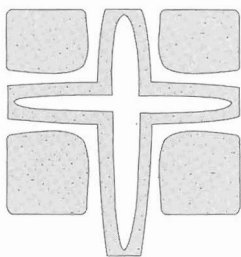


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A Cloak of Many Colors

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SINCE THE PUBLICATION of *Tender Courage* by Joanna Regan and Isabelle Keiss in 1988, I have been fascinated by the "Quaker Connection." Regan and Keiss framed the issue by describing Catherine McAuley's twenty year stay with the Callaghans as her "hidden life" in a Quaker household. In 1987, Carmel Bourke published her volume

assumptions were made by Americans and an Australian who have been deeply influenced by a pluralistic experience of religion in their own cultures. For Sisters of Mercy who live in religiously pluralistic cultures, to discover within the personal history of the foundress not only a prototype of religious tolerance but of ecumenism as well is

making, we discover that Friends have a longer history than do we in these processes which were modeled on those of the early church.

These possibilities excite our American imaginations but not ordinarily Irish ones,³ unless the Irish in question happen to be Quakers! And they have excited mine, especially in terms of the potential, mutual, spiritual influences that may have been part of Catherine's experience with the Callaghans. I first became aware of this radically different imaginative response to the possibility of Catherine's having been influenced by the Quakers when Angela Bolster responded in writing to some of my queries about these assumptions and then in person at a MAST meeting held in Pittsburgh. From the perspective of promoting Catherine McAuley's cause for canonization, Angela's portrayal demonstrates Catherine's absolute fidelity to her Catholicism, apparently completely uninfluenced in matters of religion by the Protestants with whom she lived. At that same time, Rita Vallade was working on her thesis which explored Quaker patterns of governance and compared them with Catherine McAuley's approach. I realized that if we continue to

Sisters of Mercy recognize an affinity with Friends in sharing similar contemplative traditions and concerns for people who are poor or oppressed.

on Catherine's spirituality, *A Woman Sings of Mercy* and, like Regan and Keiss, asserted that there was a strong Quaker influence on Catherine. Bourke assumed that the Callaghans "were religious people, Mrs. Callaghan in particular being a very devout Quaker who practiced her religion with fervor."¹ Carmel identifies several dominant themes in Quaker theology and practice which she incorporates into her portrayal of life in the Callaghan's home at Coolock House.

It is probably no accident that these reflections and as-

genuinely appealing. Further, Sisters of Mercy recognize an affinity with Friends in sharing similar contemplative traditions and concerns for people who are poor or oppressed. Finally, from a feminist desire for mutuality in relationship and participation in governance, it is reasonable to expect, given their loving and familial relationship² lasting more than twenty years, that these two women would have influenced each other in important ways. As we have grown in our own appropriation of discernment and consensual models of decision-

make assertions about Quaker influence, we had best establish what we can according to the historical record and sort out our American or Australian projections onto Irish Quakerism on the basis of what we can establish from Quaker records themselves.

Quaker Sources

To that end, I began a search of Quaker materials and records, first attempting to locate any verifiable historical link of Catherine Callaghan to the Irish Quakers. Friends maintained extensive records and consolidated their historical archives in the Religious Society of Friends Historical Library housed at Swanbrook House, Dublin. There I read the entire record of Women's Meeting Minutes from 1757–1813, and much of the Men's Meeting Minutes 1767–79, and 1789–95. In reading the records of the business meetings and in talking with the curators of the collection, I discovered that the Friends disowned members who married before a priest or who paid tithes (usually multiple offenses) for the support of clergy, either Roman Catholic or Church of Ireland. The Men's Meeting Minutes record every letter of "disunity" sent to such disowned members.

Quaker "Catherines"

In the Dublin Meeting record,⁴ there were only three "Catherines" who were dis-

owned for marriage before a priest during years that might be plausible for Catherine Callaghan. A Catharine Hunt who married outside the society before a priest was issued her notice, 23, 5 mos, 1769. There was no birth record for her in the Edenderry records (the meeting from which she transferred) that might have established her identity as Mrs. Callaghan were the date to match that in the obituary. Catherine Tracy married a Walter Knott in 1756 outside the society. If the Tracy-Knott marriage were a first marriage for Mrs. Callaghan, she would have been about seventeen when she married Walter Knott. In 1773, a Catherine

suggested that a newspaper notice of the Callaghan wedding might be the only way of identifying which, if any, of these Catherines is our Mrs. Callaghan. I have not yet heard from Frances that she has discovered anything further in those sources.

The information available from the Friends is, I believe, significant in spite of our inability to verify Catherine Callaghan's name on Quaker membership rolls. Because of her marriage before a priest or to a non-Quaker, Mrs. Callaghan would not have been able to participate fully in Quaker life throughout her nearly fifty years of marriage. The lack of birth records for

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King (already married) came to the Dublin Society from Carlow. These were the only Catherines in the records except for an indigent woman, Catherine Cornwall, who was dependent on the Women's Meeting for all her needs. Sister Frances Lowe, R.S.M., who works at the National Library, suggested that with potential last names it might be possible to search the parish registers for the Callaghan marriage. Because some of those records were destroyed by fires, she

the disowned Catherines indicates that Mrs. Callaghan's parents most likely joined the Friends through conversion (or "convincement" to use their terminology). The children would have attended meetings with the parents, but would not have been listed in the birth record. Because of the disownment, there would be no death record among the Quaker archives. Mrs. Callaghan was buried in the Protestant cemetery in Coolock Village. Because she had

been baptized a Catholic without her husband's knowledge before she died, she was buried from the Church of Ireland.

Mary Nathy described some strange cloud darkening Mrs. Callaghan's life in the form of anonymous letters threatening disclosure about something connected with her marriage. Could this trouble "connected with her marriage" be her disownment by the Quakers?⁵ It seems odd to me that something so generally known about Quakers in Ireland would not have found its way into any descriptions of Mrs. Callaghan, who was so obviously known to be a Quaker.

Mercy Sources

All of the biographies⁶ that treat this period of Catherine McAuley's life identify Mrs. Callaghan as a Quaker, most

a dissenting tradition other than the Quakers.⁸ Sister M. Vincent Harnett's description of the Callaghans' reaction to Catherine's desire to fully embrace her own Catholicism after she had made an informed doctrinal and historical investigation of both Protestantism and Catholicism suggests that they both respected decisions of conscience.

It was but natural to suppose that they would have wished her to be of the same religious persuasion as themselves, but as her conscience and conviction led her otherwise, they were unwilling to exert even the smallest influence and allowed her the same freedom of choice in the matter of religion, which in similar circumstances they would have desired for themselves. She continued to go to Mass, they to Church without any diminution of their mutual esteem and affection.⁹

Many people of that time continued to worship with Friends and to consider themselves Friends, and to practise a Quaker lifestyle even though they were deprived of membership.

likely based on the Mary Ann (Anna Maria) Doyle letter: "I cannot say much of Revd. Mother's life in the world. I know she had much to contend with regarding religion, being constantly with Protestants and Quakers."⁷ It is possible that William Callaghan may actually have belonged to

Given that both Callaghans by the time Catherine lived with them attended a Protestant church occasionally, in what ways might we describe the particular effects on Catherine of living for more than twenty years with Protestants? And particularly in what ways might she have encountered

Catherine Callaghan's Quakerism?

Catherine Callaghan and the Irish Quakers

Clearly, Mrs. Callaghan must have continued to identify herself as a Quaker despite her disownment, for any mention of her Quakerism to occur at all. Potentially, as Ross Chapman wrote, "many such people of that time continued to worship with Friends and to consider themselves Friends, and to practise a Quaker lifestyle even though they were deprived of membership."¹⁰ However, it is important to recognize some of the particular features of the Society of Friends in Ireland.

My recent historical research on the Irish Quakers revealed discrepancies from contemporary generalizations commonly made about Quakers. Irish sources agree that Quaker life in Ireland in the early and mid-eighteenth century was in decline. Journals indicate that many Irish Quakers had abandoned plain dress.¹¹ The more spiritually fervent Quakers expressed concern at assimilation, reporting that Friends were involved with "drinking healths, gaming, frequenting playhouses, music meetings and other such diversion."¹² Irish Quakers were primarily of English ancestry and did not show much interest in converting the native Irish.¹³ They had accumulated considerable wealth which "led to social acceptance and pressure to identify with their Protestant

peers.”¹⁴ Isabel Grubb describes an obsession with the maintenance of discipline by 1750 which “had brought the Society to a very low ebb.”¹⁵ Of course, periodic revivals occurred through the ministrations of visiting Friends and from the Evangelical movement lead by Wesley which influenced the Society of Friends. But Irish Quakerism in the eighteenth century was not at its most vibrant level.

Since Irish Quakers were primarily converts from the Church of Ireland or from the Calvinistic traditions, they were unsympathetic to Irish Roman Catholics both theologically and ethnically. They were, however, less bigoted towards others than were Anglicans. Because of their own beliefs about dependence on the “Inner Light,” the inward guidance of the indwelling Spirit within as the only thing religiously necessary, they opposed sacraments, creeds, rituals, and the external, material, religious culture of Roman Catholicism. Hence, the prohibition in the Callaghan household of popish objects such as crucifixes, pictures, statues, etc.¹⁶ They did not object to church attendance.

On the other hand, there were strong points of interconnection between these diverse Christian traditions. They shared the same Scripture and a desire to imitate Jesus. In spite of the religious controversies of the day, Catherine learned by living in Protestant homes that these were good people who were

often sincerely following what they believed. She had, as a result, a broader view of Christianity than that of someone who was raised within the limited confines of Catholic belief and culture alone.

Quakers recognized the authenticity of the Catholic mystical tradition. They particularly liked to read the French Quietists of the previous century, most especially Madam Guyon, but Francis

really been an essentially Catholic phenomenon . . . brought at least a small measure of appreciation of the devotional attitude of each.”¹⁹ Harnett states that Catherine often “read from some book of moral or religious instruction”²⁰ to Mrs. Callaghan when she was an invalid. In addition to the Scriptures, some of these mystical writings may have been among the books read aloud.

Quakers recognized the working of the Inward Light in all men and women regardless of their particular religious traditions.

deSales as well. *The Imitation of Christ* by Thomas à Kempis was a volume shared by both groups. Most Quaker homes had a copy of Barclay’s *Apology for the True Christian Divinity*. Barclay had been reared a Calvinist, but was educated in France by Jesuits.¹⁷ Quakers recognized the working of the Inward Light in all men and women regardless of their particular religious traditions. For them, this was an experienced reality and not a matter of creed or something effected by ritual. Irish Friends consider the late eighteenth century to have been a Quietist period in their own history.¹⁸ This was a distinct contrast with the early Friends who wanted to change the world. Maurice Wigham reports that this “alignment with what had

Wigham also reports a series of first-day meetings in Dublin in which the silence was broken on only one occasion in twenty-two consecutive meetings.²¹ Worship had become less “enthusiastic” or “charismatic” by this period of time. Both Mrs. Callaghan and Catherine McAuley would have been comfortable with this deep interior, silent prayer. I also suspect that Catherine’s interior life was fostered rather than hindered by the lack of devotional objects in the home. Furthermore, these friends might never have needed to speak about their interior experiences to one another, but rather simply sensed God dwelling in one another. Wigham also tells us that “the Bible was a constant source

book, and family reading after breakfast became the norm.”²² A minute from the Yearly London Meeting of 1815 gives a sense of how Quakers viewed this practice.²³

It has afforded us much satisfaction to believe, that the Christian practice of daily reading in families a portion of Holy Scripture, with a subsequent pause for retirement and reflection, is increasing amongst us. We conceive that it is both the duty and the interest of those who believe in the doctrines of the gospel, and who possess the invaluable treasure of the sacred records, frequently to recur to them for instruction and consolation. We are desirous that this wholesome domestic regulation may be adopted everywhere. Heads of families, who have themselves experienced the benefit of religious instruction, will do well to consider, whether, in this respect, they have not a duty to discharge to their servants and others of their household.

Women Quakers were remarkable for their participation in this itinerant ministry in which they often traveled far beyond their region of origin.

The Bible was not, however, the only book read for devotional purposes. Quakers also read journals of traveling ministers, history, poetry, travel, and biblical studies.

Among Quakers there was a ministry of peer visitation. The Society was radically

egalitarian and non-paid ministers led by the Spirit traveled widely, visiting local meetings and individual families. These visitations included conversation about mutual concerns and usually included silent or spontaneous prayer. Among Quakers, such visitation helped keep the community gathered around similar concerns and provided mutual encouragement in the practice of their faith. This practice of visitation was a primary means of fostering individual processes of discernment undertaken with community support. Women Quakers were remarkable for their participation in this itinerant ministry in which they often traveled far beyond their region of origin. They traveled two by two in order to maintain their respectability, but in every other way they equalled the men in this ministry. Catherine McAuley certainly seemed to be aware of this

Quaker practice since she is recorded as having her companion address her on the trip to England, as “friend Catherine” instead of using either any term associated with religious or her familiar nickname, “Kitty.”²⁴ Visitations were also used by other relig-

ious groups for proselytizing. Catherine McAuley was skillful at visitation, in her case, internally as a means for animating her newly founded young communities and apostolically, like the Quakers, for both instruction and encouragement in the faith. Her visitations included conversation, practical response to needs, and prayer.

According to Wigham, the Quaker ambiance pervaded the whole life of the family. Before each meal, there were always moments of quiet worship sometimes broken by prayer.”²⁵ And “The problems of the household were often subject to quiet waiting and prayer rather than argument. ‘The way will open’ it was said, ‘there will be a leading from the Spirit.’”²⁶ I wonder if Catherine McAuley might have absorbed something of this waiting on God for guidance and for the way to be shown from Mrs. Callaghan. Mercy documents describe the foundress as relying on God’s providence and of having an extraordinary trust in God enabling her to move step by step in the direction she felt God wanted. The terminology is slightly different, but not the reality of discernment.

Moral Goodness

In addition to a bond in an interior way of life, Catherine was free of anti-Protestant prejudice. She experienced among the Protestants with whom she lived even prior to

the Callaghans Protestant generosity in taking in family members dependent on their charity. The Callaghans were generous beyond their immediate family and described as genuinely loving. Catherine judged people on the basis of character rather than on their membership in any particular group. She discerned good character regardless of the conditions of wealth or poverty or religious belief. She recognized that the moral goodness she witnessed in her friends and family members were authentic expressions of the religion which they practiced. Although she suffered from painful anti-Catholic verbal abuse, she attributed such statements to ignorance rather than malice. Her response was to educate, persuade, and enlighten.

Care for the Poor

The strongest link between Catherine and the Quakers may well be a shared concern for people who were poor. Mary Nathy describes Mrs. Callaghan's generosity to the poor of Coolock Village as representative of her Quaker practice.²⁷ It was not until 1822 that the Quakers initiated any large scale relief schemes.²⁸ Prior to this time, they assumed total responsibility for their own poor, usually through the local Women's Meeting,²⁹ while individual Quakers extended help to some people beyond their own community. During

the Great Famine, Quakers as a group responded to desperate need with great generosity without using their relief efforts as means of coercing conversion.

In addition, in the Ireland of Catherine's day, some activities were determined solely by gender. The poor, sometimes called "cottagers" who lived in villages or on the land near the large manor houses and estates, were the responsi-

principal protagonist, against whom the cottager, Margaret, argues her understandings of Catholic practice and teaching. Not only is Catherine's direct experience of caring for the poor a result of her sharing responsibilities for the Callaghan household, but there are Quaker versions of this genre, in which two women discuss a number of topics related to moral behavior, parenting, and other

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bility of the lady of the house, who actually saw to the management of the entire estate, grounds as well as the household. Such was Mrs. Callaghan's position as mistress of Coolock House. However, as she grew more frail, Catherine acted as her surrogate in the charity she offered in her friend's name. She visited the families and saw both their ignorance and their poverty. When Catherine McAuley "initiated a crusade for the unfortunate" she attracted the competitive jealousy of the local vicar's wife who tried to outdo her in charity.³⁰

Anyone familiar with Catherine McAuley's *Cottage Controversies*, immediately recognizes the vicar's wife as the model for Lady P__, the prin-

practical topics. The Quakers carefully omitted all sectarian themes from their tracts so that their distribution would not be proscribed by either the Catholics or the Anglicans.³¹ Catherine used the same genre creatively as a catechetical tool.

Mary Nathy describes Catherine as not only distributing provisions, but spending hours listening to the villagers, instructing and consoling them. Catholics were frequently employed on the estates as servants, footmen, coachmen, gardeners, etc. Many of these retainers lost employment when the country estates were closed because the gentry moved to London where the new social scene unfolded after the Act of Union. Quaker sources indicate

serious commitment to care for needy persons. The Dublin Yearly Meeting of 1800 exhorted:

a loving concern was felt to excite friends to come up in the practice of what we ought to be—humble self-denying followers of Christ—that our lives and conduct might be brought to this standard—and in a particular manner that we might be engaged to relieve the distresses of our fellow-creatures by affording them the means of obtaining a comfortable livelihood for themselves; by visiting the sick and afflicted in their habitations, by promoting the education of their poor, neglected children, and by doing our part to render their situation altogether as comfortable as we would others should do to us were we in a similar situation.

Historically, this approach was adopted by the Dublin Quakers shortly before the Callaghans moved out to Coolock House. It is extraordinarily similar to Catherine's interpretation of the works of mercy which she practiced long before she opened the house of mercy. Quakers did not proselytize the recipients of their charity, and they responded to absolute need regardless of religion, class, or political alignments.

Although Catherine chose to live frugally, she did not connect this choice as a way of redistributing resources among social classes.

A point of divergence occurs, however, in attention to the social causes of human misery. Catherine McAuley did not develop any form of social analysis or social criticism similar to that which was evolving among the Quakers during the time she was associated with the Callaghans. A Quaker woman, Catherine Phillips, who traveled in both Ireland and America, published *Considerations on the Causes of the High Price of Grain* in 1792.

Phillips offered a detailed analysis of why the prices went up and stayed up, tracing the deprivation of the poor to the increasing penchant for luxury among the rich and middle classes. The seeds of poverty and violence, she believed, were sown in the taste for luxury . . . She then proposed a detailed and carefully constructed land-use policy, addressing . . . the needs of all concerned parties.³²

By 1827, Elizabeth Fry and her brother Joseph Gurney who were horrified at the conditions in prisons and charitable institutions reproached the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland: "To preserve the poor from starvation, it is a duty which appears to devolve not only on the benevolence of individuals, but in case of absolute need, on

the justice of the whole community."³³

These citations from Quakers contemporary with Catherine McAuley reveal a more radical social or systemic analysis of the causes of poverty than Catherine herself ever suggested in writing.

Although Catherine chose to live frugally, she did not connect this choice as a way of redistributing resources among social classes. She often seems more intent on religious instruction and on securing salvation in the next life as much as she sought to relieve suffering in the present life. She was preoccupied with the loss of one's soul if one died unbaptized or unrepentant. She does not appear to envision the possibility of social change nor does she concretely promote it. She does not seem to imagine a step beyond rescuing the victims of various forms of injustice.

Likewise, she does not reflect on the effects of bigotry as an ideology which fosters hatred, anger, and scapegoating, leading to both civil and domestic violence. Religious bigotry was so violent in her milieu that she literally risked her own financial security by broaching the possibility of conversion and baptism to Mrs. Callaghan, and her life when her brother-in-law discovered that both his daughter and wife had become Roman Catholics. Catherine responds in a non-violent manner, but does not appear to reflect on the interrelationships among all of the factors

involved. Although Catherine lived before the first great papal social encyclicals appeared influencing Catholics in relationship to social justice issues, the Quakers already had begun to analyze the causes of poverty and the oppression of the poor as well as to seek social changes which would make temporary relief unnecessary.

Despite this lack of social analysis in Catherine McAuley and perhaps in Mrs. Callaghan as well, I, nonetheless, want to assume that there was a reciprocal, mutually reinforcing spiritual or religious influence in the Callaghan household. Were that not the case, I doubt that the Callaghans would have been open to Catherine's invitation to embrace the Catholic faith on their deathbeds. Although neither of the Callaghans entirely "practiced" their respective religions if measured by church attendance, they were both good people who loved others despite their economically comfortable lives. They both respected conscience and were religious in their own way. They were both generous to the poor and entirely willing to support Catherine's plans to relieve the needs of poor women. They shared their lives and their resources with Catherine in a mutually loving relationship, although she no doubt felt her lesser social position resulting from her dependence on their benevolent generosity.

Conclusion

I do not believe that much more can be retrieved about a direct Quaker connection for Catherine McAuley through

Catherine McAuley freely moved across the Protestant-Catholic divisions in Ireland and England.

Mrs. Callaghan. Catherine McAuley had become convinced of the truth of the Catholic faith when she resolved her religious doubts about whether or not she could embrace the Protestant faith which most of her family shared. Once convinced through an intellectual process rather than a devotional one, she seemed to question only specific Catholic customs or cultural practices rather than anything related to the understanding of Catholicism in her day. There are, though, wonderful convergences, similarities, and actions related to the Quakers which have subsequently become part of Mercy life and practice as a result of developments in Catholic social teaching, ecumenism, and the evolution of apostolic religious life.

A more fruitful line of research might be to trace in Ireland, England, and America concrete intersections between the Sisters of Mercy and Quakers from the first foundations to the present. For instance, Quakers made contri-

butions to the works of mercy organized by the sisters at Kinsale.³⁴ Quakers developed methods of non-violent theory in the early twentieth century through direct contact with

Ghandi. This mutual influence later supported Sister of Mercy efforts in the U.S. when they often joined with Friends in social justice activities in various parts of the country from the late 1960s on.

Catherine McAuley freely moved across the Protestant-Catholic divisions in Ireland and England. As she organized the House of Mercy and other works, she studied all of the available models. She inspected the Kildare Society Schools, uncovering their methods of proselytizing. The most stunning direct influence on her of Quaker concern for the poor was the Lancastrian educational system. Joseph Lancaster (1778–1839) pioneered a method of education in the slums of London. In 1801, he

opened a school, promising to educate all children who wished to come to him freely, if they were too poor to pay the tuition, or for a small fee where the parents had the means for it. Not having any source of income from which to pay assistants, Lancaster hit upon the plan of employing older pupils to teach the

younger ones. This system of pupil instructors, guided by Lancaster's native aptitude for teaching and gift for winning the confidence and affection of the children, succeeded even beyond the enthusiast's expectation.³⁵

When Catherine organized her own schools, she studied Lancaster's successes and failures and modified his system in ways which were extremely successful in Ireland. Mercy sources do not make this particular Quaker connection explicit. Mary Sullivan characterized it as:

a modified system wherein senior girls served, under the direction of the sister-teachers, as monitresses who heard the recitations in secular subjects and corrected the written assignments of small groups of younger children. This was the method generally following many of the early Mercy schools, there being too few sisters to handle the complete instruction of the hundreds of children who attended each school . . . According to Courtney, the monitresses from "the beginning were paid by the community even during the hard years of the Famine" and Saturday classes in singing, drawing, and piano were provided to them. They, in turn, if they "aspired to be governesses," gave piano lessons in the school where "there was a piano for lessons and also one for practice."³⁶

This modified Lancastrian system revolutionized education for poor children in Ireland once the penal laws were repealed and poor Catholic

children could receive an education. Although there were limitations to the depth and scope of education provided in those early years, nonetheless, education made a significant difference both to the children served and to society.

I suggest that many more such influences and connections might be discovered were Mercy scholars to do the careful historical work which alone justifies accurate claims about such influences and connections. There is a truth in the imaginative leap some of us have made to Catherine's Quaker connection. It may say more about us than about Catherine. It may say more about what we are becoming than about how Catherine understood her own situation.



Notes

1. Carmel Bourke, *A Woman Sings of Mercy* (Sydney: Dwyer, 1987) 25.
2. Mary Nathy, *Catherine McAuley: Mercy Foundress*, (Dublin: Veritas, 1979) identifies William Callaghan as a distant relation of the McAuley family. She places the Callaghan's return from India in 1785, indicating that he made his fortune in India. They were in India about twenty years where there was not yet an active community of Friends. Mrs. Callaghan's experience of membership would thus have been prior to about 1765 and after 1785 until she became an invalid toward the end of her life.
3. Angela Bolster characterizes the religiosity of the Callaghans thus: "William Callaghan was a non-practicing Anglican; his wife, a non-practicing Quaker. After-dinner raillery against Catholics occurred frequently in their home." "Catherine McAuley: From the Edges of History to the Center of Meaning" *MAST Journal* 6 (Spring, 1996) 1.
4. The Callaghans seemed to be so associated with Dublin society that it did not occur to me to look beyond Quaker Dublin to records such as those for Cork or Carlow.
5. Nathy, 3. Ross Campbell, a Quaker correspondent who went to look for traces of Mrs. Callaghan in the Friends Historical Library after having read Carmel Bourke's book, thinks this "cloud" refers to something more serious than disownment from the Quakers. (Personal correspondence, 23 July 1997.)
6. Austin Carroll, Roland Savage, Mary Nathy, Bertrand Deignan.
7. Mary Sullivan, *Catherine McAuley and the Tradition of Mercy*, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995) 43, To Mary Augustine Moore, 1844 (All citations and references to early manuscript sources are from this edition. Hereafter, CMTM.)
8. Mary Augustine Moore identifies Catherine McCauley's brother-in-law as a dissenter even though he occasionally went to the Anglican Church. CMTM, 199.
9. Limerick MS, CMTM, 143.
10. Ross Campbell of Newry, personal correspondence, 12 December 1996.

RUFFING: CATHERINE McAULEY'S QUAKER CONNECTION

11. Isabel Grubb, *Quakers in Ireland 1654–1900* (London: Swarthmore Press, 1927) 125.
12. Yearly Meeting Minutes, iii. mo, 1751. Cited by Richard S. Harrison, "Spiritual Perception and the Evolution of the Irish Quakers," in *The Religion of Irish Dissent 1650–1800*, ed. Kevin Herlihy (Blackrock: Four Courts Press, 1996) 79.
13. Harrison, 70.
14. Harrison, 81.
15. Grubb, 87.
16. Roland Burke Savage, *Catherine McAuley: The First Sister of Mercy* (Dublin: Gill, 1949) 31.
17. Harrison, 72.
18. Maurice Wigham, *The Irish Quakers*, (Dublin: Historical Committee of the Society of Friends: 1992) 54.
19. Wigham, 55.
20. Harnett, Limerick MS, CMTM, 145.
21. Wigham, 50.
22. Wigham, 48.
23. Although this minute was adopted in London and not in Ireland, the Irish Quakers remained dependent on the English. There was frequent visitation of Irish meetings by both English and American Quakers. This statement appears to be representative among the communities in general. There are Irish minutes which advocate and encourage this practice.
24. Letter to Sister M. Elizabeth Moore—St. Mary Convent, Limerick, written from Bermondsey, December 17, 1839. "We . . . arrived in Liverpool at half past six next morning, were conducted to the Mersey Hotel where breakfast was ready—laughed and talked over the adventures of the night, particularly my travelling [sic] title, changed from your Kitty to friend Catherine, an improvement, you will say." *Letters of Catherine McAuley 1827–1841* ed. Sister Mary Ignatia Neumann, (Baltimore: Helicon, 1969) 185.
25. Wigham, 46.
26. Wigham, 47.
27. Early Irish Quakers recorded explicit advice warning against oppressing the poor: "Advised that all friends be careful not to oppress the poor in any respect." Minute of the Yearly Dublin Meeting, 1695.
28. John Greenwood, *Quaker Encounters, Vol 1, Friends and Relief* (York: Sessions, 1975) 26.
29. The record of these meetings for Dublin included the following themes: 1) report on changes and needs among those on the poor list 2) reading and sending proceedings to others meetings 3) appointment of members to visit the poor, ill, or potential members 4) receiving certificates from the sending meetings for women who moved to Dublin or came as visiting ministers 5) decisions about taking care of the needs of non-Quaker poor 6) frequently noting poor attendance at these meetings 7) child-rearing advice 8) comments on the effect of visiting friends on the gathered group both positively or negatively 9) records of disbursement of funds for the poor, requests for additional funds from the men's meeting, arranging for nurse attendants and 10) disciplinary matters. On the whole the women rarely censured other members.
30. Nathy, 4.
31. For instance, see *Cottage Dialogues among the Irish Peasantry* by Mary Leadbetter (Dublin: Kennedy, 1841). Isabel Grubb reports the Tract Association started in 1815 as the first organized form of philanthropy. She asserts its purpose is to distribute "such publications as may tend to promote Morality and Religion, or at least may occupy the time and engage the attention from reading that which may have an opposite tendency" (137).
32. Margaret Benefiel and Rebecca Phipps, "Practical Mysticism: Quakers and Social Transformation" essay to be published in a forthcoming volume on Mysticism and Social Transformation, ed. Janet Ruffing.
33. Cited by Greenwood, 27.
34. Frank Hurley, *St. Joseph's Convent of Mercy, Kinsale: A Celebration of 150 Years! 1844–1994*, "During the Famine food was provided twice daily for children and adults. Donations poured in from the Society of Friends—the Quakers, from Father Matthew and from Rome and America." 11.
35. Rufus Jones, *Later Periods of Quakerism*, Vol 1 (London: Macmillan, 1921) 677.
36. Mary Sullivan, CMTM, 132.