

Friends in Nineteenth Century Scotland

THE Society of Friends in Scotland fell into a parlous condition in the late eighteenth century. Several meetings became extinct, and of those which survived, only Edinburgh, Kinmuck and Aberdeen showed any vitality. The nominal organization into two Yearly meetings became virtually dormant and records were imperfectly kept. The *Memoirs* of John Wigham senior, who was in consequence moved by a concern to reside in Scotland, state that

“there were at that time but very few in profession with Friends, and even of this small number the greater part had so much departed from their principles and had become in their manners their language and their dress so conformed to the fashions of the world that there was little or nothing left to distinguish them; and in this state of things, the discipline of the Society was scarcely supported at all.”¹

By the labours of John Wigham and of other Friends travelling in the ministry, such as George Dillwyn of U.S.A. and Henry Tuke of York, “who were drawn to visit this nearly desolate part of the heritage, the discipline was before long measurably restored, and a few well-concerned Friends raised up to conduct the affairs of the Society.”² In 1786, London Yearly Meeting intervened, and under its auspices the “Half Yearly Meeting of North Britain” was instituted, and was held alternately in Edinburgh and Aberdeen. The name was altered in 1807 to “General Meeting for Scotland,” with the status of a Quarterly Meeting subordinate to London Yearly Meeting, and continuity was thereafter preserved. Men’s and Women’s meetings were held separately until 1903. In 1868 it agreed that Meeting be held thrice a year, with Glasgow as the third venue. Until 1845 leading members were chosen in rotation as clerk for the occasion; for the next twenty years William Miller was regularly reappointed, and it was then (1864) decided to make the appointment endure “until some change is thought necessary.” William Gray held the office for the next sixteen years. A Select Meeting of Ministers and Elders was held before each General Meeting until it was laid down in accordance with a Minute of Yearly Meeting in 1906.

¹ *Memoirs of John Wigham* (1842), p. 12.

² *ibid.*, p. 13.

Representatives were regularly appointed to attend London Yearly Meeting, but (no doubt owing to difficulties of travel) the right to appoint to Meeting for Sufferings and other central committees seems to have been little exercised. Answers to the Queries were submitted so long as the usage was in force, and triennial reports on the state of the Society in Scotland were prepared. The minutes are largely formal, but refer occasionally to public affairs such as the abolition of slavery (1835), the restriction of hours for licensed premises (1874) and the Contagious Diseases Acts (1897). Regular business for some time consisted mainly in reports of "Sufferings," sustained chiefly through distraint for non-payment of military assessments and church dues, and in care of legacies and trusts. These included the benefaction of John Robertson (1818) for Friends travelling in the ministry and for the education of children, and that of Anthony Wigham (1857) for relief of distressed members. By an agreement of 1819 the Meeting became a participant in the conduct of Wigton School, with preferential terms for the children of its members. Endowments from a School at Kinmuck which existed from the 1680's until about 1808 were applied for its benefit. The Horniman Trust "for the promotion of Friends' Principles in Scotland" was endowed by John Horniman in 1896 and administered by trustees appointed but not controlled by General Meeting.

Subordinate to General Meeting were the Aberdeen and Edinburgh Monthly meetings in which the existing and subsequent Preparative meetings were united. Both became Two Months meetings, Edinburgh in 1808 (until 1902) and Aberdeen in 1874. The balance of membership shifted in favour of the south. Complete statistics do not seem to have been compiled prior to 1884 when the figure was 196. The Aberdeen and Kinmuck membership was then 23; of the residue, in Edinburgh Two Months meeting, 105 were in Glasgow meeting. The total rose to over 300 by the end of the century. Circumstantial evidence suggests that it averaged well under 200 during the earlier period. One hundred and sixteen attendances at morning meetings for worship throughout Scotland were recorded by the *British Friend* on a Sunday in March, 1851.

This periodical was privately published in Glasgow by members of the Smeal family from 1843 until its transfer to

England under new auspices in 1891; it, however, gave little prominence to Scottish affairs.

The isolated seventeenth century burial ground at Shawtonhill, Lanarkshire (1675) remained in possession of the Society and was occasionally used. That at Partick (1711) was ultimately transferred to Glasgow Corporation for preservation as an open space.

TRAVELLING MINISTERS

Scotland was frequently visited by Friends travelling in the ministry, including some from America, and recurrent stimulation was thus given from outside at times when native meetings languished. Among those who contributed to revival early in the century Stephen Grellet (1801) is best known. The ministry of Deborah Darby (1804) had as one effect the conversion from Moderatism to Evangelicalism and from a military chaplaincy to pacifism of Rev. Henry Duncan, minister of the rural parish of Ruthwell, where he established a pioneer savings bank. He was, late in life, a founder of the Free Church (1843); his association with Friends was noted in an obituary in the *British Friend* (12th month, 1848). Sarah and John Grubb paid an extended visit in 1807 and addressed large public meetings; an account was published in the *British Friend* many years later (1852). Elizabeth Fry and Joseph John Gurney spent some time in the south of Scotland and the short-lived meeting at Hawick (1823-39) was regarded as one fruit of their labours. Friends of Evangelical views were now welcomed by the orthodox clergy, particularly in the Highlands, where appreciation was expressed of "kind co-operation and hospitality from Free Church and U.P. ministers,"¹ Churches were put at their disposal and large audiences were addressed. No permanent meetings resulted.

A vivid account of one such visit, particularly to the Orkneys and Shetlands, was left in the form of a MS. journal by Sarah Squire, compiled from letters sent to relatives (1835). She had the company of one female and two male Friends; they sailed from Leith on 10th June, and reached Lerwick on the 16th. They visited many of the islands and held well-attended meetings; they were everywhere well-received and had much assistance from local residents. The

¹ *British Friend*, 10th mo. 1861.

journal contains interesting observations on natural scenery and social conditions, which were often primitive, especially housing. The weather was generally unfavourable and returning in August they had "a very stormy rough passage" to Peterhead. To General Meeting in Aberdeen she gave an account of her tour. They went on by the north-east coast to Thurso, crossed the Pentland Firth and visited the "Mainland" having meetings in Kirkwall, Stromness and Evie and returned to Aberdeen by the same route, "having been 252 miles in open boats and 564 miles in ships and packets, besides land travelling." They then travelled south holding meetings in Stonehaven, Perth, Crieff and Glasgow, where "the invitation was principally extended amongst the middle classes and the Methodists. . . . it was a very respectable attendance." After visiting Edinburgh, Dundee and Hawick they finally crossed the border to Carlisle. Sarah Squire found among the Scots "much to be felt that cannot easily be reached, and a great tenacity of sentiment."¹

An American Friend, Sarah Smiley, was in 1869 allowed to preach in Kirkwall cathedral. In the 'eighties, apparently as an outcome of the later Evangelical movement associated with Moody and Sankey, visitation by such Friends as Richard Brockbank (1824-1912) a Cumberland farmer, and Daniel Pickard was largely responsible for the revival in Ayrshire, from which sprang several rather ephemeral meetings. The visit in 1895 of an American Friend, Jesse Egerton, is commemorated in his journal, selections from which appeared in the *Philadelphia Friend* in 1925.

Some Scottish Friends also travelled extensively, both within and without the compass of their own meeting; e.g. John Wigham senior who spent three years in America (1794-97), William Miller of Hope Park, and, towards the end of the century, Alexander Dunlop.

There was much interchange of membership between English and Scottish meetings, as the economic relations of the two countries became closer, and several Scottish Friends emigrated overseas. Friends from Aberdeenshire who settled in Derbyshire, such as Thomas Davidson and George Smith, were among the founders of the Fritchley meeting. The maintenance and growth of the Society in Scotland was largely indebted to incomers from south of the border such as the

¹ MS. Journal of Sarah Squire (in Edinburgh P.M. Library).

Wighams who came from Northumberland at the end of the eighteenth century and migrated to Ireland at the end of the nineteenth.

The growth of membership was retarded and its decline at times accelerated by the meticulous care taken in admission and the readiness to disown for minor infractions of discipline. The frequency of the "offence" of bankruptcy is remarkable; a disposition neither Quaker nor Scots to "engage in hazardous and unwarrantable speculations" is censured. A "conservative" outlook dominated for a large part of the century, and was expressed by Lydia Ann Barclay (1799-1855) a descendant of the Apologist and noted minister, and in the columns of the *British Friend*, which opposed the mid-century relaxation of discipline; "no amount of which can change matters of principle;"¹ and sympathized with the Fritchley secession. Puritanical standards of social practice were insisted upon by minutes of the 'eighties. Dissension took a serious form on several occasions, and involved the temporary suspension of Edinburgh Monthly Meeting early in the century and intervention in Aberdeen and Kilmarnock towards its close. There was much intermarriage, and it would require a Quaker Burke or Debrett to trace the genealogies of leading families.

Among the essays on the Decline of Quakerism submitted in the well-known prize competition of 1858 was one by Rev. Robert Macnair, a Scottish Baptist clergyman, published in 1860. Admitting that his knowledge of the Society was second-hand, he charged it with "desolating heresies . . . bowing down to the shrine of George Fox," regarding his teachings as "doctrinally perfect and incapable of improvement." At the same time he affirmed that this "stereotyped creed" had been modified by a tendency to approximate to other religious bodies through the "development of evangelical doctrine"; hence there was less reason for its independent existence.²

FRIENDS IN INDUSTRY

As in England, Friends in Scotland were in earlier generations mainly associated with the land, and this connexion survived, especially in Aberdeenshire, until well on in the

¹ *British Friend*, 5th mo. 1861.

² R. Macnair, *The Decline of Quakerism* (1860).

century. The prolific family of Cruickshanks farmed for many generations in the Kinmuck area. Amos Cruickshank (1808-95) "by the determined devotion of a lifetime shifted the centre of the shorthorn world from Teesdale to Aberdeenshire." Leasing the farm of Sittyton in 1837, he built up a noted pedigree herd of cattle and became "perhaps the most outstanding constructive cattle breeder the world has ever known." He is described as "steady of purpose, not easily daunted, shrewd, cautious and determined, yet gentle and tender withal . . . a man of few words, always to the point and often humorous . . . many of his characteristics were the fruit of the religion in which he had been nurtured and to whose tenets he wholeheartedly subscribed." He had as partner his brother Anthony (1812-79), a "man of business training and methodical habits . . . under average height, of spare build, happy in manner and speech," who had a business in Union Street, Aberdeen, and was a founder of the Royal Northern Show (1844),¹ and director of the North of Scotland Bank.

Two branches of Scottish industry owe much to Quaker pioneers. The hosiery manufacture of Hawick was largely the creation of William Wilson (1764-1832), and William Watson (d. 1843), both convinced Friends, who were in partnership there from 1804 to 1819. Wilson formed his own firm in 1819 and his son, Walter (1796-1890), became a leading figure in the developing industry (with which some of his descendants are still actively connected) and a promoter of the North British Railway line.² His younger brother, James (1805-60), was founder of *The Economist*;³ he resigned membership on marrying out in 1832, and none of the family retained connexions with the Society. James Glenny (1836-1914), of Aberdeenshire Quaker stock, and nephew of Walter Wilson, after experience as a cotton spinner in Lancashire became partner in 1875 with his uncle Provost George Wilson in an offshoot of the original business, and subsequently in Peter Scott & Co., and other local firms.⁴ A clerk of Watson's is credited with the famous error or obscurity in writing which

¹ Isabella M. Bruce, *History of Aberdeenshire Shorthorn* (1923), xi, 100-4, 147-48, 346-47, 458-59.

² *Hawick News*, July 1882; *Hawick Express*, 21.6.1890; R. Murray, *History of Hawick*.

³ E. Harrington: *The Servant of All, Jas. Wilson* (1927).

⁴ *Hawick Express*, 26.6.1914.

led to the inspired adoption of the word "tweed" instead of "Tweel" for the local make of cloth.¹

Among the initiators of the manufacture of biscuits in Glasgow (as in Carlisle and Reading) was a partly Quaker firm, Gray Dunn & Co., founded in 1853. William Gray (1811-80) sometime Clerk of General Meeting, was an original partner, and was joined later by John Thompson, who came from Leicester in 1865.²

"The shawl trade (in Edinburgh) fell almost entirely into the hands of members of the Society of Friends, but most of the operatives were from Paisley."³ Among these the Wigham cousins, who set up a business in Nicolson Street about 1820, were outstanding. The Paisley shawl trade declined rapidly in the 'sixties.

The well-known firm of manufacturers of stoves and similar domestic equipment, Smith and Wellstood, Bonnybridge (1860) was largely the creation of Stephen Wellstood (1811-86), who spent some years in the United States, and introduced American types of heating.⁴ He was actively associated with the Society for many years before applying for membership a few years before his death. William White of Glasgow (1773-1855), in addition to conducting a tobacco pipe factory in Glasgow, continued by his son, John Charles White (1826-1911), was a railway director.⁵

One of the Aberdeenshire Cruickshanks, Alexander (1759-1842), settled in Edinburgh about 1787 and built up a drapery business, ultimately situated in George Street, which survived until the 1930's, though long without Quaker connections.⁶ A scion of the same family, John William Cruickshank (1852-1918), son of Anthony, succeeded his father as director of Aberdeen companies and of the North of Scotland Bank; he was apprenticed as an engineer, engaged in cotton spinning in Lancashire and later carried on his uncle's breeding of shorthorns at his estate at Lethenty, but on retiring lived latterly in Surrey and Florence.⁷ Robert

¹ *Scotsman*, 2.8.1949; Wm. Scott: *Auld Hawick* (1890).

² V. W. Alexander, *Donald Gray* (1945); *Glasgow & Lanarkshire* (1903) p. 26.

³ Metcalf: *History of Paisley*, p. 465.

⁴ D. Keir: *Dennyloanhead & Bonnybridge* (1921); *Annual Monitor*, 1887.

⁵ *British Friend*, 1st mo. 1856.

⁶ Edinburgh Directory.

⁷ V. W. Alexander, Donald Gray; Bruce: *Aberdeenshire Shorthorn*, pp. 346-47; A. Keith: *North of Scotland Bank* (1936); Ackworth Old Scholars' Association Report (1919-20).

Mason (joined Friends 1814, died 1861) was for some time manager of the famous mill at New Lanark, where William Allen and other Friends were in partnership with Robert Owen early in the century. The works were subsequently carried on by Walker & Co., apparently the descendants of another Quaker partner.¹

FRIENDS IN PUBLIC LIFE

The active participation in public life of Robert Barclay and his contemporaries had, in eighteenth-century Scotland as elsewhere, given place to a separatist aloofness. The philanthropic movement of that century, as Dr. Burnet emphasizes, brought some Friends back into the stream of affairs in their concern to promote specific reforms. The active part taken by May Drummond (1710-72) in the foundation of Edinburgh Royal Infirmary (1739) was imitated in the prominence of nineteenth-century Friends such as the Wighams in the conduct of this and similar institutions. Some Friends, notably John Wigham junior, participated in promoting an inquiry (1818) into alleged abuses and irregularities in the Infirmary; the official report denied the more serious charges, but admitted some dislocation in consequence of an epidemic in 1817; several improvements were made.²

Through her visits to Scotland, Elizabeth Fry inspired local support for her mission of prison reform. The care of Edinburgh Friends for Polish refugees after the abortive revolt of 1830 has recently been mentioned in *The Friend*, and is the subject of present study by a Polish author.³ Support was given to a fund for the relief of destitution in the Highlands, sponsored by Friends such as Edward Pease⁴ (1855).

Probably the anti-slavery movement was that which most strongly enlisted the sympathies of Friends. The labours of William Smeal of Glasgow, "a strenuous Abolitionist" have been particularly noted by modern authorities such as Mr. G. A. Shepperson of Edinburgh University. Smeal founded

¹ Podmore: *Life of Owen*, pp. 97, 153, 393; *Life of Owen by Himself*, pp. 247-51; Local Reports on Sanitary Condition of Labouring Population (1842), No. 12.

² "A.B." *Rambling Recollections* (1867), p. 67; Logan Turner: *Story of a Great Hospital*, pp. 200-1.

³ *The Friend*, 9.1.1953.

⁴ *British Friend*, 5th mo. 1855.

and was Secretary of the Glasgow Anti-Slavery Society (1822), Glasgow Emancipation Society (1833) and Glasgow Freedmans' Aid Society (1864-67). Criticism of the Free Church for "fellowshipping the slaveholders of America" by accepting funds from the churches of the Southern States—a burning issue of the 'forties—was voiced editorially in the *British Friend*.¹ Eliza Wigham published (1863) a booklet on "the Anti-Slavery Cause."

The mid-century incursion into politics of Joseph Sturge and John Bright was anticipated by John Henderson of Paisley (1797-1851). His earlier and more extreme participation was indeed prior to his conviction in 1837. An iron-monger by trade, nicknamed "Cutler Jock the Quaker," he was suspected of providing arms for the threatened (or imagined) "Radical Rising" of 1820, and fled to America to escape prosecution. On his return from exile he resumed political life as councillor (1833) and Provost (1841-44) of his native burgh and editor of the local edition of the *Radical Evening Post and Renfrewshire Reformer*.² His son James (1833-93), for some years Clerk of General Meeting, became an Inspector of Factories.

William Gray was Provost of Kinning Park, and his partner John Thompson, Provost of Govan, both satellite "police" burghs of Glasgow.³

Walter Wilson of Hawick held municipal office as secretary of the local Board of Health (1832), and a magistrate. He took part in the movements for franchise reform and free trade. Stephen Wellstood sat on Edinburgh town council as a Radical representative of St. Leonard's ward (though before becoming a Friend), and was noted as a temperance reformer. He was secretary of the Lancasterian educational Society and took part in the unsuccessful mid-century agitation for women's suffrage.⁴ Of an "Edinburgh Female Emancipation Society" (1848) Sarah, wife of John Wigham junior, was president; in this "Year of Revolution" the Society drew up

¹ *British Friend*, 9th mo. 1848; J. Urie: *Reminiscences*, p. 102; G. A. Shepperson: *Free Church & American Slavery* (Scottish Historical Review, October 1951), H. B. Stowe & Scotland, *ibid.*, 1953.

² Parkhill: *History of Paisley*, pp. 51-53, 65; do., *Arthur Sneddon*, pp. 69, 179; M. Blair: *Paisley Shawl*, p. 62; Brown: *History of Paisley*, pp. 303, 418; J. Urie: *Reminiscences*, p. 32; *North British Daily Mail*, 5.5.1851.

³ *Glasgow & Lanarkshire* (1903), p. 26.

⁴ *Scotsman*, 4.11.1874; *British Friend*, 2nd mo. 1886; *Annual Monitor* 1887.

an "address to their Sisters in Paris."¹ Eliza Wigham was later secretary of a local Women's Suffrage committee.²

The *British Friend* gave full reports of an international peace conference at Frankfurt (1850). Some Friends took part in the Edinburgh Peace Conference of October, 1853; William Miller was chairman, and Henry Wigham secretary of the Arrangements committee.³ William James Begg, subsequently Clerk of General Meeting, was Secretary of the Glasgow Peace and International Arbitration Association about 1890.⁴

Interest was taken in the passage of the Affirmation (Scotland) Act of 1865, which amended the procedure in a way which finally satisfied Friends' scruples as to the taking of legal oaths.⁵

Robert Bird (1855-1919) solicitor, a convinced Friend, like Bright and other noted members, supported the Unionist cause after 1886, but unlike most of them, was, with Farrer Ecroyd, active in tariff reform propaganda.⁶

In the field of science, whose attraction for Friends Arthur Raistrick has demonstrated, the application to medicine seems to have appealed most to Friends in Scotland. The greatest name is that of Joseph Lister, professor in Glasgow (1860-9) and in Edinburgh (1869-77), who, however, was soon lost to the Society through marrying out (1856). As in earlier generations, when the absence of religious tests was also a factor, the repute of its medical school drew many students to Edinburgh, including James Baker (1852-77) house surgeon to Lister, and Edwin Thompson of the Children's Hospital, both of high promise, quenched by their early deaths. John Barlow (1815-56) was Assistant Professor at the Edinburgh Veterinary College. John Theodore Cash (1854-1936), son-in-law of John Bright, afterwards became Professor of Materia Medica in Aberdeen (1886-1918). Sir George Newman was a student in Edinburgh in 1889-93, and Henry Gillett started medical practice there in 1898.

The virtual taboo on literary pursuits, together with the decline of cultural life in Victorian Scotland, is perhaps

¹ *British Friend*, 7th mo. 1848.

² *Scotsman*, 13.1.1871.

³ *British Friend*, 10th mo. 1853.

⁴ *British Friend*, 11th mo. 1889.

⁵ *British Friend*, 4th mo. 1865.

⁶ *Who's Who in Glasgow* (1909).

responsible for the paucity of Quaker contributions to the art of writing. Only at the very end of the century did Robert Bird of Glasgow acquire some repute as an author. His varied works include humourous verse ("Law Lyrics"), a novel "Reversed on Appeal" and Biblical stories for children.¹

EDINBURGH MEETING

Finally some supplementary details may be given about local Meetings and their members.

Edinburgh erected in 1791 a new meeting house in the Pleasance where there was already a burial ground. The meeting flourished about the middle of the century when it had about eighty members, mainly resident in the southern suburbs, "each family having its own commodious villa, with garden in the front and rear."² Reminiscences of the period are contained in *Memorials of Hope Park*, by William F. Miller (1835-1918) who removed to London in 1867 and professed the Jacobite sympathies of his ancestors. This work, privately printed in 1886, is supplemented by his articles in this *Journal* (1913) and by MS. notes by his niece Helen M. Neave.

The Millers of Craigentenny for three generations dominated eighteenth-century Edinburgh Quakerism. The main line died out with the eccentric collector, William Henry Miller (1789-1848). Their history has been fully studied in volume XXII of the *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*. The will (1829) of W. H. Miller, who had no connexion with Friends, left the estate to other relatives; it was contested by the nearest male representative of the family, Joseph Miller (1792-1855) bookseller, George IV Bridge; the suit lasted four years; a final appeal to the House of Lords was rejected (1853). Joseph's youngest brother, William of Hope Park (1796-1882), achieved much repute as an engraver; he travelled widely in the ministry and was active in the causes of peace and anti-slavery. His second wife Jane (1818-1908) continued to sit at the head of Edinburgh meeting until the first years of this century; she is described as "clever and executive," noted for "efficiency and caustic remarks." They "kept open house and young men attending the Meeting returned there for dinner."

¹ D. W. Brown: *Clydeside Litterateurs*, pp. 9-14.

² W. Chambers: *Story of a Long & Busy Life*, p. 59.

Edinburgh Friends of the mid-century formed a Literary Society.¹ Their social habits approximated to those of Victorian Presbyterianism and they enjoyed intercourse with their fellow citizens of similar standing, a connexion encouraged by the marriage (though it temporarily involved her disownment) of Priscilla Bright to Duncan McLaren, political henchman of her brother, leading merchant, M.P., and sometime Lord Provost. William Chambers, a founder of the publishing firm, noted also as a social reformer during his Lord Provostship (especially in slum clearance) wrote in his autobiography:

"I somehow became acquainted with several members of that limited but respectable body the Society of Friends. . . . There was something peculiarly delightful in the placidity of manner of these people. The family that I knew best was that of John Wigham, junior. In the conversations that took place there was a studied abstinence from all disagreeable topics. . . . All matters treated of bore reference to something practically good, connected with social progress. . . . On one occasion I attended a kind of public breakfast given by the family in honour of Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe. . . . In the small evening tea parties given by this excellent family I often met with Elihu Burritt 'the learned blacksmith'."²

The Wighams were a Border family mentioned as a "clan" in 1493. They acquired the manor of Coanwood in Northumberland by purchase during the Commonwealth, but apparently sold it about 1758. In the early eighteenth century they were associated with a colliery which supplied coal to the Quaker Lead Company in Cumberland. Cuthbert Wigham was convinced about 1734 and with the families of Watson and Richardson "formed a strong Quaker community."³ It was his grandson John (1749-1839) who removed to Scotland in 1784 "under a feeling of religious duty" and spent most of the rest of his long life in Aberdeen. His second son John "junior" (1781-1862) came to Edinburgh about 1800, and was in the shawl trade until his retirement in 1855 "in easy circumstances," due partly to his first marriage to "a considerable heiress." He was a director of the United Kingdom Provident Institution, and resided in Salisbury Road. He was "devoted to benevolent and useful institutions" and served on the boards of the Edinburgh House of Refuge, the Royal Maternity Hospital and the Prisons Board. Anticipating the

¹ W. F. Miller: *Memorials of Hope Park*, ch. vii.

² W. Chambers: *op. cit.*, pp. 59-61.

³ A. Raistrick: *Quakers in Science & Industry*, pp. 176-77.

modern Barns, he proposed in 1851 "schools for destitute" at which juvenile offenders would be trained for farming at home or in the colonies. He was Chairman of the Anti-Corn Law Association; he nominated Macaulay at the General Election of 1840, but afterwards supported his Radical opponent.¹

His cousin, namesake and partner, distinguished as John Wigham tertius (1784-1864), came to Edinburgh from Coanwood in 1805, and resided in Gray Street. He also "realized an ample competency," but lost much of his fortune as a shareholder in the Western Bank which failed in 1857, two years after his retirement. He was an overseer and treasurer of the Meeting and "diligent and regular in attendance." He was a manager of the Royal Public Dispensary.² His widow Jane (1801-88), sister of the Smeals, was active in the anti-slavery, temperance and feminist movements, as was her step-daughter Eliza (1820-99) well-known within and without the Society, being one of the last to retain the old garb. Her social work included the management for forty years of a "Penny Bank," and conduct of a "Women's Work Society or Mothers' Meeting" (1866-97); "her yearly reports were models of concentration and her spiritual aim was always visible." Her services have been commemorated by the present Edinburgh University Settlement. Shortly before her death she joined her brothers who had settled in Dublin.³

Among other leading personalities were Harry Armour (1790-1867) printer, admitted in 1859 after previous association in peace and anti-slavery activities; David Doull (1784-1858) wine merchant and confectioner, a native of Caithness who before his conviction in 1817 had served in the Fencibles; and Helenus Gibbs (1801-76) boot and shoemaker, received in 1859.⁴

GLASGOW MEETING

In 1791 Glasgow sold its original premises, but a new house was built in Portland Street in 1804. After much tribu-

¹ MS. records of Wigham family; *British Friend*, 12th mo. 1851 & 6th mo. 1862; *Annual Monitor*, 1863; Memoir of J. Wigham Richardson (1911).

² *British Friend*, 11th mo. 1864; *Annual Monitor*, 1865.

³ *Annual Monitor*, 1901; J. Goodfellow: *The Print of His Shoe*, pp. 72-78 (with portrait).

⁴ *Scotsman*, 2.2.1867; *Annual Monitor*; Edinburgh Directory; *Journal F.H.S.*, January, 1913.

lation in the early years of the century, it had 50 to 60 members in the 'sixties, and about 100 in the 'eighties. The best known of its members in the early decades were John Robertson (1761-1818) admitted in 1794, and Anthony Wigham (1776-1857), brother of John Wigham junior, who became Clerk in 1799. They were partners in the muslin trade and benefactors of the Society; Anthony retired to Aberdeen in 1835. In the middle of the century the most weighty members were William Gray (1811-80) founder of the biscuit firm and Clerk of General Meeting, and the brothers Smeal, grocers in the Gallowgate. Their father, the first William Smeal (1762-1836) left the Church of Scotland for the Independents and came in touch with Friends in Glasgow about 1800; he was afterwards an elder and overseer. William (1793-1877) was the more prominent of the brothers. Born in Leith, he joined the Society in 1817, and was successively Clerk of Preparative, Monthly and General Meetings. He took part in Liberal politics especially in campaigns for Church disestablishment, Corn Law repeal, and a national system of education. He was secretary of the local Peace committee and advocated the abolition of capital punishment, but his agitation against negro slavery brought him most repute. Robert Smeal (1804-86) devoted himself chiefly to his tea business and to the conduct of the *British Friend*.¹

Towards the end of the century leading members included John Charles White of Hillhead (1826-1911), tobacco pipe manufacturer, and his sister Mary (1827-1903), president of the Glasgow branch of the British Women's Temperance Association, and prominent in the "Prison Gate Mission" and Girls' Friendly Society, in co-operation with Agnes Bryson (1831-1907) a native of New York.²

Catherine Cuthbertson has contributed some recollections of the Portland Street Meeting house at this period, "where we toiled up the last steep hill in the heat of summer or slid down the slippery path in winter. In the gallery were the benign personalities of Mary White and William James Begg (d. 1922) a solicitor, afterwards Clerk of General Meeting. The Gray, Hodge, Thompson and White families constituted a considerable part of the Meeting."

¹ *Annual Monitor*, 1837, 1878, 1887.

² *Ibid.* 1904, 1908.

OTHER MEETINGS

The old Meeting at Kelso expired in 1797 with the death of Jane Waldie, Walter Scott's early acquaintance, and last scion of the Ormstons of Hendersyde who had maintained it for generations. Possession of the meeting house was retained until 1905; it was meantime let for various purposes, including that of the local School of Arts.¹

Hawick (1822-39) gave the only subsequent sign of life in the Borders. The meeting house, after being let as a school to J. A. H. Murray the lexicographer, was sold in 1866 and demolished.²

Aberdeen continued with fluctuating vitality, meeting from 1825 in Diamond Street. In 1900 there was an average attendance of about twenty. The Meeting was dominated by John Duguid of Blackdog Farm, of strongly Conservative views; Sophia Cash, daughter of John Bright, was Clerk of Two Months Meeting.

Kinmuck declined with the depopulation of the rural areas; members fell from thirty-eight in the 1790's to sixteen about 1830. The Meeting possessed a three-acre croft, long occupied by the brothers Robert and James Gray.

Old Meldrum, the only other relic of early Aberdeenshire fervour, was already moribund by 1800. For most of the century the staple of membership of the Two Months Meeting was provided by the farming families of the district—Cruickshanks (Amos the breeder and his brothers Anthony and John, of Altons, 1803-78), Brantinghams (e.g., George 1791-1860), Grays and Wighams (e.g., Amos, 1776-1848).³

Perth had a temporary life in mid century, when meetings were held in the homes, first of Patrick Murdoch and then of Sarah and James Fenwick, umbrella manufacturer, Bridgend (admitted 1849, died 1868). Their son James Edwin Fenwick (1863-1942) head of a bakery and benefactor of Wigton School was ultimately the only survivor.⁴

Dundee was recognized as a Meeting in 1802, but discontinued in 1813 on the death of the only remaining member Alexander Webster, merchant. Meetings for Worship were resumed about 1870; a Preparative Meeting was recognized

¹ J. Haig: *Account of Kelso*, p. 123.

² J. Turner: *Hawick in Bygone Days* (1927), p. 11; R. Murray: *History of Hawick*, pp. 77, 142-44; J. Edgar: *Hawick of 90 Years Ago* (1929).

³ Old Statistical Account, II, p. 529; New Statistical Account, XII, p. 746.

⁴ *British Friend*, 3rd mo. 1852; 5th mo. 1864.

in 1889 and premises built in 1891. Robert T. M. Allan (1845-1916) a grocer's assistant who became a photographer in Broughty Ferry, convinced in 1862, and James C. Steel, tea merchant, Broughty Ferry, convinced in 1872, were chief promoters; they were joined by James A. Braithwaite from Cork in 1897.¹

In the south-west, several new meetings were established late in the century, at Kilmarnock where a meeting house was opened in January, 1886, and Kirkintilloch in the 'seventies; at Ardrossan, Irvine, Annan, Crosshill and Maybole in the 'nineties. All, except the first, remained very small and did not survive the first generation. All the members, says a contemporary visitor, were convinced Friends, "dissatisfied with the Kirk," and had a strong Evangelical bias. George Cuthbert, the leading figure at Crosshill, had for many years served in the Navy.² Alexander Dunlop, joiner, Ardrossan (d. 1906) and Alexander Lamont, drysalter, Kilmarnock (d. 1899), were active in the ministry throughout the country.

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AUTHOR'S NOTE

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Where not specified, the source of information is found in Minutes and other records of Friends in Scotland, either directly or through references in Dr. G. B. Burnet's *Story of Quakerism in Scotland* (1952), or in his unpublished Ph.D. thesis (Glasgow University) on which his book is based.

Supplement 20 Wanted

Any available copies of *The Swarthmore Documents in America*. Edited by Henry J. Cadbury, 1940, will be welcome at The Library, Friends House, London, N.W.1, as the stock of this is exhausted. The *Journal*, vol. 37 (1940) is also out of stock. Identified senders will receive grateful acknowledgment.

¹ Norrie: *Dundee*, p. 68; *British Friend*, 3rd mo. 1891.

² *The Friend* (Philadelphia), 1925, p. 576; *British Friend*, 3rd mo. 1887, 2nd mo. 1892.