

THE TWENTY -SIXTH JAMES BACKHOUSE LECTURE 1990

**QUAKERS IN POLITICS:
PRAGMATISM OR PRINCIPLE?**

Jo Vallentine

and

Peter D. Jones

The James Backhouse Lectures

This is one of a series of lectures instituted by Australia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends on the occasion of the establishment of that Yearly Meeting in 1964.

This lecture was delivered in Sydney on 6 January 1990 during the Yearly Meeting.

James Backhouse was an English Friend who visited Australia from 1832 to 1838. He and his companion, George Washington Walker, travelled widely but spent most of their time in Tasmania. It was through their visit that Quaker Meetings were first established in Australia.

The two men had access to individual people with authority in the young colonies, and with influence in the British Parliament and social reform movement. In painstaking reports and personal letters to such people, they made practical suggestions and urged legislative action on penal reform, on land rights and the treatment of Aborigines, and on the rum trade. James Backhouse was a botanist and naturalist.

He made careful observations and published full accounts of what he saw, in addition to encouraging Friends and following the deep concern for the convicts and the Aborigines that had brought him to Australia.

Australian Friends hope that this series of lectures will bring fresh insights into truth, often with reference to the needs and aspirations of Australian Quakerism.

Joan Courtney
Presiding Clerk
Australia Yearly Meeting

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ABOUT HIE AUTHORS

Jo Vallentine, the fourth in a family of five girls, was brought up on a farm not far from Perth, Western Australia. She attended a convent boarding school for six years before spending a year as an exchange student in the United States. This was a powerful, internationalising experience.

Teaching was Jo's chosen career, interspersed with a good deal of travelling, which broadened her perspectives beyond Catholicism. Jo Vallentine discovered Quakerism and married Peter Fry at about the same time. They were married in the Perth Meeting House before embarking on a three-year journey to see the world. Activism and parenting followed, leading Jo on her unexpected path to Australia's Senate.

Peter D. Jones is a member of Canberra Regional Meeting and Convener of the Australian Quaker Peace Committee. He grew up in the west of England in a family committed to Christian pacifism, internationalism and socialism. Though brought up in the Congregational Church, he started attending Quaker Meeting as a teenager and became a member in 1966, having originally encountered Friends on the early Aldermaston marches.

He was active with Young Friends at Oxford University, where he developed an interest in the origins of Quakerism while doing a Modern History degree, and he went on from there to work as a volunteer with the Friends Service Council (as it then was) at the Friends Boys School at Rainallah in Palestine.

Since then he has continued to travel widely around the world, visiting Friends in many countries, both from the silent tradition and pastoral meetings. From 1983 to 1986 he was a field worker for the Australian Quaker Peace Committee, and then joined Jo Vallentine's staff as a research officer, based at Parliament House, Canberra.

ABOUT THIS LECTURE

Quakers have traditionally been politically active in many areas peace, social justice, prison reform, the abolition of slavery, and many other causes - but few Friends have ventured into politics. The first part of this lecture, by Jo Vallentine, tells the story of her election in 1984 as the Independent Senator for Nuclear Disarmament from Western Australia and her continued political involvement.

In the second part, her research assistant, Peter D. Jones, gives an account of the involvement of Quakers who have been active in politics in Britain and the United States since the seventeenth century, particularly exploring the dilemma of whether to compromise to achieve high office, or remain independent but on the fringe.

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Jo Vallentine, Samantha Fry, Katie Fry and Peter Fry at home, 1987.

Photo: Geoff Fisher.

Peter Garrett, Jo Vallentine and Louise Duxbury (second on Vallentine Peace Group Senate ticket) at 1987 election campaign launch. *Photo: Liz Wood.*



Jo Vallentine, with Parliament House in the background. *Photo: Malcolm Miller.*

QUAKERS IN POLITICS: PRAGMATISM OR PRINCIPLE?

"You will know the Truth, and the Truth will set you free."
John 8:32

A QUAKER SENATOR'S STORY: JO VALLENTINE

"What's a nice girl like you getting mixed up in all this for?" This was a question from Joh Bjelke-Petersen¹ to me in November 1984, during the Federal election campaign.

It's as good a place to start as any. I can't even remember how I answered him then, but his question is still relevant to my present struggle, writing this Backhouse Lecture.

Was I then, in fact, "a nice girl"? I can't even begin to answer that one! Why was I "getting mixed up in all this" in 1984, and why am I now, in 1990, still mixed up in it all?

Joh Bjelke-Petersen's question was loaded with negativity about the political scene - and it's sobering to reflect on the increased murkiness of his political life since that time. I fervently hope never to come near the same degree of murk which has been part of recent government activities in Queensland.

The fact is that to many citizens, politics is a dirty business. That is probably why Quakers, among the more critical and perceptive members of society, shy away from direct involvement in electoral politics.

Of course there have been, and are, notable exceptions. But considering Quakers' general degree of activism in social affairs, surprisingly few have "gone into politics".

Neither was that my intention. I, too, am cynical about political processes,

and especially about political parties. Reservations about the compromises one has to make, and fear of becoming tainted, at the very least by association, are not unfounded. Unfortunately, there are too many examples of individuals entering the political fray with high ideals, even with vision for the future, who become either compromised or disillusioned. Sadly, in either case, they do not reach their original goals.

If I'd ever had the ambition to become a politician, I'm sure I wouldn't be in the position now. In fact, it feels very uncomfortable being called a politician. I prefer to describe myself as an activist who happened to get elected to Parliament. That's really how it was.

The beginning

I'd always been interested in politics. My maternal grandfather was an Independent in Western Australia's Legislative Council for 33 years, and I remember his forthrightness and his passion for truth. Although my immediate family was decidedly non-political, the George Miles experience had great influence on me.

When I was a teenager, I joined the Country Party, which seemed the natural thing for a farmer's daughter to do. In a small rural community the Country Party and Junior Farmers organisations were where the action was. This short-lived involvement with the Country Party has been thrown in my face many times since, particularly by Peter Walsh, Finance Minister in the Labor Government since 1983, who frequently refers to the sanctimonious, so-called advocate for peace, who was a member of the Country Party, part of the Coalition Government which sent young Australians off to fight in the Vietnam War.

Embarrassing indeed. But I was too young to vote then and my membership had lapsed before the first contingent of Australians went to engage in the battle at the behest of the United States Government. And although I wasn't an organiser of the Moratorium movement, I participated in the many marches against that war.

In my defence, after one of Peter Walsh's constant reminders about that aspect of my past, I made a personal explanation in the Senate to the effect that at least my increasing political awareness had led me to move from right to left over the years- movement in an ideologically sound direction, which is more than can

be said for many politicians whose movement is in the opposite direction! Of course I didn't name them, but one doesn't have to look beyond several members of Cabinet, who were "feisty lefties" in their youth, and who now wallow in the company of rich mates and in the cosiness of the US alliance.

During my university days, as a mature-age student, I did two units of politics, not realising how valuable that little bit of knowledge about our political system and that of other countries would be in future. I didn't immerse myself in student politics then, as I had done at Graylands Teachers' College previously, where experience as Student Council President was also to prove useful later, at least in terms of speaking to groups.

The direct lead-up to the 1984 election campaign began in 1978 when two factors, occurring roughly simultaneously, galvanised me into action.

The first was the very personal decision to embark on parenthood. Peter Fry and I had been married six years earlier in the Quaker Meeting House in Perth, but in our global wanderings had delayed, even decided against, parenting. To make that enormous leap of faith into the future, in an environment which I considered less than rosy for coming generations, required a personal commitment to work for social change, for a better world. I decided that the only way parenting could be considered as responsible in an already over-crowded environment was to be actively engaged in work for peace and justice. So I joined Community Aid Abroad, and that led to the establishment of the West Australian branch of the Aboriginal Treaty Support Group in 1979.

At about the same time, a second factor emerged with a clear message: The State Premier, Charles Court², declared that Western Australia would be the first state in Australia to have a nuclear power station. I remember thinking: "No way, Charlie".

I walked into the Environment Centre and joined the Campaign Against Nuclear Energy (the promised nuclear power station was never built), and the Campaign to Save Native Forests. An activist was born, followed by two babies: Katie Fry in 1979 and Samantha Fry in 1981. They were exciting times - in both parenting and activism. It was quite possible to meld the two. Management of many things simultaneously was also good training for this crazy political life.

Looking back, I can identify several signposts pointing to my candidacy in 1984.

One was a conversation I had with Bob Hawke³ towards the end of 1983 - the Labor Government had been elected in March of that year, and as a Labor supporter and worker (but not a member) I was already feeling disappointed in their performance.

I'd become involved with a group called "Project Iceberg", formed at a weekend meeting at the Wilkinsons' farm⁴ outside Perth, which boldly went aboard nuclear warships hanging banners over the side proclaiming that the arms race was bad news. On the occasion of Bob Hawke's delivery of the Curtin Memorial Lecture that year, Project Iceberg was present with a particularly cheeky banner draped for all to see inside Winthrop Hall: "What we Need is a Labor Government" - the Party heavies were obviously unamused!

After the meeting I approached Bob Hawke and said how disappointed many ALP supporters were at the prospect of further uranium mining in Australia. I warned that Labor would lose votes over it. He turned to me and said: "Who else are you going to vote for?" Thought provoking and challenging words from our Prime Minister, which stayed with me.

Another conversation, at about the same time, was with Erica Groom, on the occasion of a Quaker Peace and Service fete in Cyril and Elsie Gare's garden.⁵ Erica Groom asked what I might do in future and I told her that I felt there was something I needed to do, something important, but I had no idea what it was. In her wisdom she said words to the effect that whatever it was, would become clear, and I would know it was right.

Another signpost came from Nancy Wilkinson (senior), whose courage and forthrightness I'd admired ever since first attending Quaker meeting in 1972. She encouraged me to go to the triennial conference of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in Sweden in 1983. When I protested that I had two small children and couldn't possibly go trekking off to an international peace conference, she replied that I had responsibilities to other people's children as well as my own. It was difficult to decide. But Peter Fry, my spouse, very obligingly took holidays from work to care for the girls, Nancy Wilkinson paid my fare, and off I went. Of course, it broadened my perspective and made me more determined than ever to do whatever I could towards disarmament.

Having worked hard with People for Nuclear Disarmament, and other peace groups, I was a potential starter when the idea of fielding candidates for the

federal election emerged. But it was by no means an automatic yes from me when I was asked if I would be in the election race. It was a huge dilemma. The children were still very young, five and three years of age. How did Peter Fry feel about it? There was no doubt that our lives would change dramatically. We thought and prayed about it, and eventually I felt calm about saying yes, I felt led into the decision. But, of course, doubts constantly recur, particularly when the going is tough at home, for whatever reason.

In subsequent decisions regarding re-election in 1987 and 1989-90, dilemmas remain, and the same degree of clarity of purpose is missing - a sure message that the parliamentary role needs constant evaluation. It is a danger to one's search for wholeness, to one's integrity, not to constantly re-consider whether one is in the right place whether one is doing the right thing.

Going back to 1984, what did I see as motivation for getting involved in electoral politics?

Always, it's the issues which emerge as the strongest factors. The nuclear question was very much in people's consciousness at that time, spurred on by the deployment of Cruise and Pershing missiles in Europe and by US President Ronald Reagan's pronouncements of the Soviet Union as the Evil Empire. People were genuinely worried about their survival. In Australia, the peace movement was trying to educate the public about our involvement in the nuclear arms race via US bases in Australia, the frequent visits of nuclear warships, and the sale of uranium. It was painfully obvious that the general public was largely unaware of these issues.

Engaging in an election campaign was seen primarily as an opportunity to educate, and to find answers to many unanswered questions.

It is the never-ending and often frustrating search for truth which is a constant motivation in my work for peace. An informed public, in a democracy, will usually make sensible decisions for the general well-being. Unfortunately, it is in the interest of the few to control the masses by keeping them uninformed, and therefore unable to contribute as intelligently as they would like, to the decision-making processes. It is the age old "mushroom treatment" - keep the populace in the dark and feed them manure, to put it politely!

It seems to be considered dangerous in Australia to allow the public free access to information. The increasing monopolisation of the media in this country

is a very real threat to alternative viewpoints getting an airing. Look at the media giants headed by business people with vested interests to protect, who wield power in the less-and-less investigative journalistic circles.

Truth is constantly sacrificed on the altars of politics, power and profit.

Not that a trend to lack of information, or misinformation, is new on the Australian political scene, but media monopolisation highlights it to a painful degree. Painful, that is, to people who like to know what's going on, to people who (perish the thought) cherish the notion that ordinary people have a right to information which affects their lives and their children's collective future.

The "mushroom treatment" has been the norm ever since convict days when decisions were made by "superior beings", affecting not only the majority of white settlers in chains, but also the original inhabitants of this land. No pretence at consultation then!

Successive governments have kept generations of Australians in the dark on a whole range of topics. Of special concern to me are the areas of foreign affairs and defence. Secrecy, paranoia, and fawning colonialism in these crucial areas of decision-making have affected the way we perceive ourselves, how we relate to other nations, how we've been prepared to die in other nations' wars and to assist them in their quest for power and nuclear supremacy.

As well as the search for truth, there is a need to speak out, both to inform the public, and to embarrass elected officials when it can be shown that they have deliberately withheld information. The role of community educator is important, and so is the irritant role in challenging both government and bureaucracy in their arrogance and complacency.

The path to the Senate sprang out of community concern about what our government was doing on our behalf, usually without our knowledge, let alone approval. Getting involved in electoral politics was seen by most of those involved as an effective way of putting nuclear disarmament on the national political agenda.

The emergence of Peter Garrett⁶ as an outstanding candidate for the Nuclear Disarmament Party ensured that Australia's contribution to the arms race was an important election issue.

During the heady days of that exciting campaign, which was very co-operative and empowering, almost everyone thought of it as a short-term educational initiative. Only one other person expressed the view that electoral success was really possible. That was my friend Vanessa Lynne of the Peace Education Project in Fremantle, Western Australia, who said: "You know you're going to end up a Senator, don't you?" "Yes", I told her; that was my intuitive understanding, which was often accompanied by a vague feeling of panic.

Long before I got to the Senate and made my first speech (on 18 September 1985), I learned just how difficult a job this was going to be.

Having been elected in December 1984 and announced as Senator-elect in January 1985 (while attending a Quaker Peace Camp, near Yass, prior to Yearly Meeting in Canberra), I was faced with many conflicting expectations in the months before the Commonwealth Government was to provide staff, an office, or any salaries.

During those trying months when volunteers helped keep our campaign office open, two major political dramas occurred.

The first was the MX missile crisis, a story that broke while I was in London attending an international Quaker consultation on UN and disarmament work. Links made there with the Geneva and New York offices, and also with the Washington-based Friends National Committee on Legislation, were to be useful later.

The MX missile story revealed that Australia was to allow refuelling access to US planes involved in checking touchdown of test missiles launched from Vandenberg Airbase to their destination in the Tasman Sea. Peter Hayes, then in the US working with the Nautilus Foundation, passed on the information to Jim Falk at Wollongong University, who publicised it. There was immediate outcry, from both within and outside the ALP - here was direct evidence of Australia's co-operation in testing a multiple nuclear warhead, euphemistically referred to as the Peacekeeper. So soon after the election of a Nuclear Disarmament Senator, it was very embarrassing for the Government. Bob Hawke capitulated to pressure from within the Labor Caucus, backed up by the community urging him to disallow the involvement. I spent a great deal of time from Penn House in London talking to the Australian media about it, feeling frustrated that I was not readily available, and also sensing disappointment from the peace movement that I was not on hand to argue the case. This was the first of many times that individuals or groups have

been disappointed that I could not do everything they wanted me to do.

As I passed through Geneva a few days later, I had a blow-by-blow account of the bad handling of the MX missile crisis from Richard Butler, then our Ambassador for Disarmament. He was furious because his response, plus that of Kim Beazley, Defence Minister, and Bill Hayden, Foreign Minister, had initially been different from Bob Hawke's. They had all played down the involvement, and were left with egg on their faces when Bob Hawke changed his mind. Richard Butler was furious. He referred to the debacle as "a big victory for you lot" and also as "the first nail in the coffin of Bob Hawke and the Labor Government

The second, and much larger, problem was a test of credibility and durability. It was the first national conference of the Nuclear Disarmament Party, which ended up in a big split from which the Party never recovered.

The preliminaries in Western Australia had been relatively smooth, partly because people had focussed more on the campaign than on party-building. In fact we had never had an NDP meeting in Western Australia until 17 February 1985, two and a half months after the election. In preparation for the National Conference we set up working groups, started writing position papers, and commenced fund-raising to ensure a good representation from W A to the Melbourne meeting.

We were confronted with the challenge of members of other political parties being involved with the NDP. At our second large meeting on 17 March, we arrived at a creative conclusion. For the first time we voted, because consensus, which had operated in all working groups during the campaign, was impossible. It was decided that: "Members of other political parties may be members of the NDP, but they may not have delegate, spokesperson or candidate status."

Promptly, some members, who had loyalties also to the Socialist Workers' Party, left the group realising that it no longer provided a power base for them. This motion was circulated to other States, but apparently never surfaced for discussion at any of their meetings.

The Western Australia group was proud of its non-hierarchical and co-operative method and, of course, delighted to have been electorally successful. Enthusiastically, we set off for Melbourne, keen to ensure that the NDP remained a grass-roots movement. We were totally unprepared for what we found among

other State groups.

The behind-the-scenes discussion revolved around ways to protect the NDP from the influence of SWP members, who were legitimately also members of the NDP. However, they had not always indicated their real political affiliation and their numbers were probably greater than was at first apparent. It became obvious that the hastily thought-out constitution, which allowed all comers membership for 50 cents, was inadequate in terms of sustainability. The NDP had been thrown together in a great wave of enthusiasm, and careful planning had been painfully absent. As Robert Wood⁷ was to remark much later, it could have been called the Not-good-at-Details Party.

So bad at details was it, that no executive report to the conference was planned. A report, including a financial statement, was demanded. In it a startling revelation was made: an anonymous donation of \$30,000 had been made, and literally stashed under somebody's bed!

Things were becoming increasingly uneasy for me, as the only forthcoming representative in the Parliament. How could I explain such a huge donation - surely it would be labelled roubles from Russia. And how could I explain that half of the National Executive of six, were members of the Socialist Workers' Party?

There is no doubt that pressure was brought to bear on me from NDP members from other States to lead a walkout when it became obvious that the SWP were, becoming the powerful force within the Party. The particular issue at stake when the walkout occurred was whether ratification of conference proposals should be by private postal ballot or according to branches. Those who favoured a private postal ballot of 8000 members saw it as the more democratic way, albeit time-consuming and expensive. I was among that group, also wary at the possibility of manipulation if ratification by branches became the norm.

But when the significant vote was taken, and the postal ballot was out-voted, there were many people unclear about what was actually going on, and the ramifications of the lost vote and the walkout were beyond the understanding of many of those present. The real issues were obscured by charges of manipulation and stacking the vote, and many people new to politics, and unaware of the events preceding the conference, could not follow what was happening.

This vote, then, was the only binding vote of the conference. To ensure clarity, the following agenda item, that of proscription - i.e. deciding whether a

member of the NDP could also be a member of another political party - should have preceded it, so that the real issue, that of domination of the NDP by members of another political party, would have emerged and have been debated fully.

At the time of this debacle, I was in agony. I knew the process was wrong, and kept suggesting that there must be a better way of resolving the difficulty, of re-ordering the NDP. Everything that was suggested was argued against for one reason or another. All ideas of conflict resolution went out the window. There were pressures of time, of two hundred people at the meeting, of the media hungry for action, and of some very powerful persuaders urging me to make a break with the party for the sake of the issues, to allow me to work with some credibility in the Parliament. It was quite overwhelming, and I hated it.

Most fellow West Australians at the Conference were extremely annoyed that I seemed to have been "taken over" by the persuasive Sydney-Melbourne group, and in retrospect I have to admit to some degree of manipulation. Many times I've gone over those days, with lists of "if only's", and many times I've discussed it with some of the main players, only to be challenged by their question: "What else would have worked?" Quite frankly, I don't know. But I feel enormous responsibility for the bad handling of that situation, and I regret it deeply.

The split at the conference, with all its attendant publicity revealing that the peace movement in political action was like any other political party with its squabbles, was the beginning of a painful process of deciding how to proceed. Explanations had to be made, options for the future explored. It was a difficult time, during which I was very grateful for the voluntary assistance of some stalwarts in organising meetings, reports, the ballot of members. By the end of May 1985, it was decided that the West Australian branch of the NDP would cease to exist and that I would take my seat as an Independent.

It was a birth of fire onto the national political scene. Surely nothing worse than that could happen. And so far it hasn't.

But that wasn't all. At the same time I was also trying to come to terms with the tragic death of my young sister, whose baby I'd helped to deliver some six months earlier. It was a dreadful time, very taxing on our little family. Looking back over those months in my journal, I'm not sure how we all coped - with great difficulty.

And all of that before the job really began!

Australian Friends in politics

Having been an elected representative for five years, I also want to draw on the experiences of fellow Australian Quakers before attempting to evaluate my own role as pragmatist or prophetic witness. Each one's contribution is unique, of course, and fascinating.

Not surprisingly, given their numbers, few Australian Friends have taken a seat in either State or Federal Parliaments, but among the few who have, there is a wide diversity of political views.

Almost as if to illustrate the point, three members of the **Allen family** in Sydney had seats in the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales in the nineteenth century, but took diametrically opposed views. William Bell Allen (MLA 1860-69) who set up a soap and candle works after emigrating from Belfast in 1842, founded the Protective League of Australian Industry in 1857, and after being defeated in East Sydney in 1859, became the first avowed protectionist in the NSW Legislative Assembly when he was elected unopposed for the seat of The Williams in 1860. His eldest son, William Johnston Allen (1835-1915), followed his father in the manufacturing business and sat in Parliament as a protectionist opposite his brother, Alfred Allen, for the same electorate - some electorates had two members in those days - from January 1888 to January 1889. Alfred Allen (1839-1917) was trained as an engineer but was dismissed for associating with the early closing and eight-hour movements (an interesting contrast to John Bright's position in England, see below). Unlike his father and elder brother, he was a free-trader, and represented Paddington from 1887 to 1894. As a leading Quaker he was active in philanthropic works, actively supported the Temperance Movement and was a founder of the Sydney Night Refuge and Soup Kitchen.

The family appears to have had a stormy relationship with Friends, as William Bell Allen had been disowned by Lisburn Meeting (Northern Ireland) and both his sons joined the Congregational Church. Alfred Allen, however, on reading Barclay's *Apology*⁸, was convinced that early Friends held the truth, and re-joined the Society. He spoke forcefully about his ideas in Meeting, and was disowned in 1867 on three charges: immorality, unsound doctrine and disorderly

conduct. He set up a separate meeting in Pitt Street and sent epistles around Australia. After attempts at reconciliation, Alfred Allen was disowned a second time on charges of disrupting meetings, and most of the Pitt Street group withdrew to Queensland (until 1871) to set up what Bill Oats, in his book on Quakers in Australia in the nineteenth century⁹, describes as a commune.

More recently, **Laurie Wilkinson** (ALP, Western Australia) was the first Quaker to enter Federal politics. He was a Senator from 1966 to 1974, during the period of the Vietnam war.

Quakers were active in the Moratorium Movement, and Laurie Wilkinson was a member of its WA Executive. When the Movement so obviously supported draft resisters, it became difficult for members of the Parliamentary Labor Party to support deliberate flouting of the law. Rather, it was argued, opponents of Australia's involvement in that war should campaign for a change to the conscription provisions of the National Service Act. Laurie Wilkinson regretfully resigned from the Moratorium Executive after writing a letter along those lines. It must have been difficult to withdraw, when many of his fellow Quakers, like Cyril Gare, were so actively involved, and especially as Laurie had been an advocate of conscientious objection in World War II, to the extent of personally applying for CO status.

Laurie Wilkinson was in the Senate both as a member of the Opposition and a member of the Government. He found the former much more interesting, because as an Opposition backbencher there were ample opportunities for individuals to take stands on issues, and there were few constraints on speaking out. Not so as a Government backbencher, when Ministers took most responsibility and backbenchers were expected to do as they were told!

The next Quaker in Federal Parliament was another Labor Party Senator, **Jean Hearn**, who represented Tasmania from 1980 to 1985.

Being an advocate of the philosophy of Rudolph Steiner, and a firm believer in a co-operative rather than an adversarial *modus operandi*, Jean Hearn often found herself asking what she was doing in Canberra. Having decided that destiny had placed her there, she used her time as a learning experience, and as an opportunity to share the resources of her office with the community.

Knowing that information was the key to better understanding, she felt a responsibility' to pass on to the public material available to her as a Senator,

gleaned via membership of parliamentary committees, for example. She put out a newsletter, "Ploughshares", to give people information which might otherwise have been denied them. She also valued input in the other direction, and would invite people from community groups to meet with her. Sometimes, to their surprise, she didn't want to talk at them, but to listen to them - unusual for a politician.

Jean Hearn was a member of various committees: animal welfare, primary industry, employment and industry, and education. She campaigned strongly on the issue of plant variety rights, arguing for diversity rather than monopolisation of species. It was after she left the Senate that legislation was passed which gave large companies undue control over the world's seed banks.

She was also a member of the new Parliamentary Disarmament Group, formed in 1984, which encouraged membership from all party groups.

Jean Hearn felt frustrated not only by the adversarial process, but also by the fact that discrepancies arose when what was voted *against* while in opposition, was sometimes voted *for* when in government. But she felt that she had plenty of opportunities to argue her case in Caucus meetings, and that once a decision was made, she was usually comfortable to support that view in the Chamber.

Probably the key factor in Jean Hearn's maintaining her integrity was that she was not ambitious to proceed further up the political ladder. Thus she could maintain a certain amount of freedom, and be true to what she knew was right. She did no deals, owed no one any favours, and felt very much that she was there to serve the people who had elected her.

Another Tasmanian Quaker elected to office was **Robert Mather**, who represented the Liberal Party in the Lower House of the State Parliament from 1964 to 1982. He attained ministerial status in the Education portfolio.

During that time, he guided through a policy to formalise interdenominational religious education in schools. Before it was put into effect, there was a change of government, so the policy was never implemented.

While he was in Opposition, the Liberal Party voted against abolition of the death penalty. Bob Mather voted against his colleagues, which didn't affect the outcome of the vote, but it caused him to think carefully about what his

conscience would have dictated, had the Liberal Party been in government.

One of the main reasons Robert Mather chose not to enter Federal politics was that he might then have had to deal with defence issues, which might have caused him some difficulties of conscience.

For **Lynn Arnold**, a South Australian Friend, sticking to State politics has not insulated him from defence issues. As current Minister for State Development and Technology (among other portfolios) in the Labor Government, he is presiding over a huge increase in defence industries in his State, including the coveted submarine contract to replace the Royal Australian Navy's ageing Oberon class submarines. There was great rivalry for this \$4-billion contract for six new submarines in 1988, and South Australian industry was very elated when the decision was finally made to build them in Adelaide.

There are some Quakers in South Australia who feel concerned that one of their members is actively promoting the building of any so-called defence systems. Lynn Arnold explains that his aim is not for South Australian industry to become so defence related that it is dependent on defence contracts, and he is mindful of the warning in the case of Seattle, Washington, where Boeing¹⁰ employs a huge percentage of the workforce. Rather, he wants to attract investment and industry to South Australia, even if defence-related, in the hope that many contracts would build an investment base for other areas, notably a broad civilian focussed manufacturing sector. He cites companies like British Aerospace Australia, previously 100% defence-related, now 40% civilian, as examples of the shift he hopes to encourage.

He says the choice of portfolio is the Premier's; he confesses to having had initial withdrawal symptoms when moved from the Education portfolio. Once allocated a portfolio, a Minister's options are either to make the most of it or to resign. He rationalises his involvement in promoting arms manufacturing, in the belief that the weapons and delivery systems being produced in Australia are defensive, rather than offensive. Many people, including me, would take issue with him about that.

Lynn Arnold, who has been ten years in State Parliament, has exercised a conscience vote on many occasions, and more than most other parliamentarians. He voted against the Adelaide casino decision, against 24-hour liquor trading, against Sunday trading in alcohol, and against the decriminalisation of marijuana, but not against the decriminalisation of prostitution. The latter was not put to the

test, however, because the Government withdrew the legislation. On the subject of marijuana, Lynn Arnold was criticised for not representing the electors on this issue; as he points out, the object of a conscience vote is to give parliamentarians a chance to vote away from Party and electorate constraints.

Every vote should be a conscience vote in terms of being true to one's own beliefs, but not many parliamentarians have the luxury of being Independent, and, of course, there are many other disadvantages. There is also the constant difficulty of trying to represent others' views, knowing that one will never please everybody.

Sometimes the conscience vote is "abused, or rather used for political mileage by other politicians, which is to denigrate its value. Lynn Arnold's vote on marijuana was used by the Opposition, who argued that if Lynn Arnold, former Minister for Education and father of five, was against its decriminalisation, then so should the rest of his Labor colleagues be against it.

The most recent addition to the list of Australian Quaker politicians is **Hector Kinloch**, elected to the ACT Legislative Assembly in 1989.

He is a member of the Residents' Rally, and was spokesperson for the very active community action group opposing a casino in Canberra. As a result of the high profile he earned in that campaign, he was strongly endorsed by Canberrans on polling day. Now sitting in the seventeen-member Assembly, he has responsibility for the Arts, Ethnic Affairs, Tertiary Education and Municipal Services.

Hector Kinloch is worried by the antagonism into which people seem to be forced by the adversarial system, which he describes as institutional aggression. He is aware of the need for compromise and co-operation, and has even been chided for being "too nice" to political opponents. He is concerned at the level of personal abuse heaped on those who dare to stick to principles, and is also worried that maintaining a principle without compromise may result in losing the argument - with the result that one's goal is not achieved.

Hector Kinloch was pleased that one of his first amendments in the Assembly was passed unanimously. It concerned the exclusion of people over age 65 from an advisory board on vocational training, and he had persuaded all other members that this was an unwise exclusion.

Membership of the Assembly is a unique privilege and opportunity to make a Quaker witness as peacemaker, as Hector Kinloch sees it. For a respected member of the community, and as a member of a small group of seventeen, bridge-building possibilities abound.

In an effort to remain centred, Hector Kinloch chooses a Bible verse each morning for intermittent reflection throughout the day - read from his mother's Bible. This commitment to daily prayer is clearly a help in maintaining spiritual integrity in political life.

Obviously, every individual's experience is unique, but common themes recur. What is not revealed in these potted histories, and in Jean Hearn's case history, is the agony of juggling all the different facets of life into some semblance of a whole, while being an effective parliamentarian. What follows is the personal story, which anyone of the aforementioned Quakers could have written, but the task has fallen to me for the moment. I hope it will be added to by others in the future.

Doing the job

I want to explain the practical aspects - how the personal resources are used, how the resources provided by the taxpayer are shared. Something that is very necessary for me to remember is that it is not my person in the Senatorial role that is most important, but access to resources which my being there makes possible.

There are four areas for exploration in understanding how the operation has evolved: the personal dimension, the staff team, community work and parliamentary work.

The personal dimension

At the outset, I must pay tribute to my spouse, Peter Fry, without whose constant support it would be impossible for me to ever consider this job. We have reversed roles at home. He does an excellent job as primary caretaker of the children and homemaker for all of us. The knowledge that the girls have the security of one parent's constancy is an important prerequisite for my availability to the community. Mostly, he enjoys his unusual role, and at times enthusiastically

endorses the treat it is to have so much access to our growing daughters - a privilege denied many men if they're traditional breadwinners. Naturally, there are times when his enthusiasm wanes, but not to the point of wanting to change the situation.

The children are very adaptable. Frequently, I check with them how they're feeling about my absences. Their responses vary, ranging from enthusiasm (there's room for more independence with me out of the way) to wishing that I was home more. They understand what I'm trying to do, which is important in their acceptance of my being away, and I usually get quite strong endorsement from one daughter if I'm talking over whether to continue, and support with reservations from the other.

Several years ago when Samantha was complaining, "not another meeting", I heard Katie telling her: "You've got to understand, Sam, Mummy is trying to save the world". Rather an overstated view, but Katie was only six years of age at the time! When she was a little older, I was delighted to get a card from her after my short term in prison, saying: "Dear Mummy, I am so proud of you for going to gaol" - that made it all the more worthwhile.

On the other hand, I was rocked to the core one day, when as I was struggling to extricate myself from bed where all four of us were cuddled up, Samantha reminded me of the sticker on our front door which reads "Peace is a Group Effort", saying that peace in families was a group effort too, and that meant all being together. A compelling message indeed.

There's no doubt that the hardest part of the job is leaving the family so frequently. I really feel the absences as a sacrifice. I'm missing a lot of time with my girls, missing some of their important milestones. When one of Samantha's baby teeth fell out, it was sent all the way to Canberra for me to see, before it was entrusted to the fairies! However, I've adjusted to the absences, feeling guilty only when someone is sick while I'm away, and regretful at other times. After all, men have for centuries disappeared from their families to wage war: it is necessary now for some women to make the difficult choice to leave their families for some of the time, to struggle for peace. It is also in keeping with a Quaker tradition, that women have been prepared to travel to represent a heartfelt concern. However I do get criticised for that, from various quarters, from my concerned parents worried about strains on the family, to other politicians using it as yet another excuse to heap abuse on me.

When I was arrested at the amazing and wonderful Mothers' Day action at the Nevada test site in the US in May 1987, a Liberal Party Senator told the media that my behaviour was disgraceful and that I should have been at home with my children. Following on from that exposure to Mothers' Day, US peace movement style, I am joining with others in a call for Mothers' Day to be restored to its original intention - a day of peace. Julia Ward Howe, an American woman, wrote an impassioned poem in 1870 in response to the carnage of the Franco-Prussian war and the US Civil War, calling for women of the world to refuse their sons as cannon fodder. She wrote that women do not bear sons to see them go to war and kill other mothers' sons. It would be good to return to that sentiment, although the specifics of the message need to be updated.

Parliamentarians' relationships with their spouses are subject to a lot of strain. At least there is little likelihood of boredom, but there is constant need for renewal and re-evaluation, and energy to devote to the primary relationship is difficult to find when, with limited time, the children's needs come first within the family circle.

There is even official recognition of the difficulties for spouses of parliamentarians: recently a seminar was held in Canberra on the subject of problems of commuter marriages, with lively and supportive input from spouses across the political spectrum. Peter Fry reminded the organisers of the need for child care. He is one of the rare male spouses engaged in caring full-time for young children, so he was able to make a valuable contribution. It is sobering to note that there are now only two women in the Australian parliament with sub-teen children: one of them is me, the other, Ros Kelly, the Member for Canberra, for whom absences from home would not be quite so frequent, even though she has ministerial status.

Despite the advent of more women on the political scene, as in Norway where eight members of the Cabinet of seventeen are women, societal structures and expectations have not changed to accommodate attempts at equal gender input into government.

This is partly a problem of women's own perceptions which arise from their conditioning: if they choose to enter a male arena, not only do they usually have to be better than the men to get there, but also to prove to themselves and society at large that they are not failing in their traditional role. It is an enormous burden, and something not expected of male Parliamentarians.

Then there is the question of personal time for spiritual growth and relaxation. Almost impossible. But not quite!

The start of my daily routine is fresh air and exercise, coupled with meditation, supplication and affirmation all combined. That 30-40 minutes is invaluable as a reminder of the wholeness I seek - the connection between the physical, mental and spiritual aspects of life. I appreciate being outside, revelling in nature and calling on the goddesses for care, inspiration and energy for the day ahead, and also in sending supportive messages to others. It is essential personal time. But, there isn't enough of it.

Constantly, I renew my intention to put aside twenty minutes in the evening for meditation. It often doesn't happen. Before sleeping, most nights I either read some inspirational words, or listen to some inspirational tapes - usually women's affirmations, which are very empowering.

Of course, I value meeting for worship enormously, but because of so many weekend commitments, my attendance is irregular. But it's always renewing. The strength in the silence is wonderful, the contributions of others usually helpful, and the supportive fellowship of friends, encouraging.

When things go badly, I know it's because I haven't been paying enough attention to the spiritual dimension, to the positive messages from the wisdom of others. At least once a year I get into a negative spiral, which is ghastly. Then, the need to remind myself of some basic truths, like the transforming power of love, is urgent.

There is always a danger of being too busy for spiritual recreation, and also of neglecting physical and social maintenance. By the time I keep up with most work commitments and spend time with the family (never enough), there is little time or energy left over for relaxation or social interaction. An occasional massage, some counselling sessions, especially in negative-spiral times, and evenings with friends, however infrequent are wonderful. Also, there is the need for reflective time on my own, retreat holidays, but those few days snatched here and there (four times in five years) are guilt-producing. When my job requires so much time away from the family, I find it very difficult to choose to spend even more time away from them, by myself. It seems like selfish indulgence, yet at times I recognise that time on my own has to be a priority.

But then, Peter Fry needs time on his own too, so it becomes another

difficult juggling act to allow space for that as well. We manage family holidays very nicely - I sometimes feel guilty that the girls are getting used to extravagances like flights to Canberra via Melbourne, where they can link up with grandparents and cousins, or a trip to Broome in the north-west of our state; it is a situation to which they will have to learn to become unaccustomed!

The staff team

As an Independent Senator, I have four staff allocated to me, one more than to Senators in political parties. The precedent was set by Malcolm Fraser's government¹¹, in allowing an additional staff member to Independent Senator Brian Harradine from Tasmania. Early in 1985, before any government funding was available, I argued for five staff, on the ground that I would be working right round the country, unofficially representing interests of diverse groups within the Australian Peace Movement. Mick Young, then Special Minister of State and ALP Member of Parliament for Port Adelaide, disallowed my request. By job-sharing, the number of workers has been extended to six, so including me, we are a team of seven.

But the original difficulties underpinning my request remain: being a West Australian, working much of the time in Canberra, without neatly worked-out policies and practices which a political party would provide.

At our staff meetings - three-day efforts, at least twice a year - the juxtaposition of state and national interests, legislative and community interests, disarmament, environmental and social justice issues are-always on the agenda. We evaluate, we plan, we prioritise. The staff meetings are marathons in terms of long agendas, co-operative problem solving, and making the best use of resources in terms of government provisions and our own personal attributes. .

Generally, the atmosphere in both Perth and Canberra offices is welcoming to individuals and groups seeking assistance or using resources. Most people who have worked as part of our team have found it a positive, supportive environment, and, a great deal of personal growth has taken place for individuals involved.

We attempt to operate a non-hierarchical model, using consensus decision-making. For example, everyone is paid the same daily rate, with my contribution to that equaliser being the handing over of the entire electorate allowance (\$17,000 pa) to the team, to be spent as the group decides.

But, of course, as I am the elected representative and therefore the public voice of the group, it is impossible to be absolute in terms of non-hierarchical operation. Responsibility for the team's efforts rests with me, and I also need the help and advice of the team to prepare me for the public, parliamentary and press outpourings from our office.

One of the main difficulties for me as a team member, is that others can come and go, while I feel trapped sometimes, as the person elected to public office. The only option for me is resignation, which would be utterly irresponsible without careful preparation of a replacement, a process currently underway.

When a team member leaves, I'm always disappointed, because everyone has made a valuable contribution, and finding replacements is often time-consuming. Of course, new additions to the team bring fresh energy, a much-needed attribute. So change is usually positive and creative, but sometimes I wish for longer commitment. Yet I know that working in such busy-ness, and particularly in jobs where travel is involved, is highly demanding. And compared with other parliamentary offices, I'm sure that our record of commitment to the issues and the team is very high.

We have usually found new staffers from among movement workers, rather than from advertising. The qualities we seek are commitment to and knowledge of the issues we're working on, plus previous experience with either community action groups or the media, and very importantly, the ability to work as members of the team.

We often have voluntary help too, particularly at newsletter time, when many hands help with the mail-out every six to eight weeks to a huge list of supporters.

I'm not experienced in being "boss" and sometimes this has led to difficulties with people not being absolutely clear about their roles, or in my time not being judiciously allocated. There is often tension between the various roles I'm trying to fill, and the whole of my life seems like a balancing act on a high wire. Sometimes I'm not even sure whether the safety net is in place!

Community role

I've always said that the educative role I play in the community is more important than the parliamentary role. There are many community cause-oriented groups constantly seeking office support, so it's not difficult maintaining contact with them. What is more difficult is establishing contacts with new groups, not yet committed to our vision of a sustainable future. Once I have direct access to groups such as Rotary, Lions, Apex, schools, I usually find a positive reception.

The team's educative output is in the form of our lobby backgrounders. These are four-page brochures which we put out on topical issues, encouraging the readers to write letters to the politicians whose names and addresses we add at the end of the text. We constantly encourage people to use the power of the pen, to participate in the democratic process by being informed, then sharing opinions. Our backgrounders are used widely 'by community groups, and have covered topics ranging from the US bases, nuclear warships and uranium mining, to the arms race at sea, violence on television, a peace trust fund, and Antarctica. Various contributions to books such as *Green politics in Australia*, *Professions in the nuclear age*, and *Politics of the future: the role of social movements* have been written with this need for information in mind.¹²

More substantial publications have been produced on alternative defence strategies for Australia: *Choosing Australia's defence* by Peter Jones, longstanding staff member and fellow Quaker; on environmental issues: the *Mineral sands industry handbook* and *Handbook on wood-based pulp mills* compiled by Noni Keys, environmental researcher; and *Rationale of civil disobedience*, which I wrote in defence of some of my more controversial actions.¹³

These acts of civil disobedience haven't elicited nearly as much negative community feedback as I expected. But there was plenty from other parliamentarians, some of whom thought my behaviour unacceptable. I've been a long-time believer in civil disobedience as a powerful educating mechanism for change. When a member of Project Iceberg, I was ready for civil disobedience, but I felt that the children were too young to understand. In fact, they would say to me before I headed for Fremantle to protest, "Please don't get arrested, Mummy". By the time they were old enough to. Understand, I was burdened with the Senatorial tag. Was this appropriate behaviour? There was the good example of George Georges, ALP Senator for Queensland, arrested for standing up to the abuses of civil rights in his State. I wasn't too concerned about the criticism, but George's experience was relevant in terms of consequences. As long as I didn't do

anything dreadful enough to attract a gaol sentence of one year, I could not be thrown out of the Senate.

The issue of civil disobedience was not only a public one because of my job, but a personal one as a Quaker - in relation to the search for truth.

Quakers are encouraged to "let their lives speak" - in other words, to act as we believe, to ensure a correspondence, between our outward, visible lives and our inward, spiritual concerns. This notion of integrity calls for faithfulness to conscience illuminated by the light within.

It is not grounded in dogma, creeds, abstract philosophical ideas or theological affirmations. It is not to be found in religious textbooks. It is grounded in the living faith and experience of the present moment.

It is the basis for Quaker Testimonies - living witnesses to the inward leading of the spirit in our lives. Once it lays hold of us, truth will not let us go until we have acted upon it.¹⁴

It is like that for me. Acting upon the truth, or that part of it which I *know*, and the tantalising part of it which I seek, compels me to act in every possible non-violent way to expose more of the truth, for the sake of humanity. If that means putting myself at risk by committing civil disobedience, so be it. I cannot be, content only to speak, write and lobby in the search for peace - I must act with my whole being, with every fibre of my body.

The refusal to take up arms for any purpose whatsoever has landed Quakers in gaol ever since 1660. Their witness for nonviolence has been active, rather than passive, and very expensive at times in terms of personal costs. For three hundred years Quakers have been absolutely convinced of the immorality of engaging in killing and conversely, convinced by the positive power of non-violence.

I've already referred to the first experience of being arrested at the Nevada test site. The important lesson there was the total commitment to non-violence.

This was also in evidence at Pine Gap in 1987, when I was happy to be among the 200 people arrested for trespass on what should be Aboriginal land in Australia's living heart. Instead, it is a site desecrated by the presence of a huge US spy base, which provides information crucial to the US military in their nuclear weapons targeting programmes.

My court case took place the following August. I conducted my own defence, pleading not guilty and citing the Nuremberg Principles as my lawful excuse for trespass. I also emphasised the moral argument backed up by the teaching of the Gospels. The magistrate was unimpressed. He found me guilty and fined me \$250, which I refused to pay. So I was sentenced to three days' hard labour in the Alice Springs gaol.

Some community reactions surprised me, for example, people saying: "Now I know you're genuine, now I believe what you're saying". Was a spell in prison necessary as proof of my commitment to disarmament?

The congratulations were embarrassing - so many other Australian peace workers have been to prison before me, without the accolades. I am mindful of the unsung heroines and heroes before me on the local scene, and also of the much braver prisoners of conscience in other countries who are currently incarcerated without any choice in the matter, for much longer periods of time, and in much harsher conditions.

Also, I had plenty of time to think of the dehumanising effects of the prison system on my fellow prisoners, of whom about 80 per cent were Aboriginal people. .

The third time was a solo effort. Was I getting braver or sillier? It was in 1988 when Bicentenary fervour was at its most distressing, in my view, with the Government inviting nuclear weapons-bearing warships into our harbours to celebrate. Protests were held right round the country, and in some ports, unions had refused to service the warships.

As I had already made a protest about a US facility, I turned my attention this time to the British, and made my lone protest as the warship HMS Edinburgh docked at Fremantle. Having put down my placard, reminding a royal sailor of the wise words of his uncle, Louis Mountbatten: "Nuclear weapons serve no military purpose: they take us to the brink of disaster", I attempted to handcuff myself to the gangplank. Of course I was arrested, and charged with disorderly conduct.

The charge was dismissed on the technicality that the area of the incident was behind a barricade and therefore not a public place. The police were not happy, but the magistrate was relieved to have found some excuse to let me off the hook. I was prepared to go to gaol again, but I had not exactly been looking forward to it!

A couple of other colourful events, which have proved useful in raising issues, and also as reminders to me of my activist origins, deserve mention.

Still on the subject of nuclear warship visits, community lobbying regarding port safety plans had been unsuccessful in eliciting such documents from State Governments. We knew that such plans, dealing with how to cope with nuclear reactor accidents on visiting warships, should have existed, having been commissioned by the Federal Government in 1976. Ten years later, a draft plan, with blank pages indicating a very unfinished paper, "fell off the back of a truck" into our waiting hands. We wanted to maximise the public's awareness about the unfinished document, and to highlight its total inadequacy in dealing with a nuclear accident should one occur. A flotilla of nuclear warships approached Fremantle powered by a total of twelve nuclear reactors. I sought meetings with Brian Burke, ALP Premier of Western Australia. He refused to meet me.

So, boldly, and with a number of supporters, I went into the State Legislative Assembly at Question Time on 17 July 1986, and from the Gallery, jumped up and asked the Premier a question about the unfinished plans. It was a show-stopper! As I was led from the Gallery I kept speaking about his responsibility as Premier to ensure the welfare of the people of Western Australia, and reminded him of the unnecessary risks involved in hosting nuclear warships.

For the first time, any West Australian who took note of any kind of media knew that nuclear weapons and nuclear reactors were entering our ports, and that our State Emergency Services would have been totally incapable of dealing with any accident. That action, with many others, helped mobilise the growing opposition to the entry of nuclear warships into our ports, from less than 40 per cent to over 50 per cent of the population in about five years.

Another colourful, and most enjoyable, event was a visit to the United States Embassy to deliver an eviction notice relating to Pine Gap, after the protest actions there in October 1987. In company with Senators Norm Sanders (Australian Democrat, Tasmania), Jean Jenkins (Australian Democrat, Western Australia) and Robert Wood (Nuclear Disarmament Party, New South Wales) I went to the Embassy commissioned to nail our very long eviction notice to a door there, as Martin Luther had done.

The media were in full attendance, wanting to know which door we would use, because all doors were either steel or glass (this was before the huge security

fence and electronic surveillance equipment were installed). We were showing them the eviction notice, our hammer and nails, when Peter Jones drove up, right on time, in a battered car with an even more battered wooden door attached to the roof rack. He unloaded it and ceremoniously presented it to us, whereupon we hammered our eviction notice to it! You could almost hear the collective sigh of relief from within the Embassy. It was most amusing for us, and we even managed to draw forth the Ambassador, Bill Lane, to whom we presented our door with its very clear message.

Not all community education is geared for the dramatic effect.

Our office has organised two "Just Defence" seminars - a title borrowed from Peace Movement Aotearoa, to reflect that defence should only be about defence, rather than offensive capabilities as well. It should also encompass the notion of justice in terms of priorities in defence expenditure vis-à-vis taxpayers' monies spent on more socially useful items like health, education and welfare. The seminars have been held in Canberra and Perth, and we have encouraged Quaker, peace groups in Adelaide and Hobart to run similar ones. All four have been successful in focussing thinking on alternative defence strategies for Australia.

No longer content with the negative message of disentanglement from the US nuclear alliance, we have found it necessary to look at possibilities outside ANZUS¹⁵, and at strategies for weaning Australians away from dependence on ANZUS to the point of being independent and nuclear-free. We have adopted the transarmament line, i.e. a gradual shift from where we are in the damaging nuclear alliance to an eventual position of civilian- based defence.

That position was arrived at after a great deal of discussion. As a Quaker and a pacifist my clearest statement would be to abolish all defence forces immediately. But a more pragmatic approach (which I hate admitting to, but must) is possibly going to achieve a general level of questioning about the defence of Australia, a debate hitherto restricted almost entirely to the Australian Defence Association and the Returned Servicemen's League, arguing with the defence establishment about how to get more money out of government coffers, and on what it should be spent.

Our seminars and publications, plus a chapter on Transarmament in a book on Australia's new militarism¹⁶, have helped open the debate at the other end of the spectrum.

In fact, opinion polls in Australia on attitudes towards defence, perceptions of enemies, the US bases, visiting nuclear warships and uranium mining, have shown marked shifts in the last few years. Particularly among young people, militarism is being questioned, and support for the other negative influences about which we've been campaigning has fallen markedly.

Also notable is the enormous arousal of interest in environmental issues. It is always my aim to encourage people to see and act on the links between disarmament and development, between care for the environment and social justice issues in a total ecological perspective. It is very exciting that this is beginning to happen in mainstream thinking, and it's good to have been part of that process.

Of course, all of us in the team realise that we're only a small cog in the big wheel of community awareness and action groups. The work that we do is only effective if we're linked-in with community networks in a mutually beneficial way. Especially because I am an Independent, the people away from Parliament are crucial to me in terms of inspiration, feedback and action. I can only help the processes towards societal change if supported by the community. The grass-roots relationship for me is much closer, I suspect, than for Parliamentarians on a Party ticket, whose individual performance is perhaps not so closely monitored - that would certainly be the case as far as other Senators are concerned.

Not always is the feedback positive. I couldn't expect it to be, especially after the Nuclear Disarmament Party debacle which, not surprisingly, caused a loss of trust in me for many people. In its wake, there was a great deal of pressure from some quarters, mostly outside Western Australia, to form a new political party. The Peace and Nuclear Disarmament Action Group in Western Australia (the post-NDP grouping) was reluctant, advising me that the constant meetings in Sydney and Melbourne to negotiate over structure and policies of a new party were a drain on my limited energy. I knew they were right, but I also felt a responsibility to be party to these discussions - again exemplifying the tension between being on-call to the Australia-wide movement, and representing Western Australia.

So, I spent a lot of precious energy on initial discussions with peace movement figures like Joe Camilleri, Jim Falk, Peter Garrett and Bob Brown, but the general opinion evolved that it was not prudent to rush the process. Out of all that, the Rainbow Alliance exists as a movement rather than a political party, but

with only piecemeal support from Western Australia rather than whole-hearted involvement. It is serving a very important educative role, and is a new model of political participation.

However, the struggle to establish a new Australia-wide political party to encompass the full range of green issues continues. Again, from within Western Australia there is a reluctance, a wariness of national organisations in the absence of a workable non-hierarchical structure across vast distances. The reluctance is understandable because of time and money factors. And again, because I have access to free travel, I feel a responsibility at least to keep channels of communication open between like-minded people across the nation, for when the time is right for a national network to emerge. What people definitely do not want is the establishment of another political party on traditional lines, even if its policies are enlightened. Process is deemed as important as policies, with grass-roots participation and gender' equality being fundamental. I'm sure that my experience as an educator, as a Quaker, as someone committed to non-violence, is useful in this process, but the establishment of a new political force is not what I was elected to do.

This could be called creative tension - it's also very time-consuming! The team is also constantly servicing requests from groups and individuals right round Australia, which we see as an important part of our role.

Response to community input led me to broaden my platform in the 1987 election. Everyone in the team saw the need for this to happen, and it felt right to be drawing on the interconnectedness of issues, not to be restricted to the narrower nuclear disarmament platform. I had felt obliged to stick to the Nuclear Disarmament Party's platform, even after the Independent declaration, because those were the issues that people had voted for me to represent. The broadening immediately presented further dilemmas. Who was going to absorb the extra workload? Was the focus still to be disarmament? That was certainly our area of expertise by then, but we urgently needed environmental advice, so we juggled to include another person to fulfil that need. Obviously we could not initiate campaigns on environmental or social justice issues, as Annabelle Newbery had done so capably on warships. But we were more responsive to requests for support, questions, speeches on a much wider range of issues. The question about who is to take on all the extra demands has not been satisfactorily resolved.

Then there's an even wider community to consider - the international one. With well-travelled Peter Jones on staff, we get regular visitations and requests

from his overseas contacts. International solidarity is very important when groups like the Belauans seek help in rejecting the US Government-imposed Compact of Association to thwart their precious nuclear-free constitution.

There are numerous examples of our office generating letters of support or protest to various international groups or people in high places.

As well, each time I go overseas, I come back with another burning issue, more projects, more international networking. This is inevitable. It's fascinating and enriching and difficult.

We try to service the international movement - for example, the anti-frigates campaign in Aotearoa/New Zealand, which has led to a more lively criticism of our involvement in the ANZAC frigates project on this side of the Tasman, and to our concern about Australia's new militarism.

A sense of perspective is needed: we cannot ignore the plight of our brothers and sisters in Cambodia, the Philippines, Nicaragua, Chile, South Africa - the list could be much longer. From Australia's very privileged position on the world stage, it would be both selfish and grossly irresponsible for us in our well-equipped office to turn down requests for assistance.

Parliamentary work

The first and most important underlying thing to understand is that Parliament is not geared for Independents. As other Quakers have found, the system is set up for the major parties to argue with each other. The procedures of the Parliament, often based on antiquated and irrelevant traditions, are an absolute nightmare for the newcomer. Despite the fact that the officers of the Senate are extremely helpful, it is still extraordinarily difficult to learn not only the formal procedures, but also the informal and unwritten rules of the place. Very early in the parliamentary work I decided not to spend an inordinate amount of time learning the procedures, so on several occasions I've stumbled my way through, but usually I've managed to have my say when I wanted to. No amount of knowledge about procedures can alter the rules which favour party structures, and at times the rules, plus the intransigence of both Government and Opposition procedures, have made life very frustrating - but certainly, like personal relationships, never dull.

It takes time to learn the trick of knowing what questions to ask. The right questions are a magic key to understanding what's going on, but of course full and frank answers are by no means guaranteed.

Despite having to learn the ropes without party mates to help with short cuts (and with staff inexperienced in parliamentary work) there are obvious advantages to being Independent. The most treasured advantage is to be able to speak out regardless of treading on toes, to say what needs to be said from the heart. No favours. No deals. It is the only way I could survive in this arena, feeling free to be bold, without party constraints. Of course, there are plenty of other constraints. It would be foolish to make personal enemies, by indulging in personal mudslinging. It would be foolish to overstate issues, which would result in a loss of credibility. It would be counter-productive to damage one's personal acceptability by ignoring some of the inoffensive practices of the Parliament; in and out of the Chamber.

In the Chamber, there have been some notable incidents. In my first speech, planned to the last second of the allotted half-hour, a Liberal Party Senator, Noel Crichton-Browne (Western Australia), interjected at my mention of opposition to nuclear warship visits. I was aware of the frozen stares in his direction, but kept going. An interjection during a first speech is against the rules, written and unwritten: I considered it a small achievement. It was a full house of Senators, which I've not seen since for such an occasion - I was unaware at the time of my high novelty value!

Also very early in my parliamentary life I learned the hard way about seeking leave to make a personal explanation. Another Liberal Senator, David MacGibbon (Queensland), had blamed peace educators and the peace movement for the increase in youth suicides. Such blatant nonsense could not go unchallenged. He claimed to have been misrepresented in the *The Canberra Times*, giving me, had I known the correct form of words, the chance to follow suit. I tried, whereupon I was told I was out of order. In the Chamber at the time were Susan Ryan, then Minister for Education, and Don Chipp, then leader of the Australian Democrats, who were also indignant at David MacGibbon's outrageous claims. I was given on-the-spot coaching from both of them, but in that situation, it's very difficult to absorb two sets of differing instructions simultaneously. Three times I thought I'd moved the suspension of standing orders, which I didn't need to do at all. It was quite a scene, but eventually I got the floor, by which time I was well steamed up to let David MacGibbon know how absurd his claim was!

There was another time I did something quite unusual: in 1987, after the pompous opening of the new Parliament, I moved an amendment to the Governor-General's speech. It's rarely been attempted before, and has never before resulted in a full debate. I wanted to change the section affirming ANZUS. It took everyone by surprise, but four Democrats rose to support me, so we had a two-hour debate on the subject. The Government doesn't like their agenda being interfered with, and the Opposition, because of the topic, were even more furious. The Queensland National Party Senator and former Head of Treasury, John Stone, was apoplectic with rage. Peter Baume (Liberal, New South Wales, and a medical practitioner) was worried about John Stone's physical condition. He said to me, "If he has a heart attack, it will be your fault." He wasn't altogether joking. The anger was mostly at my daring to set the agenda - a mere Independent.

Other topics on which I've very much enjoyed setting the agenda were in putting forward Matters of Public Importance, and having been lucky on three occasions in winning the draw on broadcast days for a two-hour debate: on Pine Gap, arms exports and Antarctica. In the last case I was trying to get the Liberal Party to declare their position. They hadn't decided on a stand against the Minerals Convention (CRAMRA) at that stage, but two weeks later decided that they would not endorse the Convention, which if agreed to could lead to mineral exploration in Antarctica, the world's last wilderness. This must have helped push the Government to a similar view. For a change, we, along with the many groups lobbying for a world park rather than regulated mining seemed to be heard.

On these procedural matters, the Independents need the support of four others, so we need to work closely with the Australian Democrats, whose good amendments we are usually willing to support. Very often, the two Independent Disarmament Senators (Irina Dunn, NSW, being the other) and the seven Australian Democrats make up a knot of nine against the rest. Increasingly, the two major party groupings are sitting together against motions put forward by the minor grouping. No wonder the populace is disillusioned with the larger parties there is less and less to choose between them.

The most recent example of this similarity was the episode of the aborted Nurrungar debate. The background to the story was that on 30 September 1989, the Minister for Defence, Kim Beazley (jocularly known as The General, Bomber Beazley, or Kimbo - derived from a combination of Rambo with his first name), had sent Australian troops to defend a US military base against Australian citizens on Australian soil. Nearly 500 people had been arrested at Nurrungar, opposing the base which directly ties Australia into the nuclear war-fighting strategies of

the US Government.

I considered that the Minister's unprecedented action required a debate in the Senate. So I proposed a Matter of Public Importance (MPI) debate on the subject, which would normally be allowed two hours. At first, I was assured of the support of the Australian Democrats to ensure that the debate would be on the agenda. That support was later withdrawn because of a mathematical formula, reluctantly agreed to by the Independents, which allocates each of us one turn out of 44 to put forward either Matters of Public Importance or Urgency Motions, 44 being the combined total of non-Government Senators. Evidently I'd had my quota.

So I suggested that a Democrat Senator might like to put forward my MPI - so important was it to me to get this matter debated. Senator Jean Jenkins (Western Australia) put it forward, which was appropriate, as she had been at the Nurrungar demonstrations. Of course, I put my name forward for the speakers' list.

When the time came for the debate, my name was omitted from the list, leaving one Democrat, followed by seven Government and Opposition Senators who all agreed with each other. Then as Jean Jenkins spoke, a quorum was called, not only to use up some of her speaking time, but also to ensure that the debate would lapse if a quorum did not assemble. No Coalition Senators showed up for the quorum.

By the second quorum, the Government, embarrassed by the subject matter of the debate, discouraged their Senators from entering the Chamber, thus denying the 26 members necessary. The Government Whip, Senator McKiernan, was seen to be shooing people out of the Chamber, so the Senate adjourned.

This was an outrageous denial of democracy. Obviously the Government and the Liberal-National Party Coalition parties want to continue keeping Australians in the dark about the functions of Nurrungar. The 37 per cent of Australians who oppose the Nurrungar base have been denied a voice in Parliament because both Government and Opposition know that the more people know about the bases, the more they are opposed to them.

Of course, I was angry about this, and determined to draw further attention to the major parties deliberate attempts to thwart the democratic process.

So the following day, using a procedure called a personal explanation because I'd been misrepresented by another Senator about a previous absence from the Senate, I expanded my remarks to show that the major parties cannot bear the Democrats and Independents being in the Senate, and alluded to the aborted debate. Points of order were called, the President ruled me out of order, and eventually I was suspended from the Senate for the remainder of the day. This was a deliberate act on my part, to highlight the shameful way in which democracy had been doubly denied - both at Nurrungar and in the Senate.

The suspension gave me the opportunity to explain, to the Western Australia media at least, how parliamentary procedures are increasingly being used to deny a voice to non-major party Senators.

My press release read, in part:

As a Senator elected to represent the community on a disarmament platform, it is my responsibility to put issues such as foreign bases on the Senate's agenda whenever possible.

The Nurrungar issue was not likely to be raised in the House of Representatives because the Government and the Opposition basically agree with each other in their grovelling subservience to the United States Government, so any debate in the national Parliament had to occur in the Senate. .

The arrest of 500 people on a matter of principle at Nurrungar surely warrants full debate. People are fed up with the secrecy surrounding these US bases, which was exemplified by the ten-year lease extensions on both Pine Gap and Nurrungar worked out last year without any attempt at either Parliamentary or community participation. That's why so many people were prepared to 'bravely' commit civil disobedience.

I am determined that this issue, embarrassing for both Government and Opposition, gets the attention it deserves.

Question Time is the most interesting time in the Parliamentary day. I use my full quota of questions, sometimes genuinely seeking information, sometimes in an attempt to embarrass the Government. In the first session I jumped up at Question Time every day, and got the call frequently. There were complaints: she gets too many Questions, and they're too long. I was a regular visitor to the office of the then President of the Senate, Senator Doug McClelland (ALP, New South Wales), who would call me in like a kindly headmaster to explain the subtleties of

the rules. We got along very well together.

Often my questions, notices of motion and speeches cause unruly interjections from all round the Chamber. I've got used to that, although it's not easy to ignore them. Points of order are frequently called on me, most of them unfounded. At the outset, I determined not to interject, not to respond to interjections, not to call points of order on others, not to stall for time, and usually to make short speeches. I've regretted the couple of times I've responded to interjections. If there weren't so much game playing going on in the Chamber, we could get through the business so much more quickly.

I have introduced two Private Member's Bills. The first is an amendment to the Broadcasting Act disallowing television programmes made for children (a) which are violent and (b) with which lines of toys, books, and games are associated. It has since been the subject of many petitions and much lobbying of parliamentarians. My preference is for self-regulation in these matters, rather than legislative restrictions, but the industry has certainly taken note of the community lobbying! The National Coalition Against War Toys and the Psychologists for Social Responsibility helped in the preparation of this Bill.

The second Bill is more positive in nature, calling for the establishment of a Peace Trust Fund into which conscientious objectors could pay that percentage of their tax dollar currently going to the military. That's about 10 per cent. The fund would be administered from within the Foreign Affairs portfolio, and would see money collected being diverted to socially useful, peace-building projects. Its emphasis would be on non-military security. Again, support from a community group, the Peace Tax Campaign, run consecutively by two Friends, Margaret Bailey from Hobart, then Jan de Voogd from Sydney, was invaluable.

Both of these Bills may languish on the Notice Paper, undebated for a long time, but when I get my one chance in 44 to set the agenda in the one two-hour session allocated for Private Members' bills each week, I shall bring them forward.

There are often difficult decisions associated with Chamber work. I'm often criticised for not voting in all decisions. I refuse to vote, if I don't know what a particular division is about. There is no way that an Independent can track all legislation and be informed about everything going through the Parliament. As a team, we do our best, but I have to live with that constant criticism, believing that it would be irresponsible to cast a vote without understanding the issue. As for

party members, they wander into the Chamber when there's a division, see where their mates are and seat themselves alongside. Independents have to make decisions! A long time ago I learnt, when in doubt, to do nothing. So I have a record number of abstentions. Voters in the community have to make a choice, in my case, to support someone who is not a mindless party hack (and I know that's not a fair description of most parliamentarians, but unfortunately, it is absolutely fair to some!); who makes considered decisions and who can offer benefits other than a vote on every issue.

One of the most difficult pieces of legislation for me to decide about was the War Crimes Amendment Bill, which caused me a great deal of agony for about eighteen months. There were persuasive arguments on both sides, but I could not agree with the idea of hounding some war criminals and not others. I almost decided to vote against the Bill when Arthur Gietzelt (ALP, New South Wales), whose opinion I respected, made an impassioned plea with me not to vote with the Opposition, as my vote would be misinterpreted as backing for the Nazi war criminals' not being brought to justice. The numbers were very close on this Bill, as the Democrats were divided. It looked like being the situation I had dreaded ever since arriving in Parliament, of having the casting vote. I did not relish the thought, especially on this Bill. Finally the numbers went in the Government's favour. I abstained. A copy of the speech I made on the subject is included as an Appendix.

Then there's the Committee work. After the 1987 election, I lobbied hard for a place on the Foreign Affairs, Trade and Defence Committee, the most sought-after in the Parliament. There are thirty members, the others all men, carefully balanced between Party groupings and factions. For the first time, a Democrat and an Independent were included. Then there was the choice of the three sub-committees. I chose Defence, hoping to use the opportunity to put forward thinking on alternative strategies. It has been a great learning experience for me. I have not moved from my long-term goal of civilian-based defence, but I have a much better understanding of the problems faced by defence personnel, and much clearer arguments to put to the community challenging the government's fetish for buying long range offensive weapons systems, mostly from the US, which add enormously to our balance of payments problems.

No doubt I've challenged the thinking of the military personnel too, who constantly brief the defence sub-committee at our weekly dinner meeting. I've asked many questions about the psychology of training within the Australian Defence Force, and curly ones about the political rationale for the expensive and

unaccountable invasion by Kamaria (an imaginary foe to the north) during Kangaroo '89. This was the largest peacetime military exercise ever conducted in Australia; it was held during the winter of 1989 and covered virtually the whole of northern Australia, a distance from east to west of 4000 km.

There are many other meetings of this FATD (Foreign Affairs, Trade and Defence) Committee - the weekly breakfast meetings, consideration of reports, and many foreign visitors, of whom I always ask questions, to ensure that they know that views other than those represented by the major parties are alive and well in the community.

At first I found this Committee very daunting, almost as intimidating as the Senate itself had been. But the male dominance has to be challenged. Although a couple of members of that Committee will always try to ridicule my input, I know that I make a lot of sense to other members, to some of the committees and staff and to some of the visiting dignitaries and their ever-present batch of advisors.

Finally, in Parliament House there are the extra-curricular activities, as I call them - the special interest groups encouraging membership from across the political spectrum. I'm a member of the Parliamentarians for Democracy in Central and South America, Australian Parliamentarians Against Apartheid, the Australian Parliamentary Disarmament Group, the Australian Parliamentary UNICEF Group, the Parliamentary Christian Fellowship, and the Australian Parliamentary Group of Amnesty International.

I think I'm the token oddity on the Executive of all of them! For the most part, they serve useful functions in convening meetings when special visitors need a forum to speak to parliamentarians, and in undertaking urgent actions, like letters signed by as many important-sounding people as possible to foreign governments in response to crisis situations.

By far the most active is the Amnesty group, which is a wonderful collection of individuals who are prepared to put aside party political differences, to co-operate actively in seeking an end to human rights abuses in other countries. It's safe to do so, because no domestic arguments are involved. There are nearly 100 members of this group, and the effect of their work is far reaching. Amnesty International gives the Foreign Affairs Minister a briefing before every overseas visit. Other countries are being encouraged to set up similar parliamentary groups.

It is a rare opportunity to experience Parliamentarians working together for

the common good. I wish there were more examples!

Evaluation

Just how effective has this experiment been? It's very difficult to measure, because there are no obvious successes in terms of government policy changes. But it would have been unrealistic to expect any major turnarounds, especially in the areas of foreign policy and defence - the issues which I was first elected to represent.

Working on an increasing range of issues since the 1987 election has been more satisfying, especially the work on the environment. It is clear that there is a greater return for effort when lobbying on environmental issues rather than peace-related topics. There are good reasons for this. To a great degree, the Australian Government can make decisions about our environment free from outside interference, although whatever decisions are made here have international ramifications; for example, the amount of Greenhouse gases we continue to pump into the atmosphere.

The same cannot be said for foreign policy and defence decisions, where our sovereignty is limited by the ANZUS Treaty, the presence of US bases on our soil, and continued access to visiting nuclear-armed and nuclear-powered warships. The Government encourages the populace to see the latter two factors as part of our obligations under ANZUS, but in fact the treaty is deliberately vague, and therefore open to various interpretations. The myth of our great and powerful friend, ready to defend or rescue us, still persists, although it is increasingly being challenged.

In the defence area, there is little doubt that we are strongly influenced by the United States. Consider how the 1986 Dibb Report was modified into the 1987 Defence White Paper, and the changes that have taken place since then in terms of purchase of military equipment. Seeing that the US Navy's Maritime Strategy, enunciated in 1986, is unlikely to come to fruition, regional allies have been asked to increase their contribution to the Western alliance.

It is no exaggeration to say that our Defence Minister is doing what Washington wants in terms of increasing our air and naval capabilities, and in renewing lease agreements on Pine Gap and Nurrungar¹⁷ for a further ten years. There was no attempt at consultation with either the people or the Parliament on

the latter point - but perhaps this was a response to the growing disquiet among a more informed public about the presence of the bases. Had they been asked, well over half the population would have said NO, so the Government decided, as it is entitled to do under the Westminster system, to make decisions concerning international treaty obligations, without reference to anyone beyond Cabinet. The US Government, terrified at the prospect of the "Kiwidisease"¹⁸ spreading, is confident that an Australian Government comprised of either of the major parties, will not rock the boat New Zealand style.

Any significant change in the fawning colonial attitude which is consistently demonstrated in our subservient relationship with the United States would have to be preceded by at least 70 per cent of the population opposing the status quo. We have a long way to go.

However, on environmental matters, we seem to be more in control of our national destiny. Although the Government is torn between competing interests like the mining lobby, developers, state governments demanding states' rights, and conservationists, tough decisions can be made without attracting international odium. Not that the Government has made enough of these tough decisions (for example, there is an urgent need to set a limit on carbon dioxide emissions). But it is within their power to do so. We constantly hear, especially from the Minister for the Environment, Senator Graham Richardson, that attributing voting power to a certain lobby group can be a powerful bargaining chip.

Bearing that in mind, it puzzles and disappoints me that the Government ignores the one area where the environment and peace lobbies have always intersected: the question of uranium mining. Two lobby groups could have been satisfied with one moral decision - to ban uranium mining. Alas, they prevaricate, at least until after the next election; it is rumoured that, sadly, the present restrictive (and illogical) three-mines policy will then be scrapped. This is despite the fact that about 95 per cent of the submissions received by the ALP Review panel have opposed uranium mining, and despite the fact that the bottom is falling out of the uranium market

It has been a privilege for me to straddle the two lobbying domains, community and parliamentary. Sometimes I'm on the receiving end of lobbying, which is a useful experience for future reference!

Ultimately, it is in the community, rather than the Parliament, where power really lies, with a fair amount of it also being in the bureaucracy. Apart from the

Executive, it is a mistake to credit Parliament with too much power. It is a useful debating forum, as it should be, but I feel that there is too much pomp and ceremony accorded to it, helping to create an illusion of power. Illusions can be dangerous: politicians sometimes think they have power, and individuals often abdicate to those they perceive to be powerful.

As an Independent, it is very clear to me that people need to reclaim their power to make decisions for the greatest good of the greatest number; this will usually happen if people are adequately informed and sufficiently committed to do the hard work necessary to make changes. Our renowned Australian apathy probably springs from various sources, but one that has no doubt been influential, is rooted in our convict past.

There was no attempt at consultation then, especially with Aboriginal people, who were not even counted as human beings in their own country until after the 1967 referendum. That is part of our collective national shame, still to be redressed.

The harsh convict regimes which were the foundations of most Australian states were hardly conducive to participatory democracy. A reluctant resignation to authority, coupled with a healthy cynicism, has resulted in occasional defiances of the establishment rules and regulations rather than the constant vigilance which I believe would have produced a more humane and fairer society.

Most Australians are conditioned to vote at the all-too-frequent elections only because it is compulsory, and then sit back and complain about what is dished out to the populace by the parliamentarians and bureaucrats. We take democracy for granted, as we take a lot of things for granted in Australia. We forget that there are people in other countries literally dying for the opportunities that we don't even appreciate. Sometimes, I think we've been too "lucky" for our own good.

If people were more actively involved in political processes, we would be better represented in Parliament. Accountability is hardly on the political agenda in this country. The dominance of the two major party groupings is largely responsible for that. Individuals, disillusioned by the two major party groupings, often feel disempowered by the processes they see played out either in Canberra, or in the party rooms of the two major parties.

Increasingly, those two large groupings act as one to thwart the efforts of

the minor parties and the Independents. Out of 76 Senators, the seven Democrats and three Independents are often accused of having power beyond their level of support in the community. That is, accused by the major parties, who would like the Senate free from irritating encumbrances who dare to take up time amending legislation, introducing Private Members' Bills, and putting forward points of view not held by representatives of the Laborials, as the Australian Democrats have dubbed the others!

I'm happy to acknowledge my irritant value. It's, good for democracy, and it has been pleasing at times to get that feedback from the community, even though often couched in negative terms, like: "I don't often/always/ever agree with what you say, but I'm really glad you're in there to speak out." Of course, it's no secret that the major parties would like to get rid of people like me from the Senate. Perversely, that's one of the reasons I enjoy being there - to prove that someone from the community can get into the Senate and have a go! Many people thought I'd be a "oncer", and they were nearly right. Our preferential voting system, complicated as it is, provides the opportunity for a rank outsider like me to get in there and stir the pot.

Increasingly, Independents have managed to get elected to represent issues rather than parties at local and state levels. This is a healthy trend because it signifies that issues are more important than party structures, and that community involvement is high; otherwise Independents would have no chance of getting elected.

There are attendant dangers, of course, in not having a party structure. Two of these dangers are: being devoured by the parliamentary system, and trying to match the parliamentary output of those backed up by party systems. This is no doubt being discovered by the Independent Greens in Tasmania¹⁹, who are providing an interesting model for the rest of the country, perhaps for the rest of the world. An integral factor in their success has been that as individuals they have been trusted by the community groups supporting them, to get on with the job. This trust has been forthcoming largely because of the excellent record of integrity which Tasmanian environmental activist and politician Bob Brown has built up over many years. It remains to be seen whether a group of Independents holding the balance of power in a State Parliament is sustainable in the long run. I hope so!

It is difficult to keep one's own agenda in mind when a paper war goes on in both the Parliamentary and electorate offices every day, and when there is a

war of words in the Senate every day. It is important to resist some of the written and unwritten rules, especially relating to protocol and social expectations, in order to survive as a human being.

Overall, I think that being an Independent has far more benefits than handicaps - in fact I'm absolutely sure I would not have managed Parliamentary life in the other capacity.

But what of movement-building and the future representation of non-major views in the Senate? A logical step forward, currently being attempted in Western Australia at least, is for the burgeoning Green movement to elect a representative to the Senate.

Sometimes I think we're not ready for that step. Yet, the enthusiasm for all things green is alive and well in the community, and it would be a pity not to capitalise on that, not to take the chance to give all these potential green voters the choice of a green candidate in future Federal Elections.

As long as there is ambivalence in the community-based movement about whether electioneering is an effective use of time, it is an indication that the time is not right, that the groundwork has not been laid carefully enough for electoral politics.

Whether or not to put myself forward in a third election has been one of the most harrowing decisions to face, because I've felt pulled in various directions. My heart tells me that for survival as a rational human being and for my family's sake, perhaps I should quit at the end of my second term of office, on 30 June 1990. If I am a contestant, my parliamentary life would probably still conclude at that time, because it will be a tough election, a half-Senate election, with only six places open, thus requiring a 14 per cent primary vote.

Despite the huge increase in environmental awareness, the various community groups wanting to put forward green candidates have not been able to agree to work together. In Western Australia, I have tried very hard to bring together the Green Earth Alliance and the Green Party to work in coalition for the purposes of the election. There are some understandable reasons why these two groups find it difficult to field a joint ticket. However, from the voters' point of view, I think it is confusing to have two green groups running candidates, which could be counter-productive. I have found the internal wranglings debilitating, and so have decided to withdraw from the Senate team for the Green Earth

Alliance. I have indicated to both groups that unless there is a joint, unified green ticket, I will not be contesting the election, and even if unity is reached, it is possible that the joint ticket won't include me!

Of course, this has not been easy, as it could be interpreted as giving up, and it could mean an end to the resources of the office which have been so useful to the community. I don't like the notion of giving up. Yet I also feel that five years (it will be almost six by the end of June 1990) is a fair contribution: that I have done my turn. I feel a great responsibility to the various groups and individuals who have supported me and would feel much happier if I were able to hand over to a united ticket with some prospect of success. On the other hand, perhaps my exit will bring about the unity which has thus far proved elusive. There have been some encouraging signs recently that a merger between the two groups may be imminent.

Perhaps I have to acknowledge that I've functioned reasonably well as an Independent, but that representing a group or a party would present different challenges, which could seem a somewhat daunting prospect after five years of hard slogging.

Another point which needs to be made is that my election in 1984 must be seen as an aberration. The electoral process for non-major party participants is better served by starting at the grass-roots level, i.e. local government, which is the level of government closest to the people. Getting into the Senate, out of the blue, could be interpreted as entering the electoral process at the wrong end!

Such factors, coupled with the undisputed apathy of Australians to all things political, make the maintaining of Independents or minor parties in the Federal Parliament a huge task. Unfortunately, most Australians don't care about wide-ranging decisions made on their behalf, unless they have immediate impact, such as a rise in interest rates.

But I believe that tide of disinterest is turning, as people increasingly realise that there's more to life than materialism. We've tried that and found it wanting, whether we suffer a dearth of material things, or whether we suffer a surfeit!

It is a national pastime in Australia to knock those in perceived authority. So, of course, politicians come in for a great deal of criticism. Judging by their behaviour, not only in the Parliamentary Chambers, but often in the community,

much of this criticism is well deserved. However, in defence of politicians, most of them work very hard, but as I've discovered, their energies are all too often expended on the wrong things like digging up dirt on an opponent or internal factional bickering.

I once heard Australians described as "political neuters". Broad as that generalisation is, I think it's sadly true. According to Labor Party pollsters, only about 3 per cent of Australians follow politics very closely. Maybe another 20 per cent would be interested in major stories on a daily basis. We're lazy about political matters. We complain, but can't be bothered to do much more. We waste so many lobbying opportunities.

It becomes a question of assessing the role of Parliament in the enlightened post-industrial age we're hoping to create. For those who take seriously the four tenets of green politics: participatory democracy, disarmament and/or non-violence, ecological sustainability and social justice, the relevance of Parliament is often challenged.

It is appropriate to challenge and to question, with the intention of improving access to and use of the system. Parliament could be much more accountable, much more relevant, much more democratic, if people in the community understood its functions better and used the opportunities it provides for decision-making, especially through the committee systems.

What is especially worrying is the increasingly powerful role played by the Executive wing of the Parliament.. This has been highlighted by the move to the new Parliament House, where in splendid isolation, the Ministry is removed from general access. There is less access for backbenchers and for people like me, and for the media. Ministerial decisions are often out of step with Caucus, leaving backbenchers to take the rap back in their electorates. Often, I wish their constituents were not so complacent and that the raps made more impact. There is an arrogance about the Executive which is very unhealthy.

So, rather than giving up on the institution of Parliament because of its hierarchy, its patriarchy, its distance from the community, my plea is for greater understanding and more involvement, to make the system work better. Unfortunately, that also means lots of hard work, and as in so many areas of life, it's easier to criticise than to improve - but far less satisfying. It is possible to transform from within, although it is a slow process.

Of course, it is also imperative to be finding new ways of empowering people at grass-roots levels. There needs to be a symbiosis between working to improve existing institutions and creating new systems to cope with our changing society.

Conclusion

Back to the beginning question. Considering the stresses, the emotional costs - why bother? Life would be much simpler without making a commitment to work in the political arena, which is one reason why not many Quakers get involved. I respect that distancing and I certainly look forward to the time when I can choose another path.

But for the moment, I am engaged in this ever-fascinating journey. At the same time, I realise that there are multitudes of other ways of being effective towards social change.

The ingredients which lead me to be in this uncomfortable space are: firstly, the indisputable fact that social inequities and environmental mismanagement have put humanity on the endangered species list - in other words we are in a crisis situation; secondly, that humanity shares enormous resources of ingenuity to resolve many of the problems we face; thirdly, that as an individual, I have a responsibility to do the best job I can, with whatever skills I can muster, to ensure that the planet is better off for my being here.

I have a long-term view of both past and present. Living in the latter part of the twentieth century is both a burden and an opportunity. Technological changes which scare some of us into psychic numbing can also be positive forces, if managed with ethical constraints and a long-term vision.

It is a time of enormous challenge: a period of just ten years is ahead of us to make the changes needed to set the world on an ecologically sustainable course. The pace of change through technology has been quite fantastic in the twentieth century. Now, it is human change that is required to deal with the mistakes made over the period of rapid industrialisation - many of which mistakes have been made unwittingly. Nevertheless, as a global family, we must come to terms with the problems, facing them resolutely and positively, without indulging in blaming those who went before us.

Managing the globe is a bit like parenting. You do the best job you can at the time, often falling far short of the ideal. Parenting is also based on an understanding that infants' needs seem at times insatiable. In the twentieth century, the global family has been manipulated towards the childish behaviour of immediate gratification and rampant consumerism. That's got to change, and fast, if the global family is to survive. Our management focus needs to be broadened beyond immediate concerns, beyond the usual constraints of short-term thinking and nation-states.

I feel that I've been placed here, in these exciting times, to help educate people away from the very unsatisfying materialist mode, towards a more spiritual emphasis which embodies the notion of humanity as an integral part of the eco-system, rather than as an exploiter of it.

I'm totally committed to being part of an educative process to encourage other human beings to use their power, rather than to abdicate it through either disillusionment or apathy or both. We all have enormous power, individually and collectively, yet many people are unaware of it. What I seek is a "power-with", not a "power-over", situation.

This overwhelming feeling I have, to encourage change, springs out of the spirit, and needs constant nurturing by the spirit. At times, it feels hopeless, because the problems are so vast, and I find myself succumbing to the disempowering question, "What can 'one person do?'" It is usually a fleeting moment, because I remind myself of the great struggles that others have endured in the past to gain some measure of social justice. The human spirit is irrepressible, is capable of achieving even what seems impossible. It has been said that we must do the impossible or we'll be faced with the unthinkable.

What we have to prepare ourselves for is the long haul, and to face discomfort in the process. Gandhi put it very clearly when he talked about the four stages of social change: first being ignored, second being ridiculed, third being persecuted, fourth being victorious. We constantly need to remind ourselves of the big picture, the global view, with a sense of history and a vision for the future.

What each person can contribute, and has a responsibility to contribute, is only a small part, but added to the sum of other committed people's efforts, it adds up to a grand total for change.

What is different about this stage of ecological development is that the human part of it, which is most at risk, has made the greatest contributions to the problem, but therein also lies the solution. The situation is urgent and it's new. Old solutions cannot be applied.

I feel excited by the challenges, spurred on by the challenges, and I feel that working in the political arena is the right way for me to be contributing for the moment.

It is my hope that Quakers, and others, will not find what I have said about the dilemmas of political life daunting, but rather an encouragement to be bold in whatever way is appropriate, as guided by the light within.

THE HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE: PETER D. JONES

The path of a religious idealist in practical politics is not an easy one. As a result, as Frederick Tolles observed:

If anything is clear from our quick historical survey, I think it must be this: that there is no one Quaker attitude towards politics. Historically, Quakers can be found practicing and preaching almost every possible position from full participation to complete withdrawal and abstention.²⁰

Another well-known American Friend, Rufus Jones, once wrote:

There has always been in the Society of Friends a group of persons pledged unswervingly to the ideal. To those who form this inner group compromise is under no circumstance allowable. If there comes a collision between allegiance to the ideal and the holding of public office, then the office must be deserted. If obedience to the soul's vision involves eye or hand, house or lands or life, they must be immediately surrendered. But there has always been as well another group who have held it to be equally imperative to work out their principles of life in the complex affairs of the community and the state, where to gain an end one must yield something; where to get on one must submit to existing conditions; and where to achieve ultimate triumph one must risk his [sic] ideals to the tender mercies of a world not yet ripe for them.²¹

Frederick Tolles summed up the dilemma by putting it like this:

If a concerned Quaker (or any man or woman committed to an absolute religious ethic) decides to enter practical politics in order to translate his [sic] principles into actuality, he may achieve a relative success; he may be able to raise the level of political life in his time, as John Bright did, or maintain a comparatively happy and just peaceful society, as the Quaker legislators of Pennsylvania did. If, on the other hand, he decides to preserve his ideals intact, to maintain his religious testimonies unsullied and pure, he may be able to do that, but again at a price - the price of isolation, of withdrawal from the main stream of life in his time, of renouncing the opportunity directly and immediately to influence history.²²

These two positions represent the relativist and the absolutist. Through the history of British Friends and American Friends there has been a tendency to swing from one side to the other; curiously, at opposite times in each country. In Australia, not surprisingly, few Friends have become involved in a political career, but there are enough examples to cover the same spectrum. Of those who do get involved in politics, as elsewhere, there is no consistent position on the

political spectrum. Those who opted for positions of ministerial responsibility had to make the necessary compromises as they saw fit. Others, who chose more of a prophetic role, were seen as voices in the wilderness, but they were able to speak out more openly and to vote as their consciences dictated:

To this day there are those Friends who show not the slightest interest in political involvement and who would probably share the views of George Fox on the subject. In the United Kingdom, during the early period of religious fervour from 1649 to 1660, George Fox declared that he was called "to stand a witness against all violence and against all the works of darkness, and to turn people from the darkness to the light, and to bring them from the occasion of the war and the occasion of the magistrate's sword".²³

George Fox talked directly to Oliver Cromwell. He had no patience with the relativities and compromises of political life, and his absolute demands represent one pole of Quaker thought on politics. After the Restoration of the monarchy, however, there was a swing in the other direction, and Friends became politically active as a lobby group from 1675 to 1742, before lapsing into Quietism. After the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1828 (which had kept non-Anglicans out of political office since 1661) and the election of Joseph Pease in 1832, Friends became once again involved in political life and the tradition has continued in Britain to this day.

Paradoxically, in the United States, Friends were active in the early years of Quaker settlement, but since the end of the Holy Experiment in 1756, there has been little tradition of direct political involvement. In the twentieth century there were two notable exceptions, in the Presidencies of Herbert Hoover and Richard Nixon. Mention should also be made of the lobbying activities of the American Friends Service Committee and Friends Committee on National Legislation; but relatively few American Friends have chosen a career in party politics.

The nineteenth-century division between the silent tradition and the Evangelical Friends with their programmed meetings has also marked a distinct political difference. Friends belonging to the original silent tradition have maintained their reputation for liberal ideas and radical action, have kept up their traditional social testimonies even when it meant going to gaol, and have been very active in political lobbying. Evangelical Friends, like their Protestant counterparts, tend to take a conservative position on political and social issues, and are often unaware of, or resistant to, the traditional testimonies of the Society's past.

The early years of Quakerism in Britain were marked by the spirit of millennial hope which characterised the period when politics was identified with religion. In 1659 George Fox advised Friends to "keep out of the powers of the earth that run into wars and fightings" and to "take heed of joining with this or the other, or meddling with any, or being busy with other men's matters; but mind the Lord, and his power "and his service".²⁴

Following the disastrous rising by the Fifth Monarchists in 1659, after the death of Oliver Cromwell, many Friends were imprisoned and accused of associating with the Fifth Monarchists. The Fifth Monarchists believed that the execution of Charles I signalled the imminence of the reign of Jesus Christ on Earth, the Fifth Monarchy referred to in a passage in the Bible. Their street demonstrations proclaiming the Millenium were put down by Cromwell's troops and they often found themselves in gaol with the Quakers. George Fox, in his *Journal*²⁵, refers to discussions with them on the nature of the Second Coming.

Alexander Parker echoed George Fox when he wrote in 1660: "My advice and counsel is, that every one of you, who love and believe in the Light, be still and quiet, and side not with any parties; but own and cherish the good wherever it appears, and testify against the evil ... " ²⁶ Although this view prevailed until 1675, the beginning of another trend had emerged as early as 1659, when 165 Friends went to Westminster Hall and sent into the House of Commons a paper offering to lie "body for body" in gaol in place of their imprisoned and suffering fellow Quakers.

The period of intense persecution until 1675 also saw the development of a closely integrated Quaker organisation which had great political possibilities. Indeed one Oxford historian, Norman Crowther-Hunt, has argued that the Quakers by the 1730s had emerged as a full-blooded political association, up to half a century before other similar associations appeared. Although he noted the paradox, that this development came out of a Society whose religious principles were originally against all form and organisation, he commented that "the techniques they were then habitually using, and thus firmly establishing as a recognised and effective mode of political action, were, in most respects, the same as those practised by the later political associations whose impact on our constitutional development were so profound."²⁷

He listed the activities of the Quaker association as consisting of a large number of local units, linked to a central unit of similar type, which assumed

executive and directorial functions for that particular association. The means used to achieve the given end included the collection of evidence to support their special case, the wide dissemination of this information by means of press and pamphlet to educate politicians and public opinion, the holding of public meetings, the initiation of nation-wide petitioning campaigns, the lobbying of members of Parliament, the subjecting of MPs to pressure from their constituents, the organisation of deputations to members of the Government, the preparation in draft form of the legislation required, and the presentation and defence of their case when under consideration by Parliament. The activities were co-ordinated in such a way as to reach their peak intensity at the moment judged most suitable by the central executive body. Funding was usually obtained by a regular levy on members.

As nonconformists, Friends were not allowed to become members of Parliament until after 1828, but they lobbied effectively between 1675 and 1689 to obtain religious liberty with the passing of the Toleration Act and were not averse to having William Penn and Robert Barclay use their influence at court with the King. Indeed at one stage the Yearly Meeting even rented a room in a coffee house close to the House of Parliament in Westminster for a headquarters. When Parliament was sitting they organised a roster for attendance.

In terms of who Friends were urged to vote for, a circular letter to all County Quarterly Meetings urged all Friends "to make what good Interest they can in this election of Parliament men, for sober, discrete and moderate men such as live in love with their neighbours, That are against persecution and popery, And that deport themselves tenderly towards friends".²⁸

The Revolution Settlement of 1688-89 meant that Friends could lobby more effectively, because there were now regular and annual sessions of Parliament on which planned political agitation could be focussed. The shortcomings of the Settlement led to Friends becoming engaged in four major political campaigns up to 1742: the campaign for the 1696 Affirmation Act, the campaign for its renewal in 1702, the campaign which secured a modification to the Affirmation Act in 1722, and the Tithe Bill campaign of the 1730s.

The Tithe Bill campaign saw Friends at their most effective politically, although they eventually lost.²⁹ It also illustrates the differences in their attitude to the State, as some Friends did pay their tithes, while others refused to. Sometimes the friends of Quakers paid tithes for them and were later reimbursed; sometimes those owing money to Quakers paid it instead to those demanding tithes from

Quakers, their debts then being cancelled.

Even when they refused to pay, not all Friends were prosecuted, and the penalties were rarely harsh. Between 1696 and 1736, 1180 Friends had been prosecuted before the Exchequer and Ecclesiastical Courts for the non-payment of ecclesiastical dues including tithes, and only 302 were imprisoned (of these, nine died in gaol). Most of the cases were instigated before 1710, and some involved the same person being prosecuted more than once.

Having achieved much of what they wanted, Friends did not appear to follow through politically and the Society entered the age of Quietism. As one expression put it, a good Quaker must be among "the quiet in the land". Some Friends even counselled against voting, and Samuel Scott's utterance on the Parliamentary elections of 1780 may be considered as fairly typical:

The parliament being dissolved, a general election is coming on; the devil cometh forth, and hell from beneath ... it becometh not the members of our society to meddle much in those matters, or to be active in political disquisitions... In respect to elections, we ought to go no farther than voting for the candidates we best approve, and declaring our preference of them, without endeavouring by any other means to influence others. Israel is to dwell alone, and not be mixed with the people.³⁰

John Bellers

It would not be appropriate to pass beyond the period of the first hundred years of Quakerism without referring to John Bellers (1654-1725). Although he was never highly acknowledged by Friends in his day, his work was later acknowledged by Karl Marx and other European Socialists in the late nineteenth century, as well as by Joshua Rowntree in his Swarthmore Lecture in 1913.³¹

Karl Marx described John Bellers as a veritable phenomenon in the history of political economy, while Joshua Rowntree quoted German authors as saying that we find in Bellers "the clearest and boldest thoughts of the religious and social revolutionist of the seventeenth century". In 1892, Karl Kautsky wrote: "It is now nearly two hundred years ago since a well-meaning Englishman, John Bellers, submitted to the English Parliament a plan to end the misery which even then the capitalist system, young as it was, was spreading through the land."³² Sadly, John Bellers' collected works were lost, although in his will he requested

that they be presented "to the Envoy of every Sovereign Prince and State in Europe who shall have such Envoys residing at our British Court for their respective Master's perusal ... "

John Bellers was certainly an active Friend, and indeed was arrested three times for "Quaker offences". His interest in political economy appears to have been sparked off by his appointment, at the age of 25, to the treasurership of a Quaker fund for employing the poor. His later proposals for improving the world covered education to fit people for life, hospitals to keep them well, Colleges of Industry to keep them employed, reformed prisons and criminal law to deal with the morally sick, reformed elections to ensure good statesmen, and lastly, a European Senate to keep the peace - virtually the germ idea of the League of Nations. In 1699 he proposed the abolition of the death penalty in essays which he presented to the Parliament, and eleven years later he also presented a copy of his proposal, "Some reasons for an European State".

Victorian Quakers in Parliament

The first Quaker to take a seat in Parliament in 1833 was the Radical member for South Durham, Joseph Pease. His candidature was bitterly opposed by his Monthly Meeting and within his family, especially by his mother-in-law, and it was only after his father had been assured of "the absolute purity and sincerity" of his son's motives that he offered no- further resistance. Joseph Pease sat in the House of Commons until - 1841, always wearing his plain Quaker coat, steadfastly declining, in Quaker fashion, to use formal titles of address even in Parliament. He also realised that his religious beliefs precluded political advancement, and his short parliamentary career is recorded as having been undistinguished. He was apparently noted for being a proponent of the anti-slavery cause, for his unorthodox views on the desirability of agricultural - protection, and for his trenchant opposition to statutory restrictions on the hours of work of factory children.

His son, Joseph Whitwell Pease, as an influential industrialist in south Durham and north Yorkshire, was offered a baronetcy by Liberal Prime Minister, William Gladstone, and after a brief discussion with his family, accepted it. This was the first occasion on which a Quaker had accepted an honour from the Crown, and it contrast, with the time, not so long before, when his father had taken his seat against the counsel of his father, mother-in-law and Monthly Meeting. Later, when offered a peerage in 1894, Sir Joseph expressed his

indifference, leaving the decision to his son Alfred Pease, who allowed the matter to lapse.

Altogether 33 Quakers entered Parliament during the reign of Queen Victoria, and almost one-third of them can be identified with the Pease interest in south Durham and north-east Yorkshire. Apparently they made a very formidable political machine, leading one observer to comment: "A Pease could be returned any time he chose because he combined the politics of influence with the politics of individualism."³³

The representation of Quakers in Parliament reached a peak in the mid-18-80s, but no Quaker MP, with the exception of John Bright, achieved any great distinction at Westminster. Elizabeth Isichei observed that Quaker MPs, once in office, tended to become conscientious but obscure backbenchers, diligent in attending debates and committees, occasionally holding a minor office. Indeed, if anything, they had a philanthropic, slightly eccentric image, and one observer, quoted by Elizabeth Isichei, wrote in 1894: "When I came home the Slavery subject was on a footing with the CMS or the Anti-opiumists, etc. It was a fad represented in the House by a small set of Quaker faddists. When they spoke the House emptied."³⁴

Generally, Quaker MPs represented emerging Liberal Party interests, or what Kenneth Boulding has described as "social capitalism". Kenneth Boulding describes social capitalism as a movement which "did not threaten the basic institutions of private property or private finance, but it did seek to modify and ameliorate the tendency of a market system to produce an unacceptable inequality in the distribution of riches, political power, and human dignity". He adds "To some extent social capitalism can be thought of as an expansion of the ethic of the family to the larger society."³⁵

Elizabeth Isichei put it bluntly, when she wrote: "No Quaker played a prominent part in the agitation for the limitation of factory hours. Where they appear in history at all, it is almost always as its inveterate opponents."³⁶

The number of Quakers in Parliament during the Victorian era could only be matched by the number of ex-Quakers in Parliament, reflecting the tendency of the very wealthy to leave Quakerism.

The platform of the first Quaker MP, Joseph Pease, in 1832, was to ease the burdens on Dissenters, to secure the abolition of slavery, and to give the electors

of South Durham an opportunity to vote for a candidate who would represent the newly enfranchised urban industrial and commercial interest in the face of traditional aristocratic landed influence. M.W. Kirby comments that most Quakers in Parliament directed their energies to campaigning for philanthropic movements and "faddist" reforming agitations.³⁷ These included anti-slavery, animal welfare, opposition to capital punishment, and temperance. The office of President of the Peace Society was practically hereditary in the Pease family, and Joseph Whitwell Pease was also president of the Anti-Opium Society.

In their home town, the family was accused of a hypocritical concern with moral and spiritual welfare. Theatre licence applications in Darlington were regularly opposed by Pease-inspired Quaker delegations, and the power and influence of the Pease family provoked strong opposition, even within the local Liberal Party. The wealth of the family gave them great authority in local government, where they were seen as a paternal influence, representing the interests of the status quo.

By 1914, few members of the Pease family retained their affiliation to the Society of Friends, and fewer still were practising Quakers. Although the family's political interests continued, another break came in 1914 when Sir Joseph Pease's son, Jack, resigned as president of the Peace Society. Thereafter, military service was accepted in the Pease family as a matter of honour and duty. Accumulating wealth and political honour at this time led to a regular pattern, as members of the family abandoned the Society of Friends for the established church. Radical Quakerism had been replaced after two generations by a growing commitment to the established order, and the last Pease to enter politics in 1923 took his seat as the Conservative member for Darlington, while his cousin was given a peerage for his services to Unionism

John Bright

No consideration of Quakers in politics in nineteenth-century England can overlook the contribution of John Bright, the first Friend to gain Cabinet status. John Bright's political career from 1843 to 1889 is a study in the compromises involved in high political office.

He was elected during the latter period of Quietism, as London Yearly Meeting was slowly changing its attitude from one of reluctant acquiescence to one of whole-hearted endorsement of political activity.

The Yearly Meeting, in its Discipline of 1861, took pains to point out some of the duties of public office that would be inconsistent with Quaker principles - administering oaths, enforcing ecclesiastical demands, calling out the armed forces - and warned Friends to consider seriously "whether it is right for them to accept an office which involves such alternatives". It went on: "When we consider the seductive influence of popularity, and the self-satisfaction consequent upon the successful efforts of the intellectual powers, even in a good cause, we feel bound with affectionate earnestness, to caution our friends against being led to take an undue part in the many exciting objects of the day."³⁸

However, just over twenty years after the death of John Bright, the Discipline of 1911 was advising:

The free institutions under which we live give many of our members a direct share in the responsibilities of government, and in forming the healthy public opinion that will lead to purity of administration and righteousness of policy. This responsibility belongs to them by virtue of their citizenship, and our members can no more rightly remain indifferent to it, than to the duties which they owe to their parents and near relatives. In view of the opportunities for public service opened to Friends during the last half century, we desire to press upon them the duty of qualifying themselves, so that they may be "prepared unto every good work".³⁹

John Bright came from a Rochdale mill family in the northwest of England, and took an early interest in politics. His first political involvement was on behalf of the Dissenters (or Nonconformists), but Quakers existed uneasily on the boundary of Dissent, and Bright had little interest in the differing opinions among other Dissenters. He was disappointed that Joseph Pease was not proving very effective in Parliament and that, while he asked questions about the coolies and British Guiana, he did not vote for an enquiry into the Corn Laws.

It was John Bright's involvement in the campaign to repeal the Corn Laws and support for Free Trade that finally look him into the House of Commons as the member for Durham in north-east England, in 1842. The Corn Laws were a tariff system originally imposed to provide protection for British farmers from imports of cheap foreign grain. By the 1830s, industry was developing and support grew for Free Trade. The Anti-Corn Law League wanted the laws repealed so that bread would be cheaper. "Their supporters argued that Free Trade untrammelled by the interference of governments representing the landowners, would lead to international progress, both material and spiritual. Free Trade would

bring people together, exchange and multiply the blessings of civilisation, and increase the power of progressive forces. John Bright's colleague in the League, Richard Cobden, even once committed himself to the view that Free Trade was the expression of the Divine Will.

Five years later, in 1847, John Bright took his seat as the new member for Manchester, near his home in Rochdale, at a time when the establishment was greatly concerned about the dangers posed by the Chartist movement and the influence of revolutionary movements on the Continent, which came to a head in 1848.

The Chartists were a political movement that gathered momentum after the First Reform Act of 1832. Their demands went further, and their Charter in 1838 set forth six points: universal manhood suffrage; a secret ballot; no property qualifications for MPs; salaries for MPs; annual elections; equal electoral districts. All except the fifth point were adopted within a hundred years, but at the time the Chartists were viewed by many as dangerous revolutionaries.

In 1857, John Bright was invited to stand in Birmingham in the Midlands, which he represented for over thirty years, though he never lived there. Party politics was in a state of flux in mid-nineteenth-century Britain, but John Bright, following the leaning of most Friends of the time, observed of his own position: "In fact, I could not be otherwise than Liberal."⁴⁰

One of his biographers, Keith Robbins, described him as both "radical" and "conservative", and thought that his inconsistency arose from the conflicting aspirations of the middle class to which he belonged.⁴¹ He was certainly no supporter of the Chartist movement; he deplored revolutionary violence, and repeatedly told working men that industry, frugality and temperance were the only sources of their regeneration.

John Bright made his name as an orator at a time when oratory was at its height. Apparently he could address six or seven thousand people for an hour from five half-sheets of paper placed on the brim of his hat on the table before him. He remained as a man of the platform rather than the council chamber, and though appointed a Cabinet Minister, he neither enjoyed nor excelled at executive responsibility.

Having made his name with the Anti-Com Law League and as a champion of the middle classes and Dissent, he took up various other issues during his years

in Parliament. He was never very active with the Peace Society, though he spoke at their conferences, and favoured arbitration rather than war. He resigned from Gladstone's Cabinet over the bombardment of Alexandria in 1882, and refused to take up an offer of the India Office because he did not want an appointment which could have military aspects.

John Bright spoke out strongly against capital punishment, but he refused to support Home Rule for Ireland because he considered it would be a surrender to the threat of violence. Nor did he support universal suffrage, let alone votes for women.

As one of the greatest politicians of his day, John Bright would have been the first to admit that he had not been a completely consistent Friend throughout his long career; that the testimonies of his religious society were counsels of perfection which a practical politician could not uphold in all their purity. He had approved the suppression of the Indian Mutiny in 1857, and was a strong supporter of the North in the American Civil War, when he wrote to John Greenleaf Whittier that "war was and is the only way out of the desperate difficulty of your country".⁴²

With his class background, it is not surprising that in his social philosophy John Bright was so much the captive of the laissez-faire doctrines of his time that he opposed every effort to limit by law the number of hours women should work in factories. His opposition to trade unionism deepened over the years. Rather, he believed there was a natural law which determined the rate of wages much more justly than an Executive Council, and he disliked the misery caused by strikes.

Lord Shaftesbury, who campaigned for years to reduce the working hours of children and women in textile factories, wrote in his diary in 1845: "The Society of Friends watch me with unparalleled love of unparalleled malignity... Mr Bright gives me no rest in the House of Commons."⁴³ Although there has been some criticism of John Bright for his attitudes in this respect, other Friends have argued that he was a man of his time, and must be viewed as such.

It is also worth noting that John Bright's parliamentary career was not without costs. He saw little of his wife and six children. When a younger man, he could travel over a thousand miles in nine days, addressing seven great meetings, but the strain told on him and he suffered two breakdowns. His relationship with Friends and the Peace Society was not always satisfactory, but he adhered to his Quaker principles when he first met Queen Victoria as a Cabinet Minister and

declined to kneel. As the first Dissenter and Quaker in the Cabinet, he also refused to wear Court or full dress.

When he was invited to become an Elder of the Society of Friends, he declined the offer on the grounds that his political career had disqualified him.⁴⁴

From 19th-century liberalism to 20th-century socialism

Other Friends in Parliament during the nineteenth century tended to share many of John Bright's views. Men like Arnold Rowntree also represented family commercial interests. While representing the values of social capitalism rather than the emerging values of socialism, they continued to speak out on many traditional Quaker humanitarian concerns.

No Quakers sat on the Tory or Conservative benches until the crisis over Home Rule for Ireland in 1886, when Quaker MPs were to be found in both lobbies when the vote on Gladstone's Home Rule Bill was taken. Although some Friends, including John Bright, crossed the floor on this issue, only one Quaker, Frank Leverton Harris, entered Parliament as a Conservative in Queen Victoria's reign. In 1914, both he and the only other Quaker Conservative MP, Alfred Bigland, abandoned their pacifism and gave zealous support to the war effort.

By contrast, Dr Alfred Salter (1873-1945) was one of the early Labour MPs who remained a prophetic voice in the wilderness, though only briefly a member of the minority Labour Government in 1929-31. His greatest legacy was the transformation he wrought, together with his wife and comrades, in the London borough of Bermondsey; a reflection of the emphasis on local government in the early days of the Independent Labour Party.

Alfred Salter came from a non-Quaker background but nonetheless a nonconformist one. After a brief flirtation with agnosticism he joined the Peckham Meeting of the Society of Friends. This was around the time that he was making his decision to devote himself to local politics in Bermondsey, rather than to a potentially famous and lucrative career in Harley Street as a bacteriologist.

His work as a doctor in this impoverished working-class slum area south of the Thames led him initially into politics with the Liberal Party, first on the Borough Council and then on the London County Council. He could easily have become the next MP for West Bermondsey; but instead, on 5 May 1908, with

thirteen friends, he set up the first branch of the Independent Labour Party in Bermondsey, and thus consigned himself to the political wilderness for the next 14 years.

Following his initial defeat at the polls in a by-election, Alfred Salter proposed that the party should concentrate on the local authorities, and having made inroads there, the Parliamentary fight would become easier. The goal of a Parliamentary seat would be won within twelve years, according to his strategy.

Both Alfred Salter and Ada Salter, his wife, lived and worked for the ILP. He continued his medical practice in the borough, and by the time of the First World War he and his four partners had over 12,000 names on their books. The Salters' only child went to the local school. They paid a heavy penalty, as Joyce died of scarlet fever at the age of eight, and the young doctor knew that she had died because she lived in Bermondsey. This knowledge did much to bring a sense of identity with the people of Bermondsey, and he was much more one of them after this tragic event. For the Salters, socialists had to live with the common people, to share their lot, and he always challenged those socialists who came to help but continued to live in the comfortable suburbs. His passion was to save life and make it healthy and full. "I came that ye might have life and have it more abundantly"⁴⁵ was the text not only of the sermons he preached in the local chapels, but of the speeches he delivered at political meetings.

For the Bermondsey Socialists, elections were only incidents in the continuous educational work that they were doing. They took over a bakery and converted it into a co-operative, with the surplus passing to ILP funds for education and election propaganda.

Alfred Salter was bitterly disappointed when the First World War broke out, but he had no doubt where the cause of the failure lay: it was in the compromised view about war held by the majority of Socialists. Theoretically they were against war, but in practice they placed defence of their State before their internationalism.

His own pacifism and socialism were based on his Christianity, and in August 1914 when the war broke out he immediately put pen to paper and wrote "faith of a Pacifist". Over a million-and-a-half copies were distributed in Britain, and it was translated into many other languages, including German. Later, Alfred Salter and his friends learned that over eighty people were sent to prison, some for long terms, for distributing it in leaflet form in Australia, New Zealand and South

Africa.

Local ILP branch members went to gaol as conscientious objectors, and Alfred Salter was active with the No Conscription Fellowship. Eventually he became the chairman, after Bertrand Russell went to gaol. After the war he made Fairby Grange a convalescent home for COs physically broken in prison. The Grange was a lovely country house he had bought in Kent in 1917, for the people of Bermondsey to use as a convalescent home when they had no money for the privately-run ones.

Slowly the local UP built up support, and both Alfred Salter and Ada Salter won seats on the Borough Council. In historical retrospect, it is perhaps useful to realise that despite the, ILP's electoral success, with strength had come rivalries and personal intrigues. There were strong personalities among the 400 members, and some of them clashed.

Alfred Salter's own strong personality did not always make for harmony, as he was so confident in his decisions that he tended to be intolerant of those who fell short of his standards. His dominant personality made him something of a dictator in the local branch. His physical energy, his mental power and his moral rectitude combined to make his example and word absolute law among his comrades, and they usually went along with it, rather than argue with him.

Like many people of abnormal energy and enthusiasm, he had the weakness of expecting others to work as hard as he did, to have the same willingness to sacrifice, the same sense of an all consuming mission. Not surprisingly, his medical partners and his fellow members of the ILP sometimes tired of the pace.

Even after being elected to Parliament in 1922 at the age of 49, Alfred Salter somehow maintained his medical work and local political activities, continuing to serve on the Borough Council and remaining as secretary of the Co-operative Bakery. Both he and his wife were committed "greenies" and not only decorated their home and little garden but set out to beautify the Borough. Ada Salter served on the Parks Committee of the London County Council from 1925 to 1941, and the Ada Salter Garden in Southwark Park was named after her death in 1942.

Though he lost his seat in 1923, Alfred Salter was returned once again in the Zinoviev Red Letter election in 1924 - so called because the Conservative

Party released a letter shortly before the election, allegedly written by a Soviet Communist Party leader, which was calculated to scare people away from voting for the Socialists. By the following year, Bermondsey was the first constituency in the whole country to achieve 100 per cent socialist representation.

Like many other Friends at this time, Alfred Salter was strongly in favour of temperance, and caused a scandal by asserting that many MPs were drunk in the House of Commons. He spoke on a range of other topics too, and was known as the Member for Pedestrians because, in a debate on the Road Traffic Bill, he advocated a maximum speed limit of 35 mph.

Alfred Salter had been active in support of the workers during the General Strike in 1926, and he knew what the depression had done to the people of Bermondsey. He stood with the rest of the ILP against a Labour Government which joined the Conservatives in a National Government. He was one of only 51 Labour MPs to get re-elected in 1931, and was a better Parliamentary performer against the odds, but the years left to him were to see no gains, as the National Government remained in office until after his death in 1945.

Alfred Salter continued to speak out on issues that concerned Friends, such as prisons and temperance, and was elected joint secretary of the new Parliamentary Temperance Group in 1935. As a lifelong Republican, he backed the Mayor of Bermondsey in refusing to participate in the Silver Jubilee of George V in May 1935. As an anti-militarist he caused a furore by saying at an Armistice Day meeting that the Cenotaph ceremony dishonoured and insulted the dead under the pretence of honouring and remembering them. He said that, instead, the celebrations were made pagan displays of soldiery and arms.

After the failure of the Geneva Disarmament Conference, he flung himself into the campaign for peace and was active in the Peace Ballot. He could also share his faith with other Quaker Labour MPs like Cecil H. Wilson and James H. Hudson, and, with the support of London Yearly Meeting which was then in session, he accepted George Lansbury's invitation to join him on a peace mission to America in 1936. In the United States he addressed 59 meetings and broadcast five times, speaking in the presence of 200,000 people and reaching millions more on the radio. When the 77-year-old George Lansbury went on to Europe, Alfred Salter worked with Dick Sheppard of the Peace Pledge Union and Percy Bartlett of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation to take their crusade around Britain. With Cecil H. Wilson, MP, he formed a Parliamentary Pacifist Group to conduct the British campaign for a world conference to avert war.

His pacifism led him into conflicts in the labour movement over the Spanish Civil War, as well as over methods of resisting fascism in Britain, but he continued despite his advancing years to support strikes during the years of the depression.

When war broke out, Alfred Salter's faith in socialism was once again dealt a blow by all the socialists who joined in the war effort. As most resisters were Christians, it deepened his conclusion that religious faith was the only basis of pacifist conviction. However, he was deeply saddened when the National Council of the Peace Pledge Union declined to accept a motion that staff members "should enter into no irregular sex relationship", and he and James Hudson resigned as joint treasurers in protest.

Lonely as he was after this break and the death of his wife in 1942, he undertook a two-day fast at the end of 1943 to draw public attention to the starvation to which thousands in Europe were doomed, particularly in Greece.

Alfred Salter died on 24 August, 1945. He wrote in a last message to his friends:

Many years ago I felt a command from God to go down into Bermondsey and there to do my part in building up a Labour and Socialist movement. I have employed my powers as I believe God directed me. I might have done better - I ought to have done better - but for inborn frailty and failing I might have done more.⁴⁵

Covering the whole political spectrum

Since the time of Alfred Salter, there have been several other British Friends involved in national politics. Their commitment has covered the whole political spectrum, and not surprisingly they range from those who remain true to the old nineteenth-century Quaker commercial precepts of free trade and social capitalism to the new prophets of a Green and sustainable future. Most Friends have either stood as Liberal or Labour candidates until recently. Current MP's include Sir Richard Body, at Westminster, and the Labour Member of the European Parliament, Carol Tongue. Two other Friends who were Parliamentarians have died in recent years: Philip Noel-Baker and Guy Barnett.

Philip Noel-Baker, who died in October 1982 aged 92, was not what is called a "Meeting Friend"⁴⁷, but his Quaker faith meant a great deal to him. He went to Quaker schools as a boy, and he was the chief organiser and commandant of the Friends Ambulance Unit when it began in 1914. He was a Labour MP for many years and committed most of his life to working for disarmament. In 1979, despite his advanced years, he inspired the formation of the World Disarmament Campaign with another nonagenarian, Fenner Brockway, aiming at the UN Second Special Session on Disarmament in 1982. Though committed to disarmament, Philip Noel-Baker was never a unilateralist and at one stage he became President of the Socialist Campaign for Multilateral Disarmament.

Earlier he had worked tirelessly for disarmament during the years between the two World Wars. He first entered Parliament from 1929 to 1931, then again from 1936 to 1970. He was a Minister for nine years, and puzzled and upset a number of Friends when as Secretary of State for Air he took charge of the RAF in 1946. He received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1959 and donated all his prize money to the promotion of disarmament. Although he initially turned down a life peerage in 1970, he later accepted one in 1977, which enabled him to resume parliamentary activity for the last five years of his life.

Guy Barnett was first elected to Parliament as a Labour MP in the famous South Dorset by-election⁴⁸ in 1962, and lost his seat at the next General Election in 1964. He returned to Parliament in 1971 and was appointed as a junior minister for the environment in 1976. His overriding interest was in the Commonwealth and Third World problems, reflecting his earlier experience as a teacher at the Friends School at Kamusinga in Kenya, in Voluntary Service Overseas and with the Commonwealth Institute. He was joint secretary of the Parliamentary group on Overseas Development, and between 1982 and 1983 was Opposition spokesman on Overseas Development.

Although a Quaker he was not a conscientious objector and did his National Service in the RAF. Probably worn out by the strain of political life, he died of a heart attack in December 1986, aged only 58.

Richard Body was Conservative MP for Billericay from 1955 to 1959, and has been the MP for Holland with Boston in Lincolnshire in the east of England since 1966. As a former pig farmer and bloodhound breeder he is well known for his dislike of the European Community, pesticides and the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food. He has written three books on the modern farming industry and has spoken out strongly against modern farming and its

chemical and cash dependency. His version of farming would be largely organic and would find its own markets. Accordingly he chaired the controversial House of Commons Select Committee on Agriculture's investigations into the effect of pesticides on human health.

In a letter to me in July 1989, Richard Body wrote that "a Quaker in politics begins with a great advantage: he or she comes to it (or should as a Quaker) with humility. From this springs the recognition that no one ought to have much, if any, power over other men and women. So the Quaker is not eaten up with ambition for promotion to ministerial office or House chairmanships and other points of power or status."

Referring to the importance of conscience, he wrote that his main trouble has been over capital punishment, which he thought he had voted against more than any other English MP, adding that it was the primary reason why he had to retire from Parliament in 1959. Later he commented that on the point of pragmatism and being prophetic, "parliamentary politics is a practical matter. 99 out of 100 decisions are decided pragmatically." On a final note he referred to his fellow Quaker MP, the late Guy Barnett (1928-1986), who gave him the word "nudge", adding that the role of the Quaker in politics is "to nudge our little part of the world along to something better".

In an article on Quakers and politics, Richard Body commented on the modern political divide between the Authoritarian and the Libertarian. He said that left-wing Quakers are to be criticised because they misguidedly believe that the State has a natural benevolence whereas Conservatives believe that power should be concentrated in the hands of individuals rather than the state.

Given his thoughts expressed in the letter I have referred to, it is easier to understand why Richard Body stands where he does politically, even if many Friends would be puzzled by this.

In 1984, at 28, Carol Tongue was the youngest British member to be elected to the European Parliament, and has listed her concerns as unemployment, the environment, public health, consumer protection and animal welfare. She is a strong feminist and on election said that her personal convictions would lead her to support anti-apartheid, nuclear disarmament and the breakdown of barriers such as nationalism and racism. She feels that the essential Christian messages were and still are missing from political debates, giving as an example that food, clothing, shelter, health and education are fundamental human rights and

prerequisites for any kind of decent life and opportunity for self-fulfilment.

The American tradition

There were four American colonies in which the powers of government were in Quaker hands, and the lesson is again, inevitably, one of compromise. Ten Quakers served for a total of thirty years as Governors in Rhode Island, between 1672 and 1768, while other Friends held office as Deputy Governors and Assemblymen. West New Jersey was essentially a Quaker colony from 1674 to 1702, as was Pennsylvania from 1682 to 1756, and John Archdale was Governor of North Carolina.

As Frederick Tolles observed, "Compromise indeed was built into the very foundations of the 'Holy Experiment': by his charter from King Charles II [William] Penn was given power 'to levy, muster, and train all sorts of men ... and to make war and pursue the enemies and ... put them to death by the law of war ... and do all and every act which to the charge and office of a captain-general of an army belongeth'." ⁴⁹

The clash lay between William Penn's undoubted commitment to non-violence and personal pacifism, and the fact that built into the very foundation of the Quaker Commonwealth was the element of dependency on a higher authority - the British Crown - that had by no means renounced the use of force in international relations.

When Britain went to war with France or Spain, as she did four times during the years of the Holy Experiment, orders came from London to put the colony in a posture of military defence and to contribute funds for the prosecution of the war. Just as English Friends managed to get their way around tithes about the same time, so Pennsylvania grew adept at shuffle and evasion in such a way as to meet the military demands, although such a compromised position provoked criticism from Friends who took a more uncompromising line on living out their historic Peace Testimony.

The establishment of religious toleration and constitutional government were the main goals of William Penn in setting up Pennsylvania, but the creation there of a weaponless state "in accordance with the peace principles enunciated in ... [the] sermon on the mount" was also among his objectives.

Unlike the Anabaptists and the Mennonites, Quakers never regarded the state as at best merely a necessary evil and rulers as men who must by the very nature of their office stand outside the pale of the true Christian community. For Quakers, the godly ruler was no contradiction in terms. The role of the state had its positive aspect as well as the purely negative one of maintaining order among the ungodly; some measure of force in upholding righteousness in the community did not deprive the authorities of their Christian character.

Friends made a clear distinction between the waging of war by the state against an external enemy and the state's function of law enforcement against the domestic lawbreaker.

Although Friends were relatively humane in treatment of offenders in their colony, there was as yet no testimony against the use of capital punishment. Pennsylvania's Quaker rulers apparently had no compunction in administering a police force and in imposing on malefactors the penalties laid down in the law. Prisons were set up, but at least - in theory - these were to have a redemptive purpose.

William Penn had also paid attention to the creation of a fair legal system, although members of the Society of Friends were urged to use arbitration rather than the courts if they were actually in dispute with one another.

The real crunch in Pennsylvania was over military service. In colonial America, conscription for the local militia was in force in all the provinces apart from Pennsylvania and Rhode Island, where the law gave Friends complete exemption.

If it wasn't the issue of actual military service; it was the tax issue in its relation to the peace testimony which caused vigorous debate among Friends in this period. From the beginning, most Friends had felt there was nothing inconsistent with their peace testimony in paying what they called taxes "in the mixture", that is, taxes of which only a part went for the support of war.

William Penn resisted growing pressure to set up a militia in his colony, but he did give his approval to the establishment, at the entrance to the Delaware Bay, of an armed watch against pirates and other possible invaders.

Pacifism became a public issue for the first time in the fall of 1689, soon after the outbreak of King William's War between Britain and France, which was

to last until 1697. By the end of the war, it had become clear that the religious persuasions of the Quaker politicians concerning the inadmissibility of Christian participation in war of any kind were somewhat elastic.

Yet there was a certain logic about their position, given Quaker acceptance of the authority of the powers that be, and the fact that the millennium had not yet arrived. It was, in fact, impossible to reconcile the two ideals of representative government and pacifism. What was noticeable, however, according to one critic, Guy Hershberger, was the subtle but corrupting influence that Quaker involvement in the game of political power exerted on the Society's politicians and on the Society as a whole.⁵⁰ As he further observed, "Over time, the maintenance of a Holy Experiment in living became increasingly identified with indeed, slowly came to be replaced by - the political supremacy of the Quaker party in the province."⁵¹

The next outbreak of war, in 1702, came at a time when William Penn had vested all legislative power in a unicameral legislative body where Friends, although rapidly becoming a minority of the population, continued to dominate provincial politics. This was through their heavy concentration in the geographical areas and in the social groups most represented in the assembly, as well as through the high regard in which they were held by some of the new immigrants who gave them their political support.

Factionalism was already rife, even between Friends, mainly between country Quakers, led by the Welsh lawyer, David Lloyd, pitted against the Quaker conservatives, eager to defend William Penn as the proprietor.

One Quaker historian argued that by the time of William Penn's final departure for England in 1701, the Holy Experiment was nearly forgotten. He conceded that a residue remained from the idealism of the early years, a residue that leavened the society as well as the government of Pennsylvania during the remainder of the colonial period.⁵²

The eighteenth century - a time of separation

A long period of peace and prosperity followed the Treaty of Utrecht, signed in 1713, and the war issue did not crop up again in an acute form until 1739. Frederick Tolles has noted how increasing wealth among the Quaker bourgeoisie at this time considerably diminished their earlier idealism.⁵³ The

counting-house became a serious rival to the meeting house in the devotion of many Philadelphia Friends. Wealth, combined with political authority and the increasingly hereditary character of membership in the Society, lessened the hold of pacifism on many members of the Society engaged in public affairs in the colony.

When Benjamin Franklin wrote an anonymous pamphlet calling for the organisation of at least a voluntary militia in 1747, William Penn's former secretary, James Logan, wrote enthusiastically in support of it: "Ever since I have had the power of thinking, I have clearly seen that government without arms is an inconsistency. Our Friends spare no pains to get and accumulate estates, and are yet against defending them, though these very estates are in great measure the sole cause of their being invaded." ⁵⁴

The pamphlet was symptomatic of the increasing attacks on the Quaker position, and in 1750 the death of John Kinsey - clerk of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting for twenty years and speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly since 1739 - symbolised the passing of an epoch: the era of close integration of the affairs of meeting house and political assembly. His successor, Isaac Norris II, did not share John Kinsey's absolute pacifism, and a number of his fellow Quakers in the legislature were equally, if not more unequivocally, supporters of defensive war.

The 1750s were the major turning point in the political history of the Pennsylvania Friends. Governor Morris issued a declaration of war against the native Americans on 10 April 1756, and instituted a bounty on Indian scalps. This was the first declaration of war ever issued by the government of Pennsylvania, and it affected the colony itself, rather than simply involving it in external wars. As a result, on 7 June, six Friends tendered their resignation from the Assembly, and the last fragile remnants of the Holy Experiment disintegrated.

Quakers still remained in the Assembly, but two years later, Yearly Meeting took a decisive step in their strategic retreat from the political arena, by strongly advising members against continuance in, or acceptance of, civil offices where they would in any way be involved in "enjoining or enforcing the compliance of their brethren or others with any act which they conscientiously scruple to perform". Members who, after being lovingly "laboured with" by their meetings, refused to resign office should henceforward be debarred from sitting "in our meetings for discipline" or from employment "in the affairs of truth, until they are brought to a sense and acknowledgement of their error". ⁵⁵

Quakers still continued to take up positions of political office, but the drift into withdrawal by the Society was clear. There has been continuing debate over the significance of the Holy Experiment. Most historians agree that the idea of the Holy Experiment did become tarnished in the course of the years as Friends became more affluent. Nonetheless, apart from the issue of military service and taxation, the Quaker legislators did achieve considerable success in such areas as civil and religious liberties, constitutional government, penal reform, Native American relations, and commercial development. The dilemma really hung on the inescapable fact that the pacifist legislators were not free agents in shaping the colony's external relations, and the growing attraction of Pennsylvania for other migrants who did not share the Quaker commitment to pacifism.

Nor did Friends agree among themselves. Even William Penn was critical of their factionalism almost as soon as he set up the colony. Rugged individualists might unite in opposition, but as they became wealthy, conservatism set in. Two of William Penn's three sons became members of the Church of England.

John Woolman

One Friend who transcended this period, though not strictly involved in "party politics", was John Woolman (1720-1772).

Woolman took a strong line on issues like war tax, slavery and simple living. In 1756 he proposed to Philadelphia Yearly Meeting that Friends should raise funds for paying to Indians the value of land stolen from them by others.

His biographer Reginald Reynolds comments that John Woolman's life, as an example of "Pure Quakerism", offers a complete alternative to politics: "It is not merely the negation of politics, as found in the doctrines of anarchist theoreticians. It does not so much destroy, as replace, the machinery of coercion; and where it conflicts with the authority of an existing State, its emphasis is not so much on the necessary act of disobedience, but rather on obedience to the voice of God, on service to humanity, on voluntary co-operation for common good." ⁵⁶

This obedience to the Spirit led Woolman to take a strong line on war tax resistance, but when he was asked to billet two soldiers at his house during the Seven Years' War (1756-63), he finally opted to accept the presence of the soldiers but refused to accept payment for them, on the grounds that he could not physically resist their entry, but he could not refuse them hospitality either, even

though he disagreed with their opinions.

After he spoke at London Yearly Meeting in 1772, its Epistle referred for the first time to slavery, and admonished Friends in the colonies on the subject, encouraging those who were opposed to this "unnatural Bondage".

Reginald Reynolds comments that historically Friends had "a testimony" against even participating in government, and it was clear to him why there was good reason for this testimony, because as the wealthier Friends of the time became entangled by property interests and politics, they began, to see a case for armed resistance.

For government, in the temporal sense of political machinery to coerce, can only, if challenged, exert authority by force. Friends, too, had their "government", but this was based upon a system of church discipline, the authority of which was purely moral. Their theoretical attitude to temporal power could only be anarchistic, if they were consistent; though they sought no deliberate conflict with authority, and could only have hoped; by natural growth and the spreading of their ideas, to replace temporal government by spiritual order ... ,

Such, indeed, is the logic of temporal power: and those who cannot see their way to follow it to its conclusion cannot participate in government as it was understood in Woolman's time, and as it still functions today. By the non-participation of Friends in government and their non-cooperation in coercive measures, the unlimited growth of Quakerism in its pure form would undoubtedly bring government to a standstill. It would be replaced by a system of voluntary personal and corporate discipline, unequalled in the history of the State. Pure Quakerism is rarely found: but where it is, as we find it in the life of Woolman and a few others, it offers a complete alternative to politics.⁵⁷

A time of withdrawal

There have been only a few Friends in American federal politics since the eighteenth century, and those who reached high office were far from being pacifists. Joseph Gurney ("Uncle Joe") Cannon (1836-1926) was a mid-west birthright Friend who was elected to Congress in 1872 and eventually became Speaker of the House of Representatives. Politically he belonged to the more reactionary wing of the Republican Party.

Herbert Hoover (1874-1964) was another Republican, born in 'the tiny Quaker farming community of West Branch, in Iowa, where his father was a

blacksmith. He attended a new Friends' academy in Oregon, and after going on to Stanford University to study engineering, was sent to Western Australia in 1897 by his company. He was a millionaire by the age of forty. He worked with the Commission for Relief in Belgium and closely with Quaker agencies in the child feeding project in Germany and in famine relief in Russia. Herbert Hoover served in the cabinets of Presidents Harding and Coolidge before his election to the White House in 1928.

As President he was discredited, because his advocacy of rugged individualism was out of tune during the Depression, and at a time when social legislation and an emphasis upon government involvement were commonly accepted, prior to the years of the New Deal. He was always a philanthropist, and his name now lives on in the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace at Stanford University. The Hoover Institution is well known for its strong anti-communism and many of its members were called to serve in the Reagan Administration.

Unlike Herbert Hoover, Richard Nixon did not attend Friends' Meeting in Washington, although his pastor from East Whittier in California came to conduct Sunday services in the White House on occasion. Richard Nixon had a devout Quaker mother, and some of her family were active and sympathetic to Quaker organisations like the Friends Committee on National Legislation which co-ordinates the lobbying of members of Congress and monitors their position on issues of concern to Friends.

It is difficult for an Australian of British origin and from the silent tradition to pass comment on these two men; perhaps that task is best left to American Friends.

Another well-known American Quaker in politics was Senator Paul Douglas from Chicago (1892-1976), although he broke with Friends on the peace testimony and maintained this opposition for the rest of his political life. He was, however, for several decades one of the foremost champions in the Congress on civil rights and civil liberties. Other Quaker members of Congress have been hawkish in their views on war, and have even been members of the Armed Services Committee and Defence Appropriations Committee.

Comment

I would suggest that Jo Vallentine fits firmly into the prophetic position in this spectrum of Quakers in politics, more akin to Alfred Salter than those who have chosen to stay out of politics, made the compromises of high office, or taken a conservative position in the spirit of nineteenth-century laissez'-faire liberalism.

Not surprisingly, certain patterns recur, which make life difficult for anyone who enters politics to take a principled stand. Within a party or in government, there are the constant internal differences. If one is outside a party, like Jo Vallentine, one can so easily be written off as irrelevant.

Pioneers never have an easy time, and looking back, we may one day see Jo Vallentine as a forerunner of politicians who started to break the log-jam of the two-party political system in Australia, and who have their roots firmly in the community rather than the party room or the Cabinet. What is clear is that in the end the choice is between staying pure or getting involved and making compromises. Quakers through history, have been strong individualists, better at lobbying or working on single issues than at going into party politics and accepting the necessary compromises. In that sense, only history will tell if Jo Vallentine was an aberration, to use her own words, or whether she was a forerunner of better times to come.

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APPENDIX

Jo Vallentine's speech opposing the War Crimes Amendment Bill, in the Senate, 15 December 1988

Having unsuccessfully tried to defend myself at Alice Springs earlier this year using the Nuremberg defence, I now find that I am in the unusual position of being on the same side of this debate as people whose opinions I often disagree with. Yet I am opposing the War Crimes Amendment Bill 1987 for different reasons from those put forward by the Opposition. Whilst I do not condone the actions of those individuals who would face trial as a result of this legislation, I believe that the Bill is fatally flawed because it does not allocate adequate responsibility to other war criminals. What of the people who sent these men to fight and kill, the decision-makers in governments prepared to declare war? What of the merchants of death those who made a financial profit out of war while others fought and died to make them rich? These pawns, not innocent by any stretch of the imagination under the terms of Nuremberg, now face trial as a result of the grosser crimes committed during that World War II period, in which of their own volition many of them probably would not have engaged had a war situation not engulfed them. Make no mistake: I am not condoning actions of war criminals in any way. Killing human beings under any circumstances is wrong.

Another inconsistency is that charges are made only against those who lost the war, which I find highly selective. Crimes against humanity committed since then, or being prepared for today, are totally ignored. I acknowledge' that the Nazis are in a special category of ghastliness in their deliberate campaign to eradicate whole groups of human beings. I feel a great sympathy with those special groups and their descendants - the Jews, Gypsies, homosexuals and others were singled out as inferior species Untermenschen - by Hitler and his minions. Knowledge of their suffering should remain with humanity forever as an important lesson so that such a dastardly plan will never find credence anywhere ever again.

I admit there is a degree of difference between those who supervised the Nazis' extermination camps and those who ran Japanese prisoner of war camps, and those who took part in the Allied obliteration bombing of German and Japanese cities towards the end of the Second World War. But I also wonder about the motives of those Allied politicians who decided to exempt the Japanese war criminals. Those who supervised gruesome human experiments in occupied China were let go in exchange for the results of their horrible work, the full extent of which we still do not

know about and probably never will.

I look around the world today and see innocent people being killed in Iraq, Central America, Mozambique, Afghanistan and many other places, but there are no charges being levied against those responsible, including those who arm the combatants. Many of these are proxy wars being fought by the superpowers, because that is so often the nature of war in the post-Hiroshima world, when the nuclear nations cannot use their nuclear weapons except as a last resort when vital interests are at stake. The decision-makers in Washington, Moscow, Baghdad, Pretoria and elsewhere are just as guilty of crimes against humanity today as those who will stand trial here in Australia if this legislation is passed because today 90 per cent of those killed in war are civilians whereas in the Second World War the figure was 50 per cent

We must also consider the Nuremberg judgement which stated that crimes against humanity were not only acts of genocide but preparation for acts of genocide. Many of us in the Western democracies, including Australia, have argued that this provision covers nuclear weapons, for nuclear deterrence involves the willingness to use nuclear weapons. Both politicians and the military have stated that they are willing to press the button - or, more accurately, to give the command to turn the key - if they feel it is necessary in the interests of national security, the defence of freedom or whatever.

For example, let us consider Australia's involvement in preparation for the use of weapons of mass destruction. Genocide is what it amounts to. That is why I was prepared to go to prison over Pine Gap. We face a cold-blooded technological weapons build-up which is in the same mould as the careful construction of gas chambers, but on a scale which beggars the imagination. The renewal and extension of agreements for the United States bases at Pine Gap and Nurrungar has just locked Australia into this very structure for a further period. We are as guilty, in my view, as the Nazi citizens who knew about and accepted the clinical construction of the gas chambers. As long as we are engaged in preparations for the use of nuclear weapons, I do not think we have a right to accuse anyone or to judge anyone of war crimes or crimes against humanity.

More than half of the world's people are too young to remember the Second World War, but we are acutely aware of the preparations for what some people call omnicide, or destruction of the human race. There are those who argue that nuclear weapons are a deterrent and they are too dreadful ever to be used, but this ignores the fact that to maintain credibility one must be willing to use nuclear weapons, that the military options to use them undoubtedly exist, that human beings are not infallible and that every new weapon ever invented was used sooner or later. Of course, nuclear

weapons have already been used. That humanity could even contemplate their use again is what constitutes a crime against humanity.

I deplore the acts of the war criminals who have gone on trial since 1945 and continue to face trial. I do not accept their excuse that they were obeying orders, but I understand that the profession of arms depends on a willingness to kill when ordered to do so. It is hard to know where the chain of command begins and ends but I question our ability to decide. 43 years after the Second World War ended, who is guilty, and who is to be allowed to walk free. A similar debate is going on over the responsibility of Emperor Hirohito in Japan as he nears his life's end after 63 years on the imperial throne. We need to question the spirit of militarism which encourages human beings to act immorally, irrationally and insanely in the service of their country in a time of war. I do not subscribe to the 'just war' theory and I abhor the killing of human beings under any circumstances, even though it is often excused and even justified by both church and state.

This Bill is highly selective about who is to be classed as a war criminal. I am not surprised at the controversy over whether Australians should be included in this legislation because of actions they committed so many years ago. Some of the criminals received justice while others went on to lead comfortable, respectable lives. The difference between a clean-cut bomber pilot and a brutal concentration camp guard is sometimes an interesting semantic, historical and hygienic exercise. The selectivity becomes even more noticeable with the Government's proposed amendments to limit the Bill to the European zone of war so as to preclude the embarrassment of our own diggers being liable for prosecution. It is worth recalling the origin of the Nobel prizes, the money for which comes from the legacy of Alfred Nobel. It was Alfred Nobel who thought that his invention of dynamite would bring an end to war as it was such a terrible potential weapon of destruction, but when he was proved wrong, he left his profits to finance the Nobel prizes that we now award each year to those who have contributed most to the welfare of humanity.

Like many others who have stood trial for civil disobedience and who have cited the Nuremberg judgements in their defence, I am waiting for a judge with the courage to rule that in these matters international law comes above national law, just as during this debate we contemplate those awful crimes committed so long ago and which were judged as crimes against humanity in Nuremberg and Tokyo more than 40 years ago. I cannot respect the selective nature of this current legislation, not only in Australia but also in other countries that were on the winning side in the Second World War, as long as these other issues I have raised remain ignored or spurned.

The War Crimes Amendment Bill should be an opportunity for all senators to make the strongest possible anti-war statements as a matter of principle. Sadly, we are

not hearing such statements, but in general terms that is the nature of my statement: all war is evil: all war should be outlawed and abhorred by all decent human beings. Such anti-war fervour should be beyond party politics - we should be above such squabbles when we are considering crimes against humanity. There is no excuse and no justification for wars under any circumstances.

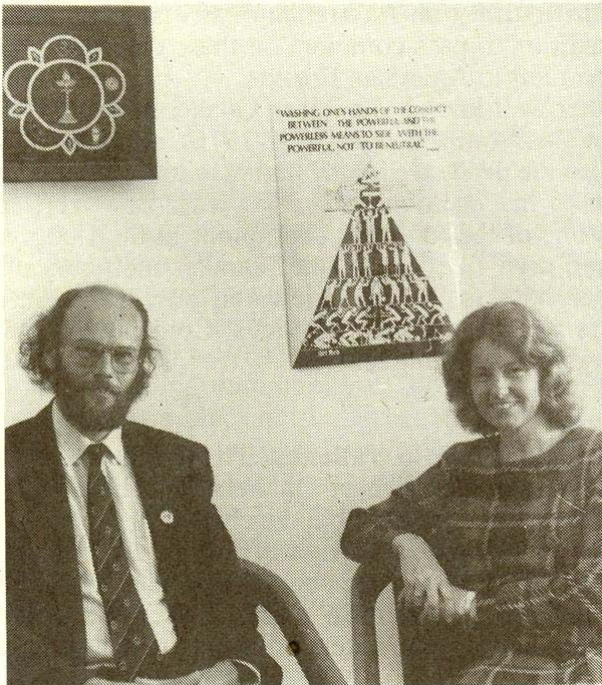
I know that my decision not to vote in favour of this legislation put me alongside some people in our community who may be disguising guilt or their extreme right-wing political views and I feel uncomfortable in their company, but I believe that the questions I have raised are important and we cannot ignore or overlook them. If we were being even-handed in this prosecution of war criminals, we would ensure that Australians who were involved in the bombing of Dresden, resulting in [hundreds of thousands] of civilian deaths, would also be liable for prosecution. So would the Allied forces responsible for bombings of civilians in Vietnam. Henry Kissinger and others who planned those bombing raids should be tried as war criminals. They are the architects of genocide. Instead of being tried as a war criminal, Henry Kissinger has been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize - that is how illogical judgements become when selective moralising is applied.

I am aware of many of the points raised by the Government concerning the deliberate effort to disperse Nazi criminals around the globe, not only to escape detection, but also as part of a concerted plan to continue with their fascist, racist activities in countries where they settled. That makes me angry and I am aware that some of Australia's negative, racist, elitist attitudes have been fed by such people poisoning our community. My voting against this legislation should not be misinterpreted as approval for such ultraconservative right-wing attitudes which, I think, are dangerous. I am also concerned that the Law Council of Australia considers the legislation defective. The Council quite clearly states that there is a risk that the trials will not be fair. Justice Marcus Einfeld, Human Rights Commissioner, also warns against this legislation on the grounds that it may not result in justice, I understand, appreciate and applaud the search for truth.

To vote against this legislation is not to deny history, not to deny research. We know, in gruesome detail, of the atrocities committed and we must remember those actions to ensure that they do not recur. But it does not necessarily follow that we have to commit to trial perpetrators of those crimes. That will not undo the pain and suffering. Those criminals have to live and die with their own consciences. I do not believe it will serve us as a community to hound them now. In fact, I think that such an exercise will demean us all. War in any form is debilitating, a debasement of the human spirit. It is a state licence to kill. It amounts to government-sanctioned murder on a large scale. As a Quaker, a pacifist and a member of War Resisters International, I can find no justification whatsoever for killing another human being. Life itself is

sacred and every life is worthy of the utmost respect. In a war situation, which is a state of government-approved mass murder, some decision-makers set themselves above natural and moral laws. As individuals supporting governments and allowing such decisions to be made on our behalf, we are all guilty of war crimes. I cannot in conscience vote for legislation which is tantamount to selective revenge. I cannot alienate myself from the teaching of the world's great spiritual leaders - Buddha, Mohammed, and Jesus - " whose messages clearly advocate reconciliation and peace, not a re-run of enmity.

**Peter Jones, Jo Vallentine in the Parliament House office.
Photo: Malcolm Miller.**





'Un-welcoming' HMS Edinburgh at Fremantle during Australia's Bicentenary, just prior to arrest. *Photo: Liz Wood.*



Cartoon from *The West Australian*, 19.7.86, courtesy of Dean Alston.

NOTES

- 1 Johannes Bjelke-Petersen, National Party [Conservative] Premier of Queensland for nearly twenty years, 1968-88, finally lost the leadership during a corruption inquiry.
- 2 Liberal Party [Conservative] Premier of Western Australia, 1974-82.
- 3 Robert James Lee Hawke, Australia's Prime Minister since 1983.
- 4 Laurie Wilkinson and Nancy Wilkinson, members of Perth Regional Meeting; Laurie Wilkinson was ALP Senator for Western Australia, 1966-74.
- 5 Erica Groom, Elsie Gare and Cyril Gare, members of Perth Regional Meeting.
- 6 Lead singer of the popular band Midnight Oil, and President of the Australian Conservation Foundation. .
- 7 NDP Senator, New South Wales, 1987-88.
- 8 Barclay, Robert. *Apology for the true Christian divinity*. First published in 1676.
- 9 Oats, William N. *A question of survival*, Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1985.
- 10 One of the top ten US Department of Defence corporations, which manufactures the B-52 bomber and Air-Launched Cruise Missiles.
- 11 Liberal-National Party Coalition, 1975-83.
- 12 Hutton, D., ed., *Green politics in Australia*, Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1987; Sewell, S., A. Kelly and L. Daws, 1988, *Professions in the nuclear age*, Brisbane: Boolarong, 1988; Stewart, R. and C. Jennett, eds., *Politics of the future: the role of social movements*, Melbourne: Macmillan, 1989. .
- 13 Jones, Peter D., *Choosing Australia's defence*, Melbourne: Victorian Association for Peace Studies, Peace Dossier 22, 1989.
- 14 Cooper, W.A., "Quaker testimony of integrity", *Friends Bulletin*, October 1987.
- 15 The alliance between Australia, New Zealand and the United States, signed in 1951.
- 16 Kettle, St.J., ed., *Australia's new militarism: undermining our future security*, Sydney: Pluto Press; to be published Feb. 1990.

- 17 Two of the best-known US military facilities in Australia, part of
US command, control and communications networks.
- 18 A term which refers to the New Zealand Government's ban on
nuclear warship visits.
- 19 In the Tasmanian state election of May 1989, five Independent
Green candidates won seats in the lower house of the Tasmanian
Parliament.
- 20 Tolles, Frederick B., "Quakerism and politics", Seventh Ward
Lecture, Guildford College, Pennsylvania, 9 Nov. 1956, p.20.
- 21 Jones, Rufus, *Quakers in the American colonies*, p.175-6, quoted by
Tolles, *ibid.*, p.20
- 22 Tolles, *ibid.*, p.20.
- 23 Fox, George, *The Journal of George Fox*, ed. J.L. Nickalls,
Cambridge: CUP, 1952, pp.274-75, 197-98.
- 24 Quoted by Tolles, *ibid.*, p.4.
- 25 Fox, *ibid.*
- 26 Quoted by Tolles, *ibid.*, p.8.
- 27 Crowther-Hunt, N., *Two early political associations: the Quakers
and the Dissenting Deputies in the age of Sir Robert Walpole*,
Oxford: Clarendon, 1961, p.xiv.
- 28 Crowther-Hunt, *ibid.*, p.10.
- 29 Quakers, like other nonconformists, objected to their liability to pay
church rates; in other words, a compulsory contribution to the
expenses of the Established Church. The situation was not finally
remedied until 1868.
- 30 Scott, Samuel, *A diary of some religious exercises and experiences*,
London, 1809, p.12.
- 31 Rowntree, Joshua, "Social service: its place in the Society of
Friends", Swarthmore Lecture, London: Headley Bros, 1913, p.53.
- 32 Kautsky, Karl, *The class struggle*, 1892, quoted by L.Ruth Fry in
John Bellers, 1654-1725, Quaker economist and social reformer,
London: Cassell, 1935, p.26.
- 33 Kirby, M.W., *Men of business and politics: the rise and fall of the
Quaker Pease dynasty of north-east England.1700-1943*, London:
Allen & Unwin, 1984, p.57.
- 34 Isichei, Elizabeth, *Victorian Quakers*, Oxford: OUP, 1970, p.205-

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35 Boulding, Kenneth, *Quaker insights on the social order*, Pendle Hill pamphlet 266, 1986.
- 36 Quoted by David Britton in a letter to *The Friend* (London), 31 March 1989, p.406. .
- 37 Kirby, *ibid.*, p.58.
- 38 London Yearly Meeting, *Book of Christian discipline of the Religious Society of Friends*, 1861.
- 39 London Yearly Meeting, *Book of Christian discipline of the Religious Society of Friends*, 1911.
- 40 Isichei, *ibid.*, p.62.
- 41 Robbins, Keith, *John Bright*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979.
- 42 Robbins, *ibid.*
- 43 Quoted by David Britton, *ibid.*
- 44 A 16-page pamphlet on John Bright has been published in England on the hundredth anniversary of his death, as a reprint from Nicholas Gillett's chapter on John Bright in his book *Man Against War* (London: Gollancz). The pamphlet is available from 51 Eastfield Road, Bristol BS9 4AE, England.
- 45 John 10:10.
- 46 Brockway, Fenner, *The life of Alfred Salter: Bermondsey story*, London: Allen & Unwin, 1949, p.241.
- 47 That is, he was not an active member of any Friends' Meeting; see "Phillip Noel-Baker: a tribute by Kenneth Lee", *The Friend* (London), 15 Oct. 1982, p.I295.
- 48 Famous because it has always been a Conservative seat, but in this particular election an Anti-Common Market Conservative stood against the official Conservative candidate and split the vote, thus giving Labour candidate Guy Barnett the seat.
- 49 Tolles, *ibid.*
- 50 Hershberger, Guy F., *Quaker pacifism and the provincial government of Pennsylvania. 1682-1756*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Iowa, 1935.
- 51 Hershberger, *ibid.*, p.83; quoted in Brock, Peter, *Pioneers of a Peaceable Kingdom: the Quaker peace testimony from the colonial*

- era to the First World War*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1970.
- 52 Bronner, Edwin, *Penn's Holy Experiment: the founding of Pennsylvania 1681-1701*, New York: Greenwood, 1978.
- 53 Quoted in Brock, *ibid.*, p.93.
- 54 Quoted in Brock, *ibid.*, p.108.
- 55 Quoted in Brock, *ibid.*, p.136.
- 56 Reynolds, Reginald, *The wisdom of John Woolman*, Quakerback edn, London: QHS, 1972, p.11.
- 57 *ibid.*, p.10-11.

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