

QUAKER PUBLISHING IN EIGHTEENTH AND EARLY NINETEENTH-CENTURY IRELAND

This article constitutes an excursus to more central Quaker themes. It is primarily a review of defining events and attitudes characterizing the Irish Quaker community as visible through a history of its publications during the eighteenth and early nineteenth-centuries. A distinct coincidence is detectable between book production and the doctrinal responses and attitudes of Quakers. Part of the cause of this, is that most Quaker printing and publishing was commissioned by the National Meeting.¹ A review of books printed and stocked by Irish Quaker booksellers can give a useful angle on doctrinal and other viewpoints, as well as information on distribution, the size of print-runs and other pertinent information.

It is not intended to go too deeply here into the earlier periods of publication except by way of outline. Isabel Grubb estimated that sixty works had been written by Quakers in Ireland by 1752 and that only a fifth of them had been printed in Ireland.² Much of the early literature had been imported from English Quakers, as it continued to be, or else concerned matters of more local controversy, presented Quaker viewpoints to the world at large, or recorded the sufferings endured by Friends to encourage an amelioration in their situation.

For wide periods of Irish Quaker history it was accepted that Quaker publications should be regulated by the Yearly or National Meeting, or as it was known for much of the eighteenth century, by the Half-Yearly Meeting that was its forerunner. It was supposed that any individual with a proposal for a book or pamphlet would first submit it for consideration.³ In England a similar task devolved on the 'Morning Meeting's' committee, which had as one of its functions the regulation and printing of Quaker publications.⁴ In Ireland, a temporary committee would occasionally be appointed to consider the virtues of a particular title, or progress it to publication. The details of printing were frequently delegated to the Dublin Men's Meeting which by its central position, and its size and access to city printers was best situated to undertake such work.

One concern of the National Meeting was the supervision of education, which remained a constant preoccupation among Irish Quakers. This was shown in the earliest times in conferences of Quaker schoolmasters who devised a common curriculum with agreed books avoiding worldly or immoral sentiments.⁵ Although

the National Meeting undertook the production of some educational material, this mainly related to the religious instruction of children. School books formed much of the bread and butter of booksellers and printers whether Quaker or otherwise but the production of these they undertook on their own initiative. They printed or imported books on other useful subjects such as the Latin and English languages, and mathematics, and things that would help young people in commercial life.

It is true to say that for the eighteenth and for the earlier decades of the nineteenth century, a history of Quaker publications resolves itself into an account of the Irish Quaker printers who undertook much of the work of publication. As a system of ordering or commissioning books and pamphlets evolved it became common for a monthly or quarterly meeting to request the National Meeting to publish a title. Occasionally an individual had access to a suitable manuscript. Frequently reprints of books printed in England or North America were ordered to serve local needs or purposes, or because not enough copies were immediately available in Ireland. By the mid-eighteenth century the pattern of publication by the National Meeting was well-established. Literature issued under its auspices performed three primary functions. It was 1) a protective device to arm Quaker children against pernicious influences 2) a way of self-information about the principles of the Society, transmitting acceptable models of spiritual development and 3) a means of informing the wider population about Quaker views and doctrine.

Effectively, the first consistent printer for Irish Quakers was the schoolmaster Samuel Fuller (d.1736) who, probably as a result of having to obtain school-books, emerged around 1720 as bookseller, began commissioning books, and in 1726 was advertising in the *Dublin Weekly Journal*, titles that he had for sale.⁶ In the decades following the Williamite Wars 1688-91, there was still a degree of missionary endeavour by Quakers to reach to the wider population, which exhibited an openness to hear their message and took an interest in doctrinal controversy. To service such needs the National Meeting issued publications which Samuel Fuller printed on its behalf. An evident need was in Ulster and as a response to a request from Quakers there the National Meeting arranged in 1727 for the printing of 1,500 copies of 'A Brief Apology' by Alexander Pyott which received a welcome from interested Presbyterians.⁷ By 1728 Samuel Fuller had set up his own press and, himself no stranger to controversy, was ordered on behalf of the National Meeting to print his own reply to 'Queries' originally proposed by the Presbyterian Joseph Boyce. The book in question, published in 1728, was entitled

*A Serious Reply to twelve Sections of abusive Queries proposed to the Consideration of the People called Quakers.*⁸

The importance of explaining the reasons for Quaker refusal to pay tithes resulted in 1730, in the National Meeting ordering from Samuel Fuller a reprint of Anthony Pearson's tract *The Great Case of tithes*. An initial subscription by monthly meetings was for 1,200 copies but it was felt there would be a wider demand and the National Meeting agreed to make up the number to 2,000 by paying out of the 'public stock'.⁹ Samuel was also memorable for preparing a catechism of Quaker, that is Christian, belief for young people and others, and which the National Meeting agreed to publish in Ninth-month 1733.¹⁰ It went through several editions, and owed much to a similar catechism, originally prepared by Robert Barclay of Aberdeen and which Samuel sold also.¹¹ Reflecting a Quaker concern about 'marriage out' which was to remain a 'live' issue for much of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the Dublin Men's Meeting, in 1735, probably at the behest of the National Meeting, asked Samuel to print 3,000 copies of Moses West's *Treatise on Marriage*.¹² It is estimated that in his life as a printer Samuel Fuller had a total output of perhaps 75 titles, the majority Quaker and the rest 'mathematics, almanacks, schoolbooks and chapbook histories'.¹³

Through Samuel Fuller and, briefly through his widow Mary Fuller (née Kelly), there is a clear line of succession to Isaac Jackson (1705-72) who had been his assistant. Mary Fuller's name appears in 1737 as the printer of the first Irish edition of Robert Barclay's *An Apology for the True Christian Divinity*. It was probably Isaac Jackson who did the actual printing, started when 1,000 copies had been subscribed for, and he took over the printing and bookselling business on her decease in the same year.¹⁴ A son of Hannah and Robert Jackson of Edenderry, he married Mary Webster in 1741. Isaac Jackson, like Samuel Fuller, had started out as a schoolmaster to Dublin's Quaker children and his pedagogical interests, as well as his Biblical preoccupations were advertised by the sign of 'The Globe and Bible' outside his shop at Meath Street, Dublin. Besides the printing work undertaken for the National Meeting he produced and sold a wide range of educational books, which remained the mainstay of the business over three generations. Innovative in several ways he opened Dublin's first letter foundry in 1747 and occasionally via the Pemberton family of Philadelphia exported books to the American colonies.¹⁵

Although the target market for books published under the auspices of the National Meeting was Quaker, it did not follow that all Quakers had orthodox tastes in their choice of reading. Even

Samuel Fuller stocked titles known to have been read in hedge schools and that would have been disapproved in more polite circles. His stock had included sheets of the novel *Moll Flanders* and, jointly with other printers, had produced two Dublin editions of *The Whole Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*.¹⁶ At various times both the London Yearly Meeting, and the National Meeting in Dublin, as in 1746, issued advices recommending parents to prevent the youth from reading hurtful and corrupt books that tended to 'take from the mind that solid awfulness wherein would be its safety'.¹⁷ An example of a contemporary young Irish Quaker temporarily addicted to such literature was Elizabeth Shackleton née Carleton (1726-1804) who besides liking 'light, airy company, music and singing' had a 'great thirst for reading such books as were entertaining to the natural part, reading such specious titles for promoting virtue and rendering vice odious; yet like subtle poison, gradually tending to the destruction of the root of virtue and innocence in the mind..' But some time in 1747 she became responsive to 'the transforming power of the Holy Spirit' and then she forsook the offending books in favour of the Scriptures and Friends books.¹⁸

One challenge requiring a considered response from Irish Quakers was in 1747 when the Wesley brothers arrived in the country. Many Quakers welcomed them and assisted the Methodist missionaries but this did not prevent their retaining of a critical attitude. Several contemporary journals of Quakers who visited in the ministry register encounters with Methodists as well as describing differences of doctrine and practice.¹⁹ Such awareness was revealed by the National Meeting when it issued 1,500 copies of John Curtis's *Epistle of Love and Advice to Friends of the Kingdom of Ireland* and which was printed in 1748 by Isaac Jackson. Although this did not specifically mention Methodism its warnings against the insidious effects and attractions of 'man-made worship' was clearly to be taken as a dissuasive from Methodism's more enthusiastic manifestations.

Another theological topic that sparked controversy among Quakers for a large part of the eighteenth century was that of deism seen as undermining the authority of scripture therefore eventually leading to atheism and scepticism. However it was not deist views that caused Quaker criticism of Voltaire. Rather, it was Voltaire's flippant manner and the perceived inaccuracies in his account of Quakers in his 'Letters' that they took him to task for.²⁰ A critique of them written by the English Quaker Josiah Martin under the title '*A Letter from one of the People called Quakers to Francois de Voltaire...*' had been published by London Yearly Meeting.²¹ The National Meeting

in Ireland in 1748 requested Isaac Jackson to reprint Martin's book, which came out in its first Dublin edition in 1749. Subscriptions had been invited from its subsidiary meetings and Waterford Monthly Meeting, for example, subscribed for 36 copies.²²

Sometimes there were other practical reasons for the National Meeting to publish, as in 1752 when the new calendar came into use. There was a need not only to explain the new style but also to give an explanation of the plain language of Quakers in the use of the names of days and months. The original item had been issued by the London Yearly Meeting for Sufferings in 1751 and this was the version reprinted by the National Meeting of Ireland. At its Meeting of Fifth-month 1755 it invited proposals from Isaac Jackson and he printed 2,000 copies. Five hundred were to be printed broadside at one penny each and 1,500 folio at 2s 6d per thousand to a total of £5 10s. 8d. Ulster had agreed to take 100 broadside and 100 folio and Leinster 400 broadside and 1,100 folio and Munster, apparently, had not yet come on board.²³

As the Society consolidated and the old stock died off, there was an increasing need to produce a literature that would perpetuate their memory and example. A side-effect of such publications was to encourage conservatism and the maintenance of orthodoxies. The decision to produce a history of Irish Quakers was an important sign of reflective maturity among Irish Quakers, particularly as the former worthies had by then shuffled off the 'mortal coil' and a book would perpetuate the memory of their faithful endeavours. Based on materials collected for the purpose by the National Meeting the work was started by Thomas Wight, completed by Dr John Ruddy and printed by Isaac Jackson. His final printing and publication of the resultant book entitled *History of the Rise and Progress of the People called Quakers in Ireland*, in 1751 was a landmark event and 500 were printed 'at the national charge'.²⁴ This was not an unusual run for a book in Dublin at the time.²⁵

Weakness and decline in the Religious Society of Friends in the middle decades of the eighteenth century had led to a nationwide visit in 1762 by a delegation of Irish and English Quakers. Its importance is signalled by references in different journals of Friends.²⁶ Following this clearly memorable event the report of their conclusions and recommended reforms was seen as worthy of printing by the National Meeting. Themes heightened in the report were, education, marriages with non-Quakers, concern about 'pernicious publications', a wish to bring young people and all Friends 'in unity' into 'meetings for discipline'. In a modest way it represented a sedate parallel to the contemporary Wesleyan revival.

Isaac Jackson printed 2,500 copies of this ' *Epistle from the Friends... who visited Ireland in 1762*'.²⁷ A copy was designed to go to each Quaker family in Ireland, although presumably part of the number ordered was surplus to need.

Not infrequently a visiting minister might have a concern to leave something in writing by way of advice or encouragement to Irish Friends and the National Meeting might unite in such an endeavour or independently arrange its publication. Examples could be multiplied. John Griffiths a Welsh Quaker whose *Brief Remarks upon sundry important Subjects* was originally published by London Yearly Meeting had it reprinted by Isaac Jackson in 1765. Two years later, in 1767, John Fry, another visitor in the ministry was concerned to reissue his 'serious and affectionate address' 'To Friends in the Kingdom of Ireland, at their National Half-Year's Meeting to be held at Dublin, in the eleventh-month 1767'. One of his themes was to warn against books that would 'alienate their minds from a due reverence to God and from a just regard to religion and virtue'.²⁸ The 'Address' was reprinted by Isaac Jackson Dublin 1768, and was available 'price stitch'd in blue paper, threepence'.

Isaac Jackson died in 1772 and his printing and bookselling business was taken over by his son and apprentice Robert Jackson, and who, since 1770/ 71, had also been his partner. From the perspective of National Meeting this made little material difference to the sort of literature he offered for sale in catalogues at the back of titles he printed. His educational productions would have been an increasing part of his business and he also imported titles that would appeal to more than a Quaker readership, such as Emmanuel Swedenborg's *Treatise concerning Heaven and Hell* and was the compiler of the annual *Gentleman's and Farmer's Almanack*. One intriguing title originally printed in London in 1760 and reprinted in Dublin by him in 1772, was '*Advantages and Disadvantage of the Marriage-state..*' It dealt with the advantages or otherwise to Christian believers of being unequally yoked in marriage with unbelieving people. This was by a London Baptist clergyman called John Johnson (1706-91) who had sympathetic links with a Dublin congregation and several of whose books were printed in Dublin where Robert Jackson must have anticipated a market.²⁹

When the National Meeting perceived some difficulty as upsetting subsidiary meetings and hence, its own proceedings also, it occasionally issued books or pamphlets as part of 'fire-fighting' exercises. The tithes question which was so central to the argument of Quakers on the non-necessity of clergy had been continuously argued and publications issued as part of the process of self-

education. But during the 1770s an ever-greater degree of public acceptance of Quakers led some of them, particularly some wealthier Dublin Quakers to attempt a justification of the payment of tithes to the 'church by law established'.³⁰ The National Meeting in dealing with this in 1774 got Robert Jackson to print *Paying Tithes inconsistent with the Principles of the People called Quakers*. The pamphlet has some interesting observations on the graduated methods of dealing with the dissidents.

Most, if not all, of the titles printed, published or sold by Robert Jackson were of a serious nature. Early in his business life he contracted to print on behalf of the National Meeting the *Journal* of John Woolman. There were several close contacts between Irish and American Quakers which prompted an Irish interest. Samuel Neale the Irish Quaker minister had met Woolman in 1771 and Sarah Tuke, later married to Robert Grubb of Clonmel, had, while he was dying, nursed him at her paternal home in York. News that Woolman's *Journal* had been printed at Philadelphia was received at the National Meeting of Fifth-month 1775 where proposals were received from Robert Jackson to reprint it as an octavo 'on a good paper' at three shillings bound in calf skin, provided 300 copies be subscribed for, the subscriptions to be sent direct to him.³¹ The *Journal* proved to be in the nature of a best seller among Irish Friends. By the next Fifth-month Meeting in 1776, it had already been reprinted but the subscriptions had been so numerous that Robert Jackson consented to reduce the price to two shillings and three pence a copy!³²

Some indication of the increasing population of the country, reflected also in rising Quaker numbers, can be gauged by the publication subscriptions for each title, and raised from province and monthly meetings. The National Meeting epistles which were important in setting out the state of the Society provided a visible link with Quakers in all parts and were made available in all families. In 1774, for example Munster was designated to receive 1,200 instead of 1,000 of the Half-Yearly Epistle.³³ The English epistles were received from London, but if they were delayed or not available in sufficient quantity, Robert Jackson would be asked to print further copies for distribution.³⁴ Where a wider Quaker interest in a title might be anticipated even bigger print-runs were ordered as in 1774 when, at the behest of Carlow Monthly Meeting, 2,000 copies of the *Testimony to Abraham Shackleton* were ordered, and also an edition of 3,000 copies of Mary Brooke, *Reasons for the Necessity of silent waiting*. Their printing was charged by Robert Jackson to the National Meeting at a rate of ten shillings and sixpence per hundred.³⁵

As has been shown, publication can indicate responses to wider

intellectual or religious events or movements but, nevertheless, Quaker publishing embodied an extraordinary conservatism that relied on static doctrinal models. The need to provide answers to contemporary problems was seen as best answered by self-education in their own principles which meant effectively the circulation of copies of Barclay's *Apology*. This, with its overtones of classical scholarship, was probably the defining doctrinal influence for Quakers right down to the nineteenth century and went through numerous reprints. It still remains important but few modern Quakers are even aware of its significance in setting out the central doctrines of Friends. The question of its reissue was raised at the National Meeting of 1778, and was perhaps a result of reforms set in progress in preceding years as well as a sign of concern to educate an enlarged Quaker population.³⁶ By Eleventh-month 1779 subscriptions had been returned from Ulster for 230 copies, Leinster for 220 copies and Munster for 130 copies.³⁷ The numbers were much reduced from the last Irish edition of 1737. The edition was printed by L. Flinn and finally published in 1780 so presumably Robert Jackson was either under too much pressure to undertake the work himself or perhaps his prices were not acceptable.

Much as the inner elite of Quaker leadership might like to have been withdrawn into a secure Zion, there was of necessity a considerable amount of interplay between Quakers and the wider world. This occurred not only at the obvious intersections with business but also in fashion and society, in religious discussion, and even to a degree in politics. The latter part of the 1770s and the beginning of the 1780s was the time of the Volunteers in Ireland and of the Revolution in America. A new political patriotism was picked up on by Irish Quakers and some younger Quakers were disowned for joining with the Volunteers.³⁸ An iconically memorable picture of public display is the famous mustering of the Volunteers on College Green, Dublin, with the population hanging out of windows to wave handkerchiefs, the clustering crowds on the street and the press of brilliantly dressed and armed men discharging volleys.³⁹ Allied with this there was also a widespread sympathy for the claims of American independence. Such a background in 1782, may have been an incentive to republish a fifteen page Philadelphia Quaker pamphlet explaining why Quakers do not illuminate their houses in times of public rejoicing.⁴⁰

There was some degree of ecumenical discussion and Friends occasionally had debates with people of other religion, hosted visits to their own meeting houses, or were offered the use of meeting houses by other religious groups. There was a large contemporary

hunger for devotional works of all kinds whether in Irish or English and although Quakers did not approve of writing down sermons given in meeting some, such as those of Samuel Fothergill, did exist and had been reprinted by Robert Jackson.⁴¹ This seems to have been on his own initiative and he must have picked up on contemporary reviews of the original productions in Rhode Island and in Bristol. Besides a buoyant economy there was a sense of a common Irishness that facilitated the reconciliation of Catholics and Protestants. The National Meeting attempted to respond with 'zeal and industrious care to spread among those of other religious societies books for their information'. During Fifth-month 1784 a list of books seen as suitable for enquirers was ordered for printing from Robert Jackson, and included 2,000 of Benjamin Holmes, *Serious Call*; 2,000 Hugh Turford's *Grounds of a Holy Life*; 2,000 Randall's *Account of Friends Principles*; 1,000 *Life of John Jeffreys with his Remarks on the Church of England Catechism*. One year later, emphasizing an ecumenical commonality, an order was made for the printing of 2,500 copies of *Some Extracts from the Writings of pious Men of different Denominations setting forth the evil Tendency of stage Plays and other vain Amusements*.⁴²

Robert Jackson's business must have grown prosperous from servicing the increasing general demand for books. The hunger for the printed word is indicated in Dublin alone, by the existence of perhaps fifty printers.⁴³ Probably Robert Jackson's biggest Quaker undertaking was the four volumes of John Gough's *A History of the People called Quakers* which he printed and which came out in the years 1789-90. Publication was apparently in this case, not paid for out of the 'National Stock', but the National Meeting did facilitate its author and encourage the production by requesting constituent monthly meetings to subscribe. It was decided to commence publication when the first three volumes were ready.⁴⁴ Robert Jackson's final major publication was *Some Account of the Life and Religious Labours of Sarah Grubb* (1792) which was edited by the Quaker educationist Lindley Murray. Murray, who lived at York knew the Tuke family well and Sarah Grubb had been a Tuke before marriage. Robert Jackson, besides, had printed a number of editions of Murray's educational books which were commonly used in hedge schools.

The National Meeting tried to keep up with the extensive demand for doctrinal literature, and asked Robert Jackson in 1792 to arrange for distribution of Quaker literature 'for the benefit of Friends and the information of those who profess not with respect to our principles...' The quantities he was requested to print seem almost phenomenal

and makes any modern Irish demand for Quaker literature seem paltry. The titles ordered included 7,000 of *A Summary of Doctrines, Discipline and History of Friends* by Joseph Gurney Bevan, 5,000 of a small tract on divine grace and in a new edition, 5,000 of Mary Brook *Reasons for the Necessity of Silent Waiting*. 3,000 Benjamin Holme's *Serious Call*, and 5,000 of Samuel Crisp's *Letters*.⁴⁵ But Robert Jackson would not be able to bring them all out and died in the same year 1792, leaving his business to his sister Rachel M. Jackson.

Rachel M. Jackson was eminently competent to undertake the running of a business. As his executor she immediately sent off letters advising her brother's customers of his decease. The Jackson bookshop at 20, Meath Street, Dublin was right in the middle of the Liberties where most Quakers lived, forming a large and distinctive group of some 650 people in 130 families.⁴⁶ Its location in the same street as the Quaker meeting-house was very convenient during the National Meeting, which then as now, provided a useful opportunity to sell books and to get in new titles. Quakers would be bustling in and out of the shop in search of the latest Quaker journals or epistles, or of educational material for their children. With such sales concerns in mind Rachel M. Jackson was, in 1793, writing to James Phillips of London saying there was no time to spare and ordered among other items, six Cruden's *Concordance*, six *Memorials of American Friends deceased*, twelve sets of the books lately printed by the London Meeting for Sufferings and two William Penn's *No Cross, No Crown*, a hardy annual on the stock list. On the same day she was seeking also 25 copies of the Bible and 25 copies Royal Octavo of the Testament, and copies of the *Town and Country Magazine* for 1792.⁴⁷ The twelve copies she sought of Lindley Murray's *The Power of Religion on the Mind* indicates the contemporary interest in this particular title.⁴⁸

Distribution for Quaker books was clearly no big problem and the structure of Quaker meetings as well as the close family and business connections provided ready-made networks. Some of Rachel M. Jackson's regular distribution networks emerge in her correspondence where she is seeking the repayment of debts or other responses. Writing to John Martin of Wexford Monthly Meeting she informed him that she had packed 50 copies of Sarah Grubb's *Life*, priced at three shillings and three pence each. The box in which they were packed was additional at one shilling and sixpence. On the direction of Samuel Elly of New Ross she sent books for Wexford Monthly Meeting by the carrier Oliver Barron.

For the more secular aspects of her business Rachel M. Jackson could call on country merchants and pedlars and in that respect her

business was similar to that of Catholic and other publishers and printers.⁴⁹ Rachel M. Jackson continued to print and sell copy-books and textbooks for which she had outlets in provincial towns and cities. Among these were booksellers in Newry, Lisburn, Belfast, Roscrea and Mullingar. Joseph Humphreys a Quaker schoolmaster in Cork was one customer and others in the same city were Anthony Edwards, James Haly and Thomas Campbell, printers and booksellers.⁵⁰

Among the few titles she printed and published in the brief period of her business life were *Extracts from the Writings of Judge Hale* (1793), *A Summary of the Doctrines, Discipline and History of Friends'* (5th ed. 1793), reprinted from the London edition. and *Some advice to teachers* (1794), all pamphlets. The last mentioned title she farmed out to Robert Napper, a printer who operated from 29, Capel Street. When she found she had few copies left of John Woolman's *Journal* she undertook a reprint. Judging by phraseological echoes of Woolman in her own memoranda, he must have been a favourite read for her.⁵¹ His acute awareness of responsibility about poverty and its amelioration was heightened for many Quakers by consideration of his other writings and her reprint included *A Word of Caution to the Rich etc.*⁵²

There was close contact between Rachel M. Jackson and the London Quaker printers. When perhaps twenty sets of Gough's *History* were returned unsold from Cork she supplied them to William Darton of London.⁵³ When she saw a need for a reprint of Sarah Grubb's *Life* she negotiated it with James Phillips, who brought it out in 1794. A lot of discussion had gone on about the book with Sarah Grubb's husband Robert, since he did not wish to see profits made from it. He was anxious to distribute copies of her journal in such a way that the profit would go to a charitable purpose.⁵⁴ One title published at this time and in which Rachel must have been specially interested was Job Scott's *Treatise on baptism*. Although she had ordered 50 copies of Scott's *Treatise* from James Phillips, she had already organized a reprint of her own and so, when they arrived, they remained 'in the wareroom as they were'.⁵⁵ She quotes Scott in her *Memoranda* and had perhaps heard him speak in Dublin in 1792.⁵⁶ He was a very impressive American Quaker of the traditional type who affected many Irish Quakers and died at Ballitore in 1792.

Diligent and efficient as she was, there was a lot of hard work in keeping a check on credit and the payment of bills and she began to wish for a little more leisure, perhaps to concentrate on the affairs of religion. She decided to withdraw from business and following her first instinct corresponded with Phillips and William Darton, London

publishers of Quaker books, about finding a successor. When this did not seem to lead anywhere, she chose John Gough (d. 1818) to take over her business. This somewhat itinerant Quaker was a son of John Gough (1721-91) and a nephew of James Gough (1712-80).⁵⁷ With literary ambitions and a schoolmasterly background he had hitherto never quite managed to find his niche.

By 1795 John Gough was in command of his new business but he needed more capital and in Ninth-month, having apparently received a loan from his brother-in-law John Bewley of Irishtown, Mountmellick, now wrote to him for a top-up. He had been obliged to outlay £60 for type and to reprint some 'copies' which 'Rachel suffered to go out of print'.⁵⁸ The first Irish edition of Lindley Murray's 'Power of Religion' which he advertised in the *Dublin Evening Post*, was one of his publications pending.⁵⁹ Although the year had not been good, Gough had several books including school books in the press, all of which he saw as highly 'saleable'.⁶⁰ At the request of the National Meeting he was also printing the *Journal* of the Irish Quaker Mary Peisley. The manuscript for this had been sent up from Cork in time for the National Meeting of Tenth-month 1794 to agree to its publication. By 26 Fourth-month 1795, 100 subscriptions for this had been received from Ulster, 353 from Leinster and 185 from Munster.⁶¹

The older and well-established system of organizing publications changed in 1797. This was a result of the formation in that year of a new standing committee, the Yearly Meeting's Committee (YMC). This undertook the administration between the new single annual sessions of the National Meeting. One of its functions was the publication of books. The YMC was at first, a little diffident about its book production functions but evidently accepted this task as within its ambit and its minutes incidently introduce an interesting source of detail on how they approached their task. They show the care spent to read, review and correct titles agreed for printing, as well as to make agreements on such questions as type, paper and price. The first book which they undertook to produce for the National Meeting was the *Journal* of Job Scott, in whom there was an ongoing if ambiguous interest. The text was read over successive days, compared with an original manuscript and corrected from that in point of detail. Abraham Shackleton of Carlow, who had emerged as a prime spokesman of extreme liberalism and had known Job Scott, assisted the Yearly Meeting's Committee in its deliberations on publishing his works.⁶² This Dublin publication, undertaken by John Gough, eventually appeared in 1798, the year after its first two printings in New York by the Quaker Isaac Collins.⁶³

It probably came as a shock to orthodox sensibilities to realize in Fourth-month 1799 that there were no copies available in shops of Robert Barclay's *Apology*, and a committee of investigation set up by the Yearly Meeting found that in three provinces there were none available in private hands either. Since the *Apology* was seen as best providing a knowledge of Quaker principles and their consonance with the Bible a reprint of it was recommended and, in the face of painful doctrinal controversy, this was seen as 'an antidote against the supposed heterodoxy concerning the scriptures'.⁶⁴ The YMC started the process of publication of the *Apology* in 12 Third-month 1800 when John Gough introduced for its consideration three examples of type and two of paper. The lines were 'to be spaced wider by the introduction of leads' and 1,000 copies were ordered at five shillings and fivepence bound in calf, the number of subscriptions received 'appearing to warrant such a number'. The volume came out in 1800, but John Gough had farmed out the work to Robert Napper of Capel Street. Of the 1,028 finally printed, 695 were to be retained in the 'library', presumably the stock available for eventual distribution, and the rest to be sent down to the subscribers.⁶⁵ If the edition was bigger than that of 1780 the number of subscriptions by comparison were much reduced.⁶⁶

That effectively completes a review of Irish Quaker publishing in the eighteenth century but obviously a historical process is not confined within a chronological or imposed schema and it might be helpful to close this account with a number of developments at the outset of the nineteenth century. The National Meeting continued to wrestle with the nature of the authority of scripture and in 1801, attempting to set out some guide lines, ordered the printing of copies of Henry Tuke's *The Faith of the People called Quakers in our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, set forth in various Extracts from their Writings*. This was a reprint of the first, London edition and a biographical sideline is that Henry Tuke (1755-1814) was the brother of Sarah Grubb (1756-90) and hence the brother-in-law of Robert Grubb. Not all Friends approved of this publication policy and Susanna Bewley of Ballitore, who resigned from Carlow Monthly Meeting, felt the National Meeting was substituting outward conformity for the interior life, and cited Tuke's publication as an example of this.⁶⁷ Even poor old Job Scott was now out of favour in many quarters, and John Gough, at the back of Tuke's book, advertised that he had 'a large stock of Job Scott's *Journal* left on his hands'. This, he pointed out, had been cheap at its original price of 3s 3d. but he would now sell them at 2s 2d. each, or four for 11s 4 ½ d and 14 for £1 2s 9d.

Nevertheless, demand for Henry Tuke's books went from strength

to strength and his next title, published in 1805, was *The Principles of Religion as professed by the Society of Christians usually called Quakers*. It strengthened the evangelical thread in the Quaker tapestry and went through four editions in different places in that year alone, and one of them was printed by John Gough. Besides the Tuke title the National Meeting initiated the publication of *Some Account of the Life and religious Labours of Samuel Neale*. The Munster Quarterly Meeting was directed by the National Meeting to organize its editing under a committee headed by James Abell and Reuben Harvey of Cork.⁶⁸ John Gough took 'on himself the risqué of the sale' of both the Tuke and the Neale and the last mentioned, bound in calf, was sold at 2 shillings and two pence. He was now concentrating more and more on publishing and bookselling and the Neale title which also came out in 1805 was farmed out to Robert Napper to print. Gough was probably a reluctant businessman, and perhaps was most interested to publish educational works, but his name ceases to appear on books ordered by the National Meeting.⁷⁰

As soon as immediate controversy about the function of the Bible was shelved, although it continued in other ways throughout the nineteenth century, a new impetus towards reorganization emerged in the National Meeting. In view of the painful dissent that had troubled Quakers in recent years it was seen as useful to compile a record of Quaker doctrinal orthodoxies, on the basis of an earlier more ad hoc collection that existed in manuscript. The National Meeting put together a book of *Advices and Rules*, much on the lines of the one produced by London Yearly Meeting in 1783. From inception to production the Irish book took some four or five years to prepare and it must have been a wearisome and demanding task for the YMC to provide a balanced, normative and authoritative presentation. The Yearly Meeting's Committee heard about the initial work from William Harding in 18 Second-month 1806. He had examined and compared the minutes of the National Meeting and those of London, showing where they agreed or differed. The digest he produced reflected the original manuscript arrangement under different headings such as 'Ministry', and the very serviceable plan has been retained essentially down to this day.⁷¹ By 1810 the *Advices and Rules* was ready to print and came out the following year in an edition of 500 copies printed by J. Jones in quarto.⁷²

Yet another and more novel way to publish Quaker views for the benefit of the wider public as well as for their own members, and modeled on the London Tract Association of 1813 was the Dublin Tract Association which was promoted in 1814 and produced its first annual report in 1815.⁷³ This, although less tied to the central

structures of the Society was still rigorously self-policed. The subscribers at their annual meeting were at pains to emphasise that they would not issue pamphlets or tracts inimical to the Yearly Meeting's express corporate viewpoints, or for that matter to the views of other professing Christians. The membership was made up by subscribers and had a structure of Quaker agents down the country, twelve of whom were based in Leinster. One of their first publications was by the favourite Henry Tuke. John Gough having recently gone out of business, the initial publications went for printing to Graisbury & Campbell of 10 Back-Lane, Dublin. Local auxiliaries were set up and the one at Youghal was one of the earliest.⁷⁴

Not all Quakers were supportive of the Dublin Tract Association which, in that respect, was a cause of disappointment to its promoters. There was a seemingly large uptake of these tracts and, in 1816-17, as an experiment, 2,000 copies of the 'Sermon on the Mount' were printed in Irish. The experiment was not a decided success, and when some English Quakers urged the consideration of printing more Irish-language titles the DTA having had some experience of the practical difficulties and also being aware of an atmosphere of increasing sectarian proselytising, were in no hurry to try again. Nevertheless, by 1830 there had been some 339,000 English-language titles printed and 247,000 issued. And here, as it is said, let the story rest for now.

Richard S. Harrison

FOOTNOTES

1. The term used hereinafter is National Meeting, but until 1797 it was known as the Half-Yearly Meeting. See Olive C. Goodbody, *Guide to Irish Quaker Records* (Dublin, 1967), p.25.
2. Isabel Grubb, *Social conditions in Ireland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries*. Unpublished thesis for MA (Internal), (University of London, 1916), p.192.
3. Richard L. Greaves, *Dublin's Merchant Quaker: Anthony Sharp and the Community of Friends, 1643 - 1707* (Stanford, 1998), p. 164.
4. William C. Braithwaite, *The Second Period of Quakerism* (2nd. Ed. Cambridge, 1961) II, pp 280-81 and see also, Rufus M. Jones, *Later Periods of Quakerism* (London, 1921). Vol 1, pp.129-30, referring to item 15 in *Extracts from minutes and advices of London Yearly Meeting* (London, 1783), 149.
5. Grubb, Thesis, p.177 and Chapter V, *passim*.
6. *Dublin Weekly Journal*, 14 Jan 1726, p. 370. For Samuel Fuller see

- Mary Pollard, *Dictionary of the Members of the Dublin Book Trade, 1550-1800* (London, 2000), pp 230-31 and Richard S. Harrison, *Biographical Dictionary of Irish Quakers* (Dublin, 2008).
7. Thomas Wight and John Ritty, *A History of the Rise and Progress of the People called Quakers in Ireland* (Dublin, 1751), p. 314.
 8. Wight and Ritty, *History*, pp 315-16. and Pollard, *Dictionary*, pp 230-31
 9. Ninth-month 1730, ½ YM A3 (1708-57). [The abbreviated reference here and abbreviated references in similar form in the following footnotes refer to manuscript items in the Dublin Friends Historical Library]
 10. Samuel Fuller, *The Principles and Precepts of the Christian Religion* (Dublin, 1733). This cost six pence to the customer in 1741.
 11. Robert Barclay, *Catechism*. The edition of this sold by Samuel Fuller cost nine pence to the customer in 1741. In Ninth-month 1744 when the National Meeting ordered a printing of both Fuller's *Catechism* and Robert Barclay's *Catechism*, 420 of each were ordered for Ulster, 680 for Leinster and 200 for Munster. See Ninth-month 1744, in ½ YM A3.
 12. 27 Third-month 1735, MMII A.8 (1734-42) Pollard, *Dictionary*, p. 230.
 13. Pollard, *Dictionary*, p.231.
 14. *Ibid.*, pp 230-31. The *Apology* sold by Samuel Fuller cost three shillings and sixpence in 1741. There is also evidence that in 1700 Irish Quakers subscribed for the printing of 2,000 of an edition of the *Apology* but this was, apparently, printed in England, for which see Greaves, *Dublin Merchant Quaker*, p.173.
 15. See Pollard, *Dictionary* p 311-12, entry on Isaac Jackson, and see Thomas H. Webb, *Pedigrees* (DFHL) and Harrison, *Dictionary*. According to Mary Pollard, *Dublin Book Trade* (Oxford, 1986), pp 149-50, Israel and John Pemberton of Philadelphia were already in 1753 purchasing books from Isaac Jackson. The two men, father and son, at different times visited Ireland in a ministerial capacity. Hedge schools were part of a popular and effective form of education that evolved in the absence of other facilities, and sometimes in the face of sectarian persecution that endeavoured to restrict access to education for Catholics.
 16. According to ESTC [English Short Title Catalogue] the edition Samuel Fuller printed for George Golding of Dublin was published in 1744-45 and the next one, with Peter Wilson, was printed in 1766.
 17. *Rules of Discipline of the Yearly Meeting of Friends in Ireland with Advices* (2nd. ed. Dublin, 1841), p. 16 item 2.
 18. *Memoirs and Letters of Richard and Elizabeth Shackleton* (London, 1822), p.16 and p. 17. For an entry on Elizabeth Shackleton, see Harrison, *Dictionary*.

19. See for example John Griffith, *Journal* (London, 1779), p. 165 referring to Methodists at Birr during his visit there in 1749, 'than whom, I think, no people are more at a loss what to do with silence in worship..'
20. An edition of Voltaire's book had been issued in English in 1733 in Dublin.
21. The Josiah Martin title was originally ordered for publication by London Yearly Meeting, 1742. It was printed by T. Sowle Raylton and Luke Hinde. See ESTC. There is an extended discussion by Graham Gargett 'Voltaire's *Lettres philosophiques* in eighteenth-century Ireland' in *Eighteenth-century Ireland* 14 (1999) 77-98 and includes reference to Josiah Martin.
22. See Ninth-month 1748, ½ YM A.3. For Waterford see c. 20 Twelfth-month 1748 in QM II A.5. Waterford on the same occasion subscribed for copies of William Penn, *No Cross No Crown*
23. Fifth-month 1755, ½ YM A.3 This item was reprinted in 1778, by Robert Jackson, see ESTC
24. Third-month 1751, ½YM A.3. It was being sold by Isaac Jackson at five shillings and fivepence in 1776.
25. Pollard, *Dublin Book Trade*, pp 119-20.
26. See Samuel Neale, *Account of the Life and religious Labours of*, (London, 1845), pp 111-13 and Shackleton: *Memoirs*, pp 32-34. John Ruddy, *Spiritual Diary* (2nd ed. London, 1796), p 222, 224 etc. makes several references to this significant visit. The English delegation comprised Samuel Fothergill, Jonathan Raines, Isaac Wilson and William Rathbone.
27. Eleventh-month 1762, ½ YM A.4 (1757-78).
28. John Fry, *Address to the People called Quakers* (Dublin, 1768), p.34.
29. John Johnson was the founder of the 'Johnsonian Baptists' DNB.
30. In Dublin Monthly Meeting, in 1774, there were in Dublin six Friends 'under dealing' including Joshua Pim and Ephraim Bewley. See, 14 Sixth-month 1774, and 20 Eighth-month 1776, MM II A.13 (1767-79).
31. Fifth-month 1775.½ YM A.5 (1778-1808).
32. Fifth-month 1776 ½ YM A.4,. The same committee that produced the *Journal* was also asked in Eleventh-month 1776 to print an epistle of that most interesting woman minister, Catherine Phillips.
33. Fourth-month 1774 ½ YM A.4, The detailed consideration of the size of Quaker population requires more attention than it is possible to give in such a closely-focused article as this. But it is enough to observe that in 1750, when Quaker numbers had been in significant decline, there were stated to be 101 [mainly small rural] meetings in Ireland; that Irish Quaker births were in a significant period of increase 1770- 1800 [but with a marked decline of meeting-house numbers to 54 in 1794]; and again, in a

- period of numerical declension in 1818, there was a membership of some 4,200 individuals in 42 meetings [on an average of 100 per meeting]. 'From author's work in progress.'
34. Robert Jackson seems to have started reprinting the London Yearly Meeting Epistle from 1775 and the Half-Yearly Meeting ones from 1778 on as evident in ESTC. It seems likely that the Half-Yearly Meeting epistles had been printed earlier than that but I have no chronological evidence of this. There is a reference for Eleventh-month 1761, ½ YM A. 4, that when the major supply of London Yearly Meeting epistles were delayed Dublin Monthly Meeting was asked to get 1,000 copies run off.
 35. Fourth-month and Eleventh-month 1774, ½ YM A, 4. The first and second editions of Mary Brooke's *Reasons* were printed in London and the second edition [printed by Mary Hinde] in 1774, the same year as Robert Jackson's Dublin printing.
 36. Eleventh-month 1778, ½ YM A5 (1778-1808).
 37. Eleventh-month 1779 ½ YM A5.
 38. See, for sample references, Eleventh-month 1779, in ½ YM A.5
 39. The picture 'Volunteer Parade on College Green, 4 Nov. 1779' is by Francis Wheatley and is in the National Gallery of Ireland.
 40. *Reasons why Friends do not illuminate their houses at times of public rejoicing, nor shut their shops for the public fasts, feasts and thanksgivings. A representation on behalf of the people called Quakers, to the President and Executive Council, and the General Assembly of Pennsylvania etc.* (Dublin:Reprinted by Robert Jackson, 1782)
 41. Verbal ministry given in a meeting for worship was regarded as spiritually originated, unique to the particular act of worship, and not to be a subject of speculative discourse. A number of Fothergill's sermons were reprinted by Robert Jackson and bound up as a collection dated 1783.
 42. Fifth-month 1784, ½ YM A.5. The last title was probably written by Thomas Ross.
 43. See Antonia McManus, *The Irish Hedge School and its Books, 1695-1831* (Dublin, 2003), p.37.
 44. Fourth-month 1788 and Fifth-month 1790, in ½ YM A.5.
 45. Tenth-month 1792, ½ YM A.5. The Bevan title had also previously been authorized and published by the London Meeting for Sufferings. Robert Jackson having died, the Dublin edition was eventually printed and brought out in 1793, by his sister Rachel Maria Jackson. .
 46. J. W. Warburton, J. Whitelaw and R. Walsh, *A History of the City of Dublin* (London, 1818), II, p.848 and p. 835.
 47. Rachel M. Jackson to James Phillips, London, 14 Third-month 1793, in Jackson Letter Book (DFHL) Cup B 48. For information on James Phillips see Edward H. Milligan, *Biographical Dictionary of British*

- Quakers in Commerce and Industry, 1775-1920* (York, 2007).
48. There was clearly some familiarity with Lindley Murray's book as early as 1793 since Mary Leadbeater in her diary quotes him, 20 Tenth-month 1793(NLI) Leadbeater Diaries.
 49. see Pollard, *Dublin Book Trade*, p. 117.
 50. Rachel Maria Jackson to Joseph Humphreys, 13 Fourth-month 1793. The full list occurs at 23 Second-month 1793 both in Jackson Letter Book. For Joseph Humphreys see Harrison, *Dictionary*.
 51. Rachel M. Jackson, *Some Memoranda left by Rachel Maria Jackson* (Dublin, 1854), p. 161 refers to John Woolman but there are other explicit references to, and implicit phraseological echoes of him, in her book. For the reference to Joseph Gurney Bevan's *Summary* see fn 45.
 52. Rachel M. Jackson in letters to William Darton was expecting copies to be available in 1794 . 22 Fifth-month 1793, 11 Fourth-month 1794. See Jackson Letter Book. Proposals for reprinting Woolman's 'A word of remembrance etc.' came up at ½ YM Tenth-month 1793. It was printed by T.M. Bates (Dublin) on behalf of Rachel M. Jackson, for which see, Joseph Smith, *Descriptive catalogue of Friends' books* (London, 1867) II, 960.
 53. Rachel Maria Jackson to William Darton 22 Fifth-month 1793, Jackson Letter Book. For information on William Darton, see Milligan, *Dictionary*.
 54. Dublin printers opted for reprints 'with inferior paper, smaller format and printed fewer copies' Pollard, *Dublin Book Trade*, p.115.
 55. Rachel Maria Jackson to James Phillips 16 Fifth-month 1794, Jackson Letter Book.
 56. At both the Meath Street and Sycamore-alley meeting-houses 1792 27 Tenth-month Jackson, *Memoranda*, p 315.
 57. See entries on the Goughs in Harrison, *Dictionary*.
 58. John Gough to John Bewley 1 Ninth-month 1795 (DFHL) Port 47 d.109
 59. Ibid. and see Pollard, *Dictionary*, p. 245.
 60. John Gough to John Bewley, 1 Ninth-month 1795 (DFHL) Port 47 d.109.
 61. 26 Tenth-month 1794 and 26 Fourth-month 1795, ½ YM A.5.
 62. Job Scott had a dramatic effect on some Irish Friends but, as elsewhere, there was a degree of ambiguity in their responses to his ministry, which on one perspective was in the line of an earlier and more charismatic Quakerism, but also concealed an emerging mentality that could easily lead the unwary to make specious identifications with varieties of radicalism espoused by the likes of William Godwin and Thomas Paine. But even in the atmosphere of developing controversy among Quakers, Scott retained for a little longer a degree of acceptability.

63. Richard F. Hixson, *Isaac Collins, a Quaker Printer in eighteenth-century America* (New Brunswick, 1968), pp 165-66. The Yearly Meeting's Committee, relying on an original manuscript, corrected some minor points in the text of Job Scott's Journal. See 28 Ninth-month 1797, in YM D.1 (1797-1817).
64. [William Rathbone], *A Narrative of the Events that have lately taken place in Ireland among the Society called Quakers* (London, 1804), p. 95, pp 99-100.
65. Numbers of the *Apology* subscribed for were Ulster (50), Wexford (48), Dublin (37), Cork(44), Tipperary (100) Total (279) and for one of the 'Propositions' of Barclay, extracted from the *Apology* and printed separately at the same time, the subscriptions were Ulster (100), Wexford (80), Dublin (20), Cork (28) and Tipperary (20), 9 Fourth-month 1801, YM D.1.
66. It shows a large reduction on the 2,000 copies ordered in 1700 by Irish Friends. See fn 14.
67. Rathbone: *Narrative*, pp 80-82. For Sarah Grubb see Harrison, *Dictionary*.
68. 16 Seventh-month 1804, QM II A.8.
69. 27 Eighth-month 1805, YM D.1. There were 1,500 copies of each title printed and the numbers subscribed for were Tuke (bound), Lisburn (35), Mountmellick (75), Edenderry (13), Carlow (15), Wexford (39), Dublin (271), Cork (62), Youghal (19), Tipperary (87), Waterford (110), Limerick (24), and for the Neale (bound), Lisburn (22),Lurgan (25), Mountmellick (69), Edenderry (22), Carlow (15), Wexford (35), Dublin (115), Cork (80), Youghal (21), Tipperary (105), Waterford (81), Limerick (20).
70. He became insolvent in 1818 and the Dublin Monthly Meeting under its then rules was obliged to disunite him. He did not live much longer. He had been busy revising the *Tour of Ireland* which he had written, and left his desk to get some medicine for his wife, but dropped dead on the way back. See Harrison, *Dictionary*.
71. 18 Second-month 1806, YM D.1.
72. 18 Ninth-month 1810, YM D.1. Copies were subscribed for as follows. Charlemont (11), Lisburn (17), Richhill (60), Lurgan (22) Moate (10),Mountmellick (26), Carlow (8), Wexford (12), Dublin (70), Cork (40), Waterford (53), Limerick (53), Youghal (16) Total 134.
73. *Dublin Tract Association Reports* (DFHL) Cup. B.8.
74. *Ibid.*, Ninth Report, 1823