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FRIENDS' HISTORICAL
SOCIETY

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THE JOURNAL

OF THE

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Editorial

THE President, Emilia Fogelklou-Norlind, is unfortunately unable to visit England this year, and accordingly arrangements have been made for her presidential address entitled *Individualism and Community Life in Quakerism* to be read on her behalf at a meeting of the Society to be arranged in July, at Friends House, Euston Road, London. There will be a short business session before the paper is read. Any suggestions for the Agenda should be sent to the Secretary, Muriel A. Hicks.

Supplement No. 22 to this *Journal*, the York collection of *Letters to William Dewsbury and others*, edited by Henry J. Cadbury, was distributed to members in January. The thanks of the Society are due to the Bannisdale Press who have made this valuable material available to members free of cost.

With evidence of increased interest in Quaker history, the Society has felt encouraged to begin to issue the *Journal* twice a year, two parts to a volume. With more subscribers to the Society, and more articles contributed for the *Journal*, it is hoped that in time the size of each issue can be materially increased. In this number "Notes and Queries" have been reintroduced as a clearing house for current information.

Articles, notes and queries, news of research, offered for the pages of the *Journal*, and books for review, should be addressed to the Editor. Articles should be of general interest and should in the main consist of unpublished material, such as edited documents, new contributions to, or fresh interpretations of matters in the field of Quaker history, whether of faith, thought, or action.

Contributors are asked to send articles typewritten if possible (double-spaced), or written clearly, and on one side of the paper only. Quotations and statements requiring verification should be furnished with references to source or authority by means of footnotes. Useful rules on Transcribing and Editing MSS. will be found in *Journal*, vol. 38 (1946), 47-48, and should usually be followed in editing historical MSS. letters, diaries and the like for publication. Contributors who have no access to a copy may borrow one from The Library at Friends House.

News of work in progress on local history is welcomed, and papers on subjects of local interest, not necessarily intended for publication, are also welcomed by the Society and will be offered to the Friends' Reference Library for preservation for the use of students.

In this number attention is particularly drawn to Felix Hull's paper on "The Care of Quaker Records." This is the substance of his address to the annual meeting in December 1948. Offprints have been taken of this useful introduction to the subject by a professional archivist, and it is being distributed to Monthly Meetings and other meetings having charge of documents.

The Historical Society is also making an approach to Monthly Meetings with the aim of increasing its membership, of stimulating interest in historical matters, and of reminding meetings of the help available in dealing with historical records and books, and in considering questions involving research. Members can be of great service in this connection by keeping the interests of historians in mind when Friends take decisions in these matters, and by furnishing information to the Historical Society on local developments and on any need for assistance. The standing sub-committee of the Historical Society, which meets nearly every month, can give such matters prompt consideration in fullest co-operation with the committee and librarians of Friends' Reference Library.

Notes and Queries

WANTED by the Friends' Historical Society, the following F.H.S. publications which are now out of stock.

Journal, Vol. 37, 1940.

Supplement 18, *Psychical Experiences of Quaker Ministers*, by John William Graham.

Supplement 19, *The London (Quaker) Lead Company 1692-1905*, by Arthur Raistrick.

Can anyone offer any of these to fill up the F.H.S. files in one or two libraries? If so please send to the Secretary, Friends' Historical Society, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

WILLIAM PENN OAKS

In 1932, 250 years after William Penn landed in America as founder of Pennsylvania, there was a commemorative pilgrimage to Jordans, and 250 acorns were gathered there and sent to Charles Jenkins in Pennsylvania. Now, seventeen years later, an American Friend has sent news of two sturdy young oak trees grown from two of these acorns. They grow near two Friends' Meeting Houses, one at Kennet Square, the other at London Grove, Pennsylvania.

WATSON—FLOAT—WATERHOUSE

I should be grateful for help in tracing portraits or photographs of Henry Watson (1802-1894) and Charlotte his wife (1812-1892). Henry Watson was the son of William Watson, M.R.C.S. and Martha Waterhouse of Liverpool. His uncle was Nicholas Waterhouse of Liverpool, founder of the mercantile firm of that name. In the 1830's the Watsons moved to Chichester, where Henry Watson had a chemist's shop. In 1836 he married Charlotte Float of Selsey, a member of the Church of England, and resigned his own membership of the Society. The family emigrated to South Australia in 1838, and it is to illustrate a book on their Australia experiences that the portraits are needed.—

LAWRENCE DARTON,
Burford, Oxon.

JAMES NAYLER'S LAST TESTIMONY

Mabel Brailsford devoted an appendix in her book *A Quaker from Cromwell's Army: James Nayler* (1927), to discussing the authenticity of the familiar words said to be spoken by Nayler shortly before his death in 1660. They were often quoted in the early days without acknowledgment, and an inferior version of the words appeared in John Pennyman's autobiography, 1703. She concludes that the internal evidence in favour of their being Nayler's is overwhelming, and that George Whitehead's inclusion of them in his edition of Nayler's *Works* in 1716 puts their origin beyond question.

Evidence of Nayler's authorship is also found in the fact that the words appear at the end of the second edition of Nayler's own work, *What the Possession of*

the Living Faith is, published in 1664, four years after his death and fifty-two years before their publication by Whitehead in Nayler's *Works*. They were also published as a small broadside (7 ins. by 5½ ins.), undated (Joseph Smith: Catalogue of Friends' books, ii, 231).

The version published in 1664 differs from that published in 1716 in several respects. There is no superscription to say, as Whitehead does, that the words are "His Last Testimony, said to be delivered by him about two Hours before his Departure out of this Life; several Friends being present." There are several very small verbal, spelling and punctuation differences; and the phrase, "if it be betrayed, it bears it" is omitted. Is this phrase Nayler's or a later addition? The 1664 edition, the broadside (which appears to be of similar date) and the very inaccurate version in Pennyman's *Life* in 1703, all omit it. It first appears in print in 1716, fifty-six years after the death of Nayler, but then with the authority of George Whitehead for its authenticity. The first English edition of Sewel's *History* (1722) includes the phrase. His first Dutch edition (1717) contains a very much smaller amount of material on Nayler in the body of the book, than does his English edition five years later; but in an Appendix to the Dutch edition, written after the book was completed and doubtless after seeing a copy of Nayler's *Works*, and included in the body of the English edition, he gives much more material concerning Nayler, including his last words, and including in them the phrase in question. It seems more likely

that they were accidentally omitted in 1664 than that they were the work of George Whitehead; or there were perhaps two traditions of what Nayler said, of which the one in the *Works* has become standard.—

L. HUGH DONCASTER.

QUAKER CHINA

I am desirous of obtaining information about Quaker china. I mean by this the chinaware made in the early nineteenth century, I believe, especially for Friends. It is either white with a raised pattern or has designs in a drab colour. The same designs were made coloured for other people. I have seen three main kinds of pattern:

Flowers, either a bunch of various kinds, or roses.

Scenes, either houses or churches.

Seashells.

One design, and probably others, had stamped on it the familiar design of the kneeling manacled slave, for anti-slavery propaganda.

I should like to hear of any ware of that period with Quaker associations, with any information about its design, the circumstances of its first ownership (if known), how it earns the description "Quaker," as well as what kind of ware it is, and where and by whom it was made.—ISABEL GRUBB, Seskin, Carrick-on-Suir, Eire.

THE TERM "QUAKER"

The use of the term *Quaker* in 1607 has been brought to our notice from a certificate granted

by the Bishop of Chester to the Justices of the county on behalf of Richard Whitby, a man indicted for keeping in his house a recusant. The document (Chester Quarter sessions records, F.4.D.44. S. Nantwich, 27 Jan. 1606-7; printed *Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, vol. 94, pp. 58-59, 1940) cites Whitby's statements in his defence in the following manner: "And he protesteth that the party meant was unto him a person altogether unknown, who being a Quaker and, coming unto him in harvest time to seek work when he stood

in need of a servant, gave only entertainment unto her for the time of his necessary occasions which in the like case anyone might have done."

The *New English Dictionary* has no record of the word being applied to persons until the rise of Friends in the middle of the seventeenth century, but does record it in 1597 and 1617 meaning Quaking grass (grasses of genus *Briza*) and states that it is a Midland dialect word. Can anyone throw light on this early use of the term Quaker for a person?

Accounts for the year 1946 and
Journal, vol. xxxviii

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Balance brought forward ..	240	10	9	<i>Journal of Friends' Historical Society</i> , volume xxxviii ..	70	6	0
Subscriptions ..	35	7	8	Mills's "Orator's Library" ..	24	4	6
Sales ..	11	7	5	Two advertisements for "Orator's Library" ..	2	14	0
Mills's "Orator's Library" ..	4	5	4	Stationery ..	13	6	1
				Petty Cash and Postage ..	8	0	0
				Balance carried forward to 1947 ..	173	0	7
	£291	11	2		£291	11	2

Examined with the Books of the Society and found correct.

BASIL G. BURTON.

27.8.48.

The Care of Quaker Records

*Being the substance of a talk given by Felix Hull
at the Annual Meeting of the Friends' Historical
Society, held in the Library at Friends House, London,
on 4th December, 1948.*

GENERAL REMARKS

THE following notes are by no means exhaustive but may serve as a brief guide to the custodian of Friends' Records and others interested in the preservation of old documents. Suggestions made during the discussion which followed this introductory talk have been incorporated where it seemed desirable, and a brief list of useful books has been added.

The first rule to remember in dealing with past records is that the majority of them are composed of animal and vegetable substances and that, therefore, any place which is thoroughly suitable for human beings is, generally speaking, suitable for records. From this it follows that good ventilation and the avoidance of excessive heat or damp are first essentials, and in a brief review of the dangers and problems facing the keeper of old documents consideration of this requisite forms a good starting point.

VENTILATION AND COGNATE PROBLEMS

In a properly constructed muniment room, special provision and proper air circulation, or even air-conditioning will be made, for most, however, a wall-safe, cupboard, basement strong room or a chest, must suffice. The principal dangers are three: (a) damp, (b) excessive heat, (c) stagnant air.

(a) *Damp*. If there is evidence of damp only the most radical methods will suffice—generally *remove the documents* to a place of dry storage even if it is less “safe” than the other storage. If the cause of the damp can be remedied, well and good, but while experiments are being made irreparable damage may have been done. There are chemical appliances available which absorb moisture from the atmosphere but I have no experience of them so far as records are concerned and would not advise their use unless approved by some acknowledged expert.

(b) *Heat*. This is really the reverse of (a), a drying up of the tissues which form the parchment or paper causing the former to curl and become brittle and paper to perish. It is not usually as common a danger as damp but would generally attend proximity to a boiler, or might arise in an ill-ventilated centrally heated room where radiators are not regulated. Generally speaking, 60 degrees Fahrenheit is the figure to aim at. As before, if the cause of heat cannot be removed or ventilation improved, *remove the documents*.

(c) *Stagnant air*. It is not always realized that stagnant air is just as dangerous to the well-being of documents as is excessive damp and heat and it is far less likely to be noticed. Air that is not circulating forms an admirable breeding ground for all kinds of moulds and the same effect may result as in damp surroundings. The cause may be an unopened chest or cupboard in which event it may be possible to remove the records. In the case of a wall safe this may be more difficult, but at least have the door open as often as opportunity arises. Whenever the custodian is present this should be done to allow some fresh air to replace the old, far more damage may be done by being over-zealous in keeping the safe locked than by running the risk of losing a document.

VERMIN AND INSECTS

After bad air conditions the most likely cause of damage is from animals, large or small. Perhaps one should not ignore the human animal but he is so important as to warrant a separate paragraph below. One of the chief dangers of storing in wooden receptacles lies in their vulnerability to rats and mice. The proper safe or strong room is not likely to be bothered by these vermin but in any event the methods of dealing with them are well enough known.

A more subtle danger lies in insects which may have been brought in with the documents themselves especially if they have come from a place of bad storage. The principal creatures are : *book worm*—not a worm at all but a practically transparent little insect just big enough to see and of parchment colour ; *silver-fish*—met in nearly all damp, dark places ; and *maggots* which attack leather bindings.

The most sure method is *fumigation* by using *thymol crystals*. The requirements are a cupboard, reasonably air tight but which will take a 100-watt electric light bulb

or other heating appliance. The crystals placed in a saucer over the bulb are vapourized and the affected documents should be left in the vapour for at least 48 hours. In any case where this is not possible or whenever there is reason to suspect danger, a liberal application of *naphthalene* powder is of great value.

STORAGE METHODS

(a) *Shelving*. This will be either metal or wood. The ideal is wood but it is very hard to get and should be of *teak* or other fire-resisting timber. Open steel racking is an admirable substitute provided care is taken over the dangers of condensation. In ten years' personal experience I have never found condensation arising except where other conditions were bad, but if there is a risk of it, all shelves should be covered with a piece of straw-board or leather-board.

(b) *Boxing and bundling*. The smaller documents, deeds, and the like, will usually be kept in bundles (N.B. If you have received original bundles, these should not be broken.), but the time honoured practice of wrapping a bundle in brown paper is far from ideal. Although protecting the documents from dust it is liable to create the dangers of air stagnation and a great deal of time can be wasted repacking and rewinding. A light leather-board box with full dust-lid and copper staples and with punched air-ventilation holes is to be preferred. These are cheap and can be made to any specification. One firm producing them is E. J. Bradstreet & Sons, Ltd., of Tooley Street, London, S.E.1.

REPAIRS

(a) *General advice*. In repairing, use paper for a paper document and parchment for parchment. Handmade paper (or at least a good rag paper) is essential. Only use flour and water paste to which a small quantity of boric acid and thymol may be added as a preservative. For documents, *never* use sticky transparent paper or chemical pastes or transparent plastic adhesive tape. Where writing must be covered, silk or cotton gauze should be used since this forms a transparent covering and strengthens the original paper or parchment. Waxed paper is an admirable wrapping for all fragile documents.

(b) *Repairing.* Small repairs can be carried out without great experience. Parchment documents should be flattened (use water freely on the back of the document and pull across folds). The edge of the new parchment should be pared to give a good gripping surface and both new and old well pasted before application of the new material. The document should then be left in a press or under heavy weights between waxed paper, blotting paper and straw-board press boards for 24 hours. For paper a similar process is indicated but very little water is required for flattening and in any case application of size (made from simmering parchment scraps and filtering off the liquor) is preferable as this gives the paper back its strength and quality. The piece used for repair should be torn, not cut as the torn edge is preferable for sticking.

(c) *Volumes.* It is unlikely that these can be handled by the local custodian, but do not automatically send a valuable old volume to the local binder—if repair is needed consult an expert first.

(d) *Assistance in repairing.* The Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, London, W.C.2, will always give advice on repair matters and can take a limited quantity of private repair work at a very reasonable cost. Most counties now have a Record Office with qualified staff who may be able to advise, though it is seldom that they could take on outside work. Most of the larger Public Libraries and Museums have specialists who can help.

(e) *Ink.* Ink that is scaling can be fixed by spraying with shellac, but it is unwise to use gallic acid or other chemicals in an attempt to improve faded writing. The result may be good for immediate purposes but almost always leads to the virtual obliteration of the original writing after a space of time. In using an ink for modern records it is worth noting that gall-iron ink is permanent and that Stephens' blue-black ink fulfils this requirement. Many modern inks are very far from being permanent.

ACCESS AND CUSTODY

A real danger lies in the willingness of custodians to lend documents to interested persons. If this practice is allowed then a careful note should be made in a Withdrawal

Register and a regular check taken of outstanding items, otherwise the matter may lapse and the document become lost. This kind of thing is met with constantly in the wider sphere of archives and Friends are not exempt from it. The ideal is consultation of documents on the spot but if this is not possible we must safeguard our records.

STORAGE SPACE AND DESTRUCTION

Increasingly it will become difficult to find homes for our records and the problem "What can we destroy?" will ever loom ahead. The following list is a brief guide of what should be *retained* in Friends records:

1. Destroy nothing of earlier date than 1850;
2. Never destroy minutes, accounts, title deeds, maps or plans;
3. Never destroy abstracts of registers, births, marriage or burial notes, or volumes of biographical sketches;
4. Never destroy records of "sufferings," ancient or modern, or removal certificates.

DISCUSSION

At the meeting some discussion arose on the question of the desirability or otherwise of depositing Quaker records in a Local Record Office and the writer was severely taken to task by certain Friends for his advocacy of this course in certain circumstances. I give below as impartial an account from both sides as I can, but it should be remembered that as a professional archivist I am bound to be somewhat biased.

The principal arguments in favour of retaining all Quaker records in Friends' custody seem to be:

- (a) that they are more accessible to Friends than at a Record Office;
- (b) that by parting with them we lose part of our Quaker heritage and that we should retain them in order to help in training our children in Quaker thought and practice;
- (c) that once records reach Record Offices they are not easily reclaimed despite forms of "deposit";
- (d) that after all they are Quaker records and of little interest outside the Society.

There may be other arguments of great cogency but those were the ones put to me at the meeting.

In reply I would say this, (1) that if a Meeting is fortunate enough to have the premises and an interested custodian so that records can be cared for and produced with adequate safeguard, then there is nothing against the retention of the records except that the day may come when there ceases to be an interested person who can and will devote the necessary time to the care of records ; (2) that accessibility is a purely relative matter—someone will always find the records difficult to reach—though it is admitted that a monthly meeting area is usually smaller than a county ; (3) that point (b) above is an admirable ideal but how often is it put in effect ? Against the arguments that records will be used if kept by Friends, I can cite a case where the records would never have been looked at had they not been deposited in a Local Record Office, since when various persons have found them of interest and value. (4) It is true that archivists do not like parting with material, especially if they are not sure of the storage to which it will return, but if documents are on deposit they must be returned if required. (5) It is not true that outside persons have little interest in Quaker Records. Don't let us be parochially minded—these are records of a very important facet of religious and social history and should be regarded as a national heritage, not the exclusive preserve of a “ peculiar people.”

Finally, I only advocated deposit in a local office where accommodation was unsuitable or insufficient and there was real risk, and Friends House could not assist.

CONCLUSION

I advise all interested persons to join the British Record Association (subscription 5s.), making it clear that they wish to belong to the Technical Section—which issues valuable bulletins on repair methods, etc. An enquiry to Mr. I. Collis, County Archivist, Somerset County Council, who is Secretary of that section would, I am sure, be dealt with sympathetically. Make use of your local experts for advice if needed, for there are many skilled and interested persons in the country now, willing to help where help is required.

Useful books :

Jenkinson, C. H., *A manual of archive administration*. New and revised edition. Pp. xvi, 256. Lund, Humphries, 1937. 12s. 6d. (Detailed and thorough.)

Fowler, G. H., *The care of county muniments*. Pp. xi, 79. County Councils Association, 1923. (A useful small volume.)

Plenderleith, H. J., *The conservation of prints, drawings, and manuscripts*. (Published for the Museums Association.) Pp. vii, 66, [3]; 5 plates. Oxford University Press, 1937. 3s. 6d. (Somewhat advanced and technical, but a valuable little book on repairs, etc.)

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	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Balance brought forward	173	0	7	<i>Journal of Friends' Historical Society,</i>			
Subscriptions	35	4	7	volume xxxix	96	0	6
Sales	15	10	3	Stationery	4	1	7
A. Eddington Legacy	25	0	0	Petty Cash	5	0	0
Mills's "Orator's Library"	1	0	2	Balance carried forward to 1948	144	13	6
	<u>£249</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>7</u>		<u>£249</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>7</u>

Examined with the Books of the Society and found correct.

BASIL G. BURTON.

27.8.48.

Early Quaker Thought on "That State in which Adam was before he Fell"

THE teaching of Jesus concerning the kingdom of God is so rich that we discover more and more of its nature as we ponder on his words. One aspect which has been emphasized a good deal recently is his stress on the present reality of the kingdom. Whether or not he thought of an ideal state in the future, when laws would be just and generous or even unnecessary, when the Church would be a genuine fellowship in the spirit, and when men would love their neighbours as themselves, it is at least clear that he believed that in some sense in his lifetime the kingdom had come on earth. John the Baptist had taught, "The kingdom of heaven is at hand."¹ The first thing we are told of Jesus' ministry is that he came preaching, "The kingdom of God is at hand."² When he sent forth the twelve he told them, "Go, preach, saying, 'The kingdom of heaven is at hand.'"³ T. W. Manson's careful analysis of his teaching concerning the kingdom, shows that in the early part of his ministry he speaks of the kingdom as coming, and in the later part he speaks of people entering it. It appears "that Jesus held that the Kingdom had come in some real sense during his ministry."⁴ This must mean at least that his disciples are called to acknowledge the full sovereignty of God, and to give their allegiance first and foremost to him. They must obey God rather than men. Only as they are loyal citizens of the City of God, can they be truly loyal citizens of the cities of men.

Amongst the early Christians it appears to have been widely expected that the coming of the kingdom would mean the outward return of Jesus. "They shall see the Son of Man coming on the clouds of heaven with power and great glory."⁵ Gradually this expectation of an outward second coming gave place to a realization of the inward presence of the Holy Spirit, identified with Jesus Christ ("Christ in you the hope of glory"),⁶ and the Christian's

¹ Matt. 3 : 2.

² Mark 1 : 15.

³ Matt. 10 : 7.

⁴ Manson, T. W., *The Teaching of Jesus*, 1935, 129-130.

⁵ Matt. 24 : 30.

⁶ Col. 1 : 27.

loyalty was still first and foremost to God so revealed. The developing thought of Paul seems to show both these beliefs: an early expectation of the outward coming of Jesus, and a later realization of the intimate and ultimate significance of the Holy Spirit.

Geoffrey Nuttall¹ has recently pointed out the widespread revival of eschatological consciousness in mid-seventeenth century England, issuing particularly in millenarianism. Many groups and individuals among the different sections of the Puritans were expecting the outward manifestation of Jesus Christ,² and several dates in the 1650's and 1660's were predicted for his coming. It was a period of great expectation. It was just at this period that the Society of Friends was born, and many of those who came into it came from groups with millenarian expectations.

As in New Testament days we see the change from expectation of an outward second coming, to a deeply spiritual conviction of the actual inward coming, so in Quakerism we see the spiritualization of this contemporary thought. This is admirably shown in a passage in Fox's *Journal* under the year 1656.³

While I was in prison here, the Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men prophesied, “ That this year Christ should come, and reign upon earth a thousand years.” And they looked upon this reign to be outward; when he was come inwardly in the hearts of his people, to reign and rule there, and these professors would not thus receive him. So they failed in their prophecy and expectation, and had not the possession of him. But Christ *is* come, and doth dwell in the hearts of his people, and reign there. Thousands, at the door of whose hearts he hath been knocking, have opened to him; and he is come in and doth sup with them and they with him; the heavenly supper with the heavenly and spiritual man.

That this thought is confined neither to Fox nor to this date is very clear. Margaret Fox writes in 1664, “ Now the Lord Jesus is come, so that those that have long sitten in darkness may see great light.”⁴

Robert Barclay, ten years later, expresses the same conviction:⁵

¹ *The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith & Experience*, 1946, 104f.

² An interesting example is the dream of Mary Springett before she was a Friend that “ Christ is come indeed and is in the next room ” quoted by L. V. Holdsworth in *Gulielma*, 1947, 26-27.

³ Fox, G., *Journal*, 1901, I, 314.

⁴ *Works*, 1710, 310.

⁵ Barclay, R., *Truth Triumphant*, 1692, 210.

And this is that we are persuaded, the Lord is bringing about in our day, though many . . . are now despising Christ in his inward appearance, because of the meanness of it ; as the Jews of old did him in his outward : yet notwithstanding there were some then, that did witness . . . that he was come. Even so now are there thousands, that can set to their seal, that he hath now again the second time appeared, and is appearing in ten thousands of his saints ; in and among whom . . . he is restoring the Golden Age.

This passage suggests that although Friends believed in a spiritualized millenarianism, they still believed that they were living at the particular time of his second coming, in the Golden Age itself. Often they announced the Day of the Lord,¹ and sometimes they did this in apocalyptic language as the following extracts from George Bishop (writing in 1656)² and Josiah Coale (writing in 1664)³ both show :

The powers of the earth are hardened and sealing up, and together will they give a stroke at the truth, but their sword shall return into their own bowells, and their bow shall be broken, and over all the heathen shall the kingdom of which there shall be no end, be exalted : the day is at hand, the hour is near ; glory and honour and praises unto him who sitteth on the throne, and to the Lamb, for ever and ever.

Josiah Coale's lines were written from prison addressed to Sectaries and especially the Church of Rome. Of the saints he says :

. . . strong and mighty men they are :
They will not spare nor pity thee, in this day o' the Lamb's war ;
For it's the day of veng'ance great, of our Almighty God,
He'll do to thee as thou hast done, thou can't escape his Rod.
The holy Prophets in their day, foretold these things of thee,
Which to our consolation (!), we hope to live and see.

This sense of living in the day of the Lord, when judgment is come upon the wicked and salvation to his followers, is naturally associated with claims of the fulfilment of messianic prophecy. For example, they defended their pacifism on these grounds. In their famous declaration

¹ e.g. Fox, G., *Journal*, 1901, I, 376 ; Howgill, F., in his testimony to Edward Burrough, unnumbered page at beginning of Burrough's *Works*, 1672 ; Marshall, C., *Works*, 1704, unnumbered page in *Journal* referring to 1670 ; Penn, W., *Works*, 1726, I, 93, 98.

² Cadbury, H. J., *Swarthmore Documents in America*, 1940, 24.

³ Coale, Josiah, *Works*, 1671, III.

to Charles II, Fox and Hubberthorne write, “ Our swords are broken into ploughshares, and spears into pruning hooks, as prophesied of in Micah 4. Therefore we cannot learn war any more.”¹ Barclay uses the same defence in his *Apology*.² Friends similarly frequently defended the ministry of women by reference to Joel 2 : 28. In addition to the defence of their practices, consciousness of being in the messianic kingdom led them to use messianic language in relation to one another, hailing Christ in each other in terms which were only used for the Messiah.³

This vivid awareness of living in the last days, or the messianic kingdom, was shared by many of their contemporaries. But for the early Friends history was divided into three phases : before the Fall, in the Fall, and in the restoration by Christ. (The apostles were in this last, and Friends were called to it, but in between there had been “ a long night of apostasy.”) Friends thought of the last phase in terms of the first : they believed that in Christ they were renewed into that state in which Adam was before he fell ; or, to put it in terms of Pauline thought, that through the Second Adam they were created new men like the first Adam. This is a division to which Fox and his friends return again and again. One example from Fox will illustrate clearly his own thought :⁴

God was the first teacher in Paradise ; and whilst man kept under his teaching, he was happy. The serpent was the second teacher ; and when man followed his teaching, he fell into misery, into the fall from the image of God, from righteousness and holiness, and from the power that he had over all that God had made ; and came under the serpent, whom he had power over before. Christ Jesus was the third teacher, of whom God saith, “ This is my beloved son in whom I am well pleased, hear ye him ” ; and who himself saith, “ learn of me.” This is the true gospel teacher who bruises the head of the serpent, the false teacher . . . Now Christ . . . said, “ I am the way to God, I am the Truth, I am the Life, and the true Light.” So as man and woman come again to God, and are renewed up into his image, righteousness and holiness, by Christ, thereby they come into the Paradise of God, the state which man was in before he fell : and into a higher state than that, to sit down in Christ that never fell.

¹ Fox, G., *Journal*, 1901, I, 498.

² Barclay, R., *Apology*, XV, 14.

³ This subject has been helpfully discussed by Geoffrey Nuttall, *op. cit.*, Appendix II.

⁴ Fox, G., *Journal*, 1901, II, 199.

They firmly believed that the coming of Christ had restored to men the possibility of living in God's kingdom as Adam had lived in Eden. But they went further, and emphasized too that they were called to “ a higher state than that ” of Adam, because they were called into the restoration in Christ who never fell.

This conviction that they were called into a pre-Fall state is most strikingly shown in a letter from Thomas Salthouse to Margaret Fell written on the day of Fox's release from Launceston :¹

this very hour, being about the 7th hour at night, is Wa(l)ter C(lement's) wife delivered of a daughter by the mighty power of the Lord, before she travailed she brought forth, to the astonishment of the heathen that cannot believe, and to the praise and honour of him that hath taken away the curse and redeemed his own from under the transgression, who is risen with healing in his wings.

The curse of Gen. 3 : 16 had apparently been removed, and they were in fact renewed up into that state in which Adam and Eve had been before the Fall.

This view of history is repeated over and over again in Fox's writings, but is in no way confined to him. It crops up, for instance, in the titles of works by Friends, such as William Bayly's “ A Short Discovery of the State of Man before the Fall, in the Fall, and out of the Fall again, &c.”² or Charles Marshall's

The Way of Life Revealed and the Way of Death Discovered : wherein is declared, Man's happy estate before the Fall, his miserable estate in the Fall, and the way of the restoration out of the Fall, into the image of God again, in which man was before the Fall.³

or again in Margaret Fox's

A Call to the Universal Seed of God . . . to come up to the spiritual worship, which Christ Jesus the great prophet hath set up, who took not upon him the nature of angels, but the seed of Abraham, whereby he comes to raise up man out of Adam's fallen state, into a state that shall never fall.⁴

In this last it will be seen that the title itself bears witness to the “ state that shall never fall.”

Thus Friends believed that they were called into God's kingdom here and now, that this meant they were to be in a

¹ Swarthmore MSS. III, 158, per G. F. Nuttall.

² Bayly, W., *Works*, 1676, 85.

³ Marshall, C., *Works*, 1704, 43.

⁴ *Works*, 1710, 304.

state of perfection comparable to, and even better than, that of Adam before he fell. It was this conviction that if they were obedient to the Light of Christ they would be completely freed from the power of sin in their lives, that was one of the most liberating and appealing elements in the gospel they preached. It permeates much of their teaching and practice, and is the setting against which some of their testimony needs to be seen in order fully to be understood. In what follows, certain aspects of Quaker thought are looked at in this light, but it should be emphasized that they are here viewed only in this way, and that other aspects of the same thought, such as the biblical or ethical, are ignored.

The Seed

One of the terms used by Friends to express the experience of the divine element in man, is “the seed.” Geoffrey Nuttall¹ has pointed out how often Fox refers back to Gen. 3 : 15 in this connection, and abundant evidence could be brought to show that this was a key thought for many of the early Friends. The passage is that in which it is said by the Lord that the seed of the woman shall bruise the head of the serpent, and it is developed into an eschatological context by Friends. They identified the seed of the woman with Christ, who breaks the power of the serpent and restores man to the pre-Fall state. All the promises are fulfilled in him. Margaret Fox expresses it clearly;² referring to Christ she writes,

by him, in him, and through him, is the Restoration, and Redemption, and building up again, out of the fallen state of lost Adam, and of all mankind in the Fall : and he it is that the Lord promised to that end unto Adam . . . And the Lord God said unto the Serpent . . . I will put Enmity between thee and the Woman, and between thy Seed and her Seed, and it shall bruise thy head . . . And so by this Seed, Christ Jesus, is the Serpent’s power broken down : and all the promises are in him. Yea and Amen : he is the first Fruits of them that sleep, and the first begotten from the Dead, the first Born of every creature : by whom the worlds were made in the beginning, by whom also that which was lost is restored, and that which was broken down is builded up again, and renewed up into a better state than Adam was in before he fell, into a State that will stand and endure for ever, of whose kingdom, and Dominion, and Government, there shall never be end.

¹ Nuttall, G. F., *op. cit.*, 157-159.

² *Works*, 1710, 309-310.

Perfection and Infallibility

Some of Fox's most perplexing teaching concerns perfection. It perplexed his contemporaries more than it does us :¹

I found none that could bear to be told that any should come to Adam's perfection, into the image of God, that righteousness and holiness that Adam was in before he fell ; to be clear and pure without sin as he was. Therefore, how should they be able to bear being told that any should grow up to the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ . . . ?

This is no place to review this teaching and that of contemporary Friends, but examples may be given to show the pre-Fall setting in which it must be seen in order to be understood. He tells us,²

I knew nothing but pureness and innocency and righteousness, being renewed up into the image of God by Christ Jesus, to the state of Adam, which he was in before he fell ;

and again.³

they asked me, Whether I was sanctified ? I answered, Yes ; for I was in the paradise of God. Then they asked me, If I had no sin ? I answered, Christ, my Saviour, has taken away my sin, and in him there is no sin :

and again, in discussion with a “ priest,”⁴ “ I told him. There is a perfection in Christ, above Adam, and beyond falling . . . ”

James Parnell well expresses the position :⁵

Man was perfect without sin before the Fall, or else he could not have been the image of God ; for God is pure and perfect, and he made man after his own image, pure and perfect, without sin ; but when he sinned he defaced his image, and lost his pure estate, and was drove out of Paradise . . . but God promised the seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head : and Christ, the Seed, said

¹ Fox, G., *Journal*, 1901, I, 34.

² *ibid.*, I, 28.

³ *ibid.*, I, 50.

⁴ *ibid.*, II, 218. This is developed at length in George Fox's *Epistles*, 1698, pp. 190-192.

⁵ *Works*, 1675, 97-98.

he was come to preach deliverance to the captive, and to heal the broken hearted, and to seek that which was lost, and to bring again that which was driven away ; and this was his work, to redeem to man that which man had lost . . . I shall leave this as Query to all, both priests and people who deny perfection from sin here, Whether Christ is but a part of redeemer, or a perfect and full redeemer ; and which is the place betwixt heaven and earth where man shall be made free and cleansed from sin, if not upon earth ? Seeing that no unholy nor unclean thing can enter the Kingdom of God.

This query puts the position admirably. To Friends Christ had come and had redeemed them perfectly. Anything short of this appeared to be a blasphemous denial of the power and significance of Christ in his kingdom. Steven Crisp, for instance, satirically portrays those “ who are fighting the devil’s quarrels in this matter ” as saying, “ Rule thou in Heaven if thou wilt, for on Earth thou shalt have no place, no, not one soul to bear rule and sovereignty over.”¹ Their logic said, A perfect and full redeemer will perfectly and fully redeem and has perfectly redeemed us ; and the quality of their experience in those halcyon days made possible and endorsed their logic ; whereas the quality of our spiritual experience drives us to question their logic and find the *non sequitur* : a perfect redeemer only redeems perfectly if man responds perfectly and our response we know to be imperfect. Salvation is not the same as perfection ; salvation is dynamic, having reference to saving from present sin, and leaving room for improvement, unlike perfection.

But their logic led further, to the higher state than that of Adam, from which there is no fall. Reference has already been made to this,² but the point may be driven home by other examples. Fox, after going through the familiar story of Adam and Eve, emphasizing the promise that the seed of the woman (Christ Jesus) should bruise the serpent’s head, and that Christ does in fact set men free, continues,³

So he is sufficient and of ability to restore man into the state he was in before he fell ; and not into that state only, but into that also that never fell, even to himself.

¹ Crisp, S., *Works*, 1694, 14-15.

² pp. 16-19, and see later pp. 21, 23.

³ Fox, G., *Journal*, 1901, II, 136.

And again,

And though Adam and Eve fell from Paradise, the Jews fell from the law of God, and many of the Christians fell from their prophecies . . . and the stars have fallen, as was spoken of in the Revelations : yet the spirit, grace, faith and power of God remain.

Many such states have I seen within these twenty-eight years ; though there is a state that shall never fall, nor be deceived, in the Elect before the world began. These are come to the end of the prophecies, are in him where they end, and renewed by Christ into the image of God which man was in before he fell . . . and not only so, but they “ attain to a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ,” who never fell.¹

This thought form of Friends can only be understood in the light of their own experience ; and it was a fact that they did know an amazing release from the burden and bondage of sin, coupled with a pentecostal experience of fellowship with one another in Christ. They were so wrapped up in this experience of the coming of Christ to rule in them that they could not recognize the imperfection of the human response to the perfect will of God, nor the fallibility of the human discernment of the infallible will of God ; and so they spoke with the authority of those living in the kingdom and acting under divine command, and not with the tentative “ I think ” or “ I feel ” of the present day.

The Unity of Knowledge

Another aspect of the claim to infallibility is shown in Fox’s insight into the unity of all branches of knowledge which led to an apparent claim to universal knowledge, made early in his *Journal* :²

I was immediately taken up in the spirit, to see into another and more steadfast state than Adam’s innocency, even into a state in Christ Jesus, that should never fall. And the Lord showed me that such as were faithful to him, in the power and light of Christ, should come up into that state in which Adam was before he fell : in which the admirable works of creation and the virtues thereof may be known through the openings of that divine word of wisdom and power, by which they were made . . . As people come into subjection to the spirit of God, and grow up in the image and power of the Almighty, they may receive the word of wisdom that opens all things, and come to know the hidden unity in the Eternal Being.

¹ Fox, G., *Journal*, 1901, II, 239.

² *ibid.*, I, 28f.

And so the untutored Fox continues to show that the representatives of the great professions of his time, the physicians, the priests and the lawyers, were unaware of this unity and therefore “ ruled the world out of the wisdom, out of the faith, and out of the equity and law of God ” ; and he “ was at a stand . . . whether (he) should practise physic for the good of mankind, seeing the nature and virtue of things were so opened to (him) by the Lord.”

The same thought is found in the incident at Lyme Regis in 1657 when, writes Fox,¹

we drew up some queries, of the ground of all diseases (and whether Adam or Eve had any before they fell ; and whether there was any in the restoration by Christ Jesus again), and whether any knew the virtue of all the creatures in the creation.

War

There are many roots to the Friends' peace testimony, and this thought of being in a pre-Fall state is but one of them. It is nowhere as explicitly stated as in the other subjects under review. But when we remember the defence of the peace testimony in terms of fulfilment of messianic prophecy as mentioned above,² and the identification of the messianic kingdom with a pre-Fall state in the present, Fox's answer when he was “ courted ” to accept a captaincy in the Commonwealth army is illuminated,³

I lived in the virtue of that life and power that took away the occasion of all wars . . . I was come into the covenant of peace, which was before wars and strifes were.

The experience is that of being in that state in which Adam was before he fell, of being in the kingdom of him whose servants do not fight.

Women

Fox's contribution to raising the status of womanhood by affirming men's and women's complete spiritual equality, is something often insufficiently recognized. The thorough-going way in which he defended his position gains much from this thought-setting, as is shown clearly in the title of one of his later writings,⁴

¹ *Camb. Jnl.*, I, 269.

² pp. 15-16.

³ Fox, G., *Journal*, 1901, I, 68-69.

⁴ *Gospel Truth Demonstrated*, 1706, 990.

Here you may see how male and female were meet-helps in the government, when God made them in his image of righteousness, and holiness, and how Christ restores man up into his image again, and how that male and female are all one in him, and of the increase of Christ's government and peace there is no end.

Again,¹

For man and woman were helpsmeet in the image of God . . . in the dominion before they fell ; but after the Fall . . . the man was to rule over his wife ; but in the restoration by Christ, into the image of God . . . in that they are helpsmeet, man and woman, as they were in before the Fall.

And the same thought reappears in the passage which has become famous in relation to his view of scripture,²

And if there was no scripture for our men and women's meetings, Christ is sufficient, who restores man and woman up into the image of God to be helpsmeet . . . as they were in before they fell.

Marriage

It is natural that the same thought is behind his conception of marriage. One of the references just given refers to the equality of husband and wife in the restoration by Christ, and Fox's ideal of marriage was clearly the equality of the pre-Fall state. His view of the marriage ceremony is stated explicitly in his *Journal*,³

I was moved to open to the people the state of our marriages, declaring how the people of God took one another in the assemblies of the elders, and that it was God who joined man and woman together before the fall. And though man had taken upon them to join in the fall, yet in the restoration it was God's joining.

And so neither priests nor justices were to have a hand in the marrying of Friends.

Character of Church Membership

One of the beautiful letters written by Fox to Friends, pleading for tenderness and charity in judgment, is based on this thought-setting. The following extracts are taken from a long paragraph.⁴

¹ *Epistles*, 1698, No. 291, p. 323.

² *ibid.*, No. 320, p. 388.

³ Fox, G., *Journal*, 1901, II, 75.

⁴ *ibid.*, I, 345-346.

Now that ye know the power of God . . . that crucifies you to the state that Adam and Eve were in, in the fall . . . by this power of God ye come to see the state they were in before they fell ; which power of God is the cross . . . which brings up into . . . the image of God . . . and to a higher state, to the Seed Christ, the second Adam . . . But it is said, the church is in God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ : so they who come to the church, which is in God the Father of Christ, must come to God again : and so out of the state that Adam and his children are in, in the fall . . . The way to this is Christ . . . So they that come to the church that is in God and Christ, must come out of the state that Adam was in, in the fall . . . to know the state that he was in before he fell.

Later he tries to express himself concisely in seven points,¹ from which the following are extracted.

First, They that sit down in Adam in the fall, sit down in misery, in death, in darkness and corruption.

Fourthly, They that sit down in the state in which Adam was before he fell, sit down in that which may be fallen from ; for he fell from that state, though it was perfect.

Seventhly, They that sit down in heavenly places in Christ Jesus sit down in him that never fell nor ever changed. Here is the safe sitting for all his elect, his church, his spiritual members, of which he is the living head . . . “ For,” as the apostle said, “ he hath quickened us, who were dead in sins and trespasses, &c., and made us to sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus : that in ages to come he might show the exceeding riches of his grace, in his kindness towards us through Jesus Christ.” Now the ages are come, that his kindness and exceeding riches towards us through Jesus Christ, are truly manifested in us, as in the apostles’ days.

L. HUGH DONCASTER

¹ Fox, G., *Journal*, 1901, I, 419-420.

The Deposition Books of Bristol. Vol. 2. 1650-1654. Edited by H. E. Nott and Elizabeth Ralph. Bristol, Printed for the Bristol Record Society, 1948. (*B.R.S. Publications.* 13.)

One interesting series of statements in this volume tells of a dispute concerning the Parliamentary election of July 1654. Objection to the return was made on behalf of the unsuccessful contestants John Haggett and George Bishop (representing the “ godly party ”) and it is illuminating to find among Haggett’s supporters so many who soon afterwards became Friends. Other commercial documents calendared concern Christopher Birkhead (Birkend), Edward Pyott, and others in their pre-Quaker period.

George Fox's Use of the Word "Seed"

IN the course of studying Fox's writings from the point of view of his devotional teaching it became clear that a preliminary study of his theological terms would be necessary. These notes are contributed in the hope that they may be of assistance to other students of Fox, and also to invite opinion as to the desirability of preparing similar ones on others of his principal terms.

The word "Seed" occurs frequently in the writings of Fox and the early Friends. Violet Holdsworth in *A Daybook of Counsel and Comfort* (p. xvii), suggests that really to follow his thought in this matter would need a study in itself. She tells us that Fox sometimes identifies it with Christ himself, but more generally with "the germ of Christ-likeness found and sown in humanity." In her book *George Fox and the Light within*, Rachel H. King states that the seed figure refers to Gen. 3 : 15—"the seed of the woman,"—and also to Gal. 3 : 16—"And to thy seed, which is Christ." G. F. Nuttall in *The Holy Spirit in Puritan Experience*, p. 158, believes the reference is primarily to Gen. 3 : 15, and not to the parable of the sower or to organic growth at all. As these notes are the outcome of enquiries incidental to my main study, I must apologize to those whose work I have overlooked if this bibliography is incomplete.

From my own studies I believe it is possible to distinguish a number of different ways in which Fox employs the word. They are numbered here for convenience of reference later. The two chief uses of "Seed" are as follows :

1. The Seed is Christ Jesus, the heir of the promise ; who is one in all ; into whom we are all baptized in the Spirit to become joint heirs with Jesus.

The scriptural basis of this use is Galatians 2 : 20-4 : 7, and especially 3 : 16 for the identification with Christ. Paul in this passage is trying to convince the Galatians that they are now "sons of God through faith in Christ Jesus." He

directs them to Gen. 22 : 1-18 where after testing Abraham's faith even to the readiness to sacrifice Isaac, God promises to multiply his seed "as the stars of the heaven . . . and *in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed* : because thou hast obeyed my voice." The Galatians, having come out from under the Law, live now by faith, Abraham is their spiritual ancestor, "so they are blessed with the faithful Abraham." Paul says (Gal. 3 : 16) "Now to Abraham were the promises spoken, and to his seed. He saith not 'and to thy seeds' as to many, but as of one, 'and to thy seed,' which is Christ." In Jesus, he goes on, the Seed has come to whom the promises were made ; he is the One *in whom* all the nations of the earth are to be blessed. "For as many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ . . . there is neither male nor female : for ye are all one in Christ Jesus."

We get clear references to this in Fox, such as *Journal*, I., 190,¹ ". . . which Seed sins not, to which God's promise is to, God's blessing is to ; which Seed is one in the male and the female," and "The promise is to the Seed . . . which Seed is the hope, Christ . . ." (*Great Mystery*, "Answer to T. Trever's Principles"). Sometimes it is used as a simple synonym for Christ without reference to the Galatians context, ". . . joining to the suffering Seed, *in which* you offer yourselves to God . . . in your sufferings feeling the Seed which was before that which makes to suffer" (Fox, *Epistles*, No. 101). In this quotation I have italicized the two words which bring out the essential thought of the third chapter of *Galatians*—the *immanence* of Christ in the individual and in the fellowship. This has been noticed by Rachel H. King (op. cit., p. 49) who points out that although the Seed is Christ, the Light is said to come from Christ and never from the Seed. She adds that the "seed does not have connotations of a transcendent Christ" ; we may prefer to say that the Seed is Christ, who is both immanent and transcendent, but that Fox in using the word has Christ's immanence especially in mind.

2. Christ, the victor in the struggle with the tempter.

When Fox speaks of Christ, "the seed of the woman"—an allusion to Gen. 3 : 15—he is thinking especially of

¹ All *Journal* references are to the Bi-centenary edition.

regeneration in man when the power of God conquers evil in him. For this struggle he has various figures of speech : our minds are called " out of the earth " ; the " first nature " must go into captivity ; " the power of God . . . goes over the power of darkness " ; the Spirit is " imprisoned within us "—and many others.

If I understand Fox rightly he has the enabling power of God particularly in mind when he makes use of the incident in Genesis. The enmity that is placed between the seed of the woman and the seed of the serpent represents the antagonism of the Spirit against the " flesh " and of the " flesh " against the Spirit. The victory of the Spirit is the bruising of the serpent's head by the seed of the woman. Since in the real struggle Christ has the victory, he becomes " the seed of the woman." Thus we find—" This Seed, Christ Jesus, the seed of the woman, should bruise the serpent's head." (*Journal*, I., 417) and . . . " who bruises the Serpent's head, breaks his power . . ." (Fox, *Doctrinals*, p. 852).

I find myself in agreement with Rachel H. King's conclusion that these are the two main uses of the word by Fox. There are several others of minor importance.

3. That which is begotten of the flesh.

When the meaning is human descent, the text makes this clear : " Jesus, the seed of Abraham, being of the seed of David according to the flesh."

4. That which is begotten of the Spirit.

Jesus, the Son of God ; e.g. in " The Seed of God, Christ Jesus," in Fox, *Epistles*, No. 207, and a variation, " the Seed of Life," Fox, *Epistles*, No. 61. The idea of spiritual re-birth, " Ye must be born again," brings in a group of phrases, such as : " the elect seed of God, called Quakers " ; " the seed of Christ " (*Journal*, I., 343, 345). When we find Friends referred to as " the Seed's seed " we feel that Fox can do no more in this direction.

Variations and combinations of these four meanings are possible and Fox does not fail to use them. The figures refer to the numbered notes above. In the first example the Life is Christ ; death the tempter. " In the Seed of Life (4) live, which bruise the seed of death " (2) (*Journal*, I., 344). In the next, three are blended : " Know the Seed of God (4), which bruise the seed of the serpent (2), and is atop of the seed of the serpent (2) ; which Seed sins not . . . which Seed (1) God's promise is to " (*Journal*, I., 190).

5. The seed of the plant.

Of the instances where the seed of the plant is referred to the following selection is typical : " Plough up the fallow ground.

Thrash and get out the corn ; that the seed, the wheat, may be gathered into the barn " ; " The husbandman after he soweth his seed is patient " (*Journal*, I., 316, 346) ; " . . . the devil's seed came to be sowed " (*Great Mystery*) ; " the harvest white, the seed of God lying thick upon the ground, as ever did wheat that was sown outwardly " ; " for Friends here are as a family, the seed, the plants, they are as a family " (*Journal*, I., 21, 424).

None of the foregoing suggests growth, a slow continuous development to greater maturity. Fox speaks of Friends sometimes as " plants in the Lord," appearing then to mean, by the plant, the individual. " The seed of God lying thick upon the ground," I also take to be individuals.

In 1648 Fox saw that a great crack was to go through the earth, and that after the crack there should be a great shaking. " This was the earth in people's hearts, which was to be shaken, before the Seed of God was raised out of the earth." At first sight this seems to refer to growth, but I am inclined to think that he has in mind the process of regeneration, and that here as in the second sense above, Christ is envisaged as victorious, not coming up as by a growth process, but coming *uppermost* in the struggle—released through the crack !—for the earth is the evil nature in man. Compare Edward Burrough (*Works*, p. 71) : " In the silence wait and you will see . . . the earth broken up, and the fallow ground, *and a passage made for the Seed.*"

It would be unwise to be dogmatic about so prolific a writer as Fox, but after a fairly wide reading of his works I agree with Geoffrey F. Nuttall that when Fox uses " seed " he is not thinking of growth at all. There may be some exceptions to this statement but a prolonged search would, I believe, yield very few. Growth in the Spirit is, of course, fundamental to Fox's, as to other Christian thought, but he almost invariably speaks of increasing one's *measure* of the Light, or Spirit, a term he adopts from Paul, Eph. 4 : 7 ; Rom. 12 : 3 ; etc.

The reason for Fox's neglect of the seed as a metaphor *for spiritual growth* is, I think, not far to seek. The two main senses in which he uses " Seed," viz. Christ, supreme in the spiritual struggle, and Christ, the One in all who live by faith, are fundamental to his interpretation of his own religious experience and, therefore, to his theological ideas. To Fox, the Seed is Christ. His ideas of the person of Jesus are strongly influenced by Johannine Logos Christology. For our immediate purpose it is sufficient to say that to Fox Christ is living, eternal and unchangeable. *Christ does not grow.* If Fox had also used the word seed to mean something that changed, grew, and developed into a more mature condition, the result would have been utter confusion. That Fox did not do so shows that credit is due to him as a clear thinker—more credit than has perhaps been given.

I would warmly welcome comments and criticisms of these notes from readers who are especially interested in Fox's use of language.

T. JOSEPH PICKVANCE

Additions to the Library at Friends House

IN the years preceding 1759, when Judge and Margaret Fell's grandson John Abraham, the son of Daniel Abraham and Rachel Fell, had to sell Swarthmoor Hall, he gave away to Friends in England and Ireland part of his grandmother's library, keeping some of it for his children. So far as is known only two of these books have been traced.

One has lately been given to the Library at Friends House by the proprietors of the Bannisdale Press. It contains 27 tracts by early Friends and bears an inscription *Ex libris Margaret Fox* in the handwriting of Daniel Abraham her son-in-law. The other was found by Isabel Ross in the Library of Congress at Washington during a visit paid in 1937 with an introduction from Henry J. Cadbury to the curator of rare books. This volume likewise consists of Friends' tracts bound together and it bears the same inscription, in the same hand. A later inscription reads, *James Birkett's Book bought of Alice Abrams, 1778, No. 1, containing 44 tracts.*

Alice Abraham (1737-1803) was a daughter of John Abraham and in 1778 was living at Lancaster. James Birkett was a Quaker sea-captain and merchant who traded with the West Indies, particularly with Tortola where there was then a settlement of Friends. Possibly the Friends' books brought there were taken to the American mainland when the last Friends left Tortola, and this volume may thus have found its way from James Birkett's possession and come eventually into the Library of Congress.

Are there any other books from Margaret Fox's library extant?

The second acquisition, by purchase from a special fund, is the original royal order, signed by King James II, for the publication in 1687 of the declaration of liberty of conscience, commonly called the Declaration of Indulgence. This is countersigned by the Earl of Sunderland, and is addressed to George Lord Jeffreys, better known as Judge Jeffreys of the "bloody assize."

The executors of the late Philip D. Tuckett have given to the library a Bible which belonged to Thomas Ellwood and which bears numerous marginal notes throughout in his hand. These may have been made in the course of preparation of his *Sacred History* which consists largely of a paraphrase of the historical parts of the Bible collected together. The Old Testament portion was published in 1705 and the New four years later. The work must have been in some demand for it ran through five editions in England before 1800. The volume has been rebound by John Westwood.

THE Autumn number, 1948 (vol. 37, no. 2) of the *Bulletin of Friends Historical Association* contains a lucid introductory essay on *The Faith and Theology of Robert Barclay* by Gerardina L. van Dalsen, minister of the Remonstrant Church at Doësborg, Netherlands, portion of a larger study prepared at Pendle Hill last spring. Also in this issue will be found the final portion of Francis Pennell's *Quaker botanists*, a promising list of researches in progress, and a brief memoir of Rufus M. Jones which concludes with the anticipation of a bibliography of his writings and a full account of his contribution to Quaker history.

THE *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 72, nos. 3, 4 (July, October, 1948) includes a paper on *The Organization and Procedure of the Pennsylvania Assembly, 1682-1776*. The October issue contains also Nicholas B. Wainwright's study *An Indian Trade Failure: the Story of the Hockley, Trent and Croghan Company, 1748-1752*. This is an eminently readable and illuminating survey of the financing, provisioning and business conditions of Pennsylvania fur trade enterprise as revealed in the papers of an unhappy partnership which failed to hold its own in the international and inter-colonial rivalries of the middle of the eighteenth century. In the January, 1949 issue (vol. 73, no. 1) appears an interesting study and reproduction of Scull and Heap's panoramic *East prospect* of Philadelphia (1754); and *More Penn Correspondence, Ireland, 1669-1670* by Henry J. Cadbury. This correspondence consists of letters in the Pennsylvania Historical Society collections and of Mary Penington's letter to her brother in the Public Record Office, London. The printing of this last letter in full enables us to correct (from 14.iii. to 14.v.1670) the date given in *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic series. Charles II: Addenda*, pp. 307-8, and printed in *Journal F.H.S.*, vol. 40 (1948), pp. 54-55. In his introduction Henry J. Cadbury suggests that this letter was an enclosure in that from Gulielma Springett to William Penn, 16.v.1670.

Friends in Parish Registers

With special reference to Yorkshire entries

GENEALOGISTS and local historians have much cause for gratitude to local historical and parish register societies which, during the past half century and more, have been active in printing the registers of the parishes within their chosen field. The work of these societies has not only opened a mine of genealogical information which can be obtained in every great library, but has provided much additional groundwork to the student of manners and customs and social history generally, particularly when the incumbent or registrar took liberty to go beyond the bare record, and chronicled local events, passed judgment on the character of a deceased person or commented on the vagaries of weather, prices or human nature.

The particular interest of such registers to Friends was illustrated recently by the discovery of entries in the parish register, for Friends' burials at Bannister Green, Felsted, which were not recorded in Friends' registers,¹ and it is likely that similar instances would come to light if a national survey were undertaken. In a smaller sphere, the work of the Yorkshire Parish Register Society (now with 118 volumes to its credit) has revealed several references to Friends in the Yorkshire registers so far published, and in the following pages some of these entries are detailed.

In a previous issue of this *Journal*,² Harold Brace gave readers a brief outline of the history and scope of the parochial system of registration, and indicated how Friends might come to be included in it. A study of the printed Yorkshire evidence underlines some points and illustrates

¹ Rowntree, C. B., *Quakers' Mount at Bannister Green, Felsted, Essex*, in *Journal F.H.S.*, vol. 39, pp. 45-48.

² Vol. 38, 1946, pp. 29-32.

the general development in a small field where Friends came into contact with national authority.

Clerical registration broke down in many districts during the Civil War, and under the Commonwealth (with the country bitterly divided in religion) things were little better. The abolition of the ecclesiastical courts, which alone had had jurisdiction in matrimonial causes, made legislation imperative. On 24th August, 1653, "Barebones" Parliament passed "An Act touching marriages and the registering thereof; and also touching births and burials." This provided for lay "parish registers" to keep the records. Fees for making entries were fixed at 4d. for each birth and burial, and 12d. for publication and entry of marriages. These lay officers seem to have been efficient, and register-books were well kept, but they are often missing—doubtless because the clergy failed to secure them after resuming their livings at the Restoration.

After 29th September, 1654 no marriage was to be celebrated without the register's certificate that he had published banns on three "successive Lord's days at the close of the morning Exercise in the public meeting place commonly called the church or chapel, or (if the parties preferred it) in the nearest market-place on three successive market-days." In this civil contract the parties intending to be married presented the certificate to the nearest Justice of the Peace, and the man took the woman by the hand and declared: "I (A.B.) do here in the presence of God the searcher of all hearts, take thee (C.D.) for my wedded wife, and do also in the presence of God and before these witnesses promise to be unto thee a loving and faithful husband." The woman likewise promised to be "a loving, faithful, and obedient wife;" whereupon the Justice declared them man and wife. The form and formula here provided show clearly where Friends owe the debt for their marriage procedure.

The Marriage Act was confirmed in 1656, but did not invalidate other ceremonies. These civil marriages of the Interregnum were legalized after the Restoration by act 12 Car. II. c.33 (1660), but from that time marriage was only to be celebrated according to the Prayer Book. Hence Friends' marriages had no legal sanction. Nonetheless from the time of the Nottingham decision in 1661 the courts

were unwilling to pronounce Friends' marriages illegal when this plea was brought in property or succession cases or where children might be declared illegitimate if the contention were admitted.¹

We may now turn to burials. In the reign of Charles II Parliament passed three Acts requiring burial in woollen, "for the encouragement of the woollen manufactures, and prevention of the exportation of moneys for the buying and importing of linen." The first Act was in 1666, the second in 1678, amended in 1680.² The 1666 Act was largely inoperative because the people who knew of the breach of law would be the ones interested in concealment. The 1678 Act went further. It provided that "no corpse of any person (except those who shall die of the plague) shall be buried in any shirt, shift, sheet, or shroud or anything whatsoever made or mingled with flax, hemp, silk, hair, gold or silver, or in any stuff or thing, other than what is made of sheep's wool only . . . or be put into any coffin lined or faced with . . . any other material but sheep's wool only." Within eight days of the funeral, wherever it took place, affidavit³ had to be made that the law had been observed. The parish clergy, who kept the only recognized burial records, administered the Act and were required to enter in their registers that a satisfactory affidavit had been brought to them within eight days after any burial. It is for that reason that burials among Friends are sometimes entered in the parish registers.

A £5 penalty was fixed on the estate of persons not buried in woollen, on the householder in whose house such a person died, on persons connected with the funeral, on the minister who neglected to certify non-receipt of an affidavit, or on overseers for neglecting to levy the penalty. Half

¹ The three types of marriage known to the law were (a) marriage in church; (b) clandestine marriage at which a priest officiated, but without due publication; (c) common law marriage (marriage by consent). These last were indissoluble like the rest, but were good for certain purposes only, and did not give the husband rights in his wife's property, confer legitimacy upon the issue or make the marriage of one of the parties with a third person void. Not until 1836 were Friends' marriages by statute placed in the first class.

² 18 & 19 Car. II. c.4, in force 25th March, 1667; 30 Car. II. c.3; 32 Car. II. c.1.

³ The 1680 Act authorized any neighbouring clergyman to take an affidavit if no Justice was available.

the penalty went to the poor, half to the informer, and so it was usual for a relative to act as informer and so reduce the fine to £2 10s., for the rich looked upon this protectionist effort as a tax to be paid rather than anything else.¹

Taxation did come into the picture in 1694 when Parliament authorized a graduated duty on marriages, births and burials for five years "for carrying on the war against France with vigour."² The scale of charges ranged from 2s. a birth, 2s. 6d. a marriage and 4s. a burial for non-paupers, to £30 at the birth of a duke's eldest son, and £50 at the marriage or burial of a duke. It was provided under a 40s. penalty that births were to be notified to the incumbent within 5 days and to be recorded by him for a fee of 6d. In the following year (1695, 7 & 8 Wm. III. c.35) the clergy were required to keep register of all births in their parishes—whether the children were baptized or not. The fine for neglect was fixed at £100, and collectors were allowed free access to the registers. This did not answer, and the unpopular Acts were allowed to expire. Some clergy deliberately omitted entries to save the tax, and few Friends' births appear to have been registered under this legislation. The enquiries of collectors revealed so much laxity in the keeping of registers that an Indemnity Act was passed in the following reign to relieve the clergy of the penalties they had incurred by their neglect.³

A great step in regularizing English marriage procedure was taken in 1753 when Lord Hardwicke's Marriage Act was passed (26 Geo. II. c.33). By it, marriages celebrated after 25th March, 1754 were void unless solemnized by licence or banns in a church or chapel where banns had heretofore usually been published. Celebrants of illegal weddings were guilty of felony and liable to transportation. Quakers and Jews were excepted, and the validity or invalidity of their marriages was left to the old law. And in this state the matter rested for half a century. In 1807 the case *Horn v. Noel* (1 Camp. 61) decided that Jewish marriages were legal, but it was not until the Marriage

¹ The system was extended to Ireland by Irish Act 7 Geo. II. c.13 (1733), but not enforced, and the Acts were repealed in 1814 (54 Geo. III. c.108) after they had fallen into desuetude.

² 6 & 7 Wm. III. c.6; see also 5 & 6 Wm. III. c.21.

³ 4 & 5 Anne, c.12, 1705.

Act, 1836¹ that Friends' marriages, past and future were recognized declared good and confirmed in law. Hardwicke's Act left all other nonconformists to have their marriages solemnized according to the rites of the Church of England. Each parish was to be provided with a marriage book for registration of banns and weddings in which the parties, two witnesses and the clergyman signed. Unfortunately for the historian, the information required was meagre; neither parentage nor occupational details were insisted upon, and ages only if a party was a minor.

Although Friends were excepted from the requirements of this Act, they had not yet received legal recognition for their own registers. There seemed some possibility of this when the Stamp Act of 1783 (23 Geo. III. c.71), imposing a 3d. duty on every parish register entry, was extended in 1785 (25 Geo. III. c.75) to dissenters' registers. This was done apparently at nonconformists' request, in the hope that it would give their records the status of public documents. The hope proved vain, but the tax was duly collected.² Although the minister collecting the duty was allowed ten per cent. commission, registration became lax to avoid the impost, and the law was repealed in 1794 (34 Geo. III. c.11).

The modern parish register dates from Rose's Act of 1812 (52 Geo. III. c.146) which placed the registers under the supervision of the Registrar-General and gave directions for the use of printed books of uniform pattern. Continuing deficiencies were feared, and in 1831 the clergy were asked to report on the condition and extent of the registers under their care. The results of this enquiry were published as a report in 1833.³ Finally by the Civil Registration Act of 1836 (6 & 7 Wm. IV. c.86, as amended by 1 Vict. c.22) the Reform Parliament accepted for the civil arm the duty of registering all births, marriages and deaths as from

¹ 6 & 7 Will. IV. c.85. See also the Marriage Act, 1840 (3 & 4 Vict. c.72), Marriage and Registration Act, 1856 (19 & 20 Vict. c.119), and references at the end of chap. XIII of *Church Government* for later changes.

² They might not have made the request if they had read 6 & 7 Wm. III. c.6, s.58, which denied any legal status to nonconformist registers used as basis for assessing registration tax.

³ For detailed reports see British Museum Additional MSS. 9355, etc.

1st July, 1837. Existing provision for registration of baptism and burial was left undisturbed.

A Royal Commission was set up to enquire into the state and reliability of the dissenters' existing registers, and to suggest measures for their safe keeping and possible acceptance in evidence. The Commissioners' report in 1838 enumerated about 3,000 register volumes suitable for acceptance in official custody at Somerset House,¹ and their acceptance was authorized by the Non-parochial Registers Act (3 & 4 Vict. c.92) of 1840. Section 6 of this Act stated that all accepted registers at the General Register Office were to be deemed in legal custody and receivable in evidence. A much smaller number of registers collected after 1838 were reviewed by a Royal Commission in 1857, and accepted for deposit in the following year.² The great majority of Friends' own registers are included in these surrenders, but the duplicate transcripts at Friends House and in the Quarterly Meetings provide all the necessary evidence which the originals contain.

The following entries concerning Friends from the Yorkshire parish registers are unrecorded in, or provide additional particulars to those given in Friends' own registers. They are arranged in chronological sequence, as best calculated to illustrate the impact of registration laws on Friends, and give evidence of periods of decline. Quotation has been confined to entries which specifically mention Quakers. Comparison of the registers with Friends' own records would doubtless reveal many instances of parish registration where the word "Quaker" was omitted. Such entries do not appear in this list.

Reference to volumes published by the Yorkshire Parish Register Society is made following the entries in the following form (Y.P.R.S. 25: *Hackness*, 73), signifying p. 73 of *The register of the parish of Hackness, co. York. 1557-1783*. Yorkshire Parish Register Society, vol. 25 (1906).

References for extracts from volumes not issued by the Y.P.R.S. are given in full on first appearance.

¹ Included in the list were 1,501 volumes of Friends' registers, and those of Protestant refugees, Moravians, Methodists, Bunhill Fields and other burial grounds.

² By the Births and Deaths Registration Act, 1858, 21 & 22 Vict. c.25.

EXTRACTS, 1653-1700

1653 HACKNESS

Richard Cockerell dyed on Wednesday the xiiijth day of September and was buried the next day being Thursday and there was many of them they call Quakers at his buryall. And Mr. Prowde did exhorte and argue with them at the Grave and they held out that the worke wch they had in them was not wrought by the word, wch I was sorry to heare, but they sayd they made use of the word only to try whether it were right or noe. Jn. Rich.

Y.P.R.S. 25: *Hackness*, 73. Entry signed by John Richardson, parish clerk. Francis Prowde was the minister, and appears to have kept a school in the parish (see Venn. *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, pt. 1, under Proud, F.). Hackness, parish, 5 m. WNW of Scarborough.

1656 HACKNESS

21 January 1655/56. Robert the sonne of John Robson dyed the same day and was buried the next morneinge. And that morneinge there was a Quaker called Halliday, who formerly lived at Malton, and Mr. Prowde (who ys a learned Divine, and a good man) went to Jaine Cockerell's house late wyffe of Richard Cockerell's of Hacknes, but this Halliday was a quarrellsome and contentious and superfluous in his questions that it tyred Mr. Prowde to answeare him, wearyed me to heare the sayd Hallidayes Divinity wch was very erroneus, I will not sett downe all, but some principall ones as his denyeing Bapt., The Sacrament of the Lords Supper, The Eternall word without ye letter of the word, That Christ or the seed, &c., ys in everyman; and is covered or buried under our flesh and corrupt heartes, upon that sayinge I could stayer noe longer but told some of their disciples that they were Deluded.

John Richardson, The Parish Register.

Y.P.R.S. 25: *Hackness*, 100.

[September] George Wasson dyed the sayd xijth day and was buried the next, beinge of the Quakers Sect and many of them were at his buryall, but Mr. Prowde was not called to bury him, and after they see him buried they wente away.

Y.P.R.S. 25: *Hackness*, 101.

1658 RYLSTONE *Burials*

Humfrid Scot, May 31, age 37, at Rilston 4, a quaker, reakes.

John Diccanson, June 24, a quaker, age 39, ril 5.

Isabel Richard Somerscales, July 27, age 34, a quaker, Het 1.

— D Thomas Smithson, Octob 25, quaker from Howbar hill.

Isabel Hargraves, Decemb 14, a quaker, 7d.

From *The register of St. Peter's, Rylstone, formerly part of the ancient parish of Burnsall*. Edited by C. H. Lowe. Leeds, Petty & Sons, 1895. p. 112. Rilston, or Rylstone, parish, 7 m. N of Skipton. Rilston Reakes is an old disused Friends' burial ground; the numbers 4, 5 and 7 presumably refer to those burials as the fourth, fifth and seventh in that ground. Hetton, parish, 4½ m. N of Skipton.

1659 RYLSTONE *Burials*

Simeon Parkinson, Februar 23, Reakes 7, Gargrave.

Margaret widow William Skot, [March] 23, Buried i'th Reakes.

Margaret Moorhouse, July 24, quaker, age 39.

Rylstone, 112-13. Gargrave, parish, 4 m. NW of Skipton.

1660 RYLSTONE *Burials*

Margaret Robinson, Februarie 20, quaker.

— Thomas Smithson, May 25, quaker, Howbar.

A childe of Dionise Parkinson, Augus xi, quaker, Belbusk.

Rylstone, 114-15. Bell Busk, hamlet, 6½ m. NW of Skipton.

ELLAND *Baptisms*

An infant of Edw. Maud of Eland quaker named by himselfe Martha the first of March. (*vol. iii adds "not bapt."*)

From *The parish registers of Elland, co. York. 1640-1670, & churchwardens' accounts, 1648-1670, etc.* Transcribed and indexed by H. Ormerod. Privately printed. Oxford, B. H. Blackwell, 1917. p. 59. Elland, parish, 3 m. SE of Halifax.

1661 RYLSTONE *Burials*

— Sonne of Robart Smithson, febr 19, quaker, Gargrave.

Thomas Tenant, april 9, quaker, ril 1.

— April 24, Beamsley Hoal house, quaker.

Rylstone, 115-16. Beamsley, parish, 6 m. NE of Skipton.

1662 SKIPTON

Burialls Anno Dom 1661 January [3rd]

Ite' Thomas Stott of Eastby whose bodie ye Quakers would haue carryed to their burying place at Rilstone, but his neighbores prvented it.

From *The parish register of Skipton-in-Craven, 1592-1680.* Edited by W. J. Stavert. Skipton, Printed at the Craven Herald Office, 1894. p. 287. Eastby, hamlet, 3 m. NE of Skipton.

RYLSTONE *Burials*

Christofer Kitchin, Rils. quaker, bur in rils: rakes, Febr 2.

Henry Dickonson, Rils: quaker, bur in rils: rakes, March 11th.

Stephen Kitchin de fleets, bur in Rils. rakes, Nov 15, age 90.

Thomas Summerscales jun. Het: Decemb 16th, rils rakes.

Rylstone, 116. Fleets, in Rylstone.

1663 SKIPTON *Burials*

[February] 15 John Stott of Skipton had a Sonne of his owne Baptizeing, called John of aboue three yeeres old (vt aiunt) who was buried at Bradley in Kildweek parish.
(soe did William Swire.)

Skipton, 1592-1680, 290. Kildwick, parish, 4½ m. S of Skipton. John Stott's burial is recorded in Friends' registers as of 16.xii. 1662. The child's age is given as 3 yrs. 5 mos. Friends' registers also record the burial of Joseph, son of William Squire of Skipton, 6.iii.1663, at Bradley.

ELLAND

Baptizati in Mense Februarij.

Thomas Taylor f. Thomae	}	Quackers de Brighouse. Baptizati 26.
Edwardus f. Thomae Taylor		
Love f. Thomae Taylor		
Malan f. Richardi Hanson		
Johannes f. Richardi Hanson		

Elland, 1640-1670, 64.

1665 RYLSTONE

Burialls 1665 King Charles 2nd 17 yeare.

Charles Wharfe, quaker bur. in an unlawful state, July 2nd.

John Summerscales of Hetton, quaker, xber 27th.

Rylstone, 121.

1666 RYLSTONE

Burialls. A childe of Antho Mires of Catgill, quaker, Janu 18.

*Rylstone, 119. Catgill, hamlet, 5 m. NE of Skipton.*SKIPTON *Burials*

February 5 Jonathan the Son of John Stott of Skipton Quaker,
Christned by I knowne not who, and buried as they pleased at
Bradley in Kildwicke parish

*Skipton, 1592-1680, 295. Friends' registers record this burial
as 4.xii.1665 ; the child was aged 9 mos.*

1668 SKIPTON

Christenings Anno Dom : 1668

[August] 6 Abell ye Son of Abell Robinson of Thorleby : quaker.

*Skipton, 1592-1680, 226. Thorlby, hamlet, 1½ m. NW of Skipton.*1673 YORK *Baptisms*

Mary, the daughter of Richard Leedall, a quaker, the 8th of
Decemb., being betwixt 17 and 18 yeares old.

*Y.P.R.S. 11 : Michael le Belfrey, York, 34.*1675 KIRKBURTON *Baptisms*

[April] Susanna daughter of Mary Batty & Lawrence Hicks of
Denby, a quaker, baptized the 24th day.

Entry no. 3318 in *The parish registers of Kirkburton, co. York, with
appendix of family histories*. Edited by Frances Anne Collins.
vol. 2. Exeter : Printed by William Pollard, 1902. p. 96.
Kirkburton, town, 5 m. SE of Huddersfield.

1677 GRINTON *Baptisms*

Nov. 25 Elizabeth Galloway now ye wife of Daniel Addison,
Haveing been formerly brought in ye errours of Quakeing was
baptised after she came to woman's estate.

*Y.P.R.S. 23 : Grinton, 68. Daniel Addison married Elizabeth
Galloway, 27.ix.1677 : ibid., 69. Grinton, parish, 10 m. W of
Richmond.*

1678 LEEDS *Burials*

Aug. 30. Bartholomew Horner, of Bore laine, bur: at Q: bur: place. Affidavit and Cert: given.

From *The registers of the parish church of Leeds from 1667 to 1695. Seventh and eighth books.* Edited by George Denison Lumb. (Thoresby Society. Publications. vol. 10.) Leeds, 1901. p. 172. Affidavits and certificates mentioned in these entries concern burial in woollen. A form of affidavit required by the Act of 1678 is printed (p. 130, *Methley register*, ed. Lumb, 1903) from a copy in the Methley parish register book.

"Memorandum that on the — came before me and maid oath that — deceased was buried in the Churchyard of Methley abouesaid on the — and that the body of the said — was not wraped or covered at the time of its said Intermentt in any shirt, shift, sheet, or shrowd maid of or mingled with flacks, himp, silk, heire, Gould, or Silver, but in wollan only, and the Coffin whearin the body was soe buryed was not lined or faced with any thing maid of or mingled with flax, hemp, silk, heir, gould, or silver, but with woollen only."

1679 LEEDS *Burials*

Mar. 31. John Anderson, bur: at Quaker burying place. Affidavit and Cert: given.

Sept. 4. Thomas Penington, of [blank], Quaker. Affidavit and Cert: given.

[Dec. 16 or 17 ?] Samuel Varley, of [blank] bur: at Q: bur: place. Affidavit and Cert: given.

Leeds, 1667 to 1695, 178-85. Friends' registers record the burial of Thomas Penington of Leeds, who died 5.vii.1679.

CLAPHAM *Burials*

Lanatus Majj Petrus Atkinson, Quaker, sep: vt fertur apud Setle 15.

Y.P.R.S. 67: *Clapham*, 115. Clapham, parish, 6 m. NW of Settle.

1680 LEEDS *Burials*

Sept. 9. John Langstaf, of Hunslet, bur: at Quaker's burying place. Affidavit and Cert: given.

Leeds, 1667 to 1695, 193. Friends' registers record the death of John Langstaff, 7.vii.1680. Hunslet, parish, now in S Leeds.

THORNTON-IN-LONSDALE *Baptisms*

Allice d. of John Topphan Quaker in W. Nov. 24.

Y.P.R.S. 89: *Thornton-in-Lonsdale*, 30. W[esthouse], hamlet in Thornton-in-Lonsdale, 1 m. NW of Ingleton.

1681 LEEDS *Burials*

Tho. Jorden of Seacroft bur: at Qua: bur: place, 28th of Nov. Notice given 7th of Decembr.

Leeds, 1667 to 1695, 301. Friends' registers record the burial "nr. Leeds" of Thomas Jordan, d. 27.ix.1681. Seacroft, in parish of Whitkirk, now in Leeds.

1682 LEEDS *Burials*

Feb. 4 John Browne, of midle tenters, bur: at Quaker's burying place. Affidavit and Cert: given.

[March 17 *or* 18 ?] Thomas, son of Jer: Dobson, of Houlbeck, bur: at Q. burying place. Affidavit and Cert: given.

[March 20 *or* 21 ?] Daniel S . . . bur: at Quaker's burying place. Affidavit and Cert: given.

[October, *between* 9th *and* 13th] An infant of Mr Nathaniel Blands of Beiston, bur: at Q. bur: place. Affidavit and Cert: given.

Leeds, 1667 to 1695, 302-4, 306, 308. Holbeck, parish, now in S Leeds. Beeston, now in S Leeds.

KIRKBY MALHAM

Burialls Anno Domini 1682

Anne daughter of William Atkinson quaker of Kirkby, buried 28th May.

Y.P.R.S. 106: *Kirkby Malham*, 181. Kirkby Malham, parish, 9 m. NW of Skipton.

1683 LEEDS *Burials*

January 2. George Lapites of [*blank*], bur. at Quaker's burying place. Affidavit and Cert: given.

Leeds, 1667 to 1695, 309.

1685 HAMPSTHWAITE *Burials*

John ye sone of Miles Hardcastle quaker bur. January ye 25th.

Y.P.R.S. 13: *Hampsthwaite*, 142. Hampsthwaite, parish, 2 m. SW of Ripley.

LEEDS *Burials*

Nov. 10. Ann Cowper, of Boore Lane, Quaker. Affidavit and Cert: given.

Leeds, 1667 to 1695, 333. Friends' registers record her death as 6.ix.1685; buried at Leeds (Brighouse M.M.).

GILLING

Baptiz: Elizabetha uxor Giulielmi Shepherd de Cawton Nov: 30 parentes ejus Michael Shotton et Elizabetha uxor sua fanaticae Quakerorum sectae professores de Babtismate filiae praedictae minimes oliciti Amicorum quorundam per suasionem ad sanctum lavacrum adducta fuit die praescripto to Festo S. Andreae. Anno aetat: suae 21.

Y.P.R.S. 113: *Gilling*, 54. This entry is translated elsewhere in the volume, as follows: "1685. Elizabeth, wife of William Shepherd of Cawton, her parents Michael Shotton and Elizabeth his wife, professors of the fanatical sect of the Quakers, cared very little about the baptism of the aforesaid daughter. By the persuasion of certain of her friends, she was brought to the holy laver on the aforesaid day on the feast of St. Andrew in the 21st year of her age." Cawton, parish, 5 m. SSE of Helmsley. Gilling, parish, 6½ m. S of Helmsley.

1688 KIRKBURTON *Burials*

[February] Hen. Gen of Totties was buried the 5th day.

Entry no. 5618 in *Kirkburton*, vol. 2, p. 152. A footnote to this entry reads: "A 'sturdy yeoman' belonging to the Society of Friends. Dr. Morehouse's *Hist. of K.B.* pp. 178, 179." Totties, locality, 1 m. E of Holmfirth.

LEEDS *Burials*

Mar. 24. Margaret Cooper, of boar laine, Quaker's Buriall place. Affidavit and Cert: given.

May 22. Wm. Barber, of Houlbeck, at Quaker place. Q.M. Affidavit and Cert: given.

Leeds, 1667 to 1695, 349-350. Entries in Friends' registers: Margaret Cowper, d. 22.i.1687; William Barber, d. 20.iii.1688. Q.M. probably means "query made" (concerning burial in woollen).

1689 LEEDS *Burials*

Jan. 10. Samuell, son of Edward Daniell, at Quaker burial. Affidavit and Cert: given.

March 18. Robert Harper, of Farnley, at Quaker buriall place. Q.M. Affidavit and Cert: given.

July 9. Izabell, wife of John Wayles, at Quaker place.

Leeds, 1667 to 1695, 353-354, 356. Farnley, parish, now in SW Leeds. Friends' registers record death of Robert Harper of Farnley, 17.i. (buried 20.i.) 1688. Friends' registers record the death of Isabell Wailes, 6.vii.1689.

1690 HAMPSTHWAITE *Burials*

Abraham Simpson buried at Hardcastle Garth April ye 6th.

Y.P.R.S. 13: *Hampsthwaite*, 146. Hardcastle Garth, a disused Friends' burial ground in Darley Dale, named after the donor.

KIRKBURTON *Baptisms*

Aprill. Mary Senior, a Quaker's daughter, about 21 years age, was bapt the 22d day.

Entry no. 5988 in *Kirkburton*, vol. 2, p. 161.

LEEDS *Burials*

Aug. 16. A child of John Cowell, of Banck, buried at Quaker place.

Sept. 29. Ann, wife of Thomas Smith, at Quakers Buriall place. Affidavit and Cert: given.

Leeds, 1667 to 1695, 363-4. Friends' registers record the death of Simon, son of John Cowell of Hilbas Banks, nr. Leeds, 15.vi.1690, and of Anne Smith of March laine, near Leeds, 27.vii.1690.

1691 AUGHTON

Burialls in Aughton 1691

Mathew Thompson, a quaker bury: May 5.

Leonard Marshall, a quaker 21 Novembr.

Y.P.R.S. 86: *Aughton*, 63-64. Friends' registers record the death of Leonard Marshall of Aughton, 20.ix.1691; buried at Skipwith. Aughton, parish, 7 m. NE of Selby.

LEEDS *Burials*

Oct. 27. John Waylles, of Boor Lane, buried at Quakers. Q.M. Affidavit and Cert: given.

Leeds, 1667 to 1695, 370. Friends' registers record his death, 25.viii.1691.

GUISELEY

Baptized in the Parish of Guiseley

June 11 Betteris Overend, [daughter of] John, [of] Guiseley, Quaker.

From A transcript of the early registers of the parish of Guiseley in the county of York, 1584 to 1720. Transcribed and edited by William Easterbrook Preston and Joseph Hambley Rowe. Bradford, Percy Lund, Humphries, 1913. p. 222. Guiseley, parish, 2 m. S of Otley.

1692 LEEDS *Burials*

Jan. 19. Mr. John Stables—Buried among Quakers. Q.M. Affidavit and Cert: given.

July 1. George Lapis, of Bridge end, buried at Quakers Buriall place. Q.M. Affidavit and Cert: given.

Leeds, 1667 to 1695, 371, 374. Friends' registers record the death of George Lapidge, of Pittfall in Leeds, 28.iv.1692.

AUGHTON *Burials*

Thomas Marshall of Cottingwith, a quaker &c. [*burial registered between Feb. 8 and March 1*].

Y.P.R.S. 86: Aughton, 64. Friends' registers record the burial at Skipwith of Thomas, son of Nicholas and Frances Marshall, of East Cottinwith, d. 21.xii.1691. East Cottingwith, parish, 8 m. NE of Selby.

KIRKBURTON *Baptisms*

[November] Thomas sonne of John Robucke of Roydhouse, a Quaker, being 18 years old Aprill the last, was baptized in presence of Edward Hoyle, Mathew and Sarah Booth and John Page the 12th day.

Entry no. 6437 in Kirkburton, vol. 2, p. 172. A footnote to this entry reads: "John Robuck and Sarah his wife, of Shelley, were in the published list of Dissenters from church in 1683. Oliver Heywood says John Robuck died in London. Diaries, vol. 2, p. 28. Northowram Reg. p. 139. Roydhouse, hamlet, 5½ m. SE of Huddersfield.

1694 KIRKBURTON *Baptisms*

[May] William son of William Ffoster, a Quaker in Ffullstone towneship, being 28 years old, baptized the 4th day.

Entry no. 6728 in Kirkburton, vol. 2, p. 178. Fulstone, parish, 5½ m. SSE of Huddersfield.

YORK

Apr. 2d. 1694. Just as I was going to bed at ten a clock this Night, a dreadfull fire broke out in High Ouse-Gate, which began by ye carelesness of one Charles Hall, a Quaker and Hemp-dresser, & consumed many houses; & next morning stopt about ye Pavement Cross. If a temporal fire be so dreadful (as mine Eyes beheld it all night, till teare & sorrow made me unable to look up), what fire is that eternal one which is kindled by ye Breath of ye Almighty? & from it, Good Lord deliver us. So prayeth Rich. Coulton.

Printed in the *Yorkshire archaeological journal*, vol. 15 (1900), p. 146, along with other *Extracts from the registers of the church of St. Mary, Castlegate, York*. By Robert H. Skaife. The entry given appears at the end of the Baptisms volume. Richard Coulton was rector.

1695 KIRKBURTON

[June] Katherine pretended wife of Henry Jackson of Totties buried in the Quaker's burying place the 26th day.

[July] Peter Kay an infant of William Kaye of Dungeon in Almonbury parish buried in the Quakers' burying place, I know not when.

[October] Anne daughter of Richard Batty, a Quaker, late of Wooldale, shee beeing 24 years old the ensuing December, baptized the 13th day.

John Kaye of Hill-top, Quaker, buried in the burying place of Quakers.

Lydia 21 years old and Hanna 16 years old, daughters of Richard Batty, a Quaker, late of Woodale and afterwards of Lidyat, baptized the 27th day.

Entries nos. 6952, 6965, 7007, 7012 and 7014 in *Kirkburton*, vol. 2, pp. 184-86. A footnote to the June entry reads: "Katherine, the daughter of Charles Cooke of Hatfield, had been married according to the forms of the Society of Friends, on Feb. 8, 1665, to Mr. Henry Jackson, well-known as an early convert and an active follower of George Fox. Dr. Morehouse's *Hist. of K.B.* pages 176-178." Friends' registers record her burial at Wooldale, 26.iv.1695. Wooldale, now a ward of Holmfirth urban district, 6 m. S of Huddersfield.

Friends' registers record Peter Kay's burial, 24.v.1695 at Wooldale. Almondbury, parish, 2 m. SE of Huddersfield (now in the borough).

Friends' registers record the burial, 15.viii.1695 at Wooldale, of John Kay of Birkhouse. Hill-top, hamlet in Shelley, 6½ m. SE of Huddersfield. Lidget, hamlet, 4 m. E of Huddersfield.

1696 KIRKBURTON *Baptisms*

[February] John sonne of Richard Batty late of Lidyat in Holmfirth, a Quaker, being 27 years old, and Bathsheba daughter of the said Richard Batty, being 29 years old, baptized the 21st day.

Entry no. 7077 in *Kirkburton*, vol. 2, p. 188.

GUISELEY *Burials*

Quakers buried att their Meeting Place

Aprill 5 Henry Whitakers of Rawdon Linning weaver
 May 21 Margaret Wife of John Overend of Guiseley feaver
 June 13 John Overend of Guiseley Clothier of a feaver
 June 16 Mercy dautr of John Overend of Guiseley of a feaver
 July 13 Nathan Overend of Guiseley dyed of a feaver
 August 3 Joshua Overend of Guiseley dyed of a feaver.

Guiseley, 1584-1720, 233. The entries for these burials in Friends' registers gives no dates, other than the date of death in each case (27.i., 18.iii., 12.iv., 15.iv., 12.v., and 1.vi.1696). The burial place is named Dibhouse or Dibhouse in Yeadon in Friends' registers. Rawdon, parish, 6 m. NW of Leeds. Yeadon, parish, 8 m. NW of Leeds.

LEEDS *Burials*

July 5. A Crysome child of Wm. Birkby, of Boar laine, Quaker, at quaker close. Affidavit and Cert: given.

From *The registers of the parish church of Leeds from 1695 to 1722. Ninth and tenth books.* Edited by George Denison Lumb. (Thoresby Society. Publications. vol. 13) Leeds, 1909. p. 133. Friends' registers date this burial 3.iv.1696.

COWTHORPE *Births*

Marke Burliegh sone of Marke in Couthrope Hall was borne and named upon the 17th day of August 1696. [Marke Burliegh a Quaker]

Y.P.R.S. 39 : *Cowthorpe, 23, 24.* Cowthorpe, parish, 3 m. NE of Wetherby.

1699 METHLEY *Baptisms*

Jan. ye 6th. Samuel, the son of Elkanah Walshaw, Quaker, of Wakefield Parish, aged 10 yrs.

From *The registers of the parish church of Methley in the county of York, from 1560 to 1812.* Transcribed and edited by George Denison Lumb. (Thoresby Society. Publications. vol. 12) Leeds, 1903. p. 140. Methley, parish, 7 m. SE of Leeds.

HOOTON PAGNELL *Burials*

John Burgesse the quaker in his own burial place 7br 19th.

Y.P.R.S. 87 : *Hooton Pagnell, 73.* Friends' registers do not record place of burial for John Burgess of Morehouse (Balby M.M.). Moorhouse, hamlet in parish of Hooton Pagnell, 6 m. NE of Doncaster.

LEEDS *Burials*

Sept. 16. Brian Sheffield, of Medow lane, quaker, at Quaker meeting place.

Sept. 24. Moses Hulley, of Wortley, quaker, at Quaker metting place.

Nov. 14. Mary, dau: of Robt Eastburne, of Quarry hill, quaker, at quaker metting place.

Leeds, 1695 to 1722, pp. 149-50. Friends' registers record the death of Bryan Sheafeld of Austrop Hall, 11.vii.1699; Moses Hulley, 22.vii.1699; and Mary Eastborn, 11.ix.1699. Wortley, in SW Leeds.

1700 HAMPSTHWAITE *Burials*

Wm. Bradley buried at Hardcastle Garth February ye 17th.

Y.P.R.S. 13: *Hampsthwaite*, 154.

LEEDS *Burials*

July 28. Wid: Lapis, of Caw lane, at Quaker metting place.

Leeds, 1695 to 1722, p. 155. Friends' registers record the death of Margaret Lapage of Pitfall, 20.v.1700.

KEIGHLEY

[Entry at the end of June] James son of Tho. Wilson Quaker borne ye 25th day of March 1702.

Y.P.R.S. 98: *St. Andrew's, Keighley*, 24.

[c. 1700] GILLING *Births*

[*blank*] filia Henrici Milburn de Gilling Quakerorum sect: nata.

Y.P.R.S. 113: *Gilling*, 63.

RUSSELL S. MORTIMER

Prelates and People of the Lake Counties: a History of the Diocese of Carlisle, 1133-1933. By Charles Murray Lowther Bouch. Kendal, Titus Wilson, 1948. Pp. xv, 514, 10 plates.

Interest for Friends in this book centres in the section entitled "The Stuarts and their aftermath, 1603-1747." Following a short description of the rise of Quakerism and George Fox's visits, the author remarks (pp. 268-9): "Perhaps the most striking result of Fox's work was its permanence. It is interesting to compare his itinerary with the lists of Quakers in visitation and similar documents and to note that wherever he preached, there, a generation and more afterwards, his followers were still to be found. It is also noticeable that as a general rule they are not found in any great numbers elsewhere." Some idea of the strength of Quakerism in these parts is given by the presentments, as for the following parishes in 1684 (quoted p. 330), Brigham had 36, Dean 26, Loweswater 20, Kendal 45, Hugill 22, Heversham 28, Kirkby Lonsdale 27. There are many points of value in this volume ranging from references to George Fox as "the sovereign pontiff of Cumberland" and a tradition of his ghost at Ash House, Thwaites (p. 267), to mention of Robert Wilson's part in the establishment of the Keswick Convention.

Recent Publications

Meeting House and Counting House: the Quaker Merchants of Colonial Philadelphia, 1682-1763. By Frederick B. Tolles. Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia, by the University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1948. Pp. xiv, 292, 5 plates. \$5.00.

This volume by the new secretary of the Friends Historical Association will be welcomed by Friends and by social historians on both sides of the Atlantic. It is of interest to all students of Quakerism concerned in the development of the Society in communities where Friends of substance were sufficiently numerous to form a coherent social as well as a religious body.

In his introduction the author develops the thesis that the Society of Friends tends to produce two distinct types; the one committed to the ideal; the other, people "who have held it to be equally imperative to work out their principles of life in the complex affairs of the community and the state, where to gain an end one must yield something; where to get on one must submit to existing conditions; and where to achieve ultimate triumph one must risk his ideals to the tender mercies of a world not yet ripe for them." Essentially this book is about the successful among those of the latter type. All know the "meeting house" Friends, their journals, their unrelenting struggles for social reform, and their influence in moulding the Society of Friends as we know it today; but "counting house" Friends have had to wait until this century for serious study of their activities, and this volume will be indispensable for interpreting colonial Philadelphia to the modern age.

Early in the book Frederick Tolles brings evidence to show the social status, skills and commercial experience of the immigrants, and states: "The number and variety of employments represented by the Quaker settlers no doubt contributed in large measure to the rapidity with which Philadelphia, last of the major colonial towns to be founded, took its place as one of the principal seaports and market towns, challenging within a few years the leadership of Boston." The author then proceeds to consider various fields of activity under the following general headings: The Holy Community (featuring Friends' care of the poor, and oversight in business matters); In the Counting House (describing business methods, Philadelphia's share in the West India trade, the use of commercial

capital in land and mineral investment, fiscal and mercantile policy) ; Quaker Grandees (concerning social status) ; The Taste for Books ; Reading for delight and profit ; Votaries of Science (showing the liberal attitude to scientific inquiry born of Friends' pattern of education). These latter chapters might have gained in interest by allowing more scope to the personalities of the great families—the Logans, the Norrises and the rest—and weaving the illustrative material around them.

The author does not set out to solve the political problems of colonial Pennsylvania, but he has given us an interesting, faithful and pleasantly written study of the merchants and legislators in whose lives those problems occurred.

The Wisdom of John Woolman ; with a Selection from his Writings as a Guide to the Seekers of today. By Reginald Reynolds. With a preface by Stephen Hobhouse. London, George Allen & Unwin, 1948. Pp. xii, 178. 10s. 6d.

John Woolman's prose has always enjoyed a vogue since Charles Lamb mentioned his love of it in his essay *A Quaker's Meeting*. Readers have found his pure and simple prose style attractive, they have been interested in his life and times, but we have never before had a volume dealing exclusively with the substance of Woolman's teaching and pointing to many of its facets which have particular relevance to the problems of today.

In his Introduction Reginald Reynolds states that his aim is not to present a "potted Woolman" or a Woolman-Made-Easy for lazy minds, but an *hors d'œuvre* that will produce in the reader the desire for more. In this he more than succeeds, for the Extracts presented under broad classified heads in the second half of the book will inevitably take people to John Woolman's *Journal* and other works. The first half of the volume, entitled *The Wisdom of John Woolman*, consists of a brief sketch of his life, followed by sections analysing various phases of his thought and showing the basis on which the Extracts have been selected and classified. Under this arrangement readers may miss certain aspects of John Woolman's social teaching, but this risk is inherent in any system of arrangement, and particularly in view of Reginald Reynolds's thesis (albeit fully justified) that "Woolman's best and most typical social contribution was related to the problems of wealth and poverty, of slavery and of war" (p. 42). Reginald Reynolds recognizes that some of his contentions may not be acceptable to all Friends (as for instance when he says that Friends' "attitude to temporal power could only be anarchistic, if they were consistent"), but they are all well worth consideration, they do represent certain aspects of Quaker thought, and are individually presented with a welcome clarity.

Literary students have remarked before on the strong similarity of structure in all Friends' spiritual journals, and have complained that it tends to blur the personalities of the authors. Be that as it may, in his Postscript Reginald Reynolds has some interesting speculations along this line. He remarks on the close relationship not only in style, but also in matter, between John Woolman's *Journal* and the journals of contemporary American Friends, mentioning in particular John Hunt and Joshua Evans as reflecting the same spirit. This invites further investigation into how far John Woolman can be said to have been original, and how much of his activity was due to fellowship in an ardent group of Friends. The question is considered tentatively in relation to Joshua Evans, who was a precursor of John Woolman in foregoing the use of the products of slave labour, who wore undyed fabrics, and who likewise deprecated a partisan spirit in politics. This promises to be a fruitful line of inquiry, which, on the evidence of this thoughtful and penetrating introductory analysis of John Woolman's thought, we would encourage the author to undertake.



The Journeys of Celia Fiennes. Edited and with an introduction by Christopher Morris. With a foreword by G. M. Trevelyan. (Revised edition.) London, The Cresset Press, 1949. (Cresset Library.) Pp. xlix, 376.

Friends studying the social background of seventeenth century England will not travel far before they meet Celia Fiennes on her journeys. This observant traveller, the granddaughter of the first Viscount Saye and Sele and daughter of Nathaniel Fiennes the Parliamentarian, made her journeys through England between about 1685 and 1703, when she was aged between twenty-three and forty. The main value of this travel diary is in the picture it gives of this country at the close of the seventeenth century. The roads, the towns, the villages, the inns and country houses, the natural features and resources, all receive notice.

There are some references to Friends. These have been noted before, but it may be of interest to recall that at Scarborough she found "most of their best Lodgings were in Quakers hands," and records: "I was at a Quakers Meeting in the town where 4 men and 2 women spoke, one after another had done, but it seem'd such a confusion and so incoherent that it very much moved my compassion and pitty to see their delusion and ignorance, and no less excited my thankfulness for the Grace of God that upheld others from such Errors" (p. 92).

A History of Nottinghamshire. By Alfred Cecil Wood. Nottingham, Printed for the Thoroton Society, 1948. Pp. viii, 314.

Includes a very brief account of the rise of Friends (pp. 195-6). The episcopal returns of 1669 are quoted to reveal eleven meetings in the county, and Friends in the county town were estimated to number one hundred (p. 205).

The Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell, with an Introduction, Notes and an Account of his Life. Vols. 3, 4. *The Protectorate.* By Wilbur Cortez Abbott. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1945-47.

Together these volumes give a detailed picture of day to day English politics in the early years of Quakerism, and provide the necessary background for considering Friends' individual and corporate relations with the government during Cromwell's lifetime. An early non-Quaker reference to Friends' attitude to fighting is worth noting in a letter from Sir Francis Russell to Henry Cromwell (quoted vol. 4, p. 536, from *English historical review*, xviii, 78-79): "All the lawyers are turned Quakers, who before boasted they would make penknives of the soldyers' swords." That this, as most of the comment, is based on a secondary source in no way invalidates the soundness of Professor Abbott's editorial work.

Churchwardens' Presentments (17th century). Part I. Archdeaconry of Chichester. Edited by Hilda Johnstone. Lewes, Sussex Record Society, [1949]. (*Publications.* 49.)

This volume includes several bills against Friends for wilfully absenting themselves from public worship, for refusing church dues, for neglecting to have children baptized, and the like.

The Quakers in Midwestern Politics. By LeRoy C. Ferguson. (In *Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts and Letters.* Vol. 32 (1946). Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1948. Pp. 411-28.)

This paper is a condensation of parts of a larger study to cover Quaker influence on the whole American political scene, and the author deals with his subject under headings, as: Antislavery, Indian affairs, Temperance, Prison reform, Peace testimony.

A History of English Criminal Law and its Administration from 1750. Volume 1. The Movement for Reform. By Leon Radzinowicz. London, Stevens & Sons, 1948. Pp. xxiv, 853.

This volume naturally includes many references to Friends and their activities in reform from the latter part of the eighteenth century. The prison investigations of Samuel Hoare, Fowell Buxton and Elizabeth Fry all come in for notice, and the reforming activity of William Allen (expressed in this context in the 1809 foundation of the Society for the Diffusion of Knowledge upon the Punishment of Death and the Improvement of Prison Discipline) is fully dealt with. The author introduces some interesting literary material to illustrate his thesis, among the stories being an account of a Quaker and a highwayman (p. 705, note 43) from G. F. A. Wendeborn's *Reise durch einige westlichen und südlichen Provinzen Englands* (Hamburg, 1793).

American Children through their Books, 1700-1835. By Monica Kiefer. Foreword by Dorothy Canfield Fisher. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1948. Pp. xiii, 248, 6 plates.

This is an interesting study dealing with the literature written for children from early colonial times to the middle of the nineteenth century. It includes many notices of Friends' attitudes and the theological bases of their early children's books. But it is not all "last expressions and dying sayings", for the book is concerned with civil as well as with religious instruction. The spelling book used in Pennsylvania Friends' schools, George Fox's *Instructions for Right Spelling and Plain Directions for Reading and Writing True English*, is described, and aspects of Athony Benezet's school methods, particularly in teaching English, Arithmetic and Accounts, are considered in some detail (pp. 124-125, 129).

John Lilburne the Leveller: a Christian Democrat. By Mildred Ann Gibb. London, Lindsay Drummond, 1947. Pp. 360, 5 plates.

In Chapter XIV: "The Quaker" no new information is forthcoming, but one judgment may be noted (pp. 335-36): "It is sometimes said that Lilburne, out of the weariness of his mind and body, sought the quiet harbour of Quakerism. But such an explanation is not consistent either with the characteristics of contemporary Quakerism, or with the record Lilburne has left us of his spiritual travail during this period. He may be said rather by this final effort to have scaled the highest peak of his spiritual ascent here on earth."

JOSEPH SAVORY of *Montpellier and his descendants*, the presidential address to the Huguenot Society of London in 1946, by Professor D. L. Savory, M.P., is printed in the Society's *Proceedings*, vol. 17, no. 5, pp. 367-87. The paper contains a good account of William Savory (Savery), his visits to Ireland in 1797 and 1798, and of his interview with George III, based on his journal. At the end of the address (which also touches on Voltaire's contacts with English Friends) is a useful pedigree of the Savory family. In this connection attention may be drawn to the account of Paul Condignon and Jean Marsillac's relations with London Friends in William Henry Manchée's *Huguenot London: Charing Cross and St. Martin's Lane* (*Proceedings*, vol. 12, no. 5, session 1921-22, pp. 379-80).

THE *William and Mary Quarterly* issued by the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia, whilst not concerned mainly with Pennsylvania, often contains material of interest to Friends. For instance the number for January, 1948 (3rd series, vol. 5, no. 1) includes an article by John E. Pomfret on *The problem of the West Jersey "Concessions" of 1676-7* and the political struggles which flowed from them. The main interest now of this venture by Edward Byllinge's trustees is that it was William Penn's first active concern in colonial affairs.

SUPPLEMENTS TO THE JOURNAL OF FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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