⁰ He kept several tracts which expressed others' uneasiness about 'mammonism' in the Society of Friends.¹⁴¹

The question of late hours in the retail trade was raised in a letter by an English supporter and elicited a characteristic response. As a tradesman, Jacob had supported 'a large family of small children, apprentices, clerks, and servants', and considering his long hours of toil an 'evil', he:

did not wait in the vain hope that my neighbours would be convinced or converted from this evil practice, under the fear that one penny might be turned from my door in their pockets, if I did that which I knew to be right or try to combine with them to persuade the public to come and purchase at a more suitable hour; but I took up my cross, that is the death of the will wherefrom the new birth is in continual operation and shut my doors on all occasions and times, when higher duties called, having dominion over the love of gain. For this cause my Heavenly Father... blessed me in basket and in store, in all things that I put my hands unto into faith...¹⁴²

This indicates again his piety-infused commercial habits before the sect was formed, and expresses well his self-confidence and willingness to oppose normal behaviour. Faith was put in God, not in shopkeepers' combinations or public conscience. Another published criticism of capitalism came from Rebecca Ridgway. She condemned factories and joint-stock capitalism as human inventions that disrupted a divine order and economy, which required domestic work rather than combination in large factories 'to the destruction of health and morals'. Modern industrialism, although defended on grounds of national improvement and advance, oppressed the poor and made honest labour redundant.¹⁴³ Another White Quakeress condemned steam travel and all machinery, and hoped for the 'true simplicity of life and manners' when man was restored 'to a pastoral life'.¹⁴⁴

The White Quaker utopia involved menial domestic work, since it was 'inconsistent with the simplicity and purity of the gospel of Christ, not to labour with our own hands'.¹⁴⁵ This was one reason why they shocked respectable Quakers. One opponent ironically asked, after observing an inmate making the kitchen fire at William Street, 'was not that nice work for a respectable man's son'.¹⁴⁶ Notions of respectability and distinctions belonged to the devil; the simple and industrious were not mean.¹⁴⁷ Servants were unneces-

sary, though as converts they were in evidence at William Street and Pound Street. Tips represented lust for material gratification and White Quakers publicly displayed their 'conscientious scruple' against giving money to others' servants for their services, and issued a circular condemning the practice.¹⁴⁸ White Quakerism did not present itself initially as a social reform movement but was to be so advertised by supporters. Community in goods could be seen as social justice, and Jacob's conscience had been stirred 'on account of my poor fellow mortals there in their neglected situation,' during a brief incarceration in Four Courts gaol in 1839.¹⁴⁹ Yet poverty *per se* was no virtue: 'Thou shalt not respect the poor more than the rich in judgement [*sic*].'¹⁵⁰ Personal responsibility had to be exercised and a drunkard who abused their charity had the truth about his family's plight extracted from him by Jacob.

THE PUBLIC REPUTATION OF THE SECT: SOME BRIEF COMMENTS

Though limited in numbers, White Quakers acquired wide notoriety through violent and provocative language and bizarre, or allegedly immoral, behaviour. Press coverage, beyond local newspapers, included the English ultra-radical and national press. Articles appeared in the Concordium's journal, *The New Age*, and other progressive journals, such as the widely read *Family Herald*, Joseph Barker's *The People*, and *Howitt's Journal* (produced by the Quaker William Howitt). *The Times* was outraged but recognised that the sect's activity made interesting reading.¹⁵¹ Reports built on, and were supplemented by, the sect's own literature, distributed in the streets of White Quaker towns, and sent to 'influential people' by English supporters, especially Barmby.¹⁵² Thus the Earl of Stanhope, the Duke of Wellington, Thomas Carlyle and the organisers of the *Society for Promoting Self-Supporting Institutions upon Christian Principles* received tracts.¹⁵³ Barmby distributed literature in the streets of London and sent material to Scotland, Wales, Switzerland and the United States.¹⁵⁴ *Progress of the Truth* records close links with Barmby and communication with the 'Concordists' at their community at Ham Common, Surrey.¹⁵⁵ Barmby, followers and associates visited Usher's Quay, while Hugh Doherty, the Fourierist, visited Jacob in prison.¹⁵⁶ The Newlands community was visited separately by the socialist-Concordists William Galpin¹⁵⁷ and Alexander Campbell, the socialist Isaac Ironside,¹⁵⁸ Robert Owen himself¹⁵⁹ and Joseph Barker.¹⁶⁰

CONCLUSION

The research on which this article is based has attempted to examine the sect in detail, piece together a chronology, uncover the sect's relations with other groups, and identify the purely apocryphal, such as the allegations of nudity. The picture remains shadowy. At the centre remains the enigma of the sect's founder. What was Joshua Jacob like? Contemporary opinion was divided between those who thought he was a charlatan and those who thought he was a self-deluding

religious fanatic. He was undoubtedly a bigot who anathematised dissenters (many of whom, of course, were relations), or well-meaning critics.¹⁶¹ Critics did not exaggerate the violence of the sect's own literature as these 'Publishers of the Truth' refused to temper their language. The tranquillity pervading Newlands community in 1847 struck the prominent Dublin antislavery worker Richard Webb as an incredible change, while Barker's account of a visit in 1850 suggests this peace was short-lived and that a confrontational stance remained. According to Webb's son, Jacob harboured 'delusions' until his death.¹⁶²

What does White Quakerism represent? Greer and others rightly saw it as an attempt, at least originally, at returning to early Quakerism. It was conservative and inward-looking rather than a progressive utopianism and ought not to be linked (*pace* Barbara Taylor) with Barmby's and the Concordists' cerebralism and romanticism.¹⁶³ Indeed, the sect made no claims to novelty or innovation. The original followers were 'chiefly interested for the prosperity and purity of their own little corner of mount Zion.'¹⁶⁴ Several features, which now make *Progress of the Truth* seem odd, notably 'stories of Quaker miracles, dreams, portents, revelations, and prophecies', were certainly not intellectual or romantic in inspiration. Rather, they were orthodox if old-fashioned.¹⁶⁵ Moreover, the conservative impulse continued. Jacob's nephew, another Joshua Jacob (1840 - 83) attempted to maintain simplicity or conservatism against evangelicalism, and was visited by one of the schismatic 'Fritchley Friends', a conservative English group emerging in the early 1860s. White Quaker tenets, theological and physiological, were echoed by Charles Allen Fox (1849 - 1929), an English Quaker disowned in the late-nineteenth century.¹⁶⁶

White Quakerism was not inaugurated with notions of returning to an Enlightenment-inspired primitive state of society. Notoriety, and the need or desire to find friends and converts transformed the sect's public face. An important factor in the transformation was the reprinting of Barmby's writings in *Progress of the Truth*. Old Quaker radicalism, in attacking the habits of the ungodly, particularly the injunction 'Be not conformed to this world', found echoes in Barmbyite attacks on the established church and contemporary social relationships. When Joshua and Abigail Jacob were reviled for their 'marriage', Barmby's enthusiastic support was welcome. But Joshua was cautious about examining Barmby's writing and appreciated their differences when they finally met.¹⁶⁷ It is clear, from Joshua Jacob's later comments on Barmby and other English socialists and radicals, that the identified points of common interest that these people explored proved to have different bases in reality. Yet observers would have been forgiven for thinking otherwise given the extent of Barmbyite material placed in *Progress of the Truth*. Newlands certainly represented developments of 'physical puritan' ideas paralleled elsewhere, but these were in keeping with beliefs and practice already espoused by the sect. The new 'requirements' of a sect, whose core principle was the Inward Light, were often, as this study has indicated, conscious echoes of earlier Quaker radicalism.

White Quakers were remembered for their alleged sexual radicalism, a free-love reputation based on the divorce of Sarah Jacob and other unsympathetic

spouses, and suggested by false reports of public nudity. Greer wrote of a 'most monstrous indelicacy and licentiousness' supported by texts such as 'to the pure all things are pure' which justified Jacob 'whenever he inclined to honour any of his female followers with a temporary preference.'¹⁶⁸ Looking back twenty years, the American Unitarian Moncure Conway described them as a 'sort of free-love Quaker monastery' with a following due to the 'excited condition of those times.'¹⁶⁹ Observers identified them with both Owenite free-love and an earlier Protestant antinomianism.¹⁷⁰ The Rev. J.H. Blunt described them in his *Dictionary of Sects* (1874) as 'Antinomians of the worst description... cloaking villainy in the most sanctimonious language.'¹⁷¹ This was unfair. However unattractive to contemporaries Jacob's behaviour was: his public judgement on 'backsliding Quakers' at their funerals before the schism, his treatment of his wife, disruptive testimony in 'steeple houses', his ostentatious use of Quaker habits such as the 'steadfast' look and silence, the language used by the sect in its anathemas - he was not a villain. Though his 'marriage' to Abigail, and his subsequent marriage at Newlands laid him open to accusations of 'lewdness', his ideas on marriage and sexuality were not ruses to gain sexual partners. The conflict stimulated an interpretation of marital and other bonds for which existing authorities, above all conscience, could be found.

In contrast to radicals' interest in them in the 'excited condition of those times', their influence on Irish Quakerism outside their afflicted families has been viewed as limited. The short-term impact was probably stronger than later Quakers appreciated. Jacob's followers after all were socially significant members: 'steady Friends' and 'pillars' of the Society whose separation had been shocking. Their strength of feeling about treatment by former family members and friends was expressed in a propaganda campaign which was unprecedented in Irish Quakerism. They convulsed Irish Quakerism 'to such an extent that they formed the staple subject of the gossip at quarterly Meetings, and all occasions when it is customary or proper for people to gossip at all.'¹⁷² Decades afterwards, implicated families would not talk about them.¹⁷³ Jacob's great niece recalled that her grandmother, who had been a White Quaker, 'during the years of my early childhood never mentioned them in my hearing.'¹⁷⁴ Their continued infamous reputation is shown in a letter from one early twentieth century Quaker historian to another wherein it was suggested that, because of 'loose views' about marriage, 'much care may be needful in introducing their names into the [Quaker historical] *Journal* or reference to their practise.'¹⁷⁵

Greer claimed they inaugurated a more severe discipline in the Dublin Monthly Meeting which outlasted the schism.¹⁷⁶ A response of resistance to 'constructive change' and fear of open discussion was a danger.¹⁷⁷ It is doubtful whether in the longer term the schism helped reform Irish Quakerism through simplifications in living (as Joshua's great niece suggested), which might have 'given a little leaven to the main body of Friends in Ireland,' as extremism and notoriety made the episode a subject of shame.¹⁷⁸ Isabel Grubb, breaking silence on events which had pained the Society, thought the experience may have been a catalyst for a softening of response to offenders within the Society. She

charitably noted that 'at least they attempted to live their religion, and not only to theorise about it.'¹⁷⁹

This is a just assessment of an experiment which disturbed contemporaries within the Irish and English Quaker communities, and the wider Irish and British society. White Friends challenged their age with their well-publicised activities and beliefs. They undermined the marriage bond when they believed there to be adultery of spirit; questioned familial duty when set against the demand of the Truth in an age of 'respectability', cult of the family and supreme parental authority; and they publicly condemned other authorities, notably the Catholic Church, the Church of Ireland, the legal profession and the police. They interpreted Christianity as an injunction to communism, rejected commercial and capitalist practices accepted by the Quaker mainstream, and in their dietary, costume and general aesthetics they were attempting to be worthy successors to early Friends. Thus, observers were mistaken when they identified the sect with fashioning the 'new moral world' of the Owenites and others, for they set out to restore an old moral world.

NOTES

- 1 Thackeray, W. M., *The Irish Sketch-book, 1843*; reprinted in *The Works of William Makepeace Thackeray*, vol.18, London: Smith, Elder, 1885, p. 58.
- 2 Most notably among those members who desired to 'conserve' what they saw as the ancient and pure form of Quakerism against the encroachments of 'worldliness' and 'infidelity' by the 'New Lights' and the later evangelical Quakerism. 'Conservative' Quakerism is discussed in Milligan, E. H. "The Ancient Way": The Conservative Tradition in Nineteenth Century British Quakerism', *Journal of Friends' Historical Society* (hereafter *JFHS*), 57:1 (1994) pp. 74-101; see also Isichei, E., *Victorian Quakers*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970, pp. 16-25.
- 3 Mountmellick Friends, *Some account of the Progress as it is in Jesus*, Dublin: Thomas Cleary, Mountmellick Friends, 1843 - 44. Hereafter cited as *Progress*. This was published in forty parts and issued with a part number which was separately paginated. Though undated the parts (averaging 70 pages) can be dated from material published in each issue. The Library of the Society of Friends, London (hereafter LSF) has two copies. The first is an incomplete set of four volumes, the other bound in three volumes. The first volume of the three-volume copy includes a MS index, contained in a notebook with a printed calendar for 1880 - 81. This also incorporates a short pedigree of the Jacob family. The publication is the chief primary source for this monograph. I have not so far been able to study other printed or manuscript material in the Library of the Irish Society of Friends, Dublin, but I am grateful to the Librarian for providing me with information on the archive, and sending me copies of some secondary material. In *Progress*, Mountmellick is spelt with one 'l'.
- 4 Frost, T., *Forty Years Recollection: Literary and Political*, London: Sampson Low, 1880, p. 55 (see also references p. 69). Frost also referred to them in a paper, 'Social Utopias', *Chamber's Papers for the People* 18 (1850), pp. 1-32. See the parodic 'Charity Sermon' reprinted in *Progress*, 27, p. 34, and purporting to emanate from the 'White Quaker Press' at Mountmellick. See *Progress*, 31, pp. 39-40 for the tract, *The Creed and Character of White Quakerism*. Engravings were also produced.
- 5 Joseph Beale, letter printed in *Progress*, 17, p.21.
- 6 Greer, S. (originally anonymous), *Quakerism; or The Story of My Life By a Lady, who for forty years was a member of the Society of Friends*, Dublin: Samuel. B. Oldham, 1851, also published in America, Philadelphia: J.W. Moore, 1852. Greer (1806 - 91) claimed she abandoned Quakerism because of the harmful influence of Joshua Jacob on Irish Friends. See entry in Harrison, R. S., *Biographical Dictionary of Irish Quakers*, Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1997, p. 53.
- 7 See *New Moral World*, 15 September 1847, p. 84 (there are further references to White Quakerism in the paper); *The Reasoner*, 21 February 1849, p. 128 (again, there are a number of other references to White Quakerism in this paper); *Howitt's Journal*, 18 September 1847, p. 18; *The People*, III, no. 25; *Notes and Queries*, 11 May 1861, 17 May 1862, 7 June 1862, 28 June 1862, 19 July 1862, and *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle*, 8 January and 15 January 1876.
- 8 Burke, W. P., *History of Clonmel*, Waterford: Clonmel Library Committee, 1907, p. 297.
- 9 Gordon, A., 'Joshua Jacob', *Dictionary of National Biography*, London: 1921 - 22 edition, vol. 10, pp. 558-59; Webb, A., *A Compendium of Irish Biography*, Dublin: M. H. Gill & son, 1898; Boylan, H., *A Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 3rd edn, 1998, p. 192; Boylan, L., 'Joshua Jacob, 1801 - 1877', *Journal of the County Kildare Archaeological Society*, 16/4 (1983 - 84), pp. 349-54 (I have not located the *Irish Times* article Boylan draws on); MacKenna, J., *A Haunted Heart*, London: Picador, 1999.
- 10 Armytage, W. H. G., *Heavens Below: utopian experiments in England, 1560 - 1960*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961, p. 202-03; Taylor, B., *Eve and the New Jerusalem*, London: Virago History, 1983, pp. 80-82, 174-75; Royle, E., *Robert Owen and the Commencement of the Millennium: a study of the Harmony Community*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998 p. 152; Latham, J. E. M., *Search for a New Eden. James Pierrepont Greaves (1777 - 1842): the sacred Socialist and his followers*, London: Associated University Presses, 1999 p. 172. Grubb, I., *Quakers in Ireland. 1654 - 1900*, London: Swarthmore Press, 1927, pp. 127-30. Wigham, M. J., *The Irish Quakers: a short history of the Religious Society of Friends in Ireland*, Dublin: Historical Committee of the Religious Society of Friends in Ireland, 1992. Further references are to be found in Somerville-Large, P., *Irish Eccentrics: a selection*, London: Hamish Hamilton, 1975, pp. 111-12; Malmgreen, G., 'Ann Knight and the Radical Subculture', *Quaker History*, 71 (1982), pp. 100-12 (p. 110); Harrison, *A Biographical Dictionary of Irish Quakers*, p. 65.
- 11 For biographical information, see Boylan, 'Joshua Jacob, 1801 - 77', pp. 349-54. I have consulted Jacob, H. W., *A History of the Families of Jacob of Bridgewater, Tiverton and southern Ireland*, Taunton: privately printed at the Wessex Press, 1929.
- 12 Webb, R.D., *The National Anti-Slavery Standard* (New York), 28 October 1847, pp. 86-87, and reprinted in *Chamber's Journal*, 1847; *Littell's Living Age*, 15, p. 184, 20 November 1847, p. 374.
- 13 One example of this witness against Quaker worldliness may be cited. In November 1837, Jacob informed relations and friends at the funeral of Samuel Bewley that the deceased had been spiritually blind and unsanctified. See *Progress*, 12. For a contrast, see *Irish Friend*, December 1837, p. 16, an extract from *Irish Temperance and Literary Magazine*, describing Bewley as 'a highly esteemed member of the Society of Friends'.
- 14 *Littell's Living Age* (New York), 15, p. 184, 20 November 1847, p. 374.
- 15 Webb, *Anti-Slavery Standard*, 28 October 1847, p. 87.
- 16 Greer, *Quakerism*, p. 379.
- 17 Greer, *Quakerism*, p. 377.
- 18 For details of the divorce of Sarah Jacob (March 1843), see *Progress*, 6, p. 7, p. 9, p. 24; 18, p. 43.
- 19 Webb, *Anti-Slavery Standard*, 28 October 1847, p. 87.
- 20 Greer, *Quakerism*, p. 382.
- 21 *Littell's Living Age*, 15 p.184, 20 November 1847, p. 374.
- 22 *Progress*, 7, p. 71.
- 23 Similarly William Roberts expressed that 'our hearts and our houses are open to all who are willing in sincerity to be of the one true faith with us', *Progress*, 37, p. 51.
- 24 *Progress*, 4, p. 35; 6, p. 41; 7, pp. 40-41; 17, p. 25. Dickenson is described in 38, p. 46, as a 'Protestant'.
- 25 There were Meeting Houses at 17, Bailey's New Street, Waterford; Pound Street, Mountmellick; 4, Stephen Street, Clonmel. White Quakers visited Kilkenny in 1842 and 1843, and had a few advocates elsewhere in Ireland (Urney and Monrath). See letters from supporters in *Progress*, 28, pp. 25-27.
- 26 £9,000, of which £6, 313 was in government stock, was the property of the children of Jacob's deceased brother Joseph Jacob of Clonmel. His widow put the money into the community's

- common funds, with Jacob ensuring the stocks were sold, transferred and changed from bank notes to gold which was weighed in his presence. The plaintiffs' bill, filed in Chancery in December 1842, was reprinted later by the White Quakers, see *Progress*, 15, pp. 10-18, pp. 19-27. In the document the plaintiff, Joseph Beale, acting as the 'nearest friend' to the family, alleged that the widow, Anne Jacob, was a 'person of weak mind'. Beale also suggested that Joshua had prevailed on many followers, particularly females, to surrender to him property under the false and fraudulent pretence of being the 'Apostle of God', and that within the last two years he had accumulated almost £20,000.
- 27 *Progress*, 17, pp. 43-49.
- 28 This was formerly a hotel and transformed into a community house by workmen whose praise for Abigail Beale and the sect appeared in *Progress*, 40, pp. 64-65. A description of the building and life is provided in *Progress* 39, pp. 64-65 (by George Ruby, follower of the Fourierist Hugh Doherty). Further descriptions by Ruby were given on pp. 66-67 (reprinted with additional material in *Communist Chronicle* and *New Moral World*, 28 September 1844, p. 112), while the *Family Herald* used Ruby's account, see *Family Herald*, 27 April 1844, p. 814. The White Quaker response given in a three page broadsheet and denouncing the *Family Herald* is available at LSF (pasted in Volume D, folio 224).
- 29 For this decision, see a letter from H. D. Griffiths in *Lloyd's Weekly London Newspaper*, 20 October 1844, p. 5.
- 30 Primary accounts of Newlands include: 'Singular Sects: a day with the White Quakers', *Howitt's Journal*, 38 (18 September 1847), p. 18; an account summarised in letter with commentary, by Webb, *Anti-Slavery Standard*, 28 October 1847 and reprinted there, 4 November 1847, p. 92 (and summarised in *Chamber's Journal* and *Littell's Living Age*); *Reasoner*, 21 February 1849, p. 128; *Family Herald*, 1850, p. 154; Joseph Barker, *The People*, III, no. 25, reprinted as 'The White Quakers' in *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, 24 October 1850, p. 88; and material cited in *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle*, 15 January 1876. See also Dowling, E., *Families of Newlands, Co. Dublin*, Dublin: Irish Genealogical Sources No. 26, Genealogical Society of Ireland, 2001, pp. 37-43. By early 1851 the community moved to near Rathfarnham, where Woodtown House apparently provided a base (exact date unknown), see Handcock, W. D., *The History and Antiquities of Tallaght, County Dublin*, Dublin: Hodges, Foster and Figgis, 1877, ch. 17, and Boylan, 'Joshua Jacob', p. 353.
- 31 Details of the desertion in the wake of this event are provided in *Progress*, 7, pp. 26-28 (Hannah Colclough); 51 (Ben Scott).
- 32 For examples of abductees, see *Progress*, 6, pp. 36-38 (Mary Pim); 7, pp. 22-23 (Anne Gooch); 40, pp. 6-8 (Rebecca Roberts).
- 33 Abigail died in 1849
- 34 For reference to the re-burial of many of his followers who died young between 1843 - 50, see Boylan, 'Joshua Jacob', p. 351.
- 35 *Progress*, 6, p. 45.
- 36 *Progress*, 40, pp. 19-21 (p.19).
- 37 *Progress*, 40, p. 20.
- 38 *Progress*, 40, p. 20.
- 39 *Progress*, 40, p. 20.
- 40 *Progress*, 40, p. 20.
- 41 *Progress*, 40, p. 20.
- 42 See Collins, P., 'Quaker Plainness as Critical Aesthetic', *Quaker Studies* 5 (2001), pp. 121-39, for a useful discussion of Quaker 'plainness' as a religious ideal, a general symbol of spirituality, and aesthetic judgement.
- 43 *New Moral World*, 28 September 1844, p. 112; his account was published in *Progress*, 40, pp. 65-67.
- 44 *Progress*, 4, p. 64. This stated that they were 'endeavouring to stand in the testimonies and practices of our ancient Friends'.
- 45 *Progress*, 8, p. 23. For Joshua's definition of true atheism as lip-service to observances, see *Progress*, 33, pp. 63-66.

- 46 This was expressed in Hodgson, William, *The Society of Friends in the Nineteenth Century: a historical view of the successive convulsions and schisms therein during that period*, 2 vols., Philadelphia: Smith, English and Co., 1875 - 76, which provides details of the early nineteenth century Irish 'heresies' and later 'errors' by Hicksites, Beaconites, Gurneyites. He nevertheless makes no allusion to White Quakerism.
- 47 *Progress*, 40, pp. 22-31.
- 48 *Progress*, 18, p. 12 (letter dated 28 June 1837).
- 49 *Progress*, 1, p. 16.
- 50 *Progress*, 6, p. 39. See entry in unpublished 'Dictionary of Quaker Biography', copy in LSF. On this earlier schism, see Hodgson, *The Society of Friends in the Nineteenth Century*, vol. 1, chapter 2.
- 51 *Progress*, 14, pp. 46-48.
- 52 *Progress*, 4, p. 29 (Mary Pim to the English Quaker Sarah Squire).
- 53 *Progress*, 4, pp. 16-18.
- 54 *The Times*, 7 January 1842, p. 5.
- 55 For examples, see *Progress*, 3, p. 30, pp. 50-51 (William Beale's 'awful conduct' and excessive drinking); 3, p. 40 (Joseph Beale's fraudulence in business).
- 56 Joshua's discussion of the character of Joseph Beale is given in *Progress*, 15, pp. 10-18, pp. 19-27.
- 57 *Progress*, 3, p. 71.
- 58 See the facsimile of a paper against White Quakers, *Progress*, 27, pp. 33-34.
- 59 See *Progress*, 7, pp. 33-35 (a letter from a Waterford Quaker dated 5 April 1843); *Progress*, 6, p. 54 (a commentary upon Elizabeth Beale and contrasting her with Jezebel).
- 60 *Progress*, 28, p. 7.
- 61 'H', 'Communism not Christianity,' a tract extracted in *The Friend*, 7, (1849), pp. 8-9.
- 62 *Irish Friend*, 1837 for John Conran. On consistency in plain dress and dwellings, see August 1839, p. 63 (a letter from Munster), while concerns over trading were expressed in September 1841, p. 135.
- 63 *Irish Friend*, letter from 'J. P.', May 1841.
- 64 *Irish Friend*, extract from Pennington in June 1839, p. 47.
- 65 The awful state of disownment for convinced 'birthright' Quakers, and the isolation which their 'Peculiar Practices' brought them after expulsion, if they could not accept the position of 'attender', is well documented in Isichei, *Victorian Quakers*, pp. 67, 134-39. Isichei emphasises the 'constant reminder' to English Quakers of the schisms in America but neglects the Irish warning, though drawing on Greer in her study.
- 66 *Progress*, 8, p. 11.
- 67 *Waterford Chronicle*, 25 March 1843, reprinting the handbill.
- 68 *Progress*, 37, p. 37.
- 69 *Progress*, 40, pp. 33, 67. See his comments on Southcottianism in *Progress*, 7, p. 10 (published after Barmby's letter on Southcott, pp. 6-7).
- 70 *New Moral World*, 15 February 1845, p. 268.
- 71 See Boylan, 'Joshua Jacob', pp. 349-54.
- 72 On Armagh, see *Progress*, 9. On the Paterines, see *Progress*, 18, p. 10. The Paterines of Lombardy opposed clerical marriage.
- 73 *Progress*, 7. Actions, such as the testimony in 'steeple houses' and walking barefooted into town, and Joshua Jacob's deportment in prison, show his emulation of George Fox and the early Friends.
- 74 This was already manifested in the American Hicksite schism, and the evangelicalism of the *Beacon* and J. J. Gurney. The Gurneyite journal, *The Inquirer*, associated the current crisis in Irish Quakerism with Hicksism, when making reference to the silencing of a minister at Waterford and office-bearers: surely an allusion to the disownment of White Quakers (*Inquirer*, November 1838, p.350). In its review of the conservative *Irish Friend* (published in Belfast) it appositely expressed 'our fears that in the present condition of the Irish Friends, some leader, of bold spirit and strong mind, and ardent temperament, might carry away with him a train of prepared disciples, who, emulous of the dauntless zeal of their "worthy predecessors," would spread far and wide the "leprous distilment" of heresy'.

- 75 *Progress*, 7, p. 58.
- 76 *Progress*, 28, p. 33, in response to a visit by the Presbyterian Minister William B. Kirkpatrick.
- 77 See 'N.B.I.', letter dated 20 March 1842, printed in *Progress*, 8, p. 57; and 12, p. 25, a letter from the English writer Mary Kelly (briefly attracted to Quakerism partly through the sect's letters) in which she sees their activities as a beacon to warn 'against believing every spirit'. Jacob, in *Progress* and in a broadsheet preserved in LSF (pasted in Volume D, folio 224) described the Inward Light as the 'grand fundamental of White Quakerism' (unpaginated, p. 4).
- 78 Nangle, E., *Letter upon Quakerism, or, Truth and Error*, London: Wertheim and Macintosh, 1855, p. 25. Quaker/pro-Quaker responses to Greer's *Quakerism; or the Story of My Life* consulted were: Anon., *Vindication of Friends; (by one not a member) from slanders contained in a book just published entitled Quakerism, or The Story of My Life*, Philadelphia: Getz and Buck, 1852; and Elly, S., *Ostentation: or critical remarks on Quakerism, or The Story of My Life*, Dublin: Hodgson and Smith, 1852. Both in the *British Friend's* reviews of Greer's work, and her reply, no allusion to the sect is made, see February 1853, pp. 47-50, April 1853, p. 103.
- 79 *Progress*, 3, pp. 22-23.
- 80 *Progress*, 8, p. 72.
- 81 *Progress*, 3, p. 4.
- 82 *Progress*, 3, pp. 22-33.
- 83 *Progress*, 28, p. 33. See *Progress*, 32, p. 22 for Jacob's views on transgressions 'in likeness of Adam's transgression'; and the 'new creation in the soul of man'.
- 84 It can be pointed out that William Dell, a seventeenth century antinomian, was nevertheless quoted in *Progress of the Truth*. See *Progress*, 4, pp. 8-9; 19, p. 3; 22, pp. 28-31.
- 85 *Progress*, 15, p. 52, letter dated 1840.
- 86 *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle*, 8 January 1876; from *Progress* (I have not located this particular quotation).
- 87 *Progress*, 1, p. 66.
- 88 *Progress*, 1, (p. 57 which provided details concerning the disownment of Mary Keegan, 13 December 1842).
- 89 *Progress*, 1, pp. 11-15.
- 90 Admittedly, these incidents are reported in the unreliable account by Greer, *Quakerism*, p. 383, and may have been fabricated by opponents.
- 91 Greer, *Quakerism*, p. 383.
- 92 *Progress*, 6, p. 22. My italics.
- 93 *Family Herald*, 27 April 1844, p. 814.
- 94 The 'Creed and Character of White Quakerism', a tract quoted in *Progress*, 32, p. 39, alleged that Jacob was the sect's 'spiritual father, ecclesiastical dictator and temporal treasurer'. For denials, see *Progress*, 25, p. 29; and broadsheet in LSF (pasted in Volume D, folio 224), p. 4.
- 95 For defence of anathema as requirement of the truth, see *Progress*, 32, p. 44; and 35, p. 46 as a 'mercy of God... whilst time of repentance remains'.
- 96 For his own experience as a 'minister of the gospel' of the 'strife of the two powers, light and darkness, that struggles for the mastery in the soul that is the object of that redeeming love', see *Progress*, 35, p. 9.
- 97 *Spirit of the Times* (London), 24 November 1849, p. 119.
- 98 Meeker, M., 'The Doctrine of the Inner Light: evangelicalism and women in the Society of Friends', *Ex Post Facto, the journal of the History Students Association, San Francisco State University* vol. III, 1994. An e-text version (<http://userwww.sfsu.edu/~epf/1994/friends.html>. Accessed 6 January 2003) provides the context for this. See also Holton, S. S. and Allen, M., 'Officers and Services: women's pursuit of sexual equality within the Society of Friends, 1873-1907', *Quaker Studies*, 2 (1997), pp. 1-29.
- 99 *Progress*, 3, p. 33. Her prominence, and her manner, caused tensions. William Roberts and Isaac Dickenson's 'confessions of murmurings and rebellious conversations' written before they left the sect, records their opinion of her 'hardness' in dealing with them. See *Progress*, 38, pp. 49-54. A report from Mary Dalton referred to 'slander' that she was 'so great a tyrant over them'. Details are given in *Progress*, 38, p. 71.

- 100 *Progress*, 10, pp. 22-30 (account by Elizabeth Beale).
- 101 For references to the departure of Elizabeth Beale from Annegrove on account of the hostility of William Beale to Joshua Jacob and others (also the subject of printed notices), see *Progress*, 8, p. 63. Grievances concerning the loss of her annuity, houses and land are to be found in *Progress*, 1, p. 19; 2, pp. 54-55; 3, p. 55; 7, p. 64, 15, p. 8.
- 102 *Progress*, 3, p. 44 (letter dated 29 October 1832).
- 103 *Progress*, 16, p. 5.
- 104 See also *Progress*, 11, p. 10; 13, pp. 6-7; 14, pp. 19-34.
- 105 *Progress*, 11, p. 10.
- 106 *Progress*, 13, pp. 29-30.
- 107 *Progress*, 3, p. 59. Lydia Barclay failed to reply to this letter, and 'the deep unity given her with the suffering few in Ireland, gave place to the spirit of Black Quakerism', see *Progress*, 30, p. 52. Barclay supported the conservative American Quaker John Wilbur (1774 - 1856), a leading critic of J.J. Gurney's evangelicalism, who visited Great Britain in 1831 - 33 and 1853 - 54. His opposition to Gurney led to disownment in 1843, and in 1845 the New England Yearly Meeting was divided between Gurneyites and Wilburites.
- 108 *Progress*, 4, pp. 38-39.
- 109 *Progress*, 4, pp. 56-57.
- 110 *Progress*, 4, p. 64.
- 111 *Progress*, 5, pp. 3-4.
- 112 *Progress*, 3, p. 14. See also, 4, p. 52 for her own use of Deborah.
- 113 *Progress*, 15, p. 3. See 3, p. 40 for description of Joseph Beale as 'fraudulent'. His public reputation however was high on his departure for Australia following the failure of his businesses (c.1852). For further information, see O'Keefe, R., et al., *The Quakers of Mountmellick*, FAS, 1994, pp. 31-38, and *Progress*, 3, p. 39 for a letter from Hugh Law, agent of Bank of Ireland, Mountmellick, informing Abigail Beale of a creditors meeting. She refused to settle her claim in anything but full payment, a position which she was legally entitled to take. Details are also provided at: <http://irish-midlandsancestry.com/content/laois/people/quaker-mountmellick.htm>. Accessed 6 January 2004.
- 114 'Some account of suffering for conscience sake', cited in *Progress*, 15, details the sufferings 'with regard to outward property' of mainly female White Quakers. Property and money willed to Anne Jacob by her father was also withheld by Joseph Beale.
- 115 *Progress*, 11, p. 44.
- 116 *Progress*, 33, p. 70.
- 117 See *Progress*, 37, pp. 13-14, for a magistrate's comments to the White Quakeress, Susanna Delisle.
- 118 At Newlands the gender ratio appears to have been equal.
- 119 Though Greer stressed the greater religiosity in general of women Quakers. See Greer, *Quakerism*, American edn, 1852, p. x.
- 120 *Progress*, 2, p. 65 (Benjamin Thompson, letter of 29 December 1842).
- 121 *Progress*, 33, p. 17. The 24 page tract which attacked Barmby and White Quakers was *A Voice of Warning against Socialism (or A Voice against the Infidel and Profligate Writings of Some of those Called 'Socialists')*. This was allegedly by 'Eunice', but probably by John Ouseley Bonsall, a Methodist preacher living in Dublin, who sent anti-White Quaker tracts and letters to the sect and its supporters.
- 122 *Progress*, 31, pp. 40-41. Letters from Catherine Barmby to Beale, and her reply are given in *Progress*, 24, pp. 12-14.
- 123 *Progress*, 6, p. 23.
- 124 Mary Ridgeway, *Progress*, 34, p. 24.
- 125 For instance, *Progress*, 33, p. 67 (two relations of Mary Ridgeway).
- 126 For damage to the graveyard, see *Progress*, 6, pp. 53-54, and for the removal of Anthony Pim's body by his sons, see *Progress*, 15, pp. 4-5.
- 127 See account in *Leinster Express*, 20 April 1844.
- 128 *Progress*, 15, pp. 35-37.
- 129 *Progress*, 13, pp. 62-65.

- 130 This was partly due to the support given to the sect by the English radical Goodwyn Barmby, whose communism could be interpreted by critics as involving community in women. William Roberts at Waterford, in response to visitors' questions, also emphasised the 'separate' state of the men and women's rooms: 'chastity of the strictest nature is a distinguishing feature of a true christian'. See *Progress*, 22, p. 36.
- 131 Rous, F., *The Mystical Marriage* (3rd edition, 1724), and reprinted in *Progress*, 20, pp. 3-7.
- 132 *New Moral World*, 15 February 1845, p. 268. See also the important discussion in *Progress*, 35, pp. 10-11.
- 133 *Littell's Living Age*, 15, p. 184, (20 November 1847), p. 374, refers to it as being 'Platonic', and Jacob himself said in c. April 1844 that she 'does not live with him as his wife, God's time for that not being come'. See *Progress*, 35, p. 44.
- 134 For Jacob's marriage to the Catholic Nagle, and the offspring he fathered after the decline of the White Quaker community, see Boylan, 'Joshua Jacob'.
- 135 Placards in Waterford announcing a nude procession were denounced as a Black Quaker campaign. *The Times*, 18 September 1844, p. 7, reprinted a paragraph from the *Limerick Chronicle* concerning two White Quakeresses, 'apprehended in the streets of Longford, where they displayed themselves in the supposed costume of Eden, viz., a garment of leaves twisted together, and a covering them from the waist to the knees.' A letter published in *Lloyd's Weekly London Newspaper*, 20 October 1844, p. 5, denied this (see also *Progress*, 15, p. 10, p. 43). Discussions in *Notes and Queries* (Eironnach, 'Notes and queries respecting certain theosophists and mystics', 11 May 1861, p. 362), show that the idea that they practised nudism was current: a visitor to Newlands thought they wanted the 'naked simplicity of their "Adamical Father"'. Mary Pim had distinguished between shame, preservative of morality in the 'fallen state', and the modesty of a pure mind which represented a 'higher and blessed standard'. See *Progress*, 10, pp. 11-12.
- 136 Following on from 'communion of saints', see *Progress*, 32, p. 1. The communitive life, according to William Roberts, meant 'enjoying all things in common together... no servants... no distinction among us, those who brought thousands into the community were on a level with those who brought nothing, and we freely put our own hands to serve ourselves and each other'. *Progress*, 37, pp. 47-48. The scriptural basis for communism is Acts 2: 44-45: 'And all that believed were together and had all things common; and sold their goods, and parted them to all men, as every man had need.'
- 137 *Progress*, 33, p. 47.
- 138 *Progress*, 14, pp. 11-12; 33, pp. 46-47.
- 139 *Progress*, 11, p. 30.
- 140 *Progress*, 3, pp. 41-43.
- 141 *Progress*, 15, pp. 43-45, pamphlets dated 1838 - 40. For his response to criticisms by Adam Calvert: 'How could a true Quaker die possessed of wealth?', see *Progress*, 35, p. 12.
- 142 Joshua Jacob to H. D. Griffiths, reprinted in Griffiths' letter to *Lloyd's Weekly London Newspaper*, 19 May 1844, p. 6.
- 143 *Progress*, 7, pp. 29-32. See also 22, p. 36.
- 144 *Progress*, 35, pp. 52-53 (in response to a letter from Barmby); see also pp. 60-61.
- 145 *Progress*, 1, p. 23.
- 146 *Progress*, 28, p. 54.
- 147 *Progress*, 28, p. 54.
- 148 *Progress*, 3, p. 69; 9, p. 42.
- 149 *Progress*, 4, p. 46.
- 150 *Progress*, 3, pp. 69-71; and the statement by Jacob that 'The proud rich and the wicked poor have one father'. See *Progress*, 39, p. 1.
- 151 See *The Times*, 5 January 1842; 7 January 1842, p. 5; 14 January 1843, p. 5; 10 July, p. 3; 21 August 1843, p. 6; 27 October; 30 November 1843, p. 5; 18 September 1844, p. 7.
- 152 On Barmby, see Armytage, *Heavens Below*, pp. 196-208, and Armytage, 'The Journalistic Activities of J. Goodwin Barmby between 1841 and 1848', *Notes and Queries*, April 1956, pp. 166-69; Taylor, *Eve and the New Jerusalem*, pp. 172-82, and an entry in the *DNB*. Note that *Lloyd's Weekly London Newspaper* described him as a White Quaker, 6 October 1844, p. 4.

- 153 *Progress*, 36, pp. 34-35 (Stanhope); 35, pp. 16-25 (Wellington); 37, pp. 8-9 (Society for Promoting Self-Supporting Institutions upon Christian Principles).
- 154 *Progress*, 27, pp. 22-24 for distribution in London. For distribution in Wales and elsewhere, 19, pp. 22-23.
- 155 For communications to and from the Concordium, see *Progress* 25, pp. 63-72; 29, pp. 19-23; 32, pp. 43-45, p. 80; 36, pp. 9-18.
- 156 For the interview and Joshua's comments, *Progress*, 40, p. 68; for meeting between a correspondent of the White Quakers, H. D. Griffiths and Doherty, and the latter's comments on White Quakers, pp. 58-59, and 39, p. 22. See Doherty's *London Phalanx*, 2 April 1842, p. 838; to correspondent 'Verulam', 16 April 1842; and p. 903, reprinting paragraph on sect from *Leinster Express*.
- 157 Galpin praised White Quakers at Harmony in 1845, see *New Moral World*, 7 June 1845, p. 404. *New Moral World*, 1845, p. 264, p. 267 excerpted correspondence between Joshua, Abigail and Oldham of the Concordium. See *New Moral World*, 15 February 1845, p. 268, for reply to Galpin on Shakerism. Earlier references in *New Moral World* include: 24 August 1844, 'The White Quakers', p. 67. Further references to Galpin include: 'Utilitarian Record', *The Reasoner*, 15 September 1847, p. 84; and *The Reasoner*, 1848, p. 396.
- 158 *New Moral World*, 31 May 1845, p. 400; 28 June 1845, p. 435. See also *New Moral World*, 19 July 1844, p. 459.
- 159 For a letter from Galpin to Robert Owen, see Co-operative Union Library, Robert Owen Papers, 1715: letter docketed '4 Dec 1848, London'. I am grateful to Dr J. E. M. Latham for a photocopy.
- 160 Barker's account of the visit, in his *The People*, was reprinted (via the abolitionist R. D. Webb) in the *American National Anti-slavery Standard*, 24 October 1850, p. 88. See also Barker, J. T., (ed.), *The Life of Joseph Barker. Written by Himself*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1880, which charts his progress through various denominations and 'isms'.
- 161 For an example of the response to well-meant criticisms by the English visitor Richard Child, see *Progress*, 28, pp. 60-65.
- 162 Webb, A., *A Compendium of Irish Biography*, Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son, 1878, pp. 260-61.
- 163 Taylor, *Eve and the New Jerusalem*, p. 175. Given conservative Quaker distrust of mere 'head-knowledge' (a phrase White Quakers themselves used) the idea of 'cerebrality' in relation to the sect is singularly inappropriate.
- 164 Webb, *Anti-Slavery Standard*, 28 October 1847, p. 87.
- 165 Webb, *Anti-Slavery Standard*, 28 October 1847, p. 87.
- 166 See Milligan, "The Ancient Way", pp. 74-101; Allen, R. C., 'An Example of Quaker Discipline: the case of Dr. Charles Allen Fox and the Cardiff Quakers' *Journal of Welsh Religious History*, New Series 1 (Winter 2001), pp. 46-73. I am most grateful to Dr Allen (University of Newcastle) for a copy.
- 167 See the report by Barker of Jacob's distinction between his community and the 'community after the flesh' of Barmby, Campbell and others, in 'The White Quakers' in Webb, *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, 24 October 1850, p. 88. See also *Progress*, 31, p. 27 for Jacob's selective reading of Barmby's writings.
- 168 Greer, *Quakerism*, p. 384.
- 169 Conway, M. D., 'South Coast Saunterings in England', *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 39, (August 1869), p. 341. The sect's free love reputation is also noted in Bagwell, E., 'Quakerism in Ireland', an article originally in *Temple Bar*, and reprinted in *Littell's Living Age*, 149 (1922), pp. 170-76 (p. 175).
- 170 For example, see *Leinster Express*, 29 April 1843 (unpaginated, p. 4): they 'adopt Owen's system in worldly concerns, rendering it more mischievous, under the false semblance of a spiritual guidance'.
- 171 Blunt, J. H., *Dictionary of Sects, Heresies, Ecclesiastical Parties, and Schools of Religious Thought*, London: Rivingtons, 1874, p. 469.
- 172 Webb, *Anti-Slavery Standard*, 28 October 1847, p. 87.
- 173 See Legg, M., *Alfred Webb: the autobiography of a Quaker nationalist*, Cork: Cork University Press,

- 1999, pp. 21-22 in which it is noted the Quaker S. V. Peet's ambition to write the sect's history had been thwarted.
- 174 Jacob, C. N., (ed.), 'Memoirs of a Quaker Childhood in Ireland and Pennsylvania'— an unpublished typescript (n.d.?1959), p. 5. LSF has a copy which the author consulted (*Ed.*).
- 175 LSF, J. Ernest Grubb to Norman Penney, letter dated 2 September 1914, after index in notebook, pasted in front of first volume of 3 volume copy of *Progress*.
- 176 Greer, *Quakerism*, p. 385: Dublin Quakers still 'pertinaciously retain his alterations and additions', see also p. 308.
- 177 See Harrison, R.S., *Richard Davis Webb: Dublin Quaker Printer (1805 - 72)*, Cork: Red Barn Publishers, 1993, p. 3, p. 39; See also his 'Irish Perspectives on the Anti-Slavery Movement', *JFHS*, 56:2 (1991), pp. 106-25 (pp. 115-16), and particularly his *A Biographical Dictionary*, p. 19 for a reference to, although not examination of, the negative impact of the schism.
- 178 Jacob, *Memoirs*, p. 5.
- 179 Grubb, *Quakers in Ireland*, p. 130.

AUTHOR DETAILS

James Gregory has recently completed at Ph.D. at the University of Southampton. It is the first detailed study of the British vegetarian movement in the nineteenth century. The thesis explores the personnel, development and wider connections of this interesting body. At present he is a lecturer at the University of Southampton.

Mailing details: 22 Clifton Road, Lee on Solent, Hampshire PO13 9AT, England. E-mail: james.gregory@talk21.com