

T. EDMUND HARVEY (1875–1955): LIBERAL QUAKER,  
QUAKER LIBERAL AND POLITICIAN OF CONSCIENCE

by

MARK STANLEY FRANKEL

A thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham for the  
degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Theology and Religion  
College of Arts and Law  
University of Birmingham

July 2023

UNIVERSITY OF  
BIRMINGHAM

**University of Birmingham Research Archive**

**e-theses repository**

This unpublished thesis/dissertation is copyright of the author and/or third parties. The intellectual property rights of the author or third parties in respect of this work are as defined by The Copyright Designs and Patents Act 1988 or as modified by any successor legislation.

Any use made of information contained in this thesis/dissertation must be in accordance with that legislation and must be properly acknowledged. Further distribution or reproduction in any format is prohibited without the permission of the copyright holder.

## Abstract

A study of the Quaker politician and social reformer T. Edmund Harvey (1875–1955) challenges the modern image of Quakers as post-liberal domination-resisters and anti-racist radicals. In a career spanning the first half of the twentieth century which saw him as a Liberal MP in the First World War and an Independent Progressive MP in the Second, Harvey consistently exhibited a post-Victorian's spiritual and political outlook based on liberalism and the value of the person. As warden of Toynbee Hall 1906–11 he indirectly supported New Liberal governmental and regulatory reforms; as a PPS 1913–14 he did so directly. In 1916 he won the esteem of the civil and military authorities for pioneering a system of alternative, non-military national service and for his measured interventions on behalf of conscientious objectors under duress. He rejected socialism, decisively so at a crisis in his life in 1918. Involved as other Quakers were in the issue of Indian independence, he upheld an enlightened form of British imperialism and deplored Gandhi's campaigns of civil disobedience. In Parliament 1937–45 he was an arch-appeaser and an opponent of re-introduced conscription but had to endure attacks by left-wing war-resisters. His thirty years as a prison visitor 1921–51 in his home town of Leeds were an evolved form of genteel, post-Victorian Christian voluntary service. The thesis argues for a connection between Harvey's liberal Quaker faith and his political liberalism and that he was a politician of conscience according to his own, carefully discerned limits.

## Acknowledgements

Special thanks are due to my supervisors, 'Ben' Pink Dandelion and Hugh McLeod, for their unswerving support and encouragement and the happy way in which their interests and skills complemented each other; Joanna Dales, for passing to me vital material from Edward Milligan, and for her thesis on John William Graham, which inspired me to embark on a study of Harvey; Judith Roads, who set me on the path of a PhD; Pierre Tilston for scanning typescripts; Michael Meadowcroft, archivist of the LibDems and former MP for Harvey's old constituency; John Best of Reading Quaker Meeting for further material from Edward Milligan; Mark Russ and Ben Wood for help on matters theological. Others to whom I owe thanks are Duncan Brack, editor of the *Journal of Liberal History*; Judith Curthoys, archivist of Christ Church, Oxford; Dr A. J. Dorey; Mark Richard Dorsett; Martin Spychal and Priscilla Baines of the History of Parliament Trust for much support and assistance but particularly for their permission to reproduce Harvey's reply to the Josiah C. Wedgwood questionnaire; Thomas D. Hamm for information about the Richmond conferences of 1922; Nicholas Owen for information about Harvey and suffrage; Oliver Pickering of the Quaker Family History Society; Frank Prochaska for his observations on prison visiting; Stephen Roberts, historian of the Workers' Educational Association; Geoff Stead for information about the Salem Brotherhood. Of the libraries and institutions which have assisted me I must thank in particular the Library of the Society of Friends in London but also the Bodleian Library, Bootham School, Brotherton Library, Cadbury Research Library, Churchill College archives, Haverford College, London Metropolitan Archives, London School of Economics library, Mansfield College,

Oxford, Sheffield City Archives, Swarthmore College and Westminster School.

Sincere apologies to those inadvertently omitted from this list.

## Timeline and concurrent historical events

1875 January 4	Born St John's Terrace, 193 Belle Vue Road, Leeds, eldest son of William Harvey and his wife Anna Maria, nee Whiting
1887–91	Bootham School
1893	BA Victoria University, Leeds
1893–97	Christ Church college, Oxford. First class degree Literae Humaniores
1897	Scarborough summer school
1897–1900	Study tour of Europe
1901 January	Death of Queen Victoria and accession of Edward VII
1900	Joins staff of British Museum. Warden of Chalfont House
1904 March	Resigns from British Museum on election as London County Councillor (to March 1907)
1904 September	Leaves Chalfont House for Toynbee Hall as deputy warden
1905	<i>The Rise of the Quakers</i> (London: National Council of Evangelical Free Churches)
1905	<i>Poor Raoul and other fables</i> (London: J. M. Dent & Co.)
1904	Deputy Warden and, from May 1906, Warden of Toynbee Hall (to 1911)
1906	General election victory for Liberals. Cabinet under Campbell-Bannerman and, from April 1908, Asquith (till May 1915)
1906 May 19	Recorded as minister by Westminster and Longford Monthly Meeting
1908–1910	Joint honorary secretary with Michael Sadler to executive committee of the Education Settlement Committee
1909 June	Best man at wedding of R. H. Tawney
1909 November	Stepney Borough councillor for Whitechapel Middle ward (to 1911)
1910 January	Member of Parliament for Leeds West (to December 1910)
1910 May	Death of Edward VII and accession of George V
1910 December	Second general election of 1910: Harvey re-elected for West Leeds (to December 1918)

1911 July 18	Marries Alice Irene Thompson at Westminster Quaker Meeting House
1912 June	Parliamentary Private Secretary (PPS) to Ellis Griffith KC (to July 1913)
1913	<i>A Wayfarer's Faith</i> (London: Wells Gardner, Darton & Co.)
1913	Preface to John Wormald and Samuel Wormald, <i>A Guide to the Mental Deficiency Act 1913</i>
1913 July	PPS to Charles Masterman (to August 1914)
1914 August 3	Speaks in Parliament on the eve of war
1914 August 4	Britain declares war
1914 September	Starts going back and forth to France on relief work (to February 1920)
1915 May	Asquith forms wartime coalition
1916 January	First Military Service Act
1916 March	Appointed to Pelham Committee
1916 May	Second Military Service Act
1916 December	Lloyd George coalition cabinet (to October 1922)
1917	February/March and October/November revolutions in Russia
1917 March	Campaigning for Edward Backhouse, a peace-by-negotiation candidate for the Stockton by-election
1917 June	Contributes introduction to <i>Handed-over: the prison experiences of Mr. J. Scott Duckers</i> (London: C. W. Daniel Ltd, 1917)
1917 September	Press reports his decision not to seek re-election for West Leeds .
1918 March	One of a deputation of MP's to Home Secretary Sir George Cave urging prison reform.
1918 August 8	Speech to Parliament on war aims
1918 November	Armistice. Fighting in Eastern Europe: Russo-Polish war (to March 1921)
1918 December	General election (Harvey not a candidate)
1919	Joins Prison Enquiry Commission, which sponsored <i>English Prisons Today</i> by Stephen Hobhouse and Fenner Brockway, published in 1922
1919 October	Temporarily takes over from J. W. Graham as head of Dalton Hall

1920–1921	Warden, Swarthmore Settlement, Leeds
1920 February–June	In western, central and eastern Europe for Friends' War Victims Relief Committee.
1920 August	Attends All Friends Conference, London
1921 March	Begins as prison visitor at Armley prison (to May 1951)
1921 May	<i>The Long Pilgrimage</i> (Swarthmore Lecture)
1922 February	Washington navy treaty
1922	<i>Stolen Aureoles</i> (Oxford: Basil Blackwell)
1922 June 18	In France
1922 August–November	In America for conferences at Richmond, Indiana.
1922 October	Conservative cabinet (under Bonar Law and from May 1923 Stanley Baldwin)
1922 November	General election: Fails to win Dewsbury for the Liberals
1923	Warden at Fircroft college, Selly Oak (to 1924)
1923 March–May	Mission to occupied Ruhr
1923 December–1924 October	Liberal MP for Dewsbury during Ramsay MacDonald's first Labour (minority) government
1924 November	In France and Germany; Baldwin's second Conservative cabinet
1925 June	Travelling in eastern Europe about relief work. Visits Malevantsky community of Christian pacifist peasants in Raczkany (Belarus).
1925 Oct–1926 March	In India with Irene. Meets Gandhi 29 December 1925
1926 March–April	On the continent including Vienna with Hilda Clark visiting Hoover projects in Germany and Vienna
1927 March 12	Visiting Quakers in Paris
1929 May	Comes bottom of the poll for Leeds North at the general election
1929 June	Ramsay MacDonald's second Labour government (to August 1931)
1930 May 20	Delegation to government about India
1931–32	Dealing with problems of the family firm of Hotham and Whiting, warehousemen
1931 March	Attends Yorkshire Liberals conference with Irene
1931 August	Ramsay MacDonald's first National cabinet



1931 October	Pudsey and Otley Liberals invite Harvey to be their prospective parliamentary candidate. (In the event the Liberals did not contest the seat)
1931 November	Ramsay MacDonald's second National government
1932	<i>Saint Aelred of Rievaulx</i> (London: H. R. Allenson)
1933 March	Chairman Executive Committee of Leeds Christian Social Council
1933 October 14	Conducts Quaker service on radio
1934	Master of the Guild of St George (to 1951)
1935 June	Baldwin's National cabinet (to May 1937)
1935 October	Liberals decide not to contest North Leeds
1936	Completes questionnaire for Colonel Wedgwood.
1936 June	Peace congress in Leeds 1936
1936 July	Spanish Civil War (to March 1939)
1936 December	Abdication of Edward VIII and accession of George VI
1937 March–June 1945	Independent Progressive MP for the Combined English Universities
1937 May	Neville Chamberlain's National cabinet (to May 1940)
1937 September 1–8	With Irene at Friends World Conference, Philadelphia
1937 October 27	Speaks in debate on the Royal Address
1938 September	Munich Agreement
1938 November	Attends Quaker conference on Munich Agreement
1939 March	Calls for new peace conference.
1939 May	Letter to the press on another effort for peace.
1939 May	Military Training Bill
1939 June	Deputation to the Ministry of Labour about rights of conscientious objectors
1939 September	National Service Act; Britain at war with Germany; Chamberlain forms war cabinet
1939 October	Calls in Parliament for a federal Europe.
1939 November	Issues address to the electors of his constituency of the Combined Universities
1940 January	Nominates George Lansbury for the Nobel Peace Prize.
1940 March	Co-signs letter to press supporting seeking peace through US mediation.
1940 May	Churchill's war cabinet

1940 July–October	Battle of Britain
1940 Sept–1941 May	Blitz
1940 August	Calls for statement of war aims
1941 March 15	Caught in an air-raid on Leeds station
1941 April	National Service Act (1941): conscription extended to civil defence.
1941	<i>The Christian Church and the Prisoner in English Experience</i> (London: The Epworth Press)
1941 June	Nazi invasion of Soviet Russia
1941 December	US enters war
1942	<i>Songs in the Night</i> (Malvern: M. T. Stevens)
1942	Headingley Orphan Homes reopen with return of evacuees
1942 August	Quit India campaign
1944 July	Abortive plot against Hitler
1944 October	Broadcasts on tercentenary of William Penn
1944 November 15	Sister Helen and husband killed by V1 on their home in Croydon
1945 April 12	Death of President Roosevelt
1945 June	Retires from Parliament
1945 July	Attlee's Labour cabinet
1945 August	Atomic bombing of Japan. End of Second World War
1945 October	Travelling in France
1947 May	Hon. LLD, Leeds University
1949	<i>Workaday Saints</i> (London: Bannisdale)
1949 May	Retires as trustee and sometime chairman of Ogilvie Charities after forty years service.
1950 June	War in Korea. Writes against nuclear weapons in <i>Daily Worker</i>
1955 May 3	Dies, Rydal House, 5 Grosvenor Terrace, Headingley, Leeds.
1955 May 5	Cremated at Lawnswood Crematorium, Leeds. Cremated remains: Friends Burial Ground, Adel, Leeds; plot row 2 grave 86.
1955 May 11	Memorial service, Friends Meeting House, Woodhouse Lane.

1955 Dec 3	Death of Alice Irene Harvey (aged 68)
2016 July 6	Plaque to Harvey unveiled at his former home, Rydal House, 5 Grosvenor Terrace, Headingley, by Michael Meadowcroft

## Residences

Childhood home: The Grove, Roundhay, Leeds LS8 2QQ (The road of the name survives but not the original house)

1900–04: Chalfont House, Queen Square, London WC1 (The building no longer survives)

1904–11: Toynbee Hall, 28 Commercial St, London E1 6LS

1911, June–1916: 13 Hammersmith Terrace W6 9TS

1916–20: Welders Wood, Welders Lane, Chalfont St Peter, SL9 8TT

1920–23: 12 Clarendon Road Leeds LS2 9NU

1923–55: Rydal House, 5 Grosvenor Terrace, Headingley, Leeds LS6 2DY

## Table of Contents

ABSTRACT.....	III
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....	IV
TIMELINE AND CONCURRENT HISTORICAL EVENTS.....	VI
RESIDENCES .....	XI
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	XII
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION: T. EDMUND HARVEY, LIBERAL QUAKER, QUAKER LIBERAL AND POLITICIAN OF CONSCIENCE.....	1
The significance of T. Edmund Harvey .....	1
Primary sources.....	4
Edward Milligan and Silvanus Nicol.....	4
Oxford diary 1896.....	5
Harvey’s correspondence.....	6
Library of the Society of Friends.....	7
Harvey’s publications .....	8
Guild of St George.....	9
Other repositories.....	9
Newspapers and Hansard.....	11
Secondary literature .....	11
Liberal Quaker.....	11
Quaker Liberal.....	13
Liberal Quaker, Quaker Liberal .....	18
Politician of conscience .....	19
Approach .....	21
Thesis structure.....	23
Chapter summary .....	24
CHAPTER 2: THE MAKING OF A QUAKER AND A LIBERAL, 1875–1911.....	25
Introduction.....	25
Upbringing, education and early influences.....	25
Upbringing and family life .....	25
Bootham and Oxford .....	28

Early influences .....	30
Chalfont House .....	32
Toynbee Hall.....	35
The road to parliament .....	48
Chapter summary.....	51
CHAPTER 3: A QUAKER LIBERAL IN PEACE AND WAR, 1910–18.....	53
Introduction .....	53
The peace testimony and the Quaker Renaissance .....	54
Peacetime pacifist: 1910–1914 .....	55
Liberal parliamentarian 1910–14.....	57
Outbreak of war 1914.....	62
Relief work: 1914 onwards.....	64
Conscientious objection – the Pelham Committee .....	68
De-selection .....	80
Chapter summary.....	83
CHAPTER 4: METROPOLITAN ANTI-IMPERIALIST, 1910–1954.....	85
Introduction .....	85
Global colonialism .....	86
Cocoa slaves and the Putumayo scandal .....	86
Human rights in British Africa.....	87
International Extortion in China.....	92
Palestine and the SS Patria .....	94
India .....	95
Hope for India .....	95
First public statement 1922.....	96
Visit 1925–26 .....	97
London Yearly Meeting 1930 .....	100
In Parliament, 1937–45.....	104
Horace Alexander .....	111
Conclusion: Harvey and British imperialism .....	114
Chapter summary.....	115
CHAPTER 5: BETWEEN THE WARS, 1918–1939.....	117

Introduction.....	117
International service 1918–27.....	118
Russo-Polish War 1920.....	123
Mission to the USA 1922.....	125
League of Nations Union 1922–38.....	130
Ruhr 1923–24.....	134
MP for Dewsbury 1924.....	138
Guild of St George 1934–1951.....	143
Combined English Universities 1937.....	146
Two speeches and Captain Ramsay 1937–38.....	149
Munich Agreement 1938.....	153
Chapter summary.....	155
CHAPTER 6: PRISON VISITOR, 1921–51.....	157
Introduction.....	157
Harvey’s involvement with prisoners and prison reform.....	157
Origins of his interest 1912–22.....	157
Prison visitor 1921–1951.....	161
Criminal Justice Bill 1937–38.....	166
<i>The Christian Church and the Prisoner in English Experience</i> .....	168
Criminal Justice Bill 1947.....	171
Comparisons.....	172
Elizabeth Fry.....	173
E. Ruggles-Brise.....	173
Stephen Hobhouse and Fenner Brockway.....	175
Margery Fry.....	176
Christian service in the community.....	177
Liberalisation of the criminal justice system.....	178
Prevalence of Christian community service.....	179
Chapter summary.....	180
CHAPTER 7: WAR AND COLD WAR 1939–55.....	182
Introduction.....	182
1939.....	182

1940 .....	190
1941 .....	194
1942–43 .....	198
1944–45 .....	201
Conclusion: Harvey in the Second World War .....	205
The Atomic Bomb.....	207
Final years 1950–55.....	210
Chapter summary.....	211
<b>CHAPTER 8: HARVEY’S THOUGHT: PERSONALISM, LIBERALISM AND CLASSICAL HUMANISM .....</b>	<b>213</b>
Introduction .....	213
1. ‘We have in our Quaker history a lesson for our own lives of the meaning of Christian citizenship.’ .....	214
Christian citizenship.....	214
Personalism .....	215
Friedrich von Hugel.....	217
2. ‘You can see there a two-fold strand constantly interwoven: one, respect for the state as representing authority...’ .....	219
Progressivism .....	219
Friendly patriotism .....	221
<i>Authority and Freedom in the Experience of the Quakers</i> .....	225
The Quaker liberal identity .....	227
3. ‘Desire to serve the community through the state and in other ways’ .....	228
4. ‘Above all desire to serve the Kingdom of God’ .....	229
Augustine of Hippo .....	230
The pilgrim .....	231
5. ‘This means that we must be willing, when loyalty to the Kingdom of God demands it to refuse the demands of the state and show the highest loyalty to the state and the best citizenship by refusing demands that are wrong’ .....	233
6. ‘Because it is only in that way that the conscience of our fellow citizens can be reached, and in the end a better law come into being.’ .....	235
Moral leadership .....	235
Disciples, pilgrims and seekers.....	240

Classical humanism and Harvey's humility.....	243
Classical humanism .....	243
Humility .....	249
Chapter summary .....	251
CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSION: LIBERAL QUAKER, QUAKER LIBERAL, AND POLITICIAN OF CONSCIENCE .....	253
Introduction.....	253
1. A liberal Quaker.....	254
2. A Quaker Liberal.....	261
Introduction .....	261
Career as a Liberal.....	261
Liberal social reformer.....	263
Colonialism.....	268
Peace testimony.....	270
3. Post-Victorian Christian gentleman .....	275
Introduction .....	275
A Quaker gentleman in Parliament 1910–18.....	276
The civic volunteer .....	279
The veteran parliamentarian .....	282
No loss of hope .....	284
4. His place in history .....	286
Introduction .....	286
His place in the history of the Society of Friends.....	286
His place as a politician of conscience .....	290
Appeaser.....	295
5. Implications for further research .....	297
Chapter summary .....	299
APPENDIX 1: BOOKS, ARTICLES AND OTHER PRINTED WORKS BY T. EDMUND HARVEY .....	301
APPENDIX 2: HARVEY'S FAMILY .....	307
Parents and uncles.....	307
Siblings.....	307



Spouse.....	308
APPENDIX 3: WEDGWOOD QUESTIONNAIRE .....	309
Harvey’s reply .....	309
Summary biography by Josiah C. Wedgwood .....	312
APPENDIX 4: PACIFISTS AND QUAKERS IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS IN THE TWO WORLD WARS .....	314
First World War .....	314
Second World War .....	314
APPENDIX 5: TWO BOXES OF CORRESPONDENCE ACQUIRED FROM READING QUAKER MEETING HOUSE IN FEBRUARY 2019 .....	315
Refugees and aliens 1939–45 .....	315
‘Last Jobs’ 1945-1955 .....	323
BIBLIOGRAPHY AND OTHER SECONDARY SOURCES .....	328



## Chapter 1: Introduction: T. Edmund Harvey, liberal Quaker, Quaker Liberal and politician of conscience

### *The significance of T. Edmund Harvey*

T. Edmund Harvey (1875–1955) is an unusual and neglected figure in British political and religious history, a Quaker and pacifist who sat in the House of Commons in both world wars and whose career of political and religious activism spanned the first half of the twentieth century. He was a Liberal MP from 1910 to 1918, again for ten months in 1924, and in 1937 was back in the Commons as an Independent Progressive until he retired in June 1945. Born into a prosperous Quaker family in Leeds and educated at Oxford, he is known if at all for his work for conscientious objectors in the First World War, when in 1916 he helped introduce a system of alternative national service. Yet he was involved in most of the domestic and international issues of the first half of the twentieth century, from the Progressive Alliance of Edwardian London to the anti-nuclear campaigns of the early Cold War. Moreover, he was a devout Quaker, continually active in the Society and a life-long worker for social reform and charitable causes, at first in London's university settlement movement and then in his home town of Leeds. Edward Milligan says of Harvey's type of Quaker,

And others there were, Edmund Harvey among them, who gave almost their entire lives to the Society's welfare, visiting the poor, the sick and the isolated, lecturing at one Meeting or another, acting as clerks or as treasurers of Monthly or Quarterly Meetings, serving on the ever-growing central committees of the Society.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Milligan typescript p. 92/119

Harvey was the author of half-a-dozen books and over a hundred pieces of political, religious, creative and humorous writing, as listed in Appendix 1.

Harvey's story challenges the image that today's Quakers in Britain and the US present of themselves as post-liberal domination-resisters and anti-colonialist, anti-racist radicals.<sup>2</sup> Harvey by contrast consistently exhibited a liberal turn of mind and a commitment to the centre ground, having a spiritual and political outlook based on liberalism and the value of the person. As warden of Toynbee Hall he worked with the governmental and regulatory reforms of the day. In 1916 he won the esteem of the military and political establishment by pioneering a system of alternative, non-military national service. He rejected socialism, decisively so at a crisis in his life in 1918. He upheld an enlightened form of British imperialism and an international order based on the rule of law. He had doubts about early independence for India and tried to restrain Quakers' enthusiasm for Gandhi. He supported the League of Nations for the duration. He personified the values of the Guild of St George, the charity founded by John Ruskin in 1871, of which he was Master 1934–51. Back in Parliament 1937–45 he was an arch-appeaser but had to bear attacks by left-wing war-resisters. The thesis argues Harvey was a post-Victorian theological and political liberal and politician of conscience by virtue of a considered connection between his Quaker values and activism.

---

<sup>2</sup> Christopher Wess Daniels, *Resisting Empire: The Book of Revelation as Resistance* (Newberg: Barclay Press, 2019)  
<https://www.quaker.org.uk/news-and-events/news/coalition-stands-up-for-rights-of-palestinian-people>  
issued 14 May 2021  
'Swarthmore Lecture 2022: Listen to the racialised and oppressed for answers'  
<https://www.quaker.org.uk/news-and-events/news/swarthmore-lecture-2022-listen-to-the-racialised-and-oppressed-for-answers> 31 May 2022

My interest in Harvey was first piqued by a passage of his in *Quaker Faith & Practice*, which forms the kernel of chapter 8 on aspects of his thought.<sup>3</sup> The passage made obvious to me that here was a man of faith with a rigorous intellect, and led me to want to explore the connection between his theologically liberal religion and his political liberalism. The dissertation shows how this connection was reflected in his life and work over the course of a career which ran from late Victorian times to the middle of the twentieth century. The deficiencies in the secondary literature, which I deal with below, mean that my study of Harvey adds to knowledge of Quakers and politics from the turn of the twentieth century to the year 1920, to supplement the book by Thomas Kennedy, and broaches largely untouched ground in Quaker studies for the period thereafter.<sup>4</sup> The research is important beyond the specialist field of Quaker studies by contributing to twentieth century studies in the areas of peace, liberalism, international affairs and relief work, together with British political history including the history of Parliament, the Liberal party, and the British Empire. Furthermore, it contributes to the field of social and intellectual history, as I explore how Harvey was unusual by virtue of his being a Quaker in Parliament in both world wars but typical in exemplifying the continuation of the post-Victorian, classically educated, liberal Christian, Ruskinian gentleman and civic volunteer into the mid-twentieth century.

---

<sup>3</sup> *Quaker Faith & Practice* passage 23.88, taken from 'Friends World Conference official report held at Swarthmore and Haverford Colleges near Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, September 1st to 8th 1937' (prepared by an editorial committee appointed by the Conference Business Committee)

<sup>4</sup> Thomas C. Kennedy *British Quakerism 1860-1920* (Oxford University Press 2001)

## Primary sources

In the absence of substantial published material on Harvey, the research has been based on unpublished and primary sources.

### Edward Milligan and Silvanus Nicol

Use has been made of an unpublished, incomplete biography of Harvey by Edward H. Milligan, which consists of 119 pages and 1 footnote as the Milligan typescript. Following Harvey's death in 1955, the Quakers' corporate body, Britain Yearly Meeting, commissioned a biography from Milligan, who was a friend of Harvey and Librarian of the Society of Friends from 1957 to 1985. Plans for its publication were laid in the years 1955-1957.<sup>5</sup> In the event, the plans did not come to fruition but towards the end of his life Milligan passed a typescript of his incomplete draft, and some other items, to Joanna Dales who, learning of my interest in Harvey, kindly passed the material to me. Parts of the typescript are dated as recently as 2010, but it is likely the original research was done some years earlier. Edward Milligan's text is an affectionate portrayal of Harvey's character and is good on his upbringing and on relief work during the First World War but sketchy beyond his middle years, with nothing on his third term in Parliament. Milligan's focus is Harvey in the context of the Society of Friends and he underestimates Harvey's significance in the wider arena of politics, particularly those of Indian independence. Furthermore, Milligan has little to say on Harvey's thought. Other items which came into my possession from Edward Milligan include two typescripts of 18 pages each which are unpublished studies by

---

<sup>5</sup> Library of the Society of Friends YM/MfS/QHS/LIT ARCHIVES Box 2

Silvanus Nicol of Harvey and conscription in the two world wars.<sup>6</sup> In footnotes the studies are referred to as Nicol1 and Nicol2 respectively. The studies are undated but internal evidence suggests they were done in the 1950s. Silvanus Nicol was not a Quaker and presumably came to produce these two pieces of work as an associate of Edward Milligan.<sup>7</sup> The papers refer to certain letters of Harvey which have not been traced. Other material which has come into my hands from Edward Milligan includes a typescript dated January 1955 of Harvey's responses to a questionnaire from a doctoral student, A. J. Dorey.<sup>8</sup>

### Oxford diary 1896

A further item from Edward Milligan in my possession is Harvey's student diary at Christ Church, Oxford, for the summer term of 1896, his last term of living in college. Harvey explains that he kept the diary for that term to make up for not having kept a diary for earlier terms. The diary gives an insight into the character of the young Harvey and revealed how discoveries he made as a student – biblical texts such as Hebrews 11 and Housman's *A Shropshire Lad* – informed his later work. Harvey comes across as a happy and diligent student, enjoying tennis and punting, entertaining the diarist Fanny Duberley and her daughter, and attending sermons and services at his own college, Christ Church, and the dissenters' Mansfield College. Friendships he made, for example with another Christ Church man, Cecil Pilkington, a scion of the glass manufacturing family, lasted throughout his life.

---

<sup>6</sup> S. J. W. Nicol, 'T.E.H. And The Advent Of Conscription First World War' (unpublished typescript); S. J. W. Nicol, 'T.E.H. And Conscription In The Second World War' (unpublished typescript).

<sup>7</sup> Silvanus James Westell Nicol b. Christchurch, Hants, 20 October 1920; d. December 1998 Brighton; educated Westminster School; RAF officer 1944–56

<sup>8</sup> A.J. Dorey 'Radical Liberal criticism of British foreign policy, 1906-1914' (unpublished DPhil thesis University of Oxford 1965)

## Harvey's correspondence

The whereabouts of most of the originals of Harvey's correspondence is problematic.

Included in the material Edward Milligan passed to me was a box of about a dozen miscellaneous originals, including a commendatory letter from H. S. Newman. In 2019, a typescript synopsis of Harvey's correspondence, which was prepared under Edward Milligan's supervision, was passed to me by John Best of Reading Quaker Meeting. I had the pages scanned by OCR technology into pdf files. The material, in which Harvey appears as 'TEH', is in five files, labelled as follows:

- 'WH AMH': correspondence with his father, William Harvey and mother, Anna Maria Harvey: 1878–1925
- 'AIH': correspondence with his wife Alice Irene Harvey: 1911–1946
- 'Persons of note': 1906–1939<sup>9</sup>
- 'Family': 1937–45<sup>10</sup>
- 'David Blelloch', correspondence with David H. H. Blelloch ('DB') 1916–1955<sup>11</sup>

The files are defective in terms of some mistranscription and deficient in terms of material that is wanting. An instance of mistranscription is that I was led to believe from a reference to the meeting with 'PM' in October 1941, that a delegation of Quakers had met Prime Minister Churchill, but on investigation with the Churchill

---

<sup>9</sup> Mostly short letters: E. Maunde Thompson, Bishop of Stepney, Edward Carpenter, H. G. Wells, Lord Courtney, G. M. Trevelyan, Lord Ripon, Clements Markham, R. H. Tawney, C. Roden Buxton, Dorothy Buxton, Arthur Ponsonby, Charles Aitkin, Glenvil Hall, Lord Beauchamp, Duke of Portland, Charles Trevelyan, Lord Oxford, Neville Chamberlain, Hugh Cecil, Dorothy Gladstone, Lord Samuel, Lord Irwin, John Simon, Laurence Housman, Ramsay Muir, Rendel Harris, Duchess of Atholl, Vincent McNabb, Walter Newbold of Sligo, Noel Buxton, W. Thompson Elliot, A. P. Herbert.

<sup>10</sup> that is, his wife Irene and the household in Leeds, which included the German refugee boys Gerhard and Hans Noak

<sup>11</sup> David Habershon Hamilton Blelloch (1896–1985) conscientious objector, international civil servant and development economist. His papers are in the University of Leeds Special Collections



Archives I found the meeting had been with Leo Amery, Churchill's Secretary of State for India.<sup>12</sup> The deficiency is in respect of two boxes of correspondence one marked 'Last Jobs: Letters from Old Friends 1945–1955' and the other containing correspondence about interned refugees November 1939–June 1945. These two boxes, also passed to me by John Best, seem to have been set aside by Milligan for eventual inclusion in his synopsis of correspondence, which accordingly must be deemed to be incomplete.<sup>13</sup> As noted above, another reason why the synopses must be considered incomplete is that they do not include correspondence cited by Nicol in his two studies.

#### Library of the Society of Friends

The Library of the Society of Friends has been my main source of reference material but the Harvey Papers there are disappointing. Despite the title, the deposit is not of his private papers and correspondence but of material from the Pelham Committee, of which he was a member for its duration. Apart from a period of intense activity on conscientious objection between the end of 1915 and the middle of 1916, Harvey spent most of the First World War going back and forth to France on relief work, as reflected in his letters and reports for the Friends Emergency and War Victims Relief Committee.<sup>14</sup> He largely left the administration of the Pelham Committee to the secretary and assistant secretary. This is why the collection at the Library of the Society of Friends shows signs only of cursory input by Harvey. Composed of twelve boxes with the reference TEMP MSS 835, the Harvey papers are invaluable for the historian of conscientious objection and of individual objectors but include no papers

---

<sup>12</sup> TEH to family 9 October 1941

<sup>13</sup> They are listed in Appendix 5.

<sup>14</sup> YM/MfS/FEWVRC/MISSIONS/1/2/6; YM/MfS/FEWVRC/MISSIONS/13/4/4

of any substance created by Harvey himself. The one item I found of considerable interest is the transcript of proceedings of the Pelham Committee preparatory to the issuing of the circular on work of national importance of April 1916.<sup>15</sup> Also in the Library of the Society of Friends are the reports from the Quaker settlement of Chalfont House and some newspaper cuttings about Harvey's parliamentary life. There is correspondence between Harvey and Agatha Harrison of the India Conciliation Group during Anglo-Indian crises in 1940, 1942 and 1943.<sup>16</sup> The printed proceedings of Britain Yearly Meeting largely obviate the need to consult original minute books. The unpublished and now discontinued Dictionary of Quaker Biography in the Library of the Society of Friends is an important resource and interesting, in cases such as that of Jack Pease, as much for what it does not say as for what it does. The Library also has a collection of Harvey's election addresses, dating from the 1920s which detail his liberal political beliefs. It also has *We Were Seven*, the childhood memoir by Harvey's brother, William Fryer Harvey.<sup>17</sup>

### Harvey's publications

Harvey produced over a hundred publications and other printed works, which are listed in Appendix 1. The Library of the Society of Friends has most of these. Of his books, *A Wayfarer's Faith* of 1913, *The Long Pilgrimage* of 1921, and *St Aelred* of 1932 are the most substantial. *Workaday Saints*, published in 1949, is a collection of essays including a short, powerful confession of faith. My favourite of his creative works is the satirical, self-deprecating *Stolen Aureoles* of 1922 in the unusual form of mock hagiographies. Of his tracts as statements of liberal Quakerism, noteworthy are

---

<sup>15</sup> Library of the Society of Friends TEMP MSS 835/8/1

<sup>16</sup> Temp MSS 48/7/5

<sup>17</sup> W.F. Harvey, *We were Seven* (London: Constable & Co. Ltd 1936).

*Silence and Worship* (1923) and *The Heart of Quakerism* (1923/25). His *Quaker Language* (1928) is a pioneering work.<sup>18</sup>

### Guild of St George

In the Library of the Society of Friends and Sheffield Archives are unpublished, printed sources for the Guild of St George, the charity founded by John Ruskin of which Harvey was Master 1934–51. The collection in the Library of the Society of Friends consists of the printed Annual Reports, another set of which is in Sheffield City Archives, and a descriptive pamphlet of 4 sides on the Guild of St George that Harvey wrote in his first year as Master, 1934.<sup>19</sup> Also relevant to Harvey and his involvement with the arts are records held at the Tate Gallery, where there are four files on the National Loan Collection Trust, of which Harvey was a trustee.<sup>20</sup>

### Other repositories

The History of Parliament Trust provided a transcript of a short but valuable document of 1936, which is Harvey's reply to a questionnaire from Josiah Wedgwood, who was seeking reflections from his fellow MPs on their experiences in the House.<sup>21</sup> Out of Harvey's contribution Wedgwood produced a short biography which is reproduced at Appendix 3 together with Harvey's replies to the

---

<sup>18</sup> Judith Roads, 'The Distinctiveness Of Quaker Prose, 1650-1699: A Corpus-Based Enquiry' (PhD University of Birmingham 2015)

<sup>19</sup> Library of the Society of Friends ref 077 HAR

<sup>20</sup> TG 17/3/17/4 Draft of Deed of Trust; Introduction to the Trust; List of 53 works from the Harvey Collection incl. catalogue details and correspondence Sep 1917-Mar 1918

TG 17/3/17/5 Correspondence with National Gallery, Millbank; reports, lists, etc. regarding establishment of the National Loan Collection Trust Nov 1915-20 Feb 1919

TG 17/3/17/6 Catalogue; correspondence regarding printing gallery proofs; art work, photographs, drawings, etc. . Aug 1919-May 1920.

TG 17/3/17/7 Insurance for the Collection arranged through Duveen & Walker 1928-1929

<sup>21</sup> <https://thehistoryofparliament.wordpress.com/2013/01/25/colonel-josiah-wedgwoods-questionnaires-an-introduction/>

Priscilla Baines, *Colonel Josiah Wedgwood's Questionnaire: Members of Parliament, 1885–1918*. (Chichester, West Sussex : Wiley-Blackwell for The Parliamentary History Yearbook Trust and The History of Parliament Trust, 2012)

questionnaire.<sup>22</sup> The London Metropolitan Archives contains annual reports and other printed matter for Toynbee Hall. Papers relating to Harvey at the Brotherton Library, Leeds, are miscellaneous, consisting of some family correspondence, including by Irene Harvey and the letters that Harvey wrote annually to his brothers Wilfred and John on their birthdays, together with material reflecting Harvey's interest in antiquarian literature and proportional representation. There are some letters from Harvey amongst the Masterman papers in the Cadbury Library, Birmingham, mostly dating from around the Ipswich by-election of 1914 which Harvey helped Masterman to contest, but including Harvey's letter of condolence to Masterman's widow, Lucy, on his death in 1927. There is a letter to the poet R. C. Trevelyan in Trinity College, Cambridge, and I serendipitously found a letter to Will Richmond of Bristol between the leaves of my purchased copy of *The Long Pilgrimage* together with a cutting from the *News Chronicle* about his exchange with Captain Ramsay in 1938.<sup>23</sup> The librarian of Mansfield College, Oxford, provided copies of material about Harvey from the minute book of the Livingstone Society. Of archives in the US, Haverford College has a letter dated 23 April 1943 from Rufus Jones to Harvey concerning an article in *The Friend* and his Parliamentary work.<sup>24</sup> Swarthmore College library has two press photographs of Harvey's visit to Philadelphia in 1937 and some routine material from 1944 in the Richmond Miller collection.<sup>25</sup>

---

<sup>22</sup> See Appendix 3

<sup>23</sup> Papers of R. C. Trevelyan, Trinity College Cambridge, TRER/18/126

<sup>24</sup> Rufus Jones collection, Haverford college: Harvey, T. Edmund, re his article in *The Friend* and his Parliamentary work, 1943 April 23.

<sup>25</sup> T. Edmund Harvey and Irene Harvey, PA099/03/022. New York Yearly Meeting album collection, SFHL-PA-099. Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College; Roger Clark, Davidson Don Tengo Jabavu, Sarah Bancroft Clark, T. Edmund Harvey, and A. Irene Harvey, Pa099/03/035. New York Yearly Meeting album collection, SFHL-PA-099. Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College.

Group of conference attendees, 1937, PA 100/PG/F785/1937/026. Friends Historical Library miscellaneous portraits collection, SFHL-PA-100-P. Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College.

## Newspapers and Hansard

Of on-line archives, the digitalised British Newspaper Archive yielded a gratifying 800 entries for Harvey, mostly from the Leeds regional papers, a number being duplicates. The regional newspapers carried national and local news and Harvey's syndicated articles, making them a rich source for the period between the wars. The *Leeds Mercury* was the Liberal paper as opposed to the Conservative *Yorkshire Post*, the two merging in the 1930s. There is some material in digitalised national periodicals and newspapers, for example his letter about India of 1941 to the *Manchester Guardian*. Harvey was a contributor to *The Nation* when it was a Quaker-owned publication. Hansard is available on-line and an essential resource though imperfect. Harvey variously appears as Edmund Harvey, T. E. Harvey and Thomas Harvey, a crucial volume of Hansard is not digitalised and I have been unable to find the parliamentary question of 25 May 1917 about prisons quoted by Milligan.<sup>26</sup>

## Secondary literature

### Liberal Quaker

Liberalism is a political and moral philosophy based on liberty, consent of the governed and equality before the law. Liberals espouse an array of views depending on their understanding of these principles. Of the strand of English liberalism which influenced Harvey, important thinkers in the nineteenth century were J. S. Mill and T. H. Green, and in the twentieth L. T. Hobhouse. The term 'liberal' applies to religious studies in that theological liberals demand a degree of freedom in relation to doctrinal inheritance and scriptural interpretation. The liberal theologian is open to scientific

---

<sup>26</sup> Hansard 5<sup>th</sup> series 1916 LXXVIII. Milligan typescript p. 64/119

investigation, historical research and the contribution of the arts to an understanding of religion. Brian Phillips calls Harvey a child of the Quaker Renaissance, the process whereby British Quakers moved from the evangelicalism which dominated them during the nineteenth century towards the progressivism and theological liberalism which has subsequently characterised them.<sup>27</sup> Phillips' description of Harvey as a child of the Quaker Renaissance needs to be considered against Joanna Dales' contention that many of the Quakers who reached maturity towards the end of the nineteenth century found that their parents' religion had lost its connection with reality.<sup>28</sup> Dales explains that liberal Quakers of Harvey's early years sought to recover the vision of the first Quakers with their sense of the Light of God within each person and that they shared with mainstream liberal theology a quest for new attitudes to God, nature and service to society.<sup>29</sup> There is a need to assess Phillips' designation of Harvey as a child of the Quaker Renaissance against Dales' assertion that those who reached maturity around the year 1900, when Harvey was 25, broke with their parents' religion. Another issue thrown up by the literature is J. William Frost's description of the period of Harvey's middle- and old-age, 1920–60, as one of Quaker liberalism ascendant.<sup>30</sup> The question for research is how far Harvey represents continuity or discontinuity in the Quaker life of his times, and how far he contributed to the ascendancy of liberalism pointed to by Frost.

---

<sup>27</sup> Brian David Phillips, 'Friendly Patriots: British Quakerism And The Imperial Nation, 1890 –1910' p.36

<sup>28</sup> Joanna C. Dales, *The Quaker Renaissance and Liberal Quakerism in Britain, 1895-1930* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2020)

<sup>29</sup> Joanna Dales, *The Quaker Renaissance and Liberal Quakerism in Britain, 1895-1930* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2020) doi: <https://doi-org.ezproxye.bham.ac.uk/10.1163/9789004438415>

<sup>30</sup> J. William Frost 'Modernist and Liberal Quakers 1887-2010' in Stephen W. Angell and Pink Dandelion (ed.) *Oxford Handbook of Quaker Studies* (Oxford University Press, 2013)

## Quaker Liberal

There is a gap in the literature, which is the neglect of Harvey the individual and of the liberal strain in Quakers' political views which he represented. My dissertation is the first substantial biography. The entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* published in February 2021 concentrates on Harvey's Liberal party activities in the first half of his career.<sup>31</sup> There are a vivid few pages on him in the First World War in a parliamentary publication marking the war's centenary.<sup>32</sup> The secondary literature is silent on his later parliamentary career. In the field of Quaker studies, his neglect goes with that of the political liberals generally, to the advantage of Quaker radicals and absolutist conscientious objectors. Thomas Kennedy deliberately ignored the Quaker parliamentarians such as Harvey, who were all Liberals.<sup>33</sup> In addition he belittles the status in the Society of Harvey's type of moderate pacifist, claiming that in the interwar period loathing over the results of the Great War and fear about the onset of an even greater catastrophe elevated former Quaker prisoners for conscience to positions of moral superiority.<sup>34</sup> Kennedy's neglect of Quaker parliamentarians is partially made up for by Ian Packer's edition of the letters of Harvey's sister's husband and fellow MP, Arnold Stephenson Rowntree.<sup>35</sup> By comparison with Harvey, however, Rowntree is the lesser figure, as he himself admitted, and the correspondence, together with Rowntree's parliamentary career, finishes early, in 1918.

---

<sup>31</sup> Michael Meadowcroft, 'Harvey, Thomas Edmund [T. Edmund, Ted] (1875–1955), politician and social reformer.' (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 2021)

<sup>32</sup> Chris Blanchett 'Duty and democracy: parliament and the first world war' (Houses of Parliament 2018) <https://www.parliament.uk/documents/WW1/duty-and-democracy-parliament-and-the-first-world-war.pdf>

<sup>33</sup> Thomas C. Kennedy *British Quakerism 1860-1920* p.10

<sup>34</sup> Thomas C. Kennedy *British Quakerism 1860-1920* p. 430

<sup>35</sup> Ian Packer (ed.), *The Letters of Arnold Stephenson Rowntree to Mary Katherine Rowntree, 1910-1918* (Cambridge University Press for the Royal Historical Society, 2002)

Kennedy is not alone in concentrating on the radicals. Rachel Muers' and Rhiannon Grant's online study of the *Foundations of a True Social Order* of 1918 explores how Quaker faith and social action reflected the influence of guild socialism within the Society of Friends.<sup>36</sup> Brian Phillips' iconoclastic thesis introduces the double-edged phrase, the 'Friendly patriot' with its implication that patriotism is at odds with Quaker values.<sup>37</sup> Phillips explains that at the turn of the nineteenth century Quakers were engaged in national and international politics and had the radical religious belief that the divine aspect in every individual, even the most autocratic ruler, could be uncovered and encouraged through skilful ministry. Phillips claims this belief became 'perverted into unctuous posturing' before the thrones of Europe.<sup>38</sup> The issue in Harvey's case is whether he too was a 'Friendly patriot', what that meant in terms of policy stances and his tone in political discourse. In another work Phillips contrasts the era of the Friendly patriot with the tragedy of the First World War, which he argues caused the English Establishment to lose hope, raising the question whether Harvey also fell into despair in the post-war period.<sup>39</sup>

Popular studies of conscientious objection have similarly tended towards the radicals. David Boulton's *Objection Overruled* was first published in 1967 on the commission of Bertrand Russell and Fenner Brockway, veterans of the No-Conscription Fellowship, to commemorate the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the introduction of

---

<sup>36</sup> 'Reimagining a True Social Order' <https://quakersocialorder.org.uk/> Accessed 04/11/2022

<sup>37</sup> Brian David Phillips, 'Friendly Patriots: British Quakerism And The Imperial Nation, 1890 –1910' (University of Cambridge: PhD thesis, 1989)

<sup>38</sup> Joanna C. Dales, 'John William Graham (1859-1932): Quaker Apostle Of Progress' (PhD thesis University of Birmingham 2016) p. 357

<sup>39</sup> Brian Phillips, "The Loss of Hope: England and its Establishment in the 20th Century," In Pink Dandelion and others, *Towards tragedy, reclaiming hope : literature, theology and sociology in conversation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004)



conscription.<sup>40</sup> As Boulton acknowledges in the introduction to the second edition, published in 2014, he wrote from a point of view sympathetic to the conscientious objectors and hostile to the authorities. The 2014 edition includes an appendix about the case of the 35 conscientious objectors sent to France, court-martialled for refusing to obey orders, sentenced to death and reprieved at the last minute. Boulton asks about this case, 'Conspiracy or Cock-up?' He concludes there were both.<sup>41</sup> Balanced against this account of disarray is Jo Vellacott's recognition that whatever the Cabinet's motivation the introduction in 1916 of an exemption from conscription for conscientious objectors was an exceptional and enlightened step.<sup>42</sup> Vellacott's judgement prompts enquiry whether the exemption for conscientious objectors came from radical resistance or the inner roilings of the political establishment, of which Harvey was a semi-detached member. Rebecca Wynter and Pink Dandelion are aware of the near-hagiographical accounts of the experiences of Quaker conscientious objectors in the First World War and refer to the 'decades of myth which have been built around the accounts of absolutist Quakers Corder Catchpool, Stephen Hobhouse and Hubert W. Peet.'<sup>43</sup> In their edition of the letters of another such absolutist, the left-winger Wilfrid Littleboy, they describe how he went voluntarily to prison in 1917 and served his prison sentences cheerfully, with an abiding faith in his choice and an increased awareness of working-class politics.<sup>44</sup> As mentioned above and as Wynter and Dandelion observe, Kennedy argues that war resistance in

---

<sup>40</sup> David Boulton *Objection Overruled: Conscription and Conscience in the First World War* (Dent, Cumbria: Dales Historical Monographs in association with Friends Historical Society; 2<sup>nd</sup> edition 2014)

<sup>41</sup> David Boulton, *Objection overruled* p.xxv ff

<sup>42</sup> Jo Vellacott, *Bertrand Russell and the Pacifists in the First World War* (Brighton, Sussex: The Harvester Press 1980) p.31

<sup>43</sup> Rebecca Wynter and Pink Dandelion (eds), *A Quaker Conscientious Objector: The Prison Letters of Wilfrid Littleboy, 1917-1919* (Bath, England: Handheld Research 2020) p. xii

<sup>44</sup> Rebecca Wynter and Pink Dandelion (eds), *A Quaker Conscientious Objector: The Prison Letters of Wilfrid Littleboy, 1917-1919*

the First World War tempered and hardened the Quaker witness for peace and that those who resisted found themselves in positions of influence within the Society after 1918. Dandelion and Wynter say Wilfrid Littleboy is the perfect example.

The literature's neglect of Quaker political liberals means that more remains to be discovered about the interplay of religion and politics in the twentieth century. The dissertation explores how far Harvey represents the continuation of a religiously based Liberal influence, if not actual power, into the interwar years and even beyond. Harvey started as an MP in the era of the New Liberals, the London-based progressives who in the period 1892–1914 drove an internal conversion of the Liberal party in favour of an advanced social policy.<sup>45</sup> Ian Packer has shown how religion remained important in the Liberal party of 1910–18 though he explains that by then evangelicalism was no longer at the centre of national religious life in the way that it had been in the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>46</sup> Associated with the question of the survival of religious and Liberal influence in the political domain is the claim by P. Catterall about the swing to Labour and away from the Liberals in the interwar years.<sup>47</sup> Nonconformity, according to Catterall, remained a force to be reckoned with but its influence was diluted as the allegiance of its members split between the three parties, Labour, Conservative and Liberal. Catterall's claim is a coda to the question of nonconformist conscience in the eponymous book of 1982 by David Bebbington, in which he argues the nonconformist conscience was a major force in late Victorian

---

<sup>45</sup> H. Emy, *Liberals, Radicals and Social Politics 1892–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1973) pp vii-xiv

<sup>46</sup> Ian Packer (ed.), *The Letters of Arnold Stephenson Rowntree to Mary Katherine Rowntree, 1910–1918* (Cambridge University Press for the Royal Historical Society, 2002)  
Ian Packer, 'Religion and the New Liberalism: The Rowntree Family, Quakerism, and Social Reform', *Journal of British Studies* 2003, 42: 236-257

<sup>47</sup> P. Catterall, *Labour and the Free Churches, 1918–39: Radicalism, Righteousness and Religion* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016)

and Edwardian politics and originated at least in part in the nonconformists' quest for religious equality.<sup>48</sup> According to Glaser, in a view echoed by Catterall, by the 1920's nonconformity's religious vitality had markedly weakened and its political influence was negligible.<sup>49</sup> For research is whether Harvey had a nonconformist conscience in the sense meant by Bebbington and what his career says about the role of religion in the public life of his times. Because Harvey, unlike his brother-in-law, returned to Parliament after 1918 – for less than a year in 1924 and for more than eight years from March 1937 – the study of his career is an opportunity to examine the thesis of a continuing connection between religion and politics in the interwar years and beyond.

Also important is George Dangerfield's *The Strange Death of Liberal England* of 1935, less for its own sake as for how later writers parody its title by suggesting that there was a 'strange survival of liberal England'.<sup>50</sup> The Liberal party went into electoral decline during Harvey's lifetime, splitting over Lloyd George's wartime coalition with the Conservatives and then over the National government of 1931. Nevertheless, as Julia Stapleton points out, liberalism proved a fixture of the intellectual landscape, one capable of permutation to ensure its survival.<sup>51</sup> Its force remained felt not only domestically, through such agencies as the Next Five Years' Group, but also in colonial matters. I have used Nicholas Owen's term 'metropolitan

---

<sup>48</sup> D. W. Bebbington, *The Nonconformist Conscience: Chapel and politics 1870-1914* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1982) chapter 8.

<sup>49</sup> John F. Glaser, 'English Nonconformity and the Decline of Liberalism' *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 63, No. 2 (Jan., 1958), pp. 352-363

<sup>50</sup> George Dangerfield, *The Strange Death of Liberal England: 1910-1914* (ACLS Humanities E-Book 1935/1961)

Ewen H. H. Green and Duncan M. Tanner, eds. *The Strange Survival of Liberal England: Political Leaders, Moral Values and the Reception of Economic Debate* (Cambridge University Press, 2007)  
Vernon Bogdanor, *The Strange Survival of Liberal Britain: Politics and Power Before the First World War* (Biteback Publishing 2022)

<sup>51</sup> Julia Stapleton, 'Political thought, elites, and the state in modern Britain.' *Historical Journal* 42, no. 1 (1999) pp 251-268.

anti-imperialism' while concluding that it does not entirely capture the nuances of Harvey's position.<sup>52</sup>

### Liberal Quaker, Quaker Liberal

Harvey was, on the one hand, a liberal Quaker and child of the Quaker Renaissance and, on the other, a Quaker Liberal and New Liberal. In both cases as a young man he embodied movements for change in the late-Victorian and Edwardian era. The dissertation investigates whether as a liberal Quaker and a Quaker Liberal he represented the continuation, or otherwise, of cultural, intellectual and political features of the Victorian era into the pre-1914 years and beyond. In 1994 Susan Pedersen and Peter Mandler challenged the assumption that the early decades of the 20th century saw a decisive break with the values of the Victorian era.<sup>53</sup> They pointed to how private conscience and public duty made figures such as Henrietta Barnett and Eleanor Rathbone heirs of the Victorian public moralists. These two are relevant to Harvey because Barnett was the spouse of the founding warden of Toynbee Hall, Samuel Barnett, who appointed Harvey as his successor, while Rathbone was Harvey's partner MP in the double-member constituency of the Combined English Universities. Stefan Collini and Julia Stapleton have written about the public thinkers of the decades around the end of the nineteenth century and beyond.<sup>54</sup> One influential Victorian thinker was John Ruskin; Harvey was Master of

---

<sup>52</sup> Nicholas Owen, *The British Left and India: Metropolitan Anti-Imperialism, 1885-1947* (Oxford University Press 2007)

<sup>53</sup> Susan Pedersen, and Peter Mandler, (editors) *After the Victorians: Private Conscience and Public Duty in Modern Britain* (Routledge. 1994)

<sup>54</sup> Stefan Collini, *Public Moralists: Political Thought and Intellectual Life in Britain 1850–1930* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1991); Julia Stapleton *Christianity, Patriotism, and Nationhood: The England of G. K. Chesterton* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books 2009)

his charity, the Guild of St George 1934–51.<sup>55</sup> It is for investigation how far the Victorian prophet influenced Harvey. A further issue in an appraisal of Harvey as an exemplar of post-Victorianism is Frank Prochaska's claim that the British state as it developed in the twentieth century undermined religious belief and customs of associational citizenship, so that the growth of governmental responsibility for social provision was intertwined with the waning of religion.<sup>56</sup> His contention tends against an argument for continuity in Victorianism. Prochaska bases his claim on a study of four areas, which are education, home visiting by social workers, infant welfare, and nursing. The thesis investigates how Harvey's career as a prison visitor runs counter to Prochaska's argument and reflects the liberalising of the penal system argued for by Victor Bailey.<sup>57</sup>

### Politician of conscience

The dissertation seeks to show Harvey was a politician of conscience in the full sense of that phrase. Michael Howard has defined the liberal conscience.

I have chosen the term 'the liberal conscience' for the word 'conscience' implies not simply a belief or an attitude but also an inner compulsion to act upon it. And by 'liberals' I mean in general all those thinkers who believe the world to be profoundly other than it should be, and who have faith in the power of human reason and human action so to change it that the inner potential of all human beings can be more fully realised.<sup>58</sup>

Melvin Richter links the politics of conscience to the Victorian liberal philosopher T. H. Green, who moved liberalism away from the classic doctrine of the minimal state

---

<sup>55</sup> Stuart Eagles, *After Ruskin: The Social and Political Legacies of a Victorian Prophet 1870-1920* (Oxford UP 2011) chapter 6 passim

<sup>56</sup> Frank Prochaska, *Christianity and Social Service in Modern Britain: The Disinherited Spirit* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008)

<sup>57</sup> Victor Bailey, *The Rise and Fall of the Rehabilitative Ideal, 1895–1970* (Routledge 2019)

<sup>58</sup> Michael Eliot Howard, *War and the Liberal Conscience* (London: Temple Smith 1978) p. 11

towards a welfarist version with an enabling Protestant state.<sup>59</sup> Politics and conscience have been brought together in studies of two of Harvey's contemporaries. One is the Anglican cleric, Edward Lee Hicks, who was Bishop of Lincoln and died in office in 1919. 'The Politics of Conscience' is the title of a chapter in the biography of Hicks by Graham Neville.<sup>60</sup> Hicks was a Liberal on the radical wing of the party, which brought him into conflict with clergymen who were Conservative out of principle or because at the parish level the preponderance of the landed interest ensured the dominance of Tory convictions. Unlike Harvey, he supported war in August 1914. Neville's study of Hicks is a reminder of the party-political divisions within the established Church and how these were expressed in differences over questions of social justice.

The second instance of a figure who has been given the moniker of a politician of conscience is Eleanor Rathbone.<sup>61</sup> She is an important comparator for Harvey because she was his partner MP in the double-member parliamentary constituency of the Combined English Universities. Susan Pedersen says of her that as a political independent and a woman she might have been expected to be marginal to the House of Commons but she made the two elements work in her favour, taking advantage of her intellectual standing and non-party status to speak from conscience alone. Beyond asserting that Rathbone's lack of party affiliation enabled her to act freely and without the constraint of whip or local constituency association, Pedersen does not develop the idea of the politics of conscience. The

---

<sup>59</sup> Melvin Richter *The Politics of Conscience: T. H. Green and His Age* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1964) David Boucher and Andrew Vincent *British Idealism and Political Theory* (Edinburgh University Press 2000) pp 27-36

<sup>60</sup> Graham Neville, *Radical Churchman: Edward Lee Hicks and the New Liberalism* (Oxford University Press, 1998)

<sup>61</sup> Susan Pedersen *Eleanor Rathbone and the Politics of Conscience* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press. 2004)

term 'conscience' does not appear in the index to her book and for what Pedersen means by Rathbone as a politician of conscience, the reader has to rely on a few sketchy remarks. We learn that Rathbone's conscience was not a religious matter, because she was not of any faith though she had been brought up surrounded by Quakers and Unitarians. Nor did her conscience lead to pacifism. She opposed the Boer War but, like Hicks, not war in 1914, which she believed was against Prussianism and to defend democracy. In the 1930s she spoke out against appeasement and in favour of rearmament. As for what the politics of conscience means for Rathbone's achievements in the field of social reform, Pedersen has only a few sentences. 'For fifty years Eleanor Rathbone held to the belief that purposive collective action in a democratic state could improve human life and could prevent the world from foundering on the shoals of untrammelled selfishness, mutual hatred or apathy.'<sup>62</sup> Pedersen goes on to say that Rathbone was consistent but never sentimental or unrealistic. She knew that reforms were won through democratic politics; she knew that political work was slow and arduous but that the alternative was ceding power to the market, to bureaucrats or strongmen. Aside from Pedersen's thesis Eleanor Rathbone is also of interest because of the question of cultural imperialism, an issue which arose in Harvey's case.<sup>63</sup>

### Approach

Harvey as a liberal Quaker, Quaker Liberal and politician of conscience is a thematic framework, a thread running through the dissertation rather than a simple proposition

---

<sup>62</sup> Susan Pedersen *Eleanor Rathbone and the Politics of Conscience* pp.377–8

<sup>63</sup> Sybil, Oldfield. 'Eleanor Rathbone and India: Cultural Imperialist or Friend to Women?.' *Asian Journal of Women's Studies* 3, no. 3 (1997): 157-168.

to be proved forensically. I have approached the research with the belief that, to take Iris Murdoch's words about philosophy, to study and write biography is to explore one's own temperament and at the same time to attempt to discover the truth.<sup>64</sup> The result is a political, moral and spiritual biography in which the subject's agency, mentality and personality are key.<sup>65</sup> I try to analyse and assess Harvey as a person of faith, an activist, a social type and a moral character. Harvey was recognised in his day as a good man in politics, and I believe this is a legitimate, indeed timely, subject for academic research. I examine what it means to call Harvey a politician of conscience as a person of integrity engaged in politics and compelled by an inner urge to act upon an enduring sense of elevated moral seriousness.<sup>66</sup> I have been guided by Margaret MacMillan, who says of good biography that to understand the people of the past we must start by respecting their values and ways of seeing the world.<sup>67</sup> This has led me not only to seek to understand Harvey in his context but to see some of the controversies in which he was involved – for example, the Balfour Act, Indian independence, the Munich Agreement, the early years of the Cold War – in greater depth. I see little scholarly value in anachronistic, self-referential radical critique. It is truisitic to say that Harvey was white, male and privileged; what is interesting is what he did with his whiteness, maleness and privilege. As John Tosh points out, critical theory cannot cope with the vast inter-relatedness of every

---

<sup>64</sup> Iris Murdoch, 'On "God" and "Good"' from *The Sovereignty of Good* (London: Routledge 1970/2003) p.45

<sup>65</sup> John Tosh, *The pursuit of history: aims, methods and new directions in the study of modern history* (Harlow: Longman 1984) chapter 5

<sup>66</sup> Ted Honderich (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Philosophy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1995) p. 410 article on integrity by R. W. Hepburn.

<sup>67</sup> Margaret MacMillan, *History's People: Personalities and the past.*(Profile Books, 2016)



dimension of human experience at a given time or with historical change.<sup>68</sup> All that may be said for critical theory is that its by-products, such as gender studies, are useful tools for initial enquiry, such as in work by Lucinda Matthew-Jones.<sup>69</sup>

### Thesis structure

The arrangement of the chapters (see [Table of Contents](#)) is basically chronological, with some chapters taking a theme and expounding it chronologically. Chapter 4 on imperialism, which covers the period from before the First World War to Harvey's leaving Parliament for the last time in 1945, with a few episodes beyond, comes after the chapter on the period 1910–18. I have placed the chapter on Harvey as a prison visitor, which was a long-term concern of his, after chapter 5 on the interwar period, because though his thirty years as a prison visitor began in 1921 it ran on until after the Second World War. Chapter 8 on the theme of his thought comes second to last before an extensive concluding chapter; it hinges on a passage from 1937 but covers his entire life. The first appendix is a list of his publications. Appendix 2 is a genealogy. Appendix 3 is Harvey's reply to the questionnaire form, and the biographical note by, Josiah C. Wedgwood. Appendix 4 is a list of MPs in the House of Commons in the two World Wars who were pacifists or Quakers. Appendix 5 is a list of a collection in my possession of Harvey's correspondence from his later years which does not appear in Milligan's synopsis of correspondence.

---

<sup>68</sup> John Tosh, *The pursuit of history: aims, methods and new directions in the study of modern history* p.129

<sup>69</sup> Lucinda Matthews-Jones, 'St Francis of Assisi and the Making of Settlement Masculinity, 1883–1914' in J. H. Arnold, S. Brady (eds) *What is Masculinity?. Genders and Sexualities in History* (London: Palgrave Macmillan 2011)

## Chapter summary

The first chapter explains the significance of T. Edmund Harvey as a Quaker politician and social reformer whose career spanned the first half of the twentieth century and found him as an MP in both world wars. The chapter sets out the intention to explore the proposition that he was a liberal Quaker, Quaker Liberal and a politician of conscience, which means to explore the interconnection between his political and religious liberalism and his moral character. The research began with unpublished material by the Quaker historian Edward Milligan, which consists of his incomplete biography of Harvey together with Silvanus Nicol's studies of Harvey and conscription in the two world wars. Further primary sources are the synopsis of correspondence compiled by Milligan, the digitalised British Newspaper Archive and Harvey's own printed works. In the secondary literature, the question arises whether Harvey was a child of the liberalising Quaker Renaissance, as Brian Phillips claims. The gap in the literature is the neglect of Harvey as an individual and of the liberal strain in Quaker politics which he represented. The dissertation investigates whether as a liberal Quaker and a Quaker Liberal Harvey embodied the survival into later periods of features of the late Victorian and Edwardian era. It compares Harvey as a politician of conscience with two contemporaries to whom the phrase has been applied. The dissertation's approach is biographical and non-critical. The order of the chapters is roughly chronological, with a separate chapter on Harvey's thought.

## Chapter 2: The making of a Quaker and a Liberal, 1875–1911

### Introduction

This chapter deals with the making of Harvey as a Quaker and a Liberal in the years to his mid-thirties. It covers his upbringing, education, early influences and his time in the university settlement movement which put him on the road to Parliament.

### Upbringing, education and early influences

#### Upbringing and family life

Harvey was born in Leeds in 1875 to a prosperous Quaker family, one of the elite middle class families in Leeds who derived their wealth from trade or manufacturing; in Harvey's case, the family's money came from linen manufacturing.<sup>1</sup> Harvey was the first of eight children born to William Harvey and his wife Anna Maria, née Whiting.<sup>2</sup> We know that the family were politically and socially minded because Harvey told the Parliamentary historian Josiah C. Wedgwood that he 'was brought up in a home where there was warm interest in national politics (from the Liberal standpoint) and in social reform.'<sup>3</sup> The young Harvey had a happy relationship with the older generation. Harvey's father, William, set his eldest son an example of philanthropy and service as a leader of the adult school movement in Leeds.<sup>4</sup> On Harvey's 17th birthday William advised him not only upon the 'difficulties and temptations to come' but also upon the value of 'a simple living faith in our Lord and

---

<sup>1</sup> G. Kitson Clark, 'The Leeds Elite', *University of Leeds Review* 17 (1975), 232-58

<sup>2</sup> For a note on Harvey's genealogy and his seven siblings see appendix 2.

<sup>3</sup> History of Parliament, Wedgwood Questionnaires, 'Harvey, T Edmund'

<sup>4</sup> Dictionary of Quaker Biography, Library of the Society of Friends on William Harvey

Saviour'.<sup>5</sup> Another role model from within the family was Harvey's paternal grandmother, Sarah Grace Fryer. She was a temperance campaigner who published a memorial of her husband, Thomas.<sup>6</sup> In 1883, aged 8, Harvey holidayed with her in Southport where he merrily ran about the sand hills, an experience he recalled in his poem, 'The Lost Child'.<sup>7</sup> Harvey's mother, Anna Maria (née Whiting, 1851–1934) had set the family an example of Quaker service in the Franco-Prussian War.<sup>8</sup> She adored her son. 'Dear Ted, thou art a joy to us all', she wrote when he was twenty-five years old, using the nickname which was based on a play on his initials.<sup>9</sup> It was through her and the Whiting side of the family that Harvey and his wife, Irene, became involved in the orphanage at Headingley and inherited the warehousing business of Hotham and Whiting.<sup>10</sup> Of the older generation who were not family members, there was Henry Stanley Newman, an admiring sponsor of the young Harvey and a 'strongly evangelical Quaker'.<sup>11</sup> In 1903 Newman urged Harvey on his career, telling him 'You have exceptional gifts and an altogether exceptional spirit and you ought to go a long way.'<sup>12</sup> Another sponsor was J. Allen Baker, who helped secure Harvey's election to the London County Council in 1904.<sup>13</sup> Harvey was an exemplary young man, his only failings being a tobacco habit and once having

---

<sup>5</sup> WH to TEH 2 January 1892

<sup>6</sup> Sarah G. Harvey, *Memorials of Thomas Harvey : compiled from a short autobiography, and from his own writings and letters* (Privately printed, Leeds 1886)

<sup>7</sup> SGH to TEH Southport 1 December 1884; *Songs in the Night* (Malvern: M T Stevens Ltd: the Priory Press 1942)

<sup>8</sup> Journals and letters relating to Anna Maria Whiting's Quaker service in France in 1871 are in the University of Leeds library

<sup>9</sup> AMH to TEH The Grove Leeds 9 June 1900.

<sup>10</sup> 'Leeds Home for Orphans 1935' *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer* - Thursday 27 June 1935 p.4

<sup>11</sup> Joanna Dales, *The Quaker Renaissance and Liberal Quakerism in Britain, 1895-1930* p. 22

<sup>12</sup> H. S. Newman to T. Edmund Harvey, 5 October 1903; letter in my possession

<sup>13</sup> TEH to AMH Chalfont House 10 January 1904.

received a summons to Otley magistrates for unlawfully riding 'a bicycle on a certain footpath there, made for the use of foot passengers'.<sup>14</sup>

Edward Milligan describes Harvey's parents as warm-hearted and broad-minded evangelical Quakers, in contrast to those Victorian evangelical households 'where narrow creeds flourished in narrow hearts'.<sup>15</sup>

Edmund Harvey grew up in a household with the community spirit of monasticism, where family prayers were as normal and natural and central as prime and compline, where the guest room was more often occupied than not, and where the visitor (even the visitor whose coming raised a momentary sigh) was drawn into the family life and interests, where the great aim (though, being Quakers given to understatement, they would have scrupled to use these words) was to create a microcosm of the Christian community. [...] Pious endeavours did not imply long faces, but a natural and healthy resilience which could turn from commonplace to moments of silent recollection or to prayer or religious converse, and back to the everyday, as though it were the most natural thing in the world.<sup>16</sup>

Irene Harvey testified to the happiness of Harvey's family when she wrote in appreciation of her in-laws, and of 'how good they have been and what an inspiration their beautiful lives are to us'.<sup>17</sup> For a further insight into Harvey's life as a young Quaker in late Victorian times there is the childhood memoir, *We Were Seven*, by his brother William Fryer Harvey, in which personal and place names are altered but in which Harvey is identifiable as 'Tom, the kindest and most good natured of elder brothers'.<sup>18</sup> The book reveals in William Fryer Harvey a trait also to be found in Harvey himself, that of a gently subversive sense of humour.

---

<sup>14</sup> AH-WMH correspondence, April 1892

<sup>15</sup> Milligan typescript p.14/119.

<sup>16</sup> Milligan typescript p.14/119

<sup>17</sup> AIH to TEH Welders Wood 17 May 1917

<sup>18</sup> William Fryer Harvey, *We were Seven* (London: Constable, 1936) p.91

## Bootham and Oxford

Harvey attended Bootham School, a Quaker establishment in York, from 1887 to 1891.<sup>19</sup> The school provided Quaker boys of the middle and upper classes with a liberal, guarded and religious education. Harvey's contemporary at Bootham, George Newman, explained the characteristics of a Quaker education.

The first characteristic reveals itself in self-control, a sense of responsibility for endowment, and the development of each individual along the lines of his natural faculties. The second characteristic reveals itself in a conviction of the power of the unseen and spiritual forces, and in the possession and confession of high ideals.<sup>20</sup>

From Bootham the 16-year-old Harvey went to the Victoria University, which was the precursor of present-day Leeds University, where he got a BA in 1893 when 18. The arts course that Harvey took was below university standard but sufficed for him to matriculate at Christ Church, Oxford, the same year.<sup>21</sup> The college recorded his father as a gentleman.<sup>22</sup> Harvey read classical humanities, *Literae Humaniores*, nicknamed Greats, the course of choice for aspiring young men of the political elite, and got a first class degree.<sup>23</sup> The Latin name means literally 'more human literature' and contrasts with the other main field of study when universities began, which was theology, *res divinae* or *lit. div.* *Literae Humaniores* is a wide-ranging degree devoted to the study of the literature, history, philosophy, languages and archaeology of the ancient Greek and Roman worlds. The course included an option in modern

---

<sup>19</sup> Information from Bootham School, 29 April 2021

<sup>20</sup> Heather K. Smith, 'A Quaker Inheritance: An Analysis of Family Values, Religion and the Childhood and Youth of George Newman (1870-1948)' *Quaker Studies* (Vol 5 Issue 1 Article 4, 2000) p. 56

<sup>21</sup> P. H. J. H. Gosden and A. J. Taylor, *Studies in the History of a University, 1874-1974: To Commemorate the Centenary of the University of Leeds Studies* (Leeds, 1975), chapter on 'The curriculum' by W. B. Stephens.

<sup>22</sup> Spreadsheet of 1893-95 matriculands from the archivist.

<sup>23</sup> Julia Stapleton, 'Political thought, elites, and the state in modern Britain.' *Historical Journal* 42, no. 1 (1999) pp 251-268.

philosophy, so in the summer of 1896 Harvey was reading Mill's *System of Logic*.<sup>24</sup> That term he was studying other philosophical texts (Aristotle and Sigwart), ethics, Roman history (Appian and Mommsen) and New Testament Greek.<sup>25</sup> Harvey thought Greats the best thing Oxford could offer.<sup>26</sup> His degree was as important as his Quaker upbringing in shaping his way of thinking. There were elements of the Edwardian classical humanist and rationalist as well as the liberal Christian in Harvey, as is explored further below in chapter 8.

His student diary for the summer term 1896 shows that away from his Quaker family he explored his Christian faith widely. He was a member of the Christian students' Livingstone Society and was its president in Hilary term 1897. One activity was when he hosted a meeting in his rooms at Christ Church on 'The Race Problem in the United States as a Religious Problem'. This was in Trinity term 1896.<sup>27</sup> The following Hilary term he enquired about the Society permitting smoking at its meetings, to no avail.<sup>28</sup> A compulsory religious activity for undergraduates at Christ Church was to take a college examination on divinity, nicknamed Diviners.<sup>29</sup> In addition there were Rollers. Students were required to go to morning prayers, at least on Sundays, and there was a roll-call at the door.<sup>30</sup> Harvey did not go to Quaker meetings at the Oxford meeting house but went to sermons and lectures at the dissenters' college, Mansfield. Senior figures he admired were the nonconformist academics W. B. Selbie and A. M. Fairbairn. He heard a sermon by Selbie on John's account of the washing of the disciples' feet, a theme that was to re-occur in his

---

<sup>24</sup> Diary Summer Term 1896, 29 April

<sup>25</sup> Diary Summer Term 1896 *passim*

<sup>26</sup> TEH to DB, Barmoor 29 July 1921

<sup>27</sup> Diary Summer Term: inserted card of Livingstone Society events

<sup>28</sup> Minute book, Livingstone Society, Mansfield College, entry for 31 January 1897

<sup>29</sup> Diary 12 June 1896

<sup>30</sup> Information from Judith Curthoys, Christ Church archivist

writings on the sacraments of life.<sup>31</sup> It was at Oxford and through Percy Alden, whom he heard speak at Mansfield college and was a leading figure in the university settlement movement, that he became acquainted with that movement and the idea of Christian houses of learning, fellowship and service located in deprived urban areas.<sup>32</sup> He attended debates at the Oxford Union and on one occasion an open meeting with socialist celebrities.

Father Mother and May dined with me at the Union and then we went off to hear Herr [Wilhelm] Liebknecht in Holywell Music Room on the Social Democratic party in Germany: he was very good and a fine lovable old man. York Powell presided and Dr Marx's daughter Mrs Aveling and Dr Aveling also spoke: the latter ably and sarcastically but in a spirit I did not at all like.<sup>33</sup>

Presumably, the spirit in Aveling he did not like was that of class-based antagonism. His reaction to Aveling was sound given that less than two years later Eleanor Marx, who was not officially Mrs Aveling, killed herself on discovering Aveling had secretly wed another woman.

### Early influences

We know what books were early influences, because Josiah C. Wedgwood questioned Harvey about which ones had shaped his political views. He replied that his political views were not formed by any special book but that he 'was influenced [...] as a youth by Wm Morris's News from Nowhere & Blatchford's Merrie England & attracted by the influence of the writings of T. H. Green.'<sup>34</sup> Harvey admired William Morris as a cultural icon and prophet although there is little evidence that Morris influenced Harvey's practical politics. Harvey's student diary of 1896 show him as a

---

<sup>31</sup> Diary 28 April 1896

<sup>32</sup> Diary 10 June 1896

<sup>33</sup> Diary 22 May 1896

<sup>34</sup> History of Parliament, Wedgwood Questionnaires, 'Harvey, T. Edmund'.



connoisseur of the books of Morris's Kelmscott Press.<sup>35</sup> In 1934 in a newspaper article he wrote for the centenary of Morris's birth, Harvey recalled how when a student he had met 'the prophet and social reformer who gave us his message in *A Dream of John Ball* and *News from Nowhere* [...]. At length, to my joy, came the chance of seeing and hearing Morris[...]'.<sup>36</sup> Morris's *News from Nowhere*, published in 1890 when Harvey was a teenager, depicts a future society without big cities, authority, prisons, or class system.<sup>37</sup> It is, as Morris acknowledges in the book's subtitle, a utopian romance. Morris was at the forefront of late Victorian socialist agitation, but Harvey was attracted to him more by his creativity and positive view of human nature. Equally, in the case of the second writer named by Harvey, the campaigning journalist Robert Blatchford, it is difficult to see much influence. Harvey cited Blatchford's *Merrie England*, published in 1894. In this work Blatchford advocated what he called English socialism, a mixture of state ownership and economic autarky.<sup>38</sup> Very little of Blatchford's heterogeneous populism is to be found in the religiously based progressivism of the Edwardian university settlement movement of Harvey's early career and still less in the New Liberalism of his first years in Parliament. The only concern Harvey shared with the journalist was vegetarianism, which in Harvey's case came not from Blatchford but from his own family.<sup>39</sup> As with Morris's *News from Nowhere*, Blatchford's book was published when Harvey was a teenager. They appealed to the young Harvey but the influence on him was less in the details as in reinforcing his interest in politics and social reform. His

---

<sup>35</sup> Diary 24 April 1896

<sup>36</sup> T. Edmund Harvey 'Centenary of William Morris 1934: Vigorous Poet: Great Craftsman and Social Reformer' *Yorkshire Post & Leeds Intelligencer* 24 March 1934 p.10

<sup>37</sup> William Morris, *News From Nowhere Or An Epoch Of Rest Being Some Chapters From A Utopian Romance* (London: Longmans, Green, And Co. 1908)

<sup>38</sup> Robert Blatchford, *Merrie England* (London: Clarion office, Fleet St; 1894)

<sup>39</sup> TEH to WH 1 November 1896.

own remark to Wedgwood that no special book influenced him adds weight to this contention.<sup>40</sup> A more substantial influence on him compared to Morris and Blatchford was the third name he gave to Wedgwood, that of the philosopher T. H. Green, who is dealt with below in chapter 8.

### Chalfont House

Harvey's five years as warden of the Quaker settlement of Chalfont House (1900–04) were marked by his running the settlement in line with the practice of the previous warden, George Newman, and by his venturing into municipal politics as the arena in which he could act for social betterment. After graduating in 1897 and an extended study tour of continental Europe, in 1900 Harvey moved to London to be an assistant in the Print Department of the British Museum but intent on a career in the university settlement movement. Later he was to say that one of his chief political interests was social reform with a view to securing the minimum human standard of life for all'.<sup>41</sup> This intention came out of his upbringing in a socially and politically aware Quaker household and his Quaker education at Bootham School. In addition, he was at Oxford at a time when socially minded students, particularly those with private means such as Harvey, looked to the opportunities provided by the urban missions and settlement houses for careers in religiously-based service. These factors and Harvey's own disposition set him on a career as one of the metropolitan-progressive liberal elite in London's university settlement movement. On arriving in London in early 1900 he lodged for a few months at Toynbee Hall. In the summer of 1900 he took up the residential post of warden of the Quaker settlement centre of Chalfont

---

<sup>40</sup> History of Parliament, Wedgwood Questionnaires, 'Harvey, T Edmund'.

<sup>41</sup> History of Parliament, Wedgwood Questionnaires, 'Harvey, T Edmund'.

House.<sup>42</sup> Chalfont House had opened in February 1894 at 20 Queens Square, a garden square in the Bloomsbury district of central London, and was named after a place in Buckinghamshire connected with early Quakerism.<sup>43</sup> Its founders proposed to establish a house to provide inexpensive accommodation for young Friends who would devote their evenings to social service connected with the Westminster Meeting House in St Martin's Lane a mile away.<sup>44</sup> The promoting committee comprised leading members of Westminster Quaker meeting, including Silvanus P. Thompson, Harvey's future father-in-law, and among the subscribers was Harvey's father, William.<sup>45</sup> For the first warden, the committee selected Dr George Newman, who appears above in this chapter in the context of Bootham school. Harvey was offered the post of warden in June 1900 when Newman stood down. He hesitated to accept. His father William countered Harvey's diffidence, writing 'In many respects thou art well qualified for the post... Thy social tastes and influence with and alongside of young men would be a help in connexion with the post.'<sup>46</sup> Harvey senior knew where his son's weakness lay: 'If it involves much business responsibility or accounts thou would have to be willing to learn by experience'.<sup>47</sup> Harvey as warden carried on along the lines set by Newman, centring on the adult and women's schools and social clubs run at Westminster Meeting House. Music evenings there were provided by a group of ladies one of whom, Miss Silvia Thompson, was Harvey's future sister-in-law. Country outings, the 'Pinner Picnics', to fields owned by a Quaker sympathiser, were 'perhaps the most distinctive work carried on in

---

<sup>42</sup> WH to TEH 23 August 1900.

<sup>43</sup> Chalfont House printed annual report dated November 1894 Pers U/CHAL.

<sup>44</sup> Milligan typescript p.3.

<sup>45</sup> 'Proposed Friends' settlement in London, 22<sup>nd</sup> 7 mo., 1893.' Friends House Library: Pers U/CHAL

<sup>46</sup> Milligan typescript p.3

<sup>47</sup> Milligan typescript p.3

connection with Chalfont House'.<sup>48</sup> Harvey saw the social side of his work as an adjunct to selfless Christian service, calling for 'a deeper and wider interest in the ideal of a social Christianity, that shall rouse us to better work than we have yet done, and make us more willing to give up something of ourselves for others [...] to realise the joy of fellowship in the endeavour after the good.'<sup>49</sup> Harvey's social policies while he was at Chalfont House seem to have been rather more moralistic and less pragmatic than those he was to adopt at Toynbee Hall. In a letter to the press of February 1905 on luxury and poverty that he co-signed with other heads of the settlements, including Samuel Barnett of Toynbee Hall, he asserted that 'the example of luxury permeating the whole body of society makes for poverty.'<sup>50</sup> Harvey signed as from Chalfont House, though he had left there for Toynbee Hall the previous September.

It was while he was at Chalfont House that he began his political career, setting up a 'non-political progressive committee' of the Progressive Alliance to revise the register of local electors and contest the borough of Holborn at the municipal election of 1903.<sup>51</sup> The Progressive Alliance was the name of the Liberal party and its allies in local London politics into the inter-war period. It was consistent with the approach of Percy Alden, whom Harvey had encountered at Oxford and who urged the leaders of the university settlement movement to enter politics. Harvey was also inspired by Jane Addams, the head of a Chicago settlement, and the campaigns she had undertaken against municipal corruption.<sup>52</sup> By the end of 1903 Harvey had decided to abandon paid employment, to devote himself full-time to social reform and

---

<sup>48</sup> Chalfont House Annual Report 1902 Pers U/CHAL

<sup>49</sup> Annual Report 1902 Pers U/CHAL

<sup>50</sup> London Daily News - Saturday 11 February 1905 p.6.

<sup>51</sup> Annual Report 1904 Library of the Society of Friends Pers U/CHAL

<sup>52</sup> *A Wayfarer's Faith* p. 96.

local politics.<sup>53</sup> He resigned from the British Museum in January 1904 in advance of successfully standing as a Progressive candidate in March that year for the London County Council ward of Finsbury East as the running mate of the other councillor for the ward, J. Allan Baker who, as we have seen, was one of the senior figures who helped Harvey on his way.<sup>54</sup> A further change in his career came in September that year, when he left Chalfont House to become deputy warden of Toynbee Hall. Chalfont House closed sometime before 1914, as it is not mentioned in Werner Picht's book of that date, and the site was later redeveloped.<sup>55</sup>

### Toynbee Hall

Toynbee Hall, the non-denominational mother house of the settlement movement, to which Harvey moved in September 1904 as deputy warden, gave him a broader field of operation than the Quaker settlement of Chalfont House. Samuel Barnett made Harvey his successor because he was best able to carry on the purpose for which Barnett had founded Toynbee Hall in 1884, which was as a centre of social work and research, popular education, and clubs for local children.<sup>56</sup> Harvey put the purposes of Toynbee Hall in terms of healing social evils through rigorous study and the soft skills of social solidarity.

Good intentions and generous sympathies will not heal social evils. Only hard study is the necessary preparation for enduring and constructive reform. But without the activities such as the clubs and classes and outings which foster personal friendship and practical human sympathy, economics would but resemble a soulless machine. There is a need for deep understanding of the facts and deep sympathy, without which one may

---

<sup>53</sup> TEH to WH Chalfont House 20 (22?) January 1904

<sup>54</sup> 'Address by J. Allen Baker and T. Edmund Harvey, the progressive candidates for the ward of East Finsbury, LCC election 5 March 1904' Library of the Society of Friends GG 100

<sup>55</sup> Werner Picht, *Toynbee Hall and the Settlement Movement* (translated from the German by Lilian A. Cowell: G.Bell & Sons Ltd 1914)

<sup>56</sup> Werner Picht, *Toynbee Hall and the Settlement Movement*

learn many facts that seem vital and yet may never 'see into the life of things.'<sup>57</sup>

The quotation is from Wordsworth, 'Lines Composed a Few Miles above Tintern Abbey'. Harvey sought to distinguish Toynbee Hall from the other Christian philanthropic institutions which abounded in the East End of London at the time. They were scorned by the local people who, he wrote, regarded the system from which they sprung as unjust and the religion they represented as a mockery and a sham.<sup>58</sup> He feared that the churches were seen as the successors to the Scribes and Pharisees rather than to Christ. He deplored what he called suburbanism, by which he meant the geographical separation of the well-to-do from the poor, as the supreme sin of respectable Christianity. On the other hand, he continued, neither Marx nor the social Darwinians had the last word on human life, because 'The answers to the problems of the age must be worked out in the lives of men.'<sup>59</sup> This is a statement of the liberal's rejection of ideology. In accordance with his simple faith, he urged that appeal be had to the person of Jesus Christ, who could be regarded as the first Socialist.<sup>60</sup> Harvey believed we should exemplify faith in our daily lives not in ideologies.

Harvey's remark about hard study shows that as warden of Toynbee Hall he gave priority to solid research that was aimed at practical and effective solutions to concrete social problems. 'The social problem in the generality is "eternal" and to that extent insoluble but in specifics is amenable to solutions if based on good

---

<sup>57</sup> Toynbee Hall Annual report 1906-1907, London Metropolitan Archives LMA/SPE/01/01/013] p.10

<sup>58</sup> George Haw (ed.), *Christianity and the Working Classes* (Macmillan and Co., 1906) p. 199 ff

<sup>59</sup> *Christianity and the Working Classes* p.215

<sup>60</sup> *Christianity and the Working Classes* p.215

evidence and co-operatively implemented'.<sup>61</sup> Harvey had the progressive pragmatist's disinclination to abstract theories, the liberal's aversion to the politics of class conflict, and the Christian's belief in the virtues. He wrote, 'Some of us shrug our shoulders at moral failures in our own lives and in society, and fancy that we can cure it all by means of a formula from Karl Marx.'<sup>62</sup> Although by education and inclination Harvey was no social scientist, he involved himself on at least one such instance of hard study. This was a piece of sociological research on the topic of juvenile labour, that is, the employment prospects and conditions of those over the compulsory school age, which was 12, but under 18. This was an issue much investigated at the time in the context of what is now known as the rights of the child.<sup>63</sup> Harvey's contribution was an essay, *A London Boy's Saturday*, in which he offered 'a little raw material from the sociological laboratory of the elementary day schools.'<sup>64</sup> Harvey was helped with the statistics by the sociologist E. J. Urwick, who according to J. A. R. Pimlott was a dominating figure in Toynbee Hall and east London.<sup>65</sup> The essay explained that Saturday was of interest because it was a whole holiday from school but for many London children not a holiday from work. The gendered aspect of Harvey's study is obvious. He found boys might work outside the home for part of a Saturday but girls would spend most of the day helping their mothers with housework. Harvey believed his research led to 'a wider knowledge of the facts of life in a London child's school-days and, indeed, of something more even

---

<sup>61</sup> T. Edmund Harvey, 'Our responsibilities towards the social problem' *Friends Quarterly Examiner* (vol 40 no 160; 10th month 1906)

<sup>62</sup> Toynbee Hall annual report for the year ending 30 June 1910, issued December 1910, p. 10. London Metropolitan Archives SPE/01/01/016

<sup>63</sup> H. W. Jevons, 'Industrial Prospects for Boys and Girls' *Charity Organisation Review*, New Series, 35, no. 208 (1914): 190-209.

<sup>64</sup> *A London Boy's Saturday* (Bournville, Birmingham: Saint George Press, 1906)

<sup>65</sup> J. A. R. Pimlott, *Toynbee Hall: Fifty Years of Social Progress 1884-1934* (London: J. M. Dent and Sons 1935) p.95

than this.<sup>66</sup> By this he meant that he had provided hard data about the extent of employment, paid and unpaid, of school children but also had pointed to an adult issue, which was the need and opportunities for additional voluntary services for children. On the basis of his findings he urged modest improvements: more Saturday outings for children, such as were run by the clubs at Toynbee Hall, akin to the Pinner Picnics of Chalfont House, and a higher staff-to-child ratio in managing such outings.

Another of Harvey's purposes at Toynbee Hall was to build good relations with the local community of London's East End. As we have seen, he believed that the hard study to be carried out by Toynbee Hall's residents to the benefit of the local community required friendly relations with the East Enders. Harvey set about building such relations by means which reflected contemporary gendered and class-based values. On his arrival as deputy warden in 1904 he initiated Thursday 'smoking debates' and Sunday evening religious discussions. The events were successful in drawing large numbers of working-class men. Harvey would chair the rumbustious Thursday evening events using his masculine habit of tobacco-smoking as a means of fraternising with the audience. The Sunday evening religious discussions similarly testified to his interpersonal skills.

Of his Chairmanship it can be said that it had to be seen to be believed. The audience was male, large, uncouth, inclined to be irreverent, summed up by the words of the collect, "Jews, Turks, Infidels, and Heretics." He allowed anyone to speak and say anything, only keeping the time-limit carefully; but his piety, his calm confidence, his lofty spirituality acted as a charm on the ribald and rude, and I have seen men, who began their speeches in aggressive tones and with blasphemous thought, trail off under

---

<sup>66</sup> T. Edmund Harvey, *A London Boy's Saturday* (Bournville, Birmingham: Saint George Press 1906) p.4



Mr. Harvey's expression of gentle pain into apologetic platitudes and unexpected readiness to resume their seats.<sup>67</sup>

The use of the liturgical phrase from the Good Friday collect of 1549 was not merely literary, as the East End of London in which Toynbee Hall was situated is the historic centre of Jewish immigration to Britain. Harvey's aim was not only to build camaraderie between the gentlemen of Toynbee Hall and the local working-class men but also paternalistically to educate the proletariat in the technique of evidence-based, critical reasoning which was important for the work of the social scientist and the safe expansion of the suffrage. As Harvey wrote, 'In the smoking debates on Thursday evening men have learned to listen patiently to arguments with which they disagree, coming often thus to regard political opponents in a less hostile spirit, and in the Sunday evening discussions something of a like result has been achieved in treating of the things that matter most to us.'<sup>68</sup> He went on, 'From the first emphasis was laid on the fact that we were discussing and not debating, seeking to compare points of view and to help each other onward rather than to "score off" opponents.'<sup>69</sup> Harvey became known for his emollient chairman's phrase, 'There is much to be said on both sides.'<sup>70</sup> Harvey did not seek to divest himself of his privileged upbringing but his fraternising with working-class men reflected his religious belief that fundamental to solving any social problem was the realisation that all are members one of another. It is a Quaker idea to be found, as Harvey explained, in *A Word of Advice*

---

<sup>67</sup> Henrietta Barnett, *Canon Barnett, His Life, Work, And Friends* Vol. II (London John Murray, 1918) p.101

<sup>68</sup> J. A. R. Pimlott, *Toynbee Hall: Fifty Years of Social Progress 1884-1934* pp 149-153

<sup>69</sup> 22<sup>nd</sup> Annual report of the universities' settlement in East London for the year ending 30 June 1906: London Metropolitan Archives 4683/SPE/01/01/012 p.18-19

<sup>70</sup> Milligan typescript chapter 6

*and Remembrance to the Rich* by the eighteenth century Quaker, John Woolman.<sup>71</sup> According to J. A. R. Pimlott, Harvey met with little success in his efforts to build class harmony and educate the working man. The patrician-minded Pimlott says that the Thursday discussions were ordinarily characterised by much rhetoric, much indignation but little logic; the general trend of opinion was socialistic but it was an uninformed socialism and on the whole the audiences were convinced that 'Whatever is, is wrong'.<sup>72</sup> Harvey would have understood that the East End was no utopia of enlightened craftsmen and autodidacts as imagined by William Morris in *News from Nowhere* but, notwithstanding his attempts to induce tolerance and good will in local men, he was shocked by the anti-alien agitation in response to the strike of Jewish tailors and tailoresses in May 1906.<sup>73</sup> More constructively, his experience managing the Smoking Debates and Sunday evening discussions trained him for the lively public meetings in West Leeds in the election campaign of December 1909–January 1910.<sup>74</sup>

Harvey's term at the settlement coincided with a period of major social reform. He acted to bring the settlement's residents into contact with public agencies and other bodies concerned with poverty and welfare. This was in keeping with his belief in the evolving role of the civic volunteer which he expounded to the readers of *The Nation* in 1908.<sup>75</sup> Many of the voluntary experts and civil servants who played a positive role in the origins of the Liberal reforms had passed through the settlement

---

<sup>71</sup> 'Our responsibilities towards the social problem' *Friends Quarterly Examiner* vol 40 no. 160 (10<sup>th</sup> month 1906).

<sup>72</sup> J. A. R. Pimlott, *Toynbee Hall: Fifty Years of Social Progress 1884-1934* pp 149-153

<sup>73</sup> Asa Briggs and Anne Macartney, *Toynbee Hall: the First Hundred Years* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984) p.80

<sup>74</sup> 'Winning West Leeds Mr. Harvey Winds up a Fine Campaign. Unprecedented Enthusiasm' *Leeds Mercury* - Saturday 15 January 1910 p.3

<sup>75</sup> 'The Civic Volunteer' (*The Nation* 29 August 1908 pp 761–62)

house movement.<sup>76</sup> Extramural bodies with which Harvey and the other gentlemen of Toynbee Hall were involved ranged from local councils, through semi-public agencies of central and local government to entirely independent bodies. These various entities reflected the ambiguities of power that Jose Harris has pointed to, meaning that by 1914 the roles of central government, local government, voluntary associations, family and private citizens had become much more closely intertwined than in the mid-Victorian years.<sup>77</sup> Harvey's election to the London County Council (LCC) in 1904, already mentioned, led to his serving on its Education Committee and producing a leaflet on the religious education of children.<sup>78</sup> In 1907 he lost his LCC ward of Finsbury in the defeats of the Progressives that year.<sup>79</sup> He was an elected member of Stepney Borough Council 1909–11, when he sat on the Stepney Council of Public Welfare. This body drew together social workers, clergymen and local administrators to promote public health and moral welfare in the borough, to secure its better government and 'guard against maladministration'.<sup>80</sup> The point about maladministration was a reference to the corruption scandal of the Mile End Guardians.<sup>81</sup> As with the smoking debates, it is difficult to quantify the success of the work of the Stepney Council of Public Welfare. J. A. R. Pimlott again is sceptical and claims that the task of building up a civic sense in Stepney was enormous.<sup>82</sup>

Probably more successful was another body in which Harvey was involved, the

---

<sup>76</sup> J. R. Hay, *The Origins of the Liberal Welfare Reforms 1906–1914* (London: Macmillan 1983) p. 39  
Neil Smith, 'Social reform in Edwardian liberalism: the genesis of the policies of national insurance and old age pensions, 1906-11', Durham theses, Durham University 1972 <http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/10241>)

<sup>77</sup> Jose Harris, *Private Lives, Public Spirit: A Social History of Britain, 1870–1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1993; London: Penguin Books 1994) p vii; chapter 7,

<sup>78</sup> 'An Ideal of Denominational Education'. Address given at the annual meeting of the York Old Scholars' Association 1905; TEH to AMH 7 July 1905

<sup>79</sup> *Who Was Who 1951-1960*

<sup>80</sup> Report of Toynbee Hall for the year ending 30 June 1909 LMA/SPE/01/01/015.

<sup>81</sup> 'Mile End Guardians Scandal' HC Deb vol 194: Monday 19 October 1908 col 755 ff

<sup>82</sup> J.A.R. Pimlott, *Toynbee Hall: Fifty Years of Social Progress 1884-1934* pp 136–8

Central (Unemployed) Body for London, of which he was a co-opted member for six years together with another man from Toynbee Hall, William Beveridge.<sup>83</sup> This was a municipal body acting on circulars issued by central government's Local Government Board encouraging local authorities to provide work for the unemployed.<sup>84</sup> The London body was a model for the national system established by the Labour Exchanges Act 1909.<sup>85</sup> The Act came from Beveridge's study of unemployment published in 1909 in which he linked unemployment to casual labour.<sup>86</sup> Harvey was chairman of a related body, the Employment Exchange Committee and a member of the Association of Employment Exchange Officers.<sup>87</sup> This is an example of how the success of the Liberal government's complicated reforms depended on elite non-public manpower, as represented by Harvey and Beveridge, as well as on public officials and ministers.<sup>88</sup>

Other bodies with which Harvey was involved related to his interests in young people and education. He was concerned about the Post Office's practice of blind alley employment, meaning employing male juveniles without giving them opportunities of career advancement when they reached adulthood. On this matter Harvey entered into friendly controversy with Sydney Buxton, the Postmaster General. A government departmental committee, of which Harvey was a member, was appointed and succeeded in eliminating the practice, although not before Harvey

---

<sup>83</sup> History of Parliament, Wedgwood Questionnaires, 'Harvey, T Edmund' J.A.R. *Toynbee Hall: Fifty Years of Social Progress 1884-1934* (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1935) pp 126-7.

<sup>84</sup> Jose Harris, *Private Lives, Public Spirit: A Social History of Britain, 1870-1914* p.200

<sup>85</sup> McCord, N., Purdue, A. W., & Purdue, B., *British history 1815-1914* Chapter 10: Political developments 1880-1914 (Oxford University Press 2007) page 435

<sup>86</sup> William Henry Beveridge, *Unemployment: A problem of industry*. (Longmans, Green, 1909)

<sup>87</sup> *South London Press* - Friday 13 March 1908 p.4; *London Daily News* 19 February 1907 p.12

<sup>88</sup> R. C. K. Ensor, *England, 1870-1914* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1936) p.516

had to make a deputation to Prime Minister Asquith.<sup>89</sup> He was on the Joint Committee on Underfed Children, which originated as a committee of the London School Board in 1899 and dealt with malnourishment of children in Toynbee Hall's locality.<sup>90</sup> In 1906 he was vice-president of the National League of Workers with Boys.<sup>91</sup> He was on the National Council of Peace Scouts, a pacifist alternative to the movement founded by Baden-Powell. He was interested in adult as well as juvenile education and joined his colleague from Toynbee Hall, R. H. Tawney, in the Workers' Educational Association, being its Treasurer 1910–1914. Harvey was best man at Tawney's wedding in June 1909 when he married a sister of William Beveridge.<sup>92</sup> In October 1911 Harvey as Treasurer began a fund to pay for a holiday for Albert Mansbridge, the Association's co-founder, which bore fruit in June 1913 when Harvey was one of forty to see off Mansbridge and his wife from Tilbury.<sup>93</sup>

Further related to education and a major instance of extramural activity by Harvey during his time as warden of Toynbee Hall was his attempt to settle nonconformist agitation against Balfour's Education Act of 1902. The 'education eirenicon' was his phrase, from the Greek for peace, to describe the work of the non-denominational Education Settlement Committee, of which he was joint secretary 1908–10.<sup>94</sup> Harvey's aim was to overcome inter-denominational squabbling and promote Christian brotherhood. He also wished to placate nonconformist supporters of the Liberals by removing objectionable features of the 1902 Act while leaving intact

---

<sup>89</sup> TEH to WH 22 February 1909

<sup>90</sup> *London Daily News* 19 February 1907 p.12.

<sup>91</sup> 'The National League Of Workers With Boys' *Saint George : A National Review Dealing with Literature, Art and Social Questions in a Broad and Progressive Spirit* 9(35) (1906) 226.

<sup>92</sup> L. Goldman, 'Tawney, Richard Henry (1880–1962), historian and political thinker' (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 2004)

<sup>93</sup> TEH to AIH House of Commons 6 June 1913

<sup>94</sup> 'The educational eirenicon', *The Nation* 11 June 1910 pp 385-386

its strategic purpose of a national educational system. The Balfour Act had abolished the school boards set up by the Forster Act of 1870 and transferred responsibility for elementary education and secondary education to the borough and county councils, which were empowered to assist the voluntary, denominational schools from the rates. Deprived of their power-base in the school boards and outraged by the prospect of supporting church schools from local taxes, leading nonconformists embarked on a campaign of passive resistance. Some Quakers joined the campaign, for example George Cadbury – to the incomprehension of his wife, Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury – and in June 1903 Joseph Gundry Alexander became the first Friend to receive a summons for non-payment of the rate, to be followed by the scriptural scholar Rendel Harris. Corporately, however, the Quakers were non-committal. In 1903 London Yearly Meeting pronounced that that 'the matter is one for settlement by private judgement, not by denominational action'.<sup>95</sup>

The coming of a Liberal government in 1906 gave the nonconformists hope of reforming the Balfour Act. However, divisions amongst the reformers, skilful manoeuvring by the Act's originator, as Leader of the Opposition, and resistance by the House of Lords meant that by 1908 the various parties felt compelled to turn to extra-Parliamentary negotiation in the hope of producing a proposal which might form the basis of viable legislation. The 'most sustained such effort' came from a representative body called the Education Settlement Committee.<sup>96</sup> Harvey wrote the Committee's report, *Towards Educational Peace*, jointly with the other secretary,

---

<sup>95</sup> Brian David Phillips, 'Friendly Patriots: British Quakerism And The Imperial Nation, 1890 –1910' (University of Cambridge: unpublished PhD thesis, 1989) p.136

<sup>96</sup> Marjorie Cruickshank, *Church & State in English Education: 1870 to the Present day* (New York: Macmillan 1964) p.111

Michael E. Sadler, who was known as ‘cousin Ernest’ in family circles.<sup>97</sup> The diligently crafted and intricate recommendations of *Towards Educational Peace* were designed on the one hand to meet the nonconformists’ grievances against what they saw as the Balfour Act’s Establishment bias and, on the other, to consolidate non-denominational Christian religious instruction and practice in state schools. The issues at stake were whether schools attached to a particular religion or denomination should receive public funding, and the single school problem, which was the issue that arose if the only school in an area was attached to a particular denomination. In July 1911 Harvey, by then the MP for West Leeds, introduced a Bill in Parliament based on *Towards Educational Peace* which, however, went no further.<sup>98</sup> Some of his recommendations eventually made their way into the Education Act of 1944, which by happenstance Harvey was able to welcome because by then he was back in Parliament.<sup>99</sup> In the meantime, Harvey’s work and that of his cousin was not entirely wasted, because by bringing together Anglican and nonconformist disputants with professional experts, they helped mitigate reputationally damaging squabbling amongst the Christian fraternity. This was evident to *The Times* newspaper which in its review of *Towards Educational Peace* archly praised Harvey ‘who as a member of the Society of Friends does not confine his pacific ardour to the promotion merely of international peace.’<sup>100</sup>

---

<sup>97</sup> [T. Edmund Harvey and Michael E. Sadler] *Towards Educational Peace: A Plan of Resettlement in English Elementary Education* (Executive Committee of the Educational Settlement Committee; London: Longmans 1910); TEH to WH from Chalfont House, 5 May 1903

<sup>98</sup> Athelstan Riley, Michael Sadler, and Cyril Jackson, *The Religious Question in Public Education* by (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1911) p.174

Elementary Education (England and Wales) Bill 1 & 2 Geo. 5.

<sup>99</sup> Clause 98 Mr. Harvey HC Deb 09 May 1944 vol 399 cc 1862–63 . See also chapter 7.

<sup>100</sup> ‘A Way of Peace’ *The Times* Monday, May 30, 1910; pg. 11.

Harvey managed Toynbee Hall as a quasi-seminary of activists, social scientists and voluntary public administrators. He described Toynbee Hall as occupying a central place in the 'educational geography' of London, its location in the East End symbolising one of the chief objects for which it existed, which was as a meeting place of men and ideas.<sup>101</sup> Harvey wrote that 'Toynbee Hall is a centre into which the lives of men are flowing from all parts of London.'<sup>102</sup> Harvey conceived of this aspect of Toynbee Hall in exulted, personalist language about how the settlement was an environment for spiritual growth.<sup>103</sup> He wrote 'It is not easy to speak of the effect of all this stream of varying personalities and thoughts upon the inner life of the place and yet those of us who live here know better than we can tell how much we owe to this current in the midst of which we pass our days.'<sup>104</sup> Toynbee Hall may be referred to as a quasi-seminary of future leaders because, as Lucy Matthews-Jones has shown, it was a masculine space which drew upon the monastic model and made an icon of St Francis.<sup>105</sup> Harvey contributed to this ethos with an early article, 'St Francis in History and the Life of Today from a Quaker standpoint', in which he extolled the simple values of St Francis and John Woolman.<sup>106</sup>

As Nicholas Loizou has pointed out, Harvey's interest in social reform at Toynbee Hall was an extension of his religious conviction.<sup>107</sup> Loizou adduces an article written by Harvey which was published in 1908 under the title, 'Catholicism of

---

<sup>101</sup> 21st Annual report of the universities' settlement in East London for the year ending 30 June 1905. LMA(4683)SPE/01/01/011. pp ix-x

<sup>102</sup> 21st Annual report of the universities' settlement in East London

<sup>103</sup> For an account of Harvey's personalism see chapter 8.

<sup>104</sup> 21st Annual report of the universities' settlement in East London

<sup>105</sup> Matthews-Jones L. (2011) 'St Francis of Assisi and the Making of Settlement Masculinity, 1883–1914' In: J. H. Arnold, S. Brady (eds) *What is Masculinity?. Genders and Sexualities in History*. (Palgrave Macmillan, London 2011)

<sup>106</sup> *Friends Quarterly Examiner* January 1904 pp 33-50

<sup>107</sup> Nicholas A. Loizou, 'Before New Liberalism: The Continuity of Radical Dissent, 1867 – 1914' (A thesis submitted to the University of Manchester for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, 2019) chapter 5



the Spirit'. The text formed the first chapter of *A Wayfarer's Faith: Aspects of the Common Basis of Religious Life*.<sup>108</sup> As the subtitle makes clear, the book is not about the specifics of social policy but about Christian universalism and the spiritual aspects of the person. Loizou compares Harvey in terms of religious motivation with another social reformer with a nonconformist background, Percy Alden, who at Oxford drew Harvey into the university settlement movement and with whom Harvey shared an interest in employment policy. Alden produced a book on the topic which was devoid of theological content but reflected the widespread belief that unemployment was personally, socially and economically damaging and that government ought to intervene to tackle it.<sup>109</sup> Loizou admits that this book and others by Alden reflected practical matters of legislation and that his theological views were expressed 'in a secondary capacity'.<sup>110</sup> Harvey and Alden were alike progressive, investigative and pragmatic social reformers who promoted social justice through concrete solutions to concrete problems. Nicholas Loizou incorrectly classifies Alden as a devout Quaker the same as Harvey.<sup>111</sup> Alden was inspired by Christianity and contributed to Quaker publications in his early years but was never formally a Quaker.

The conclusion on Harvey as warden of Toynbee Hall is that he was an energetic, effective and strategically aware leader, fulfilling the aims of the founder by overseeing and carrying out research, participating in political and governmental organisations, cultivating relations with the local working-class community and guiding the careers of Toynbee Hall's gentlemen-residents. The faith of his

---

<sup>108</sup> Nicholas A. Loizou, 'Before New Liberalism: The Continuity of Radical Dissent, 1867 – 1914' p.171

<sup>109</sup> Percy Alden, *The Unemployed: A National Question* (Westminster, 1905)

<sup>110</sup> Nicholas A. Loizou, 'Before New Liberalism: The Continuity of Radical Dissent, 1867 – 1914' p.172.

<sup>111</sup> Nicholas A. Loizou, 'Before New Liberalism: The Continuity of Radical Dissent, 1867 – 1914' pp 225, 228.

upbringing was fundamental to Harvey's motivation and chimed with the quasi-monastic ethos. Standish Meacham holds that Harvey produced only vacuous rhetoric and as warden of Toynbee Hall presided over a period of decline.<sup>112</sup> Meacham produces no evidence for his claim, which reflects prejudice against Harvey's religiosity and Liberalism. On the contrary, Harvey encouraged the diverse interests of the residents some of whom went on to be the nation's leaders and himself participated in intra- and extra-mural activities.<sup>113</sup> His belief in the principles of the settlement movement was allied to his liberal aversion to abstractions and his preference, shared with Percy Alden, for pragmatic and collaborative solutions to concrete social problems. His adaptability and agreeableness led Harvey and Toynbee Hall to continue to contribute to social reform at a time of growing regulation and state intervention. His success at Toynbee Hall earned him a reputation which was important in his nomination as a Liberal parliamentary candidate in late 1909.

### *The road to parliament*

Harvey's upbringing in a prosperous, politically Liberal household, his elite education and his career in the settlement movement paved the way for him into Parliament through London's municipal politics. In 1903, while at Chalfont House, Harvey fought his first election, for a seat on Finsbury Borough Council for the Progressive Alliance, but was unsuccessful. The following year he gained the Finsbury East division for the London County Council but failed to be re-elected three years later. In 1909 he won the Whitechapel Middle ward for Stepney Borough Council, the ward in which

---

<sup>112</sup> Standish Meacham, *Toynbee Hall and Social Reform, 1880-1914: The Search for Community* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press 1987 ) p.172.

<sup>113</sup> Emily K. Abel 'Toynbee Hall 1884-1914' (*Social Service Review*, Vol. 53, No. 4, Dec., 1979), pp. 606-632

Toynbee Hall was situated. Meanwhile Herbert Gladstone, the incumbent Liberal MP for West Leeds, had informed his constituency association that, after thirty years in the seat, he was to be made a peer and would be moving overseas as governor-general of South Africa.<sup>114</sup> Early potential candidates as his replacement either proved unsuitable or were adopted elsewhere and Harvey was recommended. Joseph Henry, the local association's chairman, took soundings and reported back favourably. Harvey was duly adopted and two months later, in the general election of January 1910, was comfortably elected.<sup>115</sup> His total electoral expenses were £799 11s 7d, about £15,000 at today's values.<sup>116</sup> He did not resign from Toynbee Hall until he married in July 1911. This was less to do with the call on his time of the duties of an MP as because the warden's accommodation was unsuitable for a couple. On his marriage he and Irene moved to 11 Hammersmith Terrace.<sup>117</sup> He continued his association with Toynbee Hall, for example staying there for the All Friends Conference in August 1920, and 'delighted to find it so much alive and quite full'.<sup>118</sup>

Harvey's election to Parliament for West Leeds in January 1910, rather more than his later success in March 1937, was a not improbable outcome given his local connections and his upbringing, education and career up to that point. Looking back from 1936 he told Josiah C. Wedgwood that he had had no intention of taking up politics.<sup>119</sup> A protestation about having no political ambitions was a common one

---

<sup>114</sup> Philip Magnus, *King Edward The Seventh* (London: John Murray 1964) p. 541

<sup>115</sup> Michael Meadowcroft, 'Harvey, Thomas Edmund [T. Edmund, Ted] (1875–1955), politician and social reformer.' (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. 2021)

<sup>116</sup> *Return Of Charges Made To Candidates At The General Election Of January 1910*

<sup>117</sup> TEH to WH and AMH 9 July 1911

<sup>118</sup> TEH to DB 31 August 1920

<sup>119</sup> History of Parliament, Wedgwood Questionnaires, 'Harvey, T Edmund'.

of respondents to the Wedgwood questionnaire.<sup>120</sup> It is for consideration whether, despite such assurances, there was an element of calculation in Harvey's career, whether he was just responding to the call of duty or whether his parliamentary career was, as Harvey himself seemed to imply, merely a matter of coincidence or chance. The element of chance for Harvey particularly came into play when early potential candidates to succeed Herbert Gladstone proved unsuitable or were adopted elsewhere, leaving the field clear. On the other hand it is evident he won the esteem of the local party boss Joseph Henry, who was devoted to his father, so his recognised personal qualities and his family's reputation were factors in his adoption.<sup>121</sup> In all events, Parliament was not an unlikely prospect for a man like Harvey. As Loizou has shown, he was in terms of upbringing, education and, needless to say, gender and ethnicity, typical of the many Liberals of the intakes of 1906 and 1910.<sup>122</sup> Stapleton similarly shows that he was of the type, with his upbringing in a well-to-do nonconformist family and with a degree in the classical humanities from Oxford, to be a member of the liberal elite.<sup>123</sup> In addition, from his days at Chalfont House Harvey was involved in municipal politics, which is a common first step for those with a future in national politics ahead of them.

---

<sup>120</sup> Priscilla Baines, *Colonel Josiah Wedgwood's Questionnaire: Members of Parliament, 1885–1918*. (Chichester, West Sussex : Wiley-Blackwell for The Parliamentary History Yearbook Trust and The History of Parliament Trust, 2012)

<sup>121</sup> Michael Meadowcroft, 'Harvey, Thomas Edmund [T. Edmund, Ted] (1875–1955), politician and social reformer.' (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 2021)

<sup>122</sup> Nicholas A. Loizou, 'Before New Liberalism: The Continuity of Radical Dissent, 1867 – 1914' (A thesis submitted to the University of Manchester for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, 2019): Appendix 2. MPs by Religious Affiliation February 1907 and December 1910

<sup>123</sup> Julia Stapleton, 'Political thought, elites, and the state in modern Britain.' *Historical Journal* 42, no. 1 (1999) pp 251-268.

## Chapter summary

Chapter 2 chronicles Harvey's upbringing and early career as a liberal Quaker and Quaker Liberal. The chapter goes from Harvey's childhood to his laying down the post of warden of Toynbee Hall in 1911, showing how he was led to a career as a Liberal MP. The first section covers his upbringing in a prosperous late-Victorian Quaker family with Liberal political affiliations. It deals with his education at the Quaker establishment of Bootham School and at Oxford University. The section considers the early influence on Harvey of William Morris, Robert Blatchford and T. H. Green, of whom the last was the most significant. The chapter then deals with Harvey's career in London's university settlement movement, from 1900 at the Quaker settlement of Chalfont House and from 1904 at Toynbee Hall. Succeeding Samuel Barnett as warden in 1906, he followed him by managing Toynbee Hall as a community-based, non-denominational think tank and quasi-seminary for academic and political leaders. He exemplified this approach himself, being involved in intramural activities as well as extramural ones such as a local councillor and a member of various governmental and independent bodies. One such body was the Education Settlement Committee, formed to resolve nonconformist agitation against the Balfour Act in an episode Harvey called the education eirenicon. Harvey's effectiveness in these years came from his ability as a leader and manager, from his sympathy with the quasi-monastic ethos of Toynbee Hall and his understanding of the need of the university settlement movement to respond to New Liberalism. His standing as warden of Toynbee Hall and as the scion of a local philanthropic family

helped him get selected as the Liberal parliamentary candidate for West Leeds in time for the general election of January 1910.<sup>124</sup>

---

<sup>124</sup> 'West Leeds liberals, Mr. Harvey adopted with striking enthusiasm' *Leeds Mercury* - Tuesday 14 December 1909 p.2.

## Chapter 3: A Quaker Liberal in peace and war, 1910–18

### Introduction

Harvey was elected as the Liberal MP for West Leeds in January 1910, a position which was confirmed in the second general election that year, December 1910, and which he held until the next general election, which was not until after the Armistice in 1918. This chapter is about Harvey's career as a Liberal MP before and during the First World War. Within a basic division between peacetime and wartime, the chapter is further divided into the following sections:

- A preliminary discussion of the peace testimony and the Quaker Renaissance
- Harvey the MP as a peacetime pacifist 1910–14
- Harvey as a Liberal parliamentarian 1910–14: industrial relations, Liberal welfare reforms, women's suffrage, the Mental Deficiency Act 1913
- The outbreak of war 1914
- Continental relief work from 1914
- Conscientious objection and the Pelham Committee
- De-selection as MP for West Leeds 1917
- Chapter summary

## *The peace testimony and the Quaker Renaissance*

As already seen, Harvey grew up at a time when the Religious Society of Friends was undergoing what its historians call a renaissance.<sup>1</sup> This saw a freshly evolving liberal theology and an optimistically minded social activism allied, in the case of Harvey and his family, with support for the Liberal party. The theology of the Quaker Renaissance entailed a newly reclaimed knowledge of, and attachment to, traditional Quaker beliefs which had been discarded by the evangelicals who led the Society in the middle of the nineteenth century. Central to these reclaimed beliefs was the concept of the inward Light of Christ, which meant prioritising personal and collective spiritual experience over creed and scripture. Thomas Kennedy emphasises that for the leaders of the Quaker Renaissance the Light of Christ was not only the means by which God revealed Himself but also verified the Society's historic refusal of any military requirement. As we have seen, Kennedy over-emphasises the centrality of the peace testimony. Nevertheless he makes an important point when he says that as well as affirming their tradition 'never to fight with carnal weapons' the Quakers attempted to act positively to transform conflict through peace-building and intermediation.<sup>2</sup> The South African War 1899–1902 tested the Quaker commitment to peace and, says Kennedy, produced only a tardy response. When the war ended in May 1902, the Society of Friends emerged with a widely felt need to define more precisely the Society's position with regard to its peace testimony.<sup>3</sup> The peace witness of the Religious Society of Friends was greatly challenged in August 1914 by

---

<sup>1</sup> See chapter 1 for the literature on the Quaker Renaissance.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas C. Kennedy *British Quakerism 1860-1920* (Oxford University Press 2001) chapter 7.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas C. Kennedy *British Quakerism 1860-1920* chapter 7.



the outbreak of the First World War and tested yet further by the moves towards compulsory military service which began in late 1915.

### Peacetime pacifist: 1910–1914

As a Liberal backbencher MP in the peacetime Parliament to August 1914, Harvey pursued Quaker interests which, he told Josiah C. Wedgwood, included international peace and cooperation and peace by understanding.<sup>4</sup> He was active in the causes of disarmament, anti-militarism and the international peace-building structures of the time. Together with his mentor and fellow Quaker MP J. Allen Baker he was a member of a Liberal Radical group, the 'Reduction of Armaments Committee'.<sup>5</sup> The Liberal Radicals were backbenchers and journalists who clustered around the editorial board of *The Nation*, the periodical owned by a Quaker foundation, the Joseph Rowntree Social Service Trust, of which Harvey's brother-in-law, Arnold Stephenson Rowntree, was a member.<sup>6</sup> In 1909 Baker moved a resolution deploring the increased spending on armaments reflected in the Naval Estimates for that year.<sup>7</sup> The following year's parliamentary vote on funds for the Royal Navy was the occasion of Harvey's maiden speech and he took the same theme as Baker. He spoke of how the money would be better spent on social reform and called for arms-reduction negotiations with Germany. He declared it was 'the first duty of a democratic government to go above the heads of the bureaucracy and to make a daring appeal to the imagination not only of this people but of the people of

---

<sup>4</sup> History of Parliament, Wedgwood Questionnaires, 'Harvey, T Edmund'. See appendix 3

<sup>5</sup> A. J. Anthony Morris *Radicalism Against War 1906-1914: the advocacy of peace and retrenchment* (London: Longman 1972)

<sup>6</sup> Ian Packer (ed.), *The Letters of Arnold Stephenson Rowntree to Mary Katherine Rowntree, 1910-1918* (Cambridge University Press for the Royal Historical Society, 2002) p.11

<sup>7</sup> Thomas C. Kennedy *British Quakerism 1860-1920* p. 300

Germany.<sup>8</sup> Harvey asked the House to have in mind the country's long-term reputation for good. Expressing a moral teleology which was a feature of his witness to peace, as explained further in chapter 8, he declared that, even if a daring international appeal should fail, 'We should be building foundations of success hereafter for another government on some more propitious occasion, and the government that took that step [...] would gain the gratitude of generations yet unborn.'<sup>9</sup> Another instance of his opposition to militarism was when in April 1913 he declined an invitation to join a public meeting of the National Service League.<sup>10</sup> He wrote to the League's president, Lord Roberts,

I regret that the thought of national service should be narrowed in meaning to correspond with the military ideals of the National Service League, instead of embracing, as it should do, every form of civic activity by which men may serve their country without injury or menace to any other people.<sup>11</sup>

This is the first instance of Harvey putting forward the idea, that of non-military national service, he was to help realise three years later.

The Italo-Turkish war of 1911–12 was an opportunity for Harvey to show his support for peace-building through international arbitration. In November 1911 he lent his name to protests against the Italian invasion two months earlier of the Ottoman Empire's North African provinces.<sup>12</sup> A body calling itself the International Arbitration Emergency Committee organised a protest meeting at Whitefield's Tabernacle, a nonconformist chapel in Tottenham Court Road in London's West End where the minister was Harvey's fellow-backbencher and literary collaborator,

---

<sup>8</sup> HC Deb 14 March 1910 vol 15 cc117-119; *Lancashire Evening Post* - Thursday 17 March 1910 p.2.

<sup>9</sup> HC Deb 14 March 1910 vol 15 cc117-119

<sup>10</sup> *Leeds Mercury* - Saturday 19 April 1913 p.5.

<sup>11</sup> *Leeds Mercury* - Saturday 19 April 1913 p.5

<sup>12</sup> *Gloucester Citizen* - Monday 06 November 1911 p.4

Silvester Horne. Harvey sent the Committee a letter of support.<sup>13</sup> On one interpretation, the call for arbitration in the Italo-Turkish war was futile, because the war continued. Moreover, it led to further international instability when the four countries of the Balkan League took advantage of the Ottoman Empire's weakness by launching a war of their own against it in October 1912. On the other hand, the principle of international peace-making seemed to be working well when the Italo-Turkish war was settled that month, October 1912, by a treaty sealed in Ouchy, Switzerland. The diplomatic settlement on neutral territory looked ahead to the creation of an over-arching structure for international peace settlements in the form of the League of Nations, which was also located in Switzerland.

### *Liberal parliamentarian 1910–14*

Harvey as a Liberal parliamentarian involved in domestic affairs worked for industrial peace, welfare reform, women's suffrage and the care of the vulnerable. The question of industrial peace was a cause linked to the New Liberal belief in social harmony and betterment as well as to the Quaker peace testimony and Friends' tradition of ethical capitalism. Harvey spoke in favour of improving industrial relations in the transport sector.<sup>14</sup> He supported the Liberal leaders in emphasising the need to have better conciliation procedures, rather than state control, and to permit employers to increase prices in order to cover the wage increases which ended unrest.<sup>15</sup> This typically Liberal and progressive position of balancing the market with state regulation was the theme when he spoke at the Goldsmith's College on 'Some

---

<sup>13</sup> *Gloucester Citizen* - Monday 06 November 1911 p.4.

<sup>14</sup> Great Eastern Railway Bill HC Deb 25 March 1912 vol 36 cc 136ff

<sup>15</sup> Duncan Tanner *Political Change and the Labour Party 1900–18* (Cambridge University Press 1990) pp 63–64

causes of the present industrial unrest'.<sup>16</sup> On the government's programme of welfare reforms he worked with Arthur Sherwell, the Liberal MP for Huddersfield, and with Arnold Stephenson Rowntree, frequently pressurising the government by moving amendments and voting against proposals where they stopped short of New Liberal aims.<sup>17</sup> From June 1912 he was a Parliamentary Private Secretary, firstly to Ellis Ellis-Griffith and then to Charles Masterman. In 1914, with Masterman and Christopher Addison in the House of Commons and Lord Haldane in the Lords, Harvey was at work on social insurance, a reform in which 'the importance of the settlement house movement can hardly be overestimated'.<sup>18</sup>

In another major social issue of the era, votes for women, Harvey gave a commitment to women's suffrage in his election address in January 1910 and was, according to Nicolas Owen, an adultist by preference, meaning he wanted all adults to have the vote.<sup>19</sup> Pragmatically he was willing if reluctant to support a limited Bill which would enfranchise only some women.<sup>20</sup> However, in another source, an address to a conference in 1912, he was equivocal about the franchise. He spoke in elevated but sexist terms of a need for women to contribute their special insight to legislation, born of their conception of the family and of the individual which is essential for national welfare.<sup>21</sup> In a reference to 'mere mathematical equality' and the importance of women as advisers and assistants to men, Harvey seemed to be

---

<sup>16</sup> TEH to AMH, Hammersmith Terrace, 5 February 1914

<sup>17</sup> Duncan Tanner *Political Change and the Labour Party 1900–18* (Cambridge University Press 1990) p.271

<sup>18</sup> Neil Smith, 'Social reform in Edwardian liberalism: the genesis of the policies of national insurance and old age pensions, 1906-11' (Durham theses, Durham University. <http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/10241>) p.71

<sup>19</sup> Private communication from Nicolas Owen, 09/11/2020, based on the Lloyd George papers

<sup>20</sup> Private communication from Nicolas Owen, 09/11/2020, based on the Lloyd George papers

<sup>21</sup> 'The religious aspects of the women's movement. Being a series of addresses delivered at Meetings held at the Queen's Hall London on June 19, 1912' (published by The Collegium, 232 Evering Road Clapton London N) pp 30-32

making a veiled reference to limiting the extension of the franchise to middle-class women only. It is open to question why in 1912 Harvey was critical of 'mere mathematical equality' given his electoral commitment of 1910 and when he was interested in the Liberal concern for proportional representation as a long-term member of the Proportional Representation Society.<sup>22</sup> He must have overcome his doubts about votes for women, however, because he supported the proposition when it came before the wartime Parliament, telling his father that the women's suffrage vote was 'splendid'.<sup>23</sup>

Another instance of domestic legislation that Harvey supported was the Mental Deficiency Act 1913, which he commended in a preface he wrote to a legal manual about the Act authored by local constituents, father and son John and Samuel Wormald.<sup>24</sup> In 1908 a Royal Commission under the Earl of Radnor had recommended a national system for the care and control of persons defined as mental deficient, for their own and society's protection.<sup>25</sup> Five years later legislation came before Parliament, when Harvey as PPS to a Home Office Minister, Sir Ellis E. Griffith, served on the Select Committee.<sup>26</sup> In his preface to the Wormalds' manual, Harvey praised the Act which 'marks an important stage in the growth of the responsibility of the community for its weakest and most backward members.'<sup>27</sup> He drew attention to the inadequate existing arrangements, which were based on the out-dated Lunacy Laws and Poor Laws. 'Imprisoned in our jails, confined in our Industrial Schools and maintained in the wards of our workhouses are a large

---

<sup>22</sup> Lord Courtney to TEH 14 March 1912

<sup>23</sup> TEH to WH 24 June 1917

<sup>24</sup> John Wormald and Samuel Wormald, *A Guide to the Mental Deficiency Act 1913* (London: P. S. King [1913]).

<sup>25</sup> *A Guide to the Mental Deficiency Act* p.9

<sup>26</sup> TEH to AIH 17 June 1913.

<sup>27</sup> *A Guide to the Mental Deficiency Act 1913* p. viii

number of people who ought not to be there at all, and who are too often only injured by their present treatment, which is both costly and ineffective.<sup>28</sup> He pointed to the sexual exploitation of ‘those unhappy mothers who at present come to the Workhouse to give birth to child after child and are often incapable of fulfilling even the simplest maternal duties to their unhappy children.’<sup>29</sup> He called for more institutions.

There are many people [...] who can only be properly helped by means of institutional care, in well managed farm colonies, which give their inmates the opportunity of open-air life and the development of manual skill. It is not too much to hope that the few existing voluntary institutions which deal with defectives in this way may be supplemented by many others which the financial provisions of the Act will now make possible.<sup>30</sup>

While calling for more institutions he was also aware of the cost of the new system, and drew attention to the Act’s provisions for boarding out – meaning, in modern terms, care in the community – which would be economical of public funds as well as affording scope for the exercise of Christian virtue. This reflected a happy coincidence of Harvey’s preference as a Liberal for prudent public expenditure and as a Christian for voluntary charitable service. This latter preference led Harvey to favour the enhanced opportunity for professional and voluntary service over the Act’s powers of control.

The community is taking up to-day a new burden, borne in the past by shoulders ill-fitted for the load. Our success in the task must depend not upon the fresh powers which the Act provides so much as upon the generous wisdom and the kindly spirit inspiring its administration, the self-sacrifice and enthusiasm of the civic volunteers whose co-operation it will call forth.<sup>31</sup>

---

<sup>28</sup> *A Guide to the Mental Deficiency Act 1913* p.viii

<sup>29</sup> *A Guide to the Mental Deficiency Act 1913* p. ix

<sup>30</sup> *A Guide to the Mental Deficiency Act 1913* p.viii

<sup>31</sup> *A Guide to the Mental Deficiency Act 1913* p. x

This call for self-sacrifice by civic volunteers is the theme of an article of 1908.<sup>32</sup>

Harvey's quiet caution about 'fresh powers of control' shows he was not altogether at one with this aspect of the Act. Harvey went along with the political and medical orthodoxy which was behind the Act but without wholeheartedly supporting the concomitant, which was professional control of the mentally deficient.

The Mental Deficiency Act 1913 was not a success. There was resistance in Whitehall from Harvey's predecessor at Chalfont House, Sir George Newman, the senior medical officer in central government, who was sceptical about the cost and benefit of institutionalisation. He was proved right. The legislation was overtaken by changes in medical understanding and ethics, so that fewer and fewer types of persons suffering from mental disorder were considered to need detention. In time, the Act came to be criticised as a breach of disability rights and a means of controlling working-class criminal boys and sexually active girls. One of the Wormalds, the son Samuel, became the Executive Officer in charge of Meanwood Park, the mental deficiency colony in Leeds, from its opening in 1919 until his retirement in 1939. The colony's digital archive derides Samuel Wormald, its first executive officer, as 'notorious' for detaining adults who were not ill or dangerous but just found socially difficult.<sup>33</sup> Harvey supported the Act in the light of the balance of opinion of the time but may have neglected to attend to how it was implemented in practice.

---

<sup>32</sup> 'The Civic Volunteer' *The Nation* 29 August 1908 pp 761–62

<sup>33</sup> Meanwood Park Hospital <http://www.meanwoodpark.co.uk/>

## Outbreak of war 1914

Britain's declaration of war on 4 August 1914 was a shock for Harvey. As late as 30 July 1914 he was still hoping for peace, drawing comfort from his belief that the Cabinet and the City of London were against war.<sup>34</sup> Three days later his feelings had changed. That day, 2 August, he had a chance encounter in a railway carriage with an anti-war member of the Cabinet, Lord Morley, to whom Harvey expressed the hope he would follow the example of the Quaker statesman John Bright – who had resigned from Gladstone's Cabinet over the bombardment of Alexandria in 1882 – and take a stand against Britain's entry into war.<sup>35</sup> Morley, whose opposition to British entry into war as an ally of tsarist Russia indeed led him to leave the government on the declaration of war, alighted at his destination saying to Harvey, 'Goodbye, pray for me.'<sup>36</sup> The following day in Parliament, 3 August 1914, Harvey was one of those who spoke for peace after a short statement by Sir Edward Grey on the German ultimatum to Belgium. Harvey began, 'I hope the House will believe me when I say it is with a real feeling of pain that I rise to differ from many of my personal friends and from leaders whom I honour.'<sup>37</sup> He expressed horror at the prospect of war, exonerated the British leaders from blame but appealed 'on behalf of the people, who are voiceless except in this House' for a last effort for peace.<sup>38</sup> Harvey's speech was carefully worded, on the one hand, to withhold support for war. It would be inconsistent with the Quaker peace testimony for him to have done otherwise for, as

---

<sup>34</sup> TEH to WH 30 July 1914

<sup>35</sup> TEH to WH 2 August 1914. For a comparison between Harvey and John Bright see chapter 9

<sup>36</sup> TEH to WH 2 August 1914.

<sup>37</sup> HC Deb 03 August 1914 vol 65 cc1838-39

<sup>38</sup> HC Deb 03 August 1914 vol 65 cc1838-39



he said, the cause of peace is sacred.<sup>39</sup> On the other hand, he spoke as a patriot and party loyalist. He praised Sir Edward Grey, the Foreign Secretary, who had been making such 'magnificent efforts' for peace and he was correspondingly condemnatory of the foreign 'men in high place' responsible for the outbreak of war. He made the familiar claim of the liberal pacifist that the militarists were out of touch with the common people.<sup>40</sup> Desperately he pleaded, 'Could it not be possible, even at this last hour, for Great Britain to say that if there were no attack made on the coast of France, and if Belgium were respected, Great Britain would remain neutral?'<sup>41</sup> The speech was characteristic of Harvey's courtesy and constant quest for the middle way, balancing patriotism and pacifism. Looking back on the events of August 1914 in the final months of his life, Harvey said his 'deep respect for Sir E. Grey' had grown with the years and that in August 1914 Grey had had a much better case than some had realised at the time.<sup>42</sup> Arnold Stephenson Rowntree told his wife that Harvey spoke 'magnificently' – 'quite the best speech and excellently received' – and that the speech that night was quite the happiest interlude he had had in an otherwise awful time.<sup>43</sup> Harvey recorded an emotional account of the day.

Terrible two days of anxious surprise deepening into almost certainty of the coming of this dread calamity of overwhelming war! Grey appealed to our feelings for France; Insisted upon a decision that day in spite of Speaker and PM; The House on the whole heard our protests very fairly for we were clearly a minority – though 17 or 18 Liberal and Labour members joined in the protest. I got many kind words, from those who could not themselves agree with my view, with reference to my little speech, but it was very inadequate for the needs of a great occasion.<sup>44</sup>

---

<sup>39</sup> HC Deb 03 August 1914 vol 65 cc1838-39

<sup>40</sup> Michael Eliot Howard, *War and the Liberal Conscience* (London: Temple Smith 1978)

<sup>41</sup> HC Deb 03 August 1914 vol 65 Col 1838-39

<sup>42</sup> From T. Edmund Harvey, Rydal House, Grosvenor Road Leeds 6 to A. J. Dorey 31.1.1955.

<sup>43</sup> Ian Packer (ed ), *The Letters of Arnold Stephenson Rowntree to Mary Katherine Rowntree, 1910-1918* p.155–6.

<sup>44</sup> TEH to WH House of Commons 4 August 1914

Harvey's speech on 3 August meant his resignation as a parliamentary private secretary to Charles Masterman. He had been appointed the previous year and might have looked forward to a ministerial career, but he must have been mindful of the precedent of John Bright in his own case as in that of Lord Morley, and felt bound by conscience to refuse to be a part, however so junior, of the war machine. Free of office, Harvey braced himself for the other wartime duties which, he told his father, 'we all must turn to.'<sup>45</sup> These duties did not include overt support for militarism. On 10 September 1914 Harvey wrote to the lord mayor of Leeds, Edward Brotherton, explaining his absence from a recruiting meeting. Recognising that his was a minority view, he wrote of the double duty of the pacifist, to conscience and to humanity, in terms which dignifiedly stated the position of a Quaker.

I am a Quaker, and I believe that war is contrary to the teaching of Christ, even when it is entered upon with unselfish motives and for an end which in itself is just. In this view I know that the majority of my fellow countrymen do not agree with me, but I still feel that I could not ask others to do what I myself believe to be wrong. Those of us who cannot fight are, I believe, doubly bound to see that we do what we can in other ways to secure the ultimate victory, not of blood and iron or the mailed fist but of the spirit of justice and true human fellowship.<sup>46</sup>

### Relief work: 1914 onwards

Having shed his duties as a parliamentary private secretary, Harvey responded to another moral imperative of war by throwing himself into Quaker relief work on the continent, which he was to carry out into the post-war period. On 7 September 1914 Meeting for Sufferings, the Quakers' executive body, established a Friends' War Victims Relief Committee of fourteen members. Initially Harvey was joint secretary with Hilda Clark but Ruth Fry became the general secretary the following month and

---

<sup>45</sup> TEH to WH 8 August 1914

<sup>46</sup> W. H. Scott, *Leeds in the Great War, 1914-1918* (Leeds Libraries and Arts Committee 1923) p.20

Harvey was commissioned as field commandant or president in France, a post he was to hold until 1920.<sup>47</sup> In his new capacity and accompanied by Dr Dyson Holdsworth, he visited Amsterdam in neutral Holland in September 1914 to consult on the plight of the thousands of refugees who had fled there from Belgium.<sup>48</sup> In November 1914 began his main work, when he led the first contingent of relief workers to France. Their destination was the department of the Marne, which had been left devastated when the Germans retreated northwards following their defeat there in September. Harvey was shocked by what he found.

Those who have not seen for themselves the destruction caused by bombardment and fire, when all other considerations have been subordinated to military necessity, or the determination to inflict signal punishment on the population of a hostile nation, can have only a dim idea of the condition of scores of villages and little towns in north-eastern France today.<sup>49</sup>

The Friends' War Victims Relief Committee published an affecting account by Harvey of refugee life.<sup>50</sup> While dealing with the effects of the war, Harvey also had to contend with how the Committee in London denied him funds and at one point formally criticised him. In February 1915 he complained to Irene,

There is something really wrong with the Committee's arrangements; we are always short of funds and have to meet expenses *pro tem* out of our own pockets frequently. I was informed verbally by Ruth Fry weeks ago that they had voted £500 for agricultural relief but the money has never come!<sup>51</sup>

That month, a vote of censure against Harvey, for reasons that are not clear, drove him to uncharacteristically harsh words. 'I cannot understand how the Committee can

---

<sup>47</sup> Milligan typescript chapter 8.

<sup>48</sup> Katherine Storr, *Excluded from the Record: Women, Refugees, and Relief, 1914-1929* (Peter Lang, 2009) p.166.

<sup>49</sup> <https://www.parliament.uk/documents/WW1/duty-and-democracy-parliament-and-the-first-world-war.pdf> (2018)

<sup>50</sup> 'Scenes from Sermaize' 5 pp (Society of Friends War Victims Relief Committee [c. November 1914])

<sup>51</sup> TEH to AIH Vitry 16 February 1915

have acted in such a way. It seems about the meanest and rudest vote of censure they could well have passed. [...] Would resign if it were any other work and time.<sup>52</sup>

Hurt and frustrated, Harvey carried on with relief work until November 1915, when the conscription crisis intervened and compelled his attention back home until the following summer. He spent the period in Leeds or London, helping to establish a system of alternative service for conscientious objectors.<sup>53</sup>

From July 1916 he resumed his work on the Continent, when in February 1917 another crisis arose. Ruth Fry wired that the French authorities had ceased to issue permits for relief workers. Harvey turned for help to Leon Bourgeois, the local senator and future Nobel laureate, whom Harvey had first met in November 1914 and who intervened by arranging an interview with President Raymond Poincaré to get the necessary permissions.<sup>54</sup> Harvey travelled to Paris by the night train, telling Irene he was not looking forward to seeing the President.<sup>55</sup> He reported to Ruth Fry on his interview with Poincaré on 3 March 1917 telling her how he had explained that relief work was becoming impossible and acknowledging the help of the British Ambassador and commercial attaché.<sup>56</sup> The President had agreed to contact General Nivelle, the French commander-in-chief, who had authority in regions next to the battle zone where the Quakers were working and to whom Harvey had already written on more than one occasion.<sup>57</sup> The record is silent on the outcome of the interview but as Quaker relief work continued it seems that Harvey succeeded in his

---

<sup>52</sup> TEH to AIH Vitry 16 February 1915.

<sup>53</sup> See section in this chapter below

<sup>54</sup> TEH to AIH Paris 27 February 1917. Also 13 November 1914.

<sup>55</sup> TEH to AIH Paris 2 March 1917

<sup>56</sup> TEH to Ruth Fry, from the Hotel Britannique, 20 Avenue Victoria, Paris dated 4.3.17. T Edmund Harvey letters and reports for the Friends Emergency and War Victims Relief Committee: YM/MfS/FEWVRC/MISSIONS/1/2/6 1914-1918

<sup>57</sup> TEH to Ruth Fry, from the Hotel Britannique, 4.3.17.

high-level intervention. Demands on Harvey continued with the entry of America into the war in April 1917. This led to joint Anglo-American Quaker relief work, the first contingent of Americans arriving in France in September 1917.<sup>58</sup> Harvey welcomed them with a speech in which he gently advised against outspoken pacifism, for the sake of Christian service.<sup>59</sup> Henry Scattergood, the American Friends' Commissioner, responded in terms remarkable for their praise of Harvey.

A man whose knowledge of French life, language and manners made possible that confidence on the part of French officials upon which the whole work has been built up; whose ideals and whose life of love have come from living very close to his Master; whose strength is in gentleness, whose character has moulded the spirit of all the workers; whose presence is an inspiration and who is beloved by all who know him.<sup>60</sup>

Harvey's ensuing activities ranged widely, as he attempted to smooth out administrative and personal difficulties inherent, Edward Milligan tells us, in multilateral cooperation.<sup>61</sup> By the spring of 1918 there came a crisis in relations between the British and Americans field workers in France and Quaker administrators in London. Harvey presided over a fractious meeting in France, which drew up a series of reforms for the home administrators. Extended negotiations with London took place in April and May and finally the opposition of Ruth Fry was overcome and a single cumbersome London Executive was replaced by a variety of sub-committees, including one concerned solely with work in France.<sup>62</sup> Edward Milligan praises Harvey's achievements in France.

Ted may on occasion have exasperated people by his slowness, his conservatism, his administrative untidiness, but the mission was indeed

---

<sup>58</sup> Milligan typescript Chapter 14: Anglo-American Work In France

<sup>59</sup> Rufus Jones *A Service of Love in War Time - American Friends Relief Work in Europe, 1917-1919* (New York: Macmillan 1920) p. 67

<sup>60</sup> Rufus Jones *A Service of Love in War* pp 87-88

<sup>61</sup> Milligan typescript Chapter 14: Anglo-American Work In France

<sup>62</sup> Milligan typescript Chapter 14

fortunate that it had a commandant who saw things whole, who was utterly selfless, who saw the best in his fellows and who by example and encouragement enabled them to work better than they knew.<sup>63</sup>

### Conscientious objection – the Pelham Committee

Harvey appears in secondary literature mainly for his work in the First World War when he championed the conscientious objector and the cause of alternative, non-military national service.<sup>64</sup> He was a member of a Board of Trade committee, the Pelham Committee, on work of national importance. Contrary to one account he was never its chairman, because when Henry Pelham died at the end of 1916 he was succeeded by Sir Edward Hildred Carlile.<sup>65</sup> Harvey's position on a departmental committee and his careful combination of patriotic and pacifist values put him in the political centre-ground between the British war state and absolutist pacifists, earning him the respect of the establishment but distancing him from the Quaker leadership. The crucial period for the introduction of military conscription and its alternatives was from the winter of 1915 to the summer of 1916. In November 1915 the MPs Charles Hobhouse, Percy Alden and J. Howard Whitehouse issued a protest against threatened conscription.<sup>66</sup> In December 1915 Harvey was lobbied on behalf of one of his constituents, Thomas Ferris, a Tolstoyan Christian pacifist, who had been sentenced to imprisonment for distributing pamphlets against war and conscription, and was on hunger strike in Leeds' prison hospital. Harvey expressed concern for his humane treatment but without supporting his resistance to the war.<sup>67</sup> Ferris remained

---

<sup>63</sup> Milligan typescript p.100.

<sup>64</sup> See introductory chapter

<sup>65</sup> <https://quakerstrongrooms.org/2016/03/02/the-conscience-of-the-nation-the-work-of-three-quaker-mps-during-world-war-i/>

TEH to WH 12 January 1917

<sup>66</sup> Library of the Society of Friends TEMP MSS 977/1/6

<sup>67</sup> Library of the Society of Friends TEMP 835/11/5

a nuisance to Harvey. At a Quaker meeting in Leeds in August 1920 Ferris's heated denunciation of Friends, for treachery and untruthfulness, led Harvey to appeal to close the meeting with a period of worship instead of controversy.<sup>68</sup>

It was a different matter for Harvey on the larger question of conscription when it came before the House of Commons. The same month as the Ferris controversy, December 1915, the deteriorating military situation led the government to take the first parliamentary steps towards conscription. Harvey rose in the House following a speech by Asquith to oppose the principle of compulsion and to call for those with a religious objection to be allowed alternative forms of service, using an argument he was to make repeatedly.

When religion and conscience tell a man that he must not take human life I believe the State ought to recognise that and ought to allow him freedom to find other forms of service which may be of the truest value to the community. I do not agree with the statement [...] that it is the elementary duty of the citizen to fight for the State. It is the elementary duty of the citizen in an elementary state [...] It is not divided loyalty, although it may seem so – the loyalty that we owe to the eternal State, the eternal city of God, and the loyalty we owe to the State of today.<sup>69</sup>

The government's Military Service Bill of the following month introduced conscription with clauses allowing exemptions on various grounds including conscience. On 19 January 1916 at the Committee stage of the Bill Harvey spoke to express the Christian pacifist's objection to compulsory military service and his hopes for peace in the long term.

We profoundly believe that the soldier and the military system belong to a stage of society which has to be transcended, and that we are working towards a state of society in which war will be a thing of the past. We believe that if there are men who feel the importance of this and feel, above

---

<sup>68</sup> TEH to WH & AMH, Hill Court, Leeds, 29 August 1920.

<sup>69</sup> <https://www.parliament.uk/documents/WW1/duty-and-democracy-parliament-and-the-first-world-war.pdf> (2018) p.40.

'Parliamentary Debates 5<sup>th</sup> Series vol lxxvii pp 267-270.

all, that if they are obedient to the dictates of their religion and to all that which is dearest and best in life, they are bound to follow what they believe to be, not only the letter, but the spirit of the teaching of Christ.<sup>70</sup>

Additionally he made the point that those who did not take a definite religious standpoint were also entitled to consideration.<sup>71</sup> John William Graham praised the speech as worthy to rank with the utterances of John Bright.<sup>72</sup> Bert A. Campbell recalled how Harvey won the understanding of the House.<sup>73</sup> Arnold Stephenson Rowntree said he 'scored [...] a magnificent success [...] it was wonderfully done and made a very great impression.'<sup>74</sup> Harvey and Rowntree tabled an amendment that allowed tribunals to exempt conscientious objectors from all military service, non-combatant as well as combatant, if they performed work of national importance. Parliament rejected the amendment but the Cabinet decided to accept it hoping to avoid a confrontation with objectors. Interpretation of the amendment was left to tribunals, but some interpreted it narrowly so that men who would have been willing to do civilian work of national importance were forced into the army as unwilling non-combatants.<sup>75</sup>

To deal with this difficulty but not until the end of March, Walter Long at the Board of Trade set up a committee on work of national importance, known as the Pelham committee after its first chairman. Harvey's appointment to the Committee was to last for its duration.<sup>76</sup> Nicol says Harvey was straightaway under great

---

<sup>70</sup> Nicol 1 paragraph 22 quoting Graham 'Conscription & Conscience' p.55

<sup>71</sup> Hansard Parliamentary debates 5th series LXXVIII 19 January 1916 c. 431 ff

<sup>72</sup> J. W. Graham, *Conscription and Conscience: A History 1916-1919* (London: George Allen & Unwin) pp 55-56.

<sup>73</sup> *The Friend* 10 June 1955 p.620.

<sup>74</sup> Ian Packer, *The Letters of Arnold Stephenson Rowntree to Mary Katherine Rowntree, 1910-1918* p. 206

<sup>75</sup> John Rae, *Conscience and Politics: The British Government and the Conscientious Objector to Military Service, 1916-19* (Oxford University Press 1970) pp 45-6

<sup>76</sup> Order in Council dated 28 March 1916. Library of the Society of Friends TEMP MSS



pressure of work which ensued not only from the duties of the Pelham committee but also from his large and growing correspondence on conscription in general.<sup>77</sup>

However, the collection of Harvey papers at the Library of the Society of Friends, which are not personal papers but those of the Pelham committee which passed through Harvey's hands, show scant input by him. Routine casework was handled by the secretary, Harry Gibbon Pritchard, a professional civil servant, and the assistant secretary, Maurice Webb, a conscientious objector who was granted exemption on the condition he take the post.<sup>78</sup> Harvey's importance lay in giving strategic direction, which he did in four respects. Firstly, he tried to enlarge the Committee's scope to cover those men taken as soldiers whom the Army subsequently found to be unable conscientiously to undertake any military duty.<sup>79</sup> He was unsuccessful but these men were eventually dealt with under the scheme run by William Brace MP, an Under-Secretary of State at the Home Office.<sup>80</sup> Secondly, and more successfully, in April 1916 the Pelham committee issued a circular to tribunals listing occupations recommended as of national importance.<sup>81</sup> The circular and the recorded transcript of the preparatory meeting show Harvey's input to a carefully crafted piece of advice. For example, it avoided recommending placement in industries such as the docks or coal mining where the attitude of the work force might be problematic or in the fire service with its semi-military ethos. It also did not recommend agricultural work, for which most conscientious objectors, as town-dwellers, would be unsuited. On the other hand the circular used the good reputation of the Friends' Ambulance Unit, which had been operating since 1914, to draw attention to a range of suitable welfare

---

<sup>77</sup> Nicol1 paragraph 31

<sup>78</sup> Library of the Society of Friends TEMP MSS 835/8/1, 2

<sup>79</sup> Nicol1 paragraph 31

<sup>80</sup> Nicol1 p.12

<sup>81</sup> Library of the Society of Friends TEMP MSS 835/8/1

posts. Showing sensitivity to the general national mood of hostility to conscientious objectors, the circular advised against an exemptee gaining financially from a placement. Less to be expected in wartime but reflecting the influence of Harvey's pragmatism and liberal ethic, the circular counselled flexibility on the part of those concerned, tribunals and exemptees alike.<sup>82</sup> A mark of the success of the circular was that no further circular was issued and that the Pelham committee worked throughout the war, advising conscription tribunals on policy and practice and finding placements in all for some 4,000 men.<sup>83</sup> By his work in the Pelham committee, Harvey showed how as a Quaker and pacifist he was willing to contribute to the war effort, albeit indirectly, by administering the system for dealing with non-absolutist conscientious objectors.

Harvey's third strategic aim was to deal with flaws in the legislation. Tribunals hostile to conscientious objectors had interpreted the exemption in the Act of January 1916 as limiting a tribunal, in recognising a conscientious objection, to granting an exemption from combatant military service only, not from military service altogether. This ambiguity and other defects in the January Military Service Act were explained in a memo dated 2 May 1916 from Harvey and Arnold Stephenson Rowntree to Prime Minister Asquith, complaining that the Pelham Committee had been appointed two months too late and that inadequate use had been made of the provision for exemptions conditional upon engaging in work of national importance.<sup>84</sup> On 11 May Harvey sought to have an amending clause inserted into a further measure, the Military Service Bill of May 1916, to make clear that where exemption

---

<sup>82</sup> Library of the Society of Friends TEMP MSS 835/8/1

<sup>83</sup> T. Edmund Harvey, 'Records of Conscience': Review of John W. Graham, *Conscription and Conscience: A History 1916-1919* (London: George Allen & Unwin 1922) (*Friends Quarterly Examiner* vol 223 (1922)) pp 185-200.

<sup>84</sup> Library of the Society of Friends TEMP MSS 977/1/6

was not absolute it should be conditional upon work which does not involve service under any military authority.<sup>85</sup> Walter Long rejected the amendment but undertook to effect a change by administrative means, as indeed was already the case with the circular from the Pelham Committee which Harvey had helped draft. Although Harvey must have known the circular had been issued, he wanted a statutory amendment to give the advice further force.

Harvey's fourth strategic aim was to remove cases of conscience from military to civilian jurisdiction. He tried to use the second military service legislation, in May 1916, to secure an amendment that conscientious objectors who had been enlisted as soldiers but then had disobeyed orders on conscientious grounds should go before civil courts.<sup>86</sup> Harvey argued against the application by the Army to men who were soldiers in name only of judicial machinery designed for the punishment of ordinary acts of indiscipline. This led to an attack on Harvey in the popular press.<sup>87</sup> Beaverbrook's *The Globe* of 10 May 1916 reporting on Harvey's proposed amendment declared 'Mr. Harvey, M.P. moved an amendment yesterday that a conscientious objector who refused to obey an order given by his superior officer, after being tried by Court-Martial should have the right of trial by civil courts. We like Harvey's sauce!'<sup>88</sup> The point about transferring to the civil courts the cases of enlisted conscientious objectors was one he reiterated in his introduction to a book by the absolutist conscientious objector, Scott Duckers.<sup>89</sup> Harvey made clear that he

---

<sup>85</sup> New Clause —(Exemption on the Ground of Conscientious Objection.) 1916 HC Deb 11 May 1916 vol 82 cc1016-59

<sup>86</sup> Nicol 1 paragraph 41–42

<sup>87</sup> Nicol 1 paragraph 42

<sup>88</sup> Nicol 1 paragraph 42.

<sup>89</sup> J. Scott Duckers, *'Handed-over' : the prison experiences of Mr. J. Scott Duckers solicitor, of Chancery Lane, under the Military Service Act written by himself ; with foreword by T. Edmund Harvey.* (London : C. W. Daniel Ltd, 1917)

disagreed with Duckers' refusal to recognise the right of a tribunal to 'judge his conscience' but insisted that 'The offences for which Mr. Scott Duckers has been punished, and is still being punished, though technically separate breaches of military discipline, are in fact one offence only, his persistent refusal to be a soldier at all.'<sup>90</sup> The issue remained unresolved in the First World War and did not entirely disappear in the Second.

Once the Pelham committee had become established and routine business could be left to the secretariat, Harvey spent his time from the summer of 1916 onwards going back and forth to France for the Friends' War Victims Relief Committee. He continued to be in touch with the question of conscientious objection and to make occasional personal interventions. He spoke in the House, along with Arnold Stephenson Rowntree, on behalf of the Richmond Sixteen.<sup>91</sup> He appeared as a character witness for Clifford Allen at his court martial in August 1916.<sup>92</sup> Allen had been granted exemption from combatant and non-combatant service on condition that he engage in work of national importance but Allen told the court that he was already engaged in such work, this being peace propaganda. It speaks of Harvey's graciousness that he testified on Allen's behalf despite his defiance of the exemptions for which Harvey was largely responsible. Harvey realised, as Allen did not, the value of the concessions that the state had made to conscience. Harvey made this point on 25 October 1916 in bringing the cases of Malcolm Sparkes and Lawrence Deller to the attention of the House of Commons, when he acknowledged that the topic was difficult to raise with the country 'occupied with the grave military

---

<sup>90</sup> J. Scott Duckers, *'Handed-over'* Introduction p. v

<sup>91</sup> Conscientious Objectors, HC Deb 01 June 1916 vol 82 cc2890-3; <https://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/places/richmond-castle/history-and-stories/richmond-sixteen/> (accessed 07/08/2023)

<sup>92</sup> *The Tribunal* Iss. 23, (Aug 24, 1916) p.4

situation and the measures taken to meet it'.<sup>93</sup> His recognition of the pressures of war on the British state is especially conspicuous in the case of James Brightmore.<sup>94</sup> On 30 June 1917, the *Manchester Guardian* published, with severe editorial comment, a letter from Brightmore who had been refused exemption from conscription and sentenced to eight months imprisonment by a military court. On release and return to his Army unit, he was illegally put in solitary confinement and, equally illegally, not in detention barracks but in a military camp, in Cleethorpes, and in conditions which amounted to torture. The press exposure of this scandal, combined with pressure from Harvey and other MPs led to the dismissal of the commandant of the camp, Brigadier General G. S. Elliott. It was, however, characteristic of Harvey, says Silvanus Nicol, to feel concern over the fate of an officer whose previous record had been outstanding and whose exoneration Harvey sought.<sup>95</sup> The story did not end until May 1918 when, after three parliamentary interventions by Harvey, he was told that General Elliott was to be reappointed to the Army.

Harvey's moderate and balanced approach, as seen in the Brightmore case, together with his personal demeanour meant that his relations with those in power were often better than they were with fellow pacifists. His influence with the Cabinet is evident from their accepting the amendment of 19 January 1916. His personal reputation is evident from two letters. In May 1916 Walter Long, with whom, says Nicol, Harvey joined battle on many a parliamentary occasion, wrote Harvey an extraordinary letter praising his fairness and courage.

---

<sup>93</sup> den Boggende, Bert (2006) 'Reluctant Absolutist: Malcolm Sparkes' Conscientious Objections to World War I,' *Quaker Studies* Vol. 10 Iss. 1 (2006) Article 5 p.77

<sup>94</sup> Nicol1 pp 17–18.

<sup>95</sup> Nicol1 paragraph 59

Will you allow me to bear testimony to the moderation and absolute fairness, coupled with resolute courage, with which you have advocated the cause of the genuine conscientious objector. You have had to bear more than your share of responsibility in connection with this most difficult question.<sup>96</sup>

In June, General Nevil Macready, the Adjutant-General, who evidently regarded Harvey as the spokesman of the alternativists, did him the courtesy of writing to him about the Home Office scheme, which he hoped would put an end to controversy.

You will be glad to hear that the question of the C.O.'s is, I hope, reaching finality. If the Home Office proposals are adopted, I do not think there will be any more trouble once we have worked off the lot who have now got into the Service.<sup>97</sup>

As we have seen, such hopes were premature as difficulties persisted but the words of Long and Macready testify to the regard in which Harvey was held by the government and the military.

By contrast, less happy were Harvey's relations with other pacifists and peace campaigners. He refused to join the Union of Democratic Control, which wanted a compromise peace. He praised its first circular, issued on 5 September 1914, but told his father that he 'admires the aims but not the principles.'<sup>98</sup> By this he meant he approved of the aim of peace but did not wish to associate with those who saw a parity of culpability between Britain and Germany. He similarly avoided the No-Conscription Fellowship. Founded in 1914 by Fenner Brockway and Clifford Allen, the No-Conscription Fellowship was a campaigning body with an anti-war message but included Quakers like Edward Grubb and those like Clifford Allen whom Harvey accepted were genuine conscientious objectors whatever disagreements he had with them. It was the No-Conscription Fellowship, not the Quaker parliamentarians, which

---

<sup>96</sup> Letter to TEH 23 May 1916, quoted in Nicol 1 paragraph 62

<sup>97</sup> Nicol 1 paragraph 45

<sup>98</sup> TEH to William Harvey 19 November 1915

prevailed with the Quaker leadership when conscription was introduced in early 1916. The Quakers corporately adopted a position of unconditional opposition, holding that being compelled to serve in any capacity whatsoever was incompatible with a Christian's liberty of individual conscience.<sup>99</sup> This meant that careful positioning was required on Harvey's part when in the summer of 1916 the Government sought to suppress the No-Conscription Fellowship, raiding its offices and prosecuting its national committee. Harvey signed a public letter of protest saying that genuine conscientious objectors were not confined to religious organisations.<sup>100</sup> He pleaded with the No-Conscription Fellowship to reconsider their rejection of alternative service.<sup>101</sup> He regretted how the term had 'become coloured by the glow of controversy'.<sup>102</sup> His plea was to no avail. After the war he ironically remarked of the 1,500 conscientious objectors who would accept nothing but absolute exemption that by their actions 'they won few friends' for their cause.<sup>103</sup> He criticised the tone of some pacifists, who in the name of peace were 'proud, bitter and intolerant' of those with whom they disagreed.<sup>104</sup> He also said that not all those who 'resisted the claims of the state did so for the highest of motives.'<sup>105</sup> This was directed at the non-religious conscientious objectors with radical political views.<sup>106</sup> One such was Bertrand Russell, who wrote to Gilbert Murray on 17 April 1916 that 'Harvey and a few other elderly Quakers, against the corporate opinion of the

---

<sup>99</sup> 'On the passing of the Military Service Act 1916, London Yearly Meeting' (*Quaker Faith & Practice* 23.92).

<sup>100</sup> Nicol1 paragraph 47

<sup>101</sup> John Rae *Conscience and Politics*, pp 190-192

<sup>102</sup> *The Tribunal* 1916 (19), p.2

<sup>103</sup> 'Records of Conscience': Review by T. Edmund Harvey of John W. Graham, *Conscription and Conscience: A History 1916-1919* (London: George Allen & Unwin 1922) in *Friends Quarterly Examiner* vol 223 (1922) pp 185-200.

<sup>104</sup> 'Records of Conscience'

<sup>105</sup> 'Records of Conscience'

<sup>106</sup> Nicol 1 paragraph 47

Friends, particularly of the Young Friends (who are the ones directly concerned) have arrogated to themselves the right to say what conscientious objectors ought to do, and have concealed from the authorities the fact they disagreed with those for whom they professed to speak.<sup>107</sup> Russell's criticism was harsh and unfair. Firstly, by referring to Harvey as elderly Russell unkindly implied that the Quaker was being complacent because he was above the age of conscription. Secondly, it was unfair to accuse Harvey of saying what conscientious objectors ought to do. He was merely trying to get legislative protection for those who sought alternative service and was not pronouncing on what all conscientious objectors ought to do, although it is true, as we have seen, that Harvey believed the strict absolutists did their cause no good. Thirdly, Harvey was not trying to conceal from the authorities that the Quakers corporately had rejected conscription unconditionally. London Yearly Meeting was quite capable of making its own position clear, which it did in January 1916.<sup>108</sup> In any case, Harvey never claimed to be speaking on behalf of Quakers as a whole. Rather, he spoke in measured terms as a Liberal parliamentarian and Quaker for the right of the individual conscience in wartime.

Aside from the question of Harvey's difficulties with other pacifists and anti-war campaigners, there is the wider question of how well his actions protected the conscientious objector and what place he merits in the history of the right of conscience. As Harvey himself said afterwards, although modestly without mentioning his own contribution, it was remarkable that 'a state in the midst of a great

---

<sup>107</sup> Nicholas Griffin (ed.) *The Selected Letters of Bertrand Russell* (London: Routledge 2001) p.61  
Keith Robbins *The Abolition of War: the Peace Movement in Britain 1914-1919* (Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 1976) p.84  
Jo Vellacott, 'Bertrand Russell and the Pacifists in the First World War' (Brighton, Sussex: The Harvester Press 1980) pp 53–54

<sup>108</sup> Quaker Faith & Practice 23.92



war recognised the right of conscience, at any rate in principle, for its individual citizens.<sup>109</sup> Harvey cannot be given the sole credit for the statutory exemption from conscription for conscientious objectors. The Liberal government from the first accepted the principle of such an exemption, if more to placate their consciences about compulsion than to meet the needs of known objectors.<sup>110</sup> However, it was the amendment of 19 January 1916, Harvey's other parliamentary interventions, his good standing with the government and military, and the diligence with which he applied himself to legislative and administrative details that produced a practical and replicable model of alternative, non-military national service. By the time conscription was re-introduced in the prelude to the Second World War his presence in Parliament represented, even if it did not ensure, the continuity with the earlier pioneering arrangements and attested to their value. It is not an exaggeration to say that Harvey's achievement in 1916 was historic, because had he not been there, at the right time and place and with the right persona and set of skills, the lot of the conscientious objector would have been worse than it was. For example, Arnold Stephenson Rowntree, who unlike his brother-in-law supported the Union of Democratic Control, would for that reason have had less suasion with the authorities. In short, Harvey deserves a place in history for upholding the liberal principle of freedom of conscience and for using the principle of alternativism to moderate the clash of interests between the conscientious objector and the state.

---

<sup>109</sup> Friends World Conference 1937 proceedings pp 15-19

<sup>110</sup> Jo Vellacott, *Bertrand Russell and the Pacifists in the First World War* (Brighton, Sussex: The Harvester Press 1980) p.31

## De-selection

Resigning as a parliamentary private secretary when Britain entered into war was not Harvey's only sacrifice to conscience, for he was later de-selected by the local Liberals for his pacifist activities. While his service on the Pelham Committee led absolutist Friends to accuse him of compromise with the war state, Leeds Liberals became alarmed lest his actions for peace ruin their electoral chances. On 1 November 1916 the *Yorkshire Post* printed a letter from 'Lord Whingate', a pseudonym referring to a local area of Leeds, saying 'There is a strong revulsion of feeling against Mr Harvey in the constituency' and asking the West Leeds Liberals not to re-nominate him as their candidate.<sup>111</sup> Matters came to a head in March 1917, when Harvey appeared on a platform at the Stockton by-election with Edward Backhouse, a Quaker and family friend who was calling for peace by negotiation. Backhouse was the one candidate to stand against the Liberal bidding to succeed the previous Liberal MP, who had died in post.<sup>112</sup> In the event the Liberal candidate easily held the seat while Backhouse polled even less well than anticipated.<sup>113</sup> When challenged for his behaviour by Joseph Henry, the chairman of the constituency association, Harvey justified himself on the grounds that the time had been made right for a negotiated peace by the March revolution in Russia which had overthrown the tsarist autocracy and, Harvey had told his father, had made him 'jump for joy'.<sup>114</sup> He explained himself to Joseph Henry by a commentary on the international situation as to why the time was right for a negotiated peace ratified by democratic

---

<sup>111</sup> Milligan typescript chapter 13.

<sup>112</sup> Ian Packer (ed.), *The Letters of Arnold Stephenson Rowntree to Mary Katherine Rowntree* p.185.

<sup>113</sup> *The Times*, 21 March 1917 p.5

<sup>114</sup> TEH to WH 13 March 1917

institutions.<sup>115</sup> His constituency association were interested less in Harvey's views on the prospects for peace than in his disloyalty to the party. Following an interview, Harvey wrote in May 1917 offering to stand down with immediate effect.<sup>116</sup> He acknowledged that 'public duty and the thought of the great causes which we alike desire to serve must outweigh personal feelings', and suggested delicately that he was resigning on account of an issue which might later be seen in a different light.<sup>117</sup> The constituency association's executive, anxious not to act hastily, deferred a decision until the end of September. In the meanwhile, Harvey had a sympathetic letter from R. H. Tawney, whom he had known since their days at Toynbee Hall in the Workers' Educational Association.<sup>118</sup> Irene also wrote, 'The people of West Leeds must always continue to love and reverence thee and honour thee for thy faithfulness to the light as thou seest it.'<sup>119</sup> Following Harvey's letter of resignation the local Liberal association held a packed meeting and agreed that Harvey should not contest the next election, but when it came to the question of whether he should go immediately George Ratcliffe, the alderman who had succeeded Joseph Henry as local party president, intervened on Harvey's behalf. With Ratcliffe's persuasion the Leeds Liberals asked Harvey to retain his seat for the remainder of the life of the Parliament by expressing to him 'their high appreciation of all the services he has rendered in the great cause of social reform during the period he was their member prior to the war.'<sup>120</sup> The resolution added the recognition that in taking the course of action leading up to the severance, Harvey 'had always been guided by what he

---

<sup>115</sup> Milligan typescript chapter 13

<sup>116</sup> *Yorkshire Evening Post* - Saturday 29 September 1917 p.5

<sup>117</sup> Milligan typescript chapter 13 p.61/119

<sup>118</sup> Milligan p.61/119

<sup>119</sup> AIH to TEH Welders Wood 17 May 1917.

<sup>120</sup> *Yorkshire Evening Post* - Saturday 29 September 1917 p.5

believed right, and in the best interest of the country.<sup>121</sup> In September the resignation was accepted and announced to the press.<sup>122</sup> George Ratcliffe wrote to Harvey's father expressing his 'heartfelt regret'.<sup>123</sup> The upshot was that Harvey was not the Liberals' candidate for the seat of West Leeds at the election of December 1918. This brought forth commiserations from a Quaker serving in the military, Captain Glenvil Hall of the 11<sup>th</sup> Tank Battalion who 'did not follow your path in 1914 but have great admiration for the way you have maintained high standards amid the mad jingo clamour'.<sup>124</sup> Harvey was replaced by John Murray, who was the approved candidate of the coalition government in the 1918 election and took the seat in a four-cornered contest against Labour and independent opponents. To Harvey's dismay, Murray followed Hall's 'mad jingo clamour' by campaigning on the line pursued by the coalition, which was that of a harsh peace. On being sent a press cutting by his father Harvey replied, 'I was disappointed and sorry to read the extract from John Murray's speech and hope it doesn't really fully represent his thought.'<sup>125</sup>

The rupture with his constituency association reveals much of Harvey's character and his politics of pacifism. The break was precipitated by a principled act of indiscipline which Harvey must have known would have consequences. The grace with which he had stood down from West Leeds and the esteem in which he was held meant he remained on good terms with the Liberals of Yorkshire and went on to be nominated for other local seats, including Dewsbury, which he won in December 1923. Edward Milligan says he transformed what could have been an ugly episode

---

<sup>121</sup> *Yorkshire Evening Post* - Saturday 29 September 1917 p.5

<sup>122</sup> *Yorkshire Evening Post* - Saturday 29 September 1917 p.5

<sup>123</sup> Milligan typescript p. 58/119 ff

George Ratcliffe, *Sixty Years of It* (A. Brown & Son Ltd, London & Hull 1935) p.165

<sup>124</sup> W. G. Hall to Harvey 8 December 1918

<sup>125</sup> TEH to WH, Welders Wood, 1 December 1918

into a moving one because of his qualities of integrity, respect, and consideration which were his own and he was able to invoke in others.<sup>126</sup> As for the politics of pacifism and his justifying his support for peace by negotiation, Harvey shared what Michael Howard calls the central view of the Enlightenment, which was that wars would end when the ambitions of princes could be curbed by the sanity of ordinary men.<sup>127</sup> Harvey was disappointed in his hopes for the February/March revolution in Russia. The Bolsheviks who seized power in October/November 1917 made a separate and ignominious peace with Germany at Brest-Litovsk in March 1918, a peace which led to further war, as Harvey was to find for himself when he visited the region in 1920.<sup>128</sup> Russia's abandonment of its allies freed the Germans to launch a bid for victory in the West in the spring of 1918, a bid which failed. When by August 1918 an Allied victory was near, Harvey rose in Parliament to make publicly the point he had made to Joseph Henry, which was the desirability of a magnanimous and democratic peace by negotiation. He told the House how he agreed with those who said German militarism needed to be eradicated and the Germans to be taught that war did not pay in the long run, but he argued against a harsh peace which, he said, would contain the seeds of its own decay.<sup>129</sup> This speech presaged his position on the Versailles Treaty throughout the interwar period.

### Chapter summary

Chapter 3 deals with Harvey as a Quaker and a Liberal MP in the period 1910–18.

Harvey as a Quaker was committed to the peace testimony and as a Liberal MP to

---

<sup>126</sup> Milligan typescript chapter 13

<sup>127</sup> Michael Eliot Howard, *War and the Liberal Conscience* (London: Temple Smith 1978)

<sup>128</sup> See chapter 5.

<sup>129</sup> House Of Commons Thursday, 8th August, 1918. Column 1703 ff

supporting the party's power, values and programme. This chapter shows how he managed the ensuing tensions as an MP in peacetime, 1910–14, and in wartime, 1914–18. In the period of peace, he aligned himself with the Liberal Radical backbenchers on defence and overseas matters, opposing military expenditure and militarism and supporting international peace-building. On domestic matters, he supported harmonious industrial relations and the Liberal government's programme of welfare reforms. In the European crisis of July-August 1914 he implored Foreign Secretary Sir Edward Grey for one more effort for peace. The coming of war saw the passive and active consequences of Harvey's pacifism, passively with his resignation as a parliamentary private secretary and later his de-selection as an MP, and actively from 1914 with work for war victims in France and from 1916 for conscientious objectors at home. Harvey's alternativism complicated his position with the Quaker leadership, while his pacifism led to his de-selection by his constituency association.

## Chapter 4: Metropolitan anti-imperialist, 1910–1954

### Introduction

This chapter investigates Harvey as a metropolitan anti-imperialist, to take Nicholas Owen's term.<sup>1</sup> The chapter is in two parts. The first part is about Harvey's concerns with colonialism worldwide and in British dependencies in Africa. It starts with the issue of the exploitation of native labour in Portuguese Africa, that is, the question of the cocoa slaves. It also deals briefly with Harvey's concern for similar exploitation in South America, the Putumayo scandal. The focus moves to British Africa and the expropriation by the white settlers of the grazing lands of the Masai, on which Harvey campaigned before the First World War. The case of the Masai led to Harvey having an abiding concern with the issue of human rights in British Africa, to which he returned in his later parliamentary career. The first section ends with two further cases of global colonialism, which were Harvey's criticisms of European financial depredations on the nascent Chinese Republic in 1914 and the case thirty years later in British-mandated Palestine of the loss of the SS *Patria*, sunk in Haifa harbour by Jewish paramilitaries. The second part of the chapter deals with the interest in Indian independence taken by Harvey and the Quakers generally. Starting with his first public remarks in 1922, the section goes on to cover Harvey's visit to India in 1925–26, his meeting with Gandhi, and the gathering of London Yearly Meeting in 1930 at which the Quakers corporately embraced the cause of early independence. Harvey took a more cautious position and acted as an intermediary between government ministers and Quakers on the issue. Back in Parliament from March 1937, Harvey

---

<sup>1</sup> Nicholas Owen, *The British Left and India: Metropolitan Anti-Imperialism, 1885-1947* (Oxford University Press, 2007)

spoke in favour of inclusive negotiations for a constitutional settlement. He condemned the Indian National Congress party's campaigns of non-cooperation but urged leniency towards political prisoners. In 1946, the year after he left Parliament, came a clash over India with the Quaker Gandhian Horace Alexander over the question of spiritual imperialism, with another clash in 1954. The chapter ends by discussing Harvey's attitude to British imperialism.

## Global colonialism

### Cocoa slaves and the Putumayo scandal

Harvey played a part in the campaign against cocoa slavery, that is, the use of trafficked labour on the cocoa plantations of Portuguese Africa, which earned the Quaker chocolate manufacturers unfavourable publicity. When he raised the matter in a parliamentary question in May 1914, it had already been in contention since 1903.<sup>2</sup> Against the background of this long-running dispute and the threat it posed to the reputation of the Quakers, on 19 May 1914 Harvey asked an oral question in Parliament about the labourers on cocoa plantation on San Thome and Principe, islands off present-day Gabon. Harvey explained that the labourers were to be repatriated to the mainland from which they had been trafficked.<sup>3</sup> He was concerned that they should be paid the bonus that was promised to them under the agreement and that repatriation should proceed promptly. The Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Sir Francis Acland, complacently replied that the British government had to look to the government in Lisbon to press the local authorities in Africa, since

---

<sup>2</sup> Lowell Joseph Satre, *Chocolate on Trial: Slavery, Politics, and the Ethics of Business* (Athens: Ohio University Press 2005)

<sup>3</sup> San Thome and Principe – House of Commons Debate 19 May 1914 vol 62 col 1743



the islands were a Portuguese possession. Harvey raised the matter at this late stage in the controversy because it was a continuing issue for the anti-slavery lobby. A similar issue was the atrocious treatment of native workers on rubber plantations in South America, the Putumayo scandal. In a debate in the Commons in December 1912 Harvey made three short interventions to express concern, in one commending the reports on the scandal by Sir Roger Casement.<sup>4</sup>

### Human rights in British Africa

While Harvey had only a passing interest in the cocoa slaves and the Putumayo scandal, he had an abiding concern for human rights in the British dependencies. This was seen in the years 1911–14 with his campaign in press and Parliament against the loss of the grazing lands of the nomadic tribe of the Masai in British East Africa. As well as raising the matter in Parliament he contributed two articles to the periodical, *The Nation*. Of the outcome of the clash of interest between the Masai and the white settlers, he was eventually able to say of what he admitted was an imperfect story that at least the indigenous people had had recourse to British law.<sup>5</sup> The first of the two articles, 'Naboth's Vineyard', appeared in *The Nation* in July 1911 and followed a question from Harvey in Parliament in May about proposed changes to the Masai's reservations.<sup>6</sup> The title refers to the story in 1 Kings 21:1-16, about King Ahab and Queen Jezebel coveting a neighbour's property. In his article Harvey wrote of how the British colonialists were taking the best land from the Masai who were, he added ironically, 'an indigenous people who had the misfortune to be rich.'<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup> Peruvian Amazon Rubber Company. HC Deb 11 December 1912 vol 45 cc 438-40

<sup>5</sup> *The Nation* 21/6/1913, Vol 13 p 448

<sup>6</sup> 'Naboth's Vineyard' *The Nation* 8 July 1911 pp 528-529.

British East Africa Masai Reserves – House of Commons Debate 31 May 1911 vol 26 cols 1055-6

<sup>7</sup> 'Naboth's Vineyard'

He explained how in 1904 the then British Commissioner of the East African Protectorate, Sir Donald Stewart, had persuaded the Masai to leave the rich pastures in the Rift Valley for two reservations on high-lying territory elsewhere. He went on that in June 1911, a new governor, Sir Percy Girouard, had re-written Stewart's agreement because the Masai chiefs had consented to confine themselves to only one of the two reservations. Harvey said that the real reason was that the white settlers wanted the more valuable and accessible northern reservation. Harvey wrote, with another ironic flourish, that the colonial newspaper, the *East African Standard* of 10 June 1911, had 'ingenuously expressed the settlers' gratitude to His Excellency the Governor, who placed their cause so clearly before the Masai tribe as to cause them to realise the advantages to them of settlement in one reserve'.<sup>8</sup> Harvey's exposé won the support of Ramsay MacDonald, chairman of the Parliamentary Labour Party, who wrote to *The Nation* agreeing with Harvey that the expropriation of the Masai had been engineered for the benefit of envious settlers.<sup>9</sup> Harvey followed MacDonald's letter with one of his own giving further evidence of the mistreatment of the Masai and accusing the government of perfidy.<sup>10</sup> He wrote, 'Is it too late for the Colonial Secretary to send out a commission to enquire into the whole question and propose some safeguard for what is left of native rights?'<sup>11</sup> The government for its part, Harvey said in the article, asserted that the transfer of the Masai was to satisfy their own chief's wishes.

There the matter of the Masai rested for two years. In June 1913 Harvey returned to the attack in a second article in *The Nation*, entitled 'A Naboth's Vineyard

---

<sup>8</sup> 'Naboth's Vineyard'

<sup>9</sup> *The Nation* 15 July 1911 pp 573-574.

<sup>10</sup> *The Nation* 22 July 1911 p. 605

<sup>11</sup> *The Nation* 22 July 1911 p. 605

– the sequel’.<sup>12</sup> As before, the article followed a parliamentary question from Harvey, which was met by the government’s stock line that the change had been with the consent of the tribal chief.<sup>13</sup> Harvey wrote, using a sobriquet from Bunyan’s *The Pilgrim’s Progress*, ‘...beneath the shelter of a British Protectorate, the hand of Sir Having Greedy has been stretched out to seize the possessions of a savage tribe, unhappy in their too great wealth.’<sup>14</sup> The article went on to say how in the face of court action by tribesmen the Colonial Office in London had been trying to delay the colonial Governor’s action, but the last legal obstacles having been removed, the Governor had prevailed. The article referred to its prequel and to Ramsay MacDonald’s intervention in the House as exposing the Governor’s double-dealing. In the course of transfers from one reservation to another, Harvey continued, the Masai had suffered the immense economic loss of 97,000 cattle and 298,000 sheep. Harvey praised their steadfastness. ‘[T]he desire of these uneducated folk to keep what was once their own has taken an unconscionable time in dying’.<sup>15</sup> Further legal action by the Masai had finally failed, he wrote. Harvey concluded the article saying that ‘The imperfect story of our dealings with this people is not pleasant reading but at least we can be glad that under British rule it should be possible for a subject tribe to impugn the justice of the action even of the highest of the King’s officials.’<sup>16</sup> The following year, Harvey’s interest in East Africa resurfaced in the context of the issue of communal labour. From April 1914 Harvey, together with Josiah C. Wedgwood, started to press Lewis Harcourt, the Colonial Secretary, concerning aspects of a

---

<sup>12</sup> A Naboth’s Vineyard – the sequel’ *The Nation* 21/6/1913, Vol 13 pp 447-448

<sup>13</sup> Masai – House of Commons Debate 11 June 1913 vol 53 cc1603-4

<sup>14</sup> ‘Naboth’s Vineyard – the sequel’

<sup>15</sup> ‘Naboth’s Vineyard – the sequel’

<sup>16</sup> ‘Naboth’s Vineyard – the sequel’

report by the Native Labour Commission.<sup>17</sup> In July 1914 Harvey returned to the plight of the Masai, using an opportunity offered in the debate on the budget of the Colonial Office which took place on the very day that war was breaking out on the continent.<sup>18</sup> Harvey again called on the Government to maintain the unwritten rights of the Masai. He said the reservations were inadequate for their needs and they should be allowed to give their labour freely and not under compulsion.<sup>19</sup> He ended his speech with the quip against Kipling, 'while we talk very much about shouldering the white man's burden, we take great care to secure for ourselves the black man's land.'<sup>20</sup> There followed an exchange between Harcourt and an opposition MP, the Conservative William Joynson-Hicks, about forced labour in East Africa which revealed the practice existed albeit confined by ordinance to public work.<sup>21</sup> With that, the debate on the budget moved on and a few days later Britain was at war.

In 1924, when back in Parliament, Harvey again raised the question of human rights in Kenya, challenging a refusal by the then governing party, Labour, to publish a report about slave-trading in Abyssinia and elsewhere.<sup>22</sup> Harvey saw this as the Colonial Office being reluctant to support native rights in Kenya.<sup>23</sup> Asquith, who at this point was back in Parliament and leading the Liberal party, told Harvey it was his duty to be part of the investigative parliamentary commission that was to go to East Africa. John Hobbs Harris, a Quaker Liberal MP and anti-slavery campaigner,

---

<sup>17</sup> Opolot Okia, 'Forced labor and humanitarian ideology in Kenya, 1911–1925' (PhD dissertation West Virginia University, 2002)

*East Africa Protectorate: Native Labour Commission* (Government Printer, Nairobi 1913)

<sup>18</sup> House of Commons Debate 28 July 1914 vol 65 cols 1145-1204

<sup>19</sup> Opolot Okia, *Communal Labor in Colonial Kenya: The Legitimization of Coercion, 1912-1930* (Palgrave Macmillan US, 2012) p.56

<sup>20</sup> House of Commons Debate 28 July 1914 vol 65 col 1154

<sup>21</sup> House of Commons Debate 28 July 1914 vol 65 col 1177

<sup>22</sup> Contract Labour And Slavery HC Deb 21 May 1924 vol 173 cc2167-9.

<sup>23</sup> TEH to AIH House of Commons 16 June 1924

agreed with Asquith but in the event Reginald Berkeley took the place.<sup>24</sup> Harvey continued to keep in touch with affairs in Africa. In November 1928 he presided at the opening of the Belgian Congo Mission, speaking of the deplorable wrongs done by the West in the Congo.<sup>25</sup> On 3 April 1930 he had tea with Tcheledi, regent-king of the Bamangwato tribe, who was in London to rally support from potential sympathisers of an anti-imperialist disposition, such as Lord Passfield, for one of his series of power struggles with the British authorities.<sup>26</sup> Native rights in Kenya were again in Harvey's mind when he wrote to the press in January 1933 about the threat to a native reserve in Kavirondo on the shore of Lake Victoria through the discovery of gold.<sup>27</sup> Harvey supported a measure proposed by Lord Passfield for compensating the natives with land of equivalent value and extent, which would avert the danger that the government would break its plighted word on native land rights. Harvey noted that Passfield's measure had the support of Lord Lugard, 'one of the wisest and most honoured of Colonial experts'.<sup>28</sup> Without mentioning his own earlier involvement, Harvey reminded the newspaper's readers of Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald's radical past when twenty years earlier he had defended the rights of another East African tribe to the land of which they had been deprived. Harvey asked the Government to withdraw legislative amendments which would undermine the principles 'which they have in the past notably maintained, to safeguard the rights of the natives and preserve their confidence in British justice.'<sup>29</sup> His representations had some effect, because compensation was made payable, but local dissatisfaction with

---

<sup>24</sup> TEH to AIH House of Commons 18 June 1924. TEH to AIH 30 June 1924.

<sup>25</sup> *Leeds Mercury* 8 November 1928 p.3.

<sup>26</sup> TEH and AIH to WMH June 1919

<sup>27</sup> *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer* - Monday 16 January 1933 p.6

<sup>28</sup> *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer* - Monday 16 January 1933 p.6

<sup>29</sup> *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer* - Monday 16 January 1933 p.6

the level of payments was not assuaged either by a ban in 1933 on prospecting in two populous locations or by the eventual addition of forest to the reserve.<sup>30</sup> When back in Parliament for his third term, Harvey continued to follow the issue of Africans' rights. With the coming of war, there were such measures as labour conscription. Harvey put parliamentary questions scrutinising these measures and highlighting wartime economic privation in British Africa and matters of land, labour rights and racial discrimination.<sup>31</sup> In August 1942 he spoke at length in a debate on colonial affairs and the report by Lord Hailey. He urged a deeper understanding of the concept of trusteeship, criticised the extension of forced labour in wartime and raised the possibility of reparations for slavery.<sup>32</sup> In September 1943, he took up in the House the case of the discrimination against the 'coloured subject', the cricketer Learie Constantine and his family, an early instance of an anti-racist stance by a British Quaker.<sup>33</sup>

### International Extortion in China

Harvey was alert to possible abuses by British and European colonial powers but ignored them in the case of a non-European power, Japan. The evidence comes from an article in January 1914 on the scheme by the new but faltering republic of China for making good losses to foreigners incurred during the turbulent revolution of

---

<sup>30</sup> A. D. Roberts, 'The Gold Boom of the 1930s in Eastern Africa.' *African Affairs* 85, no. 341 (1986): 545-62.

<sup>31</sup> Northern Rhodesia (African Mine Workers) March 1941 HC Deb 12 March 1941  
Northern Rhodesia (Compulsory Native Labour) HC Deb 24 June 1942 vol 380 cc1964-5 1964  
Kenya And Nigeria (Compulsory Labour) HC Deb 10 November 1942 vol 383 cc2294-6  
Northern Rhodesia (Land Reservation) HC Deb 20 January 1943 vol 386 c249W 249W  
Kenya (Land Settlement) HC Deb 10 November 1943 vol 393 cc1165-6W 1165W  
Colonies (International Labour Conventions) HC Deb 26 April 1944 vol 399 c763  
African Soldiers (Corporal Punishment) HC Deb 12 June 1945 vol 411 cc1611-20 1611

<sup>32</sup> Colonial Affairs. August 1942 HC Deb 04 August 1942 vol 382 cc932-1002

<sup>33</sup> Coloured Subjects (Discrimination) HC Deb 23 September 1943 vol 392 cc443ff.

1911 which had overthrown the imperial dynasty.<sup>34</sup> The scheme entailed the international powers lending to China to fund such compensation. The claims for compensation were in addition to those made for losses during the Boxer rebellion of 1899–1901. In his article, Harvey accused some of the foreign powers of using the scheme extortionately. He condemned the sizes of the claims but without discussing what his own data showed, which was that in terms of absolute amounts the leading claimant was Japan. Harvey reserved his criticism for the continental European powers, particularly France and Germany but also Russia to a lesser extent, while treating kindly the actions and involvement of Britain and the United States.

It speaks ill for the civilisation of the western world that at a time when China opened her doors as never before to the co-operation of foreigners, and when the breath of a new Spring is passing across her vast provinces, her leading citizens seeking to win for their country the fruits of European science and culture, this rebirth of a great nation should be hindered and not helped by the representatives of the very peoples to whom China has turned for guidance.<sup>35</sup>

Harvey's data shows that the French and Germans were especially greedy in their claims, at \$6,627,000 and \$9,920,000 respectively. He passed over the larger Japanese claim, for \$11,000,000, without comment. It may be that he saw Japan's claim on China as reasonable in terms of the amount per head of persons affected, because Japan's claim was only \$140 per head affected whereas Germany's was \$3,597 and France's \$3,443. It may also be that he considered Japan a legitimately aggrieved neighbour or that he did not feel it was his part as a European to comment on the actions of a non-European state, one with whom Britain had established equitable diplomatic relations. Rather, he seems to have set higher standard for France and Germany than he did for Japan. The article evinces eurocentricism on

---

<sup>34</sup> 'International Extortion in China', *The Contemporary Review*, January 1914 pp 316–20.

<sup>35</sup> 'International Extortion in China' p. 316.

Harvey's part and suggests that, deliberately or otherwise, he did not always apply his values globally or universally.

### Palestine and the SS Patria

Decades later, Harvey's interest in the case of the SS Patria illustrated a Quaker's benign neutrality in the conflict between Jew and Arab. In September 1943 Harvey spoke in Parliament about a case in British-mandated Palestine, that of the ocean liner, the SS Patria, sunk in Haifa harbour in 1940 by Jewish paramilitaries.<sup>36</sup> He returned to the matter at length in February 1945.<sup>37</sup> As he explained to the House of Commons, the case of the SS Patria involved 1,800 Jewish refugees who had reached British-mandated Palestine five years earlier.

[They] were confined on arriving there, on the grounds that they had not the necessary legal visas and permits, and they were to have been sent by the Government elsewhere. They were placed, in November 1940, to the number of about 1,800, on board the French steamship "Patria" which was lying at that time in Haifa harbour [...] On 25th November, a terrible explosion took place, resulting in the ship heeling over and almost sinking, and, as a result of that terrible disaster, about 250 of these people lost their lives. There were some 1,500 survivors.[...] A commission of inquiry found that the loss of the Patria was due to sabotage by Jewish sympathisers ashore with the co-operation of at least one person on board the ship [...] It was a terrible crime and a terrible disaster.<sup>38</sup>

Harvey explained to the House that with the loss of the ship the luggage of the survivors had been taken ashore and placed in official custody but there pilfered. The government had refused earlier requests to compensate the survivors for their losses, saying that there was no legal obligation and it ran counter to the policy established in 1939 of limiting Jewish immigration and maintaining the Arabs'

---

<sup>36</sup> Jewish Refugees, SS "Patria" HC Deb 22 September 1943 vol 392 cc187

<sup>37</sup> HC Deb 21 February 1945 vol 408 cc907-22.

<sup>38</sup> HC Deb 21 February 1945 vol 408 cc907-22



numerical superiority in Palestine.<sup>39</sup> Harvey pleaded for special assistance by way of an *ex gratia* payment to those Jewish refugees whom the government had allowed to land from the *Patria*, on the grounds that the violent action of Jewish militants had prevented their being shipped elsewhere as the government had intended to do. Harvey romanticised the Arabs, claiming that they would not object to compensation for the survivors.

The devout Arab, to his honour, recognises mercy and compassion as divine attributes. The Arabs honour those in power who show mercy and compassion, and I believe they will honour the Colonial Secretary and the Government of Palestine—if they show it now.<sup>40</sup>

The government refused. The Secretary of State for the Colonies, Oliver Stanley, said the refugees were part of an organised attempt to defeat the law – that is, the law restricting Jewish immigration – and called the Jews’ failure to help ‘a terrible indictment of their own community in Palestine.’<sup>41</sup> The case of the *SS Patria* was never resolved, like that of Palestine generally. Harvey’s hope for a generous settlement came up against the hard reality of an intractable conflict.

## India

### Hope for India

Harvey’s adherence to a benign, progressive form of British colonial administration, supportive of minority rights, is best seen in his hope over some twenty-five years for India to become a settled, self-governing nation within the British Commonwealth. This political conviction went along with a religious belief that Quakerism and Christianity had a special value and a role in bringing about change for the better on

---

<sup>39</sup> The Marquess Of Dufferin And Ava: Palestine: HL Deb 23 May 1939 vol 113 cc84

<sup>40</sup> HC Deb 21 February 1945 vol 408 cc 912.

<sup>41</sup> HC Deb 21 February 1945 vol 408 cc 913

the sub-continent. This section of the chapter begins in 1922, when Harvey first spoke publicly about India, and goes on to cover his visit to the sub-continent in 1925–26, when he met Gandhi. The section then deals with events before and after the crucial London Yearly Meeting of 1930, when the Quakers embraced the cause of swift independence. In Parliament from March 1937 he pursued his belief in the gradual progress of a united India to self-governing status within the British Commonwealth and a kindred belief in goodwill and cooperation between the multifarious players at home and in India as the best means of achieving this. He acted in this vein himself, lobbying government ministers on behalf of the Quakers and the India Conciliation Group in the cause of peace and reconciliation in India. His last speech in Parliament was a paean to British constitutional democracy as a model for India. In 1946 his disagreement with Horace Alexander, a leading Gandhian in the Society, over the history of Quakers in India reflected differences of understanding in the Society about its history. The following year saw India gain its independence but also the chaos of partition, a source of bitter disappointment to the Quakers. Harvey had another tussle with Horace Alexander as late as 1954. The conclusion is that Harvey was part of the liberal British mainstream on India, that his faith and political convictions led him towards the centre ground and that he did what he could to bring about a peaceful settlement.

#### First public statement 1922

Harvey's first public statement on India came in 1922, when he spoke locally for a gradual move to Indian self-government and against anti-Indian behaviour. Having been de-selected as MP for West Leeds but nonetheless retaining the Liberals' goodwill, he became their prospective parliamentary candidate for another Yorkshire

constituency, Dewsbury.<sup>42</sup> In that capacity, in March 1922 he gave an address on current affairs to the Women's Liberal Association of Ilkley, Yorkshire. He spoke of looking forward to the time when India would be as a nation in the great commonwealth of the Empire. Referring to the hopes raised by the Government of India Act 1919 as well as to the growing anti-British agitation in India, Harvey said, 'There could be no sudden transformation; but if it was made clear that India should have Home Rule in a short time, the whole movement against the English Government would change.'<sup>43</sup> Harvey spoke against racism, encouraging his audience to welcome visiting Indian students. 'A great fault in the past had been that Indians in England had been practically boycotted socially, and they had gone back feeling very bitter.' He encouraged his audience to bridge this gulf and see that Indians returned to India with a good impression of English people and English homes.<sup>44</sup>

### Visit 1925–26

Harvey's understanding of India was enhanced by his visit in the winter of 1925–26, which taught him the importance of Quakerism and Christianity to the sub-continent and the danger posed by militant Hindu populism. Harvey went out as chairman of the Quakers' Council for International Service and on behalf of Friends Foreign Mission Association, Irene accompanying him at her father-in-law's expense.<sup>45</sup> Other members of the party were the Quaker artist Percy Bigland, who died shortly after his

---

<sup>42</sup> See chapter 3

<sup>43</sup> *Leeds Mercury* - Thursday 23 March 1922 p.4

<sup>44</sup> *Shipley Times and Express* - Friday 24 March 1922 p.5; *Leeds Mercury* - Thursday 23 March 1922 p.4

<sup>45</sup> TEH to David Blleloch, 6 April 1925

return to England, Bigland's wife Edith and M. Catharine Albright.<sup>46</sup> Irene took the opportunity of the visit to study Indian horticulture.<sup>47</sup> Harvey had a brief interview with Gandhi at Cawnpore at the end of December 1925, to thank him for his message of non-violence.<sup>48</sup> Harvey reported that 'His expression was very wonderful. He looks up with a beautiful and penetrating smile and gaze which lights up and transforms his features.'<sup>49</sup> Harvey reported that Gandhi was in poor health from fasting and that he was natural and unpontifical in manner. Harvey was struck by his utter simplicity of bearing and sensed that politics tired him.<sup>50</sup> Afterwards, in 1931, Harvey said, 'Mr. Gandhi has been caricatured as a half-naked fanatic, but he is a great man. I cannot say I agree with all his views, yet I am convinced of his great sincerity and unselfish devotion to India's cause.'<sup>51</sup> Aside from the impression that the Hindu leader made on Harvey, the visit to India convinced him of the special role that Quakers had to play in bringing peace and harmony to the sub-continent. Reporting back to the Council for International Service in May 1926, he spoke of 'the extraordinary need in India today of the message Friends may give.'<sup>52</sup> He told the readers of *The Friend* that Quakers that they could make a peace appeal like no other, to all religious and social groups, to Indian Christians and Brahmins alike.<sup>53</sup> Harvey used a Baptist periodical to record his impressions of India at length and to show the importance of

---

<sup>46</sup> London Yearly Meeting Proceedings 1926 p.43. *The Friend* 21/5/1926 p.425. The Daily Telegraph 10 April 1926.

<sup>47</sup> Irene Harvey 'The Garden of India' *The Friend* 21/5/1926 p.419

<sup>48</sup> *The Friend* 29/1/26 p.82

<sup>49</sup> *The Friend* 29/1/26 p.82

<sup>50</sup> *The Friend* 29/1/26 p.82.

<sup>51</sup> 'Mr. Gandhi "a great man." Tribute to Indian Leader at a Lancaster Meeting. Speaker who met him at the Cawnpore Conference.' *Lancashire Evening Post* - Friday 13 March 1931 p.3.

<sup>52</sup> *The Friend* 21/5/1926 p.425

<sup>53</sup> *The Friend* 21/5/1926 p.425

Christianity there.<sup>54</sup> He told the readership of the *Baptist Layman* how India was a 'strange world of intersecting and interwoven civilisations, races and religions of which his journeyings have given him but a glimpse.'<sup>55</sup> He commended the work of Christian missionaries in spreading the message of Christ the Master through higher education in the cities and humble work in the countryside.<sup>56</sup> He wrote that the Christian colleges like Serampore College had 'an exceptional position in public esteem, even amongst those hostile to other mission work.'<sup>57</sup> He commended the simple work being done by missionaries in the villages and hamlets of the uplands, amongst the primitive tribes and 'those vast masses of the Indian people who are outside the caste system.'<sup>58</sup>

Often burdened by financial difficulties, weary and overworked and at times in great loneliness of spirit, the missionaries work on at a nobler task than we have most of us as yet realised though we shall learn more of what it means as we begin to make our own the thought of the great prayer "Thy Kingdom come on earth as it is in Heaven".<sup>59</sup>

Harvey closed the article by looking forward to an Indian Christianity which was culturally ethnic but theologically universal.

We have much to learn from India and her age-long search for God. We shall have still more to learn as Indian Churches in their Indian way give to the world a new translation of the eternal message of Christ.<sup>60</sup>

Harvey's praise for Christian missionaries to the readers of the *Baptist Layman* was complemented by antagonism towards militant Hindu nationalists. In his report to the Council for International Service, he said that the need for Friends'

---

<sup>54</sup> 'A Traveller's Glimpse of Mission Work in India' *The Baptist Layman* (No. 86 October-December 1926) p.99-106

<sup>55</sup> 'A Traveller's Glimpse of Mission Work in India'

<sup>56</sup> 'A Traveller's Glimpse of Mission Work in India'

<sup>57</sup> 'A Traveller's Glimpse of Mission Work in India'

<sup>58</sup> 'A Traveller's Glimpse of Mission Work in India'

<sup>59</sup> 'A Traveller's Glimpse of Mission Work in India'

<sup>60</sup> 'A Traveller's Glimpse of Mission Work in India'

message of peace and reconciliation was the greater because of those in the independence movement who were calling for compulsory military training in schools so that students could fight the British.<sup>61</sup> He repeated his warning about Hindu militancy and militarism in an article for *The Friend* about the Bengali poet, Rabindranath Tagore.<sup>62</sup> Tagore, Harvey wrote, 'stands apart from all other Indian writers in his deep love of all that is noblest and best in Indian life and in India's past, going along with a courageous refusal to bow the knee to a false idolisation of that past or to a narrow and militaristic nationalism.' He commended Tagore's attacks on child marriage and on the 'cowardly braggarty of patriotic bullies.'<sup>63</sup> In December 1928 Harvey presided at a meeting of students of Leeds University, including many Indian students, addressed by C. F. Andrews, the veteran independence campaigner. Harvey heard Andrews contrasting Tagore with Gandhi, describing the latter as 'the prophet and puritan, the rugged man of action, the pacifist who is a man of war'.<sup>64</sup> In so saying Andrews identified the problem with Gandhi's *satyagraha* which was to tax the Quakers.

#### London Yearly Meeting 1930

After his return from India in May 1926 and into his time back in Parliament from March 1937, Harvey continued to be active on India. He records how the 'India Wider Service Committee' met Rufus Jones in January 1927.<sup>65</sup> Harvey was part of the Quaker-sponsored Indian Information Bureau set up by a group of Indians and British

---

<sup>61</sup> *The Friend* 21/5/1926 p.425

<sup>62</sup> Review of Edward John Thompson, *Rabindranath Tagore his life and work* (Association Press YMCA, 1921). *The Friend* 10/12/26 pp 1105-7

<sup>63</sup> Review of Edward John Thompson, *Rabindranath Tagore his life and work*

<sup>64</sup> Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer - Saturday 01 December 1928 p.14

<sup>65</sup> TEH to AIH Friends House 18 January 1927

to promote understanding and goodwill.<sup>66</sup> He worked hard for a time, telling Irene while travelling by train, 'I am signing 1000 letters for the Indian Information Bureau, which I think will last almost to Carlisle'.<sup>67</sup> However, there was little public interest in the Bureau so it was wound up.<sup>68</sup> Though it was short-lived it was an instance of the diversification of the old missionary pattern that took place in the years following the First World War.<sup>69</sup> The weakening in the Society's Christian identity was further evident when in 1927 the Friends Foreign Mission Association, which as its name suggests concentrated on Christian missionary work, was absorbed by the Friends Service Council, which had been set up in 1919 as the Council for International Service and concentrated on service without proselytising.<sup>70</sup> The loosening in Quakers' public Christian identity and their wish to embrace religious diversity was apparent at the London Yearly Meeting of 1930, which was pivotal to their involvement in the issue of Indian independence. Inspired by an address from the Bengali poet Rabindranath Tagore, the Meeting minuted asking politicians to take the chance of early and full independence.

The Society of Friends believes that God reveals Himself in the hearts of all men. This belief makes us advocates of freedom and inspires us to take the risks of freedom rather than maintain a system of tutelage, however beneficent it may have been both in purpose and results, which is now felt to be galling to an awakened and developed India.<sup>71</sup>

---

<sup>66</sup> Marjorie Sykes, *An Indian Tapestry: Quaker Threads in the History of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh* (York: Sessions Book Trust 1997) p. 235

<sup>67</sup> TEH to AIH Rydal House 14 July 1927

<sup>68</sup> Marjorie Sykes, *An Indian Tapestry: Quaker Threads in the History of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh* (York: Sessions Book Trust 1997) p. 249

<sup>69</sup> John Ormerod Greenwood: *Quaker Encounters: vol 3: Whispers of Truth* (York: William Sessions 1978) p. 324.

<sup>70</sup> John Ormerod Greenwood, *Quaker Encounters: Vol 3: Whispers of Truth* (York, England: William Sessions 1978) p.291

<sup>71</sup> Joanna C. Dales, 'John William Graham (1859-1932): Quaker Apostle Of Progress' (Unpublished PhD thesis University of Birmingham 2016) p.341

In the face of opposition to the minute from John William Graham, who accused the Meeting of siding with rebellion, Harvey hesitated, saying the minute's true value would be lost if real prayer was not behind it.<sup>72</sup> He invoked the liturgical tool of calling for a period of silence so the meeting could unite in the 'deepest place to pray for India, the Government and all those in positions of responsibility.'<sup>73</sup> Whatever may have been his discomfort with the minute's emphasis on early independence, Harvey acted in unity with the text, joining Carl Heath and others in the Indian Affairs Committee that London Yearly Meeting appointed to present the Quakers' position to the government.<sup>74</sup> Harvey's conduct of the deputation subsequently made to the government earned the thanks of the Viceroy of India, Lord Irwin, who assured him 'No trouble is too great if we succeed in the great purpose of retaining India as a willing partner in Imperial Society.'<sup>75</sup> The Viceroy expressed concern to Harvey about the danger of the remoteness of the British from knowledge of the facts, for which he blamed journalists like J. L. Garvin, but Irwin thought that this would gradually be remedied.<sup>76</sup> It may be that the wily Irwin was slyly implying that the Quakers, Harvey excepted, were deficient in knowledge of the true state of Indian affairs. For his part Harvey commended Irwin's 'wonderful work' in entering into discussions directly with Gandhi and described him as 'one of the greatest Viceroys India had ever had.'<sup>77</sup> There was unity in the Liberal party on India, Harvey earning thanks from its deputy

---

<sup>72</sup> John Ormerod Greenwood, *Quaker Encounters: Vol 3: Whispers of Truth* (York, England: William Sessions 1978) p.348

<sup>73</sup> Marjorie Sykes, *An Indian Tapestry: Quaker Threads in the History of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh* (York: Sessions Book Trust 1997) p.240

<sup>74</sup> TEH to AIH 20 May 1930

Marjorie Sykes, *An Indian Tapestry* p.240

<sup>75</sup> Irwin to Harvey, Simla, 5 August 1930

<sup>76</sup> Irwin to Harvey, Simla, 5 August 1930

<sup>77</sup> Leeds Mercury - Monday 13 April 1931 p.3



leader, Herbert Samuel, for his support of the latter's remarks on the subject.<sup>78</sup>

Harvey was active locally as well as nationally. Addressing the Salem Brotherhood in October 1930 on the topic of the Round Table conference then taking place in London, he regretted that the Indian Congress party was holding aloof from the conference but urged progress towards Indian self-rule.

We here in England have to recognise the fact, whether we like it or not, that Indians want to govern themselves in their own country, and that sooner or later we shall have to meet them in a spirit of equality [...] We have to set before us the ideal, not of domination, but of service and co-operation, and meet the peoples of India in that spirit. Only then can we hope to succeed.<sup>79</sup>

The Quakers' turn to the cause of early Indian independence was cemented by Gandhi's visit to England in 1931.<sup>80</sup> The setting up of the India Conciliation Group that year led to the laying down in 1934 of the Indian Affairs Committee. Meanwhile, the Committee spent its time promulgating the view that repression was no remedy to the disturbances in India. Prime Minister Ramsay Macdonald, Harvey's colleague from the campaign on behalf of the Masai, did him the courtesy of writing in a personal capacity to the Committee advising them that 'There was widespread conspiracy to murder, which simply had to be dealt with by oppressive administration.'<sup>81</sup>

The India Conciliation Group was not officially a Quaker body but it had predominantly Quaker personnel, with Carl Heath as its chairman and Horace Alexander as its field worker. It also had the Quaker approach to mediation, trusting

---

<sup>78</sup> Herbert Samuel to TEH, Paddington, 20 August 1930

<sup>79</sup> Leeds Mercury - Monday 27 October 1930 p.2. On the Salem brotherhood see chapter 5

<sup>80</sup> James D. Hunt, *Gandhi in London* (New Delhi: Promilla, 1978) pp220-221

<sup>81</sup> Indian Affairs Committee 1932 MS Box 11.1/3 LSF

in the integrity and religious faith of all participants in the processes.<sup>82</sup> Harvey used his contacts in government to help the Group meet ministers. In 1932 he took Carl Heath and others to see Samuel Hoare, the Secretary of State for India whom he had known in Parliament before the First World War and was of Quaker lineage. Harvey told Irene that Sir Samuel 'wondered if Friends had really got sufficiently in touch with the large anti-Congress element in India.'<sup>83</sup> In this instance Harvey used the view of a third party to express a thought which was his own mind but he was too cautious to express openly. As Lord Irwin had noticed, in liaising between Quaker Gandhians and the government, Harvey was quietly working to get the government to influence the Quakers, rather than the other way round, and to curb Quaker enthusiasm for precipitous Indian independence.

#### In Parliament, 1937–45

Harvey's return to Parliament in March 1937 gave him an enhanced platform for the Quaker message about India. It also improved his position as an intermediary between the Quakers and the government. In the years until his retirement in June 1945 he spoke in Parliament to support measured steps to independence, to draw attention to the complexity of the Indian scene, and to urge leniency towards political prisoners and inclusive negotiations between the multifarious sides to achieve a just and harmonious settlement. Harvey's messages were directed not only at the peacetime Conservative-led National government and then the wartime coalition but also indirectly at Gandhi's over-ardent supporters. The first instance of such a message, which highlighted the complexity of India's politics and cultures, was in

---

<sup>82</sup> John Ormerod Greenwood, *Quaker Encounters: Vol 3: Whispers of Truth* (York, England: William Sessions 1978) p.347.

<sup>83</sup> TEH to AIH Rydal House 30 May 1932

February 1938, when he asked a question about the primitive tribes, or hill people, and plans for the appointment of qualified persons to have charge of their interest.<sup>84</sup> Harvey implied that such qualified persons could be of the sort of Christian missionaries whose work he had commended to the readers of the *Baptist Layman*. Two months later, in April 1938, he asked about a shooting incident in Mysore when a village crowd had been dispersed by rifle fire.<sup>85</sup> The reply from the government pointed out that Mysore was under the authority of the Maharaja, which was a reminder that imperial India included semi-sovereign princely states and that law and order were not exclusively for the British authorities. In November 1939, Harvey issued a circular to the constituents of the Combined English Universities dealing with matters of the day, particularly the war which had broken out two months previously but also the need for continuing search for a political settlement in India.<sup>86</sup> On 25 January 1940, in the first outing by Harvey of the issue which led to the partition of India, he put a question in the House about allegations made by M. A. Jinnah on behalf of the Muslim League concerning the treatment of minorities by the Congress-dominated provincial governments.<sup>87</sup> Harvey's purpose in these questions was to point out that there were interests at stake in India other than those of the leaders of the Hindu majority.

In September 1939 India was again taken into a British war, inflaming the independence movement and offering political opportunities to its leaders. In August 1940 Agatha Harrison, secretary of the India Conciliation Group, consulted Harvey

---

<sup>84</sup> Excluded And Partially Excluded Areas – HC Deb Monday 14 February 1938 vol 331 col 1500

<sup>85</sup> Hansard India Volume 336: debated on Monday 30 May 1938 col 1625

<sup>86</sup> *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer* - Monday 27 November 1939 p.3

<sup>87</sup> HC Deb 25 January 1940 vol 356 cc767-8

about the impasse over the August Offer.<sup>88</sup> This was an offer made by Viceroy and Governor General Linlithgow promising the expansion of his Executive Council to include more Indians, the establishment of an advisory war council, the giving of full weight to minority opinion, and the recognition of Indians' right to frame their own constitution after the end of the war. In return, Linlithgow hoped that all parties and communities in India would cooperate with Britain's war effort. The prospects for a positive response from the Indian side were hampered more by disagreements amongst those representing the different groups as between the Indians and the British. Harrison asked Harvey if the Group could meet MPs who paid special attention to India.<sup>89</sup> It is not known what became of this request but the impasse in India continued. In February 1941 Harvey spoke in Parliament to urge the government to use ways to bring the factions together.<sup>90</sup> On 28 April 1941 he and other prominent Quakers published an open letter on the same theme, calling for measures to 'end dangerous tensions' in India.<sup>91</sup> One way to do so, Harvey believed, was to bring more Indians into positions of power, as had been proposed in the offer of August 1940. In a letter to the *Manchester Guardian* in August 1941 he praised a government announcement increasing the number of Indian members of the Governor General's Executive Council.<sup>92</sup> Far from being routine the announcement meant, Harvey wrote, a great advance towards Indian self-government which would increase mutual respect through interdependence rather than independence and isolation.<sup>93</sup> One of those appointed to the Executive Council was the constitutional

---

<sup>88</sup> Agatha Harrison to Harvey 27th August 1940, Library of the Society of Friends Temp MSS 48/7/5

<sup>89</sup> Agatha Harrison to Harvey 27th August 1940, Library of the Society of Friends Temp MSS 48/7/5

<sup>90</sup> HC Deb 06 February 1941 vol 368 cc1055-6.

<sup>91</sup> *The Bombay Chronicle* 28 July 1941 p. 2

<sup>92</sup> 'The Indian Prospect' *The Manchester Guardian* 5 August 1941 p.4

<sup>93</sup> T Edmund Harvey, 'The Indian Prospect' *The Manchester Guardian* Aug 5, 1941 p.4

lawyer and leader of the Dalits, (or Untouchables but now known as the Scheduled Castes), B. R. Ambedkar, who asserted the rights of his minority against Gandhi's majoritarianism. When Leo Amery, the Secretary of State for India, thanked Harvey for his letter in the *Guardian* and said he did not despair of a settlement, Harvey used the opportunity to appeal to Amery for the release of political prisoners.<sup>94</sup> Harvey's influence with Amery was such that two months later, in October 1941, he led a deputation of Quakers to meet the Secretary of State, gratefully commenting that it was 'remarkable that he could give us an hour of his time.'<sup>95</sup> For his part Amery drily confided to his diary, 'Had a long deputation from the Society of Friends and hope I may have made them see some of the difficulties in answer to their appeal that all that was needed was to show the Christian spirit in India'.<sup>96</sup>

In March 1942 came the appointment of Stafford Cripps to the Cabinet and his mission to India the same month. Harvey found hope in the appointment of an emissary with Quaker connections.<sup>97</sup> The Cripps mission failed and Harvey was aghast when in August Gandhi launched another campaign of civil disobedience calling for the British, who had just been forced by the Japanese to quit Burma, similarly to 'Quit India'.<sup>98</sup> The British immediately put Gandhi and almost the entire Indian National Congress leadership into confinement. Harvey wrote to Agatha Harrison of the India Conciliation Group warning her of the effect on British public opinion of Gandhi's attempt to put 'unfair pressure' on the British in wartime and of

---

<sup>94</sup> TEH to Family Barmoor 13 August 1941

<sup>95</sup> TEH to Family Leeds 9 October 1941.

<sup>96</sup> Churchill Archives Centre, Amery's main diary, 7 October 1941, AMEL 7/35.

<sup>97</sup> TEH to Family Rydal House 27 March 1942.

<sup>98</sup> Amales Tripathi and Amitava Tripathi, *Indian National Congress and the Struggle for Freedom: 1885-1947* (Oxford Scholarship Online: April 2014) p. 89

his 'obstinate refusal to face the facts of Indian divisions'.<sup>99</sup> His letter anticipated the step he took on 11 September 1942 following the British authorities' refusal to allow moderate Indian leaders to communicate with the imprisoned Gandhi and P. J. Nehru. He spoke in the House to commend the efforts of T. B. Sapru and C. Rajagopalachari to bring about an understanding between the major political parties, the former being the leader of the Liberal party of India, and the latter a Congress party moderate.<sup>100</sup> In a measured but unambiguous denunciation of the 'Quit India' campaign, Harvey said,

Many of us, while sympathising with many of the aims of the Congress Party, regret profoundly their recent decision and the sad, deplorable events which have followed from the action of ignorant, misguided people who began that campaign of non-violence and were led in their bitterness into acts of violence and crime.<sup>101</sup>

He reiterated an appeal for 'a spirit of trust and understanding which alone can make freedom really practicable and really possible.'<sup>102</sup> In February 1943, continuing his efforts to liaise between the Quakers and government ministers, he took Carl Heath and others on another delegation to Amery, though unlike in the case of the deputation in October 1941 Leo Amery kept no record of the outcome.<sup>103</sup> On 30 March 1943 Harvey spoke in Parliament to ask for the interned Congress leaders to be allowed to take part in negotiations but again he called on them to express regret and sorrow for the 'murderous violence' that they had unleashed.<sup>104</sup> Harvey reminded the House that there had been a time Gandhi had had the 'magnanimity to admit that he had made a Himalayan blunder in believing that the Indian people would act non-

---

<sup>99</sup> TEH to Agatha Harrison 14 August 1942 Library of the Society of Friends Temp MSS 48/7/5

<sup>100</sup> TEH to Family Rydal House 27 September 1942

HC Deb 11 September 1942 vol 383 cc620

<sup>101</sup> HC Deb 11 September 1942 vol 383 cc 620

<sup>102</sup> HC Deb 11 September 1942 vol 383 cc620

<sup>103</sup> TEH to Family Rydal House 7 February 1943. Information from Churchill Archives, 11/11/2022

<sup>104</sup> India (Situation) HC Deb 30 March 1943 vol 388 col 114

violently.<sup>105</sup> This was a reference to Gandhi's regret over the violent consequences of his first campaign of *satyagraha* in 1920.<sup>106</sup> Harvey in vain called on him to act like St Francis in again making such an admission.

In 1944–45 Harvey continued to speak in Parliament for moderation, good will and progress towards an inclusive settlement to suit all communities and interests. In April 1944 he supported 'with great reluctance, but not without hope of a better future' the suspension of the constitutional machinery in the face of continued non-cooperation by Gandhi and the Congress party, which held power in some of the provincial governments but refused to exercise it in a further campaign of *satyagraha*.<sup>107</sup> When by the summer of 1944 the war had taken a favourable turn for the British, the government found time for a full debate in the Commons on the Indian question.<sup>108</sup> Harvey used the occasion to welcome Gandhi having come forward with suggestions to meet the claims of the Muslim League and Harvey looked for a positive response from Mr Jinnah.<sup>109</sup> He drew attention to the plan for the economic development of India, the Bombay plan, which he said was made entirely by Indians thus, he implied, showing indigenous businesses could flourish without control by British expatriates or Nehru's socialism.<sup>110</sup> He welcomed the limited releases from political internment that there had been and called for more, arguing 'we should not imperil the healthy development of the future relationship of India and our country by the way in which we rouse personal resentment.'<sup>111</sup> Harvey was privately pessimistic

---

<sup>105</sup> India (Situation) HC Deb 30 March 1943 vol 388 col 114

<sup>106</sup> chapter 33, 'A Himalayan Miscalculation' in M. K. Gandhi, *An Autobiography Or The Story of My Experiments With Truth* (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House 380 014 1940)

<sup>107</sup> India (Failure Of Constitutional Machinery) HC Deb 18 April 1944 vol 399 cc164ff.

<sup>108</sup> HC Deb 28 July 1944 vol 402 cc1080

<sup>109</sup> Indian leaders discussions – HC Deb 05 October 1944 vol 403 c1146

<sup>110</sup> HC Deb 28 July 1944 vol 402 cc1080

<sup>111</sup> India – HC Deb 28 July 1944 vol 402 c. 1080

about the prospects for a unified India after Independence, writing to his family, 'Good India debate - possibility of Hindu-Muslim agreement very difficult.'<sup>112</sup> In October 1944 he asked a written parliamentary question about consultation and conference between representative leaders in India and must have been disappointed by the answer that the conversations between Mr Gandhi and Mr Jinnah had broken down over the issue of a separate state for the Muslims.<sup>113</sup> In June 1945, he spoke in a debate on government policy in India, extolling the British constitution and speaking rhetorically of how the lamp of parliamentary democracy should be shared with India and with the wider human family.<sup>114</sup> The occasion was a White Paper renewing the hope that the political leaders in India would be able to come to an agreement as to the procedure whereby India's permanent future form of government could be determined. Harvey welcomed the White Paper, saying it was an immense step forward in the right direction, which was that of full freedom. By this, he explained, was freedom for all, for every race and religion and a place for the minorities so that they could participate positively in the life of the nation.

We have seen in this Parliament how it is possible for minorities to give expression to a point of view, which is not the view either of the Government or of the great majority of the House, and we have seen how it has been possible for the forms of Parliamentary democracy not merely to provide that the will of the majority shall prevail, but to provide a place for the minority as participants in the life of the nation and of Parliament, not merely by criticism but by helpful and positive co-operation. It is that, surely, which we need to see in India.<sup>115</sup>

This was an attack on the Indian National Congress party with its majoritarian urge to dominate the Muslims, caste Hindus, princes, business and regional interests. It may

---

<sup>112</sup> TEH to Family Leeds 29 July 1944

<sup>113</sup> Indian leaders discussions – HC Deb 05 October 1944 vol 403 c1146

<sup>114</sup> India (Government Policy) HC Deb 14 June 1945 vol 411 c 1857–58

<sup>115</sup> India (Government Policy) HC Deb 14 June 1945 vol 411 c 1857–58



also have referred to his own position as a member of a minority, a Quaker pacifist in a wartime legislature. The peroration of the speech was in praise of the British parliamentary system and of the peace that had just come to Europe and had enabled the end of the black-out.

There was a time, only a few weeks ago, when on a happy evening Mr Speaker lit the lamp that shines in the tower above this House, whenever we are deliberating after nightfall, and in memorable words he reminded us that it was the symbol of freedom, the symbol of the lamp of freedom that this House has kept burning all through these difficult years of war. It is more than a lamp for ourselves. It is a light that we want to share as widely as possible with our friends and our fellow citizens of the Commonwealth of the Empire in India, and with the wider human family without. I believe that to-night we are helping to pass on that light, and we ask our friends in India to join with us that we may share it with them and with others. Freedom is not a selfish possession for ourselves. It is something to be shared.<sup>116</sup>

Parliament was dissolved the following day, so these must have been the last words that Harvey uttered in Parliament.

### Horace Alexander

The year after Harvey left Parliament, 1946, his values and his authentic Christian identity were evident in a clash with Horace Alexander. Harvey and Alexander differed not over the need for a peaceful settlement in India, which they both wanted, but over cultural self-understanding and the role of Christianity on the sub-continent. The clash came about from Harvey's review of a pamphlet by Alexander on missionary service in which Harvey accused him of bias against Quaker work in India.<sup>117</sup> He attacked Alexander's claim in the pamphlet that the Quakers who had worked to relieve famine in the early twentieth century had wanted to turn Indian orphans into infant Quakers. Harvey retorted, 'But faced by a bitter need for the

---

<sup>116</sup> India (Government Policy) – HC Deb 14 June 1945 vol 411 cc 1857–58

<sup>117</sup> 'Concerning Missionary Service' *The Friend* 15 February 1946 p.129-131

healing of sick bodies and for light and food for half-starved or ill-fed minds, was not the creation of hospitals and schools the practical Christian response which missionaries gave to what they felt to be the call of their Master?' Harvey stood up for missions of conversion, such as were the objective of the Friends Foreign Mission Association, and for Quakers asserting their Christian identity in inter-faith relations.

[W]e may gladly recognise the value of [...] fellowship with others of a different faith and yet desire that they should communion with us in our highest and deepest experience of the life and love of God revealed to us through Christ.<sup>118</sup>

He denied this involved an attitude of superiority, 'for the Christian disciple knows that all that has come to him is the free gift of God; but he must long that all the nations may share this divine treasure.'<sup>119</sup> Harvey's words in praise of Christians in India echoed his 'A Traveller's Glimpse of Mission Work in India' of 1926.<sup>120</sup>

His criticisms of Alexander's pamphlet led to correspondence.<sup>121</sup> Horace Alexander wrote from India, 'But I was not writing a history but a pamphlet with a purpose, that purpose being to see how Friends can most usefully concentrate their effort on the coming years.' However, he admitted he may have hurt some Friends by thoughtless language in some sections, which he regretted, and also that there were two or three places where another turn of phrase was called for.<sup>122</sup> In effect, he acknowledged his enthusiasm for Indian independence may have made his Christianity look inauthentic. The year after the exchange came the events of 1947 when the British were forced into partitioning India and a speedy departure as the alternative was their involvement in civil war. There ensued bloody ethnic cleansing,

---

<sup>118</sup> 'Concerning Missionary Service' *The Friend* 15 February 1946 p.129-131.

<sup>119</sup> 'Concerning Missionary Service' *The Friend* 15 February 1946 p.129-131.

<sup>120</sup> *The Baptist Layman* (No. 86 October-December 1926) pp 99-106

<sup>121</sup> See appendix 5 'Last jobs'

<sup>122</sup> Horace Alexander to Harvey 28 March 1946

crimes against women and a huge refugee crisis. The Quakers reacted with dismay. Carl Heath admitted that partition was a 'deadly hurt' but added, rather defensively, that it was not the doing of Quakers.<sup>123</sup> Horace Alexander suffered a 'harrowing disappointment'.<sup>124</sup> By October 1947 he had recovered his spirits, optimistically writing of India undergoing a rebirth and siding with India against Pakistan. In the same article Alexander injudiciously opined 'Soviet Communism is probably the most vital spiritual force in the world today'.<sup>125</sup> Harvey was silent on events of 1947 but had witnessed the failure of his hopes for a united, peaceful India within the Commonwealth and of his coaching of other Quakers about the realities of the situation.

The clash between Harvey and Alexander continued. A year before Harvey's death there was an exchange between the two men in the letters page of *The Friend* on Britain's historic responsibility for the opium trade and how in the nineteenth century the Indian Government restricted opium within its own borders while selling it to China.<sup>126</sup> The point was the inconsistency of the British treatment of opium between one country and the other, with the implication of British moral hypocrisy. As on previous occasions Harvey did not deny bad behaviour by the British but he believed credit was due when the British did the right thing. Harvey would have remembered his contribution to the parliamentary debate in 1913 when the British government took the overdue decision to cease the exporting of opium to China from India. Referring in the debate to the Opium Wars Harvey had deplored

---

<sup>123</sup> Carl Heath 'Freedom Comes to India' *The Friend* 15 August 1947 p.661.

<sup>124</sup> Marjorie Sykes, *An Indian Tapestry: Quaker Threads in the History of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh* (York: Sessions Book Trust 1997) p.299

<sup>125</sup> Horace Alexander 'Their challenge and our answer: ii. India' (*Friends Quarterly*, Vol. 1; no. 4, October 1947), pp. 217-226

<sup>126</sup> *The Friend* 29 January 1954 p87-8

gunboat diplomacy and ‘the painful incident of sending a British gunboat to Nanking’ and ‘how grievously this must have offended against the self-respect of the Chinese.’<sup>127</sup> His differences with Horace Alexander were a matter of personality not principle. Alexander was prone to thoughtless generalisations, Harvey to nuance and balance.

### *Conclusion: Harvey and British imperialism*

It has been said that the peace movement of the early twentieth century was ‘deeply scarred by often unrecognised imperialist assumptions which struck deep roots in the British political culture’.<sup>128</sup> Aside from the pejorative language, this claim is true. Indeed, there was nothing unrecognised on Harvey’s part about his attachment to British liberal political culture. He was a metropolitan anti-imperialist in the sense not of being an advocate of immediate de-colonisation but as a liberal and progressive who opposed economic exploitation and racism but favoured enlightened British colonial rule and gradual moves to dominion or commonwealth status in the face of burgeoning nationalism.<sup>129</sup> In the case of India he became stronger in his support for British rule because of Gandhi’s wartime campaigns of civil disobedience. This can be seen from his agreement with the government’s undoing of the constitution in the provincial governments paralysed by the non-cooperation of the ruling Congress party, his dismay at the Quit India campaign and his final speech in parliament. His view of Gandhi and the Congress high command must have been like that of the Labour Cabinet in 1946–47, who saw them as reckless: unwilling to give ground in

---

<sup>127</sup> Hansard Opium Traffic Volume 52: debated on Wednesday 7 May 1913 col 2156

<sup>128</sup> James Hinton, *Protest and Visions* (London 1989) quoted in Thomas C. Kennedy *British Quakerism 1860-1920* pp 262–3.

<sup>129</sup> Nicholas Owen, *The British Left and India: Metropolitan Anti-Imperialism, 1885-1947*. (Oxford University Press, 2007).

negotiations, but unreliable once settlements had been reached; reluctant to shoulder the burden of administration, but happy to wield unaccountable power from the sidelines; prepared to raise popular emotions through demagoguery and agitation, but capable only of floundering blindly in the wake of those they had inspired when public order collapsed as a result.<sup>130</sup> He was more critical of the British in Africa. In calling for a 'fuller working out' of trusteeship he had in mind a moral and societal not a commercial deepening of the relationship.<sup>131</sup> It was this that underlay his condemnation of Sir Having Greedy in 1913 and his questioning of the government over forced labour in 1942. In the case of the slave trade and the Opium Wars he was ready to acknowledge the historic wrongs of British imperialism. When it came to mandatory Palestine, he had little to offer but good will. Given the intractability of the conflict there and the government's point that the Jewish saboteurs were responsible for the loss of the SS Patria, his was a desperate throw to appeal to the devoutness of the Arabs to support the disaster's victims.

### Chapter summary

Chapter 4 deals with one of Harvey's three political interests, one typical for an English liberal of the time, which was 'the protection of individual freedom & human rights in British dependencies & elsewhere'.<sup>132</sup> The chapter covers 44 years, from 1910 to 1954. The first section shows how before the First World War Harvey took an interest in scandals in global colonialism: that of the cocoa slaves, the Putumayo scandal and international financial depredations on China. However, his principal

---

<sup>130</sup> Nicholas Owen, 'Critics of empire in Britain.' In *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Volume IV: The Twentieth Century* (Oxford University Press, 1999)

<sup>131</sup> Address to the Graduate electors of the Combined English Universities. Colonial Affairs. August 1942 HC Deb 04 August 1942 vol 382 cc932-1002

<sup>132</sup> History of Parliament, Wedgwood Questionnaires, 'Harvey, T Edmund'

interest in the period was in the Masai, who were being dispossessed of their traditional grazing lands with the connivance of the British colonial authorities. He continued to take an interest in human rights in British Africa into the 1940s. In September 1943 and February 1945 he raised in Parliament the case of the SS Patria involving the rights of Jewish refugees in British Palestine. The second section deals with Indian independence, a major cause for the Quakers. Harvey supported independence in principle but became increasingly disapproving of Gandhi's non-violent warfare. The chapter concludes that Harvey was a metropolitan anti-imperialist in the sense not of advocating immediate de-colonisation but as a liberal and progressive who favoured enlightened British colonial rule and gradual moves to dominion or commonwealth status. As a Christian he repudiated the idea that missionary work was spiritual imperialism. Harvey's liberal concern for human rights made for continuity between him as the Liberal Radical backbencher of the pre-war Parliament and the veteran Independent Progressive MP whose final speech was in praise of the British parliamentary system.

## Chapter 5: Between the wars, 1918–1939

### Introduction

Harvey as a liberal Quaker and Quaker Liberal with his politico-religious motivation is well seen in the interwar period. From December 1918 to March 1927 he continued into peacetime his wartime work as a Quaker international representative, with a variety of overseas missions on behalf of the Society. During one of these missions he encountered the Russo-Polish war, which led him to campaign for its settlement. In 1922 he travelled to the United States to observe, and contribute to, the ascendancy of liberalism amongst Anglo-American Friends. He was active in the League of Nations Union for the duration. In 1923, he achieved a remarkable result in ameliorating the conditions and establishing the rights of German political prisoners in the French-occupied Ruhr. A return to Parliament of ten months duration in 1924 saw him able to combine a Liberal party interest and Quaker pacifism with an attack on the armaments programme of the first Labour government, though he supported its domestic agenda. From March 1927 Harvey ceased regular international travel on behalf of the Quakers. His return to Parliament in March 1937 was in time for the Munich Agreement of September 1938, of which he was a supporter and which was the subject of a special conference of Quakers. Outside politics, in 1934 he became the Master of the Guild of St George, the charity founded by the eminent Victorian, John Ruskin.

## International service 1918–27

With the coming of peace Harvey continued his international Quaker service by a series of missions to Europe, collaborating with Carl Heath. At a conference at Skipton in 1917 Heath had proposed setting up Quaker embassies in the metropolitan cities of Europe, staffed by ambassadors, attachés and juniors, as if to mirror the official diplomatic service.<sup>1</sup> During the autumn and winter of 1918 Meeting for Sufferings, Quakers' national executive body, established the Friends Council for International Service, fitting it into the complex structure of existing Quaker committees and making Heath its chairman. Harvey agreed with continuing the Quakers' international service but not with Heath's grandiose terminology, preferring to refer to 'the extension and continuance of our work and the spirit of the mission through a Friends International Service Committee or a Guild of Service.'<sup>2</sup> By January 1922 Heath had agreed to abandon the diplomatic nomenclature. Even so, the period between the Armistice of November 1918 and 1927 saw Harvey travelling on a variety of Quaker missions to Europe and America. These involved intervening at high level on behalf of prisoners of war and political prisoners, visiting relief workers in country, and heading a delegation to the US to strengthen unity in Anglo-American Quakerdom.

Until January 1920 Harvey continued as British Quakers' commissioner in France. From December 1918 to March 1919 he was based in Grange le Comte.<sup>3</sup> In January 1919 he was liaising with Rufus Jones and Henry Scattergood of the American Friends Service Committee and with local officials over such matters as the

---

<sup>1</sup> Carl Heath, *Quaker embassies* (London: Pelican Press [1917])

<sup>2</sup> Milligan typescript chapter p.68/119

<sup>3</sup> TEH and AIH to WMH June 1919.



maternity hospital that Hilda Clark had built at Chalons.<sup>4</sup> It was at Toynbee Hall in March 1906 that Harvey had previously met Scattergood, who had been Arnold Stephenson Rowntree's best man when he married Harvey's sister Mary Katherine in that year.<sup>5</sup> In June 1919 Harvey attended a conference at Clermont of young Mennonites who were on reconstruction work from Haverford College.<sup>6</sup> Later in 1919 Harvey was back in England but that December he returned to France and in January 1920 was hoping to meet President Clemenceau about the condition of Germans still being held as prisoners of war.<sup>7</sup> Thus his service in the first months of peace extended from managing relief work and liaising with his American counterparties to trying to advance Quaker values at the Versailles peace conference. Harvey's frequent visits to France, which had begun in September 1914, ceased from February 1920. That month the Friends' War Victims Relief Committee asked him to go on a humanitarian and fact-finding mission in central and eastern Europe, which was suffering post-war deprivation.<sup>8</sup> Accompanied by Jesse Holmes, Professor of Philosophy and Religion at Swarthmore College, he travelled during March and April 1920 in Germany, Serbia and the troubled rimlands of eastern Europe, coming into contact with the Russo-Polish war.<sup>9</sup> He travelled out via Paris, where he was photographed at the Friends Meeting House in a quasi-military uniform

---

<sup>4</sup> TEH to WH 4 January 1919.

Linda Palfreeman, "The Maternité Anglaise: A Lasting Legacy of the Friends' War Victims' Relief Committee to the People of France during the First World War (1914–1918)." *Religions* 12, no. 4 (2021): 265.

<sup>5</sup> TEH to WH 20 March 1906

Ian Packer (ed.), *The Letters of Arnold Stephenson Rowntree to Mary Katherine Rowntree, 1910-1918* p. 155 n

<sup>6</sup> TEH to WH and AMH Grange 21 June 1919

<sup>7</sup> Parliamentary Archives No LG/F/51/2/1;

Alice Irene Harvey to Anna Maria Harvey 14 January 1920.

<sup>8</sup> David Rubinstein, *Essays in Quaker History* (Quacks Books, York 2016) p.76

<sup>9</sup> *Birmingham Daily Gazette* - Wednesday 03 March 1920 p.4.

TEH to AIH Paris 12 February 1920.

with the French Quaker Justine Dalencourt.<sup>10</sup> On 26 March he wrote for *The Friend* from Mitrovitza [Mitrovica, Kosovo] about the orphanage there, about the Montenegrin families he had encountered in an ethnically diverse area, about scrub clearing, the howling dervishes of the local Muslims and the characteristics of the Albanians in the population, who were locally regarded, Harvey wrote, much as native Americans were regarded in the USA. He told his readers he was travelling on to Skoplje and Valandova in Macedonia.<sup>11</sup> On 8 April he was in Vienna.<sup>12</sup> In Poland he reported on the dire conditions there though he had found the situation not much better in Berlin, where he stayed in the 'Quaker Embassy'.<sup>13</sup> While in Poland, he met Florence Barrow, the Quaker field worker and reported on the deprivation she was tackling.<sup>14</sup> 'One widow and two daughters had built a one-room house by themselves; Only sacking for a window, and the thatch was badly done and leaked; Pleas for food, but very few supplies have come through. Florence Barrow much appreciated.'<sup>15</sup> He reported from Volodymyr-Volynsky on the war between the newly re-established state of Poland and Soviet Russia.

Repeated reminders of the war - Red Cross trains, soldiers by the lines, trucks full of Russian refugees and their animals; Long waits - 23 hours at Cholin [Kolin], 4 at Kovel, 12 at Wodzimierz [Volodymyr-Volynsky]; Area Polish for first time since Partition of 1772. [...] Seen several hundred Bolshevik prisoners in the hands of boyish Polish soldiers.<sup>16</sup>

From Werbkovite he wrote of the destruction he saw. 'Half the neighbouring village was burnt down, and the whole of a number of neighbouring villages [where]

---

<sup>10</sup> *The Friend* 23/4/20 p.243.

<sup>11</sup> *The Friend* New Series 60 26 March 1920 pp 240-1.

<sup>12</sup> TEH to WH 8 April 1920

<sup>13</sup> TEH to AIH 25 April 1920; TEH to WH 15 May 1920

<sup>14</sup> Sian Roberts, 'A 'position of peculiar responsibility': Quaker women in transnational humanitarian relief, 1914-24', *Quaker Studies*, vol. 21, no. 2, ( 2016) pp. 235-255

<sup>15</sup> TEH to AMH 11 May 1920

<sup>16</sup> TEH to WMH 'Wladgimierz Wolynski' Poland 15 April 1920.<sup>16</sup>

Russians made a last stand in the district before retreating.<sup>17</sup> He also observed the tension between Pole and Jew, and commented unfavourably on the latter's exclusivity.

Anti-Jewish feeling still very strong, and one can understand it as one sees how very aloof they keep in their whole life and ways: they usually have distinct quarters, and the men all wear long black overcoats coming down to a little above the ankle, and low squarish black caps: they have their own schools and there is a strong Jewish demand to have the instruction in Yiddish: the Poles, on the other hand, wish to insist on the Jewish children going to Polish schools and learning to speak Polish, which seems not unreasonable.<sup>18</sup>

Later the same month, April 1920, he travelled back to England by way of Berlin to meet an old friend, Werner Picht.<sup>19</sup> Before the war Picht had been at Toynbee Hall to research the British settlement movement and had published a commendatory study.<sup>20</sup>

Harvey's trip to Eastern Europe throws some light on Heath's ambitions for Quaker embassies because Harvey seems to have had a quasi-official status. He wore the uniform of the Friends' War Victims Relief Committee.<sup>21</sup> Writing to his mother on 11 May 1920, he recounted how he travelled 'by courier train to Danzig - it being my duty to act as courier and carry a bag and big official envelope; it involved also technically being in charge of the train, or at least of the diplomatic wagon, where I had to assign places to other travellers and regretfully refuse them to one or two who had not the necessary authorisations.'<sup>22</sup> He was not above assuming an official status, on one occasion complaining to the railway authorities that 'an

---

<sup>17</sup> TEH to WMH 11 May 1920. Werbkowice, Poland

<sup>18</sup> TEH to WMH, date line 'Wladgimierz Wolynski' Poland 15 April 1920.

<sup>19</sup> TEH to AIH Berlin 21 June 1920

<sup>20</sup> Werner Picht, *Toynbee Hall and the Settlement Movement* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1913; translated from the German by Lilian A. Cowell: G. Bell & Sons Ltd 1914)

TEH to AIH 25 April 1920.

<sup>21</sup> AIH to TEH 4 February 1920

<sup>22</sup> Harvey to AMH Volodymyr-Volynsky 15 April 1920

important Anglo-American mission was being held up for want of a locomotive.<sup>23</sup> Nevertheless, in April 1920 the Quakers' Germany Field Committee in Berlin, meeting objections from official British diplomats, decided to abandon references to Quaker embassies.<sup>24</sup> Harvey agreed with this, writing from Paris to Heath in October 1921, 'I wonder whether we might now replace the name of Embassy by Quaker Centre or foyer perhaps'.<sup>25</sup> Harvey is using the term 'foyer' to denote accommodation for transients and Quakers in service locally. By January 1922 Heath had yielded, in an article speaking of 'Quaker International Centres (now so called)'.<sup>26</sup> Though Heath's nomenclature was abandoned, the service element in Harvey's work and that of other relief workers like Florence Barrow continued in the same form. Harvey returned to Eastern Europe in June 1925 for a joyful visit to the Malevantsky, a utopian peasant community of followers of Kondrati Malevanny in Lyakhavichy/Lachowicze near Raczkany, Belarus.<sup>27</sup> Later that year he visited India, as we have seen in chapter 4. In March and April 1926 he was in Germany and elsewhere with Hilda Clark, visiting projects instituted by the American Quaker and future US President Herbert Hoover.<sup>28</sup> After visiting Quakers in Paris the following year, March 1927, he stopped regularly travelling abroad on behalf of Quakers, his next recorded journey not being until September 1937, when he and Irene were at the Friends World Conference, Philadelphia.<sup>29</sup>

---

<sup>23</sup> Harvey to AMH Volodymyr-Volynsky 15 April 1920

<sup>24</sup> John Ormerod Greenwood, *Quaker Encounters: Vol 3: Whispers of Truth* (York, England: William Sessions 1978) p.213

<sup>25</sup> John Ormerod Greenwood, *Quaker Encounters: Vol 3: Whispers of Truth* p.213

<sup>26</sup> John Ormerod Greenwood, *Quaker Encounters: Vol 3: Whispers of Truth* p.213

<sup>27</sup> Milligan typescript pp 86–87.

<sup>28</sup> TEH to AIH 14 April 1926

<sup>29</sup> *Friends World Conference, Friends World Conference official report held at Swarthmore and Haverford Colleges near Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, September 1st to 8th 1937* / prepared by an editorial committee appointed by the Conference Business Committee (2nd edition: Philadelphia 1937).

## Russo-Polish War 1920

Harvey was in London for the All Friends Conference of August 1920.<sup>30</sup> In his contribution to the session on the character and basis of the peace testimony, Harvey suggested that Quakers had been complaisant about the conditions which created the war and that they needed to put themselves with the guilty.<sup>31</sup> Harvey's contribution is consistent with Kennedy's contention that the Conference validated Quaker resistance to war and conscription, the necessity for Quaker social action at home and abroad, and the primacy of liberal theology.<sup>32</sup> Another aspect of the Conference was the confirmation and growth of Anglo-American Quaker unity, which was further enhanced by Harvey's visit to the US in 1922, dealt with below. The month after the Conference, September 1920, Harvey added his name to that of H. G. Wells, G. Bernard Shaw, Jerome K. Jerome and some forty others in a letter to the press calling for a settlement of the Russo-Polish war, which as we have seen he had encountered in April during his continental travels.<sup>33</sup> Fighting between Russia and Poland broke out over the territories the Bolsheviks had ceded to Germany in the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk of March 1918. In May 1920 the forces of the newly re-created independent Poland, under Jozef Pilsudski, allied with those of the Ukrainian nationalist leader, Symon Petlyura, occupied the Ukrainian capital, Kyiv. The following month, the Red Army counter-attacked, driving the Poles and Ukrainians out of Kyiv and continuing to move westward. On 11 July 1920, the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Curzon, telegraphed the Soviets insisting that they halt their military

---

<sup>30</sup> 'Conference of All Friends held in London August 12-20 1920.' (The Friends Bookshop, London [1920]) p.32

<sup>31</sup> *Conference of All Friends held in London August 12-20 1920* (London: The Friends Bookshop, London) p. 52

<sup>32</sup> Thomas C. Kennedy *British Quakerism 1860-1920* (Oxford University Press 2001) p. 426

<sup>33</sup> *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer* - Monday 06 September 1920 p9.

advance at a designated line and accept it as a temporary border with Poland until a permanent one could be negotiated. The western European powers sent a military mission to help the Poles, who in mid-August unexpectedly routed the Red Army at the Battle of Warsaw. Despite the rout, fighting continued and it was at this point that Harvey and his co-signatories wrote their letter. Their fear was that the Entente powers would be drawn into a prolonged war.

We do not believe that sending munitions to one side and ultimatums to the other is any help to a reasonable peace. We call upon all public opinion that has not already expressed itself to demonstrate beyond a doubt that the people must have peace, that they will give no hint of support to any renewal of Polish aggression, and that they desire their Government to treat Russia with sincerity and respect and in a spirit of accommodation.<sup>34</sup>

A month after the letter, October 1920, an armistice was signed, followed in March 1921 by the Treaty of Riga, which allowed most of Ukraine to remain a Soviet republic but with portions of Belarus and Ukraine ceded to Poland. The settlement had less to do with the influence of Harvey and his co-signatories as with the diplomatic and military power of Britain and France. His letter to the press, with its respectful words about the Bolsheviks, failed to mention Ukrainian pogroms against the Jews, the full extent of which was unknown until the assassination of Petlyura in 1926 in Paris, where he had gone in exile. The evidence for the atrocities committed by Ukrainian nationalist irregulars emerged during the trial of the assassin, a Jewish activist and Soviet agent, who was acquitted. The letter's combination of good will and ignorance reflects the failure of liberals and pacifists like Harvey to understand the violent ideological forces at play in the world.

---

<sup>34</sup> *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer* - Monday 06 September 1920 p. 9

## Mission to the USA 1922

Harvey's work in the 1920s as a Quaker international emissary included not only Europe but also a visit to America in 1922. This mission, by strengthening Anglo-American Quaker unity, helped the ascendancy of liberalism which marked the Anglo-American Quaker domain from 1920 onwards.<sup>35</sup> In August 1922 he travelled in the ministry to the US, duly furnished by Meeting for Sufferings with a minute of introduction. This was Harvey's first visit to the US but not his first contact with American Quakers. At the Scarborough summer school of 1897 he had been joined by a group of twelve from Swarthmore College, including the dean, Elizabeth P. Bond. The group shared energetically in the summer school's pursuits and left expressing the hope to Harvey that 'when you come over and see us, you will feel as much at home as we do amongst you.'<sup>36</sup> In 1908 he had become involved in smoothing out an epistolary awkwardness in London Yearly Meeting over relations with the different branches of American Friends. The 1908 'Message to all who bear the name of Friend' that he drafted was, says Milligan, important in breaking down British disapproval of those in America, the Hicksites, judged separatists. Harvey's part in overcoming the difficulty established him at the age of thirty-three as an important figure in the counsels of London Yearly Meeting with what Edward Milligan calls an early display of his characteristic statesmanship.<sup>37</sup>

Harvey's minute from Meeting for Sufferings referred at his own request to his 'strong concern' at American disunity and a desire to be as 'a messenger of good

---

<sup>35</sup> J. William Frost 'Modernist and Liberal Quakers 1887-2010' in *Oxford Handbook of Quaker Studies*, edited by Stephen W Angell and Pink Dandelion (Oxford University Press, 2013)

<sup>36</sup> Milligan typescript p.28/119.

<sup>37</sup> Milligan typescript p.7/119; p.50 ff/119

will and fellowship to all Friends'.<sup>38</sup> This meant not only the Orthodox or Gurneyite conglomerate, Five Years Meeting, but also the Hicksite Friends General Conference, a grouping dating from the schism in American Quakerism of 1827–28. The strength of Harvey's concern at American disunity came out of a family connection with the event. His mother's great-grandfather, Thomas Shillitoe, had travelled to America in July 1826 hoping to prevent an incipient fracture, only to aggravate matters. As Harvey explained in a periodical article, at the height of the crisis Shillitoe and Elias Hicks had sat next to each other at a meeting for worship.<sup>39</sup> At its close, Shillitoe spurned an invitation to enter Hicks's house. This act hastened the schism and played on the mind of Shillitoe's descendant, leading him to be emotionally invested in the cause of Quaker unity.

Harvey crossed the Atlantic on the RMS Baltic and arrived by train at Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana, on 29 August. He conducted the formality of reading aloud his minute as a travelling minister, his auditor being his old companion from Europe, the Hicksite Jesse Holmes of Swarthmore College.<sup>40</sup> After a devotional meeting there followed a round-table discussion attended by Americans and 7 other English Friends, of whom Catharine Albright was one.<sup>41</sup> The first topic was the book by the British Quaker J. W. Graham, *Faith of a Quaker* (1920). Discussion also covered the use of plain language and prophetic ministry. Following this, Holmes gave what Harvey called a 'stimulating and breezy' lecture on the world situation and the need for Friends to play their part therein.<sup>42</sup> Harvey then recounted the story

---

<sup>38</sup> Milligan typescript p. 81/119

<sup>39</sup> 'Thomas Shillitoe (1754-1836): some hitherto unpublished particulars (*Journal of the Friends Historical Society* Vol.42; no.1 (1950)),

<sup>40</sup> TEH to AIH Richmond [Ind] 29 August 1922.

<sup>41</sup> Milligan typescript p. 81/119

<sup>42</sup> TEH to AIH Richmond 30 August 1922



about Thomas Shillitoe spurning Elias Hicks and pondered aloud on how history might have been different. Finally and crucially, those present agreed on a fourfold ways to develop greater unity amongst the various Anglo-American Quaker communities: common work, as in wartime France; common study of approved books such as those by the British Quaker historian W. C. Braithwaite and the leading American Quaker, Rufus Jones; common worship; and common love and loyalty to Christ. Harvey reported to his wife Irene a 'real feeling of response'.<sup>43</sup> Harvey's mission was reported as a noteworthy public event. The press of Richmond, Indiana, recognising the visitor's importance and degree of personal investment in his mission, ran the headline 'Harvey hopes for union of Friends'.<sup>44</sup>

A few days later came the gatherings of Friends General Conference and Five Years Meeting, which that year were held one after the other. The regular quinquennial sessions of the Five Years Meeting were held in Richmond, Indiana, 5–11 September 1922. The biennial sessions of Friends General Conference were held there the week before. It is not clear that holding the two in sequence was intentional, although it may have been inspired by the 1920 London All Friends Conference.<sup>45</sup> At the gathering of Five Years Meeting, Harvey was given a place of distinction, seated on the platform beside the Clerk's table.<sup>46</sup> The conference adopted a report, largely prepared by Rufus Jones, which strengthened recognition of the evangelical Richmond Declaration of 1887 and removed words from a previous text that the

---

<sup>43</sup> TEH to AIH Richmond 30 August 1922

<sup>44</sup> Milligan typescript p. 81/119

<sup>45</sup> Information from Thomas D. Hamm 04/12/2021

<sup>46</sup> TEH to AIH 8 September 1922

materials 'are not to be regarded as constituting a creed.'<sup>47</sup> Harvey was at first disappointed by this but, as he explained to Irene, 'then followed the significant part, which practically explained that no creeds of words could suffice. Well received by all parties.'<sup>48</sup> The delegates were asked to stand in unity on the 1887 Declaration and as they did so they broke out into songs of praise. 'The feeling was very deep and strong and the sense of unity and fellowship a wonderful thing.'<sup>49</sup> Harvey as a liberal felt unable to stand in support of the Orthodox Richmond Declaration. The only way out of the difficulty, he found, was to kneel in thankfulness for the unity and love which 'had so marvellously prevailed.'<sup>50</sup> He related that 'As the meeting stood there came from every side the singing of the Doxology, and it did seem as though we had a glimpse of the fellowship of heaven.'<sup>51</sup> He wrote that he 'had not sufficient adjectives to describe the beauty of the occasion.'<sup>52</sup> The dramatic climax of the conference represented a success for the evangelicals but it is clear from Harvey's behaviour that he, and it would seem the other liberals and modernists present, intentionally avoided doctrinal contestation for the sake of unity. Harvey did so by a creative liturgy of the body – that is, by kneeling in silence when others were standing and singing – to signify loving fellowship despite disagreement over words.

His goodwill tour continued a few days later with a visit to Barnesville, Ohio, and the gathering there of the Conservative Ohio Yearly Meeting, for whom

---

<sup>47</sup> Gregory P. Hinshaw, 'Five Years Meeting and Friends United Meeting 1887–2010'. Chapter in Angell, S.W., and B.P. Dandelion (ed), 2013. *The Oxford handbook of Quaker studies* (Oxford University Press, 2013) p.99.

<sup>48</sup> TEH to AIH 8 September 1922

<sup>49</sup> TEH to AIH 8 September 1922

<sup>50</sup> TEH to AIH 8 September 1922

<sup>51</sup> TEH to AIH 8 September 1922

<sup>52</sup> TEH to AIH 8 September 1922

Thomas Shillitoe was an important figure.<sup>53</sup> There was excitement when Harvey's family connection became known. Harvey wrote of his delight at the quaint dress and customs of the Conservative Friends, and how 'it seemed as though the 18th century and 20th century kissed each other'.<sup>54</sup> He then went on to North Carolina where pointedly he made unity the theme of an address he gave at Guilford College, declaring that the striving for unity was the work of faith. 'The great task of upbuilding the City of God, the heavenly commonwealth upon earth,' he said, 'is the Divine adventure to which we all are called.'<sup>55</sup> The evidence from Harvey's visit to America is consistent with the interpretation that his mission was not only official in purpose but also personal in meaning and that he was intent on offsetting the record of his ancestor's negativity by showing especial good feeling to his American co-religionists of all traditions, in a liberal project of building fellowship and unity.

Harvey's statesmanship helped launch the ascendancy of liberalism in the Anglo-American Quaker domain. Gregory Hinshaw singles out the 1922 sessions of Five Years Meeting as the crisis for the organisation in the dispute between modernists and evangelicals. He refers to Rufus Jones' report and confirms Harvey's account of proceedings by saying that 'so harmonious was the conclusion of this matter that the body approved the report without a vote and then sang 'Blest Be the Tie that Binds' and the Doxology.'<sup>56</sup> The details of Harvey's visit fill out the secondary literature. His behaviour at a crucial moment in 1922 signalled and helped strengthen the shared spirit of Anglo-American Quakerism in the face of difference. His minute of accreditation and his conduct during his visit shows his commitment to making good

---

<sup>53</sup> TEH to WH 11 September 1922

<sup>54</sup> TEH to AIH 14 September 1922

<sup>55</sup> T. Edmund Harvey, 'The Heart of Quakerism' (Leeds: Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting of the Society of Friends 1923/1925)

<sup>56</sup> Gregory P. Hinshaw, 'Five Years Meeting and Friends United Meeting 1887–2010' *ob. cit.*

for his curmudgeonly ancestor. At the meeting on his arrival in Richmond, he helped create the fourfold strategy which led to such developments as the opening of the Pendle Hill centre in 1929, with its first director being the Englishman, Henry Hodgkin.<sup>57</sup> There was his delight at the conservatives of Barnesville. He preached love and unity at Guilford College. Harvey's conduct at the upholding of the Richmond Declaration, an evangelical document, may paradoxically be seen as a success for Quaker liberalism over sectarianism, because it signalled a willingness to prefer harmony and fellowship to creedal niceties. As we have seen, the Indiana press reported that Harvey as the leader of the British delegation sought to achieve unity. This and his own account of the visit of 1922 show how important a part he played in the growing solidarity of Anglo-American liberal Quakerism.

### *League of Nations Union 1922–38*

Harvey was a supporter of the League of Nations Union for its duration, a position typical of the liberal conscience of the period. The Union was formed in 1918 based upon the ideals of the League of Nations and in the interwar years became the largest and most influential organisation in the British peace movement. Harvey regularly attended its meetings and other peace-related events in his home town of Leeds. He spoke and wrote in support of international cooperation, disarmament and the need for a universal change of heart with respect to war. This remained his position throughout the inter-war period. Unlike others in the peace movement, he did not shift his position with the triple crisis of 1936, which was the remilitarisation of the Rhineland, the final defeat of Abyssinia by the Italians in May, and the outbreak of

---

<sup>57</sup> J. William Frost 'Modernist and Liberal Quakers 1887-2010' in *Oxford Handbook of Quaker Studies*, edited by Stephen W Angell and Pink Dandelion (Oxford University Press, 2013) p.85.

the Spanish Civil War.<sup>58</sup> Indeed, as we shall see in this chapter and chapter 7 he supported appeasement and was calling for peace by negotiation well after Britain was at war again. He lent the Union support as a liberal pacifist rather than as a Quaker, because the Quakers corporately distanced themselves from the League out of an objection to collective security, the term for the League's power of military and economic coercion.<sup>59</sup>

The first instance of Harvey's support for the principles of the League came in 1922, when as the Liberal candidate for Dewsbury he put his name to a letter from other Liberal activists which supported the words of their leader Asquith that there should be 'the effective prosecution of a universal policy of disarmament on land and sea and in the air and the resolute avoidance of entangling engagements which might tie their hands and mortgage the future between separate Powers or groups of Powers.'<sup>60</sup> This repudiated the arms race and the dangerous alliances which had been causes of the First World War. His return to Parliament in January 1924 as MP for Dewsbury gave him renewed standing to offer his views on the international situation to the readers of *The Friend*.<sup>61</sup> In the article he upheld the League of Nations and called for France to moderate its policy of harsh reparations from Germany. He looked forward to the new international conference being called to revise the Treaty of Versailles, meaning the talks which led to the Treaty of Locarno of October 1925 and the admission of Germany to the League of Nations in September 1926.

---

<sup>58</sup> Martin Ceadel, *Semi-Detached Idealists: The British Peace Movement and International Relations, 1854-1945* 'Polarisation'

<sup>59</sup> Martin Ceadel 'The Quaker Peace Testimony and its contribution to the British Peace Movement: An Overview' *Quaker Studies* vol 7 no. 1 (2002) pp 25-29

<sup>60</sup> *Birmingham Daily Gazette* - Tuesday 28 March 1922 p.1

<sup>61</sup> 'Foreign Policy in the New Parliament. View of the Five Quaker M.P.'s.' *The Friend* 1st Mo. (January), 1924, Vol. LXIV, No. 1 (4/1/1924) p. 7 ff

Harvey's support for peace events in his locality may be seen in the 1930s. In March 1930 he attended the annual interdenominational disarmament service at Leeds Parish Church.<sup>62</sup> In November 1931 the League of Nations Union convened at the Empire Theatre, Leeds, a large venue and a mark of the size of the Union's following at the time.<sup>63</sup> In February 1932 Harvey addressed the Salem Brotherhood, a religious club for men, to welcome the Geneva Disarmament conference taking place that year as 'the finest opportunity civilisation has ever had to prove it is really civilised.'<sup>64</sup> He referred to the fighting in Shanghai between China and Japan to refute anti-pacifist arguments.

[T]here would be some who would say the terrible events taking place there ought to bring us up against the grim realities of international life and stop 'this foolish idealistic chatter about disarmament.' What was taking place in Shanghai, however, only gave an added reason to all the arguments that should weigh with thoughtful men and women on behalf the cause of disarmament.<sup>65</sup>

This was an instance of Harvey wrestling with the pacifist's dilemma of how to protect peace and security without strong national defence. The Geneva conference ended inconclusively in November 1934, its failure being blamed by Philip Noel-Baker on British 'hawks'.<sup>66</sup> In October 1932, Harvey referred to Japan's threatened resignation from the League, saying it would mean a great loss but it would be a far greater loss to the League if, in order to keep Japan in membership, it sacrificed the spirit of the

---

<sup>62</sup> *Yorkshire Evening Post* - Friday 14 March 1930 p.9

<sup>63</sup> *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer* - Monday 16 November 1931 p.7

<sup>64</sup> *Leeds Mercury* - Monday 01 February 1932 p.4

The Salem Brotherhood met every Sunday afternoon in the Salem chapel, Hunslet Lane. Besides a concert of popular light classics, a well-known figure of the day would give a talk. The meeting would conclude with a parting hymn sung to the tune *Austria*, 'Father, now our service ended'. (Acknowledgements to Mr Geoff Stead)

<sup>65</sup> *Leeds Mercury* - Monday 01 February 1932 p.7

<sup>66</sup> Philip Noel-Baker, *First World Disarmament Conference and Why It Failed* (Pergamon Press 1979). On Philip Noel-Baker see appendix 4.

Covenant and the rights of a great nation like China.<sup>67</sup> At a meeting of the League of Nations Union in November 1933, at which Harvey presided, the main speaker, Will Arnold-Forster, spoke of the grave situation in international affairs, for which he blamed the Western powers not Japan and Germany.<sup>68</sup> In November 1934 the Friends Service Council asked Harvey to reprise his role as a Quaker diplomat by making a preliminary peace-making investigation in the Saarland, which was about to be the subject of a referendum to return it to Germany. However, he did not think he could 'get away.'<sup>69</sup> He praised the diplomatic mission to Germany by the Foreign Secretary, Sir John Simon, in March 1935.<sup>70</sup> In the crisis of Germany's military re-occupation of the Rhineland in 1936 in contravention of the Treaty of Versailles and the Locarno Treaty, Harvey expressed cautious optimism and the 'hope there may be sympathetic examination and no angry gesture of distrust from France.'<sup>71</sup> It is noteworthy that he saw France not Nazi Germany as the main threat to peace. Also in 1936, Leeds hosted the twenty-sixth National Peace Congress.<sup>72</sup> The Congress agreed a thirteen-point programme on the basis of which the National Peace Council produced a 'Statement of Minimum Policy', emphasising the need to remedy the economic and colonial grievances of the so-called have-not powers.<sup>73</sup> Meetings of the League of Nations Union continued to be held locally but detailed proceedings went unreported, reflecting how during the 1930s the League declined because of the withdrawals of Japan and Germany in 1933, of Italy in 1937 after its invasion of

---

<sup>67</sup> *Shipley Times and Express* Saturday 15 October 1932 'Ilkley Liberal weekend School October 1932'.

<sup>68</sup> *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer* - Wednesday 15 November 1933 p.3

<sup>69</sup> TEH to AIH Friends House 1 November 1934

<sup>70</sup> John Simon to TEH, from W14, 25 March 1935

<sup>71</sup> TEH to AIH National Liberal Club 2 April 1936.

<sup>72</sup> *Leeds Mercury* - Friday 12 June 1936 p.6.

<sup>73</sup> Martin Ceadel, *Semi-Detached Idealists: The British Peace Movement and International Relations, 1854-1945* chapter 'Polarization, January 1936–March 1939' (Oxford University Press 2000)

Ethiopia, and the split in the peace movement between left and right over the civil war in Spain.<sup>74</sup>

In April 1937, newly returned to Parliament, Harvey expressed his disgust at rearmament and his support for the peace work of Philip Snowden.<sup>75</sup> Snowden died the following month. In his final years he continued to campaign for peace, like many others underestimating the threat from Nazi Germany, and preferred to work with non-political groups or Liberal friends like Harvey.<sup>76</sup> In November 1937 Harvey praised Prime Minister Chamberlain's Guildhall speech given that month in favour of the League of Nations.<sup>77</sup> The following year, the year of the Munich Agreement, he and others attending Leeds Peace Week were still disagreeing over collective security, to which the strict pacifists continued to take exception.<sup>78</sup> The Munich Agreement itself is dealt with further below in this chapter.

### Ruhr 1923–24

In March 1923 came Harvey's single most notable achievement as a Quaker emissary. This was his mission to the occupied Ruhr to negotiate improvements for political internees, an episode showing a British Quaker playing a little known role in European history of the interwar period. Mention was made in two contemporary newspapers but there is none in the secondary literature.<sup>79</sup> This was not his first

---

<sup>74</sup> *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer* - Wednesday 09 February 1938 p.3

Martin Ceadel 'The Quaker Peace Testimony and its contribution to the British Peace Movement: An Overview' *Quaker Studies* vol 7 no. 1 (2002) p 24.

<sup>75</sup> *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer* - Saturday 17 April 1937 p.14

Daily Herald - Saturday 17 April 1937 p.9.

<sup>76</sup> Duncan Tanner, 'Snowden, Philip, Viscount Snowden (1864–1937), politician.' (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 2004)

<sup>77</sup> Neville Chamberlain to TEH 10 Downing Street 15 November 1937

<sup>78</sup> *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer* - Wednesday 09 February 1938 p.3

<sup>79</sup> *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer* - Saturday 17 March 1923 p.9  
*Daily Telegraph* 17 March 1923



intervention on behalf of oppressed Germans. We have seen how after the Armistice he was at the Versailles Conference, where he attempted to intervene with the French president on behalf of German prisoners of war still held in captivity.<sup>80</sup>

In January 1923, the Germans defaulted on reparations payments and in reprisal the French and Belgians sent a military force of 60,000 men under General Jean Degoutte to extend the occupation of the Rhineland into the Ruhr. This was met by strikes and passive resistance, leading to bloodshed and imprisonments. Meeting for Sufferings made a grandiloquent public declaration that the only solution to the situation in the Ruhr was to be found in the ultimate victory of the spiritual power of love over all other forces.<sup>81</sup> More practically, the British Quakers selected as emissaries Harvey and Edith Pye, an experienced relief worker and senior midwife who had served at the maternity hospital at Chalons. The two were to go to the Ruhr to plead for those imprisoned for political reasons by the occupying forces. Joan Fry described Harvey at this point as 'ever-ready', meaning he had led relief work in wartime France and was available at short notice for similar liaison work in the Ruhr.<sup>82</sup>

Harvey travelled out ahead of Pye, leaving on 6 March and going via the Hook of Holland. He arrived at his destination, Elberfeld, on 8 March 'only after 11 or 12 trains' but set to work getting briefed at a 'long peace meeting' with the locals.<sup>83</sup> The following day he went to Dusseldorf to meet the local French commander, General Simon, who undertook to speak to his chief, General Degoutte. On 13 March

---

<sup>80</sup> Parliamentary Archives No LG/F/51/2/1; AIH to AMH 14 January 1920.

<sup>81</sup> *Shipley Times and Express* - Friday 09 February 1923 p.8  
London Yearly Meeting Proceedings 1923 p.111.

<sup>82</sup> Joan Mary Fry, *In Downcast Germany: 1919-1933* London: Edgar G. Dunstan (2nd edition), 1944 p.77

<sup>83</sup> TEH to AIH: 4,5,6 March 1923

Harvey told Irene that Simon had agreed to 'two or three' of his suggestions.<sup>84</sup> These suggestions were that the prisoners would be recognised as politicals, that they would get extended hours of exercise, the privilege of correspondence with their families, and permission to receive meals and comforts from outside.<sup>85</sup> Harvey returned briefly to London on 16 March and on 27 March went back to Germany.<sup>86</sup> From there he wrote to Irene about friendly greetings from the military authorities and was able to observe the improved treatment of the wives of the political prisoners.<sup>87</sup> He had achieved genuine improvements but was aware that relations between the occupiers and the locals remained difficult. On 31 March 1923, Easter Saturday, French soldiers shot at a group of protesting workers in the Krupp factory and killed thirteen. Writing to Irene, Harvey declined to comment on 'the sad events of Easter Saturday' preferring to dwell on the essay by William Penn in which the seventeenth century Quaker proposed a European union to ensure continental peace.<sup>88</sup> He was blunter in writing to David Bleloch, saying that he longed for a change of heart in France.<sup>89</sup> Harvey returned to England on 5 April 1923, visiting the Foreign Office to brief them on his mission, a visit which showed his good standing with the government.<sup>90</sup> There matters paused but after his election as the MP for Dewsbury in December, he continued with his interest in human rights in occupied Germany. In February 1924 he met two ministers of the new Labour government, the liberal

---

<sup>84</sup> Postcard TEH to AIH Synopsis of Correspondence 13 March 1923

<sup>85</sup> *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer* - Saturday 17 March 1923 p.9; *Yorkshire Observer* 18.v.1923: Library of the Society of Friends reference News 051.4; General Simon's status is verified by a report in *Birmingham Daily Gazette* - Saturday 13 January 1923 p.1

<sup>86</sup> AIH to TEH 16 March 1923

TEH to AIH 28 March 1923 (second letter)

<sup>87</sup> TEH to AIH 31 March 1923

<sup>88</sup> TEH to AIH 2 April 1923

<sup>89</sup> TEH to DB 23 April 1923

<sup>90</sup> TEH to IAH 5 April 1923.

pacifists Lord Parmoor and Arthur Ponsonby.<sup>91</sup> The meeting led to Harvey putting an oral Parliamentary question about numbers of Germans deported from occupied territories.<sup>92</sup> The exchange served the purpose, presumably agreed at the ministerial meeting, of publicising the continuing question of human rights in the occupied zone as a way of keeping up pressure on the French. From May 1924 onwards the French began to yield, swayed less by British disapproval as by the offer of financial help from the Americans, and in August 1924 the US-originated Dawes Plan restructured Germany's reparations debt leading to a French withdrawal from the Ruhr.

Harvey contributed to resolving the crisis of the Ruhr by helping to build goodwill and trust. He showed interpersonal skills lacking in other Quakers. Edith Pye, Harvey's partner emissary, returned from Germany denouncing the behaviour of the French military, alleging 'a complete absence of civil justice' which she believed had sown the seeds of implacable future enmity.<sup>93</sup> Similarly outspoken was Joan M. Fry. In May 1923 she together with two other Quakers paid a second visit to the Ruhr.<sup>94</sup> General Degoutte, who previously had instructed his deputy Simon to assist Harvey, refused them permission to visit prisons run by the French so they had to make do with visiting those under Belgian control.<sup>95</sup> The failure of the second mission to win French cooperation may have been due to Fry's character. Lady D'Abernon, the wife of Britain's first ambassador to Germany after the First World War, took

---

<sup>91</sup> London Yearly Meeting Proceedings 1924 p.73.

<sup>92</sup> Questions To Minister Jubaland Negotiations In Progress Satisfactory *The Manchester Guardian* May 1, 1924 p.4

<sup>93</sup> Sybil Oldfield, "Pye, Edith Mary (1876–1965), midwife and international relief organizer." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004)

Notice of a public meeting 'What to do about the Ruhr': Common Cause - Friday 02 November 1923; *Londonderry Sentinel* - Tuesday 04 December 1923 p.7

<sup>94</sup> David G. Williamson, *The British in Interwar Germany: The Reluctant Occupiers, 1918-30*

<sup>95</sup> Joan Mary Fry, *In Downcast Germany: 1919-1933* (London: Edgar G. Dunstan 2nd edition 1944) p.82.

against her, finding that 'Miss Fry is all self-sacrifice and burning enthusiasm but her compassion seems to be reserved almost exclusively for the Germans. She shies away from any allusion to suffering and privation in Great Britain.'<sup>96</sup> Harvey's contrasting success was due to his emollient and the reputation he had gained, as the leader of Quaker wartime relief workers, for his services to France and for handling the military and civilian authorities with tact and understanding. One may speculate that good feeling was also induced by a shared masculine habit of tobacco-smoking.

### MP for Dewsbury 1924

Having been de-selected in 1918, Harvey searched elsewhere for a candidacy, succeeding in becoming the Liberal prospective parliamentary candidate for Dewsbury in 1921. On doing so he resigned as warden of the Swarthmore Settlement, the adult school in Leeds.<sup>97</sup> He narrowly failed at the general election of November 1922 but won the seat at the general election of December 1923, formally becoming an MP again when Parliament resumed sitting in January 1924. He was in a straight fight with Labour because the Conservative candidate left the field for personal reasons too late for his local association to find a replacement, though at the next election, in October 1924, the Conservatives were to claim they had deliberately stepped aside to spare Dewsbury the fate of a socialist MP.<sup>98</sup> His return to the House of Commons as Liberal MP for Dewsbury coincided with the ten months

---

<sup>96</sup> Julia Boyd, *Travellers in the Third Reich: The Rise Of Fascism Through The Eyes Of Everyday People* (London: Elliott and Thompson Ltd, 2017) p.37

<sup>97</sup> 'An Experiment in Adult Education in the City of Leeds 1909–49' The Swarthmore Centre's 40<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Report

<sup>98</sup> C. J. James, *MP for Dewsbury* (Dewsbury 1970) p.185

of the first Labour government, during which time he attacked the government's armament's programme but supported it over education and housing.

A controversy over naval disarmament was an occasion for a happy coincidence of Harvey's Quaker peace testimony and party politics, a coincidence of the liberal Quaker and the Quaker Liberal. In February 1924, Harvey was one of the signatories to an open letter from Liberal parliamentarians on a planned expansion of the Royal Navy which, the letter contended, was against the Washington Naval Conference of 1921–22.<sup>99</sup> The letter opposed the decision of the Labour government to carry on with the preceding Conservative administration's plan for five new cruisers, warships important for protecting maritime commerce with the Empire. The Liberals held more warships to be unnecessary from the standpoint of defence, morally wrong as out with the spirit if not the letter of the Washington agreement and economically disastrous because extravagant of public funds. As well as adding his name to the open letter, in April 1924 Harvey told his Liberal constituents of Dewsbury of his disappointment in Ramsay MacDonald, his old comrade-in-arms from the struggle over the Masai.

What a contrast we've had already between Labour platform promises at the election and the Labour Government. What a contrast we have seen between the speeches and votes of the present Labour Ministers and those they gave when in Opposition, a year ago.<sup>100</sup>

To build five cruisers would 'begin again the wretched, mad race in armaments' which had led to war in 1914, Harvey went on.<sup>101</sup> The Quakers corporately lent support. In a public letter to Prime Minister MacDonald, the Clerk of Meeting for Sufferings reiterated the points Harvey had made about renewed rivalry in

---

<sup>99</sup> *Western Morning News* - Wednesday 27 February 1924 p.5

<sup>100</sup> *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer* – Monday 07 April 1924 p.11

<sup>101</sup> *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer* – Monday 07 April 1924 p.11

armaments, loss of good will amongst nations, and keeping men in work by building ships whose purpose was purely destructive and would be paid for by excessive taxation involving the unemployment of other men.<sup>102</sup> MacDonald ignored the various representations and continued with the naval building programme because he was pursuing normality and so regarded the naval programme as an inherited responsibility in regard to the vital matter of national defence.

The episode of the five cruisers, when a left-leaning British government rejected the spirit if not the letter of multilateral naval disarmament, was an opportunity for Harvey to act on a coincidence of Quaker testimony and party-political protest. Quakers on both sides of the Atlantic had welcomed the Washington Naval Conference, hoping it would be a first step along the road to a general disarmament treaty.<sup>103</sup> Harvey commended the Conference as a pacifist but also to embarrass the government of the day. Party-political considerations amongst Quakers generated a sharp exchange of correspondence in the columns of *The Friend* between two Quaker MPs, John Hobbis Harris, the Liberal MP for Hackney, and Walter H. Ayles, a Labour backbencher. Ayles represented an emerging breed of British Friends unconnected with the Society by birth and uninterested in historic Quakerism but socially active and staunchly pacifist.<sup>104</sup> Ayles gave rise to another instance of partisanship when Harvey chose to do nothing about a utopian Disarmament Bill Ayles put forward in July 1924.<sup>105</sup> Here we glimpse Harvey as a political animal,

---

<sup>102</sup> Library of the Society of Friends: Peace Committee 1/25, reprinted from *The Friend* of 14 March 1924

<sup>103</sup> Maureen Waugh, 'Quakers, Peace and the League of Nations: The Role of Bertram Pickard,' *Quaker Studies* Vol. 6: Iss. 1, (2002) Article 4. p.66

<sup>104</sup> *The Friend* 20 June 1924 p. 482. *The Friend* 4 July 1924 p.542

Thomas C. Kennedy *British Quakerism 1860-1920* p. 416

<sup>105</sup> AIH to TEH 6 July 1924 from 'Hill Court'; TEH to AIH 7 July 1924.

withholding cooperation with another Quaker parliamentarian for partisan reasons as well as the impracticality of the proposal.

There was accord with Labour on other issues. As shown above, Harvey cooperated with Foreign Office ministers over the occupation of the Ruhr. In addition, he supported the Labour government's policies on housing and education. Charles Trevelyan, the pacifist and former Liberal who was Ramsay MacDonald's President of the Board of Education, came to office armed with a policy document compiled by Harvey's colleague from Toynbee Hall, the Christian and ethical socialist R. H. Tawney. Tawney wanted to undo the economies of the Geddes committee which had reported in February 1922 on 'squandermania'.<sup>106</sup> On 21 February 1924 Harvey asked two parliamentary questions of Trevelyan, to which the minister replied lamely.<sup>107</sup> Harvey publicly pressed the cause of education reform by a plea for better schools in the slums that he made to the conference of the National Association of Schoolmasters held in Leeds in April, and by an article the following year in *The Contemporary Review*.<sup>108</sup> Ramsay MacDonald's minister of health, John Wheatley, a more effective minister than Trevelyan, sought to tackle the housing shortage with a Housing (Financial Provisions) Act. Harvey found Wheatley's proposals 'interesting' and sat on the Grand Committee on his Rent Restriction Bill.<sup>109</sup>

Despite the consensus between Harvey and Labour ministers on domestic matters, the Liberals collectively were unwilling to keep Ramsay MacDonald in power when the Campbell case arose. This involved charges against a British communist newspaper editor, J. R. Campbell, for alleged incitement to mutiny. Ramsay

---

<sup>106</sup> R. H. Tawney, *Secondary education for all* (A&C Black, 1924)

<sup>107</sup> Head Teachers (Class Teaching) HCDeb Volume 169: debated on Thursday 21 February 1924

<sup>108</sup> *Yorkshire Post*, Wednesday, 23 April 1924 p.9

'The Next Step in Educational Reform' *The Contemporary Review* 1 July 1925 p. 481 ff

<sup>109</sup> TEH to AIH 7 May 1924; TEH to AIH 4 June 1924

MacDonald's action in suspending the prosecution was instrumental in the fall of his government, precipitating a general election in October 1924. In Dewsbury the Labour candidate headed the poll, Harvey coming third behind the Unionist candidate. After losing his seat he gave his time 'increasingly to religious & non-political social work, especially in connection with prison visitation & the aid of discharged prisoners and have taken less & less part in politics in the narrower sense of the word.'<sup>110</sup> Despite his saying this, the evidence is that he continued to be active for Liberals until 1931. In 1926 he and other Liberal worthies were portrayed in a press cartoon, 'A Leeds Liberal Gathering'.<sup>111</sup> In 1927 he was adopted as the prospective Liberal candidate for North Leeds.<sup>112</sup> In the 'flapper' general election of 1929, Irene provided an address to the women voters of North Leeds to supplement her husband's address, as was common for candidates' wives at that election.<sup>113</sup> This was to no avail as he came bottom of the poll. Campaigning in the Shipley by-election in October–November 1930 he shared platforms with Ramsay Muir in support of the Liberal candidate.<sup>114</sup> In October 1931 Pudsey and Otley Liberals invited Harvey to be their nominee but in the event the Liberals did not field a candidate.<sup>115</sup>

I was on the point of being adopted as a candidate in another division (Pudsey & Otley) when the 1931 crisis supervened: the Liberals in the division were not united as to the desirability of contesting the seat against a "national" sitting member and I decided not to stand.<sup>116</sup>

---

<sup>110</sup> History of Parliament, Wedgwood Questionnaires, 'Harvey, T Edmund'

<sup>111</sup> *Yorkshire Evening Post* Wednesday June 30, 1926, p. 3

<sup>112</sup> *Leeds Mercury* - Tuesday 13 September 1927 p.6

<sup>113</sup> Election addresses Library of the Society of Friends

<sup>114</sup> *Shipley Times and Express* - Saturday 25 October 1930 p.6

<sup>115</sup> *Leeds Mercury* - Tuesday 29 September 1931 p.1

*Leeds Mercury* - Friday 09 October 1931 p.5

<sup>116</sup> History of Parliament, Wedgwood Questionnaires, 'Harvey, T Edmund'



The 1931 crisis arose when the minority Labour government under Ramsay MacDonald found itself faced with a budgetary crisis. In August that year MacDonald opted to form an emergency coalition government with Conservatives and Liberals, alienating most of his supporters in the process, and called an election two months later to seek support for any means necessary to deal with the economic crisis. In the country at large, as in Pudsey and Otley, the Liberals were divided on what to do. The election in October 1931 saw the National Government returned with a huge majority but it was a Conservative administration in all but name. The Liberal party split into three factions. In their weakened state, in October 1935 the Liberals decided not to contest North Leeds though by this stage Harvey was not in contention as a candidate.<sup>117</sup> However, as described further below, less than two years later, in March 1937 he found himself back in Parliament as an independent.

### *Guild of St George 1934–1951*

As a liberal Quaker Harvey represents the continuing influence of the Victorian prophet John Ruskin. In 1934 Harvey was appointed the Master of the Guild of St George, the charity founded by Ruskin in 1871. Harvey shared with the progressive-minded, liberal Christian clerisy, including Quakers such as John William Graham, sympathy for Ruskin's vision of the inter-connectedness of social action, religion and ethics. Harvey explained this vision and the purpose of the Guild in a pamphlet he wrote shortly after his appointment as Master.

The Guild of St George was founded by John Ruskin to carry out a way of living and promote a view of life which he held to be essential to the well-being of the nation. [...] Despite great achievements through social legislation and beneficent work accomplished by voluntary bodies, the evils

---

<sup>117</sup> *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer* - Wednesday 30 October 1935 p.8

against which Ruskin strove are in some respects greater today; there is a more urgent need for those who perceive them to work together for the realisation of a better way of life and to spread the desire for it.<sup>118</sup>

In keeping with a liberal's preference for pragmatism and gradualism, Harvey went on that the spiritual and ethical basis of Ruskin's teaching was an absence of dogma. Insofar as Ruskin had a creed, Harvey explained, its elements were trust in the living God, in the nobleness of human nature; a commitment to labouring for one's own daily bread; integrity; a commitment to strive for duty and happiness; obedience to the laws of the country and those in authority 'so far as such laws and commands are consistent with what I suppose to be the law of God; and when they are not, or seem in anywise to need change, I will oppose them loyally and deliberately, not with malicious, concealed or disorderly violence.'<sup>119</sup> These last words reflect Harvey's moderate pacifism and belief in non-absolutist conscientious objection which are explained further in chapter 8. A later Master of the Guild explained it is a small organisation whose activities are suggestive rather than transformational and that it quietly adapts to changing circumstances and needs.<sup>120</sup> Harvey played his part in maintaining the legacy of Ruskin, which remained real if imperceptible in the post-Victorian era.

Apart from Harvey's affinity with Ruskin's aims and values, another reason for his involvement in the Guild of St George was his familiarity with the world of the arts through his family's art collection, a familiarity which was at variance with Quakers' historic disapproval of the arts. Harvey's father William had inherited art works collected between 1840 and 1860 by his uncle, Harvey's great-uncle, William

---

<sup>118</sup> 'The Guild of St George: Descriptive pamphlet by the Master T. Edmund Harvey' (1934): Library of the Society of Friends ref 077 HAR

<sup>119</sup> 'The Guild of St George: Descriptive pamphlet by the Master T. Edmund Harvey' (1934): Library of the Society of Friends ref 077 HAR

<sup>120</sup> James Shackley Dearden, *John Ruskin's Guild of St George* (Guild of St George, 2010).

Harvey of Barnsley. In the houses of Harvey's youth the walls were covered with his great-uncle William's pictures which, says Edward Milligan, 'offered to Edmund Harvey and his brothers and sisters an aesthetic environment which few Quaker children of that time enjoyed.'<sup>121</sup> In 1917 Harvey's father made over to a body of five trustees for the benefit of the public a group of fifty-three pictures, most of them by Dutch and Flemish masters of the seventeenth century, comprising the greater part of the collection. Harvey was one of the trustees and a witness of the trust deed.<sup>122</sup> Related to the management of the Trust was the donation Harvey made in 1936 to the Ruskin Museum in Sheffield of a fifteenth century *Madonna and Child*.<sup>123</sup> The Trust formed the kernel of a larger scheme which replaced it in due course, and was wound up by 2002.<sup>124</sup> Harvey's connection with the world of art is also evident from his association with Mark Gertler who was a houseguest of Harvey in 1911, and in 1912 painted a portrait of Harvey and a contrasting one of his wife, he as the scholar in profile against a background of loaded bookshelves and she daintily in Quaker dress against a pastoral scene.<sup>125</sup> Harvey knew other artists. His book of fables, *Poor Raoul*, shows the influence of his friend, Laurence Housman, and is illustrated with two pictures by John C. Procter plus a headpiece and tailpiece by Mrs Douglas Pepler.<sup>126</sup> John Clifford Procter, a Leeds Quaker, was better known as an architect.

---

<sup>121</sup> Milligan typescript chapter 2.

<sup>122</sup> Tate Gallery Archives TG 17/3/17/4.

<sup>123</sup> Guild of St George Annual Report 1935-36, p.19. The painting remains in the collection of Sheffield Museum: CGSG00770, a Virgin and Child with Angels, by or after Cosimo Rosselli.

<sup>124</sup> The National Loan Collection Trust <http://beta.charitycommission.gov.uk/charity-details/?subid=0&regid=260686>

<sup>125</sup> Mark Gertler 1891–1939

<https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/thomas-edmund-harvey-18751955-37747>

[https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/alice-irene-harvey-37545/search/actor:gertler-mark-18911939/sort\\_by/object.summary\\_title\\_sort/order/asc/page/1/view\\_as/grid](https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/alice-irene-harvey-37545/search/actor:gertler-mark-18911939/sort_by/object.summary_title_sort/order/asc/page/1/view_as/grid)

T. Edmund Harvey and Irene Harvey to J.W. Harvey 11 October 1911, Brotherton Library MS 1701/6(i)(b)

<sup>126</sup> *Poor Raoul and other fables* (London: Dent & Co; 1905)

The Quaker Harry Douglas Clark Pepler married Clare Whiteman in 1904 and the couple were neighbours of the Harveys in Hammersmith Terrace.<sup>127</sup>

### Combined English Universities 1937

It was largely by luck that Harvey was able to continue his career as a Quaker liberal politician when he got back into parliament in 1937, and it was by an accident of history that the coming of war in 1939 postponed a dissolution until June 1945, after victory in Europe. This meant that he again was an MP in wartime and for an extended period. As noted above, after losing Dewsbury in October 1924, Harvey made a number of attempts to get back into Parliament and by 1936 had given up.<sup>128</sup> Yet his opportunity came just the next year, in March 1937, with a by-election occasioned by the death of Sir Reginald Craddock, one of the two members of the constituency of the Combined English Universities. Until their abolition in 1950 there were seven university constituencies, the electors being the universities' graduates. Some of the constituencies, including the Combined English Universities, had two members. The two were elected at general elections by single transferable vote and at by-elections by first-past-the-post. Harvey was nominated by professors of education in the constituent universities, including the University of Leeds, of whose Court he was a member.<sup>129</sup> Other influential figures supporting Harvey were Sir Arthur Salter, the MP for the sister constituency of Oxford University; Major James Milner, the MP for East Leeds; Sir Arthur Eddington, the Quaker scientist; and Michael Sadler, Harvey's cousin and partner in matters educational, who had been

---

<sup>127</sup> TEH to WH Hammersmith Terrace 5 October 1912

<sup>128</sup> History of Parliament, Wedgwood Questionnaires, 'Harvey, T Edmund'.

<sup>129</sup> *Yorkshire Evening Post* - Monday 15 March 1937 p.11

knighted in 1919.<sup>130</sup> The invitation to stand came as a surprise but he had ‘warm support from Labour as well as Liberal & non-party folk, and some Conservatives even’.<sup>131</sup> Harvey’s election address dealt with the necessity of maintaining academic freedom, extending the education system and ‘pursuing a foreign policy aimed at removing the causes of international grievances which lead to war’.<sup>132</sup> The address described Harvey as an Independent Progressive candidate aligned with the Next Five Years Group.<sup>133</sup> He had been associated with the Group since it was founded in 1935 by the pacifist Clifford Allen, Lord Hurtwood, for whom, as noted in chapter 3, Harvey had appeared as a character witness at his court martial in 1916. Members of the Group included B. Seebohm Rowntree, the Quaker social researcher, Eleanor Rathbone, Harvey’s co-MP for the Combined English Universities, and Harold Macmillan, the future Prime Minister and one of the few Conservatives to join.<sup>134</sup> Hurtwood pursued liberal, rational, humane values and a British equivalent of US President Roosevelt’s New Deal. The Group’s foreign policy was that which was standard to the peace movement of the day, entailing support for the League of Nations and a commitment to ‘re-create and reconstitute the basis upon which the League could work’, which was sufficiently vague as to satisfy strict pacifists who objected to the League’s principle of collective security.<sup>135</sup> The Group’s foreign policy differed from that of the twenty Liberals MPs under their leader Sir Archibald Sinclair, who in the 1930s moved from general support for the League of Nations towards anti-appeasement, supporting Winston Churchill in warning of the dangers posed by

---

<sup>130</sup> *Sheffield Independent* - Friday 12 March 1937 p.5

<sup>131</sup> Harvey to Josiah Wedgwood, 8/3/1937

<sup>132</sup> ‘Mr. Harvey’s Election Address’, *The Manchester Guardian* 6 March 1937 p.19

<sup>133</sup> *Sheffield Independent* - Friday 12 March 1937 p.5

<sup>134</sup> Daniel Ritschel, ‘Next Five Years group (active 1934–1938).’ (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 2007)

<sup>135</sup> *Nottingham Journal* - Wednesday 14 April 1937 p.7

Nazi Germany and of the need to rearm. It was not the Group's foreign but its domestic policies which broke new ground with ideas anticipating the post-war consensus about economic planning, the mixed economy, and Keynesian economics.<sup>136</sup>

The Liberal party did not field a candidate at the by-election. Ramsay Muir, vice-president of the Liberal party and its leading intellectual, was invited to stand but did not do so when Harvey, who had already been nominated, refused to give way, a rare instance of ruthlessness on his part.<sup>137</sup> The Quaker educationalist Harold Loukes later recalled asking Harvey if it were possible to be a Christian in the House of Commons. Probably with this episode in mind, Harvey replied, 'Yes, I think it is, but it is terribly hard to be one while you are getting there'.<sup>138</sup> Harvey topped the poll ahead of a Conservative, Francis Oswald Lindley, and an Independent Liberal, Henry Britten Brackenbury. In his victory speech Harvey extolled the merit of representatives of the universities being 'independent and free to approach the problems before Parliament without party bias'.<sup>139</sup> Praising how victory had been achieved by *ad hoc* organisation, Harvey took his election as evidence that his electors 'were desirous of affirming their conviction of the need for more active constructive measures for international peace closely linked with the development of the League of Nations, and also more far-reaching methods of reconstruction at

---

<sup>136</sup> Daniel Ritschel, 'The Politics of Planning: The Debate on Economic Planning in Britain in the 1930s' (Dictionary of National Biography, print publication date: 1997)

<sup>137</sup> *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer* - Thursday 25 February 1937 p.12

<sup>138</sup> *The Friend* 15 August 1952 p.730

<sup>139</sup> *Yorkshire Evening Post* - Monday 22 March 1937 p.13

home to secure social justice.<sup>140</sup> Despite the upset over the nomination, Ramsay Muir and Sir Archibald Sinclair sent messages of congratulation.<sup>141</sup>

### *Two speeches and Captain Ramsay 1937–38*

Harvey's return to Parliament in March 1937 meant he was again a voice for Quaker values in the House of Commons but this time, unlike in his earlier terms, unencumbered by party affiliation. His return was in time to support the abortive Criminal Justice Bill, as explained in chapter 6. The period as a whole, however, was dominated by rising international tension. In September 1937 came the first international conference of Friends since that of 1920. It was at this conference that Harvey spoke the words about the duty of the conscientious objector which encapsulated his moral theology of conscientious objection and are dealt with at length in chapter 8. His address also linked the peace testimony with Christian personalist theology. 'The experience of God which Christ brings to us makes every human personality sacred.'<sup>142</sup> He went on to enunciate his Christian pacifism.

As the spirit of Christ brings men into harmony with the Divine Will it takes away the cause of strife. Fellowship with Christ makes it possible to rise above the level of our lowest animal nature [...] We must renounce war and the methods of war, because war in its nature is contrary to this spirit and has no regard for the sacredness of human personality.<sup>143</sup>

He agreed with those who contended that socio-economic conditions were important for peace. 'Social and industrial relationships which are out of harmony with Christ's

---

<sup>140</sup> *Yorkshire Evening Post* - Monday 22 March 1937 p.13

<sup>141</sup> *The Times*, 23 March 1937 p.16

<sup>142</sup> E. W. Orr, *The Quakers in Peace and War 1920-1967: The Quaker attitude to war* (Eastbourne: W. J. Offord and Son Ltd 1974) pp 96-97, quoting the Friends World Conference 1937 proceedings pp 15-19

<sup>143</sup> E. W. Orr, *The Quakers in Peace and War 1920-1967* pp 96-7

Spirit must go if God's will is to be done on earth as in heaven. It is part of our tasks to help in that transformation.'<sup>144</sup>

He made the same point about the socio-political dimension of pacifism in a second speech that year. On this occasion the audience was not Quaker but parliamentary. In the debate on the Royal Address at the state opening of Parliament in October 1937, he said, 'I feel that all our efforts for social reform and all our hope for a changed and better society are linked up with the maintenance of, or rather I should say the making of, peace.'<sup>145</sup> Using a word which was later to garner opprobrium he regretted how, 'opportunities of appeasement have been passed by, with lamentable results.' He departed from his usual call for disarmament by acknowledging the short-term argument for strong defence. 'However necessary the rearmament programme may be felt to be, it can be at best only an opportunity for us to get the peace which the world needs, and for which the peoples of the world are hungering.' He urged the Government to make the League of Nations the main inspiration of all their foreign policy and to help rebuild it. He urged action on a resolution passed by the Imperial Conference held six months earlier which had called for the Covenant of the League to be separated from the Treaty of Versailles, meaning that the League should no longer be charged with enforcing the Treaty. Re-iterating his point about lost opportunities for appeasement he said that, rather than the Treaty of Versailles being torn up piecemeal, it would be better for the future peace of Europe had Great Britain and France taken the lead in revising it instead of waiting for action to be taken by the aggrieved nations. This was a reference to the defiance of the Versailles Treaty and the withdrawal from the League of Nations of

---

<sup>144</sup> E. W. Orr, *The Quakers in Peace and War 1920-1967*

<sup>145</sup> Debate On The Address, HC Deb 27 October 1937 Vol 328 cc187ff



the powers which were to form the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis. It was a rather ill-informed remark given that two of the 'aggrieved nations' who were defying the League and were to join the Axis – Italy and Japan – had been on the winning side in the First World War. It is significant, and somewhat discomfiting, that even as late as 1937 Harvey was blaming Britain and France for rising international tension. He urged Britain to take the lead in preliminary preparations for a major reforming peace conference, commending the words of US President Roosevelt who had called for a cooperative search for peace by all nations. Turning to the civil war in Spain, Harvey applauded the government's stated aim to do everything in their power to help restore peace among the Spanish people. Adopting religious language, he declared 'The body of Christendom is rent'. Harvey appealed to the Government to use their influence with General Franco to help refugees and to spare the lives of Republican prisoners. 'Horrible executions only build hatred and bitterness and the piling up of feelings of revenge, which can never make a good foundation for the social structure of the future.'<sup>146</sup> He ended the speech by asking the Government to address themselves to the rebuilding of the League. It is evident from his speech, and it was the case with Harvey generally, that he did not see international tensions in simple binary terms as between good and evil, between the democracies and the dictatorships. For example, on 18 November 1937 he and a number of other luminaries with an interest in academic freedom published a letter in *The Times* complaining about antisemitic discrimination in Polish universities. They asked, 'Will it enhance the good name or the welfare of the Polish republic if such a spirit of

---

<sup>146</sup> Debate On The Address

intolerance is officially allowed and deliberately fostered in the very institutions in which are trained our future legislators and administrators?<sup>147</sup>

In a different vein, Harvey got a headline in the Quaker-owned *News Chronicle* in June 1938 from an attempt by a right-wing MP to unmask subversives in the peace movement. The Conservative MP Captain Archibald Ramsay, a pro-Franco anti-communist and anti-semite, introduced an Aliens Restriction (Blasphemy) Bill to prevent aliens participating in assemblies for propagating blasphemous or atheistic doctrines. Ramsay's aim was to stop a Soviet communist, anti-religious organisation, the League of Militant Godless, carrying out its intention to hold a conference in Britain.<sup>148</sup> Opposing the Bill and in a call for tolerance, Harvey cited James Naylor and Charles Bradlaugh.

Earliest Christian missionaries were regarded as atheists and enemies of the human race ... St Augustine was an alien... Three hundred years ago a Puritan House of Commons condemned for blasphemy a Quaker whose tongue was bored with red-hot irons and whose forehead was branded. The House dishonoured itself more than its victim. Fifty years ago the House 'chucked out' of membership one whom they regarded as an atheist, and when he lay dying the House expunged the records. Let us not go back on history.<sup>149</sup>

The exchange with Ramsay, in which he defended the Quakers against the charge of extreme radicalism and dealt with his opponent light-heartedly, was reported on the radio.<sup>150</sup> In addition, for the first and only time in his career he earned several columns of press coverage in a national newspaper. Things turned out differently for Captain Ramsay who in 1940 became the only British MP to be interned under

---

<sup>147</sup> *Nature* 27 November 1937 p. 925

<sup>148</sup> League Of Godless (Conference.) HC Deb 11 November 1937 vol 328 cc1836-7

<sup>149</sup> "According to Conscience" *News Chronicle* 9 June 1938.

<sup>150</sup> AIH to TEH 28 June 1938

wartime regulations. In 1943 Harvey showed characteristic generosity of spirit in appealing for his release.<sup>151</sup>

### Munich Agreement 1938

Harvey's Quaker pacifism was challenged in 1938 by the Anschluss followed by the enlarged Reich's demands on Czechoslovakia. Harvey reacted anxiously. On 24 March 1938 he listened to a 'powerful speech from Churchill on Europe dominated by Germany', which Harvey said was 'a terribly depressing picture with a warlike fire inspiring him as he spoke'.<sup>152</sup> Harvey would have been upset by Churchill's argument that 'War will be avoided, in present circumstances, only by the accumulation of deterrents against the aggressor'.<sup>153</sup> On 25 May 1938, Harvey reported that Prague was preparing for armed resistance to invasion and that Churchill was demanding the appointment of a Minister of Supply, which he said would be one more step towards war.<sup>154</sup> Then at the end of September came the Munich Agreement, by which Germany, Italy, Britain, and France forced Czechoslovakia to surrender its border regions to Nazi Germany. Harvey was amongst the many MPs who welcomed Prime Minister Chamberlain back to Parliament after the Agreement, telling Irene how Chamberlain 'carried the House away — many congratulated him, me included'.<sup>155</sup> However, Harvey feared war had been averted, if at all, only at a very great price. In a letter to the press and in the annual report of the Guild of St George, he wrote of relief that war had been averted and of his gratitude to the Czechs for their

---

<sup>151</sup> Detained Member Of Parliament HC Deb 16 December 1943 vol 395 cc1668-9

<sup>152</sup> TEH to AIH, 24 March 1938.

<sup>153</sup> Foreign Affairs And Rearmament, HC Deb 24 March 1938 vol 333 cc1444

<sup>154</sup> TEH to AIH 25 May 1938

<sup>155</sup> TEH to AIH House of Commons. The letter is dated 28 September 1938 in the Synopsis of Correspondence but the Munich Agreement is dated 29 September and Chamberlain gave his statement to the House on 3 October 1938. HC Deb 03 October 1938 vol 339 cc40-162

sacrifice.<sup>156</sup> Europe had been saved from war but at the cost of ‘a small nation yielding with dignity to overwhelming force used with harsh and inexorable insistence’.

If in thankful relief for deliverance from war we forget the price that others have paid for us, and ignore our own responsibility for the conditions which have made the crisis possible, we cannot expect anything more than a postponement of the evil which our world has escaped so narrowly.<sup>157</sup>

He took the standard pacifist line which he had not altogether followed in his speech on the Royal Address, that the solution did not lie in British rearmament for ‘If the energy and thought of the nation should be given in large measure to increased rearmament there will be similar response elsewhere, and the final catastrophe will not be averted but made greater.’<sup>158</sup> He repeated the point he had made in Parliament about the insecure foundations of a social structure built upon the self-interest of individuals and of individual nations. He went on that the widespread abhorrence of war evident everywhere gave ground for hope but there must be sacrifice of personal and national advantage for the sake of that ‘great society of nations to which we all belong, and in which when one member suffers the whole body suffers with it.’<sup>159</sup> Harvey set out how such an international society might be formed at a special Quaker conference on the Munich Agreement the following month, November 1938.

A nine-point programme for international transformation, drafted by Harvey and others, was one of the items on the agenda of a special gathering on the Munich Agreement of some 1,200–1,500 Quakers held at Friends House, London, on 19–20

---

<sup>156</sup> ‘Correspondence after Munich: Mr. Edmund Harvey, M.P. and the lesser evil’ *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer* - Monday 10 October 1938 p.6

<sup>157</sup> Guild of St George Annual Report 1937–1938 p. 8.

<sup>158</sup> ‘Correspondence after Munich: Mr. Edmund Harvey, M.P. and the lesser evil’ *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer* - Monday 10 October 1938 p.6.

<sup>159</sup> Guild of St George Annual Report 1937-1938 p. 8

November 1938.<sup>160</sup> That such a special gathering was convened when an international All Friends Conference had taken place only the previous year is an indication of the Quakers' concern.<sup>161</sup> Most of the nine points favoured German interests, including the standard proposal from the peace movement for amending the Versailles Treaty by removing the war guilt clause and restoring Germany's colonial rights. One proposal, antithetical to totalitarian regimes' policy of autarchy, was for continental economic integration, which anticipated post-war developments. Crucially, and as a test of sincerity, the nine-point programme required all governments to negotiate for arms reductions and, as another test of good faith, to withdraw their troops from Spain.<sup>162</sup> These tests were impossible for Germany and Italy, if not for all the Powers, and meant that the nine points were not a practical solution to the crisis but a vision of a new European order.

### Chapter summary

Chapter 5 shows how Harvey as a liberal Quaker and Quaker Liberal is well seen in the interwar years across a range of activities. He continued his wartime work as an international Quaker emissary. His mission to eastern Europe in 1920 led him to campaign against the Russo-Polish war, a campaign which reflected the tendency of well-meaning liberals to under-estimate the power of the ideological forces at play in the world. His visit to the US in 1922 made him an important figure in the rise of liberalism in Anglo-American Quakerdom. He was a typical liberal supporter of the

---

<sup>160</sup> London Yearly Meeting Proceedings 1938-40 Library of the Society of Friends.

*The Friend* 25 November 1938 pp 1025-1038

<sup>161</sup> Friends World Conference official report held at Swarthmore and Haverford Colleges near Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, September 1st to 8th 1937 / prepared by an editorial committee appointed by the Conference Business Committee (2nd edition: Philadelphia 1937)

<sup>162</sup> *The Friend* 25 November 1938 pp 1025-1038

League of Nations, hoping for a peaceful world order and urging disarmament. His mission to the Ruhr in 1923 on behalf of political prisoners was an outstanding and previously unknown example of Quaker mediation. As MP for Dewsbury during the Labour government of 1924, he opposed rearmament both as a Quaker and a Liberal, while supporting domestic reforms. His Mastership of John Ruskin's Guild of St George reflected his liberal Christian respect for the Victorian prophet and his privilege as heir to an art collection. His return to Parliament in March 1937 as an Independent Progressive gave him scope to promulgate the pacifist message and protect minority rights. His words in the debate on the Royal Address about resetting the international order, together with the proposals which he contributed to the Quaker conference on the Munich Agreement in November 1938, served as a vision for the future and as evidence of Harvey as an unwavering witness to peace.

## Chapter 6: Prison visitor, 1921–51

### Introduction

This chapter is about Harvey's thirty years as a prison visitor 1921–51, the cause closest to his heart and an example of sustained Quaker faith in action. The chapter is in three sections. The first chronicles Harvey's involvement with prisoners and prison reform. This covers his campaigning for suffragette prisoners in 1912; his parliamentary campaign in 1917–18 for a departmental enquiry; his thirty years as a prison visitor 1921–51; his support for the abortive Criminal Justice Bill on his return to Parliament in 1937; his book of 1941, *The Christian Church and the Prisoner in English Experience*; and his periodical article on the Criminal Justice Bill of 1947, when he raised the question of capital punishment. The second section analyses Harvey's interest and motivation by comparing him with the historic prison reformer, Elizabeth Fry, and with contemporaries Evelyn Ruggles-Brise, Stephen Hobhouse, Fenner Brockway, and Margery Fry. The section concludes, thirdly, by considering the light that is shed on Harvey's career as a prison visitor by two studies, one on the changing penal culture of the time and the other on the 'disinheritance of the spirit'.<sup>1</sup>

### Harvey's involvement with prisoners and prison reform

#### Origins of his interest 1912–22

This first part of the chronicle covers 1912–22 and deals with the origins of Harvey's interest in prison inmates and his parliamentary campaign in the First World War on

---

<sup>1</sup> Victor Bailey, *The Rise and Fall of the Rehabilitative Ideal, 1895–1970* (Routledge, 2019)  
Frank Prochaska, *Christianity and Social Service in Modern Britain: The Disinherited Spirit* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008)

their behalf. As we have seen in chapter 2, Harvey was brought up in a family where philanthropy and charitable work were the norm. There is a direct connection between his father's work for adult schools in Leeds and Harvey's work for adult education in prisons, since the Swarthmore Settlement founded by his father provided the resources for the classes that Harvey began in Armley prison in 1921. However, the first evidence of his interest in the plight of prisoners comes from the pre-war controversy over imprisoned suffragettes. He was one of a number of MPs who presented a memorial to the Home Secretary in June 1912 appealing for treatment for suffragette prisoners as First Division, or political, prisoners.<sup>2</sup> Crucial for Harvey's life-long interest in the prisoner was the wartime plight of pacifists and conscientious objectors under duress, as described in chapter 3.<sup>3</sup> The case of James Brightmore in 1917 was pivotal, because thereafter Harvey began a campaign of questions in the House urging ministers to receive a deputation to press for a high-ranking enquiry into prisons.<sup>4</sup> He began on 22 March 1917, asking the government in an ironically phrased question to take the opportunity presented by the emptiness in wartime of most of the prisons to institute a reform of the prison system, and urging a Royal Commission or Departmental Committee to report on the question. The Home Secretary, Sir George Cave, replied 'I do not think that the present time would be suitable for the discussion of a reform of the prison system.'<sup>5</sup> On 25 April Harvey asked whether any recent inquiry had been made by the Home Office into the effects of solitary confinement as a punishment. This time it was a Home Office minister, William Brace, who replied, only to dismiss the question with what Milligan calls smug

---

<sup>2</sup> *Votes for Women* - Friday 21 June 1912 p.5.

<sup>3</sup> See chapter 3

<sup>4</sup> Milligan typescript p. 64/119 ff

<sup>5</sup> Milligan typescript 63/119



satisfaction by correcting Harvey's misuse of the term 'solitary confinement' meaning separate or cellular confinement.<sup>6</sup> Harvey asked rhetorically if the minister was aware that this form of punishment has been sometimes maintained for eight months at a time. Then he asked 'when the last inquiry was made by Departmental Committee or Royal Commission into the methods of the British prison system; and whether any similar inquiry has been made into recent methods of prison reform which have been adopted in America and elsewhere?' Brace replied that the last full enquiry had been the Gladstone Enquiry of 1895 but that 'suggestions for the amendment of the Prison Rules are, of course, frequently under consideration'.<sup>7</sup> Milligan says 'It must have been with a mischievous gleam in the eye that he put down a question for 25 May 1917: "Does the training of prison officers include a period of cellular confinement and associated labour and whether any of the higher prison staff or the Prison Commissioners have personal experience of prison discipline, and in particular of cellular confinement?"'<sup>8</sup> On 25 June Harvey asked about associated labour and exercise for prisoners. Citing Norwich prison, he alleged that prisoners who were permitted to work in association with others, rather than in cellular confinement, were not allowed daily opportunities for the exercise in the open air to which they were entitled.<sup>9</sup> The Home Secretary, Sir George Cave, said such prisoners 'receive exercise daily in the open air, weather permitting.'<sup>10</sup> Harvey asked further questions about associated labour in prisons and in answer to a point about such labour in Leicester prison, Cave was forced to admit that sometimes owing to shortage of staff

---

<sup>6</sup> 'Oral Answers To Questions; Volume 92: debated on Wednesday 25 April 1917 Prison System (Solitary Confinement) 25 April 1917

<sup>7</sup> Oral Answers To Questions, Volume 92: debated on Wednesday 25 April 1917, Prison System (Solitary Confinement) 25 April 1917

<sup>8</sup> Milligan typescript p.64/119.

<sup>9</sup> Oral Answers To Questions, Volume 95: debated on Monday 25 June 1917 col 17 ff

<sup>10</sup> Oral Answers Monday 25 June 1917 col 17 ff.

it was necessary to let prisoners work in their cells with the doors open.<sup>11</sup> The exchange could therefore be deemed a victory for Harvey. He wrote to his father, 'I have been putting questions on prison reform recently. And hope to arrange a deputation to the home secretary to ask for a committee to enquire into prison methods'.<sup>12</sup> In October 1917, he switched his attention to the newly appointed Minister without Portfolio responsible for post-war reconstruction, Christopher Addison, asking him 'Is prison reform being considered by any sub-committee of the Reconstruction Committee?' The minister replied that the matter did not appear to be a problem specially arising out of the war and so was outside his remit.<sup>13</sup> Eventually, in March 1918, the Home Secretary, Sir George Cave, agreed to receive a delegation of MPs. The deputation, made up of MPs of every party in the House, asked for the abolition of the silence system, for further medical care and examination and better classification of prisoners. Harvey later recalled, 'The official reply was a firm and courteous refusal to these requests. It failed even to get an admission from the Home Secretary that reform of the prisoner was an essential object of his prison punishment.'<sup>14</sup> This reflected a difference in understanding of the purpose of punishment policy which Harvey discussed in his 1941 book. One reason why Cave may have resisted demands for an enquiry was that a thorough study of the prison system was then in preparation by Sir E. Ruggles-Brise, chairman of the Prison Commission.<sup>15</sup>

---

<sup>11</sup> Oral Answers Monday 25 June 1917 col 17 ff.

<sup>12</sup> TEH to WH 20 June 1917

<sup>13</sup> Milligan typescript p 64/119

<sup>14</sup> *The Christian Church and the Prisoner in English Experience: the Beckly Social Service Lecture* (London: The Epworth Press, 1941) pp 63-64.

<sup>15</sup> Sir Evelyn Ruggles-Brise, *The English Prison System* (London: Macmillan 1921)

Frustration with the official response led in January 1919 to the Labour Research Department, a trade union-based research organisation connected to the Fabian Society, setting up its own enquiry.<sup>16</sup> The unofficial but powerful Prison System Enquiry Committee was convened by two former wartime political prisoners, the Christian pacifist Stephen Hobhouse and a leading figure in the Independent Labour Party, Fenner Brockway. Their report, *English Prisons To-Day*, was published in 1922. Those given credit for support included Harvey for helping with proof-reading and 'in other ways'.<sup>17</sup> As Harvey said, the 700 closely packed pages made a 'memorable volume' which identified many deficiencies.<sup>18</sup> Meanwhile, the study by Ruggles-Brise had been published. These two contrasting reports, which are considered further below, coincided with the introduction of a new type of prison visitor, of which Harvey was one of the first.

#### Prison visitor 1921–1951

Harvey was one of the first of the new breed of independent prison visitors introduced by the Prison Commissioners in 1921 and distinct from the pre-existing Board of Visitors responsible for inspecting prisons. He used the position to care for and seek to rehabilitate offenders, particularly youngsters, and he worked with the prison and local authorities, the local Discharged Prisoners Aid Society, the Quaker adult education settlement house in Leeds, and other local community organisations like the YMCA to introduce facilities for education and recreation. It was for this work that he was remembered locally. On his death, Frank Dawtry of the National

---

<sup>16</sup> Stephen Hobhouse and Fenner Brockway (ed.) *English Prisons To-Day: Being the Report of the Prison System Enquiry Committee*. (London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1922)

<sup>17</sup> Hobhouse and Brockway (ed.) *English Prisons To-Day* page ix.

<sup>18</sup> 'The Home Secretary's opportunity' *The Contemporary Review* Vol. 152, (Jul 1, 1937): 668.

Association of Probation Officers wrote a warm appreciation of how he left a great tradition and example behind him.

He conducted adult school classes in Armley Prison when the idea was completely novel and he regularly attended the committee of the Discharged Prisoners Aid Society at Armley interviewing prisoners and trying to find the most constructive way to help them. Even when in Parliament he rarely missed the committee on a Monday afternoon and would go straight from the prison to his train for London so that he could be in the House the same evening. He was a pioneer in the work of prison reform and in the more practical ways of assisting prisoners by personal friendship and contact.<sup>19</sup>

His pioneering achievement was the introduction of adult education classes at Armley prison which, when he started them in April 1921, were the first of their kind in the country.<sup>20</sup> The teachers came from the Swarthmore Settlement in Leeds, the Quaker education and welfare organisation in Leeds of which Harvey was warden 1920–21 and of which Harvey's father William had been one of the founders.<sup>21</sup> With the progress of the classes, four years later Harvey appealed to the public for donations of books to prison libraries. This was an opportunity for him to draw attention to – but modestly without referring to his pioneering role in – ‘the remarkable educational work which now being carried on in our prisons under arrangements made by the Prison Commissioners by which, when the allotted task of the day is over, a very large number of prisoners are encouraged to follow educational courses, and attend classes held in the prison buildings, in some cases by officers, and in others by voluntary teachers from outside.’<sup>22</sup>

---

<sup>19</sup> Frank Dawtry, General Secretary of the National Association of Probation Officers, *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer* - Thursday 12 May 1955 p.6.

<sup>20</sup> *Yorkshire Evening Post* - Monday 30 October 1922 p.8.

TEH to WH from the Swarthmore Settlement, Leeds, April 1921.

<sup>21</sup> Swarthmore Settlement Reports 1910-1925, Library of the Society of Friends PERS B SWA7

<sup>22</sup> *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer* - Thursday 30 April 1925 p.3

The appeal for books in the press was evidence of how Harvey reached out to the local media and community to publicise his work and gain understanding and support. There was a sympathetic response, as is evident from the press report of a visit by the Lord Mayor of Leeds to Armley prison in August 1927.<sup>23</sup> The prison, which opened in 1847, was run by the municipality but under Home Office regulation and guidance. The report lightened the tone with a headline about the Lord Mayor having his fingerprints taken and a prisoner presiding at the organ in the chapel.<sup>24</sup> Harvey and another Quaker prison visitor, his cousin William Whiting, were present together with the Governor, the official visitors, and other dignitaries. The newspaper reported the prison was possessed of gymnastic equipment, thanks to the help of the prison visitors and with the cooperation of the YMCA.<sup>25</sup> Mention was made of favoured or 'star' prisoners, those who were allowed to dine together in association, which was an important change from the still prevailing system of enforced silence. The mayoral visit of 1927 showed the progress that Harvey had made at Armley prison since 1921 in improving facilities there and how he used his position as an independent prison visitor not only to support the prisoners during their time and on discharge but to work with the authorities to improve facilities, to promote the scheme of management advocated by the Prison Commission and build links with the local community. Later evidence of Harvey's continuing achievements and the good will he created come from the remarks of the Lord Mayor of Leeds at a meeting of the Prisoners' Aid Society in Leeds Civic Hall in April 1934, when the Mayor said he felt a thrill of excitement when he looked at the Society's work. At the same meeting, Mr. H.

---

<sup>23</sup> *Leeds Mercury* - Wednesday 24 August 1927 p.5.

<sup>24</sup> *Leeds Mercury* - Wednesday 24 August 1927 p.5.

<sup>25</sup> *Leeds Mercury* - Wednesday 24 August 1927 p.5

Whyte, Governor of Armley prison, paid tribute to the work of Harvey and another visitor, Edgar Lupton, which, the Governor said, 'showed what could be done by careful help.'<sup>26</sup>

A major change in the prison system that Harvey described as 'a most remarkable improvement', was the farm community, or colony, of New Hall camp, Wakefield, which opened in 1936.<sup>27</sup> He believed hard work in the open air was the healthiest and best occupation for most prisoners whose physique permitted it. He enthused about how discharged prisoners might go out fitter in body and mind to take up life afresh when their prison sentence was over, not embittered against the world but with hope in their hearts.<sup>28</sup> He argued that the experiment at Wakefield pointed the way to future prison reform so that heavy and expensive buildings such as Armley prison would be replaced by simple and inexpensive camp buildings with reception centres in the cities.<sup>29</sup> Harvey's hopes were fulfilled to the extent that the experiment at New Hall eventually led to the development of an open prison on the site.

Harvey used the electoral platform and other outlets to raise the political aspects of penal reform. In an election address of 1922 he called for reforms requiring little or no expenditure from the taxpayer, such as prison and penal law reform.<sup>30</sup> Harvey also gave talks on his work to community groups. In December 1929 he addressed the Salem Brotherhood in Leeds on being a prison visitor and to

---

<sup>26</sup> *Leeds Mercury* - Thursday 19 April 1934 p.3

<sup>27</sup> 'The Home Secretary's opportunity' *The Contemporary Review* Vol. 152, (Jul 1, 1937): 668.

<sup>28</sup> 'Prison and penal reform' Offprint from *Public Affairs*, 1938. Library of the Society of Friends Box 329.

<sup>29</sup> 'Prison and penal reform'

<sup>30</sup> General Election 30 May 1929 Library of the Society of Friends Box L2/8t

complain about imprisonment for poverty.<sup>31</sup> The saddest feature of the latest annual report by Prison Commissioners, he told the Brotherhood, was that there were over 12,000 in prison for debt, many thrown into prison for non-payment of rates, rents or income tax. It was, he said, a safe assumption that a large percentage were incarcerated for no other crime save that of penury. Harvey complained that Home Secretaries had said that committing people for short term for minor offences was wasteful and undesirable but magistrates were still persisting in doing it and 'it was high time this was curbed.'<sup>32</sup> The probation of offenders ought to be extended to adults, when it was available only for children, he told a meeting of the YMCA luncheon club in 1934 and, he went on, use made of restitution rather than punishment.<sup>33</sup> He deplored how the prison population was growing because of unemployment, as he told the same meeting of the Leeds Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society at which the Lord Mayor had praised the Society's achievements.<sup>34</sup> There used to be 11,000 people in prison on any one day, he reported, but that number has risen to 12,000, and was all due to unemployment. Usually first offenders fell into their first crime after they have been unemployed for some time and that, he said, was particularly true of the younger offenders, who were his chief concern.<sup>35</sup> Another luncheon club which Harvey addressed was the Leeds Luncheon Club, which he did in March 1936.<sup>36</sup> Harvey is not known to have addressed another local networking

---

<sup>31</sup> *Leeds Mercury* - Monday 02 December 1929. On the Salem brotherhood, see chapter 5

<sup>32</sup> *Leeds Mercury* - Monday 02 December 1929.

<sup>33</sup> *Leeds Mercury* - Friday 29 June 1934 p.5; *Yorkshire Evening Post* - Thursday 28 June 1934 p.9

<sup>34</sup> *Leeds Mercury* - Thursday 19 April 1934 p.3

<sup>35</sup> *Leeds Mercury* - Thursday 19 April 1934 p.3

<sup>36</sup> *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer* Tuesday 03 March 1936 (p.4)

organisation, the Leeds Club, which had antisemitically refused membership to his neighbour in Grosvenor Terrace, the mathematician Professor Selig Brodetsky.<sup>37</sup>

### Criminal Justice Bill 1937–38

The knowledge Harvey gained of prison life and his understanding of penal issues were put to good use when he got back into Parliament in March 1937. His return was some 18 months before the introduction of the Criminal Justice Bill, a major piece of consolidating legislation which in the event was aborted by the outbreak of war. It had its Second Reading in November 1938 but had been trailed for sometime beforehand. Eighteen months earlier a debate on the budget for the Prison Commissioners in June 1937 was an opportunity for Harvey to look forward to the legislation with moving words about the improvements in the prison service since his unsuccessful deputation to Sir George Cave in 1918.

I am not speaking only from a study of books. For some 16 years I have been into prisons as a visitor. I had a weekly class in the prison at Armley in the days of the old silence system. I saw the change of atmosphere when the silence system was abolished. Only 18 years ago if a prison officer found a young lad in prison for the first time, weeping, broken down, as I have seen them again and again, if he laid his hand on his shoulder and said, 'Cheer up my lad, this need never happen again. Make the best of it, and with God's help it will be a turning point in your life,' if he were overheard by another officer, it would have been the duty of that officer to report him to the governor, and it would have been the duty of the governor to reprimand him for undue familiarity to a prisoner. The whole of that has been swept away.<sup>38</sup>

Harvey had great hopes for the legislation, writing articles about the opportunity it presented to the National government's Home Secretary and descendant of Elizabeth Fry, Sir Samuel Hoare.<sup>39</sup> On the eve of the Second Reading *The Friend*

---

<sup>37</sup> Private information from Michael Meadowcroft, 26 Oct 2020

<sup>38</sup> Prisons, England And Wales. HC Deb 04 June 1937 vol 324 cc1315-70

<sup>39</sup> 'The Home Secretary's opportunity' *The Contemporary Review* Vol. 152, (Jul 1, 1937): 668.



echoed Harvey's words, hailing the Criminal Justice Bill as the most important measure of its kind in the century.<sup>40</sup> On the Bill's Second Reading, Harvey welcomed it with a major speech.<sup>41</sup> Subsequently, opposition arose in Parliament to the provisions for abolishing corporal punishment. Associated 'minor adjustments calling for time and thought' delayed progress until the outbreak of war intervened and caused the Bill to be dropped.<sup>42</sup> After this disappointment Harvey used his book of 1941 to explain the lost Bill's advantages. He recounted how this 'great measure' would have aided the young offender, an issue close to Harvey's heart, by extending the system of probation, abolishing the imprisonment of young offenders by summary jurisdiction and substituting a system of remand centres and homes. In addition to measures specific to the young offender, the Bill would have empowered the Prison Commissioners with greater freedom for the classification of prisoners, and penal servitude 'with all its evil associations' was to be replaced by corrective training.<sup>43</sup> The Bill also contained provisions for dealing with mental cases, leaving the Home Secretary scope for making rules for regulating and managing institutions under his control and for the treatment of persons there detained. 'The safeguard against the misuse of that power would be the enlightened conscience of the community,' Harvey declared, rather opaquely, seeming to suggest that there would be independent monitoring of institutions.<sup>44</sup>

His contributions on the Criminal Justice Bill provide evidence not only of the personal meaning he took from his work as a prison visitor but of his vision for

---

<sup>40</sup> *The Friend* 25 November 1938 p.1044.

<sup>41</sup> Criminal Justice Bill HC Deb 29 November 1938 vol 342 cc315-9

<sup>42</sup> T. Edmund Harvey, 'Penal Reform' *The Contemporary Review* 1 July 1947 pp. 329-32

<sup>43</sup> *The Christian Church and the Prisoner in English Experience: the Beckly Social Service Lecture* (London: The Epworth Press, 1941) pp 69-71

<sup>44</sup> *The Christian Church and the Prisoner in English Experience* pp 69-71.

penal policy and his wider conception of the possibility of progress in an imperfect world through the agency of the pioneers of prison reform.

Although each made a noble and remarkable contribution to human progress and to penal reform, each in turn had in some measure an imperfect vision. [...] The reformer, when he has achieved the main reform for which he is working, always tends to think that his work is complete. We must never think of the work as complete.<sup>45</sup>

These remarks reflected Harvey's belief as a liberal in evolution not revolution, in reform as a constant process rather than a once-and-for-all event.

### *The Christian Church and the Prisoner in English Experience*

Responding to the failure of the Bill and hoping that it would be revived after the war, in 1941 Harvey published *The Christian Church and the Prisoner in English Experience*, to make 'an urgent appeal to such as are minded to try to help the prisoner.'<sup>46</sup> The book opens with Matthew 25:41.

Starting from the implications of a famous yet neglected passage in the Gospels, Mr Harvey deals with the impact of Christian life and thought on the treatment of prisoners and prison reform. An account of the efforts of early reformers, the influence of the Wesley brothers, the pioneer work of Howard and of Elizabeth Fry and the development which followed leads on to a description of the many forms of service for prisoners which lie open to the citizens of today. The gradual transformation of the prison system during recent years is described and the need for further reform explained. The author, speaking with twenty years' experience of work in prisons and for ex-prisoners, appeals for a wider response to meet the opportunities which are given by the prison service and the different voluntary activities connected with it to those who desire to serve their fellows in their hour of need.<sup>47</sup>

Harvey aimed to keep the question of penal reform before the mind of the public and Parliament in the hope that Hoare's Criminal Justice Bill, suspended for the duration,

---

<sup>45</sup> HC Deb 29 November 1938 vol 342 cc315-9

<sup>46</sup> Rev. H. M. Livens, 'Review of *The Christian Church and the Prisoner in English Experience*: ' in *The Howard Journal*, vol. 6 year 1941-45 p. 121.

<sup>47</sup> *The Christian Church and the Prisoner in English Experience*, Publisher's note.

would be revived after the war.<sup>48</sup> The book encouraged Christians to involve themselves in service to the prisoner and advised them how they might do so. Behind the book is a moral theology of the Christian's duty to the prisoner akin to Harvey's moral theology of the conscientious objector, a reiteration of the notion of the high-minded Christian citizen and volunteer found in the philosophy of T. H. Green. For Harvey, the practice of caring for prisoners was the heritage of the Society of Friends and the Christian church as a whole.<sup>49</sup> He contrasted the Christian's ethical motivation for the care and rehabilitation of the offender with the utilitarian considerations of the manager and technocrat. He referred to 'philanthropic humanism dominated by the utilitarian philosophy of Bentham and James Mill, the desire to promote good order, to avoid scandal and to effect economy which is characteristic of the national Civil Service of Great Britain.'<sup>50</sup> Harvey's point was that the Christian had a religious motivation focussed on the care of the person, rather than a utilitarian and managerial motivation. Harvey's motivation for visiting the prisoner was tied up with his faith-based personalist outlook.<sup>51</sup>

The recognition of the worth of individual human personality everywhere and the opportunity given for its wholesome unfolding, for its healing when marred and maimed or sick—these are the marks by which we may note the growth of a penal system which we may dare to think of as worthy of a Christian society.<sup>52</sup>

This is the distinction between the religious man and the statesman drawn by Ruggles-Brise, of which more below. Harvey's account of the activity of the prison

---

<sup>48</sup> John Moyle, 'Review of *The Christian Church and the Prisoner in Christian Friends Quarterly Examiner* vol 76 (1942) pp 95-97 .

<sup>49</sup> *The Christian Church and the Prisoner in English Experience*: Introduction p7 ff

<sup>50</sup> *The Christian Church and the Prisoner in the English Experience* pp 57-58.

<sup>51</sup> See chapter 8.

<sup>52</sup> *The Christian Church and the Prisoner in English Experience: the Beckly Social Service Lecture* (London: The Epworth Press, 1941) p. 71

visitor is based on his own experience and reflects his emotional satisfaction in the work.

The great service is the gift of fellowship, the knowledge that a man is not left alone in the great penal machine, cut off altogether from his fellow citizens outside — fellowship which may and sometimes does develop into a true and lasting friendship on both sides. My own life has been enriched by such friendship.<sup>53</sup>

There was a rule against proselytism though 'I have always interpreted it as not preventing any one from encouraging a prisoner's faith in the great realities of religion, in the practice of prayer and in the fellowship of worship.'<sup>54</sup> Harvey believed that a friendly visitor would find little difficulty in establishing relations of confidence with his prisoner host but he was aware of the significance and likelihood of class differences and of his own lofty state of mind.

Just because what the prisoner talks about is of interest to himself it has human value and the visitor must find an interest in it too. Sport, the fate of football teams, or of prize-fights, may be far removed from the visitor's thoughts but they may loom large in the life of a youth who has never learned to care for books or had much opportunity of coming into contact with the life of the fields.<sup>55</sup>

Harvey writes sensitively of how when there is trouble at home the visitor may sometimes be of great service in helping forward a reconciliation so that 'the whole mental atmosphere of a prisoner's life may be changed as a result of a successful venture on his behalf by the prison visitor.'<sup>56</sup> He wrote of his own satisfaction in the work.

One has been shamed by the fact that a former prisoner remembers with grateful feelings the visits paid to him in his cell when the visitor himself has forgotten them. I think of one such case when an ex-prisoner some years after he left prison saw a notice of a meeting addressed by his former visitor

---

<sup>53</sup> *The Christian Church and the Prisoner in English Experience* p. 47

<sup>54</sup> *The Christian Church and the Prisoner in English Experience* p. 43

<sup>55</sup> *The Christian Church and the Prisoner in English Experience* p. 45

<sup>56</sup> *The Christian Church and the Prisoner in English Experience* p. 45–6

and walked some miles, not to attend the meeting but just to see the speaker and let him know he was at work and going straight.<sup>57</sup>

Harvey supported the work of other prison visitors and for similar reasons based on the value of the person. The musician and Quaker, Winifred Dixon Percival, of Harrogate, Yorkshire, toured Italian prisoner of war camps in the years 1944-1946. Harvey provided a foreword to her book, *Not only music, signora!*. He wrote again of the great service of the gift of friendship.

With the transforming influence of music there came into the prisoner's life the touch of friendship, the sense that after all somebody cared for him. *That man would at least have something good to take back with him from Britain.* The candle of memory which recalls thoughts of friendship lightens more than the darkness of the past.<sup>58</sup>

#### Criminal Justice Bill 1947

As we have seen, disappointingly for Harvey and the other supporters of Samuel Hoare's Bill, war supervened to prevent its enactment. It was not until 1947 that a major measure of prison reform was brought back to Parliament, by which time Harvey had retired. He was able to welcome the measure in a periodical article as 'the fruit of much thought and long experience' while lamenting that it was ten years overdue and in some respects 'over-centralising'.<sup>59</sup> In addition, he lamented the 'grave error' that the Bill did not provide, if not for abolition of capital punishment, then for a five-year suspension.<sup>60</sup> In his term as MP for Dewsbury, in 1924, he had presented a petition to Parliament to abolish capital punishment.<sup>61</sup> During the abortive passage of Hoare's Bill, the Commons passed a motion for abolishing the

---

<sup>57</sup> *The Christian Church and the Prisoner in English Experience* p. 47

<sup>58</sup> Winifred Percival, *Not only music, signora!* with a foreword by T. Edmund Harvey (Altrincham : John Sherratt and Son, [1947]). Extract from publisher's notice. Original emphasis.

<sup>59</sup> 'Penal Reform' *The Contemporary Review* 1 July 1947 pp. 329-32

<sup>60</sup> 'Penal Reform' *The Contemporary Review* 1 July 1947 pp. 329-32

<sup>61</sup> The Times 1 April 1924

death penalty and in the course of the debate Harvey called for raising the age at which capital punishment could be inflicted.<sup>62</sup> During the war, in the debate on the Treachery Bill in 1940 he argued against the death penalty but on grounds of expediency rather than principle.<sup>63</sup> The question of capital punishment was subordinate in his thinking to wider questions of penal and prison reform, particularly the care and rehabilitation of young offenders. Accordingly, for example, he was not a member of the National Council for the Abolition of the Death Penalty.<sup>64</sup>

### Comparisons

Harvey may be assessed as a penal reformer by comparing him with other such reformers, specifically the nineteenth century Quaker, Elizabeth Fry; Evelyn Ruggles-Brise, who was chairman of the Prison Commission, retiring in the year Harvey began as a prison visitor; the editors of *English Prisons Today*, Stephen Hobhouse and Fenner Brockway; and a contemporary Quaker, Margery Fry. Harvey drew some of these comparisons for himself. He praised Elizabeth Fry and Ruggles-Brise while pointing to their limitations. He contributed to the work of Hobhouse and Brockway while through his own activism embodying the changes for which they called. His motivation was religious unlike that of Margery Fry. The comparisons show he exemplified faith in action, combining practical service with strategic understanding because, as Edward Milligan said, 'Public agitation without personal service never appealed to Ted'.<sup>65</sup>

---

<sup>62</sup> HC Deb 29 November 1938 vol 342 cc 315-9

<sup>63</sup> Treachery Bill HC Deb 22 May 1940 vol 361 cc196-235

<sup>64</sup> Records of the National Council for the Abolition of the Death Penalty, 1923-1949, Modern Records Centre, University of Warwick Library. Information provided 13 February 2023.

<sup>65</sup> Milligan typescript p. 64/119

## Elizabeth Fry

Harvey was born a generation after the Quaker prison reformer, Elizabeth Fry, who died in 1845. Harvey pondered her achievement and its relevance to his own experience.<sup>66</sup> After Fry, he wrote, prisons became hygienic but regimented, and he lamented the loss of the opportunities for being a compassionate and independent prison visitor such as she had been and he was able to be with the reforms of 1921. He had in common with Elizabeth Fry the Quaker faith which is based on the personalist principle of the equality of souls.<sup>67</sup> On the other hand, he sees Fry as of her time to the extent that she would not have approved of the non-religious, educational and cultural activities that Harvey pioneered.<sup>68</sup>

## E. Ruggles-Brise

Another prison reformer of whom Harvey was aware was Sir Evelyn Ruggles-Brise, who retired as chairman of the Prison Commission in 1921, the year Harvey became a prison visitor. Ruggles-Brise like Elizabeth Fry illustrates Harvey's belief that all reformers have their achievements and their limitations and that as a consequence progress proceeds by stages and is never complete. In the debates on the Criminal Justice Bill Harvey said of Sir Evelyn, 'whose noble work for juvenile prisoners we rightly regard as the foundation of one of the best parts of the Bill, in his later years came to think that the main system was so good that it needed no further improvement.'<sup>69</sup> The main task of Ruggles-Brise as chairman of the Prison Commission was to implement the report of Herbert Gladstone's Committee of 1895,

---

<sup>66</sup> *The Christian Church and the Prisoner in English Experience* p.30

<sup>67</sup> For more on personalism see chapter 8

<sup>68</sup> *The Christian Church and the Prisoner in English Experience* p.30

<sup>69</sup> HC Deb 29 November 1938 vol 342 cc315-9

to combine reform with deterrence, and to separate youths from older men in adult prisons. Reform was undertaken under the Prison Act 1898, and physical punishments such as the fruitless labour of the treadmill and the crank were abolished. Ruggles-Brise was the instigator of an internationally significant departure in the institutional treatment of young criminals, the Borstal system. His book, *The English Prison System* of 1921, was a comprehensive if somewhat smug study of the prison system and its principles. It points out that 'prison reform has a different meaning for the utilitarian and for the humanitarian and is different in turn from penal reform'.<sup>70</sup> Ruggles-Brise must have had the likes of Harvey in mind when he defended the utilitarian approach saying, 'The moral reform of the individual is a great thing for the religious man but not for the statesman: a political institution does not exist for the individual but for the mass'.<sup>71</sup> The term 'statesman' means in this context the government minister and the public official. Ruggles-Brise acknowledged the difficulty posed to the prison system by conscientious objectors and political prisoners but he asserted that the prison system had stood the test that they had posed.<sup>72</sup> There was a personalist element in the thinking of Ruggles-Brise, who agreed with Harvey about the importance and mystery of personal influence. He wrote of 'the personal factor that works for inspiration and which no perfecting of methods or machinery can ever replace.' He added that 'Discipline with kindness is the watchword of our Prison Staff, both in the higher and the lower ranks.'<sup>73</sup> Harvey and Ruggles-Brise were similar social types. The Dictionary of National Biography could almost have been referring to Harvey when it describes Ruggles-Brise as 'the

---

<sup>70</sup> Ruggles-Brise *The English Prison System* chapter 1 pp. 1–2

<sup>71</sup> Ruggles-Brise preface p. ix.

<sup>72</sup> Ruggles-Brise p.9-10

<sup>73</sup> Ruggles-Brise p.44, p.10



very model of a Victorian public servant: classically educated, socially well connected, liberal, humanitarian, imbued with an almost monastic sense of service.<sup>74</sup>

### Stephen Hobhouse and Fenner Brockway

It was Ruggles-Brise that Stephen Hobhouse and Fenner Brockway had in their sights with their 'memorable volume', as Harvey called it, *English Prisons To-Day*.<sup>75</sup> Hobhouse and Brockway had been wartime political prisoners. Peter Brock calls them 'pioneer convict criminologists' but acknowledges that their book was largely the work of Fenner Brockway, a skilled and committed polemicist.<sup>76</sup> The authors reported that their enquiry had been held without the cooperation of the prison authorities. They complained that they 'had had to face the difficulty of the secrecy which surrounds the prison system', but this was merely an admission they had failed to win the cooperation of the prison authorities and could be taken to excuse possible inaccuracies in the book.<sup>77</sup> They also acknowledged that the official object of punishment was to deter crime, and so tacitly agreed with Ruggles-Brise about the severe test posed to the prison system by its wartime application to members of the so-called non-criminal classes such as the editors themselves.<sup>78</sup> Hobhouse and Brockway attacked Ruggles-Brise's book as an 'apologia' but curiously contrasted him with his 'zealous' successor as chairman of the Prison Commission, Sir Maurice Lyndham Waller, so their book was not a blanket condemnation of officialdom.<sup>79</sup>

---

<sup>74</sup> Philip Priestley, 'Brise, Sir Evelyn John Ruggles- (1857–1935), prison administrator and founder of the Borstal system.' (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 2004)

<sup>75</sup> Stephen Hobhouse and Fenner Brockway (ed.) *English Prisons To-Day: Being the Report of the Prison System Enquiry Committee*. (London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1922. )

<sup>76</sup> Peter Brock, 'Hobhouse and Brockway: Conscientious Objectors as Pioneer Convict Criminologists' in Peter Brock, *Against the Draft : Essays on Conscientious Objection from the Radical Reformation to the Second World War* (University of Toronto Press, 2006)

<sup>77</sup> *English Prisons To-day* Foreword

<sup>78</sup> *English Prisons To-Day* p. 82

<sup>79</sup> *English Prisons To-Day* p. 82, foreword.

Harvey contributed to Hobhouse and Brockway's report but, as he pointed out, it ignored 'the new spirit' that was abroad in the prison service and the extent to which improvements were already in hand.<sup>80</sup> Indeed, Hobhouse and Brockway acknowledge this themselves with their praise for the new chairman of the Prison Commission, a tacit admission that their publication was rather after the event. Peter Brock admits that 'Hobhouse and Brockway were *partis pris*, as indeed was the whole committee that sponsored their work.'<sup>81</sup>

### Margery Fry

Another comparator with Harvey is Margery Fry, who was an expert penologist rather than, as in Harvey's case, a type of superior community volunteer. The two were contemporaries of similar backgrounds. She was born into a Quaker dynasty the year before Harvey, but left the Society of Friends in 1932 because 'she could not make the affirmation which membership implied'.<sup>82</sup> Since membership of the Society of Friends does not entail any set affirmations, the meaning is presumably that Fry had become an atheist. Alternatively, she may have turned against the peace testimony, though she is not known to have been a militarist. Enid Huws Jones calls Margery Fry 'the essential amateur', since it was Fry's own self-deprecating description of herself.<sup>83</sup> Anne Logan, on the other hand, calls her a 'proto-professional'.<sup>84</sup> By this Logan does not mean that Margery Fry was paid to do her work – which she was not,

---

<sup>80</sup> *The Christian Church and the Prisoner in English Experience: the Beckly Social Service Lecture* (London: The Epworth Press, 1941) p.65

'The Home Secretary's opportunity' *The Contemporary Review* Vol. 152, (Jul 1, 1937): 668.

<sup>81</sup> Peter Brock, 'Hobhouse and Brockway: Conscientious Objectors as Pioneer Convict Criminologists' p.264

<sup>82</sup> Mijin Cho, *British Quaker Women and Peace 1880's to 1920's* (PhD thesis, University of Birmingham 2010) p.228

<sup>83</sup> Enid Huws Jones, *Margery Fry: The Essential Amateur* (London: Oxford University Press 1966)

<sup>84</sup> Anne Logan, *The Politics of Penal Reform: Margery Fry and the Howard League* (London and New York: Routledge 2018) pp 5-6

says Logan – but rather refers to the seriousness of her approach and the wholehearted manner in which she invested her skills, knowledge and time in the politics of penal reform. As a proto-professional, Margery Fry established the modern social science of comparative penology, travelling internationally as an expert in the field. Logan also says Margery Fry had a political life which, however, she lived in the shadows. She was never an MP, unlike Harvey and also unlike her friend and Harvey's partner MP for the Combined English Universities, Eleanor Rathbone. On the other hand, she was, as Logan shows at length, a 'statutory woman', sitting on public bodies such as the University Grants Committee. In addition, far from living in the shadows as Logan claims, she became a media pundit appearing on the informational BBC programme, the Brains Trust. Unmarried, wealthy women of the generation of Margery Fry and Eleanor Rathbone carried the weight of gendered roles and obligations into their public work but, Logan claims, Margery Fry succeeded because of personal gifts and high political and emotional intelligence. Harvey had similar personal gifts and the advantage of gender, but chose a different path from Margery Fry. Harvey was a religiously motivated voluntary worker, of the type of Ruggles-Brise's 'religious man', not a 'proto-professional'.

### *Christian service in the community*

This final section of the chapter argues that Harvey's career as a charity worker throws doubt on Frank Prochaska's thesis that the creation of the modern British state put an end to the prevalence of Christian service in the community.<sup>85</sup> Rather,

---

<sup>85</sup> Frank Prochaska, *Christianity and Social Service in Modern Britain: The Disinherited Spirit* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) See chapter 1.

Harvey's career as a prison visitor came about because relaxations in penal culture opened up a new opportunity for the Christian volunteer.

### Liberalisation of the criminal justice system

Harvey's success as a prison visitor came not only from his own dedication but also from a coincidence with the liberalising of the criminal justice system. Victor Bailey shows how the decreasing prison population in the interwar years enabled the authorities to establish a more lenient regime, including for instance the appointment of independent prison visitors such as Harvey.<sup>86</sup> The First World War may have been the occasion for Harvey's campaign for a major inquiry into prison reform but it also proved to be a watershed in the country's penal profile. The socio-economic changes produced by the requirements of all-out war led to a reduction in the volume of crime, especially of minor offences like drunkenness, and in the number of short sentences of imprisonment. Indeed, as we have seen, the reduction in the prison population was one of the grounds for a departmental enquiry that Harvey urged in his parliamentary questioning of 1917. In addition to the impact of war on the penal profile, the Criminal Justice Administration Act 1914 added the provision to require courts to give offenders time to pay fines, leading to a fall in the number of people imprisoned in default of fine payment. In the inter-war years the Prison Commission and the Home Office pressed for less use of incarceration and promoted alternatives to imprisonment. With the declining prison population, prison managers were able to improve conditions for inmates. Bailey says there was a decisive shift in the prison authorities' values.<sup>87</sup> Bailey's findings reinforce the evidence of the press reports that

---

<sup>86</sup> Victor Bailey, *The Rise and Fall of the Rehabilitative Ideal, 1895–1970* (Routledge, 2019) chapter 3

<sup>87</sup> Victor Bailey, *The Rise and Fall of the Rehabilitative Ideal, 1895–1970* chapter 4

Harvey fitted with the local prison authorities' new values of leniency by his compassion for individual prisoners and by his support for improvements such as adult education classes. Bailey admits that the Prison Commissioners' ambition outran the practical difficulties they faced. In line with this Harvey acknowledged that the success of prison to fit men better for life depended on the local staff, and unless they cooperate 'actively and with understanding, no schemes laid down at Westminster, no plans prepared in Whitehall, can do what is needed.'<sup>88</sup> Indeed, as we have seen, Ruggles-Brise made much the same admission. Change was also hampered by the dead weight of prisoners committed for short terms to the local prisons. This explains why Harvey in his presentations to local community groups continued to draw attention to the need for measures, such as the ending of imprisonment for debt, which the authorities already in principle conceded but because of lack of resources or systemic friction were unable to deliver. Nevertheless, as Bailey shows and as Harvey found, the lenient approach to prisons and the prisoner was broadly accepted by prison authorities and managers.

#### Prevalence of Christian community service

Harvey's career as a charity worker throws doubt on the thesis that the creation of the modern British state put an end to the prevalence of Christian service in the community. It is evident from Harvey's career, his thirty years of work for prisoners, his book of 1941 and the testimonials to him on his death that in one, admittedly small and special area of service, the spirit was not disinherited, to use Prochaska's phrase.<sup>89</sup> On the contrary, Christian voluntarism remained strong into the mid-

---

<sup>88</sup> *The Christian Church and the Prisoner in English Experience* p.34

<sup>89</sup> See chapter 1

twentieth century in the case of prison visiting. It was driven by the official recognition that it was not the function of prison authorities to serve the private needs of the prisoner but that this should be left to Ruggles-Brise's 'religious man'. Harvey's book of 1941 opens with Jesus's words, 'I was in prison, and ye came unto me', and its title makes clear it is directed at a Christian readership.<sup>90</sup> Harvey is evidence that twentieth century Christian service may have become marginalised in some sectors but found new areas of endeavour. Harvey exemplified the type of evolving civic volunteer he anticipated in his article on the civic volunteer of 1908 when, combining classical and Christian references, he looked forward to 'the citizens of the future combining in their commonwealth the Greek and Christian notions of citizenship.'<sup>91</sup> The continuing role of the religiously motivated worker may be partly concealed by the fact that many of the agencies for philanthropic work are religiously neutral and will take on anyone competent to do the work, regardless of their religion or lack of one.<sup>92</sup> The world of voluntary work of Harvey's time and indeed later continued unobtrusively to witness to the 'inheritance of the spirit'.

### Chapter summary

Harvey's thirty years as a prison visitor 1921–51 is an example of sustained Quaker faith in action. It came from his family's practice of philanthropy, the historic Quaker concern for the prisoner and his sense of the Christian citizen's duty to the downcast. The suffering of conscientious objectors under duress led to his campaigning for prison reform in Parliament in 1917–18. From 1921, as one of the new type of

---

<sup>90</sup> *The Christian Church and the Prisoner in English Experience* p. 7. The words are from Matthew 25:36.

<sup>91</sup> 'The Civic Volunteer' (*The Nation* 29 August 1908 pp 761–62).

<sup>92</sup> Private information from Hugh McLeod

independent prison visitor in his home locality of Leeds, he was involved in the care and rehabilitation of prisoners during incarceration and on their discharge, in promoting this as a local cause, and in supporting innovations in prison management. He was able to bring his concern into Parliament when he returned there in 1937 in time for a major measure, the Criminal Justice Bill. His book of 1941, *The Christian Church and the Prisoner in English Experience*, written after the failure of the Bill, encouraged Christian citizens to involve themselves in service to the prisoner and advised them how to do so. In his prison work, as well as in his other charitable endeavours, and in comparison with contemporary official and unofficial prison reformers, Harvey saw himself in the flow of a continuing and open-ended process of gradual reform. In being motivated by charity rather than utility, he showed the continuity in the spirit of Christian voluntary service, though as a prison visitor he was helped by the change to a lenient penal system.

## Chapter 7: War and Cold War 1939–55

### Introduction

Chapter 7 continues where chapter 5 left off with an account of the years from after the Munich Agreement, through the Second World War, and into the Cold War and Harvey's final years. As an MP during the Second World War he was concerned with the same basic issues as he had been in the First, which were those of peace, the right of conscience and humanitarianism, though he engaged with these causes at home not in the field as he had done before. He continued to call for peace until Britain came under direct military attack. As in the First World War he rejected the principle of compulsory military service but welcomed the government's legislative concessions to conscience and supported individual conscientious objectors. Some of the domestic issues in which he took an interest were typically Liberal, such as proportional representation. Others reflected the modernising yet faintly Ruskinian agenda of the Next Five Years' Group such as the Town and Country Planning Act or the Education Act of 1944, the latter echoing Harvey's education eirenicon of 1910. The coming of nuclear weapons in 1945 added a new dimension to his pacifism.

### 1939

From March 1939 through Britain's declaration of war on 3 September 1939, through the Phoney War and until after the fall of France in June 1940, Harvey continued to campaign for peace, and he became involved in the question of conscientious objection when in May 1939 the government began to re-introduce conscription. He made at least eight public representations on peace, including letters to the press, a



speech in Parliament, another to university students, and a circular to the electorate of the Combined English Universities. On 26 March 1939 and despite the hostile occupation of the rest of Czechoslovakia on 15 March, Harvey and other Christian pacifists warned against the dangers of militarism and urged a Christian willingness to understand and meet the points of view of other nations 'even at the cost of sacrifice ourselves'.<sup>1</sup> This might be taken to suggest that Britain should give up some of its colonies to satisfy German grievances over the loss of their own from the Versailles Treaty, a familiar theme of the peace movement of the time. As for conscription, facing an inevitable war Prime Minister Chamberlain began to take steps towards its reintroduction. The Military Training Bill of May 1939 was a preliminary measure preparing the country for stronger ones to come. Its provisions relating to conscientious objection showed that Chamberlain had learnt from his experience on the Birmingham tribunal in the First World War. For example, men claiming the status of conscientious objector would appear before local tribunals dedicated to such cases. Harvey made a dignified criticism of the Bill at its second reading, saying that totalitarian preparation for war was a notion foreign to the British tradition of individual freedom.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, he paid a warm tribute to the government for its efforts to ensure justice for conscientious objectors and he contrasted the Bill favourably in that respect with the ambiguously worded legislation of 1916.<sup>3</sup> The speech brought praise from Peter Thorneycroft, a military man, who said he was unable to go all the way with Harvey's views but that 'The House can never fail to listen to the Hon. Member for the English Universities without a deep

---

<sup>1</sup> *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer* - Tuesday 26 March 1939 p.8.

<sup>2</sup> Nicol2 paragraph 11

<sup>3</sup> Nicol2 paragraph 11. On the earlier legislation see chapter 3.

appreciation of the sincerity with which he speaks.<sup>4</sup> This debate, and the debates on the remaining stages of the Bill, were characterized by an absence of acrimony. As Harvey commented, 'Hardly a touch of bitterness in the Debate - a striking contrast from 1916.'<sup>5</sup> Later in proceedings Ernest Brown, the Minister of Labour, who piloted the Bill through the House, accepted Harvey's amendment that conscientious objectors should be permitted to be represented by a relative or friend at their tribunals.<sup>6</sup>

There was an adverse reaction to the Military Training Bill from Meeting for Sufferings, the standing representative body responsible for the business of the Quakers nationally, of which Harvey was a long-standing member. On 5 May 1939 Harvey told the Meeting that the Military Training Bill gave some reason for thankfulness at the 'advance in feeling with regard to conscientious objectors.'<sup>7</sup> Others present disagreed and a public statement was issued on behalf of the Society in the form of an 'Appeal To The Nation' against the government's measure. 'The compulsion of men to learn how to destroy their fellow-men is an assumption by the State of an authority over human personality that is an outrage upon God and man.'<sup>8</sup> The Appeal omitted words suggested by the Quaker educationalist, Edgar Castle, appreciative of the conscience clause.<sup>9</sup> The pattern had been set for a corporate position of unqualified opposition to compulsory war service. In this the Quaker leadership was unrepresentative of Christian opinion. The correspondence columns of *The Friend* in May 1939 showed a wide range of views in the Society at large.

---

<sup>4</sup> HC Deb 04 May 1939 vol 346 cc2081.

<sup>5</sup> Nicol2 paragraph 12

<sup>6</sup> Nicol2 paragraph 13

<sup>7</sup> Nicol2 paragraph 15

<sup>8</sup> From a poster of the Northern Friends Peace Board. *The Friend* 'From a Parliamentary Correspondent' 26 May 1939 p.431

<sup>9</sup> Nicol2 paragraph 16.

Christian pacifists generally shared Harvey's and Castle's appreciation of the government's concession to conscience. On 10 May 1939 Harvey was part of a deputation from the Council of Christian Pacifist Groups, led by the veteran pacifist George Lansbury, which raised with minister Ernest Brown questions of the administration of the Military Training Act in respect of conscientious objectors. The press release showed a good grasp of the terminology.

The deputation was received in a very friendly way [...] then put to the Minister a considerable number of quite concrete points concerning the probable position under the new Act of both absolutist and alternativist conscientious objectors, Christian and non-Christian, as to the personnel, powers and procedure of the tribunals, and as to the conditions of alternative service.<sup>10</sup>

The friendliness between government and pacifists did not last. As we shall see below, the coming of war in September followed by the war's intensification and the fall of Chamberlain meant that relations between pacifists and the government deteriorated.

In the remaining months of peace Harvey continued to campaign against the threat of war and looked to the US President as a mediator. In May 1939, the same month as the Military Training Bill, he added his name to a letter from British and American Quakers and other pacifists calling for 'another effort for peace'.<sup>11</sup> The letter was based on the appeal that President Roosevelt had made to Hitler and Mussolini the previous month warning of 'catastrophe unless a more rational way of guiding events is found.'<sup>12</sup> Harvey and his co-signatories declared that the only way to avert war was 'a conference of the principal nations on equal terms to deal with

---

<sup>10</sup> *Ripley and Heanor News and Ilkeston Division Free Press* - Friday 02 June 1939 p.7

<sup>11</sup> *Nottingham Journal* - Wednesday 03 May 1939 p.4.

<sup>12</sup> Franklin Roosevelt Administration: Message to Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini (April 14, 1939) <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/president-roosevelt-message-to-adolf-hitler-and-benito-mussolini-april-1939> accessed 27/02/2021

grievances and bring about disarmament.<sup>13</sup> Their letter set out proposals standard to the interwar peace movement for dealing with Germany's grievances arising from the Versailles Treaty such as adjustments for the loss of German overseas territories. As with the programme of the Quaker conference on the Munich Agreement of November 1938, the letter looked forward to features of the post-war world, such as 'the organisation and development of international trade, the stabilisation of exchanges, and new forms of administration in colonial areas, with proper regard both to the freedom and social and economic interests of native peoples.'<sup>14</sup> Another matter, the campaign of sabotage by the IRA on the English mainland, caused Harvey in July 1939 to criticise government measures to suppress IRA violence, a reminder that his opposition to state controls came from a liberal or libertarian perspective as well as from a Quaker or pacifist point of view.<sup>15</sup>

On the eve of war an emergency National Service Bill was rushed through Parliament, opposed on 2 September 1939 by Harvey and eight others.<sup>16</sup> Undaunted by Britain's declaration of war the following day and the rapid defeat of Poland, the next month Harvey and a group of Quakers and other peace campaigners issued a letter to the press calling for a truce and a conference on a federal Europe.<sup>17</sup> The letter expressed fear of a war of at least three years' duration. It anticipated an eventual Franco-British victory, as if the war would follow the same course as in 1914–18, but asked rhetorically 'when the end comes, will there be any better chance than in 1918 for satisfactory settlement?'<sup>18</sup> It went on that there was no point in

---

<sup>13</sup> *Nottingham Journal* - Wednesday 03 May 1939 p.4.

<sup>14</sup> *Nottingham Journal* - Wednesday 03 May 1939 p.4.

<sup>15</sup> *Birmingham Daily Post* - Tuesday 25 July 1939 p.8

<sup>16</sup> See appendix 4

<sup>17</sup> *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer* - Wednesday 11 October 1939 p.4

<sup>18</sup> *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer* - Wednesday 11 October 1939 p.4

denouncing Hitler but it was better to appeal to Germans as a whole. 'To win the support of the German people we must show ourselves at least willing to listen to terms of peace from whatever quarter they come.'<sup>19</sup> The letter admitted rather bathetically that the situation had been 'radically altered by Russia's entry into Poland' on 17 September. The letter of 11 October 1939 was issued in advance of a debate in Parliament on the war which took place the following day.<sup>20</sup> Opening the debate, Prime Minister Chamberlain rejected proposals Hitler had put forward based on the recognition of his conquests and of his right to do what he pleased with the conquered.<sup>21</sup> In his contribution Harvey praised the Prime Minister's 'dignified and calm language' but pressed the case for talks.<sup>22</sup> He expressed the 'hope that the Prime Minister will make it even more clear than he has done this afternoon that, the right guarantees being given, we should welcome the opportunity of a conference that would provide, not a truce, but a real settlement for Europe.'<sup>23</sup> Harvey believed that Hitler's offer of a conference meant that the German people were longing for peace. Events were at a crucial point, he went on. A three years' war would mean 'the ruin of Western civilisation'.<sup>24</sup> He reiterated the liberal pacifist's recurrent theme of the injustice of the Versailles Treaty and how it empowered Hitler. The alternative to war was cooperation with Germany to get an honourable peace and to help in the reconstruction of Poland and economic life throughout Europe. His peroration drew on the wartime blackout and religious imagery of light and dark to express a Quaker's belief in the fundamental goodness of men.

---

<sup>19</sup> *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer* - Wednesday 11 October 1939 p.4

<sup>20</sup> British Reply To German Proposals HC Deb 12 October 1939 vol 352 cc563-603

<sup>21</sup> British Reply To German Proposals HC Deb 12 October 1939 vol 352 c.565

<sup>22</sup> The War HC Deb 12 October 1939 vol 352 c 642

<sup>23</sup> HC Deb 12 October 1939 vol 352 c. 642

<sup>24</sup> HC Deb 12 October 1939 vol 352 c. 642

As we go out to-night from the darkened corridors of this House into the greater darkness of the street without, we must all feel that the darkness that is about us is symbolic of the gloom and night that is falling upon our civilisation if this war goes on and on. But the light is there behind curtain and shutter, it is there, being kept out from the streets that need it, and it is so in the lives of men. The light of wisdom and insight, of reason, of human fellowship is there in the hearts of men, and we have to turn it on to-day to get rid of this darkness, which means death to our civilisation; to bring us back to the way of peace.<sup>25</sup>

The next speaker, the Labour MP Hubert Beaumont, evidently bored by Harvey's oratory, said 'I will not at this hour, when the House is somewhat weary of debate, inflict upon it the speech I had intended to make.'<sup>26</sup> Harvey's speech of 12 October 1939 is, nevertheless, an historic artefact of the Quaker peace testimony. It was prescient in the way it anticipated – indeed underestimated – the length, extent and suffering of the war. Harvey was slightly disingenuous in the way he re-interpreted Chamberlain's rejection of Hitler's proposals as implying the possibility of a conference albeit only if Hitler were to offer guarantees of an unspecified kind. Harvey's speech of 12 October 1939 is comparable to the one on 3 August 1914 and showed his belief in the duty of the Quaker parliamentarian unsparingly to speak for peace however much it might, as it seems to have done in this instance, tire his fellow MPs. Less positively, the speech may be seen as a late instance of appeasement, as it was probably the final speech given in Parliament which reflected the sentiments of those who had supported the Munich Agreement and continued to hope however vainly that a negotiated settlement was possible.

Less rhetorical than Harvey's speech in Parliament on 12 October 1939 but more substantial in content was a printed address he circulated the following

---

<sup>25</sup> HC Deb 12 October 1939 vol 352 cc 641-644

<sup>26</sup> HC Deb 12 October 1939 vol 352 col 645

month to the electors of the Combined English Universities.<sup>27</sup> The circular contained familiar themes from the peace movement of the inter-war years and looked ahead to post-war developments such as a European union. He opened by intoning that 'The war hangs like a heavy curtain between our lives today and that far-off world in which we were living only a few months ago.'<sup>28</sup> He felt that there was no wild enthusiasm for the war, unlike in 1914, but instead a widespread sense of the magnitude of the struggle and the gravity of the issues involved. He recognised that men were taking their places in the armed forces believing there was no other way to meet an evil brought upon the world by one person, but he asserted that Britain had not done enough to work for international peace and to take advantage of opportunities for general disarmament when the cooperation of Germany might have been secured. Increased economic nationalism had also been a factor making for war. He commended the efforts the British government had made to secure peace – meaning the Munich Agreement of 1938 – and, while he told the graduate electors that he had opposed wartime emergency powers as an infringement of liberty, he remarked that Parliament would continue to meet and be able to hold the government to account, implying a contrast with the totalitarian enemy. He called on Britain to make an effective and enduring peace when the time came, including proposals for a federal European union which, he claimed, would remove the constant danger of war which came from unlimited national sovereignties and economic rivalries. He also touched on colonial policy and free trade. The British colonies should have 'a fuller working out of that ideal of trusteeship which has inspired all that is best in our colonial

---

<sup>27</sup> Address to the Graduate electors of the Combined English Universities, November 1939. Friends House Library Box L 13/08n

<sup>28</sup> Address to the Graduate electors of the Combined English Universities

policy'.<sup>29</sup> Harvey argued that those colonies not ripe for autonomy must be administered with paramount regard for the well-being of their inhabitants, their training for self-government through, for example, equal trading rights for other nations.<sup>30</sup> Like his letter to the press about the Russo-Polish war nearly twenty years before, the circular showed Harvey hoped matters of war and peace could be resolved rationally and that he underestimated the power of the non-liberal ideologies at play.<sup>31</sup>

## 1940

Harvey continued to take public positions in favour of peace into early 1940, by nominating a British pacifist for the Nobel Peace Prize and with a speech at a student conference. In January 1940 he was one of a group of MPs and peers to nominate George Lansbury for the Nobel Peace Prize but in the event the Prize was left unawarded, which is unsurprising given the circumstances and makes the nomination look overly optimistic if not actually misjudged.<sup>32</sup> He continued his peace campaigning in February 1940 when he gave the opening speech at a student conference in Bristol held on the theme of 'Universities and the World'.<sup>33</sup> His speech covered familiar liberal themes: the virtues of internationalism and the failure to seize opportunities to promote it during the 1930s; the dangers of another punitive peace like that of Versailles; social justice at home as a concomitant of peace abroad; the revival of the League of Nations; and the creation of a European Federal Union. He

---

<sup>29</sup> Address to the Graduate electors of the Combined English Universities

<sup>30</sup> Address to the Graduate electors of the Combined English Universities.

<sup>31</sup> See chapter 5

<sup>32</sup> *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer* - Tuesday 23 January 1940 p.5 *Daily Herald* - Tuesday 23 January 1940 p.7.

<sup>33</sup> *Western Daily Press* - Monday 26 February 1940 p.5



attacked nationalism saying that it 'must disappear if human nature is to survive.'<sup>34</sup> The immediate need was for a halt to the war, but 'the peace must not leave any nation utterly humiliated and utterly broken, and therefore likely to strive for a war of revenge generations hence!'<sup>35</sup> He looked forward to the day when there would be a world-wide League of Nations. The League should welcome every nation to share the common task, said Harvey, obliquely referring to the United States' refusal to join the League and to how, when the League had been set up, Germany had been humiliated by exclusion. Much as he publicly urged the cause of peace, he declined to protect the conscientious objector as president of the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, a position he was offered but refused in February 1940.<sup>36</sup> He may have considered the appointment would weaken his ability as an MP to act as an independent intermediary on individual cases.

The hope that the military pause of the Phoney War may have given Harvey was further excited by the visit of a US envoy in March 1940. Harvey was one of twenty signatories who wrote to the press that month to support representations made by the National Peace Council regarding the visit to Europe of President Roosevelt's adviser on foreign policy, Sumner Welles.<sup>37</sup> Harvey and the other signatories to the letter – who included the dramatist G. Bernard Shaw and the actors Fay Compton, John Gielgud and Sybil Thorndike as well as Quakers Elizabeth Cadbury, H. G. Wood and Barrow Cadbury – believed it be 'urgently desirable' that the British government should use the occasion of Mr Welles' visit...

---

<sup>34</sup> *Western Daily Press* - Monday 26 February 1940 p.5

<sup>35</sup> *Western Daily Press* - Monday 26 February 1940 p.5

<sup>36</sup> Rachel Barker, *Conscience, Government and War: Conscientious Objection in Great Britain, 1939-45* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul 1982) p. 103

<sup>37</sup> *Nottingham Journal* - Saturday 02 March 1940 p.5.

...to declare its willingness to give sympathetic consideration to any proposals for a basis of negotiation which neutral states choose to sponsor, provided that these proposals were drawn up on the assumption that no question is to be excluded from the negotiations and that the neutral countries themselves will actively participate.<sup>38</sup>

This was in effect a call for Roosevelt to mediate in the war on his own terms. The wording of the letter, which was careful to place no restraints on the President's scope for action, shows that Harvey and the other signatories understood the domestic pressure on Roosevelt from isolationists who did not want the US drawn into the European war. The letter also shows that support for peace by negotiation during the lull of the Phoney War was not confined to committed public pacifists such as Harvey but included politically minded celebrities.

Harvey's representations for a negotiated settlement continued even after the end of the Phoney War and the defeat of France in June 1940, though he shifted his position from an appeal for negotiations to the lesser one of calling for Britain to state its terms for peace as a condition for such negotiations. This was the point of a letter to the press published on 8 August 1940, to which Harvey was a signatory together with 14 others.<sup>39</sup> This was fewer than the 20 of the March letter so, for example, of stage celebrities only the name of Sybil Thorndike appeared again. The reduced number of signatories suggests that, with Hitler's military successes in the west, support for peace by negotiation had become confined to the most dedicated of pacifists. The letter urged a statement of the terms for peace as a response to Hitler's 'last appeal to reason', which was his speech of 19 July to the Reichstag after the defeat of France.

---

<sup>38</sup> *Nottingham Journal* - Saturday 02 March 1940 p.5

<sup>39</sup> *Western Daily Press* - Thursday 08 August 1940 p.5;

On the worst showing it [a statement of terms] would do us no harm; on the best showing, it might save civilisation as we know it to-day from destruction and give the forces of Democracy everywhere the respite which they need in a world which is fast becoming Fascist under the impact of modern war.<sup>40</sup>

The reference to the whole world becoming fascist under the impact of war was a side-swipe at military conscription and emergency powers in Britain. The letter was Harvey's last public call for peace. Thereafter he ceased to call in press and parliament for a negotiated peace. That he silenced his public voice may be because he sensed that with the Battle of Britain and the Blitz, calls for compromise with the aggressor would not be welcomed. It may also be that he was aware of self-censorship by the press and that editors would not publish letters or report speeches that might undermine public morale.<sup>41</sup> He believed that the government ought to state its war aims as a prelude to possible peace talks, a point he was pleased to note editorialised by *The Times* in November 1940.<sup>42</sup>

It was in October 1940 that Harvey first raised in Parliament a case relating to conscientious objectors. Harvey drew attention to the 'complaints of a serious nature as to the treatment of a number of conscientious objectors attached to the Auxiliary Military Pioneer Corps in a North Western district' which had returned from Dunkirk in disarray. The minister undertook to investigate.<sup>43</sup> Harvey had already, from the outset in late 1939, become involved in another issue thrown up by the war, which was internment. Upon the declaration of war on 3 September 1939, some 70,000 UK resident Germans and Austrians became classed as enemy aliens.

---

<sup>40</sup> *Western Daily Press* - Thursday 08 August 1940 p.5

<sup>41</sup> <https://history.blog.gov.uk/2014/09/12/chaos-and-censorship/> accessed 17/03/2021

<sup>42</sup> TEH to David Blieloch 19 November 1940. TEH to family 15 December 1940.

<sup>43</sup> Conscientious Objectors HC Deb 17 October 1940 vol 365 c825.  
Auxiliary Military Pioneer Corps HC Deb 23 July 1940 vol 363 cc584-5

Harvey's correspondence on the matter began in November.<sup>44</sup> A related, long-running case was that of the SS Dunera, a British passenger ship which gave her name to an infamous case of maltreatment of Jewish refugees deported to Australia in July 1940. Reflecting his interest in continuing education as well as the plight of the deportees, in July 1941 Harvey asked the Home Secretary whether any arrangements have been made for the continued education of the boys and youths between 16 and 19 years of age, about 400 in number, who were sent as internees to Australia on board the Dunera.<sup>45</sup> He was later lobbied by one of these internees, Richard Karl Ullmann, who once back in Britain and re-interned complained about how he and 140 others remained unreleased and were caught up in 'the slow mill of administration.'<sup>46</sup> Together with Eleanor Rathbone and others, he was in correspondence with the Home Office minister, Osbert Peake, for such time as the cases of internees, their release and employment, remained unresolved.<sup>47</sup>

## 1941

1941 saw an extension of conscription and trouble for Harvey from left-wing war resisters. The Axis bombing campaign against Britain which began in September 1940 compelled the government to extend conscription to civil defence. Harvey had personal experience of the Blitz. Caught in the one major air-raid on Leeds, which was on the night of 14-15 March 1941, he 'sheltered in a doorway of the municipal buildings with a policeman'.<sup>48</sup> With the Churchill-led coalition installed in May 1940,

---

<sup>44</sup> 1 November 1939 from G. von Gaisberg, enclosing cutting. See list of correspondence in appendix 5

<sup>45</sup> Internees (Australia) HC Deb 31 July 1941 vol 373 cc1518-20

<sup>46</sup> Letter dated 30 February 1942 from Richard Karl Ullmann. See appendix 5.

<sup>47</sup> See Appendix 5

<sup>48</sup> TEH to family 15 March 1941

Ernest Brown was replaced as Minister of Labour and National Service by the similarly forenamed but otherwise very different Ernest Bevin. In January 1941 Bevin introduced compulsory fire-watching by regulation and in April 1941 by a National Service Bill. Crucially, there was no exemption for conscience, only for personal hardship. Harvey told Parliament that some pacifists would consider civil defence so closely associated with military service as to entail a conscientious objection.<sup>49</sup> Pleading on behalf of such absolutists he said, 'We may regret that attitude, and we may think that it is entirely wrong. We may not understand it, but it is there. It is a fact.'<sup>50</sup> In an instance of a mix of personalism and liberalism, he said that granting the right of conscientious objection 'even when it is believed that that conscience is mistakenly informed' is the recognition of the worth of a human personality and the mark of a civilised society.<sup>51</sup> Harvey warned about the possibility of repeat prosecutions of those who deliberately flouted the law on compulsory civil defence and feared that there would again be the 'cat-and-mouse' problem of the previous war.<sup>52</sup> He queried a further aspect of the Bill, which was that it opened up the possibility that conscientious objectors already doing work of national importance to which they had been directed by a tribunal would nevertheless be subject to the compulsory enrolment contemplated by the Bill.<sup>53</sup> This possibility Harvey saw as a form of employment discrimination against the conscientious objector.<sup>54</sup> Bevin, unpersuaded by Harvey, refused a statutory right of conscientious objection to civil

---

<sup>49</sup> Denis Hayes, *Challenge of Conscience, The Story of Conscientious Objectors 1939-1949* (George Allen & Unwin, London, 1949) p. 15

<sup>50</sup> Nicol<sup>2</sup> paragraph 20.

<sup>51</sup> National Service Bill. HC Deb 26 March 1941 vol 370 cc 623. On personalism see chapter 8.

<sup>52</sup> National Service Bill. HC Deb 26 March 1941 vol 370 cc 620 ff.

<sup>53</sup> Denis Hayes, *Challenge Of Conscience: The story of the Conscientious Objectors of 1939-1949* (Published for the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors by George Allen and Unwin Limited 1949)

<sup>54</sup> *Western Morning News* - Thursday 06 March 1941 p.6

defence. He also refused to concede the point Harvey raised about the power in the Bill to conscript an exempted man from a civilian job to which he had been directed by a tribunal. In both cases Bevin indicated he was willing to effect administratively that which he was not prepared to make law, meaning that the government would act sympathetically in individual cases. Nevertheless, Harvey was disappointed by his failure to get the point included in the legislation.<sup>55</sup>

Harvey was followed in the debate on the National Service Bill by John McGovern of the Independent Labour Party, who had joined Harvey in voting against the emergency introduction of conscription in September 1939.<sup>56</sup> In a truculent speech, McGovern expressed amazement that Harvey had talked about toleration of conscientious objectors, 'but I have not been able to find it. Go to the Glasgow Tribunal, for instance, and see the comfortable, smug, callous individuals sitting on the bench and asking trick questions of the applicants.'<sup>57</sup> The war is just a commercial struggle between two competing groups, he declared.<sup>58</sup> Meeting for Sufferings discussed the National Service Bill on 4 April 1941. Though some present expressed the hope that no protest would be made to the government, the sense of the meeting was to the contrary and protest was duly made.<sup>59</sup> Harvey cautioned the meeting against too much stress being laid on conscientious objection as opposed to conscientious obligation, thereby aphoristically stating the position he elaborated in an article published shortly afterwards.<sup>60</sup> He failed to alter the minds of the Quaker

---

<sup>55</sup> TEH to family 11 April 1941

<sup>56</sup> See appendix 4

<sup>57</sup> National Service Bill. HC Deb 26 March 1941 vol 370 cc 631.

<sup>58</sup> National Service Bill. HC Deb 26 March 1941 vol 370 cc 620 ff

<sup>59</sup> Nicol2 paragraph 23

<sup>60</sup> Nicol2 paragraph 23ff.

T. Edmund Harvey, 'Christian citizenship in the crisis of war' *Friends Quarterly Examiner* Vol.75; no.299 (Seventh Mo. 1941) pp 212-220. See also chapter 8.

leadership, which persisted in a negative attitude to conscription regardless of the government's concessions to conscience.<sup>61</sup>

With the extension of conscription and the widening of the war, Harvey's mood darkened. In April 1941, two months before the actual event, he was anticipating the German attack on Russia, which he believed would shorten the war but he was sad to think of the suffering 'that would be brought to so many more.'<sup>62</sup> After the invasion in June 1941, Harvey reported gloomily to the Guild of St George.

The dark days of war which lay over our land when I last gave my annual report to the members of the Guild of St George have deepened, as millions more of the peoples of Europe have come beneath the power of a ruthless invader with whom they thought they had no quarrel; and now the great plains of Russia are being made desolate and her peasant homes destroyed.<sup>63</sup>

When in December the United States came into the war he expressed mixed feelings about 'Vast and grave events in the last three weeks. Sense of world community and world peace may be deepened and lead to a better peace.'<sup>64</sup>

Harvey's failure to get legislative concessions, added to his alternativist views, brought his position in the Society to a crisis. In December 1941 there was an attack on Harvey from within the Society coordinated by the Independent Labour Party (ILP). On 1 December 1941 the Durham Pacifist Group wrote remonstrating with him for not supporting a peace amendment to the Royal Address that the ILP MPs had put forward in Parliament.<sup>65</sup> A few days after this letter Alfred W. Braithwaite, who was clerk to the Yearly Meeting committee on conscription, wrote to Harvey to congratulate him on seeing off 'engineered mass protests' against the war

---

<sup>61</sup> Nicol2 paragraph 63

<sup>62</sup> TEH to Family Leeds 26 April 1941.

<sup>63</sup> Guild of St George Annual Report 1940-41.

<sup>64</sup> TEH to family 21 December 1941.

<sup>65</sup> Letter from Durham Pacifist Group, 01/12/1941 Original in my possession.

at Meeting for Sufferings on 5 December 1941.<sup>66</sup> The ILP evidently coordinated the letter from the Durham Pacifists Group with action at Meeting for Sufferings. The ILP in the Society was associated with the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, whose chairman was the ILP activist Fenner Brockway.<sup>67</sup> Braithwaite protected Harvey because he understood the difference between, on the one hand, refusing to serve the war state on grounds of religious conviction and, on the other, using the Society for a general protest against the war. That the ILP faction in the Society had suffered a setback is evident from Meeting for Sufferings' muted response to a legislative development the same month, December 1941, which was the call-up of women for military service. Harvey condemned the legislation as a 'great step forward to the totalitarian State'.<sup>68</sup> At the same time, he was successful in getting the government to concede an amendment freeing women conscripts from an obligation to bear arms unless they had signified in writing their willingness to do so.<sup>69</sup> Harvey's success may have been because his amendment related to the already established principle of exemption from military service rather than from civilian emergency service. Meeting for Sufferings on 5 December 1941 said no more than quietly regretting the further extension of conscription.<sup>70</sup> This meant a defeat of the elements which engineered the mass protests witnessed by Braithwaite.

### 1942-43

A further legislative development came in 1942, when the call-up of all over-18s became a prospect. The call-up of arts students gave rise to an instance of

---

<sup>66</sup> Letter from Alfred W. Braithwaite 5 December 1941. Original in my possession.

<sup>67</sup> LYM proceedings 1940 p.241; LYM proceedings 1941 p.151

<sup>68</sup> Nicol2 paragraph 28

<sup>69</sup> Nicol2 paragraph 30

<sup>70</sup> Nicol2 paragraph 31



cooperation between Harvey and his partner MP for the Combined English Universities, Eleanor Rathbone. On 5 March 1942 the two spoke to university teachers in Leeds, he on call-up arrangements for university students and she on the application of child allowance to universities.<sup>71</sup> On 26 March Harvey asked a parliamentary question about Esther Turrie, a 23-year-old Jehovah's Witness who had been sent to prison for a month.<sup>72</sup> He continued to harbour hopes for peace and good will. When he heard Churchill on the steps of Leeds Town Hall in May 1942 he wanted 'a more constructive message which will give hope to the Germans to free themselves from the Nazi rule.'<sup>73</sup> When in November 1942 the Government introduced a Bill to call up youths as soon as they became eighteen, Harvey sought exemption for arts students at university. Looking ahead to the post-war world, he deplored the prospect of a society dominated by technologists without the counterbalancing influence of those with a classical education.<sup>74</sup> Not for the first time he had no effect on Bevin, who announced that, after the summer of 1943, University arts courses would be closed to all students except those medically unfit for service in the Forces. This meant, claims Nicol, that by the summer of 1943 the nation's entire human resources, civil and military, had been mobilised to a degree of compulsion unsurpassed elsewhere by friend or foe.<sup>75</sup>

In the course of 1943 Harvey became involved in the case of the conscientious objector, scientist and Quaker, Kathleen Lonsdale. She was twice prosecuted for failing to register for fire-watching and in 1943 served a month's

---

<sup>71</sup> TEH to family 6 March 1942

<sup>72</sup> Denis Hayes, *Challenge Of Conscience: The story of the Conscientious Objectors of 1939-1949* Katarzyna Stoklosa, *Jehovah's Witnesses in Europe: Past and Present Volume 1* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing 2019) p.193

<sup>73</sup> TEH to AIH Rydal House 16 May 1942

<sup>74</sup> Nicol2 paragraph 38. For Harvey as a classical humanist see chapter 8.

<sup>75</sup> Nicol2 paragraph 2

imprisonment in Holloway even though, had she been willing to register, she could have claimed exemption on grounds of hardship as a married woman with three children under fourteen.<sup>76</sup> Harvey and Lonsdale shared a concern about repeated prosecutions of conscientious objectors who persistently defied the law. This was the 'cat and mouse' process which, as shown above, Harvey had predicted would become an issue in cases of conscientious objections to compulsory civil defence. Responding to pacifists' alarm at such cases, he met Ellen Wilkinson, the minister for home security, who was unsympathetic and said that voluntary fire-watching was not enough and that 'it was necessary to have an organised service to prevent the country being burned down'.<sup>77</sup> He had an easier time with Sir Harold Scott, the Commissioner for the Metropolitan Police, to whom in June 1943 he was able to lead a deputation on the subject of repeated prosecutions. Kathleen Lonsdale was a member of the delegation along with two others. One was John V. C. Wray, a veteran conscientious objector who had been court-martialled four times in the First War, and though of the older generation had recently served two separate months in prison for refusing to register. The other was Joe Brayshaw, secretary of the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors who had also served time. Summing up for the deputation with what Denis Hayes calls his 'customary Quaker charm', Harvey asked that special effort should be made to avoid repeated prosecutions which, he said, were felt on all sides to be undesirable, and Sir Harold Scott promised to consider this.<sup>78</sup> Scott was not a career police officer but a Cambridge graduate and civil

---

<sup>76</sup> Kathleen Lonsdale, *Some account of life in Holloway Prison for Women* introduction by Ethel Mannin (London: Prison Medical Reform Council, 1943)

<sup>77</sup> Rachel Barker, *Conscience, Government and War: Conscientious Objection in Great Britain, 1939-45* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul 1982) p. 108

<sup>78</sup> Denis Hayes, *Challenge Of Conscience: The story of the Conscientious Objectors of 1939-1949*

servant, having been chairman of the Prison Commission. This may have made him and Harvey simpatico.

In addition to the plight of conscientious objectors and internees, another wartime humanitarian issue with which Harvey concerned himself was food shortage in occupied Europe. In July 1943 he spoke at length in a parliamentary debate on the effects of economic warfare on the children of Greece and Belgium, urging the government to permit foodstuffs to pass through the blockade.<sup>79</sup> He lobbied locally on the issue by attending famine relief meetings in Leeds.<sup>80</sup>

### 1944–45

By 1944, the government found parliamentary time to look towards the post-war world. Harvey derived personal satisfaction from the Education Act of 1944, which implemented measures that he had recommended in the education eirenicon of thirty-four years earlier.<sup>81</sup> It settled at least one ‘ancient difficulty which has caused great heartburning in the past’, which was aid to church schools out of public funds.<sup>82</sup> At the Bill stage he initiated a lengthy debate on the statutory duty on schools to hold a daily collective act of worship, opposing it on the liberalist grounds that ‘the act of worship itself is a holy and a wonderful thing which cannot be enforced by Act of Parliament, but must spring from the free act of those who take part in it’.<sup>83</sup> Other legislation which took Harvey’s interest included that on town and country planning,

---

<sup>79</sup> Economic warfare Greece and Belgium HC Deb 08 July 1943 vol 390 cc 2290-384

<sup>80</sup> TEH to family 4 February 1944

<sup>81</sup> See chapter 2

<sup>82</sup> TEH to Family, 5 March 1944; CLAUSE 98. — (Power of Minister to make loans to aided schools and special agreement schools in respect of initial expenditure.) HC Deb 09 May 1944 vol 399 c. 1861

<sup>83</sup> Clause 24.—(General provisions as to religious education in county and in auxiliary schools.) HC Deb 10 March 1944 vol 397 cc2395-427.

which he supported out of the modernising agenda of the Next Five Years Group and the conservationism of John Ruskin.<sup>84</sup>

He continued to watch apprehensively the course of the war. In May 1944 he wrote to his family about the approaching landings in Europe.

From day to day we await the news of the landing of the allied invasion which must involve such terrible cost in human lives. We must pray that the fires of hatred and revenge may not gain new strength and make peacemaking yet more difficult.<sup>85</sup>

The eve of the landings coincided with Yearly Meeting gathering, which took place in late May and early June. Yearly Meeting's epistle referred to the expected invasion in terms which were neutral on their country's war effort and insinuated an attack on conscription and emergency measures.<sup>86</sup> Yearly Meeting gathering in 1944 was marked not only by a subtly drafted epistle but also by Harvey's exasperation when 'one or two left-wing Friends seemed almost anarchist.'<sup>87</sup> The background to this remark was that the imminent Allied landings in Europe raised the likelihood of Quaker relief workers being stationed on the continent, as they had been thirty years before under Harvey's leadership.<sup>88</sup> The government decreed that relief workers were to be given the status of officers and required to wear military-style uniforms.<sup>89</sup> Harvey believed in the value of uniform to non-military services, to nurture the corporate spirit which he saw as a positive feature of the military, for he himself had worn the khaki of the Friends' Ambulance Unit in the First World War.<sup>90</sup> With this in

---

<sup>84</sup> On the Next Five Years' Group and John Ruskin see chapter 5

<sup>85</sup> TEH to Family 5 May 1944.

<sup>86</sup> YM epistle 1944, LYM proceedings 1944 p. 253 ff

<sup>87</sup> TEH to AIH 28 May 1944

<sup>88</sup> See chapter 3.

<sup>89</sup> TEH to AIH 28 May 1944

<https://www.quakersintheworld.org/quakers-in-action/301/Friends-Relief-Service-in-WWII>

<sup>90</sup> A photo of Harvey in France in 1915 wearing FAU uniform is at

<https://thehistoryofparliament.files.wordpress.com/2020/06/tehfrance1914.jpg>

mind, in the Second World War he had encouraged the Friends' Ambulance Unit to create a uniformed cadet corps.<sup>91</sup> Some Quakers, however, upheld the Friends Relief Service but did not want its teams wearing military-style uniform and they pressed their point at Yearly Meeting. Harvey wrote to his family in Leeds from his sister's home in Croydon about the session on 29 May 1944. 'Monday afternoon's session was one of the most trying I can remember.'<sup>92</sup> He explained that the session was about relief workers and whether they should unite with other workers in the war zone and possibly have to wear khaki. It was at this point that he complained of left-wingers as almost anarchist. He named Theodore Harris, who had urged Yearly Meeting to require Meeting for Sufferings' approval for cooperation with relief work under military control.<sup>93</sup> By this Harris intended to throw an administrative obstacle in the way of cooperation between Quakers and the military. As commissioner of the Friends' War Victims Relief Committee in the First World War Harvey had striven for good relations with the civic and military authorities. He found Harris trying because he saw him as insisting on gestures which would serve only to obstruct vital work. In addition, he may have been hurt by the slight to his pride in having worn khaki on active service. In the event, the problem of uniforms was solved creatively by Friends' Relief Service workers wearing uniforms not of khaki but of Quaker grey.<sup>94</sup>

In June 1944, Parliament found time for a Speaker's Conference on possible electoral changes, which Harvey used unsuccessfully to promote the abiding Liberal cause of proportional representation.<sup>95</sup> In July 1944 he was hoping –

---

<sup>91</sup> T. Edmund Harvey to E. Rickey Mounsey of the Friends Ambulance Unit. Two letters about a cadet corps at Mary Ward Centre 04/12/1941

<sup>92</sup> TEH to Family Leeds 1 June 1944

<sup>93</sup> TEH to AIH 28 May 1944

<sup>94</sup> <https://www.quakersintheworld.org/quakers-in-action/301/Friends-Relief-Service-in-WWII>.

<sup>95</sup> TEH to AIH 21 June 1944.

in vain, as it turned out – that the war would end that year because of the Allied invasion of Europe, the progress of the Russian armies and the ‘strange conspiracy of German generals’.<sup>96</sup> Harvey thought the unsuccessful generals’ plot ‘strange’ presumably because those behind it had hitherto been supporting Hitler and the war. In September 1944 he gave a written testimonial to Roy Walker, a Christian pacifist and prominent figure in the Peace Pledge Union, for his appearance before Clerkenwell magistrates.<sup>97</sup> In October 1944 he declined an invitation to travel to America to mark the tercentenary of William Penn but instead broadcast a commemorative talk on the BBC to Europe and the US.<sup>98</sup> In the early hours of 14 November 1944 his sister Helen and her husband Hugh Crosfield were killed by a flying bomb on their house in Croydon. ‘News of Nell and Hugh’s death; flying bomb, home completely destroyed. Our thoughts and prayers with the children.’<sup>99</sup>

1945 was the last year Harvey was in parliament, as he decided not to stand for re-election when a general election was called after victory in Europe. In March he attended the three-day parliamentary debate on the Yalta conference, which was the meeting the previous month of Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin to discuss the post-war reorganisation of Germany and Europe. Harvey abstained from voting in the debate to distance himself from another harsh settlement like the Versailles Treaty.<sup>100</sup> President Roosevelt’s death the following month, April 1945, was a blow. Harvey feared the president’s good offices would be missed in

---

<sup>96</sup> TEH to Family Leeds 29 July 1944.

<sup>97</sup> Yvonne Bennett, ‘Testament of a minority in wartime: the Peace Pledge Union and Vera Brittain, 1939-1945.’ (McMaster University PhD diss., 1984) p.2 footnote 4

<sup>98</sup> William Penn Tercentenary correspondence, Richmond P. Miller Papers, RG 5/105, Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College.

<sup>99</sup> TEH to AIH House of Commons 15 November 1944

History Of Sutton Quaker Meeting <http://southlondonquakers.org.uk/suttold/history/Miscellaneous.pdf>

<sup>100</sup> TEH to Family Leeds 16 March 1945

peacemaking when he noted the bitterness towards the Germans of the Soviet press.<sup>101</sup> He opined 'it is more and more evident what grievous human trouble military victory is leaving to be dealt with.'<sup>102</sup> He hoped 'Churchill's magnanimous side will be shown when military victory is considered to be attained.'<sup>103</sup> He retired from Parliament at the dissolution in June 1945, after consulting his family on what he considered a 'difficult decision' because of the prospective loss of a Quaker voice in Parliament. He consoled himself with the thought that 'Rhys Davies and some other Friends too may be able to interpret the Quaker standpoint,' modestly adding, 'and I hope it will have better representatives than I have been.'<sup>104</sup>

### *Conclusion: Harvey in the Second World War*

In the years prior to and during the Second World War Harvey acted as a witness to peace out of those 'most noble and benevolent instincts of the human heart' which Churchill praised in his memorial speech on the death of Neville Chamberlain.<sup>105</sup> Harvey was in the House at the time and described the speech as beautiful.<sup>106</sup> He must have been moved by Churchill's praise of Chamberlain's qualities, qualities that are also to be found in Harvey, which are those of 'the love of peace, the toil for peace, the strife for peace, the pursuit of peace, even at great peril and certainly to the utter disdain of popularity or clamour.'<sup>107</sup> Harvey continued to make public calls for peace until Britain came under direct attack in 1940, but with the loss of

---

<sup>101</sup> TEH to Family Leeds 13 April 1945

<sup>102</sup> TEH to Family Leeds 13 April 1945

<sup>103</sup> TEH to Family Leeds 13 April 1945

<sup>104</sup> TEH to Family Rydal House 25 November 1944. See also appendix 4.

<sup>105</sup> Churchill's speech on the death of Neville Chamberlain HC Deb 12 November 1940 vol 365 cc1617-23

<sup>106</sup> TEH to David Blelloch 19 November 1940.

<sup>107</sup> Churchill's speech on the death of Neville Chamberlain HC Deb 12 November 1940 vol 365 cc1617-23

Czechoslovakia in March 1939 he was already out of step with events. Particularly unhappy was the timing of his letter of 11 October 1939, after Germany and the Soviet Union had divided Poland between them, for this meant that the talks he called for, whatever might have been the pre-conditions, would mean acquiescing in Poland's destruction.<sup>108</sup> The other, dubious presumption in the letter was that there was a body of public opinion in Germany which was outside the totalitarian state's control, an assumption characteristic of the liberal conscience of which Harvey was an exemplar.<sup>109</sup>

As for his role as protector of conscientious objectors, he was less significant than in 1916–18. This was partly because government and public opinion had become attuned to exemption by the pioneering struggles of 1916.<sup>110</sup> It was also because, as an elderly independent MP with roots in Edwardian liberalism, he had less influence with the new generation of Labour politicians, who rejected his pleas for the right of conscience to apply to civil defence and for exemptions for arts students and refused a delegation on the risk of repeat prosecutions. As for his standing with his fellow Quakers, he maintained his belief from the First World War that the conscientious objector had a duty to give alternative service. This put him in a minority in Yearly Meeting, which held conscience to be absolute and was neutral on the British war effort. On the other hand, he was able to see off a challenge by the war-resisters of the Independent Labour Party and he maintained his standing as a valued Friend at the heart of the Society.

---

<sup>108</sup> *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer* - Wednesday 11 October 1939 p.4

<sup>109</sup> Michael Eliot Howard, *War and the Liberal Conscience* (London: Temple Smith 1978)

<sup>110</sup> Allyson Breech, *Conscientious Objectors During Britain's Last Popular War* (Fellows thesis 1998-1999 Texas A&M University, Department of History) <https://hdl.handle.net/1969.1/ETD-TAMU-1999-Fellows-Thesis-B736>



## The Atomic Bomb

With the onset of peace, albeit one that Harvey feared would be fraught with 'grievous human trouble', he reverted to his pre-war political stance of straightforward disarmament.<sup>111</sup> His conviction was strengthened by the coming of nuclear weapons. Harvey was one of the first to speak out against their use, through the medium of the annual report of the Guild of St George.

I had all but completed the writing of this report when the solemn news arrived of the invention and first use of the Atomic Bomb, followed so swiftly by that of the surrender of Japan. Thankfulness for the end of this vast and awful conflict is mingled with sorrow and shame for the use to which civilization has turned the gift of knowledge and the power of the forces of nature with which we have been entrusted.<sup>112</sup>

He used the subsequent two annual reports to comment further. He exonerated science from the main blame and recognised international responsibility.<sup>113</sup> He looked back to the pre-1914 era and feared the coming of another time of troubles.<sup>114</sup> Harvey's revulsion at the atomic bomb was shared by British Quakers generally. Their opposition took shape in response to a report issued by the British Council of Churches in 1946 entitled 'The Era of Atomic Power'.<sup>115</sup> The report avoided absolute condemnation of the atomic bomb and referred to the dilemma of how a weapon which could preserve the country's way of life could end up destroying it. The British Council of Churches endorsed Britain's claim to continued status as a great power and Prime Minister Attlee's commitment to an independent nuclear deterrent should diplomatic manoeuvring fail to bring either disarmament or international control. The

---

<sup>111</sup> TEH to Family Leeds 13 April 1945

<sup>112</sup> Guild of St George Annual Report 1944-45, pp. 8-9

<sup>113</sup> Guild of St George Annual Report 1945-46

<sup>114</sup> Guild of St George Annual Report 1946-47

<sup>115</sup> Kirk Willis, "'God and the Atom': British Churchmen and the Challenge of Nuclear Power 1945-1950." *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 29, no. 3 (1997): 422-57

British Council of Churches' report was condemned by Meeting for Sufferings at a session in July 1946, Harvey being one of those who spoke. Drawing on the tension inherent in the concept of the Christian citizen, he criticised the authors of the report for being obsessed by their duty as British citizens and for not recognising that the Christian Church had been pacifist from its earliest centuries. Touching on medieval church history Harvey said that even when pacifism had been given up the church had tried to modify the use of certain weapons, for example the crossbow.<sup>116</sup> This occasion shows Harvey unambiguously condemning militarism and armaments. With the coming of peace he reverted to the position he adopted in earlier peacetimes, of upholding disarmament without regard to considerations of national defence and security.

Harvey's most substantial contribution to the debate on nuclear weapons appeared on 27 June 1950 when the communist newspaper the *Daily Worker* published what it called a peace symposium under the headline 'Don't Wait for Others to Ban the A-Bomb'.<sup>117</sup> The symposium included contributions from three Quakers, who were Harvey, Kathleen Lonsdale, and the poet and playwright Christopher Fry, together with one from the communist composer, Alan Bush. The contributors were asked 'Why do you believe that atomic weapons should be banned?' Harvey's reply appeared under the sub-heading, 'Its existence increases fear'. His argument was that nuclear weapons were inherently wrong and threatened peace by inducing fear and mistrust in opposing nations. Harvey offered a solution

---

<sup>116</sup> 'Atomic Warfare: Meeting For Sufferings Considers The Churches' Report' *The Friend* 2 August 1946 p.621ff

<sup>117</sup> 'Don't Wait for Others to Ban the A-Bomb.' *Daily Worker* 27 June 1950

based on general disarmament, and the liberal beliefs in the international rule of law and the acknowledgement of human rights.

Yet to renounce the atomic bomb will not bring peace unless it leads on to general disarmament and the replacement of the arbitrament of war by the rule of law which has respect for the rights of every member of the human family.<sup>118</sup>

It may be asked why Harvey, a liberal, wrote for the communist *Daily Worker*. A possible reason is that in February 1950 the United States had announced that it would develop a second-generation nuclear device, the hydrogen bomb. The Americans' acceleration of the arms race may have increased pacifists' pro-Soviet sentiment despite the Soviet Union having test-exploded an atomic device of its own in August 1949.<sup>119</sup> A countervailing factor, however, was that two days before the publication of Harvey's article, North Korea had invaded South Korea, which, on the day that the symposium appeared on the inside pages of the *Daily Worker*, the front page presented as an act of self-defence. Presumably by then the text of Harvey's article had been fixed, otherwise he might have written less complacently about peaceful international co-operation. It is not known how Harvey felt about the unhappy coincidence of his extolling peace from the inside pages of a newspaper whose front page was supporting – or rather, denying – communist military aggression. In any event, with his departure from Parliament, where he was seen by some Quakers as compromising with the war state, and with the coming of an uncertain peace and epoch-changing nuclear weaponry, Harvey had re-positioned himself in the mainstream of the Society of Friends. From the outset of the new epoch he expressed revulsion at the principle of the Bomb. He also did what he had

---

<sup>118</sup> 'Don't Wait for Others to Ban the A-Bomb.'

<sup>119</sup> *The Friend* 10 February 1950 p.97 summarised press reports.

'Will Friends take action?' *The Friend* 10 February 1950 pp.93–4

done in the interwar years, which was to support a regulated world order and the principle of arms controls. In the period after the Second World War, as on other occasions when the fundamental issue of war and peace was in contention, he took a liberal pacifist view which entailed a hatred of war and armaments matched with calls for goodwill and a settled international order.

### Final years 1950–55

His final years, 1950–55, were those of a valued Quaker elder statesman. In May 1951 he retired after thirty years as a prison visitor. He published in the Quaker press a number of book reviews, together with short articles on Quaker processes such as weddings and funerals, and a valedictory piece, 'Looking Back'.<sup>120</sup> In September 1954 Meeting for Sufferings noted his long absence from ill health. 'Friends united in the sending of a message of warm appreciation of his wisdom and love and in expressing their deep affection for him.'<sup>121</sup> He sent a final, emotional letter to David Blelloch: 'I have left much undone but I have been given much joy and dearly loved friends. If I'm gone when you return I want you to know what happiness your friendship has given me.'<sup>122</sup> He looked back on his career as a witness to peace and reiterated his belief in peaceful international relations.

I think the leaders of the Great Powers today endorse the motto 'Si vis pacem para bellum'. I still believe that the emphasis on this hinders the fruitful advance to peace. 'Si vis pacem para pacem' is the true way and should be the key note of advance in international relationship.<sup>123</sup>

---

<sup>120</sup> See publications list appendix 1

<sup>121</sup> *The Friend*, 10 September 1954

<sup>122</sup> TEH to DB 10 January 1955

<sup>123</sup> Harvey to A. J. Dorey, 31 January 1955.

'If you wish for peace prepare for war... If you wish for peace prepare for peace.'

He died at home, Rydal House, 5 Grosvenor Terrace, Headingley, on 3 May 1955.<sup>124</sup>

There was a memorial service at the Friends Meeting House, Woodhouse Lane on

11 May.<sup>125</sup> Of the tributes to him after his death, one was from a fellow Leeds

Quaker, Wilfrid Allott, which portrays Harvey as a quiet, well informed and dedicated community worker.

As chance would have it whenever I saw Mr. T. E. Harvey it was over some question of helping an orphanage, helping people in trouble or helping to get citizens informed about some wrong that ought to be put right. I feel sure there was no day of his life on which he did not try to think of some good that he could do. So I am wrong to say 'as chance would have it'. What I saw of the man was typical of his interests. He was one of the products of the best education in England, France and Germany. I was often impressed by the wealth of his knowledge of social problems in various countries. He served in many capacities [...] He was not a demagogue who could inflame a public meeting; he never wanted to be. A member of the Society of Friends, he was content to do his good work quietly and with no desire for acclamation. Few of our reformers have such a record of continuous, solid work.<sup>126</sup>

His cremated remains lie in Friends Burial Ground, Adel, Leeds, in plot row 2 grave 86.<sup>127</sup>

### Chapter summary

Chapter 7 continues chapter 5 with an account of Harvey from 1939 onwards, covering the Second World War, the Cold War and Harvey's final years. Throughout the period he continued to witness to his religious and political values, as a veteran Independent Progressive MP and Quaker elder statesman. Echoing chapter 3 on Harvey's experiences and actions before and during the First World War, the chapter focuses on his concerns for international peace and the right of conscience, which

---

<sup>124</sup> *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer* - Friday 06 May 1955

<sup>125</sup> *Yorkshire Post & Leeds Intelligencer* 12 March 1955 p.9

<sup>126</sup> *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer* – Wednesday 04 May 1955 p.7

<sup>127</sup> <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/122898067/thomas-edmund-harvey>

were life-long features of him as a liberal Quaker and Quaker Liberal. From the start of 1939 through the outbreak of war and during the Phoney War he was calling for peace by negotiation. He ceased to do so in 1940 when Britain came under direct military attack. When conscription was reintroduced by stages, starting in early 1939, he welcomed legislative concessions to conscience and raised individual hard cases, but in 1941 failed to get a concession to apply to civil defence. As in the first war, his cooperating with the state brought him into conflict with war-resisters, this time those of the Independent Labour Party. The liberal in him was exasperated by some attending Yearly Meeting in 1944 whom he deemed almost anarchists. He pursued wartime humanitarian causes such as interned refugees and famine relief in enemy-occupied Europe. He also supported legislation such as the Education Act 1944, which reflected his education eirenicon of 1910, and the Town and Country Planning Act 1944, which reflected post-Victorian values as well as a modernising agenda. With the end of the war and the coming of nuclear weapons he called attention to their danger and reverted to openly supporting the cause of disarmament as he had done in previous periods of peace.

## Chapter 8: Harvey's thought: personalism, liberalism and classical humanism

### Introduction

Chapter 8 examines Harvey's religious and political thought, which was a post-Victorian melange. Harvey was not a systematic thinker except in regard to conscientious objection and was untroubled by, for example, the tension in liberal Christianity between the human and the divine, between anthropocentrism and theism. The chapter analyses Harvey's thought by means of a passage in *Quaker Faith & Practice* taken from the session on the individual Christian and the state of the Friends World Conference of 1937.<sup>1</sup> The chapter breaks down the passage into six phrases and analyses each in turn. The passage is a late one but succinctly expresses the approach to questions of faith, personal freedom and civic duty which is found throughout his career.

We have [...] in our Quaker history a lesson for our own lives of the meaning of Christian citizenship. You can see there a two-fold strand constantly interwoven: one, respect for the state as representing authority in the community: and the other, desire to serve the community through the state and in other ways, but along with that, the desire above all to serve the Kingdom of God: this means that we must be willing, when loyalty to the Kingdom of God demands it to refuse the demands of the state and show the highest loyalty to the state and the best citizenship by refusing demands that are wrong, because it is only in that way that the conscience of our fellow citizens can be reached, and in the end a better law come into being.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> *Quaker Faith & Practice* passage 23.88, taken from 'Friends World Conference official report held at Swarthmore and Haverford Colleges near Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, September 1st to 8th 1937'

<sup>2</sup> *Quaker Faith & Practice* passage 23.88

1. 'We have in our Quaker history a lesson for our own lives of the meaning of Christian citizenship.'

Christian citizenship

This section considers what Harvey means by referring to 'our Quaker history' and the significance of his referring to Quakers as Christian citizens. By addressing an international Quaker audience in Swarthmore and Haverford Colleges on the meaning of Christian citizenship in their collective history, Harvey would have had in mind such enterprises as the Anglo-American relief teams which he had led from the British side in wartime Europe in 1917–18.<sup>3</sup> Harvey assumes that this shared work came out of Quakers regarding themselves as Christian citizens and acting accordingly. The notion of the Christian citizen was widespread in the late Victorian and Edwardian period as a means of conceptualising the good society. It is evident from Harvey's remark to an audience of international Quakers in 1937 that he judged the notion still had meaning for them in the post-Victorian era. The idea is associated with Thomas Hill Green, whom Harvey cited as an influence to Josiah C. Wedgwood.<sup>4</sup> Green's legacy was an optimistic, liberal, communitarian and ethical theory of citizenship and of the state devoted to the promotion of a worthwhile life for all citizens.<sup>5</sup> Green's influential brand of perfectionist, statist liberalism drew on ancient philosophy and Christian thought to present citizenship not as a mere legal status but as a consciousness of the moral ends of life as embodied in the structures

---

<sup>3</sup> See chapter 3.

<sup>4</sup> See appendix 3

<sup>5</sup> Matt Carter, *T.H. Green and the Development of Ethical Socialism* (Imprint Academic 2003)



of the state and liberal Protestantism.<sup>6</sup> Harvey had a connection with Green by way of Samuel Barnett, one of Green's acolytes and the founding warden of Toynbee Hall who in 1906 appointed Harvey as his successor. Oxford humanities men like Green and Harvey himself understood that the idea of moral competency in members of the community went back to ancient Greece and to Aristotle, a perennially prescribed author at Oxford University, who taught that in a constitutional state the good citizen knows both how to rule and how to obey and that citizenship in such a state is a moral training.<sup>7</sup> Elaborating on this classical idea in a piece written in 1908, Harvey called for civic volunteers who would be 'citizens of the future combining in their commonwealth the Greek and Christian notions of citizenship'.<sup>8</sup> If Christian thinkers like Green and Harvey added to the classical concept of citizenship it was in conceiving of the citizen as more than a holder of a legal status or an instance of participatory civic competence but as a person in the full sense with an interior moral and religious life. This is an aspect of the philosophy of personalism which, though he did not use the term itself, is an identifiable feature of Harvey's thought.

### Personalism

Harvey's religious and political thought centred on the person, so that his concern for human rights and duties was as much spiritual and religious as it was secular and political. Personalism, the key to understanding the connection between Harvey's faith and politics, is the cluster of ideas that makes personhood or personality central to the understanding of reality.<sup>9</sup> It emphasises the significance, uniqueness and

---

<sup>6</sup> David Boucher and Andrew Vincent, *British Idealism and Political Theory* (Edinburgh University Press) pp 50-51

<sup>7</sup> Aristotle, *Politics* (trans Benjamin Jowett, Oxford at the Clarendon Press 1905) Book 3

<sup>8</sup> 'The Civic Volunteer' (*The Nation* 29 August 1908 pp 761-62)

<sup>9</sup> J. Macquarrie, *Twentieth-Century Religious Thought* (Fifth edition: London 2001: SCM Press)

inviolability of the person. It is more than just humanism, because each human being is more than just an instance of humanity and has that of God within them. A Christian is bound to maintain that in the long run a humanism which aims at the full achievement of human potential will include in its sights the relation to God, without which man remains incomplete.<sup>10</sup> The person has not only a physical body but also an inner emotional, intellectual and spiritual life and lives in and grows with family, friends and a wider social, cultural and political community.<sup>11</sup> Personalism holds that persons are formed in dialogue and community, and that healthy communities equip individual persons to be agents for peaceful social transformation in the wider world.<sup>12</sup> Personalism is consistent with Greenian liberalism and leads to a wide range of modern Christian ethical ideas such as respect for the person, human dignity, individual self-realisation, and the person-in-community.<sup>13</sup> It is also consistent with secular, legal ideas about human rights. It needs to be distinguished from egalitarianism and the interpretation of the Quaker testimony to equality in terms of mere socio-economic equality. Rather, for the Quaker personalist there is an equality of souls. The value of the person is irrespective of their socio-economic standing, cultural affiliation or personal attributes. Personalism is an expression of the belief emphasised by the leaders of the Quaker Renaissance that God is revealed to each and all in the Light of Christ. Douglas Gwyn says personalism has correlated dynamically with Quaker faith and practice, so that it is sometimes religiously and

---

<sup>10</sup> Alan Richardson and John Bowden, *A new dictionary of Christian theology* (London: SCM Press 1983) p. 273

<sup>11</sup> Alan Richardson, *A dictionary of Christian theology* (London SCM Press 1969) p.256

<sup>12</sup> Douglas Gwyn *Personality and Place: The Life and Times of Pendle Hill* (Plain Press, 2014)

<sup>13</sup> James F. Childress and John Macquarrie, *A new dictionary of Christian ethics* (London: SCM Press 1986)

socially radical and at other times quietist and mystical.<sup>14</sup> Harvey makes much the same point in explicitly Christian terms.

[T]he keyword for the life and thought of today is found in the idea of personality. In the mystery of human personality there is also involved the mystery of God's revelation of himself to man. As we come to discover the divine worth of human personality, all life takes a deeper meaning; problems international and racial, social and industrial are illumined by its light; and that light for us as Christians streams not only through the one tiny eyelet within our own souls, but through the great window of the personality of Jesus Christ.<sup>15</sup>

In this passage Harvey says not that the human person is divine but that the human personality is mystically linked with God so as to give it a value which is divine.

#### Friedrich von Hugel.

Harvey's personalism was developed under the influence of the Catholic lay thinker Friedrich von Hugel. Harvey met von Hugel through his father-in-law, Silvanus Thompson, at the London Society for the Study of Religion.<sup>16</sup> Friedrich von Hugel argued that, of the chief forces of Western civilisation, the first was Hellenism, characterised by 'the thirst for richness and harmony', and the second, Christianity, characterised by the 'revelation of personality and depth'. The third force is science, the 'apprehension and conception of brute fact and iron law'.<sup>17</sup> Von Hugel saw Christianity as a departure from Hellenism and as opposing the Hellenistic pluralistic world view with what he called the 'unique fullness and closeness of unity in multiplicity of our Lord's life'.<sup>18</sup> Harvey quotes an extensive passage from von Hugel

---

<sup>14</sup> Douglas Gwyn *Personality and Place: The Life and Times of Pendle Hill*

<sup>15</sup> 'Heart of Quakerism: The substance of an address delivered by T. Edmund Harvey at Guilford College, North Carolina, 19, ix. mo., 1922.' [unpublished pamphlet] Section ii

<sup>16</sup> Jane Smeal Thompson, and Helen G. Thompson, *Silvanus Phillips Thompson: His Life and Letters* (London: T. Fisher Unwin 1920)

<sup>17</sup> Friedrich von Hugel, *The Mystical Element of Religion as Studied in St. Catherine of Genoa and Her Friends* (London: J.M. Dent 1909; second edition 1923) p.xxxv

<sup>18</sup> Friedrich von Hugel, *The Mystical Element of Religion* p. 25

in his Swarthmore Lecture, *The Long Pilgrimage*, in which von Hugel, using personalist language, says of Jesus 'And in Him, for the first and last time, we find an insight so unique, a Personality so strong and supreme, as to teach us once, and for all, the true attitude towards suffering.'<sup>19</sup> As John C. Berry says, von Hugel helped Harvey's contemporary Quaker, Rufus Jones, towards a mystical understanding of religion and the same is true of Harvey, whom Berry overlooks.<sup>20</sup> Berry says von Hugel rescued mysticism from impersonalism by integrating it with the Christian idea that God is love.<sup>21</sup> If von Hugel influenced Quakers, the reverse was not the case. David Johns argues that von Hugel considered the Quakers unappreciative of Christian sacramental tradition and historical institutions.<sup>22</sup> If von Hugel was right about Quakers generally, then a corrective is found in Harvey's *A Wayfarer's Faith*, written around the time he was with von Hugel in the London Society for the Study of Religion. In the book Harvey countered von Hugel's criticism of the Quakers with warm references to early church history and by showing how the sacred and the sacramental are aspects of all religions.<sup>23</sup>

---

<sup>19</sup> *The Long Pilgrimage* pp 64–65. Harvey gives the source as 'Baron F. von Hugel, The Mystical Element of Religion, Vol I., p.26.'

<sup>20</sup> John C. Berry, 'The Nature Of Christian Mysticism in the thought of Baron Von Hugel and George Tyrrell' (PhD thesis, University of Leeds, 1989).

<sup>21</sup> John C. Berry, 'The Nature Of Christian Mysticism in the thought of Baron Von Hugel and George Tyrrell' p. 197

<sup>22</sup> David I. Johns, 'Historically Ungrateful? Friedrich von Hugel's Critique of the Quakers (*Friends Quarterly* October 1998 pp 165-174)

<sup>23</sup> *A Wayfarer's Faith: Aspects of the Common Basis of Religious Life* (London: Wells Gardner, Darton and Co., [1913])

2. 'You can see there a two-fold strand constantly interwoven: one, respect for the state as representing authority...'

Harvey goes on in the key passage to explain to his audience that the lesson of Quaker history and the meaning of Christian citizenship relate to 'respect for the state as representing authority in the community'. In referring to the state he has in mind the liberal state as constituted in Britain and the US. Anglo-American liberalism originated with John Locke, the seventeenth century philosopher who criticised the Quakers' enthusiasm but provided British Atlantic politics with a conceptual vocabulary.<sup>24</sup> Harvey's reference to respect for the state is the language of the classic liberal idea of the social contract, which in Harvey's case is associated with ideas about progress through social harmony. We now proceed to discuss this association and its classical origins and whether Harvey's respectful attitude to the state means he was one of the Friendly patriots critiqued by Brian Phillips.<sup>25</sup>

Progressivism

In Harvey's case and others in his audience, a facet of liberalism was progressivism, which entailed a belief in social harmony and political pragmatism.<sup>26</sup> As we saw in chapter 2, Harvey started his political career in the Progressive Alliance of Edwardian London, made up of Liberals, Fabians, and trade unionists. By September 1937, when he made his address in Pennsylvania, he was sitting in the House of Commons

---

<sup>24</sup> Peter R. Anstey 'Locke, the Quakers and enthusiasm', *Intellectual History Review*, 29:2, (2019) 199-217

<sup>25</sup> Brian David Phillips, 'Friendly Patriots: British Quakerism And The Imperial Nation, 1890 –1910' (University of Cambridge: PhD thesis, 1989)

<sup>26</sup> Michael Freedon, 'A house of many mansions' in *Liberalism: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford, 2015)

as an Independent Progressive.<sup>27</sup> British progressivism in its Edwardian origins was close to New Liberalism, especially in its views upon social harmony, a distaste for class politics, and a belief that conflicts were ultimately reconcilable.<sup>28</sup> L. T. Hobhouse, the theoretician of New Liberalism whom Harvey knew through the editorial board of *The Nation*, agreed with the concept of social harmony, saying that ‘in society there is a natural commonality of interests.’<sup>29</sup> Progressive ideas would also have been familiar to the Americans in Harvey’s audience. By 1937 the progressivism identified with the powerful movement of Theodore Roosevelt in the period 1896–1916, which had coincided with New Liberalism in Britain, remained part of the political scene in the US, having evolved into the ‘New Deal’ policies of Franklin D. Roosevelt.<sup>30</sup> Social harmony was a facet of the liberalism and progressivism of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth centuries in Britain and America but it is another example of a classical Greek idea, for it goes back to Aristotle’s notion that the state is founded on the natural impulse towards political association. Aristotle saw a moral component to political association, which is that the state as the highest form of community aims at the highest good.<sup>31</sup> As argued above, Harvey understood how the concept of the Christian citizen built on ancient notions of citizenship. The liberal and progressive thought of Harvey’s time can be similarly linked with Aristotle’s ethics, which presupposes freedom as necessary for the exercise of the virtues and the achievement of the good. It must be acknowledged, however, that the progressivists were prone to elitism. Hobhouse

---

<sup>27</sup> See chapter 5

<sup>28</sup> H. Emy, *Liberals, Radicals and Social Politics 1892–1914* (Cambridge University Press 1973) Preface pp. vii-xiv

<sup>29</sup> Leonard Trelawny Hobhouse, *Liberalism* (Kitchener: Batoche Books 1911/1998) p.32-33

<sup>30</sup> Walter Nugent, *Progressivism: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford University Press 2010)

<sup>31</sup> Aristotle *Politics* book 1

showed this when he acknowledged that social harmony and the pursuit of the common good 'might require a certain amount of education and enlightenment.'<sup>32</sup>

Middle-class reformers such as the Webbs repelled Clement Attlee with their *de haut en bas*.<sup>33</sup>

### Friendly patriotism

A Quaker referring to respect for the state being part of the identity of a Quaker, as Harvey does in the passage under consideration, seems to substantiate Brian Phillips' portrayal of the Quakers of Harvey's early manhood as 'Friendly patriots.'<sup>34</sup> According to Phillips, in the years 1890 to 1910 British Quakers wrestled over the Society of Friends' right relationship to the state, to the Empire, to politics, and to government. Conflicting pressures toward respectability and radicalism, says Phillips, tested the Society's loyalties to the imperial nation and to its heritage of dissent. The problem with the Phillips' thesis, as he acknowledges, is that the phrase 'Friendly patriotism' covers a complex set of attitudes by which public-spirited Quakers attempted to straddle multiple identities. Harvey was not a patriot in the sense that he loved his country to the point of being willing to bear carnal weapons on its behalf or of urging others to do so. Rather, Harvey was a patriot in the sense that he believed in his country because he valued its system of government. His last speech in Parliament, in 1945, praised the British parliamentary system as the light of democracy and an example to India and the rest of the world.<sup>35</sup> A more precise denotation of Harvey's identity than 'Friendly patriot' might be that offered by Alastair

---

<sup>32</sup> Leonard Trelawny Hobhouse, *Liberalism* (Kitchener: Batoche Books 1911/1998) p. 27

<sup>33</sup> R. C. Whiting, 'Attlee, Clement Richard, first Earl Attlee (1883–1967), prime minister.' (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 2004)

<sup>34</sup> Brian David Phillips, 'Friendly Patriots: British Quakerism And The Imperial Nation, 1890 –1910' (University of Cambridge: PhD thesis, 1989).

<sup>35</sup> See chapter 4

MacLachlan, which is that of 'liberal (inter-) nationalist'.<sup>36</sup> This is a hybrid term, admits MacLachlan, to denote someone who, on the one hand, identifies with their own nation and supports its interests but who also, on the other hand, believes in cooperation and understanding between nations. MacLachlan uses the example of Harvey's contemporary, the liberal historian George Macaulay Trevelyan, who was a mix of romantic nationalist and liberal internationalist. Harvey did not share Trevelyan's romantic nationalism in the sense of an emotional and uncritical identification with the motherland. Rather, Harvey was a liberal nationalist in the sense of upholding the British constitution not out of simple patriotism or cultural identity but because it was based on the universal principle of freedom. Harvey's liberal (inter)-nationalism and the principle of equality before the law can be seen at play when he criticised the British authorities in the case of the Masai.<sup>37</sup> The internationalist component of his beliefs may be seen in a speech to students in February 1940 in which he said 'There is hope for the future if we can get this international dependence deeply burned into the conscience of thinking people of the world.'<sup>38</sup> If Harvey was a Friendly patriot he was of a complex kind, a liberal nationalist and internationalist, a believer not in blood and soil but in the value of universal freedom ambiguously represented by the culturally-conditioned non-universal institutions and practices of British politics. There were, as Mira Matikkala has said, multiple faces of the imperial culture, which echoes Phillips' recognition that public-spirited Quakers straddled many identities.<sup>39</sup>

---

<sup>36</sup> Alastair MacLachlan 'Becoming National?: G. M. Trevelyan: The dilemmas of a liberal (inter)nationalist, 1900-1945' *Humanities research*, 2013-01-01, Vol.19 (1), p.23-43.

<sup>37</sup> See chapter 4

<sup>38</sup> *Western Daily Press* - Monday 26 February 1940 p.5

<sup>39</sup> Mira Matikkala, *Empire and imperial ambition: liberty, Englishness and anti-imperialism in late Victorian Britain* (London and New York I. B. Tauris, 2011)



The second strand of Brian Phillips' thesis is the contrast he draws between the respectability-craving Friendly patriots of late Victorian and Edwardian times and the radical Quakers of the seventeenth century. The contrast is an oversimplification. Harvey's career in Parliament, certainly in his first term, 1910–18, shows no hunger for respectability for its own sake. On the contrary, he was a Liberal Radical backbencher campaigning against imperialist depredations such as those on the Masai and those of international finance on China. These radicals were feared in their day, characterised by the contemporary Conservative commentator John Marriott as zealots and fanatics.<sup>40</sup> Similarly radical, or at least principled, was his active pacifism which led to his opposition to the Navy Vote in 1910, his refusal to join a meeting of the National Service League in 1913, his speech against the war on 3 August 1914 and his simultaneous resignation as a PPS, his refusal to join a mayoral recruitment rally in September 1914 and in 1917 his de-selection as an MP. A further point against Phillips is that, although he assumes that the early Quakers were radicals in contrast to the Friendly patriots of the early twentieth century, Harvey as a historian did not see the distinction so sharply. In *The Rise of the Quakers* Harvey saw the difference between his contemporaries and the first Quakers primarily in terms of the tone of the relations with other religious groups. Harvey referred to the pamphlet wars of the religious controversialists of the seventeenth century.

As we turn over the pages of those old pamphlets in which they waged war on one another, we cannot but regret their harshness, and sometimes the confidence with which the Quakers proclaimed their prophetic character

---

<sup>40</sup> J. A. R. Marriott, *Modern England 1885-1945: A History of My Own Times* (London: Methuen 1948)

may shock us, who are so cautious and lukewarm in expressing our own convictions.<sup>41</sup>

For Harvey, the early Quakers were prophets not political dissidents. Harvey saw their intentional history primarily in terms of a quest for freedom of worship. This is supported by Christopher Hill's point that the early Quakers 'suffered the dilemma of a highly individualistic religion which grew up in a millenary atmosphere and was at first organizationally influenced mainly by a desire to hinder hindrances to spiritual freedom.'<sup>42</sup> A theme of *The Rise of the Quakers*, evident from the title of one chapter, 'The Crown of Persecution', is how the early Quakers underwent persecution and to some extent, Harvey hints in the quoted passage and in the title of the chapter, courted controversy and even martyrdom.<sup>43</sup> Harvey shows in *The Rise of the Quakers* that in the face of intolerance and persecution George Fox and Margaret Fell built an organisation to protect themselves and their followers. Harvey also shows how in the period up to the Act of Toleration the Quakers were not so much politically radical as seeking to protect their peculiarity by playing off opposing forces against each other, by appealing to the monarchy and moderate magistrates against hostile forces in Parliament and the country. For Harvey, the struggle of the early Quakers was for toleration — indeed, one might say, for a degree of political power and respectability. Harvey's book, *The Rise of the Quakers*, and his own liberalism reflect his perception of continuity in Quaker history, that continuity being an underlying liberalism, from the quest for safety and security in the seventeenth century to the New Liberalism of his own time. For Harvey as a liberal the common theme between the generations of Quakers was that of freedom, despite differences

---

<sup>41</sup> *The Rise of the Quakers* p.57

<sup>42</sup> Christopher Hill, *The World Turned upside down* (Penguin 1972/1991) p.116

<sup>43</sup> *The Rise of the Quakers* chapter 6

in tone between the ardent prophets of the seventeenth century and his own caution and luke-warmness.

### *Authority and Freedom in the Experience of the Quakers*

The tension between respectability and radicalism, between solidarity and individualism, in the relationship between Quakers and the political state is mirrored in the historic tension in the Society between individual freedom and organisational security. Harvey explored this theme in two lectures he gave at Jordans Summer School in 1935.<sup>44</sup> The first lecture dealt with the early factional controversies, principally that of Nayler but also taking in Perrot, Wilkinson and Story, which for Harvey ended well though the harshnesses pained him.

The outcome of a long and grievous controversy was a consolidation of Quaker community under the method of government advocated by George Fox and the development of a strengthened common life which was of immense value in enabling Friends to resist the stress of persecution and to hold together in faithfulness to the way of life for which they stood. [...] Yet had the controversy been conducted in a spirit of wider hearted tolerance the result might have been a better one.<sup>45</sup>

The second lecture dealt with the legacy of George Fox and Margaret Fell which was, Harvey argued, not political radicalism but humility, freedom and what he argued was its accompanying political stance, that of patient quietism. He quoted Margaret Fell's last epistle as about humility combined with freedom.

The Gospel is a free spirit which leads us into unity and lowliness of mind. Let us beware of separating and looking upon ourselves to be more holy than indeed in truth we are. Christ says we must take no thought of what we shall eat or what we shall drink. But are we to be all in one dress and

---

<sup>44</sup> *Authority and Freedom in the Experience of the Quakers: Two lectures delivered at Jordans Summer School* (Birmingham : Woodbrooke Extension Committee ; London : Friends' Home Service Committee, 1935.)

<sup>45</sup> *Authority and Freedom in the Experience of the Quakers* p.25, 26

one colour? This is a silly Gospel. It is more fit for us to be covered with God's eternal Spirit and clothed in his eternal light.<sup>46</sup>

Harvey explained that the Toleration Act of 1689 left Quakers the liberty of public worship but deprived them of such civil rights as they had had previously. Harvey quotes the Yearly Meeting Epistle of 1689 to show that the Quakers wished to make peace with the authorities and wider society.

And walk wisely and circumspectly towards all men, in the peaceable Spirit of Jesus Christ, giving no offence, nor occasion, to those in outward government, nor way to any controversies, heats or distinctions of this world, about the kingdom thereof.<sup>47</sup>

George Fox wanted Friends to keep out of the contentions of politics but his message was one not of caution or defeat but of faith joyful and triumphant.

Though there be great shakings in the world the power of the Lord is over all and his Kingdom cannot be shaken...Keep a joyful peaceable habitation in the kingdom of God. Keep out all heats, contentions and disputes about things below... As God has blessed you with His outward things have a care of trusting in them or falling into difference one with another about these outwards things which are below, which will pass away. But all live in the love of God and in that live in peace with God and one another...for what good have all the tinklers done with the cymbals and their sounding brass?<sup>48</sup>

On the subject of Quakers and politics in modern times, Harvey argued for the principle of freedom in fellowship under the living Christ. He also argued that politics as such was not out of harmony with a Friends' meeting if handled properly. He included in his remarks a reference to moral progress through quiet processes.

Some are dissatisfied that the time of the meeting should be taken up with subjects of a political or economic nature. Yet it is not the subject so much as the way in which it is sometimes treated that is out of harmony with a Friends' meeting. Others are dissatisfied for the opposite reason and are grievously disappointed at the slowness of the Society to reach unity by accepting a position which seems so clear and so necessary to them. Yet

---

<sup>46</sup> *Authority and Freedom* p. 34–35

<sup>47</sup> *Authority and Freedom* p.37

<sup>48</sup> *Authority and Freedom* p.38

we learn from the example of John Woolman, who was prepared to labour humbly and quietly and persistently to persuade their fellow members of the existence of a great social wrong. Christ's spirit has been at work over the centuries leading his followers to a fuller realisation of the implications of the Kingdom of God.<sup>49</sup>

### The Quaker liberal identity

Harvey was not alone in exploring the continuity between the early and later Quakers, between the religious radicals of the seventeenth century and the New Liberals of his own day. T. H. Green, in a burst of romantic nationalism, argued that the dissenting bodies of the seventeenth century such as the Quakers represented the 'great spring of political life in England'.<sup>50</sup> Dorothy Richardson similarly saw George Fox as an English romantic nationalist.<sup>51</sup> As Alice Southern and Thomas Kennedy have argued, the historiographical and educational initiatives of the Quaker Renaissance, such as Harvey's *The Rise of the Quakers*, the Rowntree historical series and the establishment of Woodbrooke, were designed to reinforce denominational identity and to enable the Quakers to re-discover their roots and adapt to their own times.<sup>52</sup> These initiatives need to be set in the context of a complex time of confidence and self-questioning by Quakers and the metropolitan intelligentsia generally. In short, for Harvey as Friendly patriot the tension between respectability and radicalism, between patriotism and universalism, between individualism and collectivism, and between authority and freedom was part of a dynamic exploration of his own and the Quakers' liberal identity.

---

<sup>49</sup> *Authority and Freedom* p. 45-6

<sup>50</sup> Julia Stapleton, *Englishness and the Study of Politics: The Social and Political Thought of Ernest Barker* (Cambridge University Press, 2006) chapter 1.

<sup>51</sup> D. M. Richardson, *Gleanings from the works of George Fox* (London: Headley Brothers 1914)

<sup>52</sup> Alice Southern, 'The Rowntree History Series and the Growth of Liberal Quakerism: 1895-1925' (MPhil thesis university of Birmingham 2010)

[https://etheses.bham.ac.uk/id/eprint/821/1/Southern10MPhil\\_A1a.pdf](https://etheses.bham.ac.uk/id/eprint/821/1/Southern10MPhil_A1a.pdf)

Thomas C. Kennedy *British Quakerism 1860-1920* (Oxford University Press 2001) chapter 8

### 3. 'Desire to serve the community through the state and in other ways'

The second of Harvey's strands in the key passage about the Quaker Christian citizen, after respect for the state, is the 'desire to serve the community through the state and in other ways.' Harvey's use of the word 'desire' suggests that service as a Christian citizen should not be understood just as an abstract duty grasped merely intellectually but felt as an inward moral urge founded in faith. The phrase, 'through the state and in other ways', alludes to the various available options of service as Harvey saw them, implying that the Christian is free to choose through which channels to give service. Serving the community 'through the state' might be as an elected representative, that is, as a local councillor or a member of Parliament such as Harvey had been and, at the time of giving the address of 1937, had become again. Serving the state 'in other ways' suggests independent acts of private philanthropy and Christian charity. In referring to such 'other ways' Harvey may have had in mind his own service as a prison visitor, which he had begun in 1921 and was to carry on until 1951. Though Armley prison in Leeds was a municipally run public institution, his work there was conducted through a charity, the Discharged Prisoners Aid Society. The model is complicated by the fact that the local Discharged Prisoners Aid Societies were run by volunteers but received state aid for the Societies' expenditure on discharged prisoners.<sup>53</sup> Harvey saw his work as a prison visitor in terms of Christian service and in 1941 he wrote a book to explain this and to 'appeal for a wider response to meet the opportunities which are given by the prison service and the different voluntary activities connected with it to those who desire to serve

---

<sup>53</sup> See chapter 6

their fellows in their hour of need.<sup>54</sup> Harvey, the strategically minded and adaptable civic volunteer, chose the means for service best suited to capacity and circumstance, and urged kindred spirits to do likewise.<sup>55</sup> Harvey's whole career, from his time in the university settlement movement to his work as a prison visitor in the 1950s, provides examples of his claim that the Christian citizen acts on a desire to serve the community through the state, independently of the state or through a combination of state institutions and state-recognised agencies, as best fits.

#### 4. 'Above all desire to serve the Kingdom of God'

We move on to the section of the key passage where Harvey says that above all the Christian citizen has a desire to serve the kingdom of God. He means that the Christian citizen has a guiding ethical sense which transcends everyday norms. He says elsewhere in the talk from which the passage is taken that:

Citizenship in the kingdom of God [...] covers life in all its relations [...] We can only be such citizens if we are loyal to the spirit of Christ and if we turn continually, day by day, to the Divine Presence for the strength we need, not only for the coming day but for each day as it passes by.<sup>56</sup>

The kingdom of God, signifying God's initiative and the assurance of his power, is open to an eschatological interpretation but Harvey takes the liberal approach of interpreting the phrase ethically. As we have already seen, in our key passage Harvey claims that the obligations of the citizen entailed by the social contract consist of two strands. The Christian citizen's desire to serve the community is broken down into, on the one hand, serving the community in the secular domain 'through the state and by other means' and, on the other, serving the kingdom of God, which is a form

---

<sup>54</sup> *The Christian Church and the Prisoner in English Experience* publisher's notice.

<sup>55</sup> 'The Civic Volunteer', *The Nation* 29 August 1908 pp 761–62

<sup>56</sup> Friends World Conference 1937 official report p.38

of ethically transcendent service. In its non-eschatological sense as used by Harvey, the kingdom of God denotes the ideal state of affairs on earth to whose realisation Christian effort is to be directed.<sup>57</sup> Harvey takes this to be the principal theme of Jesus's message in the synoptic Gospels. He cites as the scriptural basis Luke 17: 20–21 where, as he explained in his Swarthmore Lecture, Jesus speaks of the kingdom of God as something to be acted on in the here and now rather than in time to come.<sup>58</sup>

### Augustine of Hippo

The idea of the two realms is dealt with at length in Augustine of Hippo's *De civitate Dei contra paganos*. Harvey presumably encountered Augustine in his degree course at Oxford as part of the study of the literature of late antiquity. Harvey is aware of Augustine's influence on Christian thought and of how he was at variance with the earlier, Aristotelian philosophical and cultural tradition. In the frontispiece of *The Long Pilgrimage*, Harvey quotes in the original Latin two passages from the *City of God*.

She [the church] must bear in mind that among these very enemies are hidden her future citizens and when confronted with them she must not think it a fruitless task to bear with their hostility until she finds them confessing the faith. 1.35

We see then the two cities were created by two kinds of love: the earthly city was created by self-love reaching the point of contempt for God, the Heavenly City by the love of God carried as far as contempt for the world. In the former the lust for domination lords it over its princes as over the nations it subjugates; in the other both those put in authority and those subject to them serve one another in love, the rulers by their counsel, the subjects by obedience. 14.28<sup>59</sup>

---

<sup>57</sup> Bruce M. Metzger, and Michael David Coogan, eds. *The Oxford Companion to the Bible* (Oxford University Press, 1993) 'Kingdom of God'

<sup>58</sup> *The Long Pilgrimage: Human Progress in the Light of the Christian Hope* (The Swarthmore lecture; Woodbrooke Extension Committee; London: Robert Davis 1921) pp 29-34.

<sup>59</sup> T. Edmund Harvey, *The Long Pilgrimage: Human Progress in the Light of the Christian Hope* (The Swarthmore lecture; Woodbrooke Extension Committee; London: Robert Davis 1921) p.1. The



In passage 1.35 Augustine portrays believers and non-believers as living in an intermediate state and as capable of change and development.<sup>60</sup> By this Augustine means that non-believers are capable of conversion or, to put it in modern psychological terms, of personal self-development. The passage 14.28 is about the two classes of persons or citizens. Citizens of the earthly city are distinguished by their lust for material goods and for domination over others. Citizens of the city of God, on the other hand, are distinguished by their love for each other in a state of social and political harmony. Harvey cannot be regarded as a follower of Augustine; indeed, there is very little sustained engagement with Augustine from within Quaker religious thought.<sup>61</sup> Rather, Harvey treats Augustine as a source of religious tropes and ideas. So, for example, just as Harvey shared with Augustine an interest in the relationship between the two kingdoms, so he is interested in the idea of the pilgrim.

### The pilgrim

Harvey would have been aware that in other passages Augustine portrays the denizens of the heavenly city as pilgrims or foreigners and aliens in a *civitas peregrina*, a foreign city, who are out of place in a world that lacks an earthly institution sufficiently similar to the city of God.<sup>62</sup> Harvey agreed with Augustine about pilgrims in that he saw the spiritual life as incomplete and as a process. In its literal meaning a pilgrimage is a journey to a holy place undertaken from motives of devotion in order to obtain supernatural help or as an act of penance or

---

translations are taken with modifications from G. R. Evans (editor), Henry Bettenson (translator) *City of God* (Penguin Classics 1984)

<sup>60</sup> Alister E. McGrath, *Christian Theology: An Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell 2<sup>nd</sup> edition 1997) p.544.

<sup>61</sup> Private information from Ben Wood, 12 Jan 2022.

<sup>62</sup> J. Mark Mattox, 'Augustine: Political and Social Philosophy' *The Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ISSN 2161-0002, <https://iep.utm.edu/>, 31/12/2021

Peter Brown, *Augustine of Hippo: a biography* (London: Faber & Faber 1967) p.323

thanksgiving.<sup>63</sup> The term may be used as a metaphor for the spiritual life and so as an epistemological tool of religious discourse for describing and understanding existence and the unknowable.<sup>64</sup> Harvey concludes his Swarthmore Lecture, *The Long Pilgrimage*, with a figurative passage on life as a pilgrimage by his generation and those who have gone before.

Fellow-pilgrims, indeed, are we all, and the loneliest of us must sometimes feel cheered by the thought, as when, beside the solitary pathway, his eye falls on some mark cut in the rock, which tells him of some one who has been that way before him, blazing the track through the wilderness, and leaving behind him as he went that guiding signal of hope.<sup>65</sup>

For Harvey, all are spiritual seekers, even those who feel isolated or alone, for they are accompanied by those alive today and those who have gone before, ‘the Choir Invisible’, says Harvey quoting the title of a poem by George Eliot.<sup>66</sup> It is this common seeking and journeying which forms the shared basis of religious life and makes for the impulsion towards social concord, Harvey believed. He wrote further in *A Wayfarer’s Faith*, using an image of moral teleology:

As we ascend the Heavenly mountain, one from one side, one from another, our paths draw nearer to each other, and so across the night between, we may listen to our fellow pilgrims’ voices, and realize that some day we shall meet face to face.<sup>67</sup>

The image of ascending a mountain to denote the progress of spiritual knowledge is one that Harvey takes from J. S. Mill.

The progress of opinion, says John Stuart Mill, is like the advance of a person climbing a hill by a spiral path which winds round it, and by which he

---

<sup>63</sup> F. L. Cross, and E. A. Livingstone, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (Oxford University Press 2nd Edition 1974) p. 1091

<sup>64</sup> Daniel P. Terkla, “Pilgrimage as Metaphor”, in *Encyclopedia of Medieval Pilgrimage*. Consulted online on 05 January 2022 <[http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2213-2139\\_emp\\_SIM\\_00291](http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2213-2139_emp_SIM_00291)>

<sup>65</sup> *The Long Pilgrimage: Human Progress in the Light of the Christian Hope* pp 69–70

<sup>66</sup> *The Long Pilgrimage* pp 40–41

<sup>67</sup> *A Wayfarer’s Faith* p.19.

is as often on the wrong side of the hill as on the right side, but still is always getting up.<sup>68</sup>

It is typical of Harvey's melange of sacred and the secular, of the old and the new, that he uses an image from a work by a nineteenth century English liberal to shed light on the timeless and universal trope of the pilgrim.

5. 'This means that we must be willing, when loyalty to the Kingdom of God demands it to refuse the demands of the state and show the highest loyalty to the state and the best citizenship by refusing demands that are wrong'

Harvey's taking the kingdom of God as a metaphor of a transcendent morality is the crux of his theology of conscientious objection. The conscientious objector must strike a balance between serving the world and serving God. Harvey conceives of a paradox, that of the loyal resister, of the conscientious objector as a true Friendly patriot. In speaking to a Quaker audience in Pennsylvania in 1937 about refusing the demands of the state Harvey had in mind conscientious objection by pacifists on both sides of the Atlantic during the First World War. The idea of conscientious objection as a religious act being carried out in the kingdom of man but in the name of the kingdom of God is fundamental to Harvey's theology of conscientious objection. The act of refusal is not only a religious one but, by Harvey's reasoning, also an act of loyalty to the secular state. It is not a radical political act of protest and resistance, still less an act of disruption, subversion or rebellion, but an act of faithful witness. Anticipating another war and the re-introduction of conscription, Harvey told his

---

<sup>68</sup> *The Long Pilgrimage* p.22. The passage from Mill is in his *Journals and Debating Speeches: Volumes XXVI-XXVII* March 15 p. 661.

audience how to resolve the conflict that arises between the conscientious objector and the state due to differences of purpose and outlook. He believed that these can be reconciled by discovering a higher, shared interest which, as we will see in the next section of this chapter, is a better moral law. This vision of a dynamic process of political reconciliation reflected Harvey's aversion to rancour. This was a temperamental as well as intellectual position, because Milligan remarks on 'his tender and creditable desire to see every question from every possible point of view.'<sup>69</sup> It is reflected in his belief that Christianity could not, and must not, be identified with any one political party because, as he remarked, some people are naturally conservative while others are radical and both are needed to complement each other in a harmonious community.<sup>70</sup> He warns with Tacitus against 'the hatred usual between brothers'.<sup>71</sup> In *The Long Pilgrimage*, written in 1921 just after the war, he portrays societal or fratricidal strife as a threat to civilisation. The tension between radicalism and respectability is resolved by reconciliation. Harvey's message in our key passage is how within an orderly and free society the Christian is able to reconcile his duty to the state with his duty to God.

---

<sup>69</sup> Milligan typescript p.108/119

<sup>70</sup> *The Long Pilgrimage: Human Progress in the Light of the Christian Hope* p.55

<sup>71</sup> *The Long Pilgrimage: Human Progress in the Light of the Christian Hope* p.55  
*Solita fratribus odia: Tacitus Annales* 4.60.3

6. 'Because it is only in that way that the conscience of our fellow citizens can be reached, and in the end a better law come into being.'

#### Moral leadership

In the final section of the passage under consideration, Harvey explains that it is by the faithful objector's steadfastness that higher moral standards arise. The message in the final phrase of the key passage is that it is through civically responsible acts of conscience that Quakers exert influence and that this is how moral progress can be made. Harvey sees the strength of Quakers as their working by quiet example through the generations.

It was by persistent gentle peaceful refusal to do what they believed to be wrong that Quakers in the seventeenth century in England were able to bring about the change which resulted in the enactment of general religious toleration. It was the appeal to the conscience of their fellow citizens by the spirit of their lives rather than argument that won that victory.<sup>72</sup>

This passage is another example of the emphasis Harvey places on non-radicalism in Quaker history. Underlying Harvey's proposition about quiet moral leadership is the question that he and his contemporaries explored in reaction to the fading of social Darwinianism and the catastrophe of the First World War, which was what progress meant and how it was possible. Harvey has a teleological view, believing that historic shifts in moral understanding are possible but are largely achieved by the exceptional being. This raises the question as to who are such beings. As a Christian, Harvey naturally places Christ in the forefront of the vanguard of moral standard-bearers. In addition, he cites St Telemachus, St Francis of Assisi, John

---

<sup>72</sup> *Friends World Conference official report held at Swarthmore and Haverford Colleges near Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, September 1st to 8th 1937* p. 36ff

Woolman and St Aelred as instances of moral leaders. On the other hand, he also thought, in the context of conscientious objection and generally, that the mass of disciples and pilgrims had a part to play in creating 'contagious good will'.<sup>73</sup> He believed that moral progress ultimately depended on the moral quality of the individual. He believed with Henry Hodgkin, that the 'forward march of humanity depends above all on character'.<sup>74</sup>

In making Christ the supreme moral leader, and by way of explanation for Christ's influence, Harvey relies on metaphors and mystery, not fundamentalist assumptions about the immediacy and reality of Christ's divine powers. For example, as we have seen above in this chapter, Harvey refers to 'the great window of the personality of Jesus Christ'.<sup>75</sup> Recurrently, Harvey uses the humanist image of 'Christ the Master' rather than the evangelical and theological one of 'Saviour'.<sup>76</sup> The use of the pedagogic image by Harvey and other liberal Quakers of the time reflects the 'great man' theory, first propounded by Thomas Carlyle and then defended by William James.<sup>77</sup> Yet Harvey is vague about how the process of moral evolution actually works through the greatness of 'Christ the Master', and he resorts to terms of mystery and process. Of Christ, Harvey says in his 'A Confession of Faith' that his own thoughts of God are penetrated by what Christ means to him, bringing him faith and hope.<sup>78</sup> However, he also says, 'Most of us hesitate to speak or write about the things

---

<sup>73</sup> T. Edmund Harvey, *The Long Pilgrimage* pp 69–70

<sup>74</sup> Henry T. Hodgkin, *Personality and Progress* (London: Student Christian Movement 1929) p.165

<sup>75</sup> 'Heart of Quakerism: The substance of an address delivered by T. Edmund Harvey at Guilford College, North Carolina, 19, ix. mo., 1922.' [unpublished pamphlet] Section ii

<sup>76</sup> *The Long Pilgrimage* pp 34-36.

<sup>77</sup> Private information from Mark Russ, 7 January 2022

<sup>78</sup> T. Edmund Harvey *Workaday Saints* (London: Bannisdale Press 1949) 'A Confession of Faith' p.126.

which matter most to us'.<sup>79</sup> Harvey goes on to admit that there are passages in the New Testament which puzzle because they have been imperfectly recorded. He uses the terminology of process theology, seeing the power and influence of Christ as continually revelatory. 'I cannot separate the Lord and Master of the first disciples from his risen spirit and personality which has gone on unfolding itself to those who seek him, healing, renewing, inspiring, redeeming and guiding.'<sup>80</sup> He also uses mystical terminology, writing that 'the living Christ speaks to us still, not only through the words of the gospels as well as through other words but also through the silence that is beyond words.'<sup>81</sup> By referring to 'other words' Harvey has in mind non-canonical writings while the reference to silence is to the Quaker practice of silent worship, which has a mystical element. Harvey saw mysticism as a pioneering feature of early Quakerism, noting that 'Barclay uses the metaphor of the travail of the soul which was afterwards developed by Madame Guyon.'<sup>82</sup>

If Harvey is uncertain about the moral influence of Jesus, explaining it by resorting to mysticism, process theology and metaphors, he is less uncertain that crucial to moral progress is the human exemplar. Using personalist terminology Harvey argues that the only progress which is of genuine value is that which expresses itself in the growth and unfolding of the human personality. He writes 'The Leaven of the Kingdom will still go on working and as it spreads a civilisation will come into being worthier than ours to bear that name. It cannot be created by

---

<sup>79</sup> *Workaday Saints* 'A Confession of Faith' p.123.

<sup>80</sup> *Quaker Faith & Practice* 5<sup>th</sup> edition passage 27.29, from 'Confession of Faith' in *Workaday Saints* pp 124–125

<sup>81</sup> T. Edmund Harvey *Workaday Saints* (London: Bannisdale Press 1949) 'A Confession of Faith' p.126

<sup>82</sup> *Silence and Worship: a study in Quaker experience* (London: Swarthmore press 64pp; first published 1923, reissued 1925) p.24

external forces, physical or economic; it must be built up by persons.'<sup>83</sup> Harvey believed that such progress is real if indeterminable, for one can never gauge 'by any numerical canon' the influence and effect of a single good life.<sup>84</sup> He said that the good person's value to the community is out of all proportion to the numerical ratio of good people to bad, which is his further testament to the power of moral leadership.<sup>85</sup> He saw the moral leader as a pioneer in ethical understanding and as achieving in the long term a fundamental change in behaviour and moral assumptions. Three examples can be found in Harvey's writings. He relates from Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* how Saint Telemachus, a monk of late antiquity, in 404 CE tried to stop a gladiatorial fight in a Roman amphitheatre, and for his pains was stoned to death by the crowd. Harvey compares Telemachus to Christ. 'The Christlike passion of this humble man left a permanent mark on the life of the whole Western world.'<sup>86</sup> Another example is St Francis of Assisi. He was an icon of the masculine culture of the university settlement movement and the subject in 1904, Harvey's first year in Toynbee Hall, of an early article.<sup>87</sup> Harvey saw the way of St Francis as that of gentle persuasion.

In proportion as we draw nearer to the Franciscan spirit, social conventions will cease to trammel us and the pagan barriers to modern life will disappear. We shall not seek to reform the world in the spirit of harsh asceticism, or with bitter and indignant denunciation, but by the gentler and surer way by which Francis himself overcame.<sup>88</sup>

Harvey saw in St Francis a guide to moderated asceticism through spiritual growth. He continued, 'We must look to attain simplicity by growing out of superfluities than

---

<sup>83</sup> 'The Divine Message' (The Woolman Series of Friendly Papers, Philadelphia 1942)

<sup>84</sup> *The Long Pilgrimage* p.24

<sup>85</sup> *The Long Pilgrimage* p.24

<sup>86</sup> *The Long Pilgrimage* p. 47 n.1.

<sup>87</sup> 'St Francis in History and the Life of Today from a Quaker standpoint' *Friends Quarterly Examiner*, Volume 38, Number 149 (First Month 1904), pp.33-50

<sup>88</sup> 'St Francis in History and the Life of Today from a Quaker standpoint'



by lopping them off'. Harvey closes the article by quoting Ugo Bassi and calling on Quakers not to seek personal holiness but to embrace the common life because "whoso suffers most hath most to give".<sup>89</sup> Harvey believed in the saint's transformative power. Looking back in 1941 to his days in Toynbee Hall he wrote 'There are many who followed St Francis who were able to become better men because of what he was.'<sup>90</sup> Another example for Harvey of the exceptional moral leader was the Quaker John Woolman, who, following Jesus in apostolic simplicity, as Harvey tells us, was able to lead 'the whole Society of Friends and ultimately a far wider company of men and women, to understand that slavery was incompatible with the very nature of Christianity, and to effect a silent revolution of life.'<sup>91</sup> Writing in 1924 about Christian pacifism, Harvey said exceptional moral leadership was the way to abolish war.<sup>92</sup> He said that pacifists could draw a lesson from the early advocates of the abolition of slavery like Woolman. 'At the heart of the movement for the prevention of war must be those who believe in their cause with an intensity of conviction that will make them willing to face hostile opinion and sacrifice their own advantage or reputation rather than be false to their ideal.'<sup>93</sup> This can be taken to describe Harvey's own strict pacifism, though he would have rejected such a comparison.

Telemachus and Woolman were pioneers and ahead of their time in moral understanding. There was another morally eminent figure who featured in Harvey's writing but who was of his times not ahead of them. This is St Aelred, the

---

<sup>89</sup> 'St Francis in History, and the life of today: a study from the Quaker standpoint.'

<sup>90</sup> 'Christian citizenship in the crisis of war' *Friends Quarterly Examiner* Vol.75; no.299 (Seventh Mo. 1941) pp 212-220, p.220

<sup>91</sup> 'The Heart of Quakerism' (London : Friends' Bookshop 1925).

<sup>92</sup> 'Christ and the War By T. Edmund Harvey, MP' *Morecambe Guardian* - Saturday 09 August 1924 p.11

<sup>93</sup> 'Christ and the War By T. Edmund Harvey MP'

twelfth century abbot of Rievaulx, the subject of Harvey's book of 1932.<sup>94</sup> If fundamental shifts in moral values are driven by the exceptional figure like Telemachus or Woolman, Harvey recognised the place of the principled person who is not a martyr to humanity like Telemachus, a major saint like Francis, or a prophet like Woolman but a wise and compassionate cleric set in the power structures and values of the day.

The facts of Aelred's story and the charm of his personality, revealed alike in the incidents of his life and in characteristic passages in his writings, speak for themselves. They show to us a singularly lovely and lovable spirit, a man who with all his limitations was able to pass on to others reflections of the Divine charity which was mirrored within him, some ray of which may gleam for us still in the story of his life as we read it today.<sup>95</sup>

Harvey did not confine his identification of moral leaders to figures from the past. He singled out some of his contemporaries for praise, reviewing in admiring terms biographies of Rabindranath Tagore, Justine Dalencourt, Rufus Jones and Henry Joseph Wilson.<sup>96</sup>

### Disciples, pilgrims and seekers

In addition to emphasising the importance of the exceptional person in making moral progress, Harvey saw a role for the ordinary religious practitioner, whom he calls variously disciple, pilgrim or seeker. As for the Christian disciple, Harvey saw himself as such a disciple, albeit a somewhat puzzled one, and he interpreted the words of Jesus as ethical teaching for this world, not as an eschatological vision of the next.

---

<sup>94</sup> T. Edmund Harvey *Saint Aelred of Rievaulx* (London: Allenson 1932).

<sup>95</sup> *Saint Aelred of Rievaulx* pp 5-6

<sup>96</sup> Review of Edward John Thompson, *Rabindranath Tagore his life and work* (Association Press (YMCA), 1921) *The Friend* 10/12/26 pp 1105-7  
'Justine Dalencourt' *The Friend* 10/1/1930 pp 25-26.

The Living Message of a Great Teacher [Rufus Jones] *The Friend* 20 June 1952 p.513

'A Courageous Christian in Public Life. Henry Joseph Wilson: fighter for freedom, 1833-1914' by Mosa Anderson, published James Clarke 1953. *The Friend* 4 December 1953

He recognised with Augustine a more diffuse body of Christians, the pilgrims, though unlike Augustine he did not regard them as alienated from the secular world but as sharing in civic life. Harvey regarded himself as a pilgrim, saying 'Fellow-pilgrims are we all.'<sup>97</sup> He saw the mass of pilgrims as arraigned behind the moral vanguard but giving support to it. He wrote of these followers that 'Their task is every whit as needful though it lacks its adventure and romance.'<sup>98</sup> He suggested that the main body of pilgrims could sometimes lag behind the moral pioneers, who then fall out of sight. To prevent this it behoves the leaders to keep company with the masses for the sake of the whole company of whom they are the outposts.<sup>99</sup> He feared that Quakers might sometimes be so far ahead of ordinary opinion as to risk losing influence with the masses. He believed that when pacifism became simply refusal to fight it lost that virtue and power which 'takes away the occasions of all wars', he wrote, quoting a phrase from George Fox's Declaration of 1661.<sup>100</sup> This was the danger Harvey warned against when writing in 1941 to encourage Christian pacifists in wartime. He told them that the individual renunciation of war had to be bound up with a 'positive contribution of service and contagious good will'.<sup>101</sup>

The blessing in the Beatitudes is given not to those who abstain from war but to the makers of peace. [...] Peacemaking is not a question of refusing or declining or objecting but a positive and creative act, arousing in others a positive response and an answering witness of soul.<sup>102</sup>

---

<sup>97</sup> *The Long Pilgrimage* p.69

<sup>98</sup> *The Long Pilgrimage* p.69

<sup>99</sup> *A Wayfarer's Faith* p.111

<sup>100</sup> 'The Divine Message' (Birmingham: Woodbrooke Extension Committee 1938; also *Friends' Quarterly Examiner* no 286 4th month 1938 pp174-184).

<sup>101</sup> T. Edmund Harvey, 'Christian Citizenship in the Crisis Of War' (*Friends Quarterly Examiner* Vol.75; no.299 (Seventh Mo. 1941) pp. 212-220

<sup>102</sup> 'Christian Citizenship in the Crisis Of War'

This means that Quakers in acting for peace as reconcilers and not just objectors render an exemplary act of witness. In 1937, Harvey anticipated another war and the re-introduction of conscription.

If the time of trial should come again for some of us, may it be our prayer now that our lives may be so purified that, if we should be called upon to bear the cross of persecution, our life shall witness better than our words the cause for which we stand.<sup>103</sup>

This expression of Harvey's temperamental and philosophical preference for quiet moderation is a veiled attack on strident anti-war political agitation. Because what Harvey called the contagion of good will is spread person to person, seekers and saints must work together and in the wider community for the common good. This is consistent with Harvey's preference for social harmony and civility.

The third group in Harvey's typology of the religious consists of the seekers. In *The Rise of the Quakers* he wrote of the original seekers as the small gatherings of self-educating enquirers and proto-Quakers who were early followers of George Fox.<sup>104</sup> Harvey's notion of the seeker has a universalist connotation, embracing all those who hunger for the good and the right. 'The seekers of Light are one,' he wrote, quoting from a hymn by the Unitarian Samuel Longfellow.<sup>105</sup> Harvey argued that the ordinary believer has a humble part to play in the process of moral progress by spreading 'contagious good will'.<sup>106</sup> It is not clear whether Harvey includes amongst the seekers those of other religions or indeed those of none. Harvey spoke mysteriously of 'a Christ wider than all our creeds [...] whose love went

---

<sup>103</sup> Friends World Conference official report p.38

<sup>104</sup> *The Rise of the Quakers* chapter 1.

<sup>105</sup> *The Long Pilgrimage* p. 36

<sup>106</sup> 'Christian citizenship in the Crisis of War'

deeper than all our experience' and of a witness deeper than that to any doctrine.'<sup>107</sup>

This suggests he believed in an open form of religious universalism which could potentially embrace non-Christians. His favour towards local forms of Christian worship in India and his clash with Horace Alexander, referred to in chapter 4, may or may not support this interpretation of his remarks, for he seems to have been unclear in his own mind on the point. This is the gap in personalism, which does not insist on a person's socio-cultural identity. It is vague whether Harvey's personalism entails valuing Christian persons over, or equally with, non-Christian persons. For consideration outside this dissertation is how personalism sits with the concept of *ubuntu*, which far from downplaying cultural context seems to require it.

### *Classical humanism and Harvey's humility*

#### Classical humanism

We have so far in this chapter considered various ideas found in Harvey and explored them in the context of the key passage. The ideas include those of Christian citizenship; personalism and its association with Fredrich von Hugel; the Anglo-American liberal and progressivist ideas of the social contract and social harmony; the thesis of the Friendly patriot and the counter-thesis of the liberal internationalist; the tension in Quakerism between respectability and radicalism; the options for Christian service through the state and otherwise as exhibited in Harvey's own life; the two realms in Jesus's preaching and in Augustine of Hippo; alternativist conscientious objection as a loyal act; moral progress through Jesus and through the exceptional and the ordinary person; the typology of the disciple, the pilgrim and the

---

<sup>107</sup> Remarks to London Yearly Meeting, *The Friend* 25 May 1906

seeker. We now turn to the point, trailed above in the context of the notion of the Christian citizen, that Harvey was influenced not only by Christianity and liberalism but also by his classical education.

A connection between classical humanism and the Quaker Renaissance has been neglected in Quaker studies. Neither Isichei nor Kennedy mention it.<sup>108</sup> Joanna Dales points only to the influence of modernism in her study of John William Graham, who was a mathematician by education with scientific interests.<sup>109</sup> Scholars outside the field of Quaker studies, on the other hand, have seen the importance of classical humanism in the late Victorian and Edwardian period. Jose Harris argues that social theorists of Harvey's time saw classical notions of citizenship, along with moral character and public spirit, as indispensable to good order and harmony.<sup>110</sup> Julia Stapleton makes a connection between the liberal political elite and those like Harvey who were graduates in *Literae Humaniores*.<sup>111</sup> Many of Harvey's parliamentary contemporaries were Oxford classics men, for example, Percy Alden, Leo Amery, H. H. Asquith, Walter Long and Harvey's successor as MP for West Leeds, John Murray. The turn to liberal Christianity and away from evangelicalism by the leaders of the Quaker Renaissance reflected, even if unconsciously, the classical rationalist education of the male ruling elite. Harvey's history lends weight to this idea. He was freshly graduated in classics when he was at the summer school at Scarborough and, at the same time and as argued in chapter 2, a child of the Quaker

---

<sup>108</sup> Thomas C. Kennedy *British Quakerism 1860-1920*; Elizabeth Isichei, *Victorian Quakers*

<sup>109</sup> Joanna C. Dales, 'John William Graham (1859-1932): Quaker Apostle Of Progress' (PhD thesis University of Birmingham 2016)

<sup>110</sup> Jose Harris, *Private Lives, Public Spirit: A Social History of Britain, 1870–1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1993; London: Penguin Books 1994) chapter 8.

<sup>111</sup> Julia Stapleton, 'Political thought, elites, and the state in modern Britain.' *Historical Journal* 42, no. 1 (1999) pp 251-268..

Renaissance. His classics-based thinking exhibits three elements, these being the virtuous citizen, moderation or the middle way, and practical wisdom.

The idea of the Christian citizen develops Aristotle's teaching in the *Politics* that in a city state or republic the good citizen knows both how to rule and how to obey and that citizenship in such a republic is a moral training. In the *Ethics* Aristotle teaches that moral training consists in understanding and developing the virtues. Under the influence of J. S. Mill and T. H. Green but also that of classical republicanism, the moral element in liberalism came to be seen as key to improving individual and collective well-being.<sup>112</sup> Green said that the state must secure those 'powers ... necessary to the fulfilment of man's vocation as a moral being, to an effectual self-devotion to the work of developing the perfect character in himself and others'.<sup>113</sup> In an allusion to the classical notion of citizenship Harvey called for the virtuous civic volunteers of his day to be 'the forerunners of the citizens of the future combining in their commonwealth the Greek and Christian notions of citizenship'.<sup>114</sup> As Ian Packer argues, it was the ethics rather than the economic individualism of Victorian liberalism which appealed to Quakers like Harvey.<sup>115</sup> Harvey saw good character, expressed in Christian terms of sainthood, discipleship or pilgrimage, as key to progress in individual and societal well-being through the agency of the quiet and virtuous person. He looked for character beyond the classical notion of citizenship, which had been a mark of privilege not equality. He also looked beyond the canon of saints, 'trying to learn something of the spirit of Jesus from the study of

---

<sup>112</sup> Michael Freeden, 'Liberal luminaries' in *Liberalism: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford, 2015)

<sup>113</sup> Stefan Collini, 'The Idea of 'Character' in Victorian Political Thought' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 35 (1985): 29-50.

<sup>114</sup> 'The Civic Volunteer' (*The Nation* 29 August 1908 pp 761-62).

<sup>115</sup> Ian Packer 'Religion and the New Liberalism: The Rowntree Family, Quakerism, and Social Reform', *Journal of British Studies*, 42 2003.: 236-257

the saints, canonised and uncanonised, and in the lives of those who were not called saints or even who might not be thought of as good men or women'.<sup>116</sup> Under the influence of von Hugel and the rediscovery of early Quaker thought such as the notion of the Light of Christ, Harvey reconciled, on the one hand, Christian and Quaker stories with, on the other, the rational, humanistic ethics which went back to ancient Greece and which are expressed in the old saying that humans are the measure of all things.<sup>117</sup> We have shown above that St Aelred was one of those figures that Harvey considered moral exemplars. It is significant that Harvey was drawn to St Aelred, who like himself ran a religio-social institution, was a counsellor to the powerful and was influenced by classical writers. In Aelred's *Spiritual Friendship*, Cicero's definition of friendship is fundamental. 'For friendship is nothing other than agreement in all things divine and human with benevolence and charity'.<sup>118</sup> Another phrase from Cicero which Aelred quotes approvingly is 'we do not need fire and water on more occasions than we need a friend'.<sup>119</sup> The Ciceronian content in Saint Aelred's thought appealed to Harvey as a classicist just as Aelred's topic of spiritual companionship appealed to him as a member of the Society of Friends.<sup>120</sup>

The influence of classical humanism on Harvey may be seen not only in his notion of moral progress through the virtuous, civically minded activist but also in his preference for moderation and the middle way. This axiom of classical ethics is

---

<sup>116</sup> Quaker Faith & Practice 27.29

<sup>117</sup> James F. Childress and John Macquarrie, *A new dictionary of Christian ethics* (London: SCM Press 1986) 'Humanistic Ethics' by Roger Hazelton

<sup>118</sup> Marsha L. Dutton and Lawrence C. Braceland SJ *Aelred of Rievaulx: Spiritual Friendship* (Liturgical Press, 2010) p.27

<sup>119</sup> Marsha L. Dutton and Lawrence C. Braceland, *Aelred of Rievaulx: Spiritual Friendship* p.73

<sup>120</sup> Marsha L. Dutton and Lawrence C. Braceland, *Aelred of Rievaulx: Spiritual Friendship* p. 75



best known from Aristotle's doctrine of the mean between extremes.<sup>121</sup> Harvey's moral theology of conscientious objection is an instance where the moderation of differing outlooks and interests is achieved by the systematic working-out of the happy medium. He struck a balance between Christian deontic ethics – the duty to God – and the form of liberalism which vests the individual in society with another balance, that between rights and obligations. Harvey argues that the Christian conscientious objector, faced with a military requirement he feels he must in faith refuse, is bound by that faith to commit to alternative service in the interests of the state and of his faith. In short, a conscientious objection entails a conscientious obligation.<sup>122</sup> Aristotle held that virtues such as temperance and courage were ruined by excess and deficiency but preserved by the mean.<sup>123</sup> By analogy, Harvey may be said to have sought the mean between the excess of self-referential, individualistic pacifism and the deficiency of oppressive, collective militarism. Harvey sought to arrive at the mean for the Christian citizen between duty to God and duty to the state. He aimed to protect the right of the moderate conscientious objector who sought to serve God's law but who rejected passive resistance and non-cooperation. His solution of alternativism placed him in the centre ground between the British war state and absolutist pacifists. Aelred – Harvey's medieval alter ego, as it were – also used the Aristotelian tool of the mean, for example by considering whether his definition of friendship 'fails to some extent either by defect or by the excess and whether it should be rejected or accepted as the mean between extremes.'<sup>124</sup> The

---

<sup>121</sup> Nicomachean Ethics Book II

<sup>122</sup> 'Christian citizenship in the Crisis of War' (*Friends Quarterly Examiner*, Vol.75; no.299: Seventh Mo. 1941), p. 212-220

<sup>123</sup> Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* (ed. Roger Crisp, Cambridge University Press 2000) p.25

<sup>124</sup> Marsha L. Dutton and Lawrence C. Braceland SJ *Aelred of Rievaulx: Spiritual Friendship* (Liturgical Press, 2010) p. 58

mean is both an axiom and a tool of analysis, marking the difference between the shared understanding sought by the traditional rationalist and the binary position which suffices for the critical theoretician. Harvey expressed it with the phrase 'There is much to be said on both sides.'<sup>125</sup>

Harvey's temperamental and philosophical proclivity for the centre ground between conservatives and radicals reflects not only the idea of the mean but that of practical wisdom.<sup>126</sup> Practical wisdom, or phronesis, is a term found in book 6 of the *Nicomachean Ethics* to refer to an ability to deliberate about how to align ends and means to achieve a goal. Practical wisdom and the habituated dispositions of the virtues of character work together.<sup>127</sup> It is, in short, knowing the right way to do the right thing and is a skill as much as a philosophical position.<sup>128</sup> Harvey showed phronesis at Toynbee Hall, when he promoted the partnering of state and independent agencies in projects of social betterment, managed a team of capable and ambitious men, and led the development of relations with the local community. In another example, he showed phronesis in seizing the opportunity of his appointment to the Pelham Committee to implement alternativism. His successful management of the personal, administrative and international aspects of relief and mediation work give further examples of his practical wisdom.<sup>129</sup>

---

<sup>125</sup> Milligan typescript p.7/119, p. 97/119

<sup>126</sup> T. Edmund Harvey, *The Long Pilgrimage: Human Progress in the Light of the Christian Hope* (The Swarthmore lecture; Woodbrooke Extension Committee; London: Robert Davis 1921) Christianity and the Coming Social Order' pp 54-56

<sup>127</sup> Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* (ed. Roger Crisp, Cambridge University Press 2000) pp xxiv-xxv

<sup>128</sup> Barry Schwartz and Kenneth Sharpe, *Practical wisdom: The right way to do the right thing* (Penguin, 2010)

<sup>129</sup> See chapter 3

## Humility

Character was for Harvey not just a platform for social betterment and political progress by means of the virtuous Christian citizen, the middle way and phronesis but an ethic by which he judged himself – and he judged himself harshly. As we have seen above, Harvey includes himself among the disciples and pilgrims but not among the moral leaders. Although an issue for this dissertation is Harvey as a politician of conscience, as discussed further below in chapter 9, he did not think of himself as virtuous. On the contrary, he believed that his being a politician necessarily entailed unchristian conduct. As we have already seen from his remark to Harold Loukes he thought it hard for an ambitious politician to be wholly Christian.<sup>130</sup> As we have also seen, when he decided not to stand again for the Combined English Universities, he judged poorly such contribution as he had made in Parliament on behalf of Quaker causes. He expressed the idea of the politician's questionable or inadequate behaviour in his satire, *Stolen Aureoles*, published in 1922, in which he lampooned himself for his moral failings as a trimming and compromising Quaker and politician.<sup>131</sup> The book was a set of spoofs and light-hearted moral fables woven around fictitious or semi-fictitious saints. In one chapter, 'The Legend of St Eutychus', Harvey takes the Biblical character, Eutychus, to apologise for his own profession of politics. Harvey got the idea from 'Terence, this is stupid stuff', A. E. Housman's apologia for his profession of poetry.<sup>132</sup> Harvey used the genre of the mock hagiography, derived from A. E.'s brother, Laurence Housman, to satirise his own

---

<sup>130</sup> See chapter 5

<sup>131</sup> *Stolen Aureoles: Legends now for the first time collected together* (1922 Oxford: B. Blackwell).

<sup>132</sup> Student diary entry for 28 May 1896.

wealth, equivocation, luke-warmness and proclivity for seeing both sides of the argument.<sup>133</sup> He imagined his Eutychus avoiding martyrdom:

When brought before the magistrate, Eutychus was at once surrounded by a cloud of false witnesses, one of whom accused him of having secreted vast wealth by his superstitious rites: to this the Saint simply replied that his treasure was in heaven. Others swore that by the use of magic arts, he had frequently been known to face both ways at once, and that he had even made black appear white by uttering certain words which he was wont to use for such purposes. At this the judge became filled with anger, and commanded the Saint to be thrown into a cauldron of seething hot water, which had been prepared hard by. And lo! by a miracle marvellous to relate, as the water touched the Saint it became lukewarm, and the bubbling waves sank down, as though one had poured oil upon them.<sup>134</sup>

Harvey's theme is that the dilemma of the politician is having to inhabit a world in which principle and pragmatism perform have to be balanced. Harvey's presentation of his own character reinforces his sense of the gulf between his own, comfortable generation and the prophetic heroism of the generation of George Fox. It also reveals the incoherence and yet the coherence in the idea of humility. His characterisation of himself as morally weak is ethically complex. Harvey's humility was not attention-seeking, false modesty but was intentional and deliberate, going with a private side to his personality. 'There were times when it seemed to some of his friends as if the warmth and friendliness of his welcome, and the earnest solicitude of enquiry were counterbalanced by a cautious fear lest they should cross uninvited the threshold of his own personality.'<sup>135</sup> Harvey's humility in characterising himself as morally suspect was paradoxically evidence of a spiritual or psychological health. There is a connection between humility and human flourishing so that in many Christian

---

<sup>133</sup> Laurence Housman to AIH Mount School 19 February 1932

<sup>134</sup> *Stolen Aureoles* p.19

<sup>135</sup> Milligan typescript p. 14/119.

traditions humility plays a central role in the moral and spiritual life.<sup>136</sup> This interconnects with Harvey's classical humanism, since personal flourishing or eudemonia is basic to Aristotelian ethics. This is a further illustration of the point being made in this chapter, that Harvey combined Christian and classical modes of thought to the point that it is hard to disentangle the two.

### Chapter summary

Chapter 8 surveys Harvey's religious and political thought, which was a post-Victorian melange. His political and religious liberalism were complemented by personalism, a philosophical and temperamental preference for the centrality of the person which reflected the influence of Friedrich von Hugel. Harvey believed in the possibility but not the certainty of politico-social progress. He was a complex form of Friendly patriot, who valued the internationalist element of English liberalism but had a strong sense of national values and civic duty. He had an ethical rather than an eschatological view of the concept of the two kingdoms to be found in the book of Luke and in Augustine of Hippo. He used other memes from Augustine such as that of the pilgrim. He saw the conscientious objector as loyal to the best values of the liberal state, just as he saw that freedom and fellowship under the living Christ were the framework of the Quaker life. Harvey believed in moral progress through the person, not only exceptional figures such as St Francis and John Woolman but also the ordinary person of good will who is variously a disciple, pilgrim or seeker. He drew on the school of English liberal thought and on Christian and Quaker language and narratives but he was also influenced by his education in the classical

---

<sup>136</sup> Michael W. Austin, *Humility and Human Flourishing: A Study in Analytic Moral Theology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018)

humanities. A further factor in his thought and outlook was his humility. Harvey combined Christian and classical modes of thought to the point that it is hard to disentangle the two.

## Chapter 9: Conclusion: liberal Quaker, Quaker Liberal, and politician of conscience

### Introduction

This concluding chapter draws the threads together by considering topics associated with what it means to describe Harvey as a liberal Quaker, Quaker Liberal, and politician of conscience. It consists of five sections.

1. The first section examines what it means to refer to Harvey as a liberal Quaker. Harvey was brought up during the liberalising and modernising Quaker Renaissance and helped solidify its changes but he valued the traditions of the Society of Friends and of Christianity generally.
2. The second section shows how Harvey was a Quaker liberal in the party-political or ideological sense. Firstly, the section summarises Harvey's career as a Liberal party activist and elected representative, showing that in 1918 he had a brief interest in Labour and that in later life he became an independent aligned with the liberal-leaning Next Five Years' Group. Secondly, the section analyses the connection between his Quaker faith and his political liberalism. There were three subjects which underpinned this connection: domestic social reform; human rights in the British dependencies and elsewhere; and international peace and cooperation. The third subject is analysed into four components: international peace and co-operation itself, freedom of conscience, disarmament and Harvey's pacific temperament.
3. The third section of the chapter considers Harvey as a post-Victorian type of dutiful and strategically-minded liberal and civic volunteer. It discusses him as a

Quaker gentleman in the Parliament of 1910–18, his status and work as a civic volunteer and the type he represented as a veteran MP 1937–45. It also addresses a claim in the literature about a loss of hope in the 1920s.

4. The fourth section considers his place in history: firstly in the history of the Society of Friends of his time and in comparison with John Bright, the pre-eminent Quaker parliamentarian of the previous generation; secondly as a politician of conscience in his own right and by comparison with two of his contemporaries; and thirdly as an appeaser.
5. The fifth and final section looks briefly at the opportunities for further research into twentieth century Quaker studies that the dissertation opens up.

### 1. A liberal Quaker

Harvey was a theologically liberal Quaker typical of the Quaker Renaissance, the process whereby British Quakers moved from the evangelicalism which had become dominant among them during the nineteenth century towards the progressivism which has subsequently characterised them. As Brian Phillips says, Harvey was a child of the Quaker Renaissance, brought up at the time it was unfolding.<sup>1</sup> As Harvey was one of those who reached maturity at the end of the nineteenth century he might be deemed to fit with Joanna Dales' thesis that those of this generation felt alienated from their parents' religion.<sup>2</sup> However, in Harvey's case his liberal Quakerism represented continuity of Quakerism rather than discontinuity, evolution rather than revolution.

---

<sup>1</sup> Brian Phillips 'Friendly Patriots: British Quakerism And The Imperial Nation, 1890 –1910' (University of Cambridge: unpublished PhD thesis, 1989) p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> See chapter 1



He played an important part in the organisational, educational and theological changes of the era which led to the ascendancy of liberalism in Anglo-American Quakerism. One of these changes was the Quaker centre of religious study and training at Woodbrooke. Harvey was a member of its council almost continuously from its foundation in 1903, and in 1931–44 was the council's chairman. Another administrative and educational role he played was in 1921 when he was appointed to the group revising the Book of Christian Discipline.<sup>3</sup> His writings and teachings reflected the liberal principles of the Quaker Renaissance and its interpretation of the Quaker tradition. He spoke in the US in 1922 of the freedom at the heart of Quakerism, of the need not for a worked out system or philosophy but for seed thoughts that would live and grow in the individual and in the changing generations, for 'the living heart of Quakerism must find new expression in each succeeding age.'<sup>4</sup> He rejected fixed liturgies and upheld the importance to historic and modern Quakerism of freedom as the basis of the act of collective worship.<sup>5</sup> 'Fox and the early Friends were not trying to teach a theological dogma' he wrote, but 'to bring men to test for themselves the truth which they shadowed forth by the word-picture of the "universal and saving Light".'<sup>6</sup> It is noteworthy that in this passage with his phrase 'word-picture' Harvey acknowledged the metaphorical component in religious language, a theme he pioneered in a paper of 1928 in an instance of liberal, indeed post-modern, theology.<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup> London Yearly Meeting Proceedings 1921 p.59

<sup>4</sup> 'The Heart of Quakerism' (London : Friends' Bookshop 1925)

<sup>5</sup> *Silence and Worship: a study in Quaker experience* (London: Swarthmore press 64pp; first published 1923, reissued 1925)

<sup>6</sup> 'The Heart of Quakerism'

<sup>7</sup> *Quaker Language* (London: Friends Historical Society 1928)

Another initiative of the Quaker Renaissance in which Harvey was involved was to revise the historical understanding that Quakers had of themselves, which he combined with exploring his own religious attitudes. The Rowntree History Series made use of denominational history to strengthen and redefine Quaker identity according to liberal theology.<sup>8</sup> Harvey was at the meeting in September 1905 held after the shocking early death of John Wilhelm Rowntree which decided to proceed with the series.<sup>9</sup> His own book, published that year, *The Rise of the Quakers*, was the first of its kind, predating by seven years W. C. Braithwaite's initial volume in the Rowntree Series. Braithwaite acknowledged this, quoting from Harvey's book and saying it 'may be consulted with advantage'.<sup>10</sup> Harvey later returned the compliment, remembering Braithwaite as wide-minded and big-hearted.<sup>11</sup> *The Rise of the Quakers* was a pioneering work of redefinition not only for Quakers but also for the wider nonconformist community. It was part of a series, 'Eras of Nonconformity', published by National Council of Evangelical Free Churches and edited by Harvey's fellow Liberal Radical backbencher, the Congregationalist minister, C. Silvester Horne.<sup>12</sup> The inclusion of the book in Horne's series acknowledged that the Quakers were part of the nonconformist family in contrast, for example, to the exclusive 'ancient way' of Quaker conservatives.<sup>13</sup> Harvey's book was well received and went to six impressions. New York Yearly Meeting recorded its

---

<sup>8</sup> Alice Southern 'The Rowntree History Series and the Growth of Liberal Quakerism' *Quaker Studies* vol 16 issue 1 September 2011 pp 7-73.

<sup>9</sup> Alice Southern 'The Rowntree History Series and the Growth of Liberal Quakerism' p.20

<sup>10</sup> W.C. Braithwaite *The Beginnings of Quakerism* (London: Macmillan, 1912) p. v

<sup>11</sup> Anna LL. B. Thomas and Elizabeth B. Emmott, *William Charles Braithwaite: Memoir and Papers* (London : Longmans, Green, 1931)

<sup>12</sup> W. B. Selbie, *The Life of Charles Silvester Horne* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1920)

<sup>13</sup> Edward H. Milligan, 'The Ancient Way': the Conservative Tradition in Nineteenth Century British Quakerism,' (*Journal of the Friends Historical Society*, 57 (1994): 74–97)

appreciation of the publication as ‘arousing interest in Quaker literature and history.’<sup>14</sup>

In re-acquainting Quakers of Harvey’s generation with those of the generation of George Fox, the book invited consideration of the differences. As we have seen in chapter 8, Harvey contrasted the early Quakers’ ‘harshness, and sometimes the confidence with which the Quakers proclaimed their prophetic character’ with contemporary Quakers caution and luke-warmness.<sup>15</sup> Also as suggested in chapter 8, the reference to caution and luke-warmness says as much, if not more, about the author’s sense of himself as about the general attitudes of Quakers of his day.

If *The Rise of the Quakers* of 1905 was the means by which Harvey explored the collective — as well as his personal — Quaker identity and heritage, another book, *A Wayfarer’s Faith*, of 1913 was the means by which he explored the historic roots of his wider Christian faith. The book’s theme is evident from its subtitle, *Aspects of the Common Basis of Religious Life*. It shows a strand of catholicity in Harvey, linking a tentative religious universalism with the continuity of Christian history. The *Church Times* in reviewing the book expressed pleasant surprise at the absence of the anti-Establishment rhetoric that might be expected from a nonconformist, and found ‘there is much of the medievalist’ about its author.<sup>16</sup> In it he writes of the trials and tribulations of the early Christians much as in *The Rise of the Quakers* he writes of the persecution of the early Quakers. The book reflected the influence of the scriptural scholar, Rendel Harris, to whom he wrote in 1928 thanking him for his help over the years.<sup>17</sup> Like Harris, Harvey was interested not in questions of the authority of the Bible but in what it and other early texts showed about the

---

<sup>14</sup> Milligan typescript p51/119

<sup>15</sup> *The Rise of the Quakers* p.57

<sup>16</sup> *Church Times* review of *A Wayfarer’s Faith*, 22 August 1913 Library of the Society of Friends QQ 121

<sup>17</sup> Cadbury Library, Birmingham: DA21/1/2/1/26/8

history of Christian practice. Harvey drew on such texts, for example, the Didache which he refers to in an account of the prophets and travelling apostles of early Christianity.<sup>18</sup> He wrote of the neglect of the 'sacraments of life' such as Jesus' washing of the feet in John 13:1–17, regretting that 'in the few instances where the rite of feet-washing is still observed we see how far removed today the ceremony may be from the thought which once inspired it.'<sup>19</sup> Another example of Harvey the medievalist is his study of St Aelred published in 1932.<sup>20</sup> Just as in *The Rise of the Quakers* Harvey used history to ponder his own unenthusiasm in comparison with the founding generation of Quakers, so his book of 1932 can be interpreted as a study of himself as a latter-day Aelred. This was presumably unintentional though Edward Milligan saw a similarity.

He would have made an ideal medieval abbot - sufficiently tall and comfortably built; benevolent; genial; a thoughtful and solicitous host; a spiritual counsellor with shrewd practical wisdom; a man with knowledge of the world, but free from worldliness: fair-minded and a peacemaker (if a little weak on discipline): a man of laughter and an excellent companion.<sup>21</sup>

Further evidence of Harvey's admiration for pre-Reformation manners and of his catholicity is his remark in the same year as the publication of *St Aelred*, 'The Dissolution came as the harsh and selfish act of tyrannous king, and the despoiling of the monasteries was the grievous squandering of a precious inheritance.'<sup>22</sup>

Harvey does not fit with Joanna Dales' contention that the Quaker Renaissance was a decisive break with the past, for he stood for continuity as much as change. Dales argues that the Quaker Renaissance originated in discoveries in

---

<sup>18</sup> *A Wayfarer's Faith*, Chapter iii. 'The Prophet In the Church.'

<sup>19</sup> *A Wayfarer's Faith* chapter iv 'Sacraments of Life' p. 70

<sup>20</sup> T. Edmund Harvey, *Saint Aelred of Rievaulx* (London: H. R. Allenson 1932)

<sup>21</sup> Milligan typescript p.14/119

<sup>22</sup> *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer* - Friday 21 October 1932 p.6

science and biblical research which called for new approaches to Christian faith.<sup>23</sup> Discoveries in science sat lightly with Harvey, whose interest and education was in the humanities. He did not have the turn of mind for science of his contemporary, John William Graham, who was a mathematician by training with an interest in psychical research. Though Harvey and Graham both critiqued social Darwinianism, Harvey did so out of a liberal's aversion to determinism rather than an urge to scientific refutation. If some of the scientific modernism of the Quaker Renaissance sat lightly with Harvey, so too did the second element of the Quaker Renaissance identified by Dales as contributing to ending the power of evangelicalism in the Society, which was its theology of fear.<sup>24</sup> Harvey had no need to reject such a theology of fear, because it was not part of his upbringing. There is no hint from Harvey's letters to his parents, his brother's childhood memoir and his own recollections that he and his siblings were exposed to a fearsome doctrine of atonement. On the contrary, as shown in chapter 2, the children were brought up in a warm and loving religious atmosphere, given moral guidance but also latitude to indulge the playfully subversive sense of humour which is seen in the two brothers' creative writings. From his family and Yorkshire Friends at Quaker meetings Harvey imbued the Quaker principle of faith, community and the Light.<sup>25</sup> On Harvey's 17th birthday his father urged the value of 'a simple living faith in our Lord and Saviour'.<sup>26</sup> The short phrase is consistent with Edward Milligan's designation of Harvey's father as 'an orthodox evangelical, though of broadminded outlook'.<sup>27</sup> Such theological

---

<sup>23</sup> Joann Dales, *The Quaker Renaissance and Liberal Quakerism in Britain, 1895-1930* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2020)

<sup>24</sup> Joanna Dales, *The Quaker Renaissance and Liberal Quakerism in Britain, 1895-1930*

<sup>25</sup> 'Looking Back' (*Journal of the Friends' Historical Society* vol 45/2 Autumn 1953 pp 51-59)

<sup>26</sup> WH to TEH 2 January 1892.

<sup>27</sup> Milligan typescript p. 48/119

differences as there were between the generations counted for little. As we have seen, Henry Stanley Newman, the editor of *The Friend*, whom Dales calls a 'strongly evangelical Quaker', was an admiring sponsor of the young Harvey, telling him 'You have exceptional gifts and an altogether exceptional spirit and you ought to go a long way.'<sup>28</sup>

Harvey's Quakerism was a liberal synthesis of an affection for Quaker and Christian narratives, a belief in personal freedom in a setting of Christian fellowship, an optimism about the possibility of change and a recognition of the transcendent nature of religious truth. Whatever the extent amongst Quakers of the 'theology of fear', as portrayed by Dales, such theology was not to be found in the Harvey family. Harvey was brought up when there was a blending of theological liberalism, scientific modernism, broad-minded evangelicalism, and conservative quietism. As he said, beneath the quiet surface of the Quaker meetings of his youth there was a ferment of religious and social life at work in the Society of Friends of which 'men like Edward Grubb and Edward Worsdell were harbingers, Rendel Harris, Thomas Hodgkin and John William Graham each in different ways pioneers but in which a unique seminal influence was exercised by John Wilhelm Rowntree.'<sup>29</sup> This explains why the triumph of liberal Quakerism under the guidance of the charismatic John Wilhelm Rowntree met so little opposition, because much of it was already familiar. Harvey helped with this triumph and with cementing in the Society the ascendancy of liberalism in the period from 1920 onwards.<sup>30</sup>

---

<sup>28</sup> H. S. Newman to T. Edmund Harvey, 5 October 1903; letter in my possession

<sup>29</sup> 'Looking Back', *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society* vol 45/2 Autumn 1953 pp 51-59

<sup>30</sup> J. William Frost 'Modernist and Liberal Quakers 1887-2010' in Stephen W. Angell and Pink Dandelion (ed.) *Oxford Handbook of Quaker Studies* (Oxford University Press 2013)

## 2. A Quaker Liberal

### Introduction

We have so far shown in this chapter, drawing on earlier chapters, that Harvey was a liberal Quaker, that is, he was theologically liberal and a product of the liberalising Quaker Renaissance. The following section takes the second arm of the proposition that Harvey was a liberal Quaker, Quaker Liberal by examining the contention that Harvey was a political liberal. The section shows the connection between Harvey's Quaker faith and his politics in the three areas he said were of particular interest to him. These were 'Social reform with a view to securing the minimum human standard of life for all: the protection of individual freedom & human rights in British dependencies & elsewhere: international peace & cooperation.'<sup>31</sup> Before considering these three areas, the section will chronicle Harvey's career as a political liberal.

### Career as a Liberal

Except for a passing interest in Labour in 1918, Harvey was a life-long political liberal. As shown in chapter 2, he 'was brought up in a home where there was warm interest in national politics from the Liberal standpoint.'<sup>32</sup> His first recorded activity with the Liberals was in 1903, when he was warden of Chalfont House and started to campaign for the Progressive Alliance, a London-based network of Liberals, Fabians and Labourites who came together to win the London County Council (LCC) from a pro-Conservative group, the Moderates.<sup>33</sup> He was an LCC councillor 1904–07 and a Stepney borough councillor 1909–1911. In late 1909 he was selected to contest the

---

<sup>31</sup> History of Parliament, Wedgwood Questionnaires, 'Harvey, T Edmund'

<sup>32</sup> Wedgwood Questionnaire

<sup>33</sup> History of Parliament, Wedgwood Questionnaires, 'Harvey, T Edmund'.

parliamentary constituency of West Leeds on behalf of the Liberal party, by dint of his reputation as a social reformer and that of his family as local Liberals and philanthropists.<sup>34</sup> As shown in chapter 3, on his election to Parliament in January 1910 he sat with the Liberal Radicals on the backbenches, a group which differed from the Liberal leadership on matters of foreign and colonial affairs and defence but not social reform or the constitutional conflict with the Lords. He came off the backbenches when he was appointed a parliamentary private secretary (PPS), first to Ellis Ellis-Griffith and then to Charles Masterman, though on the outbreak of war he resigned his post as PPS out of his pacifism. His career as the Liberal MP for West Leeds was cut short by his campaigning for a peace candidate in the Stockton by-election of 1917, which led to his being de-selected with effect from the general election of December 1918. This coincided with a passing interest in Labour, as discussed below. As shown in chapter 5, in the event he stayed with the Liberals and retained their goodwill sufficiently to be nominated as the parliamentary candidate for another Yorkshire constituency, Dewsbury. He stood in the general election of 1922, when he was unsuccessful, and again in December 1923, when he won but only to lose the seat in the general election the following October. Harvey's period as an MP for the ten months of the first Labour government is described in chapter 5. For the rest of the 1920s, as also explained in chapter 5, he made a series of attempts to get back into Parliament for the Liberal interest. He was on the point of being adopted as a candidate for the constituency of Pudsey and Otley when the 1931 crisis supervened. He decided not to stand because 'the Liberals in the constituency were not united as to the desirability of contesting the seat against a National sitting

---

<sup>34</sup> Michael Meadowcroft, 'Harvey, Thomas Edmund [T. Edmund, Ted] (1875–1955), politician and social reformer.' (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 2021)



member'.<sup>35</sup> Thereafter, and until his return to Parliament six years later, he gave his time to religious and non-political social work, but by joining the Next Five Years Group and then as an Independent Progressive MP he remained aligned with political liberalism. It was only after he left Parliament on the dissolution in June 1945 that he ceased to be involved in frontline politics, for the rest of his life confining his activities to the Society of Friends.

### Liberal social reformer

Harvey's career as a liberal may be seen in how he acted on the three points that he delineated to Josiah Wedgwood. The first point, that of securing a minimum standard of living for all, is reflected in Harvey's support not only for the domestic policies of the New Liberals of the pre-1914 era, but also for the policies of the Liberals of the interwar years and the platform of the Next Five Years' Group. His political liberalism sprang from personalism, a spiritual belief in the value of the person, rather than from the moralism of mid-Victorian Dissent. For example, he made little in public of his adherence to the cause of temperance. Personalism and the Christian principle of social solidarity were consistent with his work for Liberal social reform as warden of Toynbee Hall, when he involved himself in issues such as the unemployed in London. By the same rationale, once in Parliament, from 1910 as a backbencher and more particularly as a PPS from June 1913 to August 1914, he worked for the reforms of the Liberal government such as national insurance and employment exchanges.<sup>36</sup> A measure which Harvey supported but which with hindsight fits less easily into the idea of him as a liberal and humanitarian was the Mental Deficiency

---

<sup>35</sup> History of Parliament, Wedgwood Questionnaires, 'Harvey, T Edmund'.

<sup>36</sup> Duncan Tanner *Political Change and the Labour Party 1900–18* (Cambridge University Press 1990) p.271. See also chapter 3.

Act 1913, which had cross-party support at the time but has since been criticised as breaching the rights of the disabled. Generally, he remained steady and transparent in his Liberal convictions, as evidenced by his electioneering literature of the 1920s. The material reflects the standard lines of Asquith's Liberal party of the day together with more philosophical passages which bear Harvey's mark. In explaining to the electorate of Dewsbury in 1922 'Why I am a Liberal' he gave five reasons.<sup>37</sup> Firstly, it was because it was to Liberalism that the electorate owed its political, civil and religious freedom. Secondly, Liberalism stood for freedom in industrial affairs, free trade, and freedom to combine to protect the rights of workers. Thirdly, Liberalism stood for peace and the League of Nations. Fourthly, it stood for education, old age pensions, insurance against sickness and unemployment, measures which, Harvey reminded his readers, had been introduced by the pre-war Liberal government. In a minor reference to the moralistic concerns of the mid-Victorian Christian, under this fourth point Harvey added that Liberalism stood for temperance, which he claimed led to better conditions in the home. Fifthly, Harvey made the high-minded, personalist point that Liberalism stood for the worth of human life everywhere and for fellowship in the effort to raise that life to a higher level.

Harvey's political liberalism may be seen in his third term in Parliament 1937–45 although by then it was of a non-partisan kind and the opportunities for non war-related measures were severely limited until victory was assured. As we have seen, after 1931 Harvey reduced his activities on behalf of the Liberal party and by 1936 he was associating with the independent Next Five Years Group, because he believed 'that there is a larger measure of agreement achieved and greater

---

<sup>37</sup> Press cuttings of Harvey's electoral activities in the Parliamentary Borough of Dewsbury in the General election of 1922 – Box V1/3 Library of the Society of Friends

possibilities of cooperation that the party system of today allows for.’<sup>38</sup> As we have seen in chapter 5, standing on the Group’s programme he was elected in March 1937 at a by-election for the Combined English Universities. He stood as an unaffiliated Independent Progressive which, said Ramsay Muir, the failed would-be official Liberal candidate at the by-election, was a position close to that of a Liberal.<sup>39</sup> He was able to bring his experience of prison visiting to bear on an important measure of penal reform, the Criminal Justice Bill of the Conservative-led national coalition government, but it had to be aborted because of the war. In 1944 he pursued the Liberal enthusiasm for proportional representation at the Speaker’s Conference in June that year, regretting that it was not made a recommendation.<sup>40</sup> He promoted the Next Five Years’ Group’s domestic ideas by his support for the coalition government’s Town and Country Planning Bill of 1944, as referred to in chapter 7.<sup>41</sup> As also shown in chapter 7, he had the satisfaction of voting for, and speaking on, the Education Act 1944, which implemented some of the recommendations of his *Towards Educational Peace*, symbolising continuity between the young New Liberal of 1910 and the veteran Independent Progressive of 34 years later. The Liberal party may have failed electorally in Harvey’s lifetime and been replaced by Labour as the alternative to the Conservatives, but the policies of New Liberalism retained intellectual force and can be seen in later administrations such as that of Harold Macmillan, who as we have seen was one of the few Conservative members of the Next Five Years’ Group. The post-war consensus was built on the work of Keynes and Beveridge, both Liberals with the latter an alumnus of Toynbee

---

<sup>38</sup> History of Parliament, Wedgwood Questionnaires, ‘Harvey, T Edmund’.

<sup>39</sup> *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer* – Thursday 25 February 1937 p.12

<sup>40</sup> TEH to AIH 21 June 1944.

<sup>41</sup> TEH to AIH, October 1944. Town And Country Planning Bill HC Deb 11 July 1944 vol 401 cc1591-698

Hall. To that extent Harvey, the veteran Independent Progressive MP, was part of the 'strange survival' of Liberal England.<sup>42</sup>

Harvey was never a socialist but at one point showed a passing interest in the Labour party. In December 1918, aware that he was not to be West Leeds' candidate at the general election called after the Armistice, Harvey wrote to his father that he 'found himself increasingly drawn towards the Labour Party during the last ten days' and he commended the 'splendid Labour manifesto'.<sup>43</sup> Harvey believed that Lloyd George had 'broken up the party', that the Liberals would acquiesce in a harsh peace settlement and that their domestic policies had gone stale, being merely a repetition of pre-war positions.<sup>44</sup> Harvey asked his father for a chance to talk over the matter. There is no record of an ensuing discussion but in the event, as we have seen, Harvey stayed with the Liberal party. There were several reasons for this. His good reputation with Yorkshire Liberals, despite his de-selection from West Leeds, gave him the prospect of another parliamentary candidacy. A lack of any familial or personal connection with Labour meant a move would have strained relations with his family as well as limited his career. In addition there were differences in policy and outlook. He disliked the erosion of freedom by Labour's class-based policies such as a levy on capital, though the Stockton by-election peace candidate and Quaker Edward Backhouse was one of its advocates.<sup>45</sup> He was sceptical about Labour offering 'a short and easy path to a better world.'<sup>46</sup> Harvey believed not in utopianism or class-based politics but in social solidarity and gradualism, the Liberal

---

<sup>42</sup> See chapter 1

<sup>43</sup> TEH to WH, Welders Wood, 1 December 1918.

<sup>44</sup> TEH to WH, Welders Wood, 1 December 1918

<sup>45</sup> Press cuttings of Harvey's electoral activities in the Parliamentary Borough of Dewsbury in the General election of 1922 Box V1/3 Library of the Society of Friends

F. W. Pethick Lawrence, *Capital Levy* (London: G. Allen & Unwin, [1918]) p.10

<sup>46</sup> 'The liberal spirit' *The Westminster Gazette* 15 xii 1923. LSF 051.10

principle of 'hard work, cooperation, and constant, steady experiment, holding fast to the ideal of freedom'.<sup>47</sup> This echoed his criticism of ideological abstractions when warden of Toynbee Hall.<sup>48</sup> He disliked the power of senior trade unionists in the Labour movement.<sup>49</sup> He showed his disagreement with socialism by taking no part in the *Foundations of a True Social Order*, a Quaker document produced in 1918 propounding guild socialism.<sup>50</sup> He did not despise cooperation between the Labour and the Liberal parties but it had to be on the Liberals' terms, he optimistically opined in 1920, not anticipating the change in the relative power of the two parties.<sup>51</sup> His doubt about Labour was strengthened by his ten months as MP for Dewsbury when, as we have seen, Ramsay MacDonald's government of January–October 1924 carried forward the previous Conservative administration's rearmament programme. That his experience of Labour in power confirmed his adherence to the Liberals and that the letter to his father of December 1918 reflected a momentary unsteadiness is shown by how, when contemplating his prospects for the general election in October 1924, he wrote to David Belloch that he expected to lose his Dewsbury seat but 'My heart is more Liberal than ever.'<sup>52</sup>

---

<sup>47</sup> 'The liberal spirit'

<sup>48</sup> Toynbee Hall annual report for the year ending 30 June 1910, issued December 1910 p. 10 London Metropolitan Archives SPE/01/01/016 See chapter 2.

<sup>49</sup> 'The future of liberalism: Why party persists which according to plan ought really to be dead: Interview with Mr T.E.Harvey,' *Yorkshire Observer* 22 August 1921, Library of the Society of Friends Vol VV 79

<sup>50</sup> 'Reimagining a True Social Order' <https://quakersocialorder.org.uk/>

<sup>51</sup> 'The cooperation of Labour and Liberalism' Letter to the editor of *The Nation*; London Vol. 28, Iss. 4, (23, October 1920) p. 130

<sup>52</sup> TEH to DB 28 October 1924

## Colonialism

The second of Harvey's three Liberal interests was 'the protection of individual freedom & human rights in British dependencies & elsewhere'.<sup>53</sup> Chapter 4 considers whether he was a metropolitan anti-imperialist, to use Nicholas Owen's phrase which, however, does not fully capture the nuance of Harvey's position.<sup>54</sup> Rather, he may be described as supporting the enlightened form of imperialism which appealed to British liberals of the time. We have seen in chapter 4 how in the case of the Portuguese African colonies, Peru and the Congo, Harvey took a straightforwardly anti-colonialist position. As for financial depredations by foreign states on the nascent Chinese republic, he criticised the European powers although ignored Japan in an apparent instance of epistemic blindness. Also in the case of China he was forgiving of those powers, Britain and the US, whose claims on China were small. This might suggest Anglo-American bias though the facts of the case seem to justify his position in this instance. As for the British dependencies, he was more critical of the British in Africa than in India. He saw two sides to the British presence in Africa, personified by the paternalistic administrator Lord Lugard and the controversial adventurer Cecil Rhodes.<sup>55</sup> He deplored the depredations of 'Sir Having Greedy' in East Africa, noting ruefully the slim consolation for the Masai of recourse to British justice. He believed more could be done in Africa in pursuit of the mandate principle so that the British dependencies there should have 'a fuller working out of that ideal of trusteeship

---

<sup>53</sup> Wedgwood Questionnaire

<sup>54</sup> Nicholas Owen, *The British Left and India: Metropolitan Anti-Imperialism, 1885-1947* (Oxford University Press, 2007)

<sup>55</sup> *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer* - Monday 16 January 1933 p.6

which has inspired all that is best in our colonial policy'.<sup>56</sup> In 1942, he raised the possibility of reparations for slavery and expressed concern about wartime conscripted labour.<sup>57</sup>

By contrast, when it came to India he was much more a believer in the British, and in the face of populist disruption moved closer to the government's position. The attitude of Harvey and contemporary Quakers hinged on the figure of M. K. Gandhi, whom Harvey found troubling. As shown in chapter 4, Harvey supported efforts at a constitutional settlement and Quaker attempts at intermediation but cautioned against majoritarianism and militant populism. He led Quaker delegations to ministers with responsibility for India, less to represent the Quakers' views to the government as to do the reverse. He expressed pain, privately to Agatha Harrison and publicly in Parliament, at Gandhi's campaigns of civil disobedience. He commended Leo Amery's constitutional steps which brought Indians such as B. R. Ambedkar into high office, and he regretted the necessity of the wartime suspension of democratic reforms in the face of the Congress party's disruption. Harvey was against Hindu supremacism, praising the work of Christian missionaries and rejecting Horace Alexander's suggestion that they were spiritual imperialists. He made no allegations against the British of the economic and political exploitation of India such as did the Quaker left-winger, Reginald Reynolds.<sup>58</sup> On the contrary, in the one instance where Harvey commented on such matters, he expressed support for the Tata or Bombay plan for promoting Indian-owned enterprises.<sup>59</sup> The common motif to his stance on the British dependencies was his declared belief in upholding human

---

<sup>56</sup> Address to the Graduate electors of the Combined English Universities. Friends House Library Box L 13/08n.

<sup>57</sup> HC Deb 04 August 1942 vol 382 cc987

<sup>58</sup> Reginald Reynolds, *White Sahibs in India* (London: Martin Secker & Warburg 1937)

<sup>59</sup> India HC Deb 28 July 1944 vol 402 cc1080

rights. This meant that in Africa he saw the white settlers as the threat to the rights of others whereas in India the threat came from Hinduist militants.

### Peace testimony

The third element in Harvey's liberalism, as he explained to Josiah Wedgwood, was a belief in the principle of the settlement of international disputes by negotiation and in the necessity for peace of the rule of law. This is a basic liberal position, reflecting a belief in the necessity for the good society of a combination of individual freedom and orderly governance. Harvey shared this belief but his commitment to peace went beyond being a matter of a secular principle to being one of religion and temperament. He acted in the belief that his religious duty lay in always being for peace and never for war. On this foundation he built a pragmatic and rounded position which reconciled his membership of a historic peace church with that of the British legislature. He may be called a moderate pacifist in the sense that his witnessing to peace was never stridently anti-militarist and he was never a war-resisting political agitator, but nor did he dilute his pacifism with pacificism, to use the term for the acceptance that a defensive war may be justified. His adherence to the peace testimony and actions as a witness to peace may be analysed into four sub-elements. These are the belief in, firstly and as already noted, international peace and co-operation; secondly, in freedom of conscience; thirdly, in peacetime disarmament; and fourthly, there was the question of his temperament.

As for the first sub-element, of international peace and cooperation, we have seen that Harvey showed an interest in international arbitration of the Italo-Turkish war of 1911. With the creation of the League of Nations after the First World War, he supported it through the League of Nations Union. Some radical Quakers



and pacifists opposed the League's principle of collective security, which meant the League's power to use economic and military sanctions against transgressors of the international order. Harvey never openly opposed collective security but shared the widespread opinion that the Versailles Treaty had been unfair to Germany and had to be renegotiated. In the event, the League collapsed in the face of the rise of the Axis powers. Harvey welcomed the revival of the League of Nations after the Second World War in the form of the United Nations and was proud of his friend David Belloch, who became one of the new body's civil servants.<sup>60</sup> As for the second sub-element, freedom of conscience, it has been shown throughout this dissertation and at length in chapter 8 that Harvey systematically combined, on the one hand, the liberal concern for human rights and civic duties with, on the other, the Quaker concern for peace. As for the third sub-element of Harvey's interpretation of the peace testimony, that of disarmament, Harvey took differing positions depending on whether his country was at peace or war. He was outspoken during peacetime for disarmament by all the powers. However, if war came to Britain, he ceased speaking of disarmament, referring to international arms control only as part of a possible post-war settlement. His silence in the Second World War on British military effort put him at variance with, on the one hand, the pacifist H. G. Wood, who told Friends they could not remain neutral in the war against Hitler when there was no possibility of an acceptable peace.<sup>61</sup> On the other hand, it put him at odds with those Quakers such as Corder Catchpool for whom pacifism meant resistance to state violence, whether or not – and sometimes particularly if – the state was their own country.

---

<sup>60</sup> TEH to DB 10 January 1955

<sup>61</sup> 'The claims of the state in wartime' *The Friend* 7 June 1940 p. 351

Evidence of how he spoke for disarmament only in peacetime and never condemned his own country's war making can be drawn from the beginning, middle and end of his career. His maiden speech in Parliament was against the Navy Vote, reflecting his membership of the Liberal Radical backbench 'Reduction of Armaments Committee'.<sup>62</sup> In contrast was his speech on 3 August 1914 on the eve of Britain's declaration of war against Germany, in which he called for a further effort for peace and made a deferential appeal to 'the Leaders whom I honour', recognising 'the magnificent efforts that have been made by the Foreign Secretary and his colleagues during the last fortnight on behalf of peace.'<sup>63</sup> The speech was that of a Friendly patriot, a plea for peace not a condemnation of impending British war making. With the failure of his last-minute exhortation, he turned to humanitarian relief work not anti-war agitation.<sup>64</sup> He refused to join the Union of Democratic Control, unlike his brother-in-law Arnold Stephenson Rowntree, because it assigned to Britain some culpability for the war. He refused to join the No-Conscription Fellowship, unlike Edward Grubb who opposed conscription on libertarian as well as religious grounds. He did not join the Fellowship of Reconciliation, presumably because he believed it incompatible with his membership of the British legislature, though he shared information with its co-founder, Henry Hodgkin, about cases of conscientious objectors.<sup>65</sup> In November 1915 the pacifist-leaning MPs Percy Alden, Charles Hobhouse and J. Howard Whitehouse issued a protest against proposed conscription, arguing that it would destroy national unity and prolong the war.<sup>66</sup> Harvey did not add his name. This may have been because he was in France on

---

<sup>62</sup> HC Deb 14 March 1910 vol 15 cc117-119

<sup>63</sup> Germany and Belgium HC Deb 03 August 1914 vol 65 cc1838-39

<sup>64</sup> See chapter 3

<sup>65</sup> TEH to AIH House of Commons 22 March 1916.

<sup>66</sup> Library of the Society of Friends TEMP MSS 977/1/6

relief work, but he may also have felt that it was not for him as a member of a peace church to opine on military matters. In 1916 his good standing with the government got him appointed to the Board of Trade's Pelham Committee. He set about arranging alternative service for conscientious objectors, which he made him suspect in some Quaker quarters as an agent of compromise but was a conscientious act of civic obligation.<sup>67</sup> It is for consideration whether the contention that Harvey did not resist British military endeavour in wartime is consistent with his support for Edward Backhouse at the Stockton by-election, which led to his de-selection. As shown in chapter 3 he justified himself on the grounds that events in Russia had made the time right for a negotiated peace ratified by democratic institutions.<sup>68</sup> His constituency association thought he had taken his pacifism too far but his argument and tone were consistent with the line he took on 3 August 1914, which was respectfully to urge the government to make every diplomatic effort for peace.

With the end of the war in 1918 Harvey reverted to his pre-war position of campaigning against armaments, as in the case of the Five Cruisers in 1924 and his activities in the League of Nations Union for its duration. On the return of war in 1939 he continued to call for peace by negotiation for as long as he judged it prudent to do so but he made no comment on the conduct of the war. He did not support calls such as those from Alfred Salter for Britain to withdraw from the war, and for his pains was harried by the left-wing war-resisters of the Independent Labour Party. He was silent on the controversial bombing of German cities, unlike Corder Catchpool, who was Hon. Secretary of the protest group, the Bombing Restriction Committee. In both world wars Harvey took the position of a Friendly patriot, to use Brian Phillips' term,

---

<sup>67</sup> Milligan typescript p.8/119

<sup>68</sup> Milligan typescript chapter 13

which was to speak positively for peace, act for humanitarian causes and uphold the lawful right of conscientious objection but to avoid anti-militarist or radical positions which might harm Britain's morale and the Quakers' reputation. With the end of war in 1945, as shown in chapter 7, he was free to revert to the position he had adopted at the outset of his career, which was to speak out unconditionally against armaments, the only difference being the change in technology so that in 1910 he was against dreadnoughts but in 1945 atomic bombs.

The fourth sub-element of Harvey's religious commitment to peace was personal rather than political, which was his pacific temperament and preference for harmony and goodwill. This is an aspect of his character like the humility which is explored in chapter 8. In his pacific character he contrasted with a Quaker contemporary, John William Graham, who was aggressive and difficult.<sup>69</sup> Harvey prioritised concord and civility, the willingness to differ amiably, without rancour and potentially constructively. Edward Milligan records that he was mocked as 'Mr There Is Much To Be Said On Both Sides' and that 'He was always so pained by disagreement and dissension that he found it hard to show firmness, even when firmness was needed.'<sup>70</sup> As we have seen in chapter 8, he accepted that politics was part of the life of the Society of Friends but insisted on a spiritual tone.

Some today are dissatisfied that the time of the meeting should be occupied with subjects of a political or economic nature, which they feel are unfitting for discussion by a religious society. Yet it is not the subject so much as the way in which it is sometimes treated that is out of harmony with a Friends' meeting.<sup>71</sup>

---

<sup>69</sup> Joanna C. Dales, 'John William Graham (1859-1932): Quaker Apostle Of Progress' (PhD thesis University of Birmingham 2016) p. 27

<sup>70</sup> Milligan typescript p.7/119, p. 97/119

<sup>71</sup> T. Edmund Harvey, *Authority & Freedom in the Experience of the Quakers* (Woodbrooke 1935)

This aspect of Harvey's character was pointed to by Josiah C. Wedgwood when he said 'he was too gentle'.<sup>72</sup> Pimlott says of Harvey as Samuel Barnett's successor at Toynbee Hall that he was almost more open-minded and humane than his master, that he lacked intolerance, he conciliated, he sought practical solutions.<sup>73</sup> Clement Attlee, who was briefly secretary at Toynbee Hall, tersely called Harvey 'a vague and amiable Liberal'.<sup>74</sup> The charge of amiability was well founded but of vagueness not. Harvey had decided and deep principles but was careful in how he expressed them.

### 3. Post-Victorian Christian gentleman

#### Introduction

Harvey as a liberal Quaker and Quaker Liberal was of a certain social type, originating in his privileged upbringing in the reign of Victoria. This section considers Harvey as a post-Victorian socio-political type – as a liberal Christian gentleman, civic volunteer, Ruskinian and Quaker parliamentarian – and examines the extent to which he was typical of his times. He is evidence for Pedersen and Mandler's criticism of the proposition that there was a break between Victorianism and post-Victorianism and evidence against Brian Phillips' contention that there was a loss of hope in the establishment after the First World War.<sup>75</sup> He represented a balance between change and continuity in post-Victorian times, going from being an Edwardian-era gentleman, civic volunteer and Liberal Radical backbencher to a veteran independent MP,

---

<sup>72</sup> Wedgwood questionnaire. See appendix 3

<sup>73</sup> J. A. R. Pimlott, *Toynbee Hall: Fifty Years of Social Progress 1884-1934* (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1935)

<sup>74</sup> John Bew, *Citizen Clem: a biography of Attlee* (London riverrun, 2016) p.68

<sup>75</sup> Susan Pedersen and Peter Mandler, *After the Victorians: Private Conscience and Public Duty in Modern Britain* (Routledge, 1994)

Brian Phillips, "The Loss of Hope: England and its Establishment in the 20th Century," In Pink Dandelion and others, *Towards tragedy, reclaiming hope : literature, theology and sociology in conversation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004)

valued senior Quaker and local charity worker. Harvey the strategically-minded Christian social reformer, politician and voluntary worker embodied the transition from his grandmother's temperance campaigning and his parents' local philanthropic work to his own role as a mid-twentieth century community worker whose religious motivation was less conspicuous but no less real than that of previous generations. Moreover, he retained a spirit of hopeful philanthropic endeavour throughout his life.

### A Quaker gentleman in Parliament 1910–18

As a thirty-five year old Liberal MP in the peacetime parliament of 1910, Harvey was typical of his peer group. He was the son of a gentleman, his father being so designated in Harvey's college record.<sup>76</sup> He had private means thanks to the inheritance from his great uncle William.<sup>77</sup> When he first stood for Parliament he drew upon 'About £600 p.a. unearned income', which is £75,300 in 2022 terms.<sup>78</sup> He was also a gentleman in the sense of having a courteous but patronising and sexist attitude to women. For example, his review of *Gulielma: Wife of William Penn* by Violet Hodgkin refers to Gulielma's 'charm' and how the book, which was by a female author, was 'delightful'. The review implied a woman's place is in the home when he wrote, 'The earthly homes crumble and go while the fragrance of the good lives lived within them still lives on'.<sup>79</sup> In his marriage, Irene was the adoring, subordinate partner and disciple.<sup>80</sup> As a gentleman he commissioned portraits of himself and his spouse from a leading artist of the day, Mark Gertler, the contrast between the two

---

<sup>76</sup> 1893–5 matriculands: spreadsheet from archivist of Christ Church

<sup>77</sup> See appendix 2 for family history.

<sup>78</sup> Wedgwood Questionnaire, at appendix 3.

<sup>79</sup> *The Friend* 1946 vol 104 p.605 ff

<sup>80</sup> AIH to TEH Welders Wood 17 May 1917.

works reflecting the inequality in the marriage.<sup>81</sup> If a further feature of being a gentleman is to own a top hat, then Harvey qualifies, his hat being preserved in a Leeds museum.<sup>82</sup>

In his lifetime the designation of gentleman came to have less meaning as society changed about him. In addition, his wealth and status declined as he disposed of the family's assets or their value diminished. In 1917 he cooperated with his father to donate to the nation his great uncle William's collection of paintings.<sup>83</sup> During the economic crisis of 1931–32 Harvey was beset by the financial problems of the firm of Hotham and Whiting, warehousemen.<sup>84</sup> He had inherited the firm from his mother and managed to ensure its survival until his death.<sup>85</sup> In 1947 he put in trust the family's second home of Barmoor, Hutton-le-Hole, which that year opened as a holiday centre for religious and educational groups.<sup>86</sup> When probate on his estate was granted in October 1955 his effects were valued at £14,852 13s 10d. As this equates to about £370,000 in today's money the figure may have included only Rydal House, his home since 1923. Probate was granted to Alice Irene Harvey, his widow, John Wilfred Harvey, his brother, a university lecturer, and Christopher John Rowntree, a director of the Rowntree company and Harvey's nephew by his sister Mary Katherine.<sup>87</sup> A further grant, limited to settled land, that is, Barmoor, was made on 26 May 1956.<sup>88</sup>

---

<sup>81</sup> See chapter 5

<sup>82</sup> Susan Robson, 'T. Edmund Harvey MP for Leeds West 1910-1918' in Veronica O'Mara (ed) *Quakers and the First World War: Conscience and Courage from a Leeds Perspective* (York: Radius Publishing/Quacks Books 2018) pp 18-27.

<sup>83</sup> See chapter 5.

<sup>84</sup> Milligan typescript p.91/119

<sup>85</sup> Information from Michael Meadowcroft 30/6/22

<sup>86</sup> <https://www.rowntreesociety.org.uk/explore-rowntree-history/rowntree-a-z/barmoor/> Accessed 24/01/2023.

<sup>87</sup> Probate record accessed online 29/04/2022

<sup>88</sup> Probate record accessed online 29/04/2022

Another element in the typology of Harvey as gentleman-parliamentarian was his Quaker identity. Quakers in the House of Commons of 1910 included his brother-in-law, Arnold Stephenson Rowntree and several others.<sup>89</sup> A shared Quaker identity did not lead to agreement on all points. As we have seen, Arnold Rowntree admired Harvey and they were close on most issues but Rowntree supported the Union of Democratic Control. Another Quaker in the House of Commons at the time, J. Howard Whitehouse, remained a PPS into the First World War, unlike Harvey who resigned on its outbreak.<sup>90</sup> Harvey and Whitehouse stayed in touch through the Guild of St George, Whitehouse being, according to Stuart Eagles, 'Ruskin's true disciple'.<sup>91</sup> In addition, the two men cooperated on a book about educational demographics, which Harvey raised in a parliamentary question in 1943.<sup>92</sup> Percy Alden is mentioned in earlier chapters because he and Harvey shared an interest in the university settlement movement and in state intervention on behalf of the unemployed.<sup>93</sup> The case of Percy Alden, the son of a master butcher who with the encouragement of T. H. Green went to Oxford University, counters over-generalising about the elite composition of Quaker parliamentarians. In addition to Quakers in the Commons of 1910, Harvey had Liberal fellow-MPs who were nonconformists of various stripes. One was Silvester Horne, congregational minister and editor of the series to which Harvey contributed *The Rise of the Quakers*. He was theologically

---

<sup>89</sup> See appendix 4

<sup>90</sup> Dearden, J., 'Whitehouse, (John) Howard (1873–1955), educational reformer and Ruskinian' (Oxford Dictionary of National Biography 2004)

<sup>91</sup> Stuart Eagles, *After Ruskin: The Social and Political Legacies of a Victorian Prophet 1870-1920* (Oxford UP 2011) chapter 6

<sup>92</sup> J. Howard Whitehouse, *The school base* with an introduction by T. Edmund Harvey (London : Oxford university press, H. Milford, 1943).

HC Deb 04 February 1943 vol 386 cc 1054-5

<sup>93</sup> Nicholas A. Loizou, 'Before New Liberalism: The Continuity of Radical Dissent, 1867 – 1914' (A thesis submitted to the University of Manchester for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, 2019) Chapter 5.2



evangelical and unlike Harvey opposed to the Balfour Act. Thus it may be said truthfully that Harvey was in some ways typical of his 1910 peer group and in some ways not.

### The civic volunteer

A further element in the typology of Harvey was that of the civic volunteer. Harvey, his parents and grandparents exemplify how the Quaker civic volunteer gradually changed from the conspicuously Christian, moralistic philanthropist of mid-to-late Victorian times to a quieter form of community worker of the middle of the twentieth century. As Jose Harris says, in late Victorian and Edwardian times religion continued to play an important part in politics, society and culture but outside certain specific sectarian contexts it was more as an individual, pluralistic and private force and less a collective one.<sup>94</sup> By 'certain specific sectarian contexts' Harris means the opposition of leading nonconformists like Horne to the Balfour Act which, as Glaser says, was the last gasp of political nonconformism.<sup>95</sup> Thomas Kennedy writes similarly to Harris of how the leaders of the Quaker Renaissance 'sank Quaker philanthropy as well as Quaker evangelicalism in the apparently cleansing waters of modernity.'<sup>96</sup> Elizabeth Isichei puts it less colourfully saying that in the late Victorian and Edwardian period a 'quiet revolution' took place in Friends' attitude to traditional philanthropy though the underlying motivation remained the same. She goes on that 'The channels through which the Quaker social conscience acted were changing,

---

<sup>94</sup> Jose Harris, *Private Lives, Public Spirit: A Social History of Britain, 1870–1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993; London: Penguin Books 1994) chapter 6.

<sup>95</sup> John F. Glaser, 'English nonconformity and the decline of liberalism.' *The American Historical Review* 63, no. 2 (1958): 352-363.

D.W. Bebbington, *The Nonconformist Conscience: Chapel and politics 1870-1914* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1982)

<sup>96</sup> Thomas C. Kennedy *British Quakerism 1860-1920* (Oxford University Press 2001) p. 274

though the vigour and sensitivity of that conscience remained.<sup>97</sup> The history of Harvey and his family exemplify Isichei's proposition that a quiet revolution took place in Friends' attitude to philanthropy. His paternal grandmother, Sarah Grace Fryer, had been a temperance campaigner, a typical mid-Victorian concern, and wrote an account of her husband's life and religious travels.<sup>98</sup> Harvey's mother, Anna Maria Whiting, gave Quaker service in the Franco-Prussian War, setting a precedent for her son's wartime service on the continent.<sup>99</sup> She also helped found and run the Headingley Orphan Homes, which Harvey and Irene took over.<sup>100</sup> His father, William, was a local leader of the adult school movement, an important cause for mid-to-late Victorian Quakers, and founded the Swarthmore Settlement in Leeds, from which Harvey drew teachers for the adult education classes in Armley gaol.<sup>101</sup> Harvey was similarly engaged with the Westminster adult school when at Chalfont House. Harvey's career in Toynbee Hall, as set out in chapter 2, shows a further stage in the development of Christian voluntarism such as Harvey himself foresaw. In the article of 1908 which was framed in terms of Greek and Christian citizenship, he called for the civic volunteer to turn to new work as political and social circumstances changed.<sup>102</sup> He followed his own advice. As we have seen in chapter 2, Harvey pursued the progressive vision of the founder of Toynbee Hall, running the settlement as a community centre, think-tank and supplier of experts to a variety of public and

---

<sup>97</sup> Elizabeth Isichei, *Victorian Quakers* p. 257.

<sup>98</sup> Sarah G. Harvey, *Memorials of Thomas Harvey: compiled from a short autobiography, and from his own writings and letters* (Leeds: Privately printed, 1886)

<sup>99</sup> Journals and letters relating to Anna Maria Whiting's Quaker service in France in 1871, with other materials relating to the Whiting family of Leeds: Special collections, Leeds University Library

<sup>100</sup> *Leeds Mercury* - Wednesday 14 September 1927 p.7

<http://www.childrenshomes.org.uk/HeadingleyOrphanHomes/> accessed 14 February 2023

<sup>101</sup> Tom Steele, *Swarthmore's Century: A Leeds Experiment in Adult Education 1909-2009* (Leeds: Swarthmore Educational Centre, 2009)

Mark K. Smith, 'Settlements and adult education.' *Settlements, Social Change and Community Action: Good Neighbours* (2001): 123-51.

<sup>102</sup> 'The Civic Volunteer', *The Nation* 29 August 1908 pp 761-62

independent bodies. Harvey brought with him to Toynbee Hall some aspects of the work of Chalfont House but he went more widely as befitted the bigger and more prestigious institution. He hosted Smoking Debates, was a governor – or manager, as they were then called – of local schools, was a local councillor and, with other gentlemen-residents of Toynbee Hall, held voluntary positions in various public and semi-public agencies. Harvey's career after Toynbee Hall further demonstrated the evolution of the civic volunteer. As we have seen in chapter 6, he became one of the first of the new breed of prison visitor instituted in 1921, work which he was to carry on for the next thirty years. It is evident from Harvey's career that the spirit of the Christian civic volunteer was not disinherited, to use Prochaska's phrase, but evolved, giving ground to professionals and the state while seeking out new areas of endeavour.<sup>103</sup>

Harvey did not totally abandon the traditional moralistic concerns of his forebears like Sarah Grace Harvey. A balancing feature of Isichei's 'quiet revolution', as Jose Harris also points out, was that the public aspects of Victorian faith-based charity receded, becoming more of a private matter and less of a major social cause.<sup>104</sup> In so far as he identified with his family's mid-Victorian concerns it was in a muted commitment to temperance, vegetarianism and animal rights. He was a total abstainer from alcohol – but not tobacco – although was never aggressive on the subject and realised that abstinence was a bar to sociability.<sup>105</sup> He contributed an

---

<sup>103</sup> Frank Prochaska, *Christianity and Social Service in Modern Britain: The Disinherited Spirit* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008)

<sup>104</sup> Elizabeth Isichei, *Victorian Quakers* p. 257

Jose Harris, *Private Lives, Public Spirit: A Social History of Britain, 1870–1914* chapter 6.iii

<sup>105</sup> Milligan typescript p.23/119. Quaker Faith & Practice 5<sup>th</sup> edition 20.39

introduction to a temperance pamphlet of 1912.<sup>106</sup> His 1922 election address to the voters of Dewsbury mentioned disapproval of drink without proposing any restrictive policy.<sup>107</sup> As late as 1931 he wrote a pamphlet for the Friends Temperance Union attacking the notion of moderate indulgence, extolling total abstinence and lamenting Charles Masterman's death from substance abuse.

I can think of one whom I looked up to with affection and admiration, a man who cared greatly for those who most needed help; with high ideals and a burning indignation against wrong; gifted with the power of stirring men's hearts by speech and written word. He died in what should have been his prime, and his prime, alas, was already past.<sup>108</sup>

Harvey's vegetarianism was a family practice and gave rise to difficulties. For example, he wrote to his father from Oxford about tea with the diarist Fanny Duberley, 'Specially prepared tomato sandwiches at Miss Duberley. I don't know if it will always be so easy to be a vegetarian away from home, especially at dinners.'<sup>109</sup> His interest in animal rights is reflected in letters to the regional press opposing visiting circuses and rodeos.<sup>110</sup>

### The veteran parliamentarian

If Harvey was of a certain but evolving type of liberal philanthrope, by electoral happenstance he was able to represent this social type in the parliament of the Second World War. Harvey as a veteran independent MP was a somewhat isolated figure in Parliament and his time there was quieter than it had been in the First World

---

<sup>106</sup> J. W. Harvey Theobald and A. F. Harvey, *A problem of the centuries and some palliatives of to-day, being a study in counter attractions* (with a foreword by T. Edmund Harvey: London: Friends Temperance Union ; Church of England Temperance Society Publications Depot, [1912] The two other Harveys were not relatives.

<sup>107</sup> Press cuttings of Harvey's electoral activities in the Parliamentary Borough of Dewsbury in the General election of 1922 Box V1/3 Library of the Society of Friends

<sup>108</sup> *Moderation or Abstinence: An Address given at the Mount Street Friends' Meeting-House, Manchester 1931* (London: Friends Book Centre; Friends Temperance Union, 1931) p. 10

<sup>109</sup> TEH to WH Oxford 1 November 1896

<sup>110</sup> *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer* - Saturday 04 October 1924 p.10  
*Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer* - Saturday 04 April 1925 p.13

War. He was in his sixties and was of a type and generation that was passing. He no longer had the Liberal Radicals beside him on the backbenches, and the Liberals had given place to Labour as the second party. He had no official position such as he had had on the Pelham Committee. When Churchill's wartime coalition government replaced Chamberlain's national government in May 1940, Harvey was faced with proletarian Labour ministers like Ernest Bevin and Ellen Wilkinson. As we have seen in chapter 7, there were Quakers in the House of Commons in Harvey's third term but he marked out only Rhys John Davies.<sup>111</sup> His isolation was reduced by fellow MPs who though not Quakers had a similar social background. For example, there was his partner MP for the Combined English Universities, Eleanor Rathbone, who like him was an independent and supporter of the Next Five Years' Group. She was no pacifist but the two worked for refugees and shared a platform on one occasion, to talk to Leeds university students about conscription in his case and family allowance in hers.<sup>112</sup> Harvey was on good terms with the Secretary of State for India, Leo Amery, a Conservative, fellow Oxford classicist and one of the sixteen who had been an MP in the earlier war. Of the other MPs who were with Harvey in the House of Commons in the First World War and again in the Second, the best known are Winston Churchill and Lloyd George.<sup>113</sup> In 1938 Harvey considered their bellicosity made them 'the most dangerous public men'.<sup>114</sup> Harvey had never been for Lloyd George and had mixed feelings about Churchill. We have seen in chapter 7 how in November 1940 he found 'Churchill withstanding strain of premiership splendidly;

---

<sup>111</sup> See Appendix 4 for Quakers and pacifists in the House of Commons in the two World War.

<sup>112</sup> TEH to family 6 March 1942

<sup>113</sup> The full sixteen are: Sir William Allen, Leo Amery, Lord Hugh Cecil, Winston Churchill, J. R. Clynes, Sir George Courthope, H. P. Croft, T. Edmund Harvey, Sir Samuel Hoare, Austin Hopkinson, Henry Haydn Jones, George Lambert, David Lloyd George, Sir Hugh O'Neill, Will Thorne, Earl Winterton (Information from Michael Meadowcroft, 16 June 2020)

<sup>114</sup> TEH to AIH House of Commons 14 June 1938

Beautiful memorial speech on death of Chamberlain.<sup>115</sup> At the war's close he hoped 'Churchill's magnanimous side will be shown when military victory is considered to be attained.'<sup>116</sup> As for Harvey's parliamentary work, as argued above, he spoke on a wide range of issues, many of which represented continuity with his earlier terms in Parliament and reflected post-Victorian values. He supported the coalition government's measures, such as the Town and Country Planning Act, which chimed with those of the Next Five Years' Group and looked ahead to post-war developments. The Act, with one of its purposes being conservation and preventing ugly urban sprawl, reflected a continuing if unexpressed Ruskinian influence on the legislature which must have been appreciated by the Master of the Guild of St George. Similarly, the Ruskinian and Greenian in Harvey may be seen in the parliamentary debate on the relationship between ethics, Christianity and the state which accompanied the passage of the Butler Education Act.<sup>117</sup>

### No loss of hope

Harvey is evidence to support Pedersen and Mandler's rejection of a sharp distinction between Victorianism and post-Victorianism.<sup>118</sup> Harvey exemplifies how the power of religion remained real but became increasingly confined to the private sphere with the pluralism of the post-Victorian intelligentsia, in contradiction of the Bebbington thesis about the continuing influence of public nonconformism. In Harvey's case this pluralism was mixture of Quakerism, Christian catholicity and English liberalism. Harvey exemplifies the elitism of the public moralists which, as

---

<sup>115</sup> TEH to David H. H. Belloch, House of Commons 19 November 1940

<sup>116</sup> TEH to family 13 April 1945

<sup>117</sup> See chapter 7

<sup>118</sup> Susan Pedersen and Peter Mandler *After the Victorians: Private Conscience and Public Duty in Modern Britain*

Julia Stapleton argues, was particularly evidenced by the brotherhood of Oxford classicists.<sup>119</sup> A more problematic contention in the literature is Brian Phillips' claim that the First World War made an end to earlier optimism and that the establishment lost hope in the 1920s.<sup>120</sup> Evidence from Harvey does not bear this out. It is true that his words to the All Friends' Conference of 1920 were of a solemn collective responsibility for the war that had just concluded but he also enjoyed the Conference's 'deep sense of unity.'<sup>121</sup> The overall tone of the Conference was positive and marked the beginning of the ascendancy of liberalism in the Anglo-American Quaker domain, to which Harvey contributed.<sup>122</sup> The decade of the 1920s was for him one of positivity and accomplishment. His 1921 Swarthmore Lecture argued for human progress in the light of Christian hope, in contradiction of Phillips' contention about the loss of hope. He went on fruitful Quaker missions to Eastern Europe, the US and the Ruhr. He pursued a parliamentary career and was an MP again in 1923–24. As a member of the League of Nations Union he upheld diplomatic efforts in the 1920s aimed at securing lasting peace in Europe. With paradoxical self-deprecation and self-assurance he mocked himself in *Stolen Aureoles*. If there was a loss of confidence amongst members of the post-Victorian British political class such as Harvey it began not immediately after the First World War – in which, it needs to be remembered, Britain and its allies were victorious, albeit at great cost – but in the 1930s when the League of Nations broke down, another world war was portended by the rise of the dictators and the British retreat from Empire was presaged by turmoil

---

<sup>119</sup> Julia Stapleton, 'Political thought, elites, and the state in modern Britain.' *Historical Journal* 42, no. 1 (1999) pp 251-268.

<sup>120</sup> See chapter 1. Brian Phillips, 'The Loss of Hope: England and its Establishment in the 20th Century,' in Pink Dandelion and others, *Towards Tragedy, Reclaiming Hope* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004)

<sup>121</sup> TEH to WH and AMH 21 August 1920

<sup>122</sup> See chapter 5

in India and Palestine. Even then and despite these vicissitudes, Harvey 'remained content to do his good work quietly.'<sup>123</sup> In the 1940s, in the depths of the Second World War and in the face of terrible new weapons, he persevered with his public, religious and charitable endeavours. Harvey's life contradicts facile propositions about generational despair. Rather, despite Phillips and to quote Pope's cliché, it shows that 'Hope springs eternal in the human breast'.

#### 4. His place in history

##### Introduction

This section considers Harvey's place in history. It does so firstly in the context of the history of the Society of Friends, Thomas Kennedy's claim about the status in the Society of former prisoners for conscience, and by comparison with John Bright. Secondly, Harvey's moral character is considered. If he was not a saint in politics, notwithstanding Josiah C. Wedgwood's claim, there are grounds for considering him a politician of conscience comparable with two contemporaries to whom the epithet has been applied: Edward Lee Hicks and Eleanor Rathbone. Thirdly, Harvey is considered against the unfavourable epithet of appeaser.

##### His place in the history of the Society of Friends

Harvey's place in the history of the Society of Friends may be considered firstly, in comparison with his contemporaries. Harvey's devotion to the Society and the esteem in which he was held goes against Thomas Kennedy's claim that in the interwar period loathing over the results of the Great War and fear about the onset of an even greater catastrophe established the moral superiority of former Quaker

---

<sup>123</sup> Wilfrid Allott, *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer* – Wednesday 04 May 1955 p.7



prisoners of conscience.<sup>124</sup> On the contrary, Harvey's career reveals the influence in the Society of the middle-of-the-road, post-Victorian liberal. Harvey's appointments to, and achievements in, international work during and after the First World War show that, however much some Friends may have seen him as a compromiser with the wartime state, he was not regarded as unworthy by British Quakers and certainly not by American ones. As evidence we have his appointment as leader of the relief work in France throughout the war and the praise he earned for his role from Henry Scattergood.<sup>125</sup> He was the choice of British Quakers to continue into peacetime the collaboration with the Americans on relief work. He was appointed London Yearly Meeting's emissary to the historic Richmond conferences of 1922, which paradoxically by being an apparent success for the proponents of the evangelical Richmond Declaration marked the historic turn to liberalism in Anglo-American Quakerism, decisively helped by Harvey's Friendly bearing and inclusive manner. The 'ever ready' Harvey was sent ahead of the rest of the Quaker party to the Ruhr in March 1923. As well as these acts of international service Harvey had an almost continuous record as a committee man and administrator at home, starting in 1897 when he was nominated to the learning committee at the Scarborough summer school. He was appointed chairman of the Friends' Service Committee in 1920 and was a member of Meeting for Sufferings virtually continuously from 1928 onwards. During the Second World War though he came under attack from the left he was protected by Alfred W. Braithwaite, clerk of the Yearly Meeting committee on conscription. His remarks about Theodore Harris show that Harvey, for one, did not

---

<sup>124</sup> Thomas C. Kennedy *British Quakerism 1860-1920* (Oxford University Press 2001) p. 430

<sup>125</sup> Rufus M Jones, *A Service of Love in War Time - American Friends Relief Work in Europe, 1917-1919* (New York: Macmillan 1920)

expect to find anarchists amongst Quakers of his day, suggesting that his non-radical political views remained representative of many in the Society. That his good standing with the Quakers was life-long is shown by the message from Meeting for Sufferings in his dying months in 1954, that Friends were 'united in their warm appreciation of his wisdom and love and in expressing their deep affection for him.'<sup>126</sup> He responded, 'I do especially miss Meeting for Sufferings.'<sup>127</sup> Furthermore, as we have seen, after his death Britain Yearly Meeting made plans for a biography, yet more proof of his reputation.<sup>128</sup>

Harvey's place in the history of the Society of Friends may be considered, secondly, in comparison with John Bright, the pre-eminent Quaker parliamentarian of the nineteenth century. The comparison was drawn in Harvey's own lifetime, at least to the extent of oratory, by John William Graham.<sup>129</sup> They were also comparable in terms of their periods as MPs, Bright being an MP for a total of 18 years, Harvey for 17. Bright's public life, stretching from the local church rate battles of the mid-1830s to the Home Rule crisis fifty years later was, according to Miles Taylor, a distillation of all that was brilliant and complex in nineteenth-century British radicalism.<sup>130</sup> It contrasts with Harvey's steady New Liberalism and pacifism. For example, Bright was inconsistent as regards the Quaker testimony to peace. Taylor points out he called the Crimean War a crime and a blunder but campaigned for the Union in the American Civil War and celebrated its victory.<sup>131</sup> He resigned from Gladstone's government over the bombardment of Alexandria but he based his opposition on its

---

<sup>126</sup> *The Friend* 10 September 1954

<sup>127</sup> Harvey to Will Richmond, 3 October 1954

<sup>128</sup> See introductory chapter

<sup>129</sup> John William Graham, *Conscription and Conscience: A History 1916-1919* (London: George Allen & Unwin 1922) p.55

<sup>130</sup> Miles Taylor, 'Bright, John (1811–1889), politician.' (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 2004)

<sup>131</sup> Miles Taylor, 'Bright, John (1811–1889), politician'

merits and not on pacifism alone. As regards India, Bright denounced the East India Company, and supported its dissolution and replacement by the British Crown. In this respect the two men's views were similar, since Harvey supported British governmental rule of India, but Bright was pessimistic about India's future while Harvey hoped for a peaceful constitutional settlement of a united country – although in vain, as it turned out. Bright's refusal to support Home Rule for Ireland in 1886 was an individual protest against what he saw as surrender to the threat of violence, thus showing, according to Keith Robbins, that he was not immune from the passions of his own times.<sup>132</sup> In Harvey's case he never let his dismay at the Indian Congress party's campaigns of civil disobedience detract from his belief in the principle of self-rule for India within the Commonwealth. As for their shared religion, Bright's Quakerism was complicated and, rather than providing him with a public vocation as it did Harvey, often served to remind him of a private world he had forsaken.<sup>133</sup> This, at least is the view of Miles Taylor, influenced by G. M. Trevelyan's biography of Bright, which Harvey disliked because he believed it neglected the religious source of Bright's strength.<sup>134</sup> Harvey may have been right. For example, opposition to capital punishment was always one of Bright's most deeply held convictions. He braved what he termed the 'dodges and shuffles' of 'overprudent Friends' at Yearly Meeting gathering in 1847 on the subject, convinced that 'Friends could do more than any other body'.<sup>135</sup> This is an instance of Bright's frustration with Friends' political quietism, a position they had abandoned by Harvey's time. The end of political quietism accompanying the Quaker Renaissance meant that Harvey, in contrast to

---

<sup>132</sup> Keith Robbins *John Bright* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul 1979) p. 253

<sup>133</sup> Miles Taylor, 'Bright, John (1811–1889), politician.'

<sup>134</sup> T. Edmund Harvey, Review of 'The Life of John Bright by G. M. Trevelyan (Constable London 1913)' *Friends Quarterly Examiner* 47 (1913) pp 428-438

<sup>135</sup> Keith Robbins *John Bright* pp. 173-4

Bright and whether in Parliament or not, was continuously at the centre of the Society carrying out domestic and international service in its name as well as teaching and writing. Thus comparisons between Bright and Harvey are difficult. Their lives overlapped, Harvey being 14 when Bright died in 1889, but their times and the individuals were very different. Bright is the more notable historical figure and the greater object of study but Harvey was the happier Quaker.

### His place as a politician of conscience

Having established Harvey as an important figure in the history of the Society of Friends, comparable with, if different from, John Bright, we turn to another aspect of Harvey argued for in this dissertation, that he was a politician of conscience. This means, as we have seen in chapter 1, he was a person engaged in politics and compelled by an inner urge to act upon an enduring sense of elevated moral seriousness. Harvey's high character was recognised in his day. We have seen in chapter 2 how what Henry Stanley Newman called his 'exceptional spirit' was commended by his elders.<sup>136</sup> In the context of Harvey's de-selection from the constituency of West Leeds, George Ratcliffe, the leading local Liberal, called Harvey 'one of the most upright men I think I ever met.'<sup>137</sup> Harvey's rectitude was recognised by his parliamentary contemporaries. For example, as we have seen, following his speech against conscription in 1939 Peter Thorneycroft, a military man, praised his sincerity.<sup>138</sup> Josiah Wedgwood went as far as calling him a saint in politics. This arose in 1936 when, as mentioned in chapter 1, Wedgwood, who was preparing a history of Parliament in his time, sent questionnaires to MPs who had served in the

---

<sup>136</sup> H. S. Newman to T. Edmund Harvey, 5 October 1903; letter in my possession

<sup>137</sup> George Ratcliffe, *Sixty Years of It* (A. Brown & Son Ltd, London & Hull 1935) p.165.

<sup>138</sup> Military Training Bill HC Deb 04 May 1939 vol 346 cc2081

period 1885–1916 to gain personal reflections on their experiences.<sup>139</sup> From the replies he wrote short biographies of the men and the few women, which he showed to each in draft. Wedgwood said of Harvey, ‘Once in the House he did all that a Quaker should, or more than all. He cared for the rights of the Africans and the poor; he stood in war for peace; all social reform was his province.’<sup>140</sup> Harvey sought the removal of the two final sentences from Wedgwood’s text, which read “Ted” Harvey was the nearest approach to completely unselfish sainthood that we had in the House in this period. He was too gentle.<sup>141</sup> Harvey replied enclosing the two sentences in square brackets, saying, ‘The penultimate sentence[s] made me ashamed, for I know how ill it is deserved and I hope you will leave it out.’<sup>142</sup> This is an instance of his humility which we have discussed at the end of chapter 8.

If a claim for Harvey’s sainthood is too extravagant for an academic dissertation, the argument for Harvey as a politician of conscience can be made by considering him against four characteristics of such a politician, which are:

1. a willingness to sacrifice one's own career in making a stand on an issue of principle;
2. a willingness to challenge party policy and discipline on issues of principle;
3. a willingness to make a stand on issues which are unpopular with the general public and lead to harsh press criticism;

---

<sup>139</sup> <https://thehistoryofparliament.wordpress.com/2013/01/25/colonel-josiah-wedgwoods-questionnaires-an-introduction/>

<sup>140</sup> Priscilla Baines, *Colonel Josiah Wedgwood's Questionnaire: Members of Parliament, 1885–1918*. (Chichester, West Sussex : Wiley-Blackwell for The Parliamentary History Yearbook Trust and The History of Parliament Trust, 2012). The text of Wedgwood’s brief biography of Harvey is in Appendix 3

<sup>141</sup> Priscilla Baines, *Colonel Josiah Wedgwood's Questionnaire: Members of Parliament, 1885–1918*.

<sup>142</sup> Harvey to Wedgwood 8 March 1937.

Priscilla Baines, *Colonel Josiah Wedgwood's Questionnaire: Members of Parliament, 1885–1918*. p.113

4. a tendency to be guided by a compelling moral or religious principle when difficult choices have to be made.<sup>143</sup>

Harvey may fairly be regarded as a 'politician of conscience' in terms of all four criteria. In the case of the first criterion – willingness to sacrifice one's career on an issue of principle – it has been shown in chapter 3 that in the First World War he did this twice, when he resigned as a PPS and when he committed the career-limiting act of campaigning at the Stockton by-election on behalf of a peace candidate, Edward Backhouse. As for the second criterion – a willingness to challenge party policy on issues of principle – this is not an overwhelming factor. The main evidence for his meeting this criterion is his speech to Parliament against the impending war on 3 August 1914 and his simultaneous resignation as a PPS.<sup>144</sup> He was by no means, however, a persistent rebel. He raised issues such as the Masai when he was a backbencher but as single-issue campaigns and not matters of conscience. He did not challenge Liberal party policy when he was MP for Dewsbury 1923–24, but circumstances were different then, with the Liberals being in opposition. The question of his defying the party whip could not occur in his third term in Parliament, 1937–45, when he was independent of party affiliation. As for the third criterion – willingness to accept unpopularity – chapter 3 shows how in the First World War he made a stand on issues of peace and conscientious objection which was unpopular with his constituency association and led to his de-selection. He was also attacked by the press, although there was only one episode of this, that of *The Globe* of 10 May 1916, as described in chapter 3. Harvey generally escaped popular censure in the First World War because of his moderation which, also as explained in chapter 3,

---

<sup>143</sup> Advice from Hugh McLeod 13 Aug 2021

<sup>144</sup> See chapter 3

earned him the commendations of a government minister, Walter Long, and a senior army officer, General Nevil Macready. In addition, he was a less prominent supporter of conscientious objection than those in the No-Conscription Fellowship, who were the main target of the ire of popular opinion in the First World War. By the Second World War, the principle of exemption for conscientious objectors had been established, though conscientious objectors themselves were no less unpopular.<sup>145</sup> Again, Harvey escaped popular attack for upholding their cause and, indeed, as we have seen in the case of Peter Thorneycroft, earned praise for his sincerity in doing so. In addition, he again had a good relationship with the political establishment, or at least with parts of it. As we have seen, he was simpatico with the Commissioner for the Metropolitan Police but not Labour ministers of the coalition government. He came under attack not from pro-war popular opinion but from the war-resisters of the Independent Labour Party. Thus by the third criterion, which is a willingness to make a stand on issues which are unpopular with the general public and lead to harsh press criticism, he may be judged a politician of an anti-war conscience albeit of a quiet and moderate kind. The fourth criterion for a politician of conscience is the tendency to be guided by moral or religious principle when difficult political choices have to be made, and it is under this head that Harvey scores well because of his lifelong, deeply discerned and unwavering commitment to the Quaker peace testimony and other values, as discussed earlier in this chapter and in chapter 8.

As a politician of conscience Harvey may be compared with two others to whom the phrase has been applied, who are Edward Lee Hicks and Eleanor

---

<sup>145</sup> Juliet Gardiner, 'Prisoners of Conscience' *History Today*, 54, 11 (Nov 2004) p. 32 ff

Rathbone.<sup>146</sup> Edward Hicks is a reminder of the party-political divisions within the established Church in late Victorian and Edwardian times and how these could relate to patronage. Hicks' politics of conscience did not extend to witnessing against war, which he supported in August 1914.<sup>147</sup> In his case to call him a politician of conscience means only that he had strong opinions about social justice. This may be commendable but it is no more a matter of conscience than a Conservative churchman's equally firm conviction of *noblesse oblige* and the prosperous Christian's duty of charity. Eleanor Rathbone was a campaigning social democrat who urged collectivist solutions to the problems of deprivation and inequality. As an Independent she was free to pursue her convictions without deference to party, which was an argument for the existence of the university constituencies such as Rathbone represented, where independent candidates often found favour. This is a point that Harvey made in his election address of 1937.<sup>148</sup> That Rathbone used her parliamentary seat for the purpose for which it was available is commendable but does not of itself make her a politician of conscience. In Pedersen's account of Rathbone, conscience means little more than the freedom to act independently rather than follow party lines.

Harvey has a very good claim to be a politician of conscience in the deep sense of that phrase. Conscience is a matter of moral character not just political stance or independent-mindedness. In Harvey's case being a politician of conscience meant, firstly, having a well developed philosophical and theological position and,

---

<sup>146</sup> See chapter 1

<sup>147</sup> Neville, Graham. "Peace and War." In *Radical Churchman: Edward Lee Hicks and the New Liberalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998. Oxford Scholarship Online, 2011. doi: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198269779.003.0012.

<sup>148</sup> 'Mr. Harvey's Election Address: University M.P.s Should be Independent of Party Whips' *The Manchester Guardian* Mar 6, 1937 p. 19



secondly, living a practical ethics of service. This is best seen in his work for the right of conscientious objection, which he believed was a privilege which entailed an enhanced obligation of service to the state. In addition to his having what may be described as a philosophy of conscientious objection, his life's endeavours displayed a consistent application of principle and a willingness to make sacrifices to conscience if needs be, but tempered with pragmatism and a willingness to compromise and cooperate to achieve the ends which his pacifism and other values prescribed.

### Appeaser

If Harvey has an honourable place in history as a politician of conscience he has a less happy place as an appeaser, a term with continuing derogatory connotations.<sup>149</sup> As we know from what he tells us about the welcome MPs gave to the returning Chamberlain, Harvey was not unusual in supporting the Munich Agreement.<sup>150</sup> Indeed, the wish to seek a negotiated alternative to war was widespread across the political spectrum.<sup>151</sup> This was because there were no simple answers. There were three main possibilities.<sup>152</sup> The first was to say that the prospect of another war was so terrible that the government should have considered all options that might prevent it, especially as since up to September 1938 all of Hitler's provocations had at least some possible justification. For example, the Sudeten Germans were not well treated by the Czech government and probably most Austrians welcomed the union with Germany. This was Harvey's position. A second possible answer was to say that war

---

<sup>149</sup> Sidney Aster 'Appeasement: Before and After Revisionism' *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, 19:3 (2008) 443-480

<sup>150</sup> See chapter 5

<sup>151</sup> Jeremy Black, 'Munich' 31 January 2022 <https://historyreclaimed.co.uk/munich>

<sup>152</sup> Private information from Hugh McLeod, 18 May 2022

with Germany would come sooner or later, but that Britain was not yet ready and needed more time to rearm. This was irrelevant to Harvey who, as explained in this chapter, had it as a principle never to opine on military matters. A third answer to the dilemma posed by the Munich Agreement was to say that concessions of any kind would simply whet Hitler's appetite for more. Such pessimism had no appeal for Harvey, who expressed hope for peace even when war was under way. What is unusual about him was not his support for the Munich Agreement, which as we have said was widely shared by others, but that he was one of a few whose call for negotiations persisted not only after Hitler seized the rest of Czechoslovakia in March 1939, which was when Chamberlain realised he had been duped, but even after Britain declared war in September 1939. Harvey was one of the few liberals of conscience who did not endorse the national struggle as a just war, because for a Quaker the idea of a just war was a contradiction in terms, war always being unjust for its victims.<sup>153</sup>

It cannot be denied that Harvey was an arch-appeaser. With the rise of Hitler, he continued to see France as the main threat to peace. He urged appeasement, using the very word which has attracted such opprobrium, lamenting in Parliament in 1937, as we have seen in chapter 5, that 'the opportunities of appeasement have been passed by'.<sup>154</sup> In the same speech, as earlier, he blamed the Western powers and the Versailles Treaty for Germany's grievances and the deteriorating international situation. Stephen Norwood says of Quaker appeasers that they remained committed to the premises that wars and other serious conflicts between nations were the result of misunderstanding and that many of Germany's

---

<sup>153</sup> Michael Eliot Howard, *War and the Liberal Conscience* (London: Temple Smith 1978) p. 108.

<sup>154</sup> Debate On The Address, HC Deb 27 October 1937 Vol 328 cc187ff

grievances against the Western powers were justified.<sup>155</sup> This is largely true of Harvey though he eventually changed his mind about Hitler with the German invasion of Poland. He recognised this not as the result of a misunderstanding but as an act of calculated and deliberate aggression which, he vainly hoped, the German people would see as against their best interests. Yet this recognition did not prevent Harvey calling for a peace conference which necessarily would have recognised Hitler's conquests, not to mention those of Stalin. All that can be said in Harvey's defence is that he behaved consistently with his conviction that as a Quaker it was his religious duty always to speak and act for peace and never for war, regardless of reputation or the views of others.

### 5. Implications for further research

This section of the concluding chapter discusses the dissertation's implications for further research. We have shown that a centrist political liberalism remained a reality in the Religious Society of Friends in the first half of the twentieth century, represented by the respected figure of T. Edmund Harvey. He did not move to Labour, he did not support the *Foundations of a True Social Order* and he upheld rights-based, enlightened British imperialism. Though completely committed to the peace testimony he was not one of the radicals and erstwhile prisoners of conscience such as Wilfrid Littleboy who, Kennedy says, dominated the Society after the First World War. Instead he interpreted the peace testimony as necessitating quiet but unwavering opposition to war. A sequel is needed to Thomas Kennedy's book which takes the story beyond the end-date of 1920 and corrects his sense,

---

<sup>155</sup> Stephen H. Norwood, 'The Quakers' Dark Side: Appeasement, Ambivalence, and Antisemitism, 1933–1939', *National Resilience, Politics and Society* Volume 4 No. 1–2, 2022, pp. 11-49

noted by Dales, that uncompromising resistance to any call to fight was the heart of Quakerism, when for Harvey the true heart was ‘the upbuilding of the heavenly commonwealth upon earth’.<sup>156</sup> The sequel would take the account of British Quakers and Quakerism from 1920 through to 1940 and beyond, in which Harvey would be bound to figure. The sequel, or sequels, would deal with Harvey’s international missions in the 1920s, particularly the outstanding achievement in the Ruhr; the Conference on Christian Politics, Economics and Citizenship (COPEC) held in Birmingham, 5–12 April 1924, which H. G. Wood organised; Harvey’s and other Quakers’ involvement in the cause of Indian independence, which began in earnest in 1930; British Quakers’ interest in mandatory Palestine through the Palestine Watching Committee, set up in 1934; and the Friends World Conference of 1937 where Harvey gave his address on the rights and obligations of the conscientious objector. It would expand on Ceadel with detailed research into Quakers and the peace movement in the interwar period, which climaxed with the special conference on the Munich Agreement in November 1938.<sup>157</sup> It would similarly expand Andrew Rigby’s work.<sup>158</sup> It would critically examine Quakers’ work for refugees and their racial attitudes in the light of colonialism and antisemitism, noting Norwood.<sup>159</sup> Were the research go into the Second World War, the main theme would be the tussle between war-resisters and moderate pacifists like Harvey and H. G. Wood. In taking the story beyond 1945, there would be a need to consider the Society’s relationship

---

<sup>156</sup> Joanna C. Dales, ‘John William Graham (1859-1932): Quaker Apostle Of Progress’ (PhD thesis University of Birmingham 2016) p. 354

T. Edmund Harvey, ‘The Heart of Quakerism’ (Leeds: Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting of the Society of Friends 1923/1925)

<sup>157</sup> Martin Ceadel, ‘The Quaker Peace Testimony and its contribution to the British Peace Movement: An Overview’ *Quaker Studies* vol 7 no. 1 (2002)

<sup>158</sup> See bibliography

<sup>159</sup> Stephen H. Norwood, ‘The Quakers’ Dark Side: Appeasement, Ambivalence, and Antisemitism, 1933–1939’, *National Resilience, Politics and Society* Volume 4 No. 1–2, 2022, pp. 11-49

with other campaigners against nuclear weapons. This might entail uncomfortable questions about communist influence in the peace movement such as led Harvey to his untimely contribution to the *Daily Worker*. As for the theology, Harvey's contributions in that respect suggests that the period was one of consolidation and of the ascendancy of liberalism such as J. William Frost sees in the period 1920–1960.<sup>160</sup> Frost has little to say about liberalism amongst British Quakers, his remarks being confined to the US. There is a need to fill this gap and explore whether the ascendancy of British liberal Quakerism meant secularisation or spiritual growth. In that context there would be the possibility of exploring, and potentially countering, what Prochaska calls the disinheritance of the spirit and how far in the interwar period and beyond the religious spirit of service amongst Quakers remained real if increasingly inconspicuous.

### Chapter summary

The contention of this dissertation is that Harvey was a liberal Quaker, Quaker Liberal, and politician of conscience. He was a theologically liberal Quaker typical of the Quaker Renaissance at the end of the nineteenth century who helped the ascendancy of liberalism in Quakerism in the first half of the twentieth. At the same time, he represented continuity with the past of the Society of Friends and of the Christian church generally. Harvey's faith was a synthesis of a belief in personal freedom and Christian fellowship, an affection for Quaker and Christian traditions, and a cautious optimism about the possibility of moral progress. Aside from a passing interest in Labour in 1918, he followed his family's politics as a life-long

---

<sup>160</sup> J. William Frost 'Modernist and Liberal Quakers 1887-2010' in *Oxford Handbook of Quaker Studies*, edited by Stephen W Angell and Pink Dandelion (Oxford University Press 2013)

political Liberal, albeit an unaffiliated one when an Independent Progressive MP. He was a principled but pragmatic, middle-of-the-road politician and social reformer with a considered religious and moral basis to his activism which lent it a particular focus. The connection between his Quaker faith and his politics is seen in the three areas of social reform, human rights in British dependencies and elsewhere, and international peace and cooperation. Though he spoke out for disarmament when Britain was at peace, he was silent on the topic when Britain was at war. As a liberal Quaker and Quaker Liberal he represented the continuity of a socio-political type into the mid-twentieth century, this type being the ethically and strategically minded, socially and politically dutiful post-Victorian Christian gentleman and voluntary worker. As such, Harvey embodied the transition from the Victorian philanthropist to the mid-twentieth century community worker whose religious motivation was less conspicuous than that of previous generations. As for his place in the history of the Society of Friends, his career shows that Harvey, the liberal and alternative, had influence in the Society of Friends to balance that of the absolutists and radicals, and he played an important part in the ascendancy of liberal Quakerism in the Anglo-American domain. As a Quaker parliamentarian he ranks with, while differing in personality and context from, John Bright. He was a politician of conscience who compares well with others to whom the term has been applied, such as Eleanor Rathbone. Less happily he was an arch-appeaser, a reflection of his strict pacifism. This study of Harvey is a foundational contribution to the further study of the politics and religion of the Quakers in the first half of the twentieth century.

## Appendix 1: Books, articles and other printed works by T. Edmund Harvey

- 'The great refusal : the story of Saint Peter Celestine' *Friends Quarterly Examiner*, Vol. 36, No. 143, (Seventh Mo. 1902) p.385-406
- 'St Francis in History and the Life of Today from a Quaker standpoint', *Friends Quarterly Examiner*, Volume 38, Number 149 (First Month 1904) p.33-50
- Address by J. Allen Baker and T. Edmund Harvey, the progressive candidates for the ward of East Finsbury, London County Council election 5 March 1904
- 'An Ideal of Denominational Education'. Address given at the annual meeting of the York Old Scholars' Association 1905
- Poor Raoul, and other fables* (London: J. M. Dent & Co., 1905)
- The Rise of the Quakers* Volume V of 'Eras of Nonconformity' ed. Rev C. Silvester Horne (London: National Council of Evangelical Free Churches vols 1-XII)
- Christianity and the Working Classes* ed. George Haw (London: Macmillan 1906) p.199 ff.
- 'Our responsibilities towards the social problem' *Friends Quarterly Examiner* vol 40 no 160; (10<sup>th</sup> month 1906)
- 'A London Boy's Saturday' (Bournville, Birmingham: Saint George Press, 1907)
- 'The Church and The Prophet' (London: Headley Brothers 1907)<sup>1</sup>
- 'What is our duty as Friends in regard to social problems and service?' *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, Vol.41; no.162 ( Fourth Month 1907), p. 273-277
- 'The Catholicism of the Spirit' *Saint George* No. 42 vol xi (August 1908)<sup>2</sup>
- 'The Civic Volunteer', *The Nation* 29 August 1908 pp 761-62<sup>3</sup>
- 'The Story of a Strong Man, a story of St Christopher', in *The Fascinated Child, a volume of Talks with Boys and Girls* edited by Basil Mathews, M.A. (Jarrold & Sons 1909)<sup>4</sup>
- Towards Educational Peace: A Plan of Resettlement in English Elementary Education* Executive Committee of the Educational Settlement Committee, joint secretaries T. Edmund Harvey and Michael E. Sadler (London: Longmans 1910)
- 'Naboth's Vineyard' *The Nation* 8 July 1911 pp 528-529
- The Journal of George Fox* edited from the MSS by Norman Penney with an introduction by T. Edmund Harvey (Cambridge University Press, 1911)
- The Ryedale Guide* by Ernest E. Taylor with an introduction by T. Edmund Harvey (York: Yorkshire Gazette, 1912)
- A problem of the centuries and some palliatives of to-day, being a study in counter attractions* by J. W. Harvey Theobald and A. F. Harvey ; with a foreword by T.

---

<sup>1</sup> Early version of chapter 3 of *A Wayfarer's Faith*

<sup>2</sup> Early version of chapter 1 of *A Wayfarer's Faith*

<sup>3</sup> Appears anonymously but by Harvey: TEH to WH, Toynbee Hall, 6 September 1908

<sup>4</sup> Reprinted as Malton Leaflet no 22 (Hull: Burt Brothers 1915): see below

Edmund Harvey (London: Friends Temperance Union: Church of England Temperance Society Publications Depot, [1912])<sup>5</sup>

'The Deepening of Political Life' in *The religious aspects of the women's movement Being a series of addresses delivered at Meetings held at the Queen's Hall London on June 19, 1912* (The Collegium, temporary address 232 Evering Road Clapton London N)

*A Wayfarer's Faith: aspects of the common basis of religious life* (London, Wells Gardner, Darton & Co., [1913])

*A Guide to the Mental Deficiency Act, 1913* with a preface by T. Edmund Harvey, by John Wormald and Samuel Wormald (London: P. S. King & Son [1913])

'The Life of John Bright by G. M. Trevelyan' Book review *Friends Quarterly Examiner* vol 47 (1913) pp 428-438

'A Naboth's Vineyard – the sequel' *The Nation* 21/6/1913, Vol 13 pp 447-448

'John Woolman', Review of the edition of the journal of John Woolman by Amelia M. Gummere, *The Constructive Quarterly*, v. 2, no. 1, (March 1914) p. 224-240

*Robert Browning, 'Christmas Eve'* with notes and introduction by T. Edmund Harvey, series: Brother Richard's Bookshelf (London: J.M.Dent 1914)

'International Extortion in China' *The Contemporary Review*, January 1914 p. 316

'The Story of a Strong Man', Malton Leaflet no 22 (Hull: Burt Brothers, printers 1915)

'Behind the battle lines in France: the report of a month's work by a group of members of the mission' (London: War Victims' Relief Committee of the Society of Friends, ? October 1914)

'Scenes from Sermaize' 5 pp (Society of Friends War Victims Relief Committee, ? November 1914)

Rapport sur les travaux de la mission de la Société en France : de Novembre 1914 jusqu'à la fin de Juillet 1915. (Friends' War Victims' Relief Committee (London, England) Paris : Herbert Clarke [1915])

'School as a preparation for life' Presidential address at the Twentieth Annual Conference of the Friends' Guild of Teachers, London University, 5 January 1915, *Friends' Quarterly Examiner* Vol 49 1915 p87 ff

'Lucem Demonstrat Umbra', poem, *Free Church Suffrage Times* February 1916

'Question and Answer' *Spectator* 1916, March 4 p. 317.<sup>6</sup>

'*Handed-over: the prison experiences of Mr. J. Scott Duckers solicitor, of Chancery Lane, under the Military Service Act* written by himself ; with foreword by T. Edmund Harvey (London : C. W. Daniel Ltd, 1917)

*A not impossible religion* by Silvanus Phillips Thompson, with a preface by T. Edmund Harvey (London: John Lane, The Bodley Head 1918)

*The Long Pilgrimage: Human Progress in the Light of the Christian Hope*, the Swarthmore lecture (Woodbrooke Extension Committee; London: Robert Davis 1921)

---

<sup>5</sup> The two other Harveys were temperance campaigners but not close relatives

<sup>6</sup> Letter to the editor of *The Spectator* defending conscientious objection and citing John Woolman.



- Die lange pilgerfahrt: menschlicher fortschritt im lichte christlicher hoffnung* translated by von P. Baltzer (Berlin: Quäkerverlag [1921?])
- Stolen Aureoles: Legends now for the first time collected together* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1922)
- 'Records of Conscience: Review by T. Edmund Harvey of John W. Graham, 'Conscription and Conscience: A History 1916-1919' *Friends Quarterly Examiner* vol 223 (1922) pp 185-200.
- 'Christian Experience in the History of Friends' *The Friend* vol lxii/21, 26 May 1922<sup>7</sup>
- 'The Middle Wall [1922]' *Friends Quarterly* Vol 12 no. 2 April 1958 pp 61-67<sup>8</sup>
- Silence and Worship: a study in Quaker experience* (London: Swarthmore press, first published 1923, reissued 1925) 64 pp
- 'Through German Eyes' Review of Werner Picht: *England nach dem Krieg* [England after the war] (Josef Kosel & F.Puster, Munich) *The Friend* 28/9/1923 pp 748-749
- 'The liberal spirit' (*Weekly Westminster Gazette* 15 December 1923 )
- 'The Life of Sir William Harcourt' Review in two parts of A. G. Gardiner, 'The Life of Sir William Harcourt' (2 vols London: Constable 1923) *Friends Quarterly Examiner* vol 58 (1924) pp 64-89 and 146-168
- 'Foreign Policy in the New Parliament. View of the Five Quaker M.P.'s.' *The Friend* 1st Mo. (January), 1924, Vol. LXIV, No. 1 (4/1/1924) p. 7 ff
- 'Christ and War' *Western Daily Press* - Friday 01 August 1924 p.3<sup>9</sup>
- New appreciations of George Fox : a tercentenary collection of studies* foreword by J. Rendel Harris (London: Swarthmore Press, [1925])
- 'The next steps in educational reform' *The Contemporary Review* October 1925
- 'Lecture to Dublin Yearly Meeting' *The Friend* 28/5/26
- 'A Traveller's Glimpse of Mission Work in India' *The Baptist Layman* No. 86 October-December 1926 pp 99-106
- Review of Edward John Thompson, 'Rabindranath Tagore his life and work' (Association Press, YMCA, 1921) *The Friend* 10/12/26 pp 1105-7
- 'Quaker Language' (Friends Historical Society, Friends House London 1928)
- Along the Road of Prayer* (Friends Book Centre 1929) (48 pp)
- 'The Lost Sacrament', (London: Friends Book Centre 1930)<sup>10</sup>
- Pen Pictures of London Yearly Meeting 1789-1833: being extracts from the notes of Richard Cockin, James Jenkins and others.* Edited by Norman Penney ... With introduction by T. Edmund Harvey (London: Friends Historical Society, 1929-30)
- 'Justine Dalencourt' *The Friend* 10/1/1930 pp 25-26
- 'The Free Spirit' review of the monograph by Carl Heath, *The Friend* 16/5/1930 p. 419-420
- 'Our Advices and Queries', *The Wayfarer* Volume IX, no. 4 (May 1930)

<sup>7</sup> Review of Book of Discipline part 1

<sup>8</sup> Short hand record of ministry by Harvey to Five Years Meeting in America in 1922

<sup>9</sup> Syndicated press article Number 3 in a series 'The Creeds on Trial: An Inquiry into Religion and Modern Life'.

<sup>10</sup> Reprinted from *A Wayfarer's Faith*

- Moderation or Abstinence: An Address given at the Mount Street Friends' Meeting-House, Manchester* (London : Friends Book Centre; Friends Temperance Union, 1931)
- 'Goodness and God' (London : Friends' Book Centre 1932)<sup>11</sup>
- Saint Aelred of Rievaulx* (London: Allenson 1932)
- 'St Bernard' *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer* - Friday 21 October 1932 p.6
- 'Thomas Hodgkin' in *Great Christians* edited by R. S. Forman (London: Ivor Nicholson & Watson, 1933)
- Greetings card inscribed 'With good wishes from T. Edmund & A. Irene Harvey' with poem, 'The bells of Bethlehem' by T. E. Harvey, 1933.<sup>12</sup>
- 'Centenary of William Morris 1934: Vigorous Poet: Great Craftsman and Social Reformer' *Yorkshire Post & Leeds Intelligencer* 24 March 1934 p.10
- 'Authority and Freedom in the Experience of the Quakers', two lectures delivered at Jordans Summer School 1935 (Birmingham : Woodbrooke Extension Committee ; London : Friends' Home Service Committee, 1935)
- 'The Home Secretary's opportunity' *The Contemporary Review* London Vol. 152, (Jul 1, 1937) p. 668.
- 'The Christian Attitude to the Lawbreaker', Number 7 of a series 'Penal Reform in 1938', *The Friend*, 11 March 1938 pp 191-2
- 'Prison and penal reform' offprint from *Public Affairs* 1938 (London: Press of the Church of Saint Ethelburga the Virgin)
- 'The Divine Message' Birmingham: Woodbrooke Extension Committee; also *Friends' Quarterly Examiner* no 286 4<sup>th</sup> month 1938 pp174-184
- Children of light: in honor of Rufus M. Jones* edited by Howard H. Brinton. (New York: Macmillan, 1938)<sup>13</sup>
- 'The Christian Citizen and the State' (Friends Book Centre 1939) 23pp
- 'The Criminal Justice Bill' *Contemporary Review* January 1939
- The Christian Church and the Prisoner in English Experience: the Beckly Social Service Lecture* (London: The Epworth Press, 1941)
- 'Christian citizenship in the crisis of war' *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, Vol.75; no.299 (Seventh Mo. 1941), p. 212-220
- 'The Indian Prospect' Letters to the Editor: *Manchester Guardian* 5 August 1941
- 'Woodbrooke Past and future' *The Friend* 19 June 1942 p. 298
- Songs in the Night*, poems (Malvern: M. T. Stevens 1942)
- 'Songs in the Night', tract (The Woolman Series of Friendly Papers, Philadelphia 1942)
- 'The Divine Message', tract (The Woolman Series of Friendly Papers, Philadelphia 1942)

---

<sup>11</sup> Reprinted in *Workaday Saints* (1949) p. 87ff

<sup>12</sup> 1 folded sheet ([2] p.) ; 21 cm: ephemera in the Library of the Society of Friends

<sup>13</sup> The book opens with a sonnet to Rufus M. Jones by Harvey

- The school base* by J. Howard Whitehouse ... With an introduction by T. Edmund Harvey (London: Oxford University Press, H. Milford, 1943)
- 'The Swedish Example' [Proportional representation] *The Spectator*, Vol.171 Issue 6011 (1943)
- 'The Next General Election' *Sunday Times* 1 January 1945 [Letter to the press about Proportional Representation and electoral reform]
- 'Democratic Government in Eastern Europe' *The Contemporary Review* London Vol. 167, (Jan 1, 1945) p. 344 [Proportional representation in Greece and Poland]
- 'The Good Samaritan' Review of 'The Good Samaritan: Reflections on the Gospel and Work in the Red Cross' by Max Huber (Gollancz, 1945) *The Friend* 16 February 1945 p. 97
- 'A Month with "Secours Quaker"' *The Friend* 26 October 1945 p. 723-725
- 'The Young George Fox and Nathaniel Stephens' *Friends Quarterly Examiner* Vol 80 1946 pp 69-78
- 'Our Ministry since the cessation of recording' *Friends Quarterly*, Vol 80 1946 pp 187-192
- 'Concerning Missionary Service' Review of Horace Alexander's essay on Quakerism and India issued from Pendle Hill, *The Friend* 15 February 1946 p.129-131
- 'The conduct of Quaker funerals' (London : Society of Friends. London Yearly Meeting. Home Service Committee, [1946])
- 'The conduct of Quaker weddings' (London: Society of Friends. London Yearly Meeting. Home Service Committee, [1946])
- 'The Retreat' *Friend* Philadelphia, 20 June 1946 pp 405-406<sup>14</sup>
- Not only music, signora!* by Winifred Percival with a foreword by T. Edmund Harvey (Altrincham : John Sherratt and Son, [1947])
- 'What Christ means to me' *The Friend* 18 April 1947 pp 289-291
- 'Penal Reform' *The Contemporary Review* July 1 1947 p.172
- 'The Historian as Prophet' Review of Arnold Toynbee, A Study of History, *The Friend* 4 July 1947 p. 537
- 'Gulielma' Review of 'Gulielma: Wife of William Penn' by L. V. Hodgkin (Longmans 1947) *The Friend* vol 105 1947 p.605 ff
- Workaday Saints* (London: Bannisdale Press 1949)
- 'A Mother in Israel', review of *Margaret Fell Mother of Quakerism* by Isabel Ross (Longmans 1949) *Friends' Quarterly* Vol 3/3 July 1949 pp 182-189
- 'An Experiment in Adult Education in the City of Leeds 1909–1949' The Swarthmore Centre's 40<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Report, with an introduction by T. Edmund Harvey (1949)
- 'Thomas Shillitoe, 1754-1836. Some hitherto unpublished particulars' *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society* (London : Friends' Historical Society, [1950])
- 'Christians and the Election' *The Friend* 17 February 1950

---

<sup>14</sup> On the pioneering work by William Tuke in the humane care of the mentally ill

- 'Its existence increases fear', contribution to Peace Symposium calling for nuclear disarmament, *Daily Worker* Tuesday 27 June 1950
- 'Philadelphia Friends Seek a United "Discipline"' *The Friend* 7 September 1951
- 'Rufus Jones: Master Quaker' Review of David Hinshaw, *Rufus Jones, Master Quaker* (NY Putnam 1951) *Friends' Quarterly* *Friends quarterly*; Vol.5; no.4 (October 1951), p. 207-210
- 'Swarthmore Hall': restoration, *The Friend* Philadelphia 29 November 1951.
- 'Quaker worship : an introductory historical study of the English Friends' meeting' by Gladys Wilson ; with a foreword by T. Edmund Harvey (London: Bannisdale Press, [1952])
- 'The Living Message of a Great Teacher', Rufus Jones and an anthology of his work by H. E. Fosdick. *The Friend* 20 June 1952 p.513
- 'Abstinence' *The Friend* 24 October 1952 pp 939-940 <sup>15</sup>
- 'Looking Back' *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society* vol 45/2 Autumn 1953 pp 51-59
- 'A Courageous Christian in Public Life' Review of 'Henry Joseph Wilson: fighter for freedom, 1833-1914 by Mosa Anderson (Published James Clarke 1953) *The Friend* 4 December 1953
- 'H.J.Wilson and Indian Opium Policies' Letters to the editor *The Friend* 29 January 1954 p87-8

---

<sup>15</sup> Letter from Harvey alongside one from Kathleen Lonsdale recommending abstinence

## Appendix 2: Harvey's family

### Parents and uncles

Harvey's father, William (1848–1928) was the second child of Thomas Harvey (1812–84) and Sarah Grace Harvey (1813–94). An elder male child, Joseph, born at Leeds on 29 September 1846, died young of natural causes on 12 August 1852. A younger male child, Thomas, born at Leeds on 19 May 1850, died on 15 January 1867, drowned while skating in Regent's Park. The deaths of William's brothers had important financial consequences, because it meant that William (b.1848) became the sole heir of his wealthy uncle, Thomas's brother, William (1810-67), who was a bachelor and had prospered in linen manufacturing. Harvey in turn as the eldest son stood to inherit his great uncle's wealth via his own father, William. Harvey's mother was Anna Maria née Whiting (1851–1934).

### Siblings

Harvey had seven siblings who were:

- Mary Katherine 'May' (1876–1962) married Arnold Stephenson Rowntree. See Ian Packer (ed.), *The Letters of Arnold Stephenson Rowntree to Mary Katherine Rowntree, 1910-1918* (Cambridge University Press for the Royal Historical Society, 2002).
- Bernard born 30 August 1878 died 27 September 1878 aged 28 days. Harvey memorialises Bernard in 'The Two Children', a poem of eight stanzas which appears in his collection *Songs in the Night* (Malvern: M. T. Stevens 1942).
- Margaret (1881–1917) married Charles Ford (1879–1964) and died of natural causes.
- Helen Grace, 'Nell' (1882–1944) married Hugh Theodore Crosfield (1883–1944), Quaker tea merchant. They were killed by a V1 flying bomb on their home in Croydon on 15 November 1944.
- William Fryer (1885–1937) authored short stories in the macabre and horror genres, notably 'The Beast with Five Fingers', which was made into a Hollywood film in 1946. He wrote the childhood memoir, *We Were Seven*. In the First World War he served as a surgeon-lieutenant in the Royal Navy, and received the Albert Medal for rescuing a sailor from a burning ship, an act of heroism which damaged his lungs and may have cut short his life. In 1918 he married Margaret 'Meg' Muir Henderson (1898–1991), who gave the Swarthmore lecture, an annual series of Quaker lectures, in 1942. Their son was the sculptor Mark Harvey (1921–1988).<sup>1</sup>
- Philip (1887–1966) took the Natural Science tripos at Cambridge in 1908 and became a farmer at Burton-in-Lonsdale.
- John Wilfred (1889–1967) was professor of philosophy at Leeds University 1932–54. He married Phyllis Mabel Bishop on 2 September 1924. His papers are

---

<sup>1</sup> <https://www.artbiogs.co.uk/1/artists/harvey-mark> accessed 23/03/2023.

preserved in the Brotherton Library, Leeds. Harvey was close to William Fryer and John Wilfred and would send them letters on their birthdays, also in the Brotherton Library. Phyllis founded The Phyllis Harvey Horse And Donkey Trust.<sup>2</sup>

An error-strewn list of the Harvey siblings is on p.171 of Sandys Birket Foster, *The pedigrees of Jowitt, formerly of Churwell, Yorks, and now of Harehills, Leeds, and the families connected with them* (Printed for private circulation 1890).

### Spouse

Alice Irene Harvey née Thompson b. 27 August 1887 m. 18 July 1911 d. 3 December 1955. There was no issue of the marriage. She was the youngest of the three daughters of Silvanus P. Thompson (1851–1916).

---

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.hopepastures.org/> accessed 23/03/2023

## Appendix 3: Wedgwood Questionnaire

### Harvey's reply

Member's name: HARVEY T Edmund
Question 1: When did you first become interested in national politics? Why?
'1 & 2. I was brought up in a home where there was warm interest in national politics (from the Liberal standpoint) and in social reform, so that my interest dates from boyhood.'
Question 2: What influence started you on this line of thought?
See Q1
Question 3: What books formed your political views?
'I cannot name any special book. I was especially interested as a youth by Wm Morris's News from Nowhere & Blatchford's 'Merrie England' & attracted by the influence of the writings of T.H. Green.'
Question 4: What were your religious convictions?
'I came to share increasingly the Quaker view of life (being by birth a member of the Society of Friends).'
Question 5: What was then your favourite newspaper?
'I was not a great newspaper reader till I settled in London in 1900. Thereafter the Manchester Guardian has remained my choice among newspapers.'
Question 6: Why did you want to be an M.P.?
'6, 7, 11. I had no intention of taking up politics as a career but while (for 4 years) a member of the staff of the British Museum, I had occupied myself with social work, first at Toynbee Hall & then in Central London as Warden of a small Quaker settlement. I was stirred by an address from the Head of a Chicago settlement [Jane Addams] on the campaigns they had undertaken against municipal corruption and started an organisation to contest seats on the Holborn Borough Council (1903). In 1904 I was pressed by J. Allen Baker to contest along with him the E. Finsbury ward for the L.C.C. and resigned my position in the British Museum to do this. In 1907 I lost my seat by a small majority in the great wars of "Municipal Reform" reaction. In the mean time I had become in 1904 (Sept) Deputy Warden of Toynbee Hall & later a representative of the LCC on the Central (Unemployed) Body, to which I was at once coopted on losing my seat in the L.C.C. In 1909 I was elected to the Stepney Borough Council. Quite unexpectedly in the autumn of 1909 I received a request from the W.Leeds Liberal Association to become a candidate for Parliament in succession to Herbert Gladstone who was about to be appointed Governor General of S. Africa. In view of the crisis over the Budget and its then threatened rejection by the House of Lords, I decided that I must do what I could in support of what seemed to me a cause of the utmost importance. I accepted the invitation but the

preparations for the by-election were merged in the General election (Jan 1910) which ensued.'
Question 7: What or who first led you to think of it as a career?
See Q6
Question 8: What was your trade, profession or occupation?
'For four years on the staff of the British Museum (Library). From 1906 Warden of Toynbee Hall, but did not draw any salary.'
Question 9: Annual income, earned and unearned, when first you stood for Parliament?
'About £600 p.a. unearned income.'
Question 10: Had you experience of public work – if so, what?
'(See above). I was 3 years a member of the L.C.C. & its Education Committee about 6 years a member of the Central (Unemployed) Body, & chairman of the Employment Exchange Committee & also of one or two other committees and with (Sir) Michael E. Sadler was joint Hon. Sec. Of the Educational Settlement Committee which worked to secure a settlement of the religious controversy in regard to education.'
Question 11: How did you first get a seat?
See Q6
Question 12: What was your chief political interest?
'Social reform with a view to securing the minimum human standard of life for all: the protection of individual freedom & human rights in British dependencies & elsewhere: international peace & cooperation.'
Question 13: On what did you, in fact, concentrate most in Parliament?
'Social questions at home & (from 1917) penal reform especially rights of native races in the colonies, especially in E. Africa (Kenya). Maintenance of individual freedom: From 1915-18, when not engaged in Red Cross & reconstruction work in France, chiefly engaged in parliament opposing conscription, military & industrial;, & supporting the claims of conscience against the military machine, & in working for a peace by understanding.'
Question 14: What did it cost you then to contest? And how much yearly while M.P.?
'My impression is that my first election cost about £700. The expenses were borne by my father, with a contribution, I think of 350, from Lord Airedale, & no contribution from Liberal Headquarters. I contributed £100 yearly to the Leeds Liberal Federation towards organisation expenses & donations to the annual municipal election funds (say £20-£40), with subscriptions or donations to a few local efforts and clubs.'
Question 15: Who, at that time, was your ideal living British statesman, or dead statesman of any land?
'I had no ideal living statesman before my mind. Gladstone still had (& has) something of a halo about him!'



Question 16: How did Parliament modify your views?
'It helped me to appreciate better good elements in other parties than my own.'
Question 17: How did being an M.P. affect your earning capacity?
'My literary work has in large measure been unremunerative: I could perhaps have earned more as a Member of Parliament by occasional articles had that been my object, than if I had not been in the House, but did not often write in this way.'
Question 18: What did you enjoy most in Parliamentary life?
'I enjoyed many of the debates & the interplay of ideas & characters, friendship & comradeship in a great cause, and the working of the ordinary business of the House (not without some irritation at times). I was glad of the privilege of being able sometimes to help in exposing injustice or getting some improvement in the lot of some less fortunate people.'
Question 19: What did you dislike most, apart from getting re-elected?
'The waste of time in debates, and the lack of touch of the private member with the work of administration & the great Government departments, and too often also with the daily life and needs of the people. (This is my reflection on looking back today, perhaps at the time not so clearly or consciously present to my mind.)'
Question 20: Which speech did you think was your best?
'Perhaps either a speech made in the Conscription Bill in 1916 on moving an amendment to provide for conscientious objectors to military service or one at a later stage of the war on behalf of a peace of understanding.'
Question 21: What was the greatest speech that you remember hearing?
'Probably the speech of Lord Hugh Cecil opposing the withdrawal of voting rights from "conscientious objectors" (in 1918).'
Question 22: Did speeches affect your vote?
'Yes, but chiefly in committee: on major issues naturally more rarely.'
Question 23: What was your best piece of work?
'I cannot judge: perhaps the endeavour to defend the right of obscure individuals against oppression by the state or by powerful interests.'
Question 24: If you are no longer in Parliament, why did you leave?
'During the war I supported the candidature of a 'peace by negotiation (?)' candidate at the Stockton by-election & my association passed a resolution disapproving my action. I therefore wrote offering to resign my seat, but was asked to continue to represent W. Leeds for the remainder of that Parliament. In view of this I decided that I could not contest the seat independently at the election of 1918 & devoted my time to reconstruction work in France until 1920. In 1921 I was adopted as prospective candidate for Dewsbury, contested the seat in 1922 & was elected in 1923. After losing my seat at Dewsbury in 1924 I contested North Leeds in the subsequent election unsuccessfully. I was on the point of being adopted as a candidate in

another division (Pudsey & Otley) when the 1931 crisis supervened: the Liberals in the division were not united as to the desirability of contesting the seat against a "national" sitting member and I decided not to stand. Since then I have given my time increasingly to religious & non-political social work, especially in connection with prison visitation & the aid of discharged prisoners and have taken less & less part in politics in the narrower sense of the word: my sympathies are in large measure with the 'Next Five Years' group and I believe that there is a larger measure of agreement achieved and greater possibilities of cooperation than the party system of today allows for.'

Question 25: What books have you written, or have been written about you?

[no reply]

### Summary biography by Josiah C. Wedgwood

HARVEY, THOMAS EDMUND, of Leeds. M.P. (Lib.) West Leeds 1910, 1910–18; contested Dewsbury 1922; M.P. Dewsbury 1923–4; contested North Leeds 1929 & Combined English Universities, 1937 B. 4 Jan. 1875, s. of Wm. Harvey of Leeds (1848–1928) and Anne M. Whiting (1851–1934). (His sister m. Arnold Rowntree, M.P.); m. 1911, Irene, y. da. of Prof. Silvanus Thompson, F.R.S.; issue none. Educ. Bootham, Leeds and Christ Church, M.A., also in Berlin and Paris. News from Nowhere, Merrie England, and the writings of T.H. Green influenced him, the Manchester Guardian held him, but born in the Society he came increasingly to share the Quaker view of life. He was on the staff of the British Museum Library 1900–4, but his life was devoted to what was then called Social work. He was Warden of a Quaker settlement, and finally, in 1906, Warden of Toynbee Hall (unpaid). Allen Baker (q.v.) persuaded him to join in a fight for East Finsbury and he sat on the L.C.C. 1904–7 when he lost the seat and was coopted onto the Central Unemployed Body. Then he got onto the Stepney Borough Council 1909; then candidate for Herbert Gladstone's seat in Leeds. Income about £600 a year unearned. His father paid his election expenses c.£700; annual cost not more than £140. Once in the House he did all that a Quaker should, or more than all. He cared for the rights of the Africans and the poor; he stood in war for peace; all social reform was his province. Finally he lost his seat (1918) by supporting a 'peace' candidate at the Stockton bye-election. He was P.P.S. to Ellis Griffiths, 1912–13, and to Masterman 1913–14. During all the War, and till 1921, he was engaged on relief work for the Society of Friends in France. Since his defeat in 1925 he has devoted himself increasingly to religious work.

He liked best good debates and the comradeship of a good cause; disliked the lack of touch with the work of administration. His best speech was moving the conscientious objector amendment to the Conscription Bill (1916); Hugh Cecil's (in 1917 against depriving conscientious objectors of their votes) the best he heard. His best work – the defence of obscure persons against oppression by the State. 'Ted' Harvey was the nearest approach to completely unselfish sainthood that we had in the House in this period. He was too gentle.

*footnote* The last two sentences have been enclosed in square brackets by the subject, who wrote to Wedgwood on 8 Mar. 1937: 'The penultimate sentence[s] made me ashamed, for I know how ill it is deserved and I hope you will leave it out'.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Priscilla Baines, *Colonel Josiah Wedgwood's Questionnaire: Members of Parliament, 1885–1918*. (Chichester, West Sussex : Wiley-Blackwell for The Parliamentary History Yearbook Trust and The History of Parliament Trust, 2012) pp 213–4

## Appendix 4: Pacifists and Quakers in the House of Commons in the two World Wars<sup>1</sup>

### First World War

Quakers in the House of Commons during Harvey's term as MP for West Leeds (1910–18) were: John Emmott Barlow, J. Allen Baker (d. July 1918), Alfred Bigland, Frederick Leverton Harris, Walter McLaren (d. 1912), Joseph Albert Pease, Arnold Stephenson Rowntree, J. Howard Whitehouse (converted 1917) and John William Wilson. The following were not Quakers though associated with Quakerism by descent or belief: Percy Alden, Noel Buxton, Alfred Emmott and Henry Duncan McLaren.

### Second World War

The nine MPs who opposed the National Service Bill on 2 September 1939, as described in chapter 7, were: George Buchanan (Lab), Alfred Salter (Lab), T. Edmund Harvey (Ind. Progressive), Alexander Sloan (Lab), Arthur Creech Jones (ILP), C. H. Wilson (Lab), James Maxton (ILP), Campbell Stephen (ILP) and John McGovern (ILP).<sup>2</sup> MPs in the House of Commons during the Second World War who had Quaker connections, aside from Harvey himself, were:

- George Benson (1889–1973) MP for Chesterfield, 1929–31, 1935–64.
- Philip Noel-Baker (1889–1982), the son of Harvey's mentor J. Allen Baker. He was not a strict pacifist as he served in the wartime government.
- Joseph Gurney Braithwaite (1895 –1958) was the Conservative MP for Holderness. He came from a Quaker family and was educated at Bootham School. He was not a pacifist and during the First World War served in the Royal Navy.
- Rhys John Davies (1877–1954) was identified by Harvey as a 'Friend able to interpret the Quaker standpoint.'<sup>3</sup>
- William George Glenvil Hall, known as Glenvil Hall, (1887–1962) was Labour MP for Colne Valley 1939–62.<sup>4</sup>
- Alfred Salter (1873–1945) medical practitioner, Labour Party politician and anti-war activist.
- Cecil H. Wilson (1862–1945) MP for Attercliffe 1923-31 and 1935-44. He became a Friend late in life. Teetotaler and anti-League of Nations pacifist.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> For a list of those MPs who together with Harvey sat in both World Wars, see footnote on p. 283

<sup>2</sup> National Service (Armed Forces). HC Deb 02 September 1939 vol 351 cc221-41

<sup>3</sup> see TEH to Family, 25 November 1944, where the original has been erroneously transcribed as 'Percy Davies'

<sup>4</sup> He is the Captain W. G. Hall of the 11<sup>th</sup> Tank Battalion who wrote to Harvey about his de-selection in December 1918: see chapter 3

<sup>5</sup> Obituary note *The Friend* November 16 1945 p.775

Appendix 5: Two boxes of correspondence acquired from Reading Quaker Meeting House in February 2019

Refugees and aliens 1939–45

undated	From Helena Charles, 4 Walcot Gdns, Kennington Rd SE11	Cyclostyled letter about conditions in internment camps	Names Gerhard Fischer and Gerd Wolhgemuth and identifies others by initials only
1 November 1939	From: G. von Gaisberg	Encloses cutting.	
12 March 1940	Osbert Peake to Harvey	Case of Karl Pfeffer schoolboy refused release from internment.	
10 May 1940	Letter from Osbert Peake at the Home Office to Harvey re Kurt Heilbornn		Osbert Peake, 1897–1966 1st Viscount Ingleby was a British Conservative Party politician
27 June 1940	Walter Grunpeter of Croydon to Harvey	Thank you for receiving me with Helen G. Thompson	Fears for internees in the event of a German invasion
28 June 1940	Leonard Brown to Harvey	Seeking help for Mr Picton-Somner in danger of being sent to Canada	
3 July 1940	Sheila Pickstone, Parkgate, Whitefield, Manchester	Great distress to over the indiscriminate mass internment of class C refugees	
10 July 1940	Dr Ernst Fuchs, internment camp, Isle of Man to Harvey	Complains about internment, which means he is unable to do his job manufacturing machine tools	Enclosed with the letter from Kenneth Brown of 6 August
18 July 1940	Ernest G. Cove, Organising Secretary	Grateful for your presence at	

	of the Committee for Development of Refugee Industries to Harvey	yesterday's meeting	
22 July 1940	Alfred Ziegler and others to Harvey	Petition on behalf of aliens in category B	The others are Bellak, Ehrenberger, Gruenebaum, Karasz, Lievers, Rand, Rosenbaum, Silberberg, Weiss, Ziegler and Zlatkes
23 July 1940	Kenneth Brown to H	Enclosing letter from Ernst Fuchs	
24 July 1940	Walter Grunpeter of Croydon to Harvey	Thanks for letter via Miss Thompson	
1 August 1940	Kenneth Brown solicitor to Harvey	About internees sent overseas	
3 August 1940	Kenneth Brown solicitor to Harvey	About internees sent overseas	Encloses a letter from Home Office about Dr Ernst Fuchs
4 August 1940	Georg Meyer to Harvey	About Mr and Mrs Lubszynski	Who are in category B
6 August 1940	Kenneth Brown, solicitor, to Harvey	About converting aliens to category B	
7 August 1940	Kenneth Brown solicitor to Harvey	About internees sent overseas	Encloses a letter from J.B.Sandbach, a tribunal head, to Mrs Fuchs referring her to the Jewish Refugee Committee
9 August 1940	Home Office to Harvey	Consideration is being given to reviewing cases of aliens in category B	
16 August 1940	From Ellis Greely [?] Isle of Man		
18 August 1940	Walter Hertz	Letter about his own case with an annex and newscutting	A 'highly desirable refugee'
19 August 1940	Dr G. Rosenbaum to Harvey	Thanking him for helping to secure his release from	

		internment	
19 August 1940	Georg Meyer to Harvey	About Mr and Mrs Lubszynski	
19 August 1940	Home Office to Harvey	Acknowledging letter about Rudolf Rosner	Encloses correspondence
20 August 1940	Osbert Peake to Harvey	About Karl Ulrich Wassermann, boy, transferred to Canada	Correspondence at the instance of J. Howard Whitehouse of Bembridge School
21 August 1940	From Will Richmond, 18 Queens Rd Ashley Down Bristol 7	About Helmuth Niendorf	HN was a fellow student under Harvey at Fircroft College in 1923 under Harvey's wardenship.
26 August 1940	Letter from Home Office re Helmuth Niendorf, who has been sent to Australia		
2 September 1940	From Home Office informing Harvey about the release of ...	Count Ludwig von Schweinitz	Clutch of papers
6 September 1940	Stock letter from Home office to MP's about correspondence from aliens		Warns against applicants for assistance approaching more than one MP at a time
9 September 1940	Ernst Fuchs to Harvey from Central Camp Isle of Man	About employment prospects	
21 September 1940	From Roman Haveihkowski	About Czech and Polish internees imprisoned in Liverpool.	At risk during air raids
25 September 1940	From E. Kolmer, secretary Council of Austrians in Great Britain to Harvey	Thanking him for question put to the Home Secretary 17 September 1940, which elicited that 2,516 internees have	Not found in on-line Hansard, which has no entries for that date.

		been released so far. 'You will probably find that 90% of the released fall into the categories dealing with age or illness whereas the key workers, the scientists, the anti-Nazis have hardly been touched'.	
30 September 1940	Osbert Peake to Harvey	Willy Friedlaender will be released	Encloses correspondence including a letter from Mrs Anna Friedlander showing she was living at Westway Cottage, Jordans in September 1940.
3 October 1940	Ferdinand Weiss	Internee on Isle of Man	
7 October 1940	Osbert Peake to Harvey	Arnold Kuttner will be released	Encloses correspondence including a list of students interned on the Isle of Man
10 October 1940	From Home Office acknowledging letter about Franz Gall		
11 October 1940	Letter from Osbert Peake at the Home Office re Siegfried Bergerhoff. Mentions memo from John W. Harvey and Professor Frank Smith. Refuses his exceptional release and that of Helmuth Niendorf		Harvey's brother John W. was involved in rescuing academic refugees
30 October 1940	Ernest G. Cove, Organising Secretary of the Refugee Industries	About release of Walter Grun	Shows Harvey a member of the Committee along with Eleanor



	Committee to Harvey		Rathbone, Megan Lloyd George, Ramsay Muir etc
5 November 1940	Osbert Peake refusing naturalisation to Gladys Teratzian		
5 November 1940	From Osbert Peake	About Czech and Polish internees imprisoned in Liverpool	
6 November 1940	A. Creech Jones from Ministry of Labour and National Service	About Dr Ernst Fuchs interned on the Isle of Man	
15 October 1940-30 January 1941	From Home Office	Acknowledging papers about Franz Mayer, Kurt Zinnemann and his wife	Clutch of papers about these cases, last paper by date being from Osbert Peake to Harvey telling him of Zinnemann's release
17 March 1941	To Harvey from Creech Jones of the Ministry Of Labour and National Service	Internees on the Isle of Man are being registered with a view to being placed in employment	
23 April 1941	From Society of Friends Germany Emergency Committee	David K.R. Hodgkin to Harvey about hunger strike at Racecourse Aliens Camp, York	Names four men: Pedro Gilot, Schwarzenber, Tasonichvily and Zik. Note in ms on the letter says that the first two of these are ordinary criminals
28 May 1941	From Home Office	About Paul Madsen, a Dane	Madsen appeared before a meeting of the Discharged Prisoners Aid Society at Leeds
30 May 1941	To Harvey from Paul Madsen		
31 May 1941	From Home Office	About Paul Madsen	

3 July 1941	From Home Office	About Paul Madsen, a Dane	Madsen has joined a ship which left a British port at the beginning of June
10 July 1941	Walter Peters, formerly Grunpeter, of Industrial Arts Cooperative Service ('a non-profit making association for aiding teachers') to Harvey	Ask for a contribution to winter newsletter	
9 September 1941	From Fursecroft, George St W1, Refusing Dr Seifter a scholarship		Sender's name unclear. Fursecroft is an apartment block in Marylebone
15 November 1941	From Osbert Peake refusing to authorise the release of Wolfgang Hersch interned on the Isle of Man		
15 December 1941	From Hermann Mueller, New York	Family news	
22 January 1942	Francis Loeffler, Secretary, Youth Relief and Refugee Council	Thanks Harvey for help with the Hungarian Club	
2 February 1942	Leo Liepmann to Harvey	About help in visiting Quaker meetings in Scotland	Leo Liepmann economic historian 1900-(after) 1958
4 February 1942	From Home Office acknowledging letter about Leo Liepmann		
5 February 1942	Date line Penrith From Leo Liepmann	Thanks for supporting my application to visit Quaker meetings in Scotland	
12 February 1942	From Home Office acknowledging letter about Ernst Marx		
30 February 1942	Dateline House 13 Camp P	Plea for help. Had been taken to	<i>HMT Dunera</i> : notorious instance of

	conscientious objection chief postal censor, Liverpool from Richard Karl Ullmann	Australia on the <i>Dunera</i> but with some 140 others is now back into the slow mill of administration	mistreatment of Jewish refugees
29 March 1942	E.T. Campbell, Ministry of Health	Enclosing extracts from earlier correspondence about qualified alien dentists	
7 July 1942	J. Nelson Evans	About Czech dentists	
9 July 1942	From Joan Mary Fry	About Otto Zarek and other Jewish refugees.	Zarek complains about mistreatment. Will Harvey ask questions in the House?
17 September 1942	Home Office to Harvey	Acknowledging letter re Gerd Bernstein and Marcel Kamil	
22 September 1942	Anglo-Refugee Centre to Harvey	Enclosing letters re Gerd Bernstein	
1 October 1942	From M. K. Ashby, Principal Of Residential College For Working Women, Surbiton	About student Mrs Ludwig Freund whose husband, a communist, is imprisoned in Liverpool, enclosing newscutting	
17 October 1942	From [indecipherable] Rathcluan House, Cupar, Fife	Refers to his inspiring speech last Saturday	
20 October 1942	From Osbert Peake to Harvey	Complaint from R.A.Houston about lack of facilities in internment camps for willing workers	
30 October 1942	From Bertha L. Bracey, Germany Emergency Committee	With enclosures about the internment of schoolboy Hans Werner Fladée, son of H.Friedeberg	

3 November 1942	R. A. Houston to Harvey	Complains about lack of work for internees. Is an elected Labour Leader for outside workers. Quotes from the Daily Worker	Says Harvey was tricked by a half-truth
9 November 1942	From Bertha L. Bracey, Germany Emergency Committee	About Richard K. Ullmann and general question of those returned from Australia	
10 November 1942	A. Hemingway of University of Leeds school of medicine	About Dr Alfred Schweitzer	
13 January 1943	Dateline London Hospital Students Hostel from Richard K. Ullmann	Has been released from internment and is working for Friends Post-War Service Scheme	Richard Karl Ullmann 1904-1963 German Jewish Quaker and teacher
2 February 1943	From J.C. Lindsay of the International Voluntary Service for Peace to Harvey	Enclosing copy of letter to Eleanor Rathbone about Lisa Steinberg, a child	Mentions being able to discuss at Meeting for Sufferings on Friday
18 February 1943	From Home Office acknowledging letter about Edmond Kassel		
26 May 1944	Home Office to Harvey	Acknowledges letter about Samuel Jung	Encloses 'Waste of 60 first class alien dentist: why?' by Dorothy Frances Buxton
24 September 1944	From Jewish internees on the Isle of Man to the Home Secretary appealing for release		Enclosed with a letter to Harvey from Francis Kador (?)
1 December 1944	Friends Committee for British Detainees	From J. W. Perry, Secretary to Harvey about detention camps in Uganda	

12 March 1945	From Dorothy F. Buxton, Whingate, Peaslake, Surrey	Employment of refugees from Nazi oppression	Enclosing her memo on use of first class alien dentist date 19 February 1945
14 March 1945	From Colonial Office to Harvey	About the internment camp in Entebbe and threats to health	
27 March 1945	From Colonial Office to Harvey	About the troublesome Vadasz family wishing to stay in Kenya not being repatriated from Uganda to Iraq	
20 June 1945	From John W. Perry of Friends Committee for Refugees and Aliens	Thanking Harvey for enclosing extracts from Hansard about questions to Col [Oliver] Stanley	

'Last Jobs' 1945-1955

13 June 1951	Alexander C. Wilson to Harvey	8 Erskine Hill London NW11	Asking Harvey to update 'Moderation or Abstinence'. Encloses quotation from Dr Alex. Wood, chairman Band of Hope and London Peace Pledge Union. Asks for a statement. Will approach Quaker doctors likewise e.g. Joan Fry and Kathleen Lonsdale. Mentions George Gorman, Corder Catchpool and Olaf Hodgkin. 25 years ago his wife would have done the work but it is now beyond her. Condolences to you and your sister on death of Arnold [Stevenson Rowntree]
10 September 1951	John Hunter, organising secretary,		Refuses to help reprint 'Moderation or Abstinence'

	Yorkshire Friends' Service Committee		
2 Oct 1951	Alexander C. Wilson to Harvey	8 Erskine Hill London NW11	Encloses letter from John Hunter of 10 September 1951. More on reprinting 'Moderation or Abstinence'. Mentions Philip Radley and other Yorkshire Friends. Will meet at Friends House but avoids noisy rooms because of deafness. Mentions Edmund Harvey of Waterford.
6 October 1945	Harvey to Roger Wilson	17 Rue Notre Dame des Champs, Paris	Has visited France including Chalons and Sermaize. Car broke down and taken in tow by two fine young French doctors driving an army <i>camion</i> . 'Each delegation is different'. Van Etten and others away. Mentions Paul Sturge. Concern about Michael Aitkins' health.
11-24 September 1945	typescript extracts from T.E.H.'s letters from France	-	Probably the work of Edward Milligan
5 January 1952	'Swarthmoor Hall'	<i>Friends Intelligencer</i>	Article by T. Edmund Harvey and Isabel Ross (printed)
4 December 1953	A Courageous Christian in Public Life	<i>The Friend</i> Vol 111 Number 49	Review of Mosa Anderson, <i>H.J. Wilson Fighter for Freedom (1833-1914)</i> (James Clarke, 1953) (Printed)
7 September 1951	Philadelphia Friends Seek a United Discipline	<i>The Friend</i> 7 September 1951	Article about US book of discipline (printed)
17 February 1950	Christians and the Election	<i>The Friend</i> 17 February 1950	Article about the general election (printed)
27 June 1950	'Don't Wait for others to ban the	<i>Daily Worker</i> Tuesday 27 June 1950	Daily Worker Peace Symposium: article by

	A-bomb'		Harvey 'Its existence increases fear'. Also articles by Christopher Fry, Kathleen Lonsdale, Alan Bush
October 1951	'Rufus Jones: Master Quaker'	<i>The Friends' Quarterly</i>	Book review (printed)
(1953)	'Looking Back'		Manuscript draft of article which appeared in the Friends Historical Journal in 1953
28 October 1949	Order of the King	Re-appointing Harvey to the Court of Leeds University	Printed single sheet
12 [...] 1925	Leeds Tercentenary	Cutting from Yorkshire Post	Smoke pollution in Leeds
26 October 1945	'A Month with "Secours Quaker"'	<i>The Friend</i> 26 October 1945	Article on Quaker relief work in post-war France (printed)
13 July 1945	Anglo-Russian Relations	Minutes from Meeting for Sufferings	Message of good will to the USSR
July 1945	The Nature of the Church	Statement prepared by the Committee on Christian Relationships	Rough proofs with Harvey's notes in manuscript
Undated	William Tindale (sic)	Printed pamphlet by British & Foreign Bible Society.	Contains notes on Tyndale, a manuscript of a religious poem by Hannah Simpson (d.1792); quotations from Paul's Epistles
26 April 1954	Leeds University 50 years of progress 1904-1954	Supplement to Yorkshire Post	
18 April 1947	What Christ means to me	<i>The Friend</i> 18 April 1947 pp 289-291	Article by Harvey. (Some of the text resembles that of <i>A Wayfarer's Faith</i> or <i>The Long Pilgrimage</i> )
1949	An Experiment in Adult Education in the City of Leeds 1909-1949	Swarthmore Centre's 40 <sup>th</sup> Anniversary Report	Foreword by Harvey, President

1950	Thomas Shillitoe: some Hitherto Unpublished particulars	Preprinted from Journal of the Friends' Historical Society Vol 42 1950	Booklet containing manuscript correspondence from relatives of Shillitoe: Russell Mortimer, L. Hugh Doncaster (from Woodbrooke), Charles Shillitoe (Longmynd Salcombe), Walter Whiting (Hitchin), Roland [...], May [...] (60 Wildwood Rd NW11) [niece], Derek (Frating, Colchester) [nephew], Hilda (Hove), Sally (niece), Librarian Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania, Betty and Jack (SW19), Priscilla (Beaconsfield), Mary (Perranarworthal), Ronald (Caversham: with an account of a visit to the US on engineering business), May (Thornton-le-Dale: twice)
4 June 1950	Atomic Weapons		Manuscript draft of <i>Daily Worker</i> article
15 February 1956	'Concerning Missionary Service'	<i>The Friend</i> 15 February 1946 p.129-131	Article on Horace Alexander's essay on Quakerism and India issued from Pendle Hill.
29 April 1946	Letter from <i>The Friend</i> dated 29 April 1946	Enclosing correspondence from Horace Alexander and S. Katherine Taylor about Harvey's article 'Concerning Missionary Service'	
30 March 1941	Letter from Kenneth Clay, Dunmurry, Antrim	Account of his being before a Tribunal in Glasgow	Dr. Kenneth Clay was principal of Brummana High School 1946-1948 a Northern Irish pacifist.
24 January 1954	Letter from Harry Hopkins of West	Commiserates with Harvey on his illness.	Hopkins not so far further identified



	End Lane Hampstead		
30 March 1953	Letter from Walter and Maude Taber	Commiserates with Harvey on his illness	Keeps Harvey and Irene in their prayers
19 September 1952 and 9 November 1952	Letters from Frederick Salter enclosing some from monsieur Roux-Berger	Commiserates with Harvey on his illness	Salter was Harvey's best man
19 December 1952	Cecil Pilkington (from Lygon Arms, Broadway, Worcestershire)	Commiserates with Harvey on his illness. Christmas greetings	Pilkington (of the glass firm) was a friend from Harvey's days at Christ Church
10 May 1953	Theodora Lawton of Little Ash, Stogursey, Somerset	Family news	
5 May 1953	David (Blelloch), Cleevestones, Over Norton, Chipping Norton	Family and personal news	David Blelloch was an international civil servant whom Harvey had known since 1916
12 May 1949	Minutes of the AGM of the Trustees of the Ogilvie Charities, showing Harvey as Chairman.		The Ogilvie Charities were founded in 1887 and run four sheltered housing schemes, two in Suffolk and two in Essex.
Miscellaneous items	Wallet of passports, ID cards, foreign currency and documents. Pocket diaries for 1939, 1942, 1944-45, 1945, 1946 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1952.		

## Bibliography and other secondary sources

- Abel, Emily K., a. 'Canon Barnett and the First Thirty Years of Toynbee Hall' (Queen Mary College, University of London PhD 1969)
- Abel, Emily K., b. 'Toynbee Hall 1884–1914' (*Social Service Review*, Vol. 53, No. 4, Dec., 1979), pp. 606-632
- Abercrombie, Lascelles, et al, *The Next Five Years: an Essay in Political Agreement* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1935.)
- Adams, R. J. Q. 'Hoare, Samuel John Gurney, Viscount Templewood (1880–1959), politician.' (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 2004)
- Adams, R. J. Q. and Philip P. Poirier. *The Conscription Controversy in Great Britain, 1900–18* (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press. 1987)
- Addis, B., and D. Walker, *Happold: The confidence to build* (Taylor & Francis, 2005)
- Aiken, Guy. 'The American Friends Service Committee's Mission to the Gestapo.' *Peace & Change* 42, no. 2 (2017): 209-231.
- Albright, M. Catharine, a. *Letters from India* (Birmingham: Cornish Brothers, 1902)
- Albright, M. Catharine, b. *The Golden Hymn Book* (London: Henry Frowde 1903)
- Alden, Percy, *The Unemployed: a National Question* (London: P. S. King, 1905)
- Alexander, Horace, a. *Indian Ferment* (London: Unwin Brothers 1929)
- Alexander, Horace, b. *India Since Cripps* (London: Penguin Books 1944)
- Alexander, Horace, c. *Gandhi through western eyes* (Pennsylvania: New Society Publishers 1969, 1984)
- Alexander, Horace, d. 'Quakers in India' by Marjorie Sykes. Review by Horace Alexander (*Quaker History*, Vol. 70, No. 1 (Spring 1981), pp. 58-60 Published by: Friends Historical Association
- Allott, Wilfrid, *Worship and social progress* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1945)
- Ambler, Charles, 'East Africa: Metropolitan Action and Local Initiative' in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Volume V: 'Historiography*, by Robin Winks and Wm. Roger Louis,(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999)
- Andrews, C. F., *Christ in the Silence* (New York: The Abingdon Press, 1930)
- Angell, S. W., and Pink Dandelion (eds) *The Oxford handbook of Quaker studies* (Oxford University Press, 2013)
- Ankit, Rankesh, 'Quaker Pacifist and Indian Politics: Horace Gundry Alexander and India, 1947–77' *Quaker Studies* 18, no. 2 (2014): 191.
- Anstey, Peter R. 'Locke, the Quakers and enthusiasm', *Intellectual History Review*, 29:2, (2019) 199-217
- Arnold, David, *Gandhi* (London: Routledge 2001)
- Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* (ed. Roger Crisp, Cambridge University Press 2000)
- Aristotle, *Politics* (trans. Benjamin Jowett, Oxford at the Clarendon Press 1905)
- Ashley, Percy, 'University Settlements in Great Britain' (*Harvard Theological Review* Vol. 4, No. 2 (Apr., 1911), pp. 175-203

- Ashworth, Lucian M., *International Relations and the Labour Party: Intellectuals and Policy Making from 1918-1945* ( I. B. Tauris 2007)
- Aster, Sidney, 'Appeasement: Before and After Revisionism', *Diplomacy & Statecraft* (2008), 19:3, 443-480
- Augustine, *City of God* (G. R. Evans (editor), Henry Bettenson (translator), Penguin Classics 1984)
- Bailey, Victor, a. 'English prisons, penal culture, and the abatement of imprisonment, 1895–1922.' *Journal of British Studies* 36, no. 3 (1997): 285-324.
- Bailey, Victor, b. *The Rise and Fall of the Rehabilitative Ideal, 1895–1970* (Routledge, 2019)
- Baines, Priscilla , *Colonel Josiah Wedgwood's Questionnaire: Members of Parliament, 1885–1918*. (Chichester, West Sussex : Wiley-Blackwell for The Parliamentary History Yearbook Trust and The History of Parliament Trust, 2012.)
- Baker, Elizabeth Balmer & Baker, P. J. Noel. *J. Allen Baker: A Memoir* (London: Swarthmore Press 1927)
- Ballantyne, A. *John Ruskin* (Reaktion Books, Limited, 2015)
- Barker, Rachel, *Conscience, Government and War: Conscientious Objection in Great Britain, 1939-45* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul. 1982)
- Barnett, Henrietta *Canon Barnett, His Life, Work, And Friends* (2 vols London John Murray, 1918)
- Barnett, Rev. and Mrs. Samuel A. *Practicable Socialism: Essays On Social Reform* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co, 1888)
- BBC, *Leeds worst World War II blitz*  
[http://news.bbc.co.uk/local/leeds/hi/people\\_and\\_places/newsid\\_9411000/9411583.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/local/leeds/hi/people_and_places/newsid_9411000/9411583.stm) (Page last updated at 12:01 GMT, Sunday, 13 March 2011)
- BBC, *The Dunera Boys - 70 years on after notorious voyage*  
<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/10409026> accessed 13/12/2022
- Bebbington, D. W, a. *The Nonconformist Conscience: Chapel and politics 1870-1914* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1982)
- Bebbington, D.W, b. *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (Taylor & Francis, 1988)
- Bennett, Yvonne, 'Testament of a minority in wartime: the Peace Pledge Union and Vera Brittain, 1939-1945'(McMaster University PhD diss., 1984.)
- Benson, E. F., *The White Eagle of Poland* (New York: George Doran 1919)
- Benson, Mary, *Tshekedi Khama* (Faber and Faber 1960)
- Berry, John C., 'The Nature Of Christian Mysticism in the thought of Baron Von Hugel and George Tyrrell' (PhD thesis, University of Leeds, 1989)
- Bertolini, Pietro, and others, 'Treaty of Peace Between Italy and Turkey' *American Journal of International Law* 7, no. S1 (1928): 58–62.
- Betts, R., *Powerful and Splendid: the London School Board 1870-1904: Part II 1888-1904* (Tantalus Press 2015)
- Beveridge, William Henry, *Unemployment: A problem of industry* (Longmans, Green, 1912)

- Bew, John, *Citizen Clem: A Biography of Attlee* (Great Britain: riverrun, 2017)
- Biagini, Eugenio F. (ed.) *Citizenship and community: liberals, radicals, and collective identities in the British Isles, 1865-1931* (Cambridge University Press 1996)
- Binfield, Clyde. 'Horne, (Charles) Silvester (1865–1914), Congregational minister and politician.' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 2004)
- Birmingham, David, *A Concise History of Portugal* (3rd ed. Cambridge Concise Histories. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018)
- Bishop, Elaine & Jung, Jiseok. (2018). 'Seeking Peace: Quakers Respond to War' in S. Angell & P. Dandelion (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Quakerism* (Cambridge Companions to Religion 2018), pp. 106-127
- Black, Jeremy, 'Munich' 31 January 2022 <https://historyreclaimed.co.uk/munich/>
- Blamires, David, Jeremy Greenwood and Alex Kerr (eds.) *A Quaker Miscellany for Edward H. Milligan* (Manchester: David Blamires 1985)
- Blanchett, Chris, *Duty and Democracy: Parliament and the First World War* (Houses of Parliament 2018) <https://www.parliament.uk/documents/WW1/duty-and-democracy-parliament-and-the-first-world-war.pdf>
- Blatchford, Robert, *Merrie England* (London: Clarion office, Fleet St; 1894)
- Bleiler, Everett Franklin, *Supernatural fiction writers : fantasy and horror* (1985 New York : Scribner)
- Bogdanor, Vernon, a. 'The Liberal Party and the Liberal Democrats' (Gresham College Lecture, 12 December 2017)
- Bogdanor, Vernon, b. *The Strange Survival of Liberal Britain: Politics and Power Before the First World War* (Biteback Publishing 2022)
- Boucher, D., and A. Vincent, *British idealism and political theory* (Edinburgh University Press 2000)
- Boulton, David. *Objection overruled*. (First published 1967 by MacGibbon & Kee; 2014 edition by Dales Historical Monographs, Cumbria).
- Bouverie, Tim, *Appeasing Hitler: Chamberlain, Churchill and the road to war* (London: Penguin 2019)
- Boyce, D. George, 'Aitken, William Maxwell, first Baron Beaverbrook (1879–1964), newspaper proprietor and politician.' (Oxford Dictionary of National Biography 2004)
- Boyd, Julia, *Travellers in the Third Reich: The Rise Of Fascism Through The Eyes Of Everyday People* (London: Elliott and Thompson Ltd, 2017)
- Braithwaite, Constance, *The Voluntary Citizen: An Enquiry into the place of philanthropy in the community* (London: Methuen 1938)
- Braithwaite, William C., and Henry T. Hodgkin, *The Message And Mission Of Quakerism* (Five Years Meeting , Philadelphia: the John C. Winston Company, 1912)
- Brands, H. W., *Traitor to his class: the privileged life and radical Presidency of Franklin Delano Roosevelt* (Doubleday 2008)
- Breech, Allyson, 'Conscientious Objectors During Britain's Last Popular War' (Fellows thesis 1998-1999 Texas A&M University Department of History)

- Briggs, Asa, and Anne Macartney, *Toynbee Hall: the First Hundred Years* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984)
- Brink, David O., *Perfectionism and the Common Good: Themes in the Philosophy of T. H. Green* (Oxford Academic , 7 Apr. 2004),
- Brock, Peter, a. and T. Socknat (eds) *Pacifism: 1918-1945*, (University of Toronto Press, 1997)
- Brock, Peter, b. *The Quaker Peace Testimony, 1865-1914* (York: Sessions 1990)
- Brock, Peter, c. *Against the Draft: Essays on Conscientious Objection from the Radical Transformation to the Second World War* (University of Toronto Press 2006)
- Brockway, Fenner, a. *Pacifism and the left wing* (London: Pacifist Publicity Unit, 1938)
- Brockway, Fenner, b. *Inside the Left: thirty years of platform, press, prison and parliament*. (G. Allen & Unwin, 1947)
- Brockway, Fenner, c. *Bermondsey Story: the Life of Alfred Salter* (London: Allen & Unwin 1949)
- Brodhead, C. D., 'Friends Meet In World Conference', *Bulletin of Friends Historical Association*, 26 (1937): 70-74
- Brown, Anna, 'Ellen Pinsent: including the 'feble-minded' in Birmingham, 1900–1913' *History of Education*, (2005) 34:5, 535-546
- Brown, E. Vipont, 'The Renaissance of Quakerism' (*Friends Quarterly* 514 October 1951) pp 201–06
- Brown, Judith, and William Roger Louis, *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Volume IV: The Twentieth Century* (Oxford University Press 2014)
- Brown, Peter, *Augustine of Hippo: a biography* (London: Faber & Faber 1967)
- Brown, S., *Providence and empire: religion, politics and society in the United Kingdom, 1815-1914* (Harlow, England: Pearson Longman 2008)
- Bryant, Margaret E. *The London Experience of Secondary Education* (London: Athlone Press 1986)
- Buell, Raymond Leslie, *An African Survey: A Study of Problems arising in Africa South of the Sahara*. By Lord Hailey. [The Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1938.), *The American Historical Review*, Volume 45, Issue 2, January 1940, Pages 364–366
- Bulgakov, Mikhail, *The White Guard* (1925)
- Burgess, H. 'Also look at the liturgies of Quakerism' *Journal Of Religious History*, 2007 Jun, Vol.31(2), pp.228-228
- Bush, Julia, 'Maternal Reformers and Education' in (ed.) *Women Against the Vote: Female Anti-Suffragism in Britain* (Oxford University Press 2007)
- Cadbury, Deborah, *Chocolate Wars: The 150-year Rivalry Between the World's Greatest Chocolate Makers* (London: Harper, 2010)
- Cadbury, William A, *Labour in Portuguese West Africa* (second edition with an added chapter) (London: George Routledge, 1910)
- Calvert, E. Roy, a. *Capital Punishment in the Twentieth Century* (G. P. Putnam 1927)

- Calvert, E. Roy, b. *The Death Penalty Enquiry: Being a review of the evidence before the Select Committee on Capital Punishment, 1930* (London : Victor Gollancz Ltd, 1931)
- Cameron Hazlehurst and Christine Woodland *A Liberal Chronicle: Journals and Papers of J A Pease, 1908–1910* (The Historians Press, London, 1994)
- Campbell, Heather Alison, 'Bolshevism, Islamism, Nationalism: Britain's Problems in South Asia, 1918–1923.' (PhD diss., Queen Mary University of London, 2014.)
- Carnall, Geoffrey, *Gandhi's Interpreter : A Life of Horace Alexander* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010)
- Carter, Matt, *T.H. Green and the Development of Ethical Socialism* (Imprint Academic 2003)
- Cato, *Guilty men* (Faber & Faber/Vle books 1940/2011)
- Catterall, P., *Labour and the Free Churches, 1918–39: Radicalism, Righteousness and Religion* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016)
- Ceadel, Martin, a. *Semi-detached Idealists: The British Peace Movement and International Relations 1854-1945* (Oxford University Press 2000)
- Ceadel, Martin, b. 'The Quaker Peace Testimony and its contribution to the British Peace Movement: An Overview' *Quaker Studies* vol 7 no. 1 (2002)
- Ceadel, Martin, c. *Living the Great Illusion: Sir Norman Angell, 1872-1967.* (Oxford University Press, 2009)
- Ceadel, Martin, d. 'The London Peace Society and Absolutist–Reformist Relations within the Peace Movement, 1816–1939'(October 2017), *Peace Change*, 42: 496-520
- Centek, Jarosław, 'Polish-Soviet War 1920-1921' [https://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/polish-soviet\\_war\\_1920-1921](https://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/polish-soviet_war_1920-1921) accessed 29/09/2022
- Childress, James F., and John Macquarrie, *A new dictionary of Christian ethics* (London: SCM Press 1986)
- Childs, Wyndham, *Episodes and Reflections* (London: Cassell 1930)
- Cho, Mijin, *British Quaker Women and Peace 1880's to 1920's* (A thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham for the degree of Doctor Of Philosophy July 2010)
- Clapp, B. W., 'Murray, John (1879–1964), educationist and politician' (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 2004)
- Clark, Christopher *The sleepwalkers: How Europe went to war in 1914* (London: Penguin UK, 2012)
- Clark, G. Kitson 'The Leeds Elite', *University of Leeds Review* 17 (1975), 232-58;
- Clarke, P.A., and A. Linzey, *Dictionary of ethics, theology and society* (Routledge 2013)
- Clough, David. 'Understanding Pacifism: A Typology.' in *Political Practices and International Order*, Hans G. Ulrich, and Stefan Heuser (eds.) (Munich: Lit, 2007), 370–81.
- Coetzee, F., *For Party or Country: Nationalism and the Dilemmas of Popular Conservatism in Edwardian England* (Oxford University Press 1990)

- Collar the lot! Britain's policy of internment during the Second World War*  
<https://blog.nationalarchives.gov.uk/collar-lot-britains-policy-internment-second-world-war/> accessed 13/12/2022
- Collini, Stefan, a. *Liberalism and Sociology. L. T. Hobhouse and Political Argument in England 1880-1914* (Cambridge University Press, 1979)
- Collini, Stefan, b. 'The Idea of "Character" in Victorian Political Thought' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Vol. 35 (1985), pp. 29-50
- Collini, Stefan, c. *Public Moralists: Political Thought and Intellectual Life in Britain 1850–1930* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1991)
- Collini, Stefan, d. *Absent minds: intellectuals in Britain* (Oxford University Press 2006)
- Collini, Stefan, e. 'Where Did It All Go Wrong? Cultural Critics and 'Modernity' in Inter-War Britain.' in *The Strange Survival of Liberal England: Political Leaders, Moral Values and the Reception of Economic Debate*, edited by E. H. H. Green and D. M. Tanner (Cambridge University Press, 2007) pp 247–74
- Collini, Stefan, f. 'Moralists: J. L. and Barbara Hammond, R. H. Tawney, Richard Hoggart, R. M. Titmuss.' In *Common Writing: Essays on Literary Culture and Public Debate* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016)
- Colonial Office, *Trusteeship territories in Africa under United Kingdom mandate*' (UK Parliamentary Paper 1946 Cmd 6935)
- Connolly, Brian W., 'Mirror of Charity: A Reflection of Aelred's Humane Spirituality' (*Mystics Quarterly*, Vol. 16, No. 3; September 1990, pp. 123-132)
- Constantinou, Alexis, 'The Peacebuilding Endeavours of Daniel Oliver and the Palestine Watching Committee in Mandate Palestine, 1930-48.' *Quaker Studies* 26, no. 1 (2021): 119-136.
- Cook, Chris, *The Age Of Alignment: Electoral Politics In Britain 1922–1929* (London: Macmillan, 1975)
- Cowherd, R. G., *The Politics of English Dissent: the religious aspects of liberal and humanitarian reform movements from 1815 to 1848* (New York University Press 1956)
- Cox, Jeffrey, *The Churches in Secular Society: Lambeth 1870-1930* (Oxford University Press 1982)
- Craig, F. W. S., *British Parliamentary Election Results, 1918–1949* (Political Reference Publications, Glasgow, 1949)
- Cregier, D. M. 'Muir, (John) Ramsay Bryce (1872–1941), historian and politician' (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 2004)
- Crosfield, Helen G. *Margaret Fox of Swarthmoor Hall* (London: Headley Brothers, 1913.)
- Cross, F. L., and E. A. Livingstone. *The Oxford dictionary of the Christian church* (Oxford University Press 2nd edition 1974)
- Cruickshank, Marjorie, *Church and state in English education: 1870 to the present day* (London: Macmillan 1963)
- Curthoys, M. C., and Tim Wales. 'Alden, Sir Percy (1865–1944), social worker and politician.' (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 2004)

- Daglish, Neil, *Education Policy-making in England and Wales: The Crucible Years 1895-1911* (London: The Woburn Press 1996)
- Dales, Joanna C. a. , 'John William Graham (1859-1932): Quaker Apostle Of Progress' (PhD thesis University of Birmingham 2016)  
<http://etheses.bham.ac.uk/7097/1/Dales16PhD.pdf>
- Dales, Joanna C. b. , 'John William Graham and the Evolution of Peace. A Quaker View of Conflict before and during the First World War.' *Quaker Studies* Vol 21 Issue 2, (December 2016)
- Dales, Joanna C. c. , *The Quaker Renaissance and Liberal Quakerism in Britain, 1895-1930* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2020)
- Dandelion, Pink, a. and others, *Towards tragedy, reclaiming hope : literature, theology and sociology in conversation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004)
- Dandelion, Pink, b. *The liturgies of Quakerism* (Aldershot: Ashgate 2005)
- Dangerfield, George, *The Strange Death of Liberal England: 1910-1914* (ACLS Humanities E-Book 1935/1961)
- Daniels, Christopher Wess, *Resisting Empire: The Book of Revelation as Resistance.* (Newberg, OR: Barclay Press, 2019)
- Darton, Lawrence 'An Account of the Work of the Friends Committee for Refugees and Aliens, first known as the Germany Emergency Committee of the Society of Friends' (issued by the Friends Committee for Refugees and Aliens 1954)
- Darwin, John, *The Empire Project: The Rise and Fall of the British World-System, 1830–1970.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009)
- Davidson, R. 'Smith, Sir Hubert Llewellyn (1864–1945), civil servant and social investigator' (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 2004)
- Davies, A., *The Quakers in English Society, 1655-1725* (Oxford University Press 2000)
- Davis, Richard. 'The British Peace Movement in the Interwar Years.' *Revue Française de Civilisation Britannique. French Journal of British Studies* 22, no. XXII-3 (2017).
- De Montmorency, James Edward Geoffrey, *State Intervention in English Education: a short history from the earliest times down to 1833* (Cambridge University Press 1902)
- Dearden, J. 'Whitehouse, (John) Howard (1873–1955), educational reformer' (Oxford Dictionary of National Biography 2004)
- Dearden, James Shackley, *John Ruskin's Guild of St George* (Guild of St George, 2010)
- den Boggende, Bert, a. 'Reluctant Absolutist: Malcolm Sparkes' Conscientious Objections to World War I,' (*Quaker Studies* : Vol. 10: Iss. 1, Article 5.2006)
- den Boggende, Bert, b. 'The Fellowship Of Reconciliation 1914-1945' (PhD thesis McMaster University 1986)
- Deslandes, Paul R., *Oxbridge men: British masculinity and the undergraduate experience, 1850-1920* (Indiana University Press, 2005)
- Dirks, N. B. *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India* (Princeton University Press 2011)



- Doncaster, L. Hugh, *The Quaker Message: A personal affirmation* (Pendle Hill Pamphlet 181, 1972)
- Dorey, A. J. 'Radical Liberal Criticism of British Foreign Policy 1906-1914' (A thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy Oxford University 1965)
- Dorsett, Mark Richard, 'The Church of England, the state, and politics 1945-1983' (University of Birmingham PhD thesis, 1990)
- Dowd, K. W. 'The social and political activity of the Cadbury family: A study in manipulative capitalism.' (unpublished M.Ed thesis, Swansea University, 2001)
- Doyle, B.M. 1998. 'Modernity or Morality? George White, Liberalism and the Nonconformist Conscience in Edwardian England', *Historical Research*, 71: 324-340
- Dryzek, John S., Bonnie Honig, and Anne Phillips, *The Oxford handbook of political theory* (Oxford University Press, 2008)
- Dubinski, Ronald D. 'British Liberals and radicals, and the treatment of Germany, 1914-20' (Cambridge Ph.D., 1992 )
- Ducey, William Michael, 'St. Ailred of Rievaulx and the Speculum Caritatis.' *Catholic Historical Review* 17, (1931): 308,
- Dumett, Raymond E. (ed.), *Gentlemanly capitalism and British imperialism: the new debate on empire* (Routledge 1999)
- Dunnington, Kent, *Humility, Pride, and Christian Virtue Theory* (Oxford University Press 2018)
- Dutton, Marsha L., and Lawrence C. Braceland. *Aelred of Rievaulx: Spiritual Friendship*. (Liturgical Press, 2010)
- Eagles, Stuart, *After Ruskin: The Social and Political Legacies of a Victorian Prophet, 1870–1920* (Oxford University Press, 2011)
- East Africa Protectorate: Native Labour Commission* (Government Printer, Nairobi 1913)
- Elkins, Caroline, *Legacy of violence: A history of the British empire*. (Vintage 2022)
- Elliot, D. 'Hope and the Earthly City' in *Hope and Christian Ethics* (Cambridge University Press 2017) pp. 178-204
- Emy, H.V., *Liberals, Radicals and Social Politics 1892–1914* (Cambridge University Press, 1973.)
- English, Richard, *Armed Struggle: the History of the IRA* (Oxford University Press, 2003)
- Ensor, R. C. K., a. *England, 1870-1914* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1936)
- Ensor, R. C.K., b. and H. Matthew, 'Blatchford, Robert Peel Glanville (1851–1943), journalist and author' (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 2004)
- Evans, R. A., 'The University and the City: the educational work of Toynbee Hall, 1884- 1914' (*History of Education* 1982, 11:2, pp 113-125)
- Evans, Richard J., *The Third Reich at War: How the Nazis Led Germany from Conquest to Disaster* (UK Penguin 2009)

- Fabian Society, Fabian Tract 114: *The Education Act, 1902: How To Make The Best Of It* (Fabian Tract 114, March 1903)
- Falcetta, Alessandro, *The Daily Discoveries of a Bible Scholar and Manuscript Hunter: a biography of James Rendel Harris (1852-1941)* (London etc: Bloomsbury/T&T Clark 2018)
- Fellowship of Reconciliation 'The FoR Basis' <http://www.for.org.uk/about/basis> accessed 11/06/2022
- Fell-Smith, Charlotte, and Edward H. Milligan, 'Shillitoe, Thomas (1754–1836), Quaker minister' (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 2004)
- Fenton, Alison, *William Glenvil Hall: A Memoir* (Charlbury: Charlbury Press, 2012)
- Ferrin, A. W., *Chinese Currency and Finance* (Washington DC: Department of Commerce 1919)
- Field, Frank, 'Eleanor Rathbone and the Politics of Citizenship' *The Political Quarterly*, 76 (2005) pp 171-180
- Fielding, Steven, 'Eleanor Rathbone and the Politics of Conscience (review)' *Parliamentary History* Volume 26, Part 2, (2007) pp. 271-273
- Fink, C. *The Genoa Conference: European Diplomacy, 1921-1922* (Syracuse University Press 1993)
- Finlayson, Geoffrey, *Citizen, State, and Social Welfare in Britain, 1830–1990* (Oxford University Press, 1994)
- Fischer, Conan, *The Ruhr Crisis, 1923-1924* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003)
- Flew, Sarah Emma Jayne. 'Philanthropy and secularisation: the funding of Anglican religious voluntary organisations in London 1856-1914.' (PhD thesis, The Open University, 2013.)
- Forrester, Duncan B. *Theological fragments: essays in unsystematic theology* (T&T Clark 2005)
- Foster, Sandys Birket, *The pedigrees of Jowitt, formerly of Churwell, Yorks, and now of Harehills, Leeds, and the families connected with them* (Printed for private circulation 1890)
- Fox, Lionel W., *The English Prison and Borstal Systems* (London: Routledge 1952)
- Frankel, Anna, 'Dramatizations of power in the industrial revolution: some examples of culture as spectacle' (University of Edinburgh PhD thesis, 1982)
- Freeden, Michael, a. *Liberalism Divided: A Study in British Political Thought 1914-1939* (Oxford University Press, 1986)
- Freeden, Michael, b. *The New Liberalism: An Ideology of Social Reform* (Oxford University Press 1986)
- Freeden, Michael, c. 'Hobhouse, Leonard Trelawny (1864–1929), social philosopher and journalist.' (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 2004)
- Freeden, Michael, d. *Liberalism: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford, 2015)
- Freeman, Mark, a. 'Educational settlements', [The Encyclopedia Of Informal Education](http://www.infed.org/association/educational_settlements.htm), [www.infed.org/association/educational\\_settlements.htm](http://www.infed.org/association/educational_settlements.htm). (2004)

- Freeman, Mark, b. 'Muscular quakerism? The Society Of Friends and Youth Organisations in Britain, c. 1900–1950.' *The English Historical Review* 125, no. 514 (2010): 642-669.
- Friends as Missionaries* <https://quakerstrongrooms.org/2016/08/31/friends-as-missionaries-contemporary-reports-newsletters-and-magazines/>;
- Friends World Conference, Friends World Conference official report held at Swarthmore and Haverford Colleges near Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, September 1st to 8th 1937 / prepared by an editorial committee appointed by the Conference Business Committee (2nd edition: Philadelphia 1937)
- Frost, J. W. 'Modernist and Liberal Quakers 1887-2010' in Stephen W. Angell and Pink Dandelion (ed.) *Oxford Handbook of Quaker Studies* (Oxford University Press, 2013)
- Frost, M. *The Lost Companions and John Ruskin's Guild of St George: A Revisionary History* (Wimbledon: Anthem Press 2014)
- Fry, A. Ruth, *A Quaker adventure : the story of nine years' relief and reconstruction* (London: Nisbet, 1926)
- Fry, G. K., *Statesmen in disguise: the changing role of the administrative class of the British home civil service 1853–1966* (London: Macmillan 1969)
- Fry, Joan M. 1944. *In Downcast Germany: 1919-1933* (London: Edgar G. Dunstan 1944(2nd edition))
- Fryer, Charles, *A Friend with a Difference: William Fryer Harvey 1885-1937* (York: William Sessions The Ebor Press, [1981])
- Gallagher, Nancy Elizabeth, *Quakers in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict: the dilemmas of NGO humanitarian activism* (American University in Cairo Press, 2007)
- Gandhi, M. K., *An Autobiography Or The Story of My Experiments With Truth* (Navajivan Publishing House Ahmedabad)
- Ganguly, Sumit, *Conflict unending: India-Pakistan tensions since 1947* (New York: Columbia University Press 2001)
- Gardiner, Juliet, 'Prisoners of Conscience' (*History Today*; Nov 2004; 54, 11 p. 32)
- Gates, B. 'Faith schools and colleges of education since 1800' in R Gardner, J Cairns and D Lawton (eds) *Faith schools: consensus or conflict?* (Abingdon: Routledge Falmer (2005)
- Gerwarth Robert and Erez Manela, eds. *Empires at War: 1911-1923*. OUP Oxford, 2014.
- Gerwarth, Robert, and Erez Manela, eds. *Empires at War: 1911-1923* ( Oxford University Press, 2014)
- Gilbert, Bentley Brinkerhoff, *David Lloyd George, A Political Life* (two vols: Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press. 1987, 1992)
- Gilbert, Mark 'Pacifist Attitudes to Nazi Germany, 1936-45.' *Journal of Contemporary History* 27, no. 3 (1992): 493-511.
- Gilbert, Martin, a. *History of the Twentieth Century*, Rosetta Books, 2014. *ProQuest Ebook Central*, <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/bham/detail.action?docID=5503214>.

- Gilbert, Martin, b. 'Churchill's campaign against the 'feeble-minded' was deliberately omitted by his biographers' (*Finest Hour* 152, Autumn 2011)  
<https://winstonchurchill.org/publications/finest-hour/finest-hour-152/leading-churchill-myths-churchills-campaign-against-the-feeble-minded-was-deliberately-omitted-by-his-biographers/>
- Gillard, D. (1998–2018) *Education in England: a brief history*  
<http://www.educationengland.org.uk/history/>
- Gilley, S., and B. Stanley, *The Cambridge History of Christianity: Volume 8, World Christianities C. 1815-c. 1914* (Cambridge University Press 2006)
- Glaser, John F., 'English nonconformity and the decline of liberalism.' *The American Historical Review* 63, no. 2 (1958): 352-363.
- Glew, Adrian. 'Gilpin [married name Sadler], Eva Margaret (1868–1940), headmistress and educationist.' (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 2004)
- Gosden, P. H. J. H. and A. J. Taylor, *Studies in the History of a University, 1874-1974: To Commemorate the Centenary of the University of Leeds Studies* (Leeds, 1975),
- Graham John William, a. *The Harvest of Ruskin* (London: George Allen & Unwin 1920)
- Graham, John William, b. *Conscription and Conscience: A History 1916-1919* (London: George Allen & Unwin 1922)
- Grant, Kevin, a. P. Levine, F. Trentmann (ed.), *Beyond Sovereignty: Britain, Empire and Transnationalism, c.1880-1950* (Routledge 2007)
- Grant, Kevin, b. *A civilised savagery: Britain and the new slaveries in Africa, 1884-1926* (Routledge, 2014)
- Grayson, Richard, *Liberals, International Relations and Appeasement* (Frank Cass, 2001)
- Green, Ewen H. H. and Duncan M. Tanner (eds), *The Strange Survival of Liberal England: Political Leaders, Moral Values and the Reception of Economic Debate* (Cambridge University Press, 2007)
- Greenwood, John Omerod, a. *Quaker Encounters: vol 1: Friends and Relief* (York, England: William Sessions, 1977)
- Greenwood, John Omerod, b. *Quaker Encounters: vol 2: Vines on the Mountains* (York, England: William Sessions, 1977)
- Greenwood, John Omerod, c. *Quaker Encounters: vol 3: Whispers of Truth* (York, England: William Sessions 1978)
- Gregory, A., *The Last Great War: British Society and the First World War* (Cambridge University Press 2008)
- Griffin, C. M., 'L. T. Hobhouse and the Idea of Harmony', *Journal Of The History Of Ideas*, , Vol.35 (4) (1974-10-01) pp. 647-661
- Griffin, Nicholas, (ed.) *The Selected Letters of Bertrand Russell* (London: Routledge 2001)
- Griffiths, Richard, *Patriotism Perverted: Captain Ramsay, the Right Club and British Anti-Semitism 1939–40* (London: Constable, 1998)
- Guild of St George, Annual Reports 1934/35-1950/51

- Guiton, G. *The Early Quakers and the 'Kingdom of God': Peace, Testimony and Revolution* (: Inner Light Books 2012)
- Gullifer, N.R., 'Opposition to the 1902 Education Act', *Oxford Review of Education*, 8(1982) 83-98
- Gwyn, Douglas, *Personality and Place: The Life and Times of Pendle Hill* (Plain Press, 2014.)
- Gwyn, Douglas, *The covenant crucified: Quakers and the rise of capitalism* (Pendle Hill Publications 1995)
- H. A. I., 'Obituaries: Edward Johns Urwick, 1867-1945.' *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science / Revue Canadienne D'Economique Et De Science Politique* 11, no. 2 (1945): 265-68
- Haan, Francisca de. 'Fry [née Gurney], Elizabeth (1780–1845), penal reformer and philanthropist.' (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 2004)
- Hamm, D. Thomas, and Isaac Barnes May, 'Conflict and Transformation, 1808–1920.' Chapter in *The Cambridge Companion to Quakerism*, edited by Stephen W. Angell and Pink Dandelion (Cambridge University Press 2018) pp 31–48
- Hardenburg, Walter Ernest, *The Putumayo: The devil's paradise; travels in the Peruvian Amazon region and an account of the atrocities committed upon the Indians therein.* (T. Fisher Unwin, 1913)
- Hargreaves, John A., Keith Laybourn and Richard Toye, (eds) *Liberal Reform and Industrial Relations: J. H Whitley (1866-1935), Halifax Radical and Speaker of the House of Commons* (Routledge 2017 )
- Harris, John H., *A Century of Emancipation* (London: Dent 1933)
- Harris, Jose, a. *Private Lives, Public Spirit: A Social History of Britain, 1870–1914* (Oxford University Press. 1993)
- Harris, Jose, b. *William Beveridge: A Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997)
- Harris, Jose, c. 'Introduction: Civil Society in British History: Paradigm or Peculiarity?' in Jose Harris (ed.) *Civil Society in British History: Ideas, Identities, Institutions*, (Oxford University Press, 2003)
- Harris, Jose, d. 'The Liberal Empire and British Social Policy: Citizens, Colonials, and Indigenous Peoples, circa 1880-1914', *Histoire @Politique* 2010/2 (n° 11) p. 3 ff
- Harris, Sally, *Out of control : British foreign policy and the Union of Democratic Control, 1914-1918* (University of Hull Press 1996)
- Harrison, Brian, a. *Drink and the Victorians: the Temperance Question in England, 1815–1872* (London: Faber & Faber, 1971)
- Harrison, Brian, b. *Separate Spheres: The Opposition to Women's Suffrage in Britain* (Routledge 1978)
- Harrison, Brian, c. 'Civil Society by Accident? Paradoxes of Voluntarism and Pluralism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries' in *Civil Society in British History: Ideas, Identities, Institutions*, edited by Jose Harris (Oxford University Press, 2003)
- Hartley, D., and M. Whitehead, *Teacher Education: Historical aspects of teacher education from 1905 to 1990* (Taylor & Francis 2006)

- Harvey, Irene, a. 'The Garden of India' *The Friend* 21/5/1926 p.419
- Harvey, Irene, b. 'The homes of happiness' *Wayfarer*, Vol.14 [NS]; no.9 (September 1935), p. 206-207.
- Harvey, Margaret M. *The law of liberty* (London : George Allen & Unwin, 1942)
- Harvey, William Fryer, a. *We were Seven* (London: Constable & Co. Ltd 1936)
- Harvey, William Fryer, b. *The Beast with Five Fingers and Other Stories: the collected weird tales of W. F. Harvey* (edited and introduced by Mark Hankin, Kindle Edition 2012)
- Hasian, Marouf , Jr 'Critical Memories of Crafted Virtues: The Cadbury Chocolate Scandals, Mediated Reputations, and Modern Globalized Slavery' *Journal of Communication Inquiry* Vol 32, Issue 3, pp. 249 – 270 First Published April 1, 2008
- Hasian, Marouf, 'Critical Memories of Crafted Virtues: The Cadbury Chocolate Scandals, Mediated Reputations, and Modern Globalized Slavery', *The Journal of communication inquiry*, 2008, Vol.32 (3), p.249-270
- Hasson, E. "Risk, Modernity and History' *International Journal of Law in Context* 1, no. 4 (2005): 315–34
- Hastings, A., A. Mason, and H. Pyper, *The Oxford companion to Christian thought* (Oxford University Press 2000)
- Haworth, A., and D. Hayter, *Men Who Made Labour* (Routledge 2015)
- Hay, J. R., *The Origins of the Liberal Welfare Reforms 1906–1914* (London: Macmillan 1983)
- Hayes, Denis, a. *Conscription Conflict: The Conflict of Ideas in the Struggle for and against Military Conscription in Britain between 1901 and 1939* (London: Sheppard Press, 1949)
- Hayes, Denis, b. *Challenge Of Conscience: The story of the Conscientious Objectors of 1939-1949* (Published for the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors by George Allen and Unwin Limited 1949)
- Hazlehurst, C. 'Pease, Joseph Albert [Jack], first Baron Gainford (1860–1943), politician.' (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 2004)
- Heath, Carl, a. *Quaker embassies* (London: Pelican Press [1917])
- Heath, Carl, b. *Religion and Public Life* (London: Woodbrooke Extension Committee, 1922)
- Heath, Carl, c. *Gandhi* (London: Allen & Unwin 1944)
- Heehs, Peter, a. *India's Freedom Struggle 1857–1947: A Short History* (Oxford University Press 1988)
- Heehs, Peter, b. *Nationalism, terrorism, communalism: Essays in modern Indian history* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, India 1998)
- Heehs, Peter, c. *Shades of Orientalism: Paradoxes and Problems in Indian Historiography* *History and Theory* 2003 42: 169-195
- Heimann, Mary, a. 'The Secularisation of St Francis of Assisi,' *British Catholic History*, 33 (2017), 401–20
- Heimann, Mary, b. *Catholic Devotion in Victorian England* (Oxford University Press 1995)

- Heron, Alastair, *Quakers in Britain: a century of change, 1895-1995* (Kelso, Scotland: Curlew Graphics 1995)
- Hertzke, A. D., and T. S. Shah *Christianity and Freedom: Volume 2, Contemporary Perspectives* (2016 Cambridge University Press)
- Hewison, H. H., *Hedge of Wild Almonds: South Africa, the Pro-Boers & the Quaker Conscience* (London: James Currey 1989)
- Hewison, Robert, 'Ruskin, John (1819–1900), art critic and social critic.' (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 2004)
- Hill, Christopher, *The World Turned upside down* (Penguin 1972/1991)
- Himmelfarb, Gertrude, a. *Poverty and compassion: The moral imagination of the late Victorians* (London: Vintage 1991)
- Himmelfarb, Gertrude, b. *The roads to modernity: The British, French, and American enlightenments* (Random House 2008)
- Hinds, H., *George Fox and Early Quaker Culture* (Manchester University Press 2013)
- Hirst, M. E., *The Quakers In Peace And War: An Account of their Peace Principles and Practice* (London: Swarthmore Press 1923)
- Hitler, Speech to the Reichstag on July 19 (*Bulletin of International News* Vol. 17, No. 15 (Jul. 27, 1940), pp. 935-937 (3 pages) Published By: Royal Institute of International Affairs)
- Hobhouse, Leonard Trelawny, *Liberalism* (Kitchener: Batoche Books 1911/1998)
- Hobhouse, Stephen, and Fenner Brockway (ed.) *English Prisons To-Day: Being the Report of the Prison System Enquiry Committee* (London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1922. )
- Hobson, John M., *The Eurocentric Conception of World Politics: Western International Theory, 1760–2010* (Cambridge UP 2012)
- Hodgkin, Henry T. *Personality and Progress* (London: Student Christian Movement 1929)
- Hodgkin, J. E. , E. W. Evans and G. H. Nutt. *Conference of All Friends held in London, August 12 to 20, 1920: official report* (London: Friends Bookshop, 1920)
- Hodgkin, Thomas L., and Mark Pottle. 'Fry, (Sara) Margery (1874–1958), penal reformer and college head.' (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 2004)
- Hogg, Dorothy, *Memories for Tomorrow* (London: Regency Press 1981)
- Holmes, Rachel, *Eleanor Marx: A Life* (Bloomsbury Publishing 2014)
- Holmes, Rose 'A moral business: British Quaker work with refugees from fascism, 1933-39' (PhD thesis, University of Sussex, 2013)
- Holt, Helen, *Mysticism and the Inner Light in the Thought of Rufus Jones, Quaker* (Leiden: Brill, 2021)
- Holton, S. S., *Feminism and Democracy: Women's Suffrage and Reform Politics in Britain, 1900-1918* (Cambridge University Press 2003)
- Homiak, Marcia, 'Moral Character', *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Summer 2019 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL = <<https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2019/entries/moral-character/>>.

- Honderich, Ted (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Philosophy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1995)
- Honeycutt, Dwight A. 'Motivations of a Political Activist: John Clifford and the Education Bill of 1902.' *A Journal of Church and State* 32, no. 1 (Winter, 1990): 81
- Horn, M., 'The Charitable Relief of School Children' *Charity Organisation Review*, Vol.16:94 (1904-10-01) p.191-198
- Howard, Michael Eliot, *War and the Liberal Conscience* (London: Temple Smith 1978)
- Howe, Stephen, *Anticolonialism in British Politics: The Left and the End of Empire 1918-1964* (Oxford Historical Monographs, 1993)
- Howell, David. 'Allen, (Reginald) Clifford, Baron Allen of Hurtwood (1889–1939), politician and peace campaigner' (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 2004)
- Howell, David. 'Baker, Philip John Noel-, Baron Noel-Baker (1889–1982), politician and Nobel prizewinner' (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 2004)
- Howell, David. 'Salter, Alfred (1873–1945), medical practitioner and politician' (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 2004)
- Hoyland, John S., *Gopal Krishna Gokhale: His Life and Speeches* (Builders of Modern India series: Calcutta YMCA 1933/1946)
- Hudson, W. 'Religious Citizenship' *Australian Journal of Politics & History* - Wiley Online Library : Volume 49, Number 3, 2003, pp. 425-429.
- Hughes , William R., *Indomitable Fien : the life of Corder Catchpool 1883-1952* (London: Housmans, 1964)
- Hunt, J. D., *Gandhi in London* (New Delhi: Promilla 1978)
- Husselbee, L., and P. Ballard. *Free Churches and Society: The Nonconformist Contribution to Social Welfare 1800-2010* (Continuum 2012)
- Ibitson, David A., 'Jerome K. Jerome, Masculinity and the Parody of Urban Escape: "Sunday-School Slops"' *English Literature in Transition, 1880-1920*, 2018, Vol.61(1), pp.98-117
- Ikin, A.E. 1944. *The Education Act 1944, with Explanatory Notes* (: Sir I. Pitman & sons, Limited)
- Ilbert, Sir Courtenay Peregrine, *The Government of India* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922)
- Indlekofer, Manuel 'International Arbitration and the Permanent Court of Arbitration' *Kluwer Law International*, 2013. Chapter 1
- Ingleby, Jonathan. 'Confronting the Domination System.' *Transformation* 24, no. 3/4 (2007): 160-69.
- Inglis, Kenneth, *Churches and the working classes in Victorian England* (Routledge, 2013)
- Ironside, Philip, *The social and political thought of Bertrand Russell: the development of an aristocratic liberalism* (Cambridge University Press 1996)
- Isichei, Elizabeth *Victorian Quakers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1970)
- Iwama, Toshihiko, 'The Middle Class in Halifax, 1780-1850' (PhD dissertation, The University of Leeds, School of History, June 2003)



- Jackson, Ashley, *The British Empire and the Second World War* (Bloomsbury Publishing, 2006)
- Jackson, M., *The Borderland of Imbecility: Medicine, Society and the Fabrication of the Feeble Mind in late Victorian and Edwardian England* (Manchester University Press 2000)
- James, C. J., *MP for Dewsbury One Hundred Years of Parliamentary Representation* (115, Rastrick Common, Dewsbury: 1970)
- James, Harold, *Krupp: A history of the legendary German firm* (Princeton University Press, 2012)
- James, Lawrence, *The rise and fall of the British Empire* (Macmillan, 1996)
- James, W. , *The Varieties of Religious Experience: A Study in Human Nature, Being the Gifford Lectures on Natural Religion Delivered at Edinburgh in 1901–1902* (London: Longman Green and Co. 1902)
- Jarrett, S. 'The Lone Libertarian - Josiah Wedgwood and the Mental Deficiency Act 1913', *Community Living*, 29:4 (July 2016) 19-20
- Jenkins, Roy, a. *Asquith* (London: Bloomsbury 1964/1986)
- Jenkins, Roy, b. *Gladstone* (London: Macmillan 1995)
- Jenkins, Roy, c. *Churchill* (London: Pan Books 2002)
- Jennings, W. Ivor, 'The Emergency Powers (Defence) (No. 2) Act, 1940.' *The Modern Law Review* 4, no. 2 (1940): 132-36.
- Jevons, H. W. 'Industrial Prospects for Boys and Girls.' *Charity Organisation Review* New Series, 35, no. 208 (1914): 190-209. Accessed January 11, 2021.
- Johns, David I "Historically Ungrateful?' Friedrich von Hugel's Critique of the Quakers' (*Friends Quarterly* October 1998 pp 165-174)
- Johnson, R., *The British Indian Army : Virtue and Necessity* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing 2014)
- Jolly, Nicola Christine (2013). 'A critical investigation of the breadth of Mahatma Gandhi's religious pluralism through an examination of his engagements with atheists, Quakers and inter-religious marriage' (University of Birmingham PhD 2012)
- Jones, Ann, 'Quakers and social reform in England 1780-1870' PhD thesis, Murdoch University 2010 <https://researchrepository.murdoch.edu.au/id/eprint/5811/>
- Jones, H. S., 'The Civic Moment in British Social Thought: Civil Society and the Ethics of Citizenship, c.1880–1914' (Lawrence Goldman, *Welfare and Social Policy in Britain Since 1870: Essays in Honour of Jose Harris*, Oxford University Press, 2019)
- Jones, Peter d'Alroy, *The Christian Socialist Revival 1877-1914: Religion Class and Social Conscience in Late-Victorian England* (Princeton UP 1968)
- Jones, Rufus M., a. *Spiritual reformers in the 16th and 17th centuries* (London: Macmillan 1914)
- Jones, Rufus M., b . *A Service of Love in War Time - American Friends Relief Work in Europe, 1917-1919* (New York: Macmillan 1920)
- Jones, Rufus M., c. *The Faith and Practice of the Quakers* (Richmond, Indiana: Friends United Press, 1927)

- Joyce, P., *Democratic subjects: the self and the social in nineteenth-century England* (Cambridge University Press 1994)
- Kapila, Shruti, *Violent Fraternity: Indian Political Thought in the Global Age* (Princeton University Press, 2021)
- Katznelson, I., and G.S. Jones *Religion and the political imagination* (Cambridge University Press 2010)
- Kaye, E., 'Selbie, William Boothby (1862–1944), college head and theologian.' (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 2004)
- Kazimirski, Ann, *Witness to Horror* (Montreal: Devonshire Press, 1993)
- Kennedy, Maria Helen, 'The Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) in Ireland: Sectarianism and Identity.' (PhD diss., University of Birmingham, 2016)
- Kennedy, Thomas C., a. *The Hound of Conscience: A History of the No-Conscription Fellowship, 1914-1919* (University of Arkansas Press 1981)
- Kennedy, Thomas C., b. *British Quakerism 1860-1920* (Oxford University Press 2001)
- Kenworthy, Leonard S. (ed.) *Living in the light: Some Quaker pioneers of the twentieth century: Vol II: In the Wider World* (Pennsylvania: Friends General Conference Quaker Publications 1985)
- Keynes, J. M., *Essays in Persuasion* (London: Macmillan 1931)
- Kibriya, M. *Gandhi and Indian Freedom Struggle* (New Delhi: APH Publishing 1999)
- King-Hall, S. 1931. 'Anglo-French Relations', *International Affairs* (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1931-1939), 10: 778-802
- Kirby, James, 'R.H. Tawney and Christian Social Teaching: Religion and the Rise of Capitalism Reconsidered' *English Historical Review*, Volume 131, Issue 551, 1 August 2016, Pages 793–822
- Kitching, Carolyn J., *Britain and the Problem of International Disarmament: 1919-1934* (London: Routledge 1999)
- Kramer, Ann, a. *Conscientious Objectors of the First World War: A Determined Resistance* (Barnsley: Pen and Sword History 2013)
- Kramer, Ann, b. *Conscientious Objectors of the Second World War: Refusing to Fight* (Barnsley: Pen and Sword History 2013)
- Kulke, Hermann, and Dietmar Rothermund, *A History of India* 3<sup>rd</sup> edition (Routledge 1998)
- Kumar, Aishwary, *Radical Equality: Ambedkar, Gandhi, and the Risk of Democracy* (Stanford University Press 2015)
- Kumbhat, Pushpa, "Education for democracy, Education for emancipation": Historical narratives of the Workers' Educational Association and the Labour colleges 1900–1920' *Socialist History* 59 (2021) p. 49 ff
- Landau, Ronnie S. *The Nazi Holocaust* (London, New York: I.B. Tauris 1994)
- Larsen, T. *Friends of Religious Equality: Nonconformist Politics in Mid-Victorian England* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press 1999) ()

- Larsen, Timothy, and Michael Ledger-Lomas (ed.) *The Oxford History of Protestant Dissenting Traditions, Volume III The Nineteenth Century* (Oxford University Press 2017)
- Leachman, C. I., 'From An 'Unruly Sect' To A Society Of 'Strict Unity': The Development of Quakerism in England c. 1650-1689' (Thesis submitted for the degree of Ph.D. in History, University College London 1997)
- Leighton, Denys, a. *The Greenian moment: T. H. Green, religion and political argument in Victorian Britain* (Imprint Academic 2004)
- Leighton, Denys, b. 'T.H. Green and the Dissidence of Dissent: On Religion and National Character in Nineteenth-Century England,' *Parliamentary history*, 2008, Vol.27 (1), p.43-56
- Leonard, Thomas M., John F. Bratzel, *Latin America During World War II* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2007))
- Levene, M. *Devastation: Volume I: The European Rimlands 1912-1938* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013). Oxford Scholarship Online, 2014
- Leventhal, F. M., 'Union of Democratic Control (act. 1914–1924).' (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 2006) Accessed 30 Sep. 2021.
- Levine, Philippa, *Eugenics: A Very Short introduction* (Oxford University Press 2017)
- Liberal Democrat History Group, 'Liberal History A concise history of the Liberal Party, SDP and Liberal Democrats' (off-print 2020)
- Lindsay, James Edwin. *The Failure of Liberal Opposition to British Entry Into World War I.* (PhD thesis Columbia University, 1969)
- Lisio, D. J., *British Naval Supremacy and Anglo-American Antagonisms, 1914-1930* Cambridge University Press 2014)
- Living Adventurously* (Quaker Faith & Practice, Central and Southern Africa Yearly Meeting 2009)
- Loizou, Nicholas A ., 'Before New Liberalism: The Continuity of Radical Dissent, 1867–1914' A thesis submitted to the University of Manchester for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Humanities 2019
- Lokanathan, P. S. 'The Bombay Plan' *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (Jul., 1945), pp. 680-686
- Lonsdale, Kathleen, *Quakers visit Russia* (London: Friends House 1952)
- Louis, William Roger, *Ends of British Imperialism: The Scramble for Empire, Suez, and Decolonization* (I. B. Tauris 2006)
- Lukowitz, David, C., 'George Lansbury's Peace Missions to Hitler and Mussolini in 1937.' *Canadian Journal of History* 15, no. 1 (1980): 67-82.
- Lunn, Pam "'You Have Lost Your Opportunity": British Quakers and the Militant Phase of the Women's Suffrage Campaign: 1906-1914' *Quaker Studies* Vol. 2: Iss. 1 (1997) Article 2
- Lydon, Jane, *Imperial Emotions: The Politics of Empathy across the British Empire* (Cambridge University Press 2019)
- Lynch, Cecelia, *Beyond appeasement: interpreting interwar peace movements in world politics* (Cornell University Press 1999)

- Machin, G. I. T. *Churches and Social Issues in Twentieth-Century Britain* (Oxford University Press, 1998)
- MacIntyre, Alasdair, *After Virtue* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, London: Duckworth 1985)
- MacLachlan, Alastair 'Becoming National?: G. M. Trevelyan: The dilemmas of a liberal (inter)nationalist, 1900-1945' *Humanities research*, 2013-01-01, Vol.19 (1), p.23-43
- Maclean, K. , *A Revolutionary History of Interwar India: Violence, Image, Voice and Text* (Oxford Scholarship Online 2015)
- Macmillan, Margaret, a. *Peacemakers: The Paris Conference of 1919 and its Attempt to End War* (London: John Murray, 2001)
- Macmillan, Margaret, b. *The War that Ended Peace* (London: Profile Books 2013)
- Macquarrie, J. *Twentieth-Century Religious Thought* (Fifth edition: London 2001: SCM Press)
- Magnus, Philip, *King Edward The Seventh* (London: John Murray 1964)
- Mandler, Peter, (ed.) *Liberty and Authority in Victorian Britain* (Oxford University Press, 2006)
- Mangan, J. A. (ed.) *'Benefits Bestowed'? Education and British Imperialism* (Manchester University Press 1988)
- Mantena, Karuna , 'The Crisis of Liberal Imperialism ', *Histoire @Politique: Politique, culture, société* , N°11, mai-août 2010,
- Marks, Sally, 'The Myths of Reparations.' *Central European History* 11, no. 3 (1978): 231–55.
- Marquand, David, 'MacDonald, (James) Ramsay (1866–1937), prime minister.' (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 2004)
- Marriott, J. A. R., *Modern England (1885–1945): A History of My Own Times* (Fourth Edition, London: Methuen 1948)
- Marston, D., *The Indian Army and the End of the Raj* (Cambridge University Press, 2014)
- Masterman C. F. G. a. *The Heart of the Empire. Discussions of Problems of Modern City Life in England* [1901]. Edited with an introduction by Bentley B. Gilbert (Brighton: The Harvester Press, 1973)
- Masterman, C. F. G. b. *The condition of England* (London: Faber & Faber [1909])
- Matikkala, Mira, *Empire and imperial ambition: liberty, Englishness and anti-imperialism in late Victorian Britain* (London and New York I. B. Tauris, 2011)
- Matthew, H. C. G. 'Gladstone, Herbert John, Viscount Gladstone (1854–1930), politician and governor-general of the Union of South Africa.' (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 2004)
- Matthews-Jones, Lucinda, a. 'Centres of Brightness': The Spiritual Imagination of Toynbee Hall and Oxford House, 1880-1914 (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Manchester, 2009)
- Matthews-Jones, Lucinda, b. 'St Francis of Assisi and the Making of Settlement Masculinity, 1883–1914' in Arnold J. H., Brady S. (eds) *What is Masculinity?. Genders and Sexualities in History* (London: Palgrave Macmillan 2011)

- Mattox, J. Mark, 'Augustine: Political and Social Philosophy' *The Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ISSN 2161-0002, <https://iep.utm.edu/>, 31/12/2021
- Maurice, F. D. , *The Kingdom of Christ: Or, Hints Respecting the Principles, Constitution, and Ordinances of the Catholic Church* (D. Appleton & Company 1843)
- Maxon, Robert M. 'The Devonshire Declaration: The Myth of Missionary Intervention.' *History in Africa* 18 (1991): 259-70
- McBriar, A. M., *Fabian Socialism and English Politics, 1884-1918* (Cambridge University Press, 1962)
- McCord, N., Purdue, A. W., & Purdue, B., *British history 1815-1914* (Oxford University Press 2007) Chapter 10: Political developments 1880–1914
- McGrath, Alister E. *Christian Theology: An Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell 2<sup>nd</sup> edition 1997)
- McLeod, Hugh, *Class and Religion in the Late Victorian City* (London: Croom Helm, 1974)
- Meacham, Standish, *Toynbee Hall and Social Reform, 1880-1914: The Search for Community* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987)
- Meadowcroft, Michael, 'Harvey, Thomas Edmund [T. Edmund, Ted] (1875–1955), politician and social reformer.' (Oxford Dictionary of National Biography 2021)
- Meanwood Park digital archive <http://www.meanwoodpark.co.uk/>
- Mendl, Wolf, *Prophets and Reconcilers: reflections on the Quaker peace testimony* (Friends Home Service Committee, 1974)
- Mendlesohn, Farah. 'Practising peace: American and British Quaker relief in the Spanish Civil War.' PhD diss., University of York, 1997.
- Metcalf, Barbara D., and Thomas R. Metcalf. *A Concise History of Modern India*, 3rd ed., (Cambridge University Press, 2012)
- Metzger, Bruce M., and Michael David Coogan, (eds.) *The Oxford Companion to the Bible*. Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Meyer, Jessica, 'Neutral Caregivers or Military Support? The British Red Cross, the Friends' Ambulance Unit, and the Problems of Voluntary Medical Aid in Wartime' *War & Society*, 34:2 (2015) 105-120
- Midgley, Patricia, *The Churches and the Working Classes: Leeds, 1870-1920* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012)
- Milligan, Edward H. a. 'George Newman : centenary reflections' (*Friends' quarterly*; Vol.17; no.1; January 1971; p. 28-33)
- Milligan, Edward H. b. *Biographical Dictionary of British Quakers in Commerce and Industry 1775-1920* (York, England: Sessions Book Trust 2007)
- Milligan, Edward H. c. 'The Ancient Way: the Conservative Tradition in Nineteenth Century British Quakerism,' (*Journal of the Friends Historical Society*, 57 (1994): 74–97)
- Misra, Maria, *Business, Race, and Politics in British India, c. 1850–1960* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999)
- Mitchell, D., *Politics of Dissent: a Biography of E. D. Morel* (Silverwood Books Limited 2014)

- Mizutani, S., *The Meaning of White: Race, Class, and the 'Domiciled Community' in British India 1858-1930* (Oxford University Press, 2011)
- Moke, Paul 'AFSC and the Holocaust: Pathways of Conscience in Vichy France' (*Quaker history*, 2020, Vol.109 (2)), pp.1-30
- Montmorency, J. E. G. de, revised by Sinead Agnew, 'Fry, Sir Edward (1827–1918), judge and zoologist.' (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 2004)
- Moore, J. R. *Religion in Victorian Britain: Controversies* (Manchester University Press 1988)
- Morgan, S. J., 'John Deakin Heaton and the elusive civic pride of the Victorian middle class'. *Urban History*, 2018 45 (4). pp. 595-615.
- Morris, A. J. Anthony, a. *Radicalism Against War 1906-1914: the advocacy of peace and retrenchment* (London: Longman 1972)
- Morris, A. J., Anthony, b. *Edwardian radicalism, 1900-1914: some aspects of British radicalism* (London: Routledge 1974)
- Morton, V. 1988. *Quaker politics and industrial change 1800-1850* (PhD thesis Open University December 1988)
- Muers, Rachel, and Rhiannon Grant, *Reimagining a True Social Order*  
<https://quakersocialorder.org.uk/>
- Mukherjee, Sumita, *Nationalism, education and migrant identities: The England-returned* (Routledge, 2009)
- Muller, Jan-Werner, a. *Constitutional Patriotism* (Princeton University Press, 2007)
- Muller, Jan-Werner, b. *What is Populism* (Penguin Books, 2017)
- Murdoch, Iris, *The Sovereignty of Good* (London: Routledge 1970/2003)
- Murphy, Andrew R. *Liberty, Conscience, and Toleration: The Political Thought of William Penn.* (Oxford University Press, 2016)
- Murphy, James, a. *The Religious Problem in Education* (Liverpool University Press 1959)
- Murphy, James. b. *Church, State and Schools in Britain 1800-1970* (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul 1971)
- Nair, C. Sankaran, *Gandhi And Anarchy* (Madras: Tagore & Co., 1922)
- Neill, J., *The origins and role of same-sex relations in human societies* (McFarland 2011)
- Neville, Graham, *Radical Churchman: Edward Lee Hicks and the New Liberalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998)
- Nevinson, H. W., a. *A modern slavery* (Harper 1906)
- Nevinson, H. W., b. revised by A. J. A. Morris, 'Massingham, Henry William (1860–1924), journalist.' (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 2004)
- Newman, George, *Infant mortality, a social problem* (London: Methuen, 1906)
- Nichols, Beverley, *Verdict on India* (London: Jonathan Cape 1944)
- Noel-Baker, Philip, *The First World Disarmament 1932-33 and why it failed* (Oxford: Pergamon 1979)
- Noonan, Jeff, 'Radical Philosophy and Social Criticism' *International Critical Thought*, 4:1, (2014) 10-20

- Norwood, Stephen H. 'The Quakers' Dark Side: Appeasement, Ambivalence, and Antisemitism, 1933–1939', *National Resilience, Politics and Society* Volume 4 No. 1–2, 2022, pp. 11-49
- Nugent, Walter, *Progressivism: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford University Press 2010)
- O'Mara, Veronica (ed) *Quakers and the First World War: Conscience and Courage from a Leeds Perspective* (York: Radius Publishing/Quacks Books 2018) pp 18-27
- O'Gorman, F., (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to John Ruskin*. (Cambridge University Press, 2015)
- Okia, Opolot, a. 'Forced labor and humanitarian ideology in Kenya, 1911–1925' (PhD dissertation West Virginia University, 2002.)
- Okia, Opolot, b. *Communal Labor in Colonial Kenya: The Legitimization of Coercion, 1912-1930* (Palgrave Macmillan US, 2012)
- Oldfield, Sybil, a. 'Eleanor Rathbone and India: Cultural Imperialist or Friend to Women?.' *Asian Journal of Women's Studies* 3, no. 3 (1997): 157-168.
- Oldfield, Sybil, b. 'Harris, Sir John Hobbs (1874–1940), campaigner against slavery.' (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 2004)
- Oldfield, Sybil, c. 'Pye, Edith Mary (1876–1965), midwife and international relief organizer.' (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 2004)
- Omissi, David E. <https://www.globalpolicy.org/component/content/article/169-history/36386-british-air-power-and-colonial-control-in-iraq-1920-1925.html> accessed 13/06/2020
- Orchard, S., 'Nonconformists and Education' in R. Pope(ed.) *T&T Clark Companion to Nonconformity* (London: Bloomsbury 2013)
- Orr, E. W., *The Quakers in Peace and War 1920-1967: The Quaker attitude to war* (Eastbourne: W. J. Offord 1974)
- Orwell, George, a. *Burmese Days* (1934)
- Orwell, George, b. 'Notes on Nationalism' (*Polemic* October 1945)
- Oswald, Franz, and Maureen Perkins, eds., 'Europe - Divided or United?' (*Proceedings of the Biennial Conference of the Australasian Association for European Historians, 1999*) (Canberra: Southern Highlands Publishers, 2000), pp. 211-230
- Otto, Rudolf, trans John W. Harvey, *The idea of the holy: an inquiry into the non-rational factor in the idea of the divine and its relation to the rational* (Oxford University Press, 1923)
- Overy, Richard, a. *The Battle of Britain: myth and reality* (Penguin UK, 2010)
- Overy, Richard, b. 'Constructing Space for Dissent in War: The Bombing Restriction Committee, 1941–1945', *English Historical Review*, Volume 131, Issue 550, (June 2016), Pages 596–622
- Owen, Nicholas, a. 'Critics of empire in Britain' in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Volume IV: The Twentieth Century* (Oxford University Press, 1999)
- Owen, Nicholas, b. *The British Left and India: Metropolitan Anti-Imperialism, 1885-1947*. (Oxford University Press, 2007)

- Packer, Ian, a. *The Letters of Arnold Stephenson Rowntree to Mary Katherine Rowntree, 1910-1918* (Cambridge University Press 2002)
- Packer, Ian, b. 'Religion and the New Liberalism: The Rowntree Family, Quakerism, and Social Reform', *Journal of British Studies*, 2003, 42: 236-257
- Packer, Ian, c. *Liberal government and politics, 1905-15* (Springer 2006)
- Palfreeman, Linda, 'The Maternité Anglaise: A Lasting Legacy of the Friends' War Victims' Relief Committee to the People of France during the First World War (1914–1918).' *Religions* 12, no. 4 (2021): 265.
- Palić, M. *The Ukrainian-Polish defensive alliance, 1919-1921: an aspect of the Ukrainian revolution* (CIUS Press 1995)
- Pandey, G., a. *The construction of communalism in colonial North India* (Oxford University Press 1990)
- Pandey, G., b. *Remembering partition: Violence, nationalism and history in India* (Cambridge University Press 2001)
- Panigrahi, D. *India's Partition : The Story of Imperialism in Retreat*, (Taylor and Francis, 2004)
- Parry, J., 'The Disciplining of the Religious Conscience in Nineteenth-Century British Politics' Chapter in *Religion and the Political Imagination*, edited by Ira Katznelson and Gareth Stedman Jones, (Cambridge University Press, 2010) pp 214–34.
- Paskins, Susan K. , 'Imagining Enlightenment: Buddhism and Kipling's Kim' (Birkbeck College, unpublished PhD thesis London 2017)
- Passes, Edwin Montague. 'The Christian socialism of R. H. Tawney.' (PhD diss., London School of Economics and Political Science 1994)
- Pearce, Cyril, a. *Comrades in Conscience: The Story of an English Community's Opposition to the Great War* (2001 London: Francis Boutle 2001)
- Pearce, Cyril, b. *Communities of Resistance: conscience and dissent in Britain during the First World War* (London, Francis Boutle 2020)
- Pedersen, Susan, a. *Eleanor Rathbone and the politics of conscience* (Yale University Press, 2004)
- Pedersen, Susan, b. and Peter Mandler, *After the Victorians: Private Conscience and Public Duty in Modern Britain* (Routledge, 1994)
- Pedersen, Susan, c. *Internationalism and Empire: British Dilemmas, 1919-1939* (The Ford Lectures, Oxford 2014)
- Pedersen, Susan, d. *The Guardians: The League of Nations and the Crisis of Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015)
- Peters, James Nicholas, 'Anti-Socialism in British Politics, c.1900-1922.' (PhD thesis, University of Oxford 1992)
- Pethick Lawrence, F. W., *Capital Levy* (London: G. Allen & Unwin, [1918])
- Philip, Kavita, 'Post-colonial historiography and the polemicist's task: understanding Perry Anderson's Indian Ideology' *Social History*, 39:3, (2014) 408-427
- Phillips, Brian David, a. 'Friendly Patriots: British Quakerism And The Imperial Nation, 1890 –1910' (University of Cambridge: unpublished PhD thesis, 1989)



- Phillips, Brian, b. 'The Loss of Hope: England and its Establishment in the 20th Century,' in Dandelion, Pink, and others, *Towards Tragedy, Reclaiming Hope* [q.v]
- Phillips, D. 'Michael Sadler and Comparative Education' *Oxford Review of Education*, 32(1), (2006) 39-54.
- Picht, Werner, *Toynbee Hall and the Settlement Movement* (translated from the German by Lilian A. Cowell: G.Bell & Sons Ltd 1914)
- Pickering, Oliver, a. *Sir Michael Sadler: a bibliography of his published works* (Leeds: University of Leeds. Department of Adult Education, 1982)
- Pickering, Oliver, b. 'Education as Exploration: Sir Michael Sadler, Eva Gilpin, and Artwork at the Hall School Weybridge (An illustrated talk given in the Stanley & Audrey Burton Gallery, University of Leeds, on Saturday 18 February 2012; unpublished)  
<https://ospickering.files.wordpress.com/2013/03/hall-school-talk-revised-nov-2016.pdf>
- Pimlott, John Alfred Ralph, *Toynbee Hall: Fifty Years of Social Progress 1884-1934* (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1935)
- Plank, Geoffrey, *John Woolman's Path to the Peaceable Kingdom: A Quaker in the British Empire*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press 2012)
- Pollard, Francis E. *Pacifism and the League of Nations* (Friends Peace Committee May 1925)
- Pope, R., *T&T Clark Companion to Nonconformity* (London: Bloomsbury 2013)
- Priestley, Philip, 'Brise, Sir Evelyn John Ruggles- (1857–1935), prison administrator and founder of the Borstal system.' (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 2004)
- Prochaska, Frank, *Christianity and Social Service in Modern Britain: The Disinherited Spirit* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008)
- Pryce, Elaine, "Upon the Quakers and the Quietists": Quietism, Power and Authority in Late Seventeenth-Century France, and its Relation to Quaker History and Theology,' *Quaker Studies* : Vol. 14: 1 ss. 2, Article 6. (2010)
- Pugh, D.R. 'English Nonconformity, education and passive resistance 1903–6' (*History of Education*: Vol 19, No 4 )
- Punshon, John, *Portrait in grey: A short history of the Quakers*. (London: Quaker Home Service, 1984)
- Purvis, June, a. 'The prison experiences of the suffragettes in Edwardian Britain' (*Women's History Review*, 4:1, 103-133, 1995)
- Purvis, June, b. 'Deeds, Not Words: The Daily Lives of Militant Suffragettes in Edwardian Britain' *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (1995)
- Quaker Faith & Practice 5<sup>th</sup> edition <https://qfp.quaker.org.uk/>  
[quaker.org.uk](https://www.quaker.org.uk/) *A matter of conscience: Quakers and conscription*  
<https://www.quaker.org.uk/resources/exhibitions/conscription>
- Raby, Alister, *Virginia Woolf's wise and witty Quaker aunt: a biographical sketch of Caroline Emelia Stephen* (London: Cecil Woolf 2002 28pp)
- Rae, John, *Conscience and Politics: The British Government and the Conscientious Objector to Military Service, 1916-19* (London: Oxford University Press 1970)
- Ratcliffe George, *Sixty Years of It* (London & Hull: A. Brown & Son Ltd, 1935)

- Rathbone, Eleanor, *William Rathbone: A Memoir* (London: Macmillan 1905)
- Readman, Paul, 'The Liberal Party and Patriotism in Early Twentieth Century Britain' *Twentieth Century British History*, Volume 12, Issue 3, 2001, Pages 269–302,
- Reid, Fiona and Sharif Gernie. 'The Friends Relief Service And Displaced People In Europe After The Second World War, 1945-48.' *Quaker Studies* 17, no. 2 (03, 2013): 223-243,
- Reynolds, David, *The Long Shadow: The Legacies of the Great War in the Twentieth Century* (London: Simon & Schuster) 2014
- Reynolds, Reginald, a. *White Sahibs in India* (London: Martin Secker & Warburg 1937)
- Reynolds, Reginald, b. *The wisdom of John Woolman: with a selection from his writings as a guide to the seekers of today* (London : George Allen & Unwin, 1948)
- Rhys, Ernest (ed.), *Selected Speeches of The right hon. John Bright, MP, on Public Questions with an Introduction by Joseph Sturge* (London: Everyman 1907)
- Richards, Noel J., a. 'The Education Bill of 1906 and the Decline of Political Nonconformity', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. XXIII, No. 1, (January 1972) pp 49–63
- Richards, Noel J., b. *Political Nonconformity at the Turn of the Twentieth Century Journal of Church and State*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (Spring 1975), pp. 239-258
- Richards, Norvin, *Humility* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press 1992)
- Richardson, Alan, a. *A dictionary of Christian theology* (London SCM Press 1969 )
- Richardson, Alan, b. and John Bowden, *A new dictionary of Christian theology* (London: SCM Press 1983)
- Richardson, Dorothy, *Gleanings from the works of George Fox* (London Headley Brothers 1914)
- Richter, Melvin, a. 'T. H. Green and His Audience: Liberalism as a Surrogate Faith.' *The Review of Politics* 18, no. 4 (1956): 444-72.
- Richter, Melvin, b. *The Politics of Conscience: T. H. Green and His Age*(Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1964
- Rieser, Richard, 'The Struggle For Disability Equality' in Mike Cole (ed.) *Education, Equality and Human Rights: Issues of gender, 'race', sexuality, disability and social class* (Taylor & Francis 2014)
- Rietzler, Katharina, 'Counter-imperial orientalism: Friedrich Berber and the politics of international law in Germany and India, 1920s–1960s.' *Journal of Global History* 11, no. 1 (2016): 113-134.
- Rigby, Andrew, a. 'Peace News, 1936-1986: An Overview', in G. Chester & A. Rigby, eds., *Articles of Peace: Celebrating fifty years of Peace News* (Bridport: Prism Press, 1986) pp. 7 – 26
- Rigby, Andrew, b. 'Pacifists in War-time, the Search for a Role: the Peace Pledge Union, 1936-1945' in P. Brock & T. Socknat, eds, *Pacifism: 1918-1945*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997) p.10
- Rigby, Andrew, c. 'Pacifism in the Second World War' in N. Young, ed., *The Oxford International Encyclopaedia of Peace* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010) v.4, pp. 475-7.

- Riley, Athelstan, Michael E. Sadler, and Cyril Jackson, *The Religious Question in Public Education* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1911)
- Riley, L. W., 'Articles in Quaker Periodicals' *Bulletin of Friends Historical Association* (1952) vol 41: 77–79
- Ritschel, Daniel, a. 'Progressive Planning: The Next Five Years Group' in *The Politics of Planning: The Debate on Economic Planning in Britain in the 1930s* (Oxford University Press, 1997)
- Ritschel, Daniel, b. 'Next Five Years group (act. 1934–1938).' (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 2007)
- Roads, Judith, 'The Distinctiveness Of Quaker Prose, 1650-1699: A Corpus-Based Enquiry' (PhD University of Birmingham 2015)
- Robbins, Keith, a. *The Abolition of War: the Peace Movement in Britain 1914-1919* (Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 1976)
- Robbins, Keith, b. *John Bright* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul 1979)
- Robbins, Keith, c. *History, religion, and identity in modern Britain* (London Hambledon Press 1993)
- Roberts, A. D., 'The Gold Boom of the 1930s in Eastern Africa.' *African Affairs* 85, no. 341 (1986): 545-62.
- Roberts, Andrew, *The Holy Fox: The Life of Lord Halifax* (Hachette UK, 1991/2011)
- Roberts, P. E., and T. G. P. Spears, *History of British India under the Company and the Crown* (Oxford At The Clarendon Press, 1952)
- Roberts, Richenda M., 'Art of a second order': the First World War from the British home front perspective' (University of Birmingham. Ph.D. 2012)
- Roberts, Siân Lliwen, a. 'Place, Life Histories and the Politics of Relief: Episodes in the life of Francesca Wilson, humanitarian educator activist.' (PhD diss., University of Birmingham, 2010)
- Roberts, Sian Lliwen, b. 'A "position of peculiar responsibility": Quaker women in transnational humanitarian relief, 1914-24', *Quaker Studies* vol. 21, no. 2 2016, pp. 235-255
- Roberts, Sian Lliwen, c. and Rebecca Wynter, 'Conscientious Objection & Conscription', 'Quakers on the Home Front', 'The Friends' War Victims' Relief Committee', 'The Friends Ambulance Unit' (*Quakers & the First World War: Lives and Legacies*: Woodbrooke Quaker Study Centre; University of Birmingham; Arts & Humanities Research Council 2018)
- Roberts, Stephen, (ed), *A Ministry of Enthusiasm: Centenary Essays on the Workers' Educational Assoc.* (Pluto Press, 2003)
- Robinson, W., 'Historiographical Reflections on the 1902 Education Act', *Oxford Review of Education*, 28 (2002) pp 159-172
- Robson, Susan, 'T. Edmund Harvey MP for Leeds West 1910-1918' in Veronica O'Mara (ed) *Quakers and the First World War: Conscience and Courage from a Leeds Perspective* (York: Radius Publishing/Quacks Books 2018) pp 18-27
- Rock, Hugh, 'Rufus Jones Never did Establish that Quakerism is a Mystical Religion.' *Quaker Studies* 21, no. 1 (2016): 49-66.

- Rogers, James E. Thorold (ed.) *Speeches On Questions Of Public Policy By John Bright, M.P.* Edited by in two volumes Vol. I. 'India' (London: T.Fisher Unwin, 1908)
- Rowntree, Maurice L., *Co-operation or chaos? A handbook written at the request of the War And Social Order Committee of the Society Of Friends* (London: Headley Bros 1918 )
- Roy, Arundhati, *The Doctor and the Saint: Caste, race, and annihilation of caste, the debate between B. R. Ambedkar and M. K. Gandhi* (Haymarket Books, 2017)
- Royal Commission on the Care and Control of the Feeble-Minded Vol VIII (London: HMSO, 1908)
- Rubinstein, David, *Essays in Quaker History* (Quacks Books, York 2016)
- Ruggles-Brise, Evelyn John, *The English Prison System* (London: Macmillan 1921)
- Russell, Elbert, *The History Of Quakerism* (New York: Macmillan 1942)
- Russo-Polish War' *Encyclopædia Britannica* Published: July 30, 2014 URL: <https://www.britannica.com/event/Russo-Polish-War-1919-1920> Access Date: September 10, 2018
- Sacks, Benjamin, *The Religious Issue in the State Schools of England and Wales, 1902-1914.* (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1961)
- Sadler, Michael E., *Moral instruction and training in schools: Report of an international inquiry* (two vols) (London: Longmans Green 1909)
- Satia, P. 'The Defense of Inhumanity: Air Control and the British Idea of Arabia', *The American Historical Review*, 111 (2006) 16-51
- Satre, Lowell Joseph, *Chocolate on Trial: Slavery, Politics, and the Ethics of Business* (Athens: Ohio University Press 2005)
- Schmitt, H. A., *Quakers and Nazis: Inner Light in Outer Darkness* University of Missouri 1997)
- Schwartz, Barry, and Kenneth Sharpe, *Practical wisdom: The right way to do the right thing'* (Penguin, 2010)
- Scotland, Nigel, *Squires in the slums: Settlements and missions in late Victorian Britain* (London, New York: I. B. Tauris, 2007)
- Scott, J., 'Quakers, Other Churches, and Other Faiths', in Angell, S.W., and P. Dandelion (eds.) *The Oxford handbook of Quaker studies* (Oxford University Press 2013)
- Scott, W. H., *Leeds in the Great War, 1914-1918* (Leeds Libraries and Arts Committee 1923)
- Seaman, John W., 'L. T. Hobhouse and the Theory of "Social Liberalism"' *Canadian Journal of Political Science / Revue Canadienne De Science Politique* 11, no. 4 (1978): 777-801.
- Seaman, L. C. B., *Post-Victorian Britain 1902–51* (London: Methuen 1966)
- Searle, G.R. *The quest for national efficiency: a study in British politics and political thought, 1899-1914* (Oxford: Blackwell 1971)
- Selbie, W. B., *The Life of Charles Silvester Horne* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1920)

- Selby-Bigge, L. A., *The Board of Education* (London: Putnam, 1927)
- Seymour, J. B. *The British Employment Exchange* (London: P. S. King, 1928)
- Sharp, Alan, a., G. A. Stone, and G. Stone (ed.), *Anglo-French Relations in the Twentieth Century: Rivalry and Cooperation* (Routledge, 1999)
- Sharp, Alan, b., 'Lord Curzon and British policy towards the Franco- Belgian occupation of the Ruhr in 1923' *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, 8:2, (1997) 83-96
- Shaw, Sarah Ruth, "'Absolute And Legitimate Necessities": Female Quaker Readers in York c1885-1925' (PhD thesis, University of York July 2013)
- Shepherd, John, 'Lansbury, George (1859–1940), leader of the Labour Party.' (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 2004)
- Showalter, Anna. 'The Mennonite Young People's Conference movement, 1919-1923: the legacy of a (failed?) vision.' *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 85, no. 2 (2011): 181-219.
- Shrimpton, Nicholas, 'Politics and Economics.' Chapter in *The Cambridge Companion to John Ruskin*, edited by Francis O'Gorman, 116–29.(Cambridge University Press, 2015)
- Silverlock, G. 2003. 'British Disarmament Policy and the Rome Naval Conference, 1924', *War in History* 10: 184-205
- Simmons, H. G. 1978. 'Explaining Social Policy: The English Mental Deficiency Act of 1913', *Journal of Social History*, 11: 387-403
- Simons, Geoff, *Libya and the West: From Independence to Lockerbie* (I.B.Tauris. 2003)
- Singh, A. I., *The Origins of the Partition of India, 1936-1947* (Oxford University Press, 1987)
- Smith, Harold, 'World War I and British Left Wing Intellectuals: The Case of Leonard T. Hobhouse' *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* Vol. 5, No. 4 (Winter,1973), pp. 261-273
- Smith, Heather K. a. 'Sir George Newman and his role as an educator' Thesis (PhD Monash University Faculty of Education, 1997)
- Smith, Heather K. b. 'A Quaker Inheritance: An Analysis of Family Values, Religion and the Childhood and Youth of George Newman (1870-1948)' *Quaker Studies* (Vol 5 Issue 1 Article 4, 2000)
- Smith, Helen Victoria, 'Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury (1858-1951): Religion, Maternalism And Social Reform In Birmingham, 1888-1914' (PhD thesis, University of Birmingham 2012) <https://etheses.bham.ac.uk/id/eprint/3296/1/Smith12PhD.pdf>
- Smith, Mark K., a. 'Settlements and adult education.' in Ruth Gilchrist and Tony Jeffs *Settlements, Social Change and Community Action: Good Neighbours* (London: Jessica Kingsley, 2001) pp 123-51.
- Smith, Mark K., b. 'Adult schools and the making of adult education' (2004) <http://infed.org/mobi/adult-schools-and-the-making-of-adult-education>
- Smith, Neil, 'Social reform in Edwardian liberalism: the genesis of the policies of national insurance and old age pensions, 1906-11' (Durham theses, Durham University 1972) <http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/10241>

- Smith, Sue, 'Goody-Goody Fellows? Quakers and the End of Empire in India' (British Empire at War Research Group, Defence Studies Department, King's College London; BEAW Research Paper 3, 2013)  
<https://britishempireatwardotorg.files.wordpress.com/2012/09/quakers-and-the-end-of-empire-in-india1.pdf>
- Smith, Warren Sylvester, *The London Heretics: 1870-1914* (London: Constable, 1967)
- Southern, Alice, a. 'The Rowntree History Series and the Growth of Liberal Quakerism: 1895-1925' (MPhil thesis university of Birmingham 2010)
- Southern, Alice, b. 'The Rowntree history series and the growth of liberal Quakerism', *Journal of the Quaker Studies Research Association*, 2011-12, Vol.16 pp 7-73
- Spencer, C. D., 'Quakers in the Theological Context', in Stephen W. Angell and Pink Dandelion (ed.) *Oxford Handbook of Quaker Studies* (Oxford University Press 2013)
- Spencer, Douglas A. 'Meanwood Park Hospital, Leeds: Seventy years, 1919-1989: a chronicle' *Psychiatric Bulletin* (1989), 13, 629-631
- Spielhofer, Sheila, *Stemming the dark tide: Quakers in Vienna 1919-1942* (York, William Sessions, 2001)
- Srinivasan, Vasanthi, *Gandhi's Conscience Keeper: C. Rajagopalachari and Indian Politics* (India: Permanent Black, 2009)
- Stachura, P., *Poland, 1918-1945: an interpretive and documentary history of the Second Republic* (Routledge 2004)
- Stapleton, Julia, a. 'Political thought, elites, and the state in modern Britain.' *Historical Journal* 42, no. 1 (1999) pp 251-268.
- Stapleton, Julia, b. 'Political thought and national identity in Britain, 1850–1950' in S. Collini, R. Whatmore, & B. Young (Eds.), *History, Religion, and Culture: British Intellectual History 1750–1950* (Cambridge University Press 2000) pp 245–269
- Stapleton, Julia, c. *Englishness and the Study of Politics: The Social and Political Thought of Ernest Barker* (Cambridge University Press, 2006)
- Stapleton, Julia, d. *Christianity, Patriotism, and Nationhood: The England of G. K. Chesterton* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books 2009)
- Stapleton, Julia, e. 'The De-Christianisation of England: Anglo-Catholic Perspectives in the Early Circle of G. K. Chesterton and in the Late Twentieth Century', *The Chesterton Review* 2011, 37: 81-104
- Stapleton, Julia, f. 'The New Liberal Vision of C. F. G. Masterman: religion, politics and literature in early twentieth-century Britain.' *Modern Intellectual History* (2017) pp 1–31.
- Stearn, Roger T. 'National Service League (act. 1902–1914)' (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 2006)
- Steele, Tom, *Swarthmore's Century: A Leeds Experiment in Adult Education 1909-2009* (Leeds: Swarthmore Educational Centre, 2009)
- Stephen, Caroline E., *Quaker strongholds* (London: Headley Brothers 1907)
- Stevens, Sylvia, 'Travelling Ministry' in S. W. Angell, and B. P. Dandelion (eds.) *The Oxford handbook of Quaker studies* (Oxford University Press, 2013) pp 302–3

- Stoklosa, Katarzyna, *Jehovah's Witnesses in Europe* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing 2019)
- Storr, Katherine, *Excluded from the Record: Women, Refugees, and Relief, 1914-1929* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2009)
- Sturdy, Steve, 'Newman, Sir George (1870–1948), medical officer of health' (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 2004)
- Sutcliffe, Steven J., 'Absolutism and Pragmatism in Conscientious Objection to Military Service during the 1914–18 war' *Kirchliche Zeitgeschichte*, Vol. 31, No. 1, Glaube und der Erste Weltkrieg / Faith in the First World War (2018), pp. 43-57
- Swan, C. A. *The Slavery of Today* (Glasgow: Pickering and Inglis 1902)
- Swinson, Arthur, *Kohima* (London: Cassell, 1966)
- Sykes, Marjorie, a. *Quakers in India: a Forgotten Century* (London: George Allen & Unwin 1980)
- Sykes, Marjorie, b. *An Indian Tapestry: Quaker Threads in the History of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh* (York: Sessions Book Trust 1997)
- Tanner, Duncan, a. *Political Change and the Labour Party 1900–18* (Cambridge University Press 1990)
- Tanner, Duncan, b. 'Snowden, Philip, Viscount Snowden (1864–1937), politician.' (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 2004)
- Tawney, R. H., *Secondary education for all* (A&C Black, 1924).
- Taylor, A. J. P., *English History 1914-1945* (Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1965)
- Taylor, Graeme, *Ada Salter: Pioneer of ethical socialism*. (Lawrence & Wishart, 2016)
- Taylor, Miles. 'Bright, John (1811–1889), politician' (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 2004)
- Terkla, Daniel P., "Pilgrimage as Metaphor", in *Encyclopedia of Medieval Pilgrimage*. Consulted online on 05 January 2022 <[http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2213-2139\\_emp\\_SIM\\_00291](http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2213-2139_emp_SIM_00291)>
- The Next Five Years: an Essay in Political Agreement: A programme of priorities /* issued by the Next Five Years Group (printed by the Oxford University Press for the 'Next Five Years' Group 1937)
- Thomas, Anna LL. B. and Elizabeth B. Emmott, *William Charles Braithwaite: Memoir and Papers* (London : Longmans, Green, 1931)
- Thompson, J. A. 'The Historians and the Decline of the Liberal Party.' *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 22, no. 1 (1990): 65-83
- Thompson, Jane Smeal, and Thompson, Helen G., *Silvanus Phillips Thompson: His Life and Letters* (London: T. Fisher Unwin 1920)
- Thomson, Mathew, *The Problem of Mental Deficiency: Eugenics, Democracy, and Social Policy in Britain, c.1870-1959*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998)
- Tinker, Hugh, 'The India Conciliation Group, 1931–1950: Dilemmas of the Mediator', *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics* 14/3 (1976)
- Tolles, F. B., and D. G. Harris. 1946. 'Articles In Quaker Periodicals', *Bulletin of Friends Historical Association*, 35: 82-87

- Tornau, Christian, 'Saint Augustine', *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Summer 2020 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL = [<https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2020/entries/augustine/>](https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2020/entries/augustine/).
- Tosh, John, *The pursuit of history: aims, methods and new directions in the study of modern history* (Harlow: Longman 1984).
- Tredgold, Alfred Frank. *Mental deficiency (amentia)* (New York: W. Wood 1916)
- Trevelyan, George Macaulay, *The life of John Bright* (London Constable 1913)
- Tripathi, Amales, and Amitava Tripathi, *Indian National Congress and the Struggle for Freedom, 1885-1947* (Oxford University Press, 2014)
- Tritton, Frederick J., *Carl Heath: apostle of peace* (London: Society of Friends. London Yearly Meeting. Home Service Committee, 1951)
- Ulrichsen, Kristian Coates , 'The British occupation of Mesopotamia, 1914–1922' *Journal of Strategic Studies*, (2007) 30:2
- Urwick, E. J., *A Philosophy of Social Progress* (London: Methuen 1912)
- Vasanthi, Srinivasan, *Gandhi's Conscience Keeper: C. Rajagopalachari and Indian Politics* (India: Permanent Black, 2009)
- Vellacott Jo, *Bertrand Russell and the Pacifists in the First World War* (Brighton, Sussex: The Harvester Press 1980)
- Vincent, Andrew, 'Green, Thomas Hill (1836–1882), philosopher.' (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 2004)
- Viney, Donald, 'Process Theism', *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Summer 2022 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL = [<https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2022/entries/process-theism/>](https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2022/entries/process-theism/).
- Vipont, Elfrida, *Arnold Rowntree: A Life* (Bannisdale press London 1955)
- Von Hugel, Friedrich, *The Mystical Element of Religion as Studied in St. Catherine of Genoa and Her Friends* (London: J.M. Dent 1909; second edition 1923)
- Wagner, Gillian, *The Chocolate Conscience* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1987)
- Wahl, Albert J., *Jesse Herman Holmes, 1864-1942: A Quaker's Affirmation for Man* (Richmond, Indiana: Friends United Press. 1979)
- Waller, P. J. 'Robert Ensor, Edwardian Rationalist' (*History Today* Volume 37 Issue 1 January 1987)
- Walmsley, Jan, 'Women and the Mental Deficiency Act of 1913: citizenship, sexuality and regulation', *British Journal of Learning Disabilities*, (2000) 28: 65-70
- Waugh, Maureen, 'Quakers, Peace and the League of Nations: The Role of Bertram Pickard' *Quaker Studies*, Vol. 6, Issue 1, (2002) Article 4
- Webb, Sidney and Beatrice, *English Prisons Under Local Government* (London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1922)
- Wempe, Ben, *T. H. Green's Theory of Positive Freedom* (Exeter and Charlottesville: Imprint Academic, 2004)
- Wetter, Albert William, "'I Deny Your Authority to Try My Conscience:" Conscription and Conscientious Objectors In Britain During the Great War" (2019). Honors Projects. 117. <https://digitalcommons.bowdoin.edu/honorsprojects/117>



- Wheatcroft, S. G., and C. O. Grada. 'The European famines of World Wars I and II' in Guido Alfani and Cormac O. Grada (eds), *Famine in European history* (Cambridge University Press, 2017) pp 240-68
- Wheeler, M., *Ruskin's God* (Cambridge University Press 1999)
- Whetham, William C. D., and Catherine D. Whetham, *The Family and the Nation* (London: Longmans Green 1909)
- Whiting, R. C. 'Attlee, Clement Richard, first Earl Attlee (1883–1967), prime minister.' (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 2004)
- Who Was Who 1951-1960* (London: Adam And Charles Black 1961)
- Wiener, Martin, *Between Two Worlds: The Political Thought of Graham Wallas* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971)
- Williams, Anthony A. J., *Christian Socialism as Political Ideology The Formation of the British Christian Left, 1877-1945* (I. B. Tauris 2021)
- Williams, Sarah C. 'Religious Belief and Popular Culture' in *Religious Belief and Popular Culture in Southwark c.1880–1939* (Oxford University Press, 1999)
- Williamson, David G., *The British in Interwar Germany: The Reluctant Occupiers, 1918-30* (Bloomsbury Academic 1991)
- Willis, Kirk. "God and the Atom": British Churchmen and the Challenge of Nuclear Power 1945-1950', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 29, no. 3 (1997): 422-57.
- Wilson, Roger C., *Quaker Relief: An Account of the relief work of the Society of Friends 1940–48* (London: George Allen & Unwin 1952)
- Wilson, Trevor, *The downfall of the Liberal Party 1914-1935* (London: Collins, 1966)
- Wink, Walter, *Engaging the powers: discernment and resistance in a world of domination* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992)
- Wiskemann, Elizabeth, *The Fontana History of Europe: Europe of the Dictators 1919-1945* (Collins, London and Glasgow, UK, 1966)
- Wolpert, Stanley, a. *Jinnah of Pakistan* (Oxford University Press, 1984)
- Wolpert, Stanley, b. *Shameful Flight: The Last Years Of The British Empire In India* (Oxford University Press, 2009)
- Wood, Ben, 'Preserving Personhood: Quaker Individualism and Liberal Culture in Dialogue', *Studies in Christian Ethics*, 27(4) (2014) pp 474-489
- Wood, Ian S., *John Wheatley (Lives of the Left)* (Manchester University Press, 1990)
- Wood, J. Duncan, *Horace Alexander 1889-1989: Birds and Binoculars* (Sessions of York 2003)
- Woodward, Brian Charles, 'Elite Migration from the Liberal to the Labour Party, 1917-1924, and the interaction with Popular Politics through the Union of Democratic Control' (BPhil thesis, The Open University 1984)
- Wynter, Rebecca, a. "Pictures of Peter Pan: Institutions, Local Definitions of 'Mental Deficiency', and the Filtering of Children in Early Twentieth-Century England' *Family and Community History* (2015) pp 122-138

- Wynter, Rebecca, b. 'Conscription, Conscience and Controversy: The Friends' Ambulance Unit and the 'Middle Course' in the First World War'. *Quaker Studies*, 12/2016, Vol.21(2), pp.213-223)
- Wynter, Rebecca, c. and Pink Dandelion (eds), *A Quaker Conscientious Objector: The Prison Letters of Wilfrid Littleboy, 1917-1919* (Bath, England: Handheld Research 2020)
- Wynter, Rebecca, d. *Quakers & the First World War: Lives & Legacies* (Woodbrooke, University of Birmingham 2017)
- Yarrow, C. M., *Quaker experiences in international conciliation* (Yale University Press, 1978)
- Yeats-Brown, F. C. C., *The Lives of a Bengal Lancer* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1930)
- Zachariah, Benjamin, *Developing India: An Intellectual and Social History, 1930–50* (Oxford University Press, 2005)