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OF THE
FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY

VOLUME THIRTY-SIX
FOR 1939

FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY
FRIENDS HOUSE, EUSTON ROAD, LONDON, N.W.1

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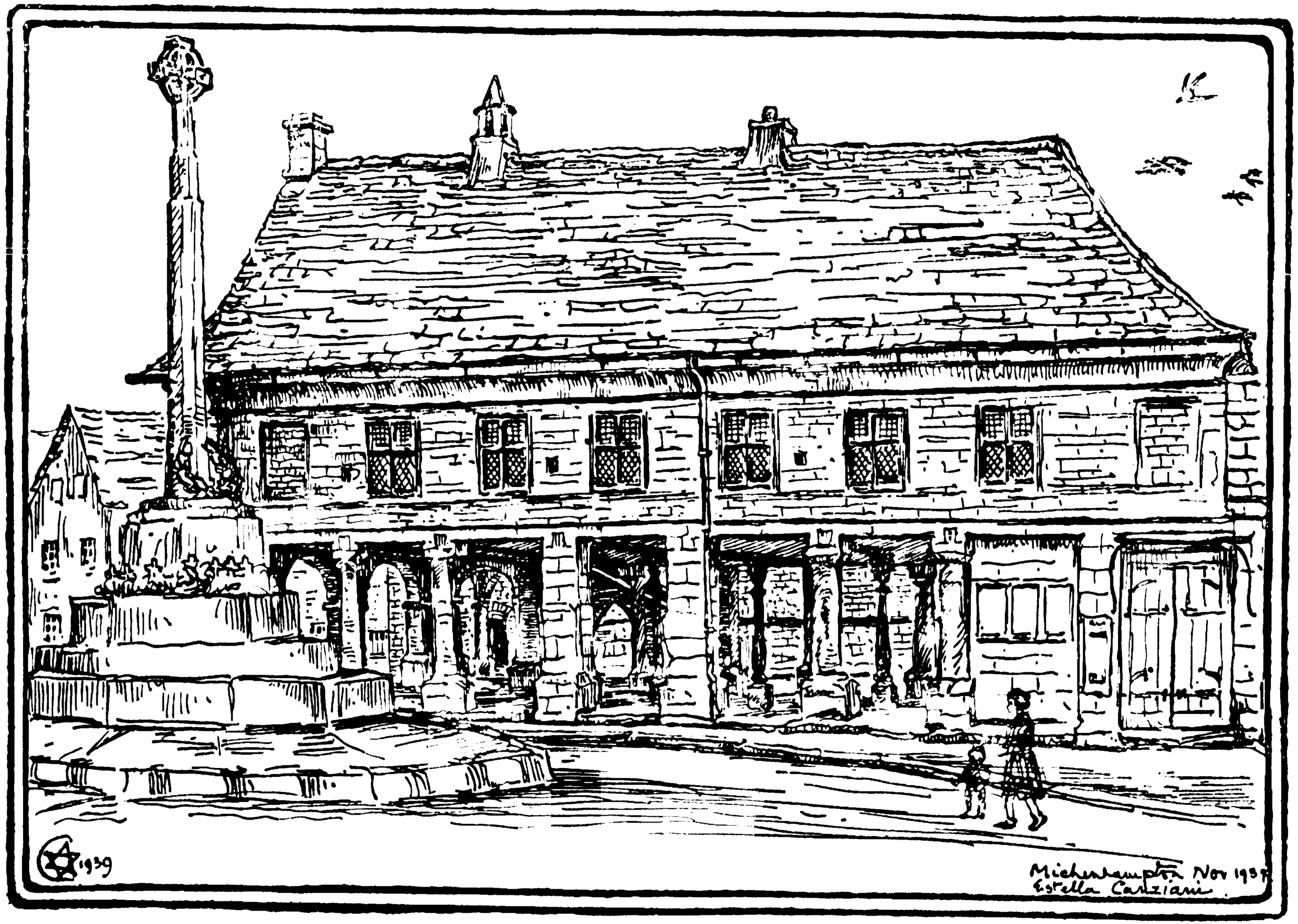

THE MARKET HOUSE, MINCHINHAMPTON, GLOUCESTERSHIRE

(From the drawing by Estella Canziani, by kind permission of the artist. *See notes on p. 59.**)*

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"*The story of the rise of Quakerism . . . provides one of the most exciting and revealing chapters in the history of the human spirit. Literally thousands of otherwise inconspicuous people were subject to two experiences. The first being a vivid sense of the immediate revelation of God, and the second being unflinching courage in the face of bitter persecution. Just as it is hard to account for the transformation of the first Christians. . . . except on the hypothesis that the experience at Pentecost was what it seemed to be, so it is hard to account for the transformation of Yorkshire dalesmen into spiritual heroes except on similar hypothesis.*"

D. ELTON TRUEBLOOD: *The Trustworthiness of Religious Experience*, pp. 85-6, "Swarthmore Lecture," 1939.

Editorial Note

TWO presidential addresses form the principal matter in the present issue. Elisabeth Brockbank's address on Quakerism in Lancaster Monthly Meeting, was given at the annual meeting held 2nd March 1939, to a large audience at Friends House. The accounts for the year 1938, which were read at the meeting, are printed on another page.

This year marks the tercentenary of the birth of Thomas Ellwood. Beatrice Snell's presidential address on the character of Thomas Ellwood was therefore brought forward so as to fall within 1939 and was given on 29th November. It was not possible on this occasion to name a new President and Vice-President, but their appointment was left in the hands of the committee.

The continued threat and later the outbreak of war have diminished the amount of attention which is being given to historical research and led to some curtailment of this issue. We are glad to print a paper in which Henry J. Cadbury recalls to attention an old account of the rise of Quakerism in London, and an 18th century manuscript showing the embers of petty persecution, kindly lent by Anna L. Littleboy. The only illustration is Estella Canziani's delightful sketch of the old Wool Hall at Minchinhampton, Gloucestershire, which she kindly lent for reproduction.

We intend to publish shortly as the *Twentieth Supplement* to this *Journal* the full text of a number of Early Quaker MSS. now in America. Thirty-five MSS. have been here collected together by Henry J. Cadbury as having once formed part of the great collection of letters at Swarthmore Hall. Twenty-five, which have not been published before, are printed in full.

The Story of Quakerism in the Lancaster District

By ELISABETH BROCKBANK, R.M.S.

Presidential Address to the Friends' Historical Society, 1938-9. (*Abridged.*)

[My sincere thanks are due to Robert Muschamp, who helped me with facts about the Lancaster and Wyresdale districts ; to Dilworth Abbatt, whose book, *Quaker Annals of Preston and the Fylde,* 1653-1900 (London : Headley Brothers, 1931), gives an excellent picture of Quaker life in the Fylde ; and to Isabel Ross, who shared with me her researches on the Fell family.—E.B.]

THERE is a story of G. K. Chesterton's about a mild, retired army man called Major Brown, fond of weak tea and the culture of prize pansies. One afternoon, during his usual walk, he was accosted by a man wheeling a barrow full of bedding plants, who suggested he should climb up on the wall by the path to look at a fine collection of pansies. To his utter astonishment the pansies over the wall were bedded out to form the astounding words : " Death to Major Brown ! " From that minute he was involved in the wildest adventures.

A change equally sudden and amazing came to John Lawson, a homely Lancaster shop-keeper, when one Sunday afternoon the quiet of Leonard-gate was broken by a yelling crowd, his door burst open, and in plunged a man, stones flying round his head, angry faces behind.

George Fox had spent the day in Lancaster, first preaching in open street to " a great meeting " of soldiers and people ; then up to the steeple-house, the fine Parish Church set on the hill behind the Castle. The congregation listened at first, then grew angry, haled him out and stoned him along the streets till John Lawson's door received him.

From this moment John Lawson was caught up into a rich life of adventure.

Almost at once, Lawson left the shop, the humdrum round of weights and measures and parcels, and set out to

tell others. The meeting at Fylde names him as the first to bring the glad tidings ; so does Knowsley. At Bickersteth he was the first, with William Danson and Alexander Parker. At Sawley he came with William Adamson, Thomas Holmes, Elizabeth Leavens, and three others. And all the time he was building up the Lancaster group and laying the foundations so surely that it lives to this day.

* * *

Leaders were now beginning to emerge in every district, and Fox moved about, learning his men, planning for their development, and helping them in the small campaigns they planned. But each group had a first duty ; to build up the local meeting. Meetings were settled at Yealand and Kellet (this was held in farms in Yealand, Kellet and Capernwray and served a wide district, as it does to this day), and in Lancaster. Those at Wray, Wyresdale, and the Fylde villages followed one by one.

Perhaps it sounds a dull job, building up one's own meeting, but it had its thrills in those days. Here is an instance from Fox's Journal, under the date 1652 :

" And from Lancaster I returned to Rob : Withers and from thence to Thomas Leaper's (at Capernwray) to a meeting . . . which was a very blessed time ; in the evening I walked out afoot to Rob : Withers ; and I was no sooner gone but there came a company of disguised men to Thos. Leaper's with swords and pistols, cutting and hacking among the people of the house : and put out all the candles : and the people held up the chairs before them to save themselves ; and after a while they drove all the people out of the house and searched and looked for me : who was the person only they looked for : and laid in wait in the highways which I should have come in if I had ridden to Rob : Wither's."

Soon teams of eager young pioneers travelled farther afield. Fox took Richard Hubberthorne from Yealand up into Wensleydale : James Nayler and Francis Howgill travelled North, and presently found themselves prisoners in Appleby Gaol. Burrough did good work in Durham, a few months later Richard Hubberthorne and John Lawson travelled to Liverpool, where the magistrates drove them out of town, but where they planted the seeds that later

sprang up, and formed Liverpool Meeting. Then they went on to Wrexham, and found Seeker groups who formed the nucleus of meetings gathered at Malpas, Morley and Congleton.

This was a thrilling journey for the excitable John Lawson, who celebrates it in three breathless letters to Margaret Fell. They are written in a delightful local dialect very like that still spoken, the spelling is amazing, and they are innocent of stops and punctuation. All Lawson thought of was to tell his tale of high adventure, especially all the riots and fights ! One can imagine Margaret Fell smiling a little over these epistles, yet touched by the zeal of the warm-hearted fellow.

Two of these letters are written from Chester gaol, where his Malpas visit landed him.

Richard Hubberthorne and Richard Weaver came to Chester to visit Lawson. Hubberthorne, through the intrigues of a malevolent Lawyer Golborne, was arrested, the Mayor sending him to gaol and detaining him upon a bare information of his visiting John Lawson in prison. After two months' imprisonment, Hubberthorne was released under the Vagrancy Act, and ordered to be passed from constable to constable till he reached his native village of Yealand.

The first night he knocked at the door of Richard Sale, constable of Hoole in Cheshire, and presented his paper. Sale, a great, corpulent man, a tailor by trade, looked down at the delicate young farmer, undersized and now pale with prison rigours, and offered him a bed for the night. As they sat by the fire, they got into serious talk, and the vagrant spoke with such fire and earnestness that he convinced the constable of the truth of his views.

Next morning, when Richard prepared himself to be conducted to the boundary of the next township, the big man arose and tore the warrant into pieces, and threw them on the fire.

Such a tale shows the quality of Richard Hubberthorne. He came from a farm in Yealand Redmaine, and was an ex-soldier of Cromwell's army. " He was but little in stature," says his friend Edward Burrough, " and of weak constitution of body, and was slow of speech, often more ready to hear than to speak. Yet he was very wise, and knew his season when to speak and when to be silent."

" He was a man of peace and loved it, and walked peaceably among his brethren in honest, kind familiarity." He had a sense of quiet humour that endeared him to many. He was large-minded and tolerant. We find him defending the " Papists " when all parties were joined in condemning them. He took much more interest in politics than most Friends, and had a special concern toward his fellow-soldiers of the Cromwell days. He had a deep love of his native village and the mountains set about it, and lovely phrases here and there in his writings awaken a sudden picture of the rocks and fells and forests of his own land.

On October 18th, 1652, a warrant was put out against Fox for blasphemy. This occurred at Ulverston, during a visit in which much opposition was shown, and Fox had rough treatment in several places. The warrant was not served because Judge Fell returned to Swarthmoor. Fox, however, rode over with the Judge to the Lancaster Sessions to answer to it. At the Assizes the charge fell to the ground, but this is an interesting episode, because it is the first appearance of Fox at a trial at Lancaster Castle.

The Castle stands nobly on its hill, with the Parish Church behind it, dominating a wide landscape, the river Lune below flowing out to Morecambe Bay, and at that time full of shipping and life.

Wordsworth, looking on the beauty of the Castle from a hill on the South, could only feel it to be sinister and dark, and called the hill on which he stood Weeping Hill.

From this time on, Lancaster Friends were linked inevitably with the Castle. Fox was to come here again. As time went on and persecution became more bitter, almost every Friend in the district spent at least weeks, if not months or years, in its dark and filthy gaols. Often the constables would raid a meeting and drag everyone present to Lancaster, men, women and even children. The unspeakable conditions made relief a necessity, and Lancaster Friends must often have been busy and burdened, toiling up the steep, cobbled ways with food, blankets, candles and fuel for the prisoners. The Quarterly Meeting paid regularly for candles and fuel. During long imprisonments there were even two occasions when marriages were celebrated in the Castle.

Yet all this trouble drew Friends closer. Nothing

quenched their joy in the lovely fellowship they knew, and in the blessedness of the message brought them. Margaret Fell, looking back in old age spoke of " the beginning, when the morning stars sang together " ; and as Howgill said, they would ask each other in great joy of heart : " What ? is the Kingdom of God come among men ? "

Gradually the whole of the upper parts of England were covered, and in the spring of 1654 Fox could say he was " leaving the North fresh and green under Christ their teacher."

The area which knitted itself together to form Lancaster Monthly Meeting comprised Lancaster, Yealand, Wyresdale, Chipping, the Fylde, and later (about 1668) Wray.

Wyresdale

Wyresdale, high up on the open moors above Lancaster, is the least accessible of the group. In 1661 William Hanes and Henry Townson from Wyresdale were imprisoned, and in 1668 the meeting is mentioned in a list of Lancashire meetings. Under the Toleration Act in 1689 John Proctor's house at Dunishaw (Dukinshaw) was registered as a meeting place. The first meeting house was built before the end of the 17th century, but the present building was added in 1887. The oldest records are a set of minutes, 1722 and 1745, bound in with minutes of Lancaster Particular Meeting 1698-1740. At Wyresdale they have minute books 1801-14, and 1886-1916. The minutes are devoid of much interest. " No birth or burial notes " recurs. Or : " Query so and so has been read. Defishences, remain under the care of Friends." In 1888 : " The lithographed minutes of Yearly meeting have been read, also a letter from the Yearly Meeting to the boys and girls." About this time an adult school was started. Joseph John Gurney visited the meeting in 1832.

The day school at Wyresdale started in 1800. Joshua Kelsall taught children in his own farm, two or three days a week. The infants wrote on sand trays. The master was said to be a " very patient man, because he would say to an erring child : ' I'll cane thee at three o'clock tomorrow.' He would then deal with him by improving talk but he never forgot the caning ! "

The school continues to-day. The numbers now are round about 20, all standards being taught by its able Head, Lilian Troup. The school and meeting house are far from

anywhere, not even on a road, and some of the little scholars walk two, three or four miles over the moor to school. But seventy years ago, about a hundred boys and girls, including thirty boarders, came to school. Wyresdale was then well populated. It is said that at least eighty houses have disappeared, and of the three mills then working in the valley for cotton, silk and hats, none remain.

The boarders were crammed into the school and schoolhouse, and the whole family lived and ate in the kitchen. Some children were boarded out at the farm near, and at Chapel House.

Wray

Bentham meeting was settled in about 1653. A minute of Settle Monthly Meeting of 1668 says: "Moreover; from the aforesaid meeting of Bentham . . there is a part gone off and a meeting settled known as Wray meeting in Lancashire." This now came under Lancaster. A parcel of ground in Wray was conveyed to trustees in 1676, and before 1704 the meeting house and stable were built. A Preparative meeting minute book for Wray is in existence from 1775 to 7.vii.1793, when it stops without explanation. The minutes are brief and dull, and the accounts are kept in the same book.

Wray Friends also suffered distraint and were persecuted. In 1660 sixteen Friends were dragged from their houses to Lancaster Castle.

Wray produced a notable woman in Elizabeth Rawlinson. She and Lydia Lancaster, a much admired woman preacher from Lancaster, went with Thomas Chalkley and others to America in 1718. In 1735 Chalkley visited England again and came to see his old friend at Wray.

Yealand

The meeting of Yealand and Kellet had the largest membership of the Particular Meetings. It covered a wide area, touching the corners of three counties. Friends came from Arnside and Silverdale on the coast, Beetham and Holme in Westmorland, Claughton and Kellet (then in Yorkshire for tithing purposes), and Bolton-le-Sands on the South.

The three Yealand villages were much larger than at the present day.

The meeting house was built in 1692 but there is an earlier burial ground at Hilderstone on the land of the Backhouse farm.

A school was begun very early and held in this farm, and in 1709 Edmund Garnet is appointed teacher, at £8 a year. He was followed by Ann Hadwen. In 1764 the cottage belonging to the Pearson family, next the meeting house, was acquired and the school was housed there and had an honourable career until the retirement of Samuel K. Baillie, its last master, in 1920, when it ceased to exist. At its best it had some sixty or seventy scholars including occasional boarders from so far as London. The establishment of board schools killed it.

Up to the last, scholars paid 4d. a week, stayed to sixteen if they wished, and were taught French and Latin if they desired these extras.

The Yealand Meeting minute books date from 1678 and are of great interest.

Robert Withers

Of all the Friends of the Monthly Meeting the dearest and most enjoyed by young and old was Robert Withers (or Widders). He was about 34 when Fox came, was married and had a substantial farm at Over Kellet. He soon became the frequent companion of Fox, many times up and down England and into Scotland and (greatest experience of all) in 1671 he accompanied Fox and ten other Friends to the Barbadoes and Jamaica. They had amazing adventures by sea and land.

" He was not much in declaration " (i.e. nothing of a preacher), but burly, fearless, imperturbable and humorous, he was a much-sought companion. " His very countenance and eye was refreshment and comfort."

" I have known him 34 years," writes Margaret Fell at his death, " He was a dear and faithful brother to me and my children in all our tryalls and sufferings. He would not have failed to come and see us, night or day, over two dangerous sands, if it had been in the deep of winter ; many a time hath he done so of his own accord ; and for the most part I have been sensible of his coming before he came, so near and dear was he unto me."

Fox called him " the Thundering man ", for his staunch, downright spirit made him a pillar of strength when facing evil-doers. " His was a large nobility mixed with a lamb-like innocency which was as a garment of praise upon him and made him right lovely in the eyes of the upright," writes Thomas Camm.

After Withers' death his own meeting, together with George Fox and his wife, published a short testimony[1] to him. Sixteen men and women of Yealand meeting wrote simple tributes. I only wish there were space to quote these artless memorials to " Dear Robert." " I can truly say he was dear and precious to me," writes Ann Camm, " and was a great encourager of all." They even liked to go to prison with him ! " I have been prisoner with him several times at Lancaster," writes Thomas Beakbayne, " and his cheerful countenance and good example and advice to Friends always administered strength and comfort." " Dear Robert ! " says Robert Hubbersty, " the remembrance of thee refreshed my soul, for thou ever preferred the Lord's business before thine own and never lost an inch of ground ! "

Withers' sufferings from distraint and spoilings exceeded those of any other Friend, yet Thomas Camm says : " I never saw him in the least concerned and dejected when his cattle, corn and household goods were, as it were, by wholesale swept away."

His wife and family were useful members of Yealand Meeting and his name is kept green by the money he left in trust to educate the children of the meeting.

His great four-poster bed is preserved in Yealand, and the elbow chair he gave to George Fox is in Swarthmore Meeting House.

Fylde, Chipping, Claughton and Freckleton

Fylde meeting formed the southerly bulwark of Lancaster Monthly Meeting for twenty-three years. The Fylde is a district, including five villages where there were Friends, and with these went Chipping, Claughton (pronounced Clighton) and Freckleton. Everyone of these meetings is extinct to-day, and instead have arisen Preston, Blackpool, Blackburn, Accrington and Fleetwood meetings.

[1] *The Life, Death, Travels and Sufferings of Robert Widders,* 1688.

In 1698 Fylde Friends asked leave to form a separate monthly meeting, and for nearly a 100 years it was held the day after the Lancaster meeting. In 1792 it became Preston Monthly Meeting.

The chief Friends in early times were Alexander Parker, one of Fox's Valiant Sixty, from near Chipping, and the Moore family of Woodplumpton, Edward and his sons John and Thomas. The family were heavily persecuted, five of them being imprisoned, and John travelled in the ministry.

In 1828 Richard Jackson of Calderhouse near Garstang, grew tired of attending the distant Wyresdale and built a charming meeting house behind his own house. His brothers helped him, and a live meeting grew up, joined to Lancaster Monthly Meeting, and still exists.

There is a short series of minutes extant of Garstang Particular Meeting. There are three almost unvarying minutes, e.g. :

3.4.1722. At our P.M. held at Wm Dawson's at Claughton as followeth :—

(1) Wm. Dawson is appointed to represent our meeting at the Monthly Meeting.

(2) Joseph Jackson is to continue his service to travelling Friends.

(3) If sleepers, whisperers and backbiters be dealt with where found.

(4) If Friends observe to keep weekly meetings, and at the hour.

Any collections are mentioned and an occasional intention of marriage.

Quernmore

In the early 1860's a Friend named Kelsall living at Rowten Brook gave land to the Society for the erection of a meeting house and for a graveyard.

Lancaster Friends still attend a meeting held on Sunday afternoons once a month.

Morecambe

Last of all, quite in recent times comes a new meeting at Morecambe. There is an ancient graveyard at Middleton, now in private hands.

Lancaster

And now we come to the central meeting, Lancaster, the only urban meeting. It has its separate life, from 1652, it built the first meeting house in Lancashire in 1677, it held faithfully to its testimony through all. When the Mayor locked the meeting house and set a guard, Friends met in the lane before it at their usual time, and held their meeting undisturbed. They were constant in succouring prisoners. Yet their life is so bound up with the lives of the surrounding meetings that, certainly for one who lives in a branch meeting it shares its life with all the monthly meeting. The beginnings of organization both in the particular and monthly meeting can fortunately be followed in a wonderful way. We have to remember that Quakerism produced a spiritual army, strong for warfare, before it developed a church organization, but organization in the Lancaster district soon began in rudimentary forms.

Lancaster Meeting is rich in old records and MSS., and would be still richer but for a fire in 1851, when some wild lads getting into the meeting house one evening burst open an old iron chest and set alight to the contents. When discovered, the damage was done, and no one knows what treasures were destroyed.

But what remains is sufficient to trace the growth of the various types of meetings.

The earliest record of all is the list of *Sufferings of Friends*, by imprisonments, distraints, etc. This is a large folio, the dates on its cover being 1654-1700, but some of the entries are earlier, and show it to have started in 1653, though two instances as early as 1650 are written down.

One of the earliest is October 1653, " John Lawson of Lancaster for preaching in a steeplehouse yard in Malpas, Cheshire, was put in the stocks 4 hours and then imprisoned in the County Gaol at Westhoughton 23 weeks."

In the same year Christopher Bissbrown of Arnside (one of the Yealand Friends) has a long list of distraints for tithes. In 1654 John Lawson is in trouble at the steeplehouse at Lancaster, and is thrown into the common gaol. At the Lent Assizes he was fined £20, or to remain prisoner till it was paid. He continued in prison over a year.

In 1663 Robert Withers for going to a meeting at Yealand is sent to prison for nine weeks by Sir George Middleton of

Leighton Hall and Sir Robert Bindloss of Borwick Hall. He was then fined £3 6s. 8d. for which the bailiff took two sows worth £6 10s. Nine other Friends were charged at the same time, including Thomas Camm (son of John Camm of Preston Patrick but now living in Yealand), and all were imprisoned for 9 weeks.

And so it goes on, long lists of distraints and punishments.

The Monthly Meeting Minute books, dull for the most part, contain a few bright spots :—

" Lancaster Meeting informs this that divers Friends of their meeting are concerned in arm'd vessel furnish'd with Letters of Marque, under which some of them have took the property of others contrary to the righteous precept of our Blessed Redeemer and to our ancient Christian testimony."

In 1727 Yearly Meeting sends down that " the importation of negroes is not commendable or allowed ".

In 1709 they had a refugee problem—" there was now collected in our Particular Meeting nine shillings eleven pence for the relief of the pore people of the Lower Palitinate of Germany which are lately come into this nation to settle according to a Briefe from the Government in order, so it is now read here."

In 1691 there is a strong minute that guns are not to be carried on ships.

There are one or two queries out of the common :— e.g. How are sleepers dealt with ?

If none among us encourage the running of goods or otherwise defraud the King of his duties by buying or vending the same ?

The poor are assisted :—

" 1707, William Tomlinson has 6/– out of the meeting stock to buy leather to work upon for his subsistence."

" Robert Walling and Deborah Stephenson complaining that their allowance of 12d. a week each is not sufficient for their subsistence, William Stout is to make such addition to the same as he finds occasion for.

This meeting orders Israel Fell to take Deborah Stephenson's stocking as usual, and being informed that she is determined for the future not to apply for relief, the cashier is therefore ordered to pay no more till she do."

" A generous subscription " for Friends in Liverpool is called for in 1752.

Marriage by a priest is steadily condemned. It is varied in 1764 by the condemnation of a runaway match to Scotland, the young woman's brother accompanying the pair. A similar elopement occurs in 1765.

In 1786 "some defence against the rays of the sun" being needed, "venetian blinds are recommended as most eligible, to be painted a pale green!"

The early part of the eighteenth century is brought to life by the artless and entertaining journal of a Lancaster draper, William Stout. William Stout was born at Bolton-le-Sands, and became apprentice to Henry Coward, "an active and affable man" he calls him, a Lancaster Quaker. William joined Friends, and very soon his business abilities were brought into constant use for the Society. The number of times he acted as trustee, or guardian for minors is amazing, and until old age and weakness compelled him to seek release, he acted as treasurer for the meeting.

His diary is full of interesting gossip about friends and neighbours, for he was one who took intense interest in his fellow men.

He gives the reason for enlarging the meeting house. "In the spring 1708 our meeting-house not being capable to entertain the General Meeting for the 4 northern counties, we resolved to pull it quite down and build it nigh double to what it was." He says the cost was £180, "which was thought moderate." He died at Hatlex, Hest Bank, in 1752.

Lancaster Friends' School

In 1695 William Gunson left £20, the interest to be applied yearly to a schoolmaster to teach Friends' children in or near Lancaster.

In 1691 the Women's Quarterly Meeting had urged the appointment of a master or mistress, and next year it repeats the advice. The school probably started about this year. In 1700 we find John Yeats teaching the Lancaster boys and girls, but in 1705 a minute runs: "some Friends' children are in danger to come to loss for want of a master or mistress to teach them, and it is desired that Friends do endeavour to learn their children themselves till a master or mistress can be found."

In 1718 Sarah Weaver is appointed, her wage to be "£4 certain from Friends". In 1731 Friends decide to have a master, whom they appear to have got, as there is a deficiency in his salary of £2 11s., to be made up out of the meeting's stock. He was followed by John Ashburn, Joseph Gandy from Colthouse (appointed after a gap of over a year), Richard Hall from Thirsk, and so on down to modern times. In 1736-7 the master's salary was augmented by £1 1s. yearly from the town "to clean the lane which ran from Market Square down to the river".

About 1830 Richard Batt, the schoolmaster, advertised that there was "complete separation of boys and girls, as well in the playground as the schoolroom".

The school is now in a strong condition under J. D. Drummond, with 138 boys, 14 of whom are boarders.

Of the *Quarterly Meeting book*, I must speak briefly. The Quarterly Meeting embraced all Lancashire from Hawkshead and Swarthmoor in the North to Rossendale, Manchester and Liverpool in the South. In 1756, twenty-one meeting houses, usually with graveyard and stable, are listed in Lancashire.

The Quarterly Meeting was held in turn in the large meetings, and the business was the settlement of legal and other differences; the offering of apprentices; appointments to the Northern Yearly Meeting and the National Meeting (London) and business relating to trusts and property. Public interests rarely find a place. Once they contribute to Edinburgh Royal Infirmary but "this must not be a precedent".

A strong warning sent down from Yearly Meeting is given in 1745, recommending in the strongest terms to Friends the obligation they are under to loyalty and a steady adherence to the interests of the present government. Later in the year they are assisting Friends who have suffered losses by the late rebellion. One poor Friend of Fylde had losses by depredations of the Scots amounting to £7 9s. which was lent to him out of the county stock till otherwise relieved. In 1757 a strong protest is made against the impending militia bill.

Sometimes they had visiting Friends. In 1735 William Backhouse came home from America and told of his travels. Samuel Fothergill did the same in 1756. In 1772 John

Woolman attended the weekday meeting in Lancaster, going on towards York the same afternoon. He died at York.

The minutes continue till 1854 when the Lancaster Quarterly Meeting became Lancashire and Cheshire Q.M., and the Hawkshead and Swarthmoor districts were, alas! ceded to Westmorland.

Of all the treasures of Lancaster meeting perhaps the most valuable is the book "*For the Women's Quarterly Meeting* in Lancashire, to record, and register those things in,—that doth belong to their service for the Lord and his truth, in the aforesaid meeting for this country."[1]

The first sixteen pages are in the beautiful and neat handwriting of Sarah Fell, from 1675 to 1680. She married William Meade in 1681 and left the district with her husband. Sarah was by far the ablest of the sisters in literary matters. Her spelling is accurate, her punctuation perfect, and her skill in composing the minutes noticeable. It was she who kept the Swarthmoor accounts, and she was also clerk of Swarthmoor Monthly Meeting. The Women's Q.M. consisted of four Monthly Meetings, one being " behind the Sands, that is to say Swarthmoor Meeting. A second, to which belongs Lancaster, Yealand, Chipping, Wyresdale, Wray and Fylde. A third to which belongs: Bickerstaff, Penketh, Knowsley, Coppull, and Manchester. The fourth, to which belongs: Rossendale, Marsden, Sawley, and Oldham, there being in all seventeen Particular Meetings in this County."

The first meeting was held at Widow Haydock's at Coppull near Wigan, on 23.7.1675. Two meetings appear to be held annually, in 4th and 7th months (June and October), or 5th and 8th months. The chief business is bringing in testimonies against tithes, where women are distrained on, cases of marriage by a priest, disciplinary action against any not doing right, and reports of " how things are in every meeting ".

But the chief aim of the meetings was spiritual refreshment and upbuilding of one another in a dear and close knit fellowship. Finance is never mentioned and must have been the duty of the men.

[1] I must acknowledge my debt to Isabel Ross who was studying the old MSS. with me, and whose special knowledge of the Fell family elicited several points that I should almost certainly have missed. Her study of this book will form a section of new and interesting matter in the life of Margaret Fell on which she is at work.

Young women who had "run out and caused the truth to be evil spoken of by going to the priests to be married" were appealed to by weighty women Friends of their meeting. If they expressed sorrow, they usually wrote a paper of condemnation, which was sent to those acquainted with the transgressors, and especially to the Priest who had married them. If the young offender was unrepentant, she was disowned.

This, of course, in 1677, simply meant that she was not counted as a Friend by her fellows. There was at this time no listed membership in the Society of Friends. If a man attended Meetings and conformed to the testimonies, he was a Friend. If he lapsed, or ceased to attend meetings, the rest felt, and doubtless showed, that he had forfeited his place in the Quaker family. A listed membership was not made until long after Fox's death. The ignoble cause of it was the trusts formed for distribution of money left to the Society.

The last minute in the handwriting of Sarah Fell is a happy one.

> 30.7.1680. An account is given, that things are pretty well in most meetings, as upon Truth's account, which is a refreshment to us, that Friends are so unanamous in their care, in coming up to the work and service of the Lord, which is our duty, to serve him with all diligence and fervency of mind, as he pleases to require of everyone, in their day and generation,—and this brings Peace, and a good reward into every bosom.

A new hand now writes the minutes, in neat, copybook style, very legible, but the spelling, punctuation and ink are not so good. Like the previous ones, the minutes are unsigned.

At the meeting held in Lancaster 7.viii.1686 there is an innovation: the following sign on behalf of the meeting:—

Margrett Fox
Ellinor Hadocke
Mary Fell
Rebecca Paneatt
Ellen Coward
Mary Lower
Rachell Abraham.

Did Rachel Abraham (the last to sign) now act as clerk instead of her sister Sarah ?

In 1695 Friends give tender council and advice of this meeting in the love of God to all young people of our Sect to walk so as becomes the truth in their conversations and behaviours, not fashioning themselves according to the customs and ways of the world . . .

This is curious, and also sad, as the first suggestion of Friends viewing themselves as a "Sect". The Act of Toleration had been won, by the suffering and martyrdom of Friends and other free-thinking Christians. Alas, the exhausted remnant of the Society are already settling down into mediocrity—their high dreams of bringing the Kingdom of God on earth, fading out, and a picture of themselves as an unworldly sect among other sects taking its place. The very next year they are warning young women against worldly fashions, and in 1697 the word "superfluities" begins to slip into the minutes—"superfluities" at marriages, births and burials, in the furnishing of houses.

Margaret Fell continued to attend regularly till 1698; she died in 1702 at the age of 87, but there is no mention of her death, nor indeed the decease of any Friend.

She was one who saw the danger of outward narrowness, denouncing the sad colours Friends affected, and said that the "colours as the hills are" were suitable for womenfolk to wear. After her moderate influence was gone, we find the women's meeting troubling themselves over trivialities :—

. . . against superfluity in tying and broadening of their handkerchiefs upon their breast, and let a decent tying be come into, and that friends of every Monthly Meeting take care that friends keep clear of having their hoods made with superfluity and long tabs and so that all the youth dress their heads decently and as becomes Truth. . . .

In 1718 "short-tailed manteaux and cutting and powdering of the hair" are deplored, and also "wearing something in their petticoats in imitation of a hoop".

Each year now, the minutes grow more formal and stereotyped. There are frequent changes of clerk, and the writing is often poor. But down to 1777 women Friends are bravely keeping their stand against tithes, they visit one another's meetings, their spirits are refreshed by coming together, and exhorting one another in the truth. The

testimonies against tithes are a monument of quiet endurance. In the Swarthmoor Meeting alone this book records sixty-four testimonies, in Yealand sixty-eight, forty-two in Lancaster and twenty in Manchester.

Bound into the middle of this book are epistles from George Fox from 1671 on.

Bound into the Lancaster Quarterly Meeting Minute Book from 1669 are copies of answers of all the particular meetings as to who first brought the good tidings, who received it, etc.[1] These queries were circulated in 1676.

There is one of notable interest—that of Swarthmoor, for it gives an independent account of how: "George Fox was the first that brought the message of glad tidings unto us and first preached the Everlasting Gospel again at Swarthmoor being Judge Fell's house, and upon 5th day of the weeke in the 5th mo. 1652 he went to Ulverston Steeplehouse, it being their lecture-day, and there he preached the Gospel . . .", etc. This is the only account to give the precise date of his arrival. The account continues with details of his movements during the following days, and is most interesting to compare with Fox's *Journal* and Margaret Fell's reminiscences.

* * *

Epilogue

Through the eighteenth century meetings dwindled till the evangelical revival brought new life and plenty of work to be done in temperance, in adult school and Sunday school work, and in open-air campaigns. Lancaster had a Sunday school which by 1856 had eighty-three scholars and six teachers, morning and afternoon.

The nineteenth century saw the decline of the mahogany trade that had enriched Lancaster. The harbour and river silted up, the mills became derelict, and trade declined.

About the middle of the century a new and most interesting departure in education came about, inspired from an unexpected source. James Brunton, a homely, unpretending Lancaster Friend of modest means, chanced to come across several pitiful cases of idiots hidden away in back rooms, a drag on their families, untaught and neglected.

[1] Printed in *Jnl. F.H.S.*, xxxi (1934), pp. 3-19.

He made some small attempts to alleviate their distress, but that was not enough. In 1846 the first English school for imbeciles had been established at Bath, and since then Earlswood Asylum had been opened by the Prince Consort, and a few similar places were being founded up and down the midlands. In 1864 this quiet Quaker, James Brunton, called Dr. de Vitré and eight other gentlemen together and offered £2,000 for the establishment of an institution for the feeble minded. This most generous offer was accepted. Queen Victoria agreed to be Patroness and sent 100 guineas, and the name chosen was the Royal Albert Asylum. It was erected at the cost of £80,000. The Asylum had as first superintendent the noted Dr. Shuttleworth. His set of models for training hand and eye from which Dr. Montessori copied her ideas are still to be seen in use. There are now about 800 patients being trained for trades and occupations of all sorts, many highly skilled, or working on the model farm. The annual income on maintenance account is over £60,000. Thus the dream of a plain Friend, of modest means, who did what he could in his day, has been realized.

During the past fifteen years the monthly meeting shows life and increase in most of its meetings. Many of the newly-convinced are of the same type as the first Friends, coming from the land or from trade, intelligent and willing to learn. The quickening power of their enthusiasm brings fresh life into local Quakerism. Lancaster Friends are again travelling. Three have recently been to America. A new duty has opened for the meetings. Many are the groups of young folks who come, either lodging in the cottages, or bringing tents, to breathe the sweet air of Wyresdale or Yealand, and relax in the quiet and beauty of the mountains and the woods. Yealand Meeting turned a barn into a simple Guest cottage for such as these, and this being outgrown, Yealand Manor was acquired by the Society of Friends through the kindness of the nephews of the late owner, J. Rawlinson Ford, and now is a social and educational centre for all the north, carrying on the tradition of our Monthly Meeting's concern for giving opportunity of education to all.

The Making of Thomas Ellwood

By BEATRICE SAXON SNELL

Presidential Address to the Friends' Historical Society,
1939-40.

THOMAS ELLWOOD was a typical man of his times—perhaps more typical than any of the other famous Quaker names of the seventeenth century. For while George Fox and James Nayler are essentially of the first half, and William Penn of the second half of the century, Ellwood combines traits from both.[1]

Note on Abbreviations.

A. *An Antidote against William Rogers's Book*, 1682.
D. *Davideis*, published by J. Sowle, 1712.
E. *Elizabeth Richardson's Testimony*, printed in the first edition of *The History of the Life of Thomas Ellwood*, q.v.
F. *The Foundation of Tythes Shaken*, 1678.
H. *The History of the Life of Thomas Ellwood, Written by his own hand. To which is added A Supplement by J.W.* Published by J. Sowle, 1714.
K. *The Answer to George Keith*, 1696.
M. *Testimony from the Men's Meeting*, printed in the first edition of *The History of the Life of Thomas Ellwood.*
N. *Forgery No Christianity*, 1674.
R. *A Sober Reply*, 1699.
P. *A Fresh Pursuit*, 1674.
S. *Sacred History of the Old Testament.* Sowle, 1720. 2 vols.
T. *Truth Prevailing*, 1676.
WP. Wyeth's *Preface* to *The History of the Life of Thomas Ellwood*, q.v.
WS. Wyeth's *Supplement* to the same.
WT. *Testimony from the Women's Meeting*, printed in the first edition of *The History of the Life of Thomas Ellwood*, q.v.

All these works are by Ellwood himself, except E., M., WP. and WT. which are printed on unnumbered pages in the first edition of H.

[1] For studies of James Nayler and William Penn in relation to their period see Emilia Fogelklou, James Nayler, the Rebel Saint, Ernest Benn, 1931, and William Penn, Albert Bonniers Förlag, Stockholm, 1935.

Mary Coate, in her *Social Life in Stuart England*, tells us that " Two tendencies were struggling for predominance in the mind of the average Englishman—an historical spirit, which led him to cite precedent for all his actions, and at the same time an inquisitive temper, which drove him to recast his beliefs and lay the foundation of a new order."[1] She considers that of the two influences, the antiquarian and conservative was the more potent. Godfrey Davies, on the other hand, in his *Early Stuarts*, declares that " the keynote of the seventeenth century was revolt against authority ".[2] Whatever the true balance between these tendencies may be, Ellwood displays both of them, sometimes curiously combined. He could not resist being interested in the new sect of Quakers, but when drawn to attend a Meeting, he tells us " that I might be rather thought to go out a Coursing, than to a Meeting, I let my Gray-Hound run by my Horse-side "—this, be it noted, *before* his father had displayed any hostility to Friends. When Walter Ellwood reproached the Quakers for going naked, Thomas was glad that the instance of Isaiah doing so too occurred to him ; and the production of a precedent, he says, " put my Father to a stand ".[3] Dr. Fischer has noted how, in his *Davideis*, he makes use of " time-honoured stylistic devices as alliteration, antithesis, parallelism and chiasmus, anaphora, invocations, rhetorical exclamations and questions ", but the poem itself " gives expression to those contemporary Cartesian and stoic doctrines which champion the cause of reason against passion. . . . He shows himself well-versed . . . in the popular literature of the tales of chivalry—but occasionally also handles (somewhat timidly, one must admit), the fashionable vocabulary of traditional gallantry and sentimental love-making. David sheds, as the case may be, tears of rage or repentance with a pathos equal to any of Dryden's heroes."[4] His controversial writings abound in references to ancient authors and history, but he picks up political catchwords, such as

[1] Mary Coate, *Social Life in Stuart England*. Methuen, 1924, pp. ix, x.

[2] Godfrey Davies, *The Early Stuarts*, 1605-1660. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1937, p. xix.

[3] H., pp. 21, 40.

[4] *Davideis*. Walther Fischer, Heidelberg, 1936, pp. xvi, xix, xv.

"Mob" and "Cabal" shortly after they become current. As early as 1662 he wrote a scathing poetical denunciation of contemporary fashions, including a diatribe on waistcoats which contrasts rather comically with the following lines in a later poem,

> The meadows in their grass-green vest
> Methought were very neatly drest,
> Not only neat, but richly fraught
> With Checkquer'd flowers, finely wrought,
> Cowslips and Violets intermixt
> And tufted Daisies cast betwixt.

One is irresistibly reminded of a passage from Michael Fairless's *Grey Brethren*.

> Once as I watched Benjamin, the old gardener—a most "stiff-backed Friend" despite his stoop and his seventy years—putting scarlet geraniums and yellow fever-few in the centre bed, I asked, awe-struck, whether such glowing colours were approved; and Rebecca smiled and said—"Child, dost thee not think the Lord may have His glories?" and I looked from the living robe of scarlet and gold to the dove-coloured gown, and said: "Would it be pride in thee to wear His glories?" and Mary answered for her—"The change is not yet; better beseems us the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit."

He even makes allusions to such un-Quakerly matters as contemporary drama and the laws of duelling.

> When a New Play is to be acted, printed Papers to give Notice of it, are spread abroad some time before.—Even in Duelling, he that gives the Challenge, doth withal give notice what Weapon he intends to use, and of what length . . . It is no sign of want of Courage, in a Man that uses the outward Sword, to refuse Scuffling with his Antagonist in a Chamber, while he boldly offers to meet him in the open Field.[1]

Socially Ellwood ranks nearer Penn than Fox. Because of this he is not as typical of the Quaker movement, as

[1] N., p. 5. MS. Poems, *A Prospect*. K., pp. 20, 22.

of his period, for, as W. C. Braithwaite says, " Friends were drawn principally from the trading and yeoman classes."[1]

At the beginning of his autobiography he refers to his station with characteristic modesty as " not being so Eminent either in the Church of Christ or in the World, as others who have moved in higher Orbs", but to his own Buckinghamshire community he was a very considerable person, " This eminent Servant of Christ."[2] The discrepancy depends on the point of view, and the point of view on differences of education between Ellwood and the Friends of the Meeting. As the son and later the heir of a country gentleman he would look forward to certain opportunities in life denied to most of his fellow-Quakers, and would feel, if deprived of them, a far greater loss.

Mary Coate tells us the usual routine for the eldest son of a country squire. " To prepare him for those innumerable duties which the Tudors had flung upon the shoulders of the local Justice, the country squire received a preliminary training in the local grammar-school, the university, and the Inns of Court, while to complete his education he had a year of travel on the Continent."[3] This very nearly corresponds to what Ellwood tells us of his elder brother's education. Young Walter was " sent to the Free-School at *Thame* in *Oxfordshire*", and later removed " *to Merton-College* in *Oxford*". Later still, after quarrelling with his father, he asked " that he might have Leave to Travel ", which was granted, though he went to Ireland instead of the Continent and there " was quickly preferred to a Place of Trust and Profit ". A little later he died, leaving Thomas, at the age of eighteen or nineteen, his father's only son ; but Walter Ellwood, who had been spending above his means, did not think of continuing his boy's education, which had been cut short in order to send the elder lad to the University. Thomas tells how he regretted the loss of an opportunity to which he must have felt himself entitled if he were to succeed to his father's position and estate, and for which Walter Ellwood should have been able to make ample provision.

[1] William C. Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism*. Macmillan, 1924, p. 512.

[2] H., p. 1. WT.

[3] Mary Coate, *Social Life in Stuart England*. Methuen, 1912.

> At this School (i.e. Lord Williams' school at Thame) . . . I profited apace; having then a natural Propensity to Learning; so that at the first reading over of my Lesson, I commonly made myself Master of it . . . Had I been continued at this School, and in due time preferred to an higher; I might in Likelihood have been a Scholar: for I was observed to have a Genius apt to learn. But my Father having . . . accepted the Office of a *Justice of the Peace*, (which was no way Beneficial, but merely Honorary, and every way Expensive) and put himself into a Port and Course of Living agreeable thereunto . . . found it needful to retrench his Expences elsewhere; the Hurt of which fell upon me. For he . . . took me from School, to save the Charge of Maintaining me there; which was somewhat like plucking green Fruit from the Tree, and laying it by, before it was come to its due Ripeness; which will thenceforth shrink and wither, and lose that little Juice and Relish which it began to have. Even so it fared with me. For . . . in a little time, I began to lose that little Learning I had acquired at School; so . . . that I could not have read, far less have understood a Sentence in *Latin*. Which I was so sensible of, that I warily avoided reading to others, even in an *English* book, lest, if I should meet with a *Latin* Word, I should shame my self, by mispronouncing it. . . . (Nevertheless I was not) rightly sensible of my Loss therein, until I came amongst the *Quakers*. But then I both saw my Loss, and lamented it, and applyed myself with utmost Diligence, at all leasure times to recover it.[1]

It is quite clear from the will of Walter Gray, Thomas's great-grandfather, that the old man intended to provide for all his great-grandchildren as well as their father, that he wished the portion of any who died to be divided among the rest, and that he would have been specially interested in Thomas's love of learning. But Thomas, alas, was born the year after Walter Gray's will was made.[2] When he was

[1] H., pp. 5, 7, 131.

[2] Will of Walter Gray, *Journal of Friends' Historical Society*, Vol. xxxv, pp. 66-7.

able to resume his studies with John Milton we find a significant passage in which he tells how the poet insisted that he should learn the Continental pronunciation of Latin " to Converse with Foreigners, either abroad or at home ". Although at this time he had been virtually disowned by his father and had no settled prospects, the social tradition by which a gentleman's son looked forward to at least a year of travel made him give willing consent to Milton's proposition.[1]

Ellwood was connected through his mother with the great Puritan and Parliamentary family of Hampden. She was nearly related, he tells us, to Lord Wenman's lady, whose maiden name was Margaret, daughter of Edmund Hampden of Hartwell.[2] His father, though not on good terms with Lord Wenman, " favoured the Parliament-Side " and both parents, on temporarily settling in London at the beginning of the Civil War, " contracted an Acquaintance and intimate Friendship with the Lady *Springett* . . . being then the Widow of Sir *William Springett*, (who died in the Parliament Service) ". At this time Walter Ellwood was " a constant Hearer of those who are called *Puritan Preachers* " ; and had " been from his Youth a Professor (though not join'd in that which is call'd *Close Communion* with any one Sort) ".[3]

Thomas, therefore, grew up with a certain Puritan bias, which predisposed him, in spite of a genial temperament and a strong sense of humour, to admire such things as " staidness " and " weightiness " ; he praises Isaac Penington's discourse as being " tempered with a serious gravity " and challenges William Rogers to deny that among sixty-six signatories to a certain testimony " there were as many Ancient, Grave Solid Weighty Friends as ever you saw ". Upon meeting Gulielma Springett for the first time since childhood, he was so overawed by " the Gravity of her Look and Behaviour ", that he found himself " not so much Master of my self, as to pursue any further Converse with her ". As for jolly old Squire Clark, and that " airy piece " his daughter—but let him tell the story himself in the unexpurgated frankness of his *History*'s first edition.

[1] H., p. 134.
[2] G.E.C. *Complete Baronetage*, 1649-64.
[3] H., pp. 3, 8, 18, 58.

> At length he (i.e. Squire Clark) came out to me, leading in his Hand a beloved Daughter of his ; a young Woman of about Eighteen Years of Age ; who wanted nothing to have made her Comely, but Gravity. An airy Piece she was ; and very Merry she made herself at me. When she had throughly viewed me, He, putting her a little forward toward me, said, *Here*, Tom, will you *Kiss her* ? I was grieved and ashamed at this frothy Lightness ; and I suppose he perceived it ; whereupon he drew nearer, as if he would have whispered, and then said, *Will you lie with her* ? At which I, with a disdainful Look, turning away ; he said, *I think it would be better for you, than to be a Quaker ;* and so little consideration, and regard to Modesty had she, that she added, *I think so too.* This was all by Candle light.[1]

Thomas was also profoundly shocked by the first maypole to be set up after the Restoration, and traced its origin to the worship in ancient Rome of a certain Flora, who in country parlance was no better than she should be.[2] From his Hampden connections he also imbibed staunch Parliamentary principles, trouncing the royalist theory of the divine right of kings in the stanzas in *Davideis* beginning

> How miserable is the State of those
> Whose Frame of Government doth them expose
> To Arbitrary Pow'r

and contrasting the Government

> Where no Dispensing Pow'r can make a breach
> Upon your Freedoms or your Persons reach.[3]

But his character and outlook were far more influenced by the fact that both parents were country gentlefolk, " well descended ; but of declining Families ". It effectively prevented him from being a fanatic, or even a Quaker of the strictest sort. His vocabulary is full of metaphors drawn from the sports and interests of his class, though he had to give up most of them on his conversion ; " Advantage, like

[1] H., pp. 14, 15, 103.
[2] MS. poems, *Speculum Seculi & Floralia*. A., p. 102.
[3] D., pp. 80, 81.

the Byas on a Bowl, is apt to sway the judgment" ; "Clip the wing and turn him off" (hawking) ; "He begins to Cogg with the Quakers" (dice) ; "This Check made Samuel wary" (chess) ; "You shoot your bolts at random" (archery) ; "A catch . . . tending only to a Jangle" (part-singing) ; "Those many *Clinching* quotations I had therein *hampered* him with" (wrestling) ; "That is the Meridian, William, for which thy Book is Calculated" (astrology). Less weight can be given to the list of games and sports in his poem *All is Vanity*, which is a mere catalogue and shows no technical knowledge of the pastimes named ; but one point of interest in this poem is that bell-ringing is not listed in clownish sports, but among the diversions of a gentleman. One is reminded of Dorothy Sayers' Lord Peter Wimsey, who could pull "quite a pretty rope".[1]

Before his conversion Thomas wore lace, ribbons, buttons as ornaments, rings, a velvet montero-cap, and that sure token of prosperity and gentility, a black suit. At his death he left six chairs embroidered by his wife, and his MS. poems are bound in a charming green vellum, tooled with gold. A contemporary description of his distant connection, John Hampden, is equally applicable to himself.

> He indulged to himself all the licence in sports and exercises and company, which was used by men of the most jolly conversation. Afterwards, he retired to a more reserved and melancholy society, yet preserving his own natural cheerfulness and vivacity, and above all, a flowing courtesy to all men.[2]

What did he gain more directly from his father ?

Walter Ellwood seems to have been the typical country squire of his day. Mary Coate says, "As Justice of the Peace, the country squire represented law and order in his parish ; with a fellow-Justice he held Petty Sessions, confiscated flesh killed in Lent, supressed vagrants and disorderly alehouses, hunted out witches and recusants, and generally endeavoured to maintain the peace. Once a quarter he rode to Quarter Sessions, receiving four shillings a day for expenses,

[1] F., Preface, and pp. 45, 347. D., p. 4. A., pp. 42, 46, 99. Dorothy Sayers, *The Nine Tailors*, p. 20. T., p. 16.

[2] Quoted by J. Howard Brown, *A Short History of Thame School*. Hazell, Watson & Viney, 1927, p. 93.

and there heard more serious cases of felony and sedition, assessed the rate of local wages, administered Acts of Parliament and Royal Ordinances, and supervised the activities of the Sheriff, the High Constable, and the Surveyors of the Highways. To all these multifarious duties he brought a practical knowledge of the law, a genuine administrative capacity and a decidedly conservative temper . . . On the whole his rule was just, and not often biased by political or religious prejudice."[1]

The last sentence is well illustrated by Walter Ellwood's behaviour in the case of a Quaker who was arrested at Chinnor for speaking to the minister after service.

> My father, having examined the Officers, who brought him, what the Words that he spake were? (which they did not well agree in) and at what time he spake them? (which they all agreed to be after the Minister had done) and then, whether he gave the Minister any reviling Language, or endeavoured to raise a Tumult among the People? (which they could not charge him with); not finding that he had broken the Law, he counselled the young Man to be careful that he did not make or occasion any publick Disturbances; and so dismissed him.

We may remember also, that in spite of his violent temper, Walter, when complained to by a husbandman "in none of the best Language, for driving over the Corn", answered him mildly, and promised compensation for any damage that might have been done. When attacked, while returning home that evening, by the same man and "another lusty Fellow" he "endeavoured, by gentle Reasoning, to perswade them to forbear, and not run themselves farther into the Danger of the Law, which they were run too far into already." When they threatened him with their Clubs, he merely turned his head to his son, saying, "*Tom*, Disarm them," and when they had been chased off by a Thomas whose fingers had been itching to deal with them, dismissed the affair with amused contempt; "since they came off no better in their Attempt, my Father thought it better not to know them, than to obliged himself to a Prosecution of them."[2]

[1] Mary Coate, *Social Life in Stuart England*. Methuen, 1924, pp. 20-1.

[2] H., pp. 8-17.

They were, in fact, his own country folk in a temper, a little the worse for drink, perhaps; people towards whom one had a sort of fatherly responsibility. As Arthur Bryant has said, respecting the English country gentleman of a slightly later period, "he was seldom out of touch with the people he was called to lead; from birth to death he was constantly with them". He had every opportunity of getting to know them, for the average country parish probably did not contain more than three hundred souls.[1]

We must not be misled by Thomas's later exasperation with Walter's deplorable extravagance, violent temper, and determined efforts to bring his son to heel. In the formative years Ellwood loved and respected his father; and when he is looking back on them in old age filial pride still asserts itself, both openly, as in the passage last quoted, and by implication in the scorn he pours on the wretched upstart magistrate John Ovy.

> He wanted indeed most of the Qualifications, requisite for a *Justice of the Peace*; an Estate to defray the Charge of the Office, and to bear him up, in a Course of living above Contempt; A competent Knowledge in the Laws; and a Presence of Mind or Body, or both, to keep Offenders in some Awe.[2]

There can be no doubt that Thomas acquired from his father not only a sound practical training in legal matters, but a flair for the judgment and management of his fellow-men, excellent manners—it is interesting to note that Locke considered that boys brought up at home had always the best manners—and a sense of *noblesse oblige* towards those of lesser gifts and lower station than himself. We can trace Walter's abiding influence in the following testimonies to his son.

> A Gentleman Born and Bred.—He could discern the Spirits of others and was very much the Master of his own.—The Monthly-Meeting was held at his House about Forty Years, and he always look'd very kind and Courteous on Friends, when they came there, and took Care and Notice of the Meanest, who

[1] Arthur Bryant, *The England of Charles II*. Longmans, 1934.
[2] H., p. 111.

> came in *Sincerity*. . . . How kind and Condescending he was to the *Weakest Capacity*, and would help out when they wanted a Word.[1]

Already at the age of twenty-three, in Bridewell and Newgate, Thomas unconsciously made himself the leader and spokesman of the Quakers imprisoned there; even the felons "all carried themselves respectfully towards me . . . they would dispose themselves to one Side of the Room, that they might make way for me to walk on the other".[2]

"The country gentlemen of the time", says Godfrey Davies, "stood firm upon the rights of their rank and insisted upon the respect due to their position."[3] This is very contrary to the teachings of Quakerism, but it escapes in odd little ways in Ellwood's writings. He is the very image of his father "keeping Offenders in some awe" when he has to deal with the wretched informer Lacy. Knowing that a warrant was out for his arrest, Lacy

> went directly to . . . Thomas Zachary . . . and . . . did so earnestly beg for Forgiveness, that he wrought upon the tender Nature of that very good Man, not only to put him in hopes of Mercy, but to be his Advocate by Letter to me, to mitigate, at least, if not wholly to remit the Prosecution. To which I so far only consented, as to let him know, I would suspend the Execution of the *Warrant* upon him, according as he behaved himself, or until he gave fresh Provocation. At which Message the Fellow was so overjoyed, that, relying with Confidence thereon, he returned openly to his Family and Labour, and applied himself to Business (as his Neighbours observed and reported) with greater Diligence and Industry than he had ever done before.

It is the exact tone of the country magistrate dismissing an offender with a caution. There is another good example in Ellwood's well-known description of that ride to Tunbridge Wells with Gulielma Springett, when a drunken rascal in the Duke of York's livery tried to pull her off her horse

[1] WP. WT.
[2] H., pp. 167-70.
[3] Godfrey Davies, *The Early Stuarts*, 1605-1660, p. 266.

on to his. The man's companions followed jeering, but directly Thomas raised his voice in protest, they pressed forward and drove the fellow off; seeing his plain dress and the absence of a sword they had thought probably that Guli was a lady imprudent enough to ride with a couple of men-servants only; but the voice told them that one was a gentleman and an angry one at that. One of them was so perturbed that at the next inn he came up to make excuses for the drunken man, when, says Thomas

> I let him know that one Vice would not excuse another; . . . that I was not ignorant whose Livery they wore, and was well assured, their Lord would not maintain them in committing such Outrages upon Travellers on the Road, to our Injury, and his Dishonour; That I understood the Duke was coming down; and that they might expect to be called to an Account for this rude Action.

It is to be noted also that Ellwood is anxious to explain that he went to study with Milton, "not as a Servant", and that on adopting the plain speech he could not say "Your Servant, to any one to whom I did not stand in the real Relation of a Servant, which I had never done to any." There is, indeed, a slight touch of patronage in such phrases as the following, "A brisk, genteel young Man, a Shopkeeper in the Town", "My Business lying among the Tenants, who were a Rustick Sort of People", "Great, surely, was the *Simplicity*, and Humility of those early ages, when persons of the *upper Rank*, and of the *Female Sex*, too, did not disdain to be employed in such *low*, but *necessary*, Offices." But, as the testimonies prove, this was not resented as it would be in this more democratic age.[1]

We may place all this to the credit side of Walter Ellwood's influence. On the debit side we may note that Thomas was occasionally, in controversy, carried away by a temper not unlike his father's. As the Men's Meeting put it, he was "Sharp to that which he apprehended to be Insincere and Deceitful." It is interesting to note that while he was still under his father's roof, he deprecated this asperity, for he says of his first publication, *An Alarm to the Priests*, published in 1662, that "the Sharpness of the Message

[1] H., pp. 26, 68, 132, 251-7, 260, 289. S., Vol. i, p. 34.

therein delivered, was hard to my Nature to be the Publisher of". We should like to forget the epitaph on "bawling Ives", written a few years later, just as we should like to forget that ugly scene where Walter attacks his son before the servants. But these lapses were comparatively rare; Ellwood's normal temper is bantering rather than savage; one is reminded of the small boy who was birched three times in one morning for "waggish pranks". He hates pomposity; and there is an excellent example of his banter in the unsigned pamphlet called *A Sober Reply*, published in 1696. The Town Council of Bury St. Edmunds had sent an anti-Quaker petition to the Government, from which he quotes the following sentence, "We have too just a Cause of dreading the Subversion of our Government by them, if not carefully prevented and suppressed", and comments

> *Our Government!* What do they mean, The Government of the Burrough of *Bury St. Edmonds* by the *Aldermen*, Assistant *Justice*, chief *Burgess* and *Burgesses* of the *Common Council* there? We never understood that any Quaker hath attempted to meddle with *their* Government, or intrude into it; but rather, that some have declin'd it, when invited thereunto. If they mean the *Government of England*, we hope they will not so *appropriate* it to themselves, as to exclude their *Fellow-Subjects* from a Share in the *Care*, *Support* and *Preservation* thereof; which we (and all other Protestant Dissenters) have as much reason as they (with respect to our Estates, Liberties and Lives) to wish and see the Welfare and safety of.[1]

Yet even this teasing was reserved for "enemies of the Truth"; for under a very bitter personal attack by John Raunce, Thomas acquitted himself, as Wyeth says "as an ingenuous Man, a Christian, and a fair Opponent".[2]

Negatively, Walter Ellwood's prodigality and unfair financial dealing with his son begot in Thomas an independence which at times degenerated into false pride. When he refuses to join the free meals in Bridewell because he still has the magnificent sum of tenpence in his pockets, and removes himself as far as possible from the table because

[1] R., p. 9. H., p. 78.
[2] H., p. 401.

" the Sight and Smell of hot Food, was sufficiently enticing to my empty stomach ", one smiles at this boyish piece of heroism ; but one feels something more like irritation at his unbusinesslike arrangement with the Peningtons when engaged as their tutor—" a Premium without Compact " ; his refusal to make any terms whatever with Walter about the selling of the Crowell estate, and his lordly determination not to enquire into the amount of his future wife's income. All these things are not only contrary to the spirit of his age, but to Quaker plain-dealing ; and one must assume that they were the result of unfilial resentment, which Thomas, who prided himself on obedience to his father in all things lawful, was neither willing to face nor to conquer.[1]

Great as was Walter Ellwood's influence upon his son, he had no deeply religious nature. It was probably from his " dear and honoured Mother . . . a Woman of singular Worth and Vertue ", that Thomas inherited that truly pious spirit that was typical of the best men of the seventeenth century.[2]

Arthur Bryant tells us that

> Faith was a part of the air the men of that day breathed. We live in an age when the needs of the body are placed before those of the soul ; our gods are the material gods of luxury for the rich and comfort for the poor. . . . The God of the 17th century was the living God of the Spirit—ever present, ever-seeing, wonderful beyond all belief to love and terrible to offend. . . . The men of that age . . . were afraid, but they were afraid only of a divine mystery. They did not fear as we do, poverty, discomfort, pain and death. They disliked these evils, but when they came they accepted them as marks of God's intention to be borne with courage and good cheer.[3]

Ellwood is in no way more characteristically of his own times than in those things which he regards as " exercises ", and for which he invites his readers' sympathies. As far as was possible for a sober young Quaker he took his imprisonments in Bridewell and Newgate with gaiety and gusto ;

[1] H., pp. 146, 210, 221, 258.
[2] H., p. 13.
[3] Arthur Bryant, *The England of Charles II*, pp. 76-7.

but on being aroused by Edward Burrough to a consciousness of sin, he tells us that " I was greatly bowed down under the Sense thereof ". He is at first terrified of betraying his newfound principles at Oxford, " I went in Fear (not of what they could, or would have done to me, if they should have taken notice of me), but lest I should be surprised, and drawn unwarily into that, which I was to keep out of." When Guli has smallpox, he tells the Peningtons that he is not in the least afraid of infection ; but he is so worried about disobeying his father, because disobedience to parents arouses God's displeasure, that he has to ask for a sign that he is doing right in visiting meetings against his father's wishes.[1]

We know that Walter only indulged in family prayers by fits and starts ; but when Thomas was reached by Edward Burrough, his first thought was the performance of regular religious duties. This is the last idea he could have acquired from Burrough or the Peningtons. Burrough had declared in two pamphlets written shortly before he met young Ellwood, that " True worship . . . is not by the tradition of men in outward observances, or set dayes or places ", and that " The True Worship of God . . . is without respect of times or of things ", while Penington wrote emphatically in 1658

> The Lord preserve me from reading one line of (the Scriptures) in my own will, or interpreting any part of them according to my own understanding, but only as I am guided, led, and enlightened by him, in the will and understanding which comes from him. If a man speak ever so much from his own spirit, with ever so much earnestness and affection ; yet it is no prayer, no true prayer, but only so far as the Spirit moves to it, and so far as the Spirit leads and guides in it.[2]

But Thomas's great-grandfather had been Rector of Crowell, and his " dear and honoured Mother " may well have been of the type of Mary Woodforde, who noted in her diary, " I cannot call to mind that I was in my closet to perform

[1] H., pp. 24, 35.

[2] Burrough, *Works*, pp. 439, 474. Penington, *Works*, Vol. i, pp. 13, 14.

my own private prayers. O Lord, I beseech thee, impute it not to me as a wilful sin." Perhaps also the lad recollected his days at the Thame Grammar-school, where daily "a quarter of a hour was spent before dinner in reciting some chapter of the Old or New Testament in the English language".[1]

It was probably also from his mother, either directly or via his sisters, that Thomas obtained the knowledge of first-aid and simple medicines which served him so well in Bridewell, and also, as the Women's Testimony rather breathlessly declares, in aiding "the *Poor*, both *Sick* and *Lame*, who wanted *Help*, and had it freely, taking Care to provide things useful for such Occasions, (blest also with good Success)". We know that when his face was swollen from going out without a hat in very cold January, his sister treated it "with frequent Applications of Figs, and stoned Raisins, toasted, and laid to the Boyls as hot as I could bear them". It was at this period that Lord Herbert of Cherbury declared "it will become a gentleman to have some knowledge in medicine, especially the diagnostic part, whereby he may take more timely notice of a disease, and by that means timely prevent it". Thomas considered that he saved his own life by returning at once to the country when the foul air of London affected his chest. Though the recommendation of Sir Isaac Newton's favourite medicine, the Lucatellu's Balsam, may have come from John Raunce, who treated him for this lung trouble, it was probably at home that he learnt its outward application for wounds, "with a Feather" and a dressing of soft linen; not to mention the placing of the patient before the fire, and wrapping him in a blanket while the dressing was being prepared.[2]

Before we turn to the other personalities who shared in the making of Thomas Ellwood, we might as well take stock of his Grammar-school education. It was, of course, severely classical; as Mary Coate says, "the aim of the master was to teach his boys first to speak Latin, then to write it". J. Howard Brown, in his *History of Thame School*, tells us the

[1] *Woodforde Papers and Diaries*. Dorothy Heighes Woodforde. Pub. Peter Davies, 1932. J. Howard Brown, *A Short History of Thame School*, p. 65.

[2] WT. Mary Coate, *Social Life in Stuart England*, p. 159. H., pp. 136, 154-6.

boys read Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Plautus, Lucan, Cicero, Livy, Sallust, Justin, Herodian, Terence, and Lucian, and used Lily's Latin Grammar. This was "an introduction to the study of what was then the world's best literature", and "the result of such instruction in the case of a wise schoolmaster and a diligent pupil, was a classicist in touch with all the knowledge of his age, for topics in art and science, history and literature, were commonly chosen as subjects for theses, while the Fathers and modern Latin authors were read as well as the ancients".[1] The result in Ellwood's case was two-fold. It imbued him with a genuine, if rather pedantic, love of learning; and it made him a logical thinker. Arthur Bryant has said that "Classical education had one advantage, that it gave youth the hard mental discipline by mastery of intellectual difficulty which tends more than anything else to make the human mind 'categorical and not wiggle-waggle.'"[2] Before ever Thomas had a chance to learn much about Quaker plain-speaking and plain-dealing he had learnt to face facts, to estimate consequences, to consider both sides of a case, and instead of dismissing anything that caused him mental pain, to probe it to the roots. His first action on arriving home after being reached by Burrough's ministry, was to visit the minister of Chinnor, to see what he had to say about the Quakers. Then he went to another Meeting, confirmed his first impressions, and sat down immediately to work out the logical implications of his new-found principles of life.[3] This mental discipline was by far the most valuable thing that he could have acquired even if he had stayed his full time at Lord Williams' famous school. Although the matter of his controversial writings has lost interest for us, they do give evidence of a well-trained, orderly mind, versed in logic, hating evasions, inaccuracies, exaggerations or mis-statements, and a notable capacity for sticking to the point. He seems to have made some study of logic and rhetoric; he tells one opponent that "Thy Conclusion is Inconclusive; thy consequence, a non sequitur", and says of another that "As this Notion of his will not hold: So neither will that which next follows, which, by *Apposition*, he pins upon it"; but judging by his

[1] J. Howard Brown, *A Short History of Thame School*, p. 65.
[2] Arthur Bryant, *The England of Charles II*, p. 62.
[3] H., pp. 21-3.

early works the education he received at school was not sufficient to lay the foundations of the admirable prose style he displays in his autobiography ; that we owe to later influences which will be discussed in their proper place.[1]

Having left school so early, Thomas was late in going through the psychological stage of hero-worship, which affects most of us at one time or another. He fell into it head over heels on meeting Edward Burrough. By his own account it was not till about eighteen months after his conversion that he was on terms of friendship with the young missionary from the North, but it was Burrough's ministry that set his feet on the path, and his first pamphlet, *An Alarm to the Priests*, written in 1662, reflects Burrough both in title and matter.[2] Yet his own spirit was essentially pastoral ; he could not understand why Burrough, the missionary, did not take a personal interest in fostering the spark he had kindled ; he shows, indeed, a rather comic ignorance of the fact that he was one among a thousand converts, attributing Burrough's reserve to a desire " that I might not have any Dependence on Man ". He evidently had no conception of what Francis Howgill has described as " the exceeding weight of service from Weeks end to Weeks end ", which rested on Burrough's shoulders. Hero-worship seldom gives a clear view of the object of adoration. Burrough's untimely death was a great shock to Ellwood, and we cannot doubt the sincerity of his grief, but the elegy he wrote is conventional in tone and says less in nearly eighty lines than George Fox said in what is surely one of the shortest and most beautiful of Quaker epitaphs—I quote the second paragraph :

> In his Ministry in his Life-time he went through Sufferings by bad spirits : who never turned his Back on the Truth, nor his Back from any out of the Truth ; A Valiant Warrior, more than a Conqueror ; who hath got the Crown through Death and Sufferings : who is dead, but yet liveth amongst us, and amongst us is alive.[3]

[1] F., p. 59. R., p. 3.

[2] e.g. Burrough's pamphlet *An Alarum sounded to the Pope's borders*, pub. 1655, and his verses prefixed to George Fox's book, *The Great Mystery*, 1659.

[3] Francis Howgill's and George Fox's Testimonies prefixed to Burrough's Works. H., p. 45.

The influence of both Mary and Isaac Penington, to whom Burrough bequeathed his convert in that gentle hint, "The young man is reach't and will do well, if he don't lose it," was exactly of the kind best calculated to develop Ellwood's natural gifts. They provided first and foremost the affection which he had long been missing at home, and his gratitude for it is touchingly expressed in his testimony to Isaac.

> Love him I did, and that intirely, and sure I am very deservedly; for he was worthy indeed of love from all men, but more especially from me, to whom he had been abundantly kind . . . How affectionately did he receive me! how regardfully did he take care of me! how tenderly and like a father did he watch over me, that I might not be drawn back or in any way be betrayed from the simplicity of Truth, as I had received it! And can I ever forget his love, or let his manifold kindness slip out of my mind! Oh no; the remembrance of him is pleasant to me, and I think not of him without delight: for as a friend I truly loved him; as a father (for such his care of me rendered him to me) I reverenced him; as an elder, I honoured him, and that (as he right well deserved) with double honour.

His statement of the progress of his conversion reflects his adopted father's teaching almost word for word, and he constantly makes use of Peningtonian phrases such as "the Seed", "the Immortal holy Birth", "the pure living Word", "a Day of Quickening", "the arisings of the Heavenly Life". But Penington, spiritually the best of guides, was too much of a contemplative to have satisfied that natural aptitude for the practical business of life which had been fostered in Thomas by Walter Ellwood's social position and training; indeed he notes in his testimony that Isaac was "to the world and the affairs of it very much a stranger".[1]

Mary Penington, an essentially practical woman, and anxious to spare her husband any business not suited to his temperament, must have found young Ellwood a godsend. She certainly made good use of him in the management of

[1] Testimony to Isaac Penington, Penington's *Works*, pp. xxxi-xxxii.

both her own and Guli's estates. Whether it were a question of engaging lodgings, drawing up an agreement, selling property, seeing over a prospective dwelling-house and giving an opinion on the proper price to pay for it, or reassuring Mary when she had qualms about running into debt, Thomas was always to the fore. Thus he gained the experience which made him such an invaluable Clerk to a meeting continually harassed by legal and illegal persecution, and often at a loss to know how to protect their rights and property.[1]

Moreover, Mary and Guli provided the feminine society which Thomas needed; he was always, in the best sense of the term, a "Ladies' man". He became "an early and particular Playfellow" to Guli; his sisters "carried themselves very kindly to me, and did what they could to mitigate my Father's displeasure against me"; Frances Rance received him with "more than ordinary kindness", and "had a good Regard" for him; when any of the Women-Friends came to visit the prisoners in Newgate he was "forward to go down with them to the Grate, and see them safe out". He wrote three quite gallant poems to Ann Owen, "Phillis" and a beautiful Dame who "for want of Red Cherries which she longed for grew pale", and in another poem, *Love's Caveat*, he owns to "an Eye which hath been too apt to stray"—the context makes it quite clear after what! He was not, however, any the less of a "man's man" as a consequence. No one effeminate could have won the friendship of the redoubtable John Milton, and the records of his behaviour to the ruffians who set on his father's coach, to the major who arrested him at Bull-and-Mouth Meeting, and to the drunken rascal who tried to molest Guli should be sufficient to clear him from any suspicion of being a simpering tutor.[2] Nor need we doubt the depth of his unrequited passion for Guli Springett because of the apparent complacency with which he mentions it. The highest compliment ever paid to that remarkable young woman

[1] H., pp. 241, 251. *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, Vol. ii, p. 20. *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, Vol. xix (1885), pp. 531, 532, 533. *Upperside Minute Book* (Bucks Arch. Soc., 1937), pp. 126, 165. H., p. 285.

[2] H., pp. 3, 51, 75, 136, 169. MS. poems, Friends House Library. H., pp. 11, 139, 253.

was the fact that Thomas at thirty married a Friend sixteen years older than himself. He needed the wise understanding companionship which Mary Ellis could give, and she gave it in full measure; to me one of the loveliest passages in his autobiography is that in which he tells us how he came home shortly after his marriage full of depression at his father's refusal to give him his promised marriage portion; he had secured all his property to his wife, with some ceremony; and now that property amounted to nothing, and he feared his father's true reason might be that he had run through his money, and would presently become a charge on himself and Mary. It was a humiliating situation; yet, he says, "to my great Comfort, I found my Wife well, and my self very welcome to her: both of which I esteemed as great favours". So much said in so little—dear Mary Ellis! Yet if Thomas could have no son by Gulielma Springett, he was content for his name to die out.[1]

Those seven years wherein he acted as watch-dog to Guli cannot have been easy ones, although, in old age, he referred to them as "a quiet and contented life". But they enlarged his sympathies towards the young people of his Meeting. We may trace his hand in that letter sent by the Upperside Monthly Meeting to the pair of first-cousins who found it so hard to give up their intention of marriage.

> It is yet our belief, yt if ye would harken to God's counsel, & part immediately one from another, when your hearts are tender & melted by ye power of ye Lord . . . ye Lord would yet shew you mercy, in . . . making youre separation easier & sweeter than ye are aware.

When Rowland Foster complained to the Monthly Meeting that Joyce Olliffe had jilted him, it was Thomas who was appointed to "speak with the said Joyce at London", and who on his own initiative took Rowland up to confront her; the result of which was that

> Rowland Foster & she discoursing together, did wholly end ye Controversy yt had been between them, each of them solemnly releasing ye other by a writing under their hands.[2]

[1] H., p. 266.

[2] *Upperside Minute Book* (Bucks Arch. Soc., 1937), pp. 27, 83.

At his conversion, Thomas tells us, there "began to be a Way cast up, before me, for me to walk in: A direct and plain Way; so plain, *that a wayfaring* Man, how weak and simple soever . . . *could not Err*, while he continued to walk in it." But it is a far cry from this to that question he "pleasantly" put to Milton in 1665, whose piercing simplicity struck the poet dumb: "What hast thou to say of Paradise Found?" and to his last recorded words, "I am full of Joy and Peace." His love for Guli developed in him what has been called "the royalty of inward happiness"—that peace which comes to a man who has learnt to forgo with cheerfulness. He had, as Elizabeth Richardson testifies, "Dominion over Passion, over Pride and over Covetousness."[1]

Ellwood's relations with John Milton are of great interest, and in no way more so than in the things he carefully omits to say. He experienced and noted at once one of the poet's best traits; that fondness for and kindliness to young men, which I believe to have been developed in Milton by the premature death of one of the few human beings he ever really loved—Charles Diodati, the doctor friend of his young manhood. Thomas recognized, in that elegy on John Milton which was too ambitious a flight for his modest muse, the magnitude of the poet's gifts and his immense learning; and the Puritan and democratic bias he inherited from his forbears and environment could not fail to arouse his admiration for Milton's *Eikonoklastes*, and for his great controversial work against Salmasius, *In Defence of the People of England*. It may well be that Milton's polemical work encouraged him in his own. He notes the poet's "curious ear", which enabled him to judge whether his pupil understood what he had read by the mere tone of his voice, and here and there we find in his writings a Miltonic word or phrase—"the Warden was a budge old man" is one example, and another is his use of "Hobson's choice". The original Hobson had been a carrier at Cambridge in Milton's university days, and the poet wrote two epitaphs on the surly old man which no doubt Thomas saw. *Paradise Lost* he considered an "Excellent Poem", and he was proud of having suggested to Milton the subject of *Paradise Regained*. But upon the poet's family life, which he must have witnessed, he preserves

[1] H., pp. 25, 234. E.

the discreetest silence, and one cannot but smile at the realization that Milton's pamphlets on divorce are included in that chilliest of phrases, " the accurate Pieces he had written on various Subjects and Occasions ". It was not his business to criticize more directly a man from whom he personally had received nothing but kindness, and he is very careful to tell us that his question regarding *Paradise Lost* was asked " pleasantly " in such a manner as could not have caused offence. But to a student of Milton's life, how far-reaching that simple question is ! It seems almost incredible that Henry Morley should so have misunderstood Milton as well as Ellwood as to suggest that he was struck dumb by the stupidity of the question. Milton never in his life suffered a fool gladly, and received notice from one of his servants for making game of the unfortunate fellow. He had nothing to answer because his earthly Paradise had failed him and he had never found the heavenly ; he was less of a Christian at heart than a peculiar mixture of the rebel and the stoic. William Blake put the matter brutally but truthfully a hundred years later, when he said, " The reason Milton wrote in fetters when he wrote of Angels and God, and at liberty when of Devils & Hell, is because he was a true poet and of the Devil's party without knowing it." *Paradise Regained* was the pleasant answer to Ellwood's pleasant question ; but *Samson Agonistes* the answer to its deeper implications. With the release of all his hidden anguish into that great and touching poem there came to Milton enough of psychological healing to make him, albeit grudgingly, send out his daughters to live their own lives ; but who knows that it was not that question, put by one " affacble and courteous ", yet with " great Strength and Depth of *Judgment* ", which, working like leaven from that first moment of self-revelation, made the release possible ?[1]

Last but not least of the influences which made Ellwood both as a man and an author, must be reckoned the country environment in which he lived. He was no scholarly recluse —six weeks' study in London were enough to send him off

[1] MS. poems, An Elegy on the death of John Milton. H., pp. 65, 134, 135, 200, 233-4. R., p. 13. Preface to the Morley's Universal Library edition of the History of Thomas Ellwood. Masson's Life of Milton, Vol. vi, pp. 683-4. Blake's Poems, Dent's Everyman edition, p. 44.

post-haste to fill his labouring lungs with the country air. He was "a very nimble" runner, liked walking—a taste which he shared with Mary Penington—and was out in all weathers; once he walked down from London to Chalfont in a day, "the weather being Frosty, and the Ways, by that Means, clean and good". He was a horseman, like everyone else in the seventeenth century, but also passionately fond of riding, "I took so much delight in riding," he says "that I seldom went on foot"; and he must have been a pretty good rider to judge by his management of his horse on that journey to Tunbridge Wells with Guli.

> I was then riding a breast with *Guli*, and discoursing with her; when . . . I saw an Horseman coming up on the further side of her Horse, having his left Arm stretched out, just ready to take her about the Waste, and pluck her off backwards from her own Horse, to lay her before him upon his. I had but just time to thrust forth my Stick, between him and her, and bid him Stand off; and at the same time reigning my Horse to let hers go before me, thrust in between her and him, and being better mounted than he, my Horse run him off. But his Horse being (tho' weaker than mine, yet) nimble, he slipt by me, and got up to her one the near Side, endeavouring to offer Abuse to her: To prevent which, I thrust in upon him again . . . He had in his Hand a short thick Truncheon, which he held up at me; on which laying hold with a strong Gripe, I suddenly wrenched it out of his Hand, and threw it as far a Distance behind me as I could . . . So soon as our Brute had recovered his Truncheon, he came up . . . and had thrust in again, had not I, by a nimble Turn, chopt in upon him and kept him at a Bay.[1]

He was certainly a critic of horse-flesh; here are some lines which he wrote on a lazy old screw lent him by his friend John Peacock.

> Bravely mounted on old Roger
> More like a Creeple, than a Soger,
> I to the Gravel-Pits did shamble
> Between a hobling Trot & Amble.

[1] H., p. 136.

My Spurless heels the good old Jade
To mend his pace could not persuade.
It matter'd not how oft I kickt
While he felt nothing there yt prickt.
But had I had a Spur or Whip,
I wou'd have made old Roger skip.

He was sufficiently interested in the doings of farmers and country craftsmen to sprinkle his writings with allusions to their work. "You *plane* your *piece*", he complains to William Rogers,

> as smooth as you can: but yet the *knots* appear. You *varnish* your matter as fair as you can; but yet in one part or other, the *Colour cracks*, and discovers the *ground* not to be good.

and tells how Boaz

> came into the Field to look after his Workmen. And . . . saluted them, not with some *airy* Jest, *frothy* Flout, or *sharp* Taunt, as too many now-a-days are apt to do.

He also adds a note of explanation to the word "lentils"—they were evidently an unfamiliar crop in his part of the world. If his verses entitled *A Prospect* and describing an evening walk, are conventional in tone, so was most of the other nature poetry of his time; and at least he had an ear to notice that it is the pebbles in the brook which make its music, and an eye to remark that bees fly home when a shower of rain approaches. He visited Thame Market, and later Beaconsfield Fair, and noted with contempt the quack doctor with his Merry-Andrew and the strolling players; and he was friendly with at least one inn-keeper, and knew that the best inns have not always the fairest signs. He watched the village children at play, blowing bubbles and throwing scraps to the greedy jackdaws; and once he rocked a poor woman's baby to sleep, though, as he says with a humour that reminds us of Dr. Johnson a century later, he did it "In my own Defence; that I might not be annoyed with a noise, to me not more unpleasant, than unusual."[1]

[1] MS. poems, Friends House Library. *The Colchester Changeling*. A., p. 107. S., Vol. i, p. 224. MS. poems, *A Prospect*. A., p. 182. H., p. 126.

But most of all, as he rubbed shoulders with the country folk, they infused into him their own homely vigour of speech ; and it is to them that we owe the fact that his autobiography lives to-day. It may have been from Milton that he learnt the cut-and-thrust of such phrases as " industriously shunning a Publick Meeting ", " the coachman had sufficiently the outside of a Man ", " that's a question which may be sooner beg'd than proved " ; but it was surely humbler folk who supplied him with such delightful expressions as " thick and threefold ", " he clapt himself down ", " Balaam basted the ass again ", " if his wits had not been gone a wool-gathering ", " a sturdy Lout ", " a Whirret on the Ear ", and " a Handle to take hold of him by ".[1]

And so there came to maturity a shepherding soul. We have a great gallery of early Quaker portraits—human beings displayed in all their nobility and weakness ; Fox, the great organizing genius, " stiff as a tree and pure as a bell ", who could forgive anything but a threat to his beloved " Truth " ; Edward Burrough, the missionary, martyred at twenty-four, who could refer to a troublesome woman convert as " a goat, rough and hairy ", but " who never turn'd his Back on the Truth nor his Back from any out of the Truth " ; James Nayler, quartermaster and saint, who shouldered a burden that nearly broke himself and the Society, and died having " seen to the end of all temptation " ; Isaac Penington, the gentle mystic who kept an island of sweetness in a sea of controversy, but never thought to pay his tutor a regular salary ; William Penn the statesman, who could found a colony and yet fail tragically to understand the needs of his own children. Among these there are greater men, but surely none more lovable than Thomas Ellwood, " a Man which served the Lord in Faithfulness, and his People with Chearfulness, and his Neighbours with Uprightness and Integrity ". His wishes for himself are the best-known, and incidentally the best-written verses that he ever penned ; less well known are his wishes for the Society of Friends. They were recorded by his friend Richard Vivers and may fittingly close this study.

> He was one of a steady and sound Judgment, as to the things of God ; often desiring, that those who came

[1] H., pp. 11, 54, 63. A., p. 6. K., p. 17. S., Vol. i, pp. 171, 303, 331. MS. poems, *The Colchester Changeling*.

amongst us, especially Children of Believing Parents, might not settle down only in a Form of Godliness, without the Power . . . but that they might be raised up to walk in that wherein the Saints Fellowship doth stand, which is the Light of our Lord Jesus Christ, enlightening every Man that cometh into the World.[1]

[1] WP. and Testimony of Richard Vivers.

Further Notes on The History of the Life of Thomas Ellwood

Walter Ellwood as Justice of the Peace

IN addition to the two marriages performed by Walter Ellwood noted in Vol. xxxv, I have found two more in the Pyrton Registers (Phillimore, Oxford Parish Registers, 1909).

" John Yeates, of Pyrton and Dorothy Crook, of Kingstone, were married the 15 of May, 1654, by Walter Ellwood, Esq., there being present John Yeates aforesaid, and William Crook, father of Dorothy, the same marriage having been published three sabbath days in both parishes. Marmaduke Price of Pirton, and Mary Burrows, both of the same parish, were married the 30 of May, 1635, by me, Walter Elwood, Esq., and the said Marmaduke Price and Mary Burrows were published three several days and no objection made against them according to the Act set forth in that behalf."

There is also a note in these registers under the date 30 May, 1654. " John Pophlee came before me, Walter Elwood, Esq., this day and hath taken his oath to perform the office of a Register [i.e. Registrar] within the parish of Pirton, in the County of Oxon, and that he will truly and faithfully enter in writing the births of children and burials of all sorts of persons, and the names of every of them, and days of the moneth and year of the publication of marriages and also the solemnization thereof. W. A. Elwood." [sic.] Walter's name also occurs among the commissioners for Oxford attached to the Ordnance for ejecting scandalous, ignorant and insufficient Ministers & schoolmasters, 28th August, 1654.

Lucatellu's Balsam.

I take the following information about the remedy which Ellwood had with him " in a little gally-pot " in Bridewell

from C. J. S. Thompson's *Quacks of Old London*, published by Brentanos, 1928, and from Louis Trenchard More's *Life of Isaac Newton*, published by Scribners, 1934.

Lucatellu's or Lucatelli's Balsam "contained Venice Turpentine, Olive oil and Spanish wine washed in Rosewater, Red Sandal-wood or Dragon's blood" (this is not a mythical ingredient, but Calamus draco, still used for colouring medicines), "and Balsam of Peru. It was taken internally in wine and used externally for burns and wounds. Originated by an Italian, it was much in demand in London in the XVIIth century, and was sold by Charles Peter who lived in St. Martin's Lane, over against the sign of the Castle." Its uses were legion. "For the measell, plague or small-pox a half an ounce in a little broth ; . . . and against poison and the biting of a mad dog ; for the last you must dip lint and lay it upon the wounds beside taking it internally. There are other virtues of it ; for wind, cholic, anoint the stomach, and so for bruises." It was also good for lung trouble, and this is probably why Thomas had bought it, as he "soon began to droop" in the city air. On the bad air of London, Arthur Bryant notes in his *England of Charles II*, published by Longmans, 1934, p. 18 : "Between (the city) and the sky visitors frequently noted a pall of smoky vapour, arising from the furnaces of the brewers, soap-boilers and dyers, who, unhindered by State or Corporation, carried on their trades in its heart. Evelyn the most fastidious observer of his day, wrote indignantly of the 'horride smoke which obscures our churches and makes our palaces look old, which fouls our clothes and corrupts the waters'. In winter this coal vapour sometimes descended on the streets in a blanket of fog, so that 'horses ran against each other, carts against carts, coaches against coaches.'"

BEATRICE S. SNELL

Inoculation and Intolerance

An 18th Century Experience

IT is in my mind to leave some small account of my Proceedings in regard to having my son and youngest Daughter Inoculated, it apeared a great & weighty thing, & notwithstanding all any could or might say I was not willing to rush forward as a horse rushes into the Battle, but do believe in my measure I Did weight [wait] to feel & was favoured with that calmness and Satisfaction of mind the World nor no one in it was able to give or take away,—before I was willing to proceed in it,—but Oh how I was tried after it was Done it is not in the power of words or pen to set forth, through the Ill nature of Wm. Johnson one of the Church wardons so called who prevailed with some of the leading men of our Parish to prevent my having the use of the pest House for which I Did not previously ask beleving I had as much right to it as any one in the Parish as knowing it was Used for that purpose a short time before, however the matter was put into theire Arms not in the least suspecting I should be refused my right as a Parishioner, it being Built & kept in repare by the Parish Viz. out of the Poors rate, therefore in corse mine or any Persons else for that use—my House being like a shop somebody often coming to the Mill, what to do now I knew not as I could hire no place out of Town, I cannot express my anxiety lest any one should take the Disorder through us. —Mary Chapell Niece to neighbour Parkins wear inoculated at the same time & Hannah Bailey of Chesham who ware to have been with mine, but being Disapointed as above her Aunt H. Parkins said to me what must we do now the mater is put in & cannot be stoped my House is my own is large & good room backwards you shall come here if you please, which for the Present gave some small relief to my Destressed mind Destreset lest any should take the Disorder but Oh what a storm did there arise when the above was put in practice. Several Others in the Town ware inoculated the neighbours greatly inreaged at our Friend for taking us

in a Vestory was called to indeavour to stop Inoculation my landlord Jn. Roper said if I had not had a lease he would have turned me out Imeaditly—they concluded at the Vestory to ruin the kind Widow for taking us in if any one should take the compleant from us and Die of it, saying a Simelor case had been tryed & coust a Man £500 very Great Danger indeed there was not only from that House but from another Just by—close to the rode where seven had it & some there as with us very full then Oh then the Depth of Distress that covered my mind there is no toung can tell. I could git but little rest night nor day nor had I any appetite for Vitual My Desires & Cry was to that God that hearest in Secret that he would be pleased in his unmerited mercy and condesending Love to stop the Infection from Spreading those Power alone I did believe was all sufeciant & the Lord of Infinate Condesending mercy was pleased to heare & interpose so that no one took it through us for ever Preased be his worthy name saith my soul—it was remarked by the Dr as a very singular Curcomstance The wind continued the whole of the time in a qr to blow the Infection from the road & he said tho all men have been against us God hath been for us.

Rd. Littleboy

From a MS. in the possession of Anna L. Littleboy, the writer's great-granddaughter.

Richard Littleboy's lease of the Lower Mill, Berkhamsted was dated 1786 and expired 1791.

First Publishers of Truth in London

By Henry J. Cadbury

THE FIRST PUBLISHERS OF TRUTH, published by Norman Penney in 1903-7 included, beside the ninety papers collected in London in Portfolio 7, several that were derived from independent and local sources. Some of these came to his notice only in time for inclusion in the appendix, and others he published later in this *Journal* when they came to light. (See summary, xxxi, 2.) Since his death in 1933 at least four additional items have been printed here, the first of them being of considerable importance, viz. xxxi, 3-19 (Lancashire), 20 (Warwickshire), xxii, 51f (Staffordshire), 53 (Lancashire, Hawkshead).

But lost primitive documents are sometimes recovered in another way. As Rendel Harris will bear me witness, they may survive imbedded in a later writing. A *FPT* item of this kind for London may be detected in *A Brief Narrative of the Life and Death of Gilbert Latey*, etc. (1707, with at least four later editions). The material for London published by Norman Penney from Portfolio 7 (Nos. 46-51) is mainly, I think, there by mistake, belonging to two other types of central collections made by Friends, viz. Sufferings (No. 46), and Testimonies (to deceased publishers of truth ; Nos. 47-49). We have evidence of such collections ; indeed, a separate questionnaire for the latter in 1682 is mentioned by Penney in confusion with that for the publishers of truth (p. 2). Ellis Hookes, the scribe of Nos. 47-49, was the collector and editor of both "Sufferings" and "Testimonies". The other two papers are, however, relevant and show how a full fifty years after the events search was made for persons whose memory went back to the beginnings of London Quakerism. Two were found to supply signed statements in 1706 and 1707, viz. William Spurry of Ross (No. 50) and Walter Miers of Southwark (No. 51). Endorsing the latter in 1710 Benjamin Bealing refers apparently to two similar papers previously received and entered but not discovered by Norman Penney (*FPT*, p. 167, n. 15).

Now Gilbert Latey was as early a convert and as continuous a Londoner as either Spurry or Miers. He had been a more active and conspicuous Friend than either of them. He was actually a member of the Meeting for Sufferings, the body collecting the

material. If reports of " eyewitnesses from the first " were wanted he was certainly available. His nephew, Richard Hawkins, in the biography mentioned, says explicitly (p. 6) that Gilbert Latey prepared a statement on the subject and implies, I think, that it is used in what immediately follows. This is repeated in the preface where he says, " the following passages of the life of my deceased dearly and well beloved uncle came chiefly from himself as to what relates to and was brought to pass in the last century at the first breaking forth of the blessed Truth in this great city ; and much of the latter part of his time was within the compass of my own knowledge (we having lived together above forty and two years)." To be sure, Latey is mentioned in the narrative derived from him and in the third person, and some phrases are evidently additions but otherwise the passage is exactly similar in form to the usual local returns about First Publishers, e.g. No. 51, answering precisely the questions phrased by the Meeting for Sufferings in 7th Month, 1704 as " What public Friends first came to the respective counties, and who received them, and what meetings they were instrumental to settle, and what success attended their labours " (p. 2). It is true that Latey died in ninth month (November) 1705, a date earlier than that of the other two London replies mentioned, but he may well have written earlier than they, as did some correspondents from more distant counties. In fact, similar questions had been asked and answered on previous occasions. As late as the 22nd of the 6th month 1705 he was able and interested to write (again from his first-hand knowledge) of the origin of the association of women Friends in a central London meeting (*Life*, pp. 145-9).

The following is the full text as published by Hawkins (pp. 6-18). Except for the passages which I have enclosed in square brackets it may be substantially and almost verbatim Latey's own reply to the questionnaire. Why Hawkins had a copy and why Portfolio 7 has not a copy we do not know. Much of the information is in the parallel accounts in *FPT*, though they make no mention of the meetings in the Strand (2), Spitalfields, Wheeler Street, Stepney and Ratcliff. As might be expected, Latey could draw upon his own experience to tell, as the other accounts do not, of the women who became ministers, and of the meetings at Kingston (connected with John and Ann Fielder, his wife's parents), Hammersmith (his own meeting) and Greenwich. Even though the account is already in print (rather edited in some reprints), its intrinsic interest and the recovery of its probable origin in connection with the " First Publishers of Truth " justify the printing of it *in extenso* under that title. Notes on most of the persons and places will be found in *FPT* or Camb. *Jnl.* or *Short Jn.* On a few others notes

are here added. Of course, the modern authority on the subject is still Beck and Ball, *The London Friends' Meetings*, 1869.

THERE being few in this city now left who came so early into the vineyard of the Lord, [he was] willing, as near as [he could] remember, to give some account to the present and succeeding age, how the truth prevailed, and also the names of the ministering Friends, that in those early days first visited this city, and parts adjacent, and were made instruments in the Lord's hand for turning many from darkness to light, and though they are now all gone to their rest, their faithfulness to the Lord, good works and great labours, are still fresh in memory, and the many jeopardies and sufferings they passed through, in their obedience to the Lord, cannot be forgotten by such as were eye-witnesses, who now are reduced to few in number, yet the Lord's power, still being the same, hath plentifully raised more witnesses, bearing a faithful testimony to the same truth and power of God that the ancients came forth in ; and the Lord's work prospers.

The first who brought the glad tidings to this city were, Francis Howghill, Edward Burroughs, Thomas Aldham, George Fox, Richard Huberthorn, John Audland, Ambrose Rig, James Naylor, and others ; by whom many were turned to the Lord ; and by his everlasting power their hearts were opened to receive those his messengers into their houses, and to offer up the same, to have meetings therein for the service of the Lord. Among these was Simon Dring, who then lived in Watling-street, but sometime after removed into Moorfields, where he also continued to have a meeting in his house on the first-days of the week in the afternoon. About this time also [as before related], Sarah Matthews, a widow, in Whitecross-street, had a meeting at her house, which was continued on the first-days in the morning for some time. Another meeting was at Humphrey Bates his house, at the sign of the Snail, in Tower-street ; another meeting at Samuel Vasse's, at the Helmet in Basinghall-street ; another at Glasiers' Hall in Thames-street, where Gerard Roberts was convinced, and gave way to have a meeting at his house, which was in the street called Thomas Apostles ; where ministering Friends generally met till the year 1666. Another meeting was at William Woodcock's house, who lived in the Strand, between the great gate of

Sommerset House and the Water gate thereto belonging. There were divers other meetings in the suburbs, and in Southwark; at William Shewen's in Barnaby-street; Daniel Flemming's in Blackman-street; Henry Clark's on the Bank-side; and at Worcester House in the Strand.

The work of the Lord thus prospering, and Truth increasing, many both sons and daughter were convinced and made help-meets in the Gospel; among the latter in these early days came forth in a publick testimony Anne Downer, who afterwards was the wife of our honourable Friend George Whitehead; who at this time also had a public testimony to bear for the Lord, and had his service in other parts; so that he came not to this city till about the year 1656. About the time of Ann Downer's thus coming forth, Ruth Brown in her tender years received the truth, and was afterwards in the early days marri'd to our Friend William Crouch; who are both still living. And the Lord raised up his servants, Sarah Blackbury, Ann Gould, and Elizabeth Peacock, who all came forth in a publick testimony for the Lord, his name and truth.

It being now about the year 1655, Friends found a concern upon them to have some setled meetings, for the sake of those who yet sat in darkness, that they might come and hear the truth declared, and be turned to the Lord; whereupon a meeting was setled, and the place is still continued for a meeting, being known by the name of the meeting at Sarah Sawyer's: The next public meeting was about the same year settled at the Bull and Mouth in Martin's le Grand, near Aldersgate, which is still continued there; there were also about this time several other meetings at divers Friends houses; as one at the widow Webb's, in Jacob-street in Southwark, which growing large was removed to a public meeting-house provided at Horsleydown, which meeting is still continued; and another in Spittlefields, which was removed, and a publick place opened for a meeting in Wheeler-street, which hath also continued there ever since; and soon after, another at Stepney, near Mile-End, which grew large, and was after removed, and a new meeting-house built at Ratclife, and is continued in the same place to this day. Another meeting also was setled at the Sign of the Peel, near Hicks's Hall, which is likewise continued in the same place.

[Now Gilbert, being one among the first fruits to the Lord in this great city, and through the light of Christ, furnished with a very quick discerning, and sound judgment, was made serviceable in his hand to help in settling the church in Discipline and good order, and long continued a pillar in the house of our God, retaining his integrity to the last.] And now the Truth having gained upon many in divers parts of the city, suburbs, and country adjacent, they offered up themselves and their houses for the Truth's sake, amongst whom in these times of hardship and tryal, were the worthy servants of the Lord, John Fielder, and Ann his wife, who were convinced at Kingston upon Thames; and as faithful followers of the Lamb, not only received the Lord's ministers, who laboured in his work and service, but also gave up their house for a meeting-place; and accordingly a meeting was there settled; and Oliver, then called Protector, residing much at Hampton-Court, this meeting became of great service, and many were there convinced and turned to the Lord, and directed to wait in silence, for the arising of the pure gift in themselves. Several who then belonged to Oliver's household, were also convinced at this meeting, and continued faithful; of whom there are some yet [viz. in 1706] alive.

About the year 1658 there were several other meetings in parts about this city, as one at Mitcham for some time, where Friends suffered prtty much; another in like manner at Croydon, another at Walworth, another also at Lambeth-March, another at Thomas Hackleton's, at the Bank-side, near the Faulcon; another at the Bankside, near Southwark, at Henry Clark's; these being all in the county of Surry. Thus the Lord's work prospered, who according to the prophecy of the prophet Joel, that in the latter times he would pour out his spirit upon sons and daughters, servants and handmaids, that they should prophesy, hath in these times measurably made good his promises by sending forth his servants and handmaids, to make known his truth, and declare his name, in the demonstration of his mighty power; among others in this Gospel-day, Sarah Blackbury came to the town of Hammersmith, in Middlesex, being five or six miles out of the city to the westward, and there desired to have a meeting; and the Lord wrought so on one Hester Matson, who lived there, that she received this servant of the Lord

into her house, and acquainted her husband thereof, at his coming home (he then belonging to a brew house in Westminster, rarely came to his wife and family above once a week) ; and she desired he would give leave that a meeting might be appointed at their house, which he consented to. But it being at this time, according to the saying of old (" They shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my Name's sake ") the evil doers, even to this day, hating the light ; when the second meeting was to have been, he being a man of an high spirit, and having given ear to the calumnies and bad reports which his fellow-servants and others had possessed him with, would not permit the meeting to be at his house, notwithstanding his former promise ; whereupon his wife and some few more went to Chiswick, a town to the westward by the water-side, hardly a mile farther, and for some time had a meeting there, at William Bond's house : But it being pretty quickly thought fit to remove nearer Hammersmith, a place was accordingly provided near the Lime-kilns, by the water-side ; which place was and is called the Hope, being about mid-way between the two towns ; [at which Gilbert Latey was a frequent visiter thereof]. In a while after, the meeting was brought back to Hammersmith, and there continued forty-nine years, and still remains a meeting ; [during which time, he was a frequent attender, and in measure supporter thereof, being as a nursing father thereto ; and the Lord blessed his unwearied labour of love.]

About this year there was a meeting at Barking in Essex, which is still continued & and about this time another at Greenwich, in the house which was the King's, [which Gilbert was a frequent visitor of, and often went in great hazard by reason of a rude sort of people, by whom both they and other Friends, in going and coming were often sorely stoned ;] and the rude people were so wickedly bent that when the Friends were met, they would throw many stones in through the windows, and sometimes did thereby fetch the blood from several ; in all which the Lord upheld and supported Friends ; so that, notwithstanding the rage of the enemy, they kept up the meeting till the coming of King Charles, who then took possession of the house.

About the year 1658, a young man who was named George Bayle, an apprentice in the New Exchange in the

Strand, was convinced, and was a very hopeful young man ; and some time after went for France, and he being never more heard of, was supposed to be privately murdered there for his zeal for the Lord and his truth, in bearing testimony against their idolatry and superstition.

John Woolman's Journey in England

The following has been found by Samuel Graveson in the minutes of Hertford Quarterly Meeting deposited in the Library at Friends House.

At a Quarterly Meeting held 6th mo. 16th, 1772 . . . Our Friends John Woolmer, William Hunt & Thomas Thornbourgh from America being likewise Present in the Course of their religious Visits to this Island, their Company, and Labour of Love was likewise greatly to our Comfort and satisfaction.

John Woolman had left London the previous day, and a fortnight later he was at Banbury. William Hunt of Guilford, North Carolina, John Woolman's cousin, was one of the foremost American Quaker ministers of his day. Thomas Thornborough of New Garden, N.C., was his nephew. They sailed together from Philadelphia on a religious visit to "Old England" in the same ship in which John Woolman afterwards sailed, exactly a year later. Gunmere : *Journal and Essays of John Woolman*, 518.

From Ratcliff M.M. Papers—Vol. I

1649 James Strutt the son of James[1] and Mary Strutt wase Borne the 24 day of the 9 mo. 1649 in Waping & for contience sacke Cold not sprenkel him.

1651 John Strutt the son of James & Mary Strutt wase Borne the 26 day of ye 8 mo. 1651 in Ratlife & wase sprinkeled in ouer house but knoe not that he wase Registered.

1653 Joseph Strutt the son of James & Mary Strutt wase Borne the 9 day of the 7 mo. 1653 nere the grene Bancks in Wapping & for contience sacke Cold not have him sprinkeled.

[1] James Strutt (*c.* 1619-1700) of Wapping and Ratcliff, was a ship-master who suffered much for his refusal to arm his ships at a time when all ships were ordered to carry guns. *Journal of George Fox* (Camb.), II, 429.

Meetings in Market Houses

NOTES BY RUTH G. BURTT*

VARIOUS Market Houses, Wool Halls, and Inns in the Cotswolds appear to have been licensed for the worship of Friends in the eighteenth century. The following records for Minchinhampton and Wotton-under-Edge, date from the reign of George the Second. Both little towns were then flourishing centres of the wool trade, and Minchinhampton had three market halls, devoted principally to the sale of Cotswold cloth. The nearest Meeting-house in each case was Nailsworth, three miles from Minchinhampton and five from Wotton-under-Edge.

To Martin Benson Bishop of Gloucester :

We and others of the Kings Protestant Subjects called Quakers desires the Market Houses in Minchinhampton in the County of Gloucester may be Recorded for the Use and Worship of Almighty God according to act of Parliment in y^t^ case made and provided.

Christopher Young
Hen: Wilkins
Wm. Humphris.

Dated this 23rd Day of June 1746. This Certificate was duly Registered in the Registry of the Bishop of Gloucester
by me Tho: Branch Dep. Register.

It is ordered by this Court (of General Quarter Sessions) that the Roome over the Markett house or Town Hall in Wotton under Edge in this County Be Lycensed and Allowed for his Majesties Protestant Dissenting subjects called Quakers to Assemble and meet together in for the Worship of God in their Way. And it is also further ordered that the Dwelling House of John Wallington called the Crown Inne in Wotton under Edge aforesaid be also Lycensed for his Majesties afore said subjects to Assemble and meet together in for the Worship of God If they shall see occasion so to doe. According to their Petition for that Purpose filed and Allowed
Will: James, Clark of ye Peace.

* See frontispiece to this issue.

Restoration of William Penn's Manor at Pennsbury, Pennsylvania

THE fine house which William Penn built for himself near Philadelphia was generously planned with ample outbuildings for stores, washhouse, brewhouse, bakehouse, stabling and all that a great manor required. It was surrounded by spacious lawns, gardens and fields, both arable and pasture, and stood near the Delaware on which the Proprietor's six-oared barge carried him to and from Philadelphia. But he enjoyed its delights for only a short time. Recalled to England when the house was only begun, it was completed in his absence, probably in 1687. He returned to it for a year only in 1699. During his last years spent in England, it was already in a state of decay, having been always a great expense. Before the end of the eighteenth century it was in utter ruins.

By the misfortune, to Penn, that he was in England during the building work, he was obliged to write his instructions to his steward. But it is fortunate that a series of these letters is preserved and now belongs to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. In them the proprietor gives detailed instructions about the work, dimensions, materials, finish and decoration, planning of outhouses, gardens. He is continually sending over more craftsmen, gardeners, husbandmen and other servants, from England, with instructions as to their duties and payment. His great interest in his horses and cattle is also shown.

The site itself, now the property of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, has been carefully excavated and many fittings and other materials recovered.

From the ground plan, the materials found, and from the descriptions in the letters, it has been possible to reconstruct the house, which has recently been opened as a memorial to its first builder.

An article on the house and the restoration, containing a great part of Penn's letters to his steward, James Harrison, from 1684 to 1687, has been printed in *The General Magazine*

and Historical Chronicle, July, 1939, published quarterly by the Alumni Society of the University of Pennsylvania, Lebanon, Pa.

A copy has kindly been sent to the Library, Friends House, from which these notes are taken.

The Cambridge Journal of George Fox

Continued from vol. xxx, p. 65

Additional Notes to Supplement, 1925 (The Short Journals). Received from Russell S. Mortimer

P. 325, note 115. 2—John Hitchcock was certified by Bristol Mtg. as clear to marry Marabella Farnebury "amongst friends at London". (1687.) (Bristol Two Weeks Mtg. Minute Book, 202, p. 15.) In 1692 John Hitchcock (presumed the same man) was certified clear to marry someone else at London (*ibid.*, p. 54).

P. 336, note 146. 3—William Ingram, of London, salter, with wife susannah, father and step-mother of Robert Ingram, certified consent to the marriage proposed between the latter and Christobel Coal (1692). Bristol Two Weeks Mtg. Minute Book, 202, p. 61 (see also pp. 62, 63).

P. 375, note 263. 7—Joan Hiley, wife of Peter Hiley, was sister of Sir Robert Yeamans. *Relation of the inhumane and barbarous sufferings . . . Bristol.* 1665, p. 72.

Note 263. 9—Lydia Jordan was daughter of Dennis Hollister.

P. 376, note 265. 2—doubtless same as Richard Cabell, of Sodbury, Tanner, he appears in Bristol Two Weeks Meeting Minute Book, 202, pp. 13, 25, 179.

P. 377, note 266. 2—Joshua Cart married Sarah, daughter of Henry and Eliz. Gallaway in 1689. Bristol Two Weeks Mtg. Minute Book, 202, pp. 30, 30, 31. He is then described as "late of Pensilvania". Appearing on certain appointments, etc., in minutes until 1701, in that latter year he, with wife Sarah, appear at the Two Weeks Mtg. to give consent to the marriage of his daughter Jane Cart to William Dun of Bewdley, Worcs. "Josuah [*sic*] Cart of this Citty Sadler" he is then called (*ibid.*, p. 220). His signature (*ibid.*, p. 223).

Accounts

Account for the *Journal*, Volume xxxv (1938) and Supplement No. 19, *London Lead Co.*

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Balance brought forward to 1938	101	15	8	*Journal*, volume xxxv, 375 copies	60	0	0
Subscriptions ..	63	10	3	Postage and Petty Cash	9	11	9
Miscellaneous sales	5	8	8	Annual Meeting, 1938 ..	3	14	10
London Lead Co...	19	1	9	Prospectus, *London Lead Co.*	3	14	0
				London Lead Co., 450 copies	101	10	0
				Balance carried forward to 1939	11	5	9
	£189	16	4		£189	16	4

Examined with Books and Vouchers and found correct,

AUGUSTUS DIAMOND.

27.ii.1939.

George Fox's Papers

"WHEN George Fox died in January 1690-1691 he left instructions looking towards the publication of all his writings in a series of volumes. Much of the material for the purpose he himself had already collected, endorsed, listed and partly edited. His literary executors and the officials of English Quakerism carried out his wishes to the extent of three large folio volumes: the *Journal* (1694), the *Epistles* (1698), and the *Doctrinals* (1706), but the material was found to be very extensive and by the time the *Journal* was published it became necessary to prepare an elaborate catalogue of all the extant papers and epistles, both printed and unprinted, that remained available, of the Founder's authorship. The result was the *Annual Catalogue of George Fox's Papers*, now long preserved in Friends' Reference Library, Friends House, London, though all but unused for over two centuries.

"This large demy folio MS. volume of some 900 pages in all includes about 300 pages of catalogue arranged as follows. The papers of George Fox are grouped by the presumed year of their origin. Each entry consists of (1) a serial number, (2) a quotation of part of the wording of the piece, (3) the month, day and place of writing, when such were known, and (4) a reference to such prior collections of Fox's writings as contained the piece. . . . Of the wording of the piece a title or endorsement, if any, would be given first. In any case the first words of the piece would be given—from five to twenty-five words. In many cases the last five or ten words were also entered. . . . The Catalogue was begun in 1694 and was continued for three or four years. There are very few bits of writing in it later than 1698. It was almost certainly the work of Mark Swanner. . . . Another important part of the work was the alphabetical index. This was arranged to list the important first or last words of each piece, and was doubtless used for the purpose of detecting duplicates in order that they might not be entered twice, or if entered twice might be supplied with appropriate cross references. . . . Certain collections of Fox's papers that were catalogued either not at all or only incompletely are much more fully entered in the index."

These extracts are from Henry J. Cadbury's preface to his edition, with omissions and additions, of the *Annual*

Catalogue of George Fox's Papers, compiled in 1694-1697 (Philadelphia, Friends' Book Store, and London, Friends' Book Centre, 1939, 21s., pp. vii+219).

This great MS. volume, of somewhat obscure purpose, barely noticed by Quaker historians, received some attention in 1928 from Dr. Theodor Sippell, who concentrated his enquiry on the list he found in it of books in George Fox's library, described in volume xxviii of this Journal (1931).

The catalogue contains some 5,000 entries, and the index some 15,000, representing perhaps 4,000 separate papers. Its great bulk and complexity presented problems to which Henry J. Cadbury, in 1932 and in several years following, brought his flair for elucidation and discovery as well as ample opportunity for study. The result is seen in the quarto canvas bound volume under review, produced from typescript by a photo-lithographic process that greatly reduces the cost of issuing small editions of scholarly publications such as this.

In preparing the catalogue for the press, entries relating to papers printed in or before 1698 have been omitted. The editor has also discovered by diligent and widespread enquiry, some 400 papers by George Fox which escaped the original cataloguers and which are now scattered in numerous MS. collections and printed books. These are incorporated in the volume in distinctive type.

The majority of the volumes and bundles of MS. material which were the object of the original cataloguer's care have now been lost, but at least fifteen of these collections are still to be found in the Library at Friends House, London.

There is a full descriptive bibliography of the various manuscript sources contributing to the original catalogue, and a second bibliography of the supplementary sources from which the editor gathered the additional papers missed by the first cataloguers.

For future students of the life and writings of George Fox this printed catalogue helps to make accessible a quantity of source material which was previously very obscure and brings together a great number of papers which are widely scattered. It should prove useful in all comprehensive Quaker libraries. For students who cannot visit Friends House a particular paper required can often be supplied by one of the photofacsimile processes.

Current Literature and Additions to the Library

A selection of recent books and old books recently acquired are noticed here for their bearing on Quakerism past or present. Unless there is a note to the contrary a copy will be found in the Library of the Society of Friends in London.

Many of the books in the Library may be borrowed by Friends, and other applicants if recommended by a Friend. Apply to the Librarian, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

Stocks of books regarding Friends are to be found for sale at :
Friends' Book Centre, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.
Friends' Book Store, 302 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Friends' Book and Supply House, 101 South 8th Street, Richmond, Ind.

The Trustworthiness of Religious Experience. By D. Elton Trueblood. Swarthmore Lecture, 1939. (Allen & Unwin, pp. 93.) This is a valuable defence of religious experience as authoritative against sceptics who argue that it is illusory or subjective. It is illustrated from Quaker experience and Quaker expression, whose weaknesses are also pointed out.

Parish of Topsham, Co. Devon. Marriages, Baptisms and Burials, A.D. 1600 *to* 1837. Edited by H. Tapley-Soper, F.S.A. (Exeter, Devon and Cornwall Record Society, 1938, 2 vols.) prints the parochial registers and also Friends Registers besides those of other nonconformist bodies. A copy has very kindly been presented by the Devon and Cornwall Record Society.

Elizabeth Fry. Von Janet Whitney. Deutsche Ausgabe. Mit einem Vorwort von Emil Fuchs (Pyrmont : Quaker Verlag, 1939, pp. 375, illus.) is a translation of the same author's work in English published in 1937.

Blow the Man Down. By Charles Vipont. (Oxford University Press, 1939, pp. 248.) This well told Quaker story of adventure at sea in the seventeenth century is by an English Friend writing under a pseudonym. It owes its inspiration to the remarkable history of Thomas Lurting, his conversion to Quakerism and pacifism while in the King's navy, and his subsequent adventures as a pacifist. His

own account under its title *The Fighting Sailor Turn'd Peaceable Christian* is reprinted from its first edition at the end of the volume. The illustrations by Norman Hepple add notably to the attractiveness of the book, which is designed for the young reader.

A New Primmer. By F[rancis] D[aniel] P[astorius]. New York, [1698], has been reproduced in Facsimile by Photostat Americana from the unique copy belonging to the Bevan Naish Library at Selly Oak, Birmingham, which is deposited at Friends House in London. Copies have been generously placed by Photostat Americana in both these libraries as well as in the American libraries co-operating in the reproduction. *A New Primmer* is a book of instruction for schoolchildren. The copy reproduced contains also some sixty pages of MS. notes by the author.

William Bartram, Interpreter of the American Landscape. By N. Bryllion Fagin. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press; and London, Humphrey Milford, 1933, pp. 229.) William Bartram, the son of John Bartram, was born near Philadelphia in 1739 and died in 1823. He was greatly influenced by his father, one of the leading botanists of his day, and followed in his footsteps. His most notable literary work, first published in 1791, was his account of travels through the southern colonies as a naturalist explorer, a course of life which he was at first enabled to follow by the generosity of Dr. John Fothergill of London.

William Bartram's *Travels* were widely read in England as well as America and also on the Continent of Europe. Their author combined a romantic descriptive style of writing with accurate observation, and much of the present work is concerned with showing the influence of his *Travels* upon English and other writers of the nineteenth century. Nearly thirty pages are devoted to the comparison of passages from Bartram with passages from the poetry of Wordsworth. There is in many instances striking evidence of Bartram's influence on Wordsworth. There are similar studies of the indebtedness of Coleridge, Shelley, Southey, Lamb, Emerson, and others to the Quaker explorer.

The Lovely Quaker. By John Lindsey. (London, Rich & Cowan, 1939, pp. 322, 15s.) This is another attempt to unravel the mystery which surrounded Hannah Lightfoot from the day of her marriage ceremony with Isaac Axford in 1753, when she disappeared and was never publicly seen again. Gossip has always associated her name

with George, Prince of Wales, afterwards George III. The young woman was disowned by Westminster Monthly Meeting three years later for being "married by a priest to one not of our society". Was the "one" Isaac Axford or Prince George? Besides the romantic interest, there was at one time some political interest in the question because it might have affected the succession to the throne. The author thinks that the prince was married to Hannah, that his subsequent marriage was not legal, and that this accounts for the amount of suppression and secrecy which undoubtedly surrounded the whole matter during the lifetime of the king.

The Origins of the Holy Alliance of 1815. By Arthur G. Dorland, F.R.S.C. Reprinted from the "Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada." Vol. xxxiii, 1939, 21 pp.

In this paper influences of three kinds upon the mind of Czar Alexander I of Russia are examined; 1st, philosophical and political, mainly of French origin; 2nd, religious and humanitarian influences mainly from Germany and England; 3rd, the influence of Mme de Krudener. Under the second heading the author describes at some length the influence of William Allen and Stephen Grellet.

He brings evidence that the effect of the two Friends was more lasting than that of Mme de Krudener and that her influence in forming the Holy Alliance has been overestimated. Appropriate extracts from contemporary documents are printed.

Periodicals

Friends Quarterly Examiner, 1939. There are several articles of historical interest. An extended review of Stephen Hobhouse's "Selected Mystical Writings of William Law" is contributed by Violet Holdsworth (pp. 36-42). To mark the tercentenary of Thomas Ellwood's birth there is a paper on his life by Arthur Rowntree (pp. 248-260, 295-308) which was given as a lecture at the celebration at Jordans in July.

Unitarian Historical Society, Transactions, Vol. vii, No. 1, contains the presidential address of the Society for 1939, "The Growth of Toleration" by Raymond V. Holt. This brief survey from early Christian times until the Toleration Act of 1689 is a timely reminder that the general acceptance of toleration is of recent growth. A second article on "The Toleration Act of 1689" by F. Kenworthy describes the spiritual, intellectual and economic influences which contributed to the limited advance represented by the Act.

The Plough, Towards the Coming Order, is a quarterly journal edited for the Cotswold Bruderhof community at Ashton Keynes in Wiltshire, printed at their own press, subscription 5s. per annum. Its purpose is to unite those who are seeking either in the Bruderhof community or elsewhere "to live by the standards of the Coming Order of justice, love and brotherhood". The issue for December 1938 contains an article by the editor, E. C. H. Arnold, on the connection of Quakers to the Hutterian communities in the seventeenth century. In 1662 and 1663 William Moore and John Philly visited some of these communities or "families" in Austria and Hungary. Accounts of their journeys and their sufferings are to be found in Besse's *Sufferings of the Quakers*, 1753, Vol. ii, Chap. 7. The Brotherhoods themselves were nearly all destroyed shortly afterwards. E. C. H. Arnold shows the close sympathy between the Hutterian teaching and that of George Fox. He also suggests that the account of these communities brought to England may very likely have influenced George Fox in a proposal he made for the help of the poor. This was to provide community houses to contain about a hundred people who might live there and work and sell their products.

John Bellers' proposals for a College of Industry were even closer to the Hutterian communities and recall a book by Pieter Plockboy

on a similar subject published by Giles Calvert, the Quaker printer, in 1659.[1]

Congregational Historical Society, Transactions, Vol. xiii, No. 3, April 1939. Dr. W. T. Whitley contributes a brief account of the Anabaptist Movement. After the disastrous episode at Munster in 1535 the movement did not die out as commonly supposed. It became definitely pacifist. The Hutterite branch was strongest in Central and Eastern Europe, the Mennonite branch in the Netherlands. From Holland and the Rhineland many were later attracted to Pennsylvania, for they resembled Friends in their convictions as to the conduct required of Christians and in attaching more importance to consistency of life than unity of doctrine.

William and Mary College Quarterly, xix, 3 (July 1939) contains an account of Cedar Creek Monthly Meeting, Virginia, and its meeting house. The Meeting and first meeting house were begun about 1720. It is stated that within its walls the first organized effort in Virginia was made for the abolition of slavery. The author does not give a date for this attempt, nor state where the minutes are preserved from which the facts came.

Maryland Historical Magazine, Vol. xxxiv, pp. 1-39. An article on " Seventeenth Century Books Relating to Maryland ", by John W. Garrett, lists 109 works ; some twenty-three or twenty-four of which are Friends' books or anti-Quaker works.

We gratefully acknowledge also the following periodicals received by exchange :

Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.
Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research.
Transactions of the Presbyterian Historical Society.
Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society (U.S.A.).

[1] *Jnl. F.H.S.*, xxv, 48, 49. For notes on Bellers' life, and abridged works recently republished, see *Jnl. F.H.S.*, xxxii, 71.

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Passed for Press, 26th January, 1940.

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