

~~Edward H. Milligan~~

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## Editorial

NEARLY one hundred members and Friends attended the meeting in the Small Meeting House at Friends House on Thursday, 30th June, at which Emilia Fogelklou-Norlind's presidential address was read. Francis E. Pollard was in the chair. In the President's unavoidable absence her thought-provoking paper entitled *Quakerism and Democracy: some points concerning revelation and organization* was read by Margaret M. Harvey.

A short business session preceded the presidential address and it was announced that Alfred B. Searle had accepted an invitation to become President for 1950. The Historical Society's accounts for 1948 were approved, and are printed on page 54.

Among those present at the meeting was Anna B. Hewitt, who is on the staff of the Quaker Collection at Haverford College, Pennsylvania, and is Assistant Editor of the *Bulletin of Friends Historical Association*. Anna Hewitt has paid a welcome visit to the Library at Friends House, where she gave valued help on the staff for two months during the summer. This completes the staff exchanges between Friends House Library and the two principal American Quaker libraries. Anna Hewitt compiled a list of Friends House holdings of periodical publications, which amount to over four hundred titles, and this will be the Library's contribution to the British Union Catalogue of Periodicals.

In memory of Rufus M. Jones, members of Friends Historical Association in America have very kindly provided Friends House Library with a Kodak projector for reading microfilms. The beginning of a film collection has already been made, and will be continued with the help of a generous allocation made by the Edward Cadbury Trust. These films will make a considerable number of the most important Quaker MSS. available to readers in libraries possessing film projectors, and at Friends House their use will save the originals from wear and tear.

Friends concerned in arranging meetings are reminded of the possible appeal of Quaker historical subjects—biographical, literary, or other. The committee will always be glad to hear from those wishing to find speakers on historical topics.

In our next issue we hope to publish a study of some aspects of the life and work of Thomas Shillitoe by our past President, T. Edmund Harvey, and the text of Emilia Fogelklou-Norlind's presidential address.

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### Accounts for the year 1948 and *Journal*, vol. xl

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Balance brought forward .. ..	144	13	6	<i>Journal of Friends' Historical Society,</i>			
Subscriptions ..* ..	107	9	8	volume xl ..	81	1	3
Sales .. ..	19	15	0	Stationery ..	4	1	6
				Petty Cash and Postage .. ..	10	0	0
				Balance carried forward to 1949 ..	176	15	5
					176	15	5
	£271	18	2		£271	18	2

Examined with the Books of the Society, and found correct.

BASIL G. BURTON.

24.6.49.

\* This income includes two special donations amounting to £13 3s. The ordinary subscription income for the year is therefore 16s. 1d. less than the expenditure.

# The Staffing of Friends' Schools in England during the Nineteenth Century

By W. A. CAMPBELL STEWART, Ph.D.

## THE SUPPLY OF TEACHERS

UNTIL well into the nineteenth century Friends had scarcely any contact in England with the country's provision for higher education. The only chance of English university training as full members of Oxford or Cambridge had fallen to those who, right at the beginning of the Society's history in the seventeenth century, had become Friends after having completed their education at Oxford or Cambridge.<sup>1</sup> From the earlier half of the nineteenth century London University offered an education which some Friends gladly accepted, and Oxford and Cambridge were open to non-Anglicans after 1871. The supply of Friend teachers, after the seventeenth century graduates died, was not from the universities, nor did the course of work in Quaker schools follow the university pattern, on the whole.

During the period 1695-1725 the interest of the Society in its schools was high, and in 1697 the London Second-day Morning Meeting of Ministers advised the training of teachers, but even then there was a shortage of teachers which prevented the meetings of Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Berkshire and Derbyshire from founding schools as they had planned.<sup>2</sup> During the eighteenth century schoolmasters had a large responsibility for the continuity of Quaker education when the interest and support of meetings had so diminished. But the supply of teachers was so insufficient that in 1760 a special committee of the Meeting for Sufferings was set up

<sup>1</sup> Some Friends went to universities outside England. John Fothergill, one of the main movers in the foundation of Ackworth, was a famous doctor in the eighteenth century, and had trained at Edinburgh.

<sup>2</sup> See Hubbard, D. G., *Early Quaker Education, c. 1650-1780*, 92 (University of London M.A. thesis, 1940. Copy at the Friends' Reference Library).

to consider the whole position. Of those teaching, many were deemed inadequately trained for their work, and that committee suggested among other things, a definite scale of payment for Friend teachers to encourage their recruitment and proper training. But until well into the nineteenth century Friends made no set provision for training teachers. The ideals of the Society and its self-contained nature did lead many into teaching. As Anthony Benezet said: "Our principles . . . naturally point out to us as a people, rather than others, to serve God and our country in the education of youth."<sup>1</sup>

In the middle of the eighteenth century the concern of meetings for their schools was weak. That schools continued until Yearly Meeting founded Ackworth in 1779 was due to the independent efforts of individual Friends and groups.

The challenge of the nineteenth century was far more insistent. Urban and industrial communities forced upon Friends an obligation to meet the competition by stability and continuity in the "Meeting" schools. That meant some system for guaranteeing the supply of teachers.<sup>2</sup>

The conditions of life for staff in most of the "Meeting" schools must have been rigorous in the first half of the century. For living quarters, one common room with the other men (or women) teachers, and a bedroom which was, at best, a cubicle in the bedrooms for the scholars. In the early years at Ackworth there was no official holiday, but a week or two snatched from the daily life of the school, and at least one open complaint of insufficient food. In 1830 the headmistress of the Mount, a school for the children of better-to-do Friends, was paid £50 a year with free board and lodging if she wished it; the salary of assistant teachers, both men and women, in other "Meeting" schools was correspondingly smaller. At Wigton and Rawdon, for example, early on, no regular salary was paid, but "gifts" were occasionally given. It is worth noting that, before the Mount became a "Meeting" school, successive superintendents, "concerned" Friends, gave financial help.

<sup>1</sup> Letter to Samuel Fothergill, 27.xi.1758.

<sup>2</sup> The foundation of training colleges about the middle of the century by other bodies was a challenge. Such names as Borough Road, Stockwell, Battersea, St. Mark's, Whitelands and Westminster were becoming established.

The pattern of service, of poverty, of intellectual limitation, of strict Quaker plainness, lay on Friend apprentices and on most Friend teachers in the first forty years of the century. The first apprentice was engaged at Ackworth in 1782. He was given an extra year's schooling and then articulated for six or seven years, during which time he was responsible for a good deal of teaching and supervision. He had, at the beginning, no further advanced studies, but learned the classroom situation by being in it and dealing with it. We have shown how meagre was the payment, and when we remember that these lads of fifteen, sixteen, seventeen, often had to take charge of classes of sixty or seventy boys out of lesson time,<sup>1</sup> that they sometimes had to supervise working off by the boys of arrears of punishment like "standing to the line," it can be seen how natural it was that many of the apprentices did not serve their full term.<sup>2</sup>

The Lancasterian system was given a cautious probationary period at Ackworth between 1822 and 1834. George Dixon, the first head of Great Ayton, had received his earlier training at the British School in Darlington, and for the first four years of Great Ayton he chose the best four readers from the top class to teach the second and third classes. After that time he chose the best of these monitors as an apprentice teacher. From about 1820 to 1845 some of the Lancasterian methods had a vogue in Friends' schools.

#### TRAINING WOMEN TEACHERS

In 1836 the committee of the Mount School<sup>3</sup> decided to try to meet their difficulties in staffing along much the same lines as Ackworth had followed with its apprentice teachers. Four or five girls at a time were to be admitted at lower fees in order to prepare as teachers. They had an extra year of schooling and then were engaged as junior teachers for a varying period of years. This was the beginning of the

<sup>1</sup> The staffing ratio was nothing like as heavy as this. At Ackworth in 1846 it was (including apprentices) one teacher to 19 boys, and one to 14 girls.

<sup>2</sup> An example of this occurs at Sidcot, where, in the first half of the nineteenth century only a few apprentices stayed through their full term. The situation was similar at Wigton and at Islington.

<sup>3</sup> The school was then at Castlegate. It was moved to the Mount in 1857.



“ Training Department ” at the Mount. It proved, for the time, successful, and for some years the children so trained were in demand for the Mount staff and for the staffs of other schools and as governesses to wealthier families. This training was limited and was changed in the 'sixties, but it must have had some satisfying results, because Sir Joshua Fitch said after his inspection on behalf of the Royal Commission in 1864 :<sup>1</sup>

I noticed on the part of all the teachers, a professional aptitude, and a skill in oral explanation and in collective teaching, which are very unusual in higher schools. I attribute this to the fact that the Friends are the only religious body in which there is a distinct recognition of the need for training, and a definite provision to meet that need.

After the move from Castlegate to the Mount in 1857 the number of trainees was increased from five to ten. With the opening of what is now Bedford College in 1849, of Girton and Newnham round about 1870, followed in the late 'seventies and 'eighties by the women's colleges at Oxford, a new impetus was offered to women, and particularly to the Mount Training Department. In 1866, of the thirty-nine pupils, fourteen were trainees. A reduced fee was balanced by some extra chores which tended to mark them off from their companions in that inevitable stratification of Victorian society. It is worth noting that in the 'sixties some of the older apprentice teachers came from the other Friends' schools, such as Ackworth, Penketh and Wigton, for training at the Mount.

Until the advent of Lydia Rous in 1866, the trainees had the benefit of a year's further education at the Mount, and a period of service as part return. The training was not on method, except for what could be observed from the regular teachers. Lydia Rous changed that somewhat. Until her retirement in 1879 she was never satisfied with the intellectual quality of the teachers she was able to have. It was in 1879 that the training of women teachers was discussed in the Education Conference of the Society :

The present system, then, amounts to this :—Five or six of the brightest and best pupils are chosen annually (usually at the age of 15) from the four hundred girls who fill our schools ; they are

<sup>1</sup> *Report on Friends' Schools at York* by an Assistant Commissioner to the Royal Commission on Schools appointed in 1864 (published 1869), 6.



boarded and partially clothed (£7 10s. per annum can hardly pay the full cost of clothing) : one year's education at the Mount School is given to them, which is not sufficient to enable them to matriculate or gain any certificate of recognised value ; they take during their term of apprenticeship a considerable part of the drudgery and some portion of the class work, and thus lessen the number of adult teachers that would otherwise be required in the schools ; at twenty-one years of age they are free. What is their status professionally ? . . . We will now take the case of a girl of equal ability who has not been apprenticed : at sixteen years of age she enters the Mount School ; she receives uninterrupted, systematic instruction for two or three years : matriculates at the London University, and at the age of nineteen is probably in a situation where she is gaining £40 or £50 per annum. The Ackworth or Croydon apprentice has no chance of matriculating till she has completed her twenty-first year, and then only if she is willing and able to forego earning a year's salary.<sup>1</sup>

After 1879 two years of education at the Mount was offered to each trainee. With training colleges in the twentieth century becoming a national necessity, the Mount Training Department was scarcely well enough equipped to give sufficient and skilled instruction to its trainees, who, as educational advantage offered, were seen to be better served if the money set aside for their training were devoted to university scholarships or bursaries for further study and preparation. This also happened with boy trainees, as we shall see. The Training Department faded away in the twentieth century in its teaching capacity.

### TRAINING MEN TEACHERS

The first apprentice went to Ackworth in 1782. The apprenticeship system was adopted at Sidcot in 1808, at Islington in 1811, and at Wigton in 1815, but the supply of teachers was never adequate or reliable at the schools in the first half of the century. Yearly Meeting at the beginning of the century states " that the want of proper persons as Schoolmasters hath been the occasion of great damage to the Society."<sup>2</sup> This complaint had been voiced in 1690, in 1760, and on other occasions, yet the insufficiency of " suitable Friends " was being intensified by the growing number of Friends' " Meeting " or " Committee " schools. By 1842 there were ten schools needing appropriate staffs.

<sup>1</sup> *Report*, 102. From Lydia Rous's paper on the subject.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in *History of Wigton School*, 10.



The monitorial conception was the only training plan worked out in England to any general effect in the first forty years of the century. But it was inadequate, Friends soon saw, as a prevailing system for schools which placed such emphasis on religious experience and community life as theirs did. So apprenticeship, while being a guarantee of future teachers, was not a proper answer to the problem of supply, and the stirrings of concern for the training of teachers in the country at large were felt in the educational circles of the Society. In 1848 Friends founded their Training Centre for men. This was the Flounders Institute and was situated near Ackworth School. It was founded on the bequest of Benjamin Flounders, and is another example of Quakerly responsibility undertaken by richer Friends. Benjamin Flounders left £40,000 to be used :

for the education of the sons of poorer members of the Society of Friends with a special view to render them competent to undertake the education and instruction of youth.<sup>1</sup>

The plan was to house a maximum of twelve students, and there were three classes of pupils to be admitted :

The first, consisting of youths not less than fifteen years of age, who, if their talents and conduct render it suitable, may remain several years in the Establishment, and go through such a course of study in it, or out of it under its direction, as may qualify them for the highest position as teachers; the second, of young persons rather more advanced in age, who have not been brought up to the profession, but who have good talents and are conscientiously disposed to become teachers; the third, of those who have been trained to the office of teacher, and are desirous of improving themselves by the instruction afforded in the Flounders Institute.<sup>2</sup>

These deliberately vague terms of reference left scope for variation in training courses. It is interesting to note that in the 1869 Report of the Royal Commission's examination of Friends' educational institutions in 1864, the Commission states that the course of instruction lasted for three years. R. W. Rich<sup>3</sup> states that the regular course was for two years, and we read of many students completing a one-year course,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Wallis, I. H., *Frederick Andrews* (1924), 30.

<sup>2</sup> The Trust Deed of the Flounders Institute (printed in 1874), 31-2.

<sup>3</sup> Rich, R. W., *Training of Teachers* (Cambridge, 1933), 285.

<sup>4</sup> William Scarnell Lean, principal of Flounders Institute, 1870-99, told the Education Conference, 1879: "The proportion of students who have the advantage of a second year's study is small." See *Report of the Conference*, 126.



or, like Frederick Andrews, a great Ackworth headmaster, who went to the Flounders Institute for one year in 1867 in the middle of his apprenticeship, and returned again for a further year in 1871 after his apprenticeship was over. The accommodation for twelve was not always fully used at first—in 1864 the Commission found only nine in residence. But the influence of the Institute in the Society's schools was great in the second half of the century. The Commissioner reported :<sup>1</sup>

It appears that in England and Ireland about 70 masters in all, are now employed in schools belonging to the Society and that of these more than half have been educated in the Flounders Institution, while others are engaged in domestic tuition in the Society. Out of 73 who had passed through the institution since its establishment it appeared that only 19 were now engaged in other employments, and that of them a considerable number had been for a time engaged in teaching.

Perhaps approximately a quarter seems a rather more surprising proportion of secessions to us than to the Commissioner. It indicates that the general proportion of secessions in the country was higher, which points to general dissatisfaction with the position of the teacher. Between 1870 and 1879, when 75 teachers were trained at the Flounders Institute, a comparable number of secessions was recorded.

However, though the proportion of losses was as large as this, in the period 1848 to 1891, 260 men were trained for teaching, an average of about six a year. These men had a considerable influence on the Quaker schools in that time. The standard of work demanded of them rose as the general standard of Quaker education became academically higher and its range wider.

In 1858, ten years after its opening, the course of studies, which we shall examine more closely later, was adapted to the examination requirements of London University, and in 1860 an elementary entrance examination was instituted. Students were encouraged to prepare themselves for matriculation, but up to 1879 the results had not satisfied the Principal. However, Friends, with that prophetic realism which so often makes the best and usually the most advantageous solution, as later history confirms, chose to ally their preparation for higher learning with the universities.

<sup>1</sup> *Report* (1869), 26.



The general tendencies of the Society were to become a middle-class group. Its "Meeting" schools moved up the social scale with the Society as a whole. The Flounders Institute reflected the recognition that what was lacking in Friends' schools was teachers of wide culture, and so it was aligned to the universities rather than to the training colleges, which were severely cramped by the introduction of "payment by results."

From 1875 a fee of ten guineas a year was charged for each student at the Flounders, and this later became £20. This is parallel to the rise in costs seen in the schools throughout the century. In the late 'nineties students who went to Flounders had to have matriculated before entering, and then three years' study was expected of them for a degree. It is important to note the different standards maintained for men and women in training. The Mount Training Department had a rare graduate from its members, and until late in the century there was no opportunity for the apprentice to matriculate. The training of women teachers was more nearly parallel to training college preparation, with the emphasis on practical work in school and a certain amount of advanced study.

In 1879 it was felt that the general standard of education then to be found in England urged upon Friends the need for a higher percentage of men educated in widely humane studies. Scholarships were offered to some to study at university centres. When the parallel needs of women were advanced, there was a certain amount of uneasy debate in which the justice of the claim was recognized :

If it is intended to apply to young men only, then it would be a perpetuation of the injustice under which the whole country is suffering at the present time.<sup>1</sup>

The whole question hinged on the money available, and the men were awarded it, with the undertaking that women would be similarly supported when money allowed. Such money was late and rare in coming.

In 1894 the Flounders Institute moved from its buildings at Ackworth to a house near the Yorkshire College, Leeds, which was then a constituent college of the Victoria University. Students were expected to pursue their studies for

<sup>1</sup> *Report*, 130.



three years at the College, which had a Department of Education, and in 1904 when Leeds became a university in its own right the arrangement was felt to be even more happy. In 1909 the original Flounders scheme was altered still further. Then, in accordance with a scheme of the Board of Education, the residential condition was discontinued, since that localized the influence and range. Instead, after due examination, grants were made which enabled the students receiving them to study at other universities and training institutions.

However, H.M. Inspectors concluded after their inspection of Friends' schools in 1904 :

It would have been expected that there would have been a large number of applications for admission (to the Flounders Institute). This is not the case, and though the accommodation is limited to ten the house is not always full and some are admitted whose connection with the Society is not at all close. One would have expected that there would be active competition from members of the Society to receive the benefit of this endowment.<sup>1</sup>

One other point worth noting is that in 1904 the apprenticeship system had nearly ceased, but apparently not quite. H.M. Inspectors say: "This (the system of apprenticeship) has now almost ceased to exist in nearly every School."<sup>2</sup>

So, within the Society at the beginning of the twentieth century the provision was to train those who would teach after graduation. Those men who wished a shorter course could not count on the provision of the Society until 1909. After all, the Flounders Institute was to help them to train in order to return to teach in Society schools, and the standard demanded of these was usually, in the twentieth century, of graduate quality.

We have given prominence to the work of the Flounders Institute as the foundation for training men teachers by providing a wider cultural background than was possible in the schools or in the training colleges. But when all is said only a variable proportion of men teachers, never more than about a half in Friends' schools, came from Flounders. For the rest, the apprentice system sufficed, with encouragement for apprentices to qualify through the College of

<sup>1</sup> Board of Education *Report*, 1905, 44.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 43.



Preceptors or such bodies, or to widen their knowledge through less systematic cultural contacts, like University Extension Lectures.

With the attempts to rationalize qualifications in the teaching profession, apprenticeship ended.

There were two other Quaker educational concerns which should be mentioned here. Neither was originally intended to be specifically for training teachers, but there were developments from the original scheme. Dalton Hall was founded in 1876 as a Quaker hall of residence in connection with what is now Manchester University. Undergraduates (not all of them Friends) attended university courses and lived in the Hall with some staff members, and some went ultimately to teach.

The other institution was Woodbrooke, a Quaker centre for adult education and religious, social and international study, founded in Birmingham in 1903. An education department was started there, and students took the Cambridge qualifications for teachers from Woodbrooke as one of the group of colleges that grew up at Selly Oak. Most of the students who qualify from Woodbrooke as teachers are Friends or interested "attenders."

We have discussed the sources of supply, and shown how Friends were alert to the changing needs in training their teachers. Now let us turn to the modes of training.

#### THE PREPARATION OF TEACHERS

The earliest group of teachers at Ackworth was to have a nucleus of adults who had taught elsewhere, or who, with justification, felt that they had the knowledge as well as the desire to teach. To this nucleus was added a number of apprentices. These children were given an extra year's schooling. For some time, this year of further instruction did not entail study of new courses; it was simply training for a greater proficiency in the basic subjects, and to accustom young shoulders to responsibility before the heavier mantle fell upon them. The further year of schooling was to enable apprentices to keep the proverbial pages ahead of their pupils later. It was also an apprenticeship to apprenticeship, for the senior pupils were expected to be leaders of manners, morals and good behaviour. When we consider



the elementary standard of the first Ackworth curriculum, we can see that the extra year was above all a badge of separation, a status device.

There are other aspects of the preparation for teaching than that of further learning. There is the need for professional study, for attention to educational and psychological theory, and there is the need of practical experience creatively directed. We shall consider these aspects.

#### FURTHER LEARNING

At first English and arithmetic were the apprentice's study. But by the beginning of the nineteenth century some geography and some history were encouraged. We must remember the central paradox of Friends' belief at this period which so restricted hard educational thought. The world's snares awaited for those who grew puffed up in their own intellectual pride. Ackworth was also a school for the poor, and apprentices there must not nurture knowledge or ideas beyond their station. Hence there was much emphasis on thoroughness in a narrow orbit and the value of the work of simple teaching.

In 1808 at Sidcot, the master was to teach pupils and apprentices Latin if he was so qualified. In 1816 a local clergyman taught the Ackworth apprentices Latin. In 1831 Thomas Richardson paid for Edward Leighton to teach Latin to the apprentices and certain senior boys and girls at Wigton, and he likewise paid in 1834 for a teacher of French. In 1840 at Rawdon Samuel Hobson, a Friend, started to teach one of the apprenticed youngsters some Latin, and with this lad, Seth Gill, Hobson also taught five of the senior boys. At Ayton, founded in 1841, the monitors were exempt from manual labour so that they could pursue their studies, and when the best of them were taken on as apprentices, after the first four years of the school's life, they continued their studies, when they could, in the top class, and later under the separate direction of George Dixon. Latin, again, was the extra subject of study for advanced pupils and for apprentices.

The Flounders Institute had been opened in 1848, and the older boys at Ayton, when they were proficient at English, took up Latin, and were prepared for Flounders. This was true of the apprentices, too.



The trust deed for the Flounders Institute states the purpose for which it was founded :

The nature and extent of the education contemplated by the trusts hereinbefore contained, is a sound and liberal education, including as well the dead as the living languages, and comprehending both classics and mathematics, with natural philosophy in all its branches, so as to produce accomplished scholars, and with an especial view to render the objects to be benefited by the trusts of these presents competent to undertake the education and instruction of youth.<sup>1</sup>

Although we have had reason to note that the Institute was never used to its capacity, we have also had reason to comment on the wide influence of its students. In 1858 the course was adapted to the needs of London University, for the matriculation examination of which all students were encouraged to prepare. This examination was largely the servant of prevailing classical values, though that changed somewhat as the century progressed. However, for more than thirty years Flounders was more of a school for advanced study with a bias to languages and mathematics than to science, though attention was drawn to scientific topics, usually by means of visiting lecturers.<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to note that the head of Bootham said to the Royal Commissioners in the 'sixties that he had no difficulty in finding teachers of natural science, though Flounders, at that time, was not following a very thorough study of science. In the higher learning of Friend teachers in training the emphasis on scientific studies was strengthened at the turn of the century.

There were instances of a newer recognition of the value of the arts, but there was always the strong orientation to moral ends. This moral emphasis was the form that the relaxation of taboos on music, on art, on expression in words, on the range of literature, was bound at first to take. The pressure of the Victorian school, whether Quaker or any other, seldom encouraged genuine æsthetic development. But in Quaker schools there was much encouragement of hobbies of predominantly practical rather than æsthetic appeal, such as nature study, or craft-work,

<sup>1</sup> The Trust Deed, 21.

<sup>2</sup> Edward H. Magill observed of Flounders in the 'eighties that ancient and modern languages received especial attention, but that little or no provision had been made for the study of the sciences. See his Report: *Educational Institutions of the Religious Society of Friends* (1893), 31.



or photography. These interests would be well known to Quaker students in training.

The standard suggested by the new Board of Education in 1902, and the prospect of the great extension of secondary education made Quakers see that the educational requirements for their teachers called for a general minimum qualification. Not only Bootham, the Mount, Sidcot, Leighton Park, Saffron Walden, should have teachers qualified by some external standard like a degree or certificate. Higher learning was now imperative for all teachers in Quaker schools. So higher learning went on at school until seventeen or eighteen, and then a university course or a training college course was followed, even if the training course was taken at the Mount or at Sidcot, which were recognized as Schools for the Training of Teachers. Thus the internal influences in Quakerism, and the external pressure of the educational system finally broke the hesitancy of Friends in relation to higher learning.

#### PROFESSIONAL STUDY

If we take professional study to be a study of teaching method, of psychology, and of educational theory and history, the record is easy to trace in Quaker schools and training institutions in the first sixty years of the nineteenth century. There was none. Work was usually of the direct drill type. Children had to be taught to read and write, and to be supervised at practice of these. Such duties apprentices could discharge. The polite way of putting it would be to say that apprentices learned by doing. The Quaker plainness came into the drill of the classroom quite clearly, though there were some teachers later in the century who tried to consider how best to present their material, but even as late as 1866 we find an influential example of the limited conception of teaching usual in the earlier years of the century. Ralph Dixon was head of Ayton from 1866 to 1895 :

Devoid of pretence, he made no effort to give interest to his lessons ; it was the boy's job to learn and his to point out what to learn ; duty guided him even through the weary monotony of his reading of the lives of worthy Friends ; the boredom of his hearers never occurred to him and would not have influenced him if it had.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See G. A. Watson's *History of the school*, 81.



Where apprentices are being used as an important part of the teaching body there can be little scope left for individual initiative. For the safety of the adult teacher, for avoiding misleading the pupils, for the comfort and confidence of the apprentice, the lesson material must be clear cut and unmistakable. The Ackworth historian says with mingled pride and regret of the school about 1820 :

There was probably no such reading, no spelling so accurate, no grammar so sound, no arithmetical readiness and accuracy so general as those of Ackworth, in the country.<sup>1</sup>

Besides the restrictions placed on study of method by the reliance on apprentices, such plainness and drill techniques were in keeping with the conservative, puritan pole of Friends' belief. This "guarded" and restricted emphasis laid the ground pattern of sobriety on Quaker schools in the first half of the nineteenth century. The one sure anchor for plainness of heart and mind was facts. God could lighten facts in the mind. Quakerism was not a Platonic belief, for it accepted the dimension of the actual, the sensory, the material, as real. The philosophic relationship of the "ideal-in-the-real" and "the real" itself did not concern Friends. The Light within each man was a special expression of the light that was in external objective creation, and the Inner Light of each man was necessary to interpret that creation. Physical existence was for so many things a necessary condition, in this world, of expression of the Light, that physical, objective facts empirically speaking could be trusted. Thinking, on the other hand (and it was a dichotomy like this for many Friends), was necessary for physical existence, but could betray a man into false confidence in his own powers so that he did not lie under guidance. Feeling, too, could wed to this world, and needed stern control.

In such a view the dullest routine of facts and methods could be transmuted by the alchemy of the inner experience to religious awareness. This is the main reason for the absence of cultural subjects from the curriculum except as they served moral ends. For the rest, facts which would create a disciplined habit of learning and could be enriched to a child in unseen and unforeseeable ways, facts were to be

<sup>1</sup> Thompson, H., *History of Ackworth School*, 151.



learned. The demands of society would influence which facts were to be learned.

Method of presentation as well as content, was preserved by the books which were used. Suffice it to say here that the books were often a substitute for the teacher, containing material divided for use, giving exercises, acting as a source book of information, and replacing independent planning of a course if the teacher so wished. With a strong system of apprenticeship that was inevitable.

From the 'sixties Friends' schools began seriously to review all their methods and the content of their curricula. When the Flounders Institute was founded in 1848 it provided facilities for academic study only. In 1869 the report of an Assistant Commissioner of the Taunton Commission stated that he had seen and appreciated the quality of work done at Flounders with its emphasis on university examinations. The Commissioner considered that lectures should be begun at the Institute on the theory and practice of education.<sup>1</sup>

The girls were trained at the Mount from 1836, and we are reminded in the school's *History*: "The word 'training' at this stage denoted the obtaining of the necessary knowledge, and not the art of imparting it."<sup>2</sup> Lydia Rous was appointed headmistress of the Mount in 1866, and simply providing higher academic education was not sufficient for her. She wanted some introduction to the theory and practice of teaching, and the only way in which she found this could be effected was by an extra "criticism" class on a Saturday evening, when each "trainee" taught a lesson to her fellow-trainees, who had to pretend to be a class. Lydia Rous watched these lessons, and there was discussion afterwards, and she took the opportunity to put forward some useful advice on pedagogy. This may seem a meagre professional study, and indeed, girls going to the Mount from high schools in the 'eighties found that much of the teaching was below the standard they had grown to expect. But it was a beginning, and was part of the firm general oversight kept on the trainees, and indeed on the staff as a whole by Lydia Rous. Her lead of criticism lessons was followed and developed by successors. When a more adequate training

<sup>1</sup> Report on *Friends' Schools* (1869), 27.

<sup>2</sup> Sturge, H. W., and Clark, T., *History of the Mount School, York*, 58.

was given after 1902 it was parallel to similar courses in other training centres for women.

### CONCLUSION

The exclusiveness of the Society in principle and practice weakened under the impact of the later nineteenth century. State planning was entering more and more firmly into national life, and wide enfranchisement was weakening older stratifications. A predominantly urban society was providing new means of transport, of production, of mechanized influencing of people's lives. Specialization was a condition and a consequence of mass-production, and specialization meant a narrowing of competence and an interdependence of the society more strongly developed than ever before. A highly complex society demands a population capable of comprehending how to interpret and preserve it, and the preparation of children to take a part in that life becomes of pressing importance.

Fundamental democratization in England cut across many separatisms. Friends could no longer remain a peculiar people without cutting themselves off from commerce and from urban life. With so many strong commercial and industrial traditions, Friends did not seriously consider this. The active pole of their belief showed in their civic and humanitarian concern and in their commercial enterprise. Once having accepted the conditions of mass society, Friends tried to preserve their differential witness in it.

The repercussions in education are clear. The Quaker schools had to be at least as good as the new schools for which the state was to be responsible. So the teachers in Quaker schools had to be at least as well trained. In the twentieth century Quakers have come to rely on the established training courses at universities or training colleges, for Friends could not afford independently to train students to that standard even if they so wished.



# Three Letters of William Penn

Edited by FELIX HULL

THE following three letters were recently discovered among a collection of family papers<sup>1</sup> and beyond the fact that they are unrecorded, have little intrinsic importance. All were written by Penn to Governor Grey of Barbados between May 1700 and April 1701. They fall into the period of Penn's second and last visit to his colony during which he was constantly concerned with administrative duties. They are primarily examples of Penn's personal letter-writing to the head of a neighbouring colony.

The Hon. Ralph Grey was appointed Governor of Barbados in 1698 and remained in office until 1701, when, on the death of his brother, the Earl of Tankerville, the barony of Grey of Werk fell to him. He returned to England, though he continued to show considerable interest in colonial affairs, especially in those of the island in which he had resided. Grey seems to have been a successful and a popular Governor although holding office for such a short period. One historian of Barbados says that, "Governor Grey's administration was a happy one; his urbanity and disinterested conduct endeared him to the inhabitants, and his close application to the duties of his office proved that he had the welfare of the island at heart."<sup>2</sup> William Penn seems to have recognized Ralph Grey as one who would forward the interests of both colonies in a genuine fashion and also as a man who made a pleasing neighbour.

Penn had returned to the western hemisphere in 1699 and was therefore acting Governor in Pennsylvania for about the same period as Grey in Barbados. Unfortunately no record is discoverable of the other side of the correspondence, nor, although both men returned to England in 1701, do they seem to have written to each other after they relinquished office. Though Penn does refer to the mutual profit which good trade would afford, at one point only do political affairs enter into the correspondence. In the second letter Penn refers to a change in the method of collecting revenue in Pennsylvania. This change is not mentioned by Janney or Jenkins, though the latter does say that an impost on liquor yielded between £500 and £1,000.<sup>3</sup> It is understandable enough that Penn should have thought fit to mention suggested duties on sugar and rum to the Governor of Barbados when both commodities were provided in part by that island. The note of the sugar duty is a little obscure, for Penn altered his original figures, but it seems to be an impost of five shillings on every hundredweight.

<sup>1</sup> This group of papers of Ralph Lord Grey of Werk is included in the Braybrooke MSS. from Audley End House recently deposited in the Essex Record Office, County Hall, Chelmsford. (Catalogue mark D/DBy 025.)

<sup>2</sup> Sir Robert Schomberg, *History of Barbados* (1848), p. 309.

<sup>3</sup> Howard M. Jenkins, *Pennsylvania, Colonial and Federal* (1903), i. 337.

The personalities referred to in the letters are few. Two were captains in the colonial service who appear to act as intermediaries and to know most of the desires and affairs of both principals. The Earl of Bellomont referred to in the second letter was an Irish peer who was, it seems, in charge of the British fleet in colonial waters, for an appeal was made to him about 1700 for a man-of-war to guard Delaware Bay.<sup>1</sup> The other person mentioned is the Earl of Tankerville. He was elder brother of Ralph Grey and a Whig politician of note. At the time of these letters he held the post of the First Commissioner of the Treasury and later, of Lord Privy Seal.

For their personal interest the three letters are here printed unaltered in order to show Penn's idiosyncrasies of writing and his use of abbreviations and punctuation.

## I

My honored Friend

Pennsylvania 16 3<sup>m</sup> (May) 1700

I was favour'd with thy obligeing letter, by the hand that presents this, and vallue my self extreamly upon the hopes it gives me of the kindness of a Neighbourhood of somuch honour and powr; and doubt not but the one will use the other in our favour, as afte as we deserve, as well as need it: Assureing thee of all the returns our low and infant Colony can make. You are under the neerer and nobler influences of the Sun, and therefore abound in Raritys; we, at agreater distance, in things more common, tho not less usefull: But the nature of our scituation makeing us mutually beneficiall since both want the product of each other (which is an Union of Interrest) I hope it shall be a common care to preserve it.

I begg leave, my noble Friend, to take a share in the prosperous Issue of thy publick affaires. It has, I own, given me a generous impression of the people of that Island. They deserve a gentle and prudent Governour, that show they know so well how to vallue his Conduct. I hope it will augment thy esteem, for a Command, that is so very Honorably Considered by them that are under it, and prolong thy stay among us; tho I know more Ease and Proffit must needs (now) waite for thee neerer home, where Ld. Tankervils great abilitys (long deserved) have obtained great powr: Tho, to my reluctancy not in so direct a Channell for y<sup>e</sup> Service of y<sup>e</sup> Plantations as I wisht, which should, I confess, have been my Choice above any station in the powr of y<sup>e</sup> king to have given me, since it is to nourish and preserve so very great an empire, as is that of the Crown of England in America. Pardon this excursion, tis a partiality for poor America y<sup>t</sup> occasion'd it. I begg the earle may favour my regard for him, with his acceptance, and then will please to continue me in thy Good opinion, who, with the best wishes, am

Thy very faithfull and Respectfull Friend

Gover<sup>r</sup>: Grey

Wm. Penn<sup>2</sup>

[Endorsed] A letter from Mr. Wm. Penn Governour of Pennsylvania dated y<sup>e</sup> 16th of May 1700.

<sup>1</sup> Howard M. Jenkins, *Pennsylvania, Colonial and Federal* (1903), i. 335.

<sup>2</sup> Catal. mk. D/DBy 025/2.



## II

Newcastle 12 9<sup>br</sup> 1700

Honored Friend,

I was pleased to have so good an hand to present this by, who will not be ungratefull, since in the family and interests of the Earle of Bellomont, so well with the earle of Tankerville, and by himself a very honest Gentleman.

I shall be glad to hear the request of Barbado's to keep their possession of so gentle and prudent a Governour, is answered to their satisfaction, both by the king and thy selfe too : for Good Neighbours in this part of the world, is what renders it y<sup>e</sup> most supportable.

Since my last, our Assembly has thought fitt to change the way of their publick aids or revenue, and for two years, to make, as they think, the Marchants help to support the Govern<sup>mt</sup>. under which they have augmented, if not gotten their estates ; so y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Rum, and Sugar pay something, the first 3d. per Gall. and Sugar very inconsiderable, about : 05 ss. per Ct. Indirectly, else nothing.

We have been sickly, but not mortall agues and feavers. I am glad, by Cap<sup>t</sup> Kirle, to receive the good news of yo<sup>r</sup> better state of health, the Continuance of which, with the Governours felicity, is much the wish of

Thy very reall and Respectfull Friend

Wm. Penn<sup>1</sup>

## III

Philadelphia

Honorable Friend

23. 2<sup>m</sup>. 1701

Tho' the Bearer be a much better letter, he was not willing to leave this behinde, by w<sup>ch</sup> I take the freedom of renewing the assurances I have given and must ever make, of my Cordial regards and respects for Governour Gray, and that for reasons w<sup>ch</sup> will pass currant every where, for their own intrinsick vallue, His honorable and moderate Conduct a Character that kings cannot give, and dont always reward ; tho the wise of them make it the rule of dispenseing of their favours. I heartily wish thee the continuance of those good qualitys w<sup>ch</sup> have made thee the love and honour of the Island and the esteem of all thy Friends, and of them, praying leave to be admitted one, of

Thy affect and respectfull Frd

Wm. Penn<sup>2</sup>

I leave the rest to Cap<sup>t</sup>. Gritton, who favours a close commerce between that and this Province.

Gov<sup>r</sup> Gray

<sup>1</sup> No endorsement. Catal. mk. D/DBy 025/4.

<sup>2</sup> No endorsement. Catal. mk. D/DBy 025/21.

# The First Century of Quaker Printers

## II

**T**ACE RAYLTON'S name does not appear after 1749, so let us now turn from this period of toleration which we reached with the Sowle firm in a former article,<sup>1</sup> and go back to the close of the reign of Charles II, and study the minor printers who then emerge from the anonymity which press licensing rendered politic.

JOHN BRINGHURST is the first of these, and he comes into prominence in 1680 as the printer of William Rogers's *Christian Quaker*. For his work on this "ungodly and pernicious booke" he was obliged to apologize to Devonshire House Monthly Meeting. He also printed his "recantation," a document which illustrates the strength of Friends' hold upon their printers,<sup>2</sup> whether from the effect of threats to withdraw patronage (as enemies suggested) or (as John Bringhurst's paper seems to exemplify) from the printer's own sense of responsibility as a "publisher of Truth." This testimony is printed on a leaf inserted after the title-page of Christopher Taylor's *Epistle of Caution to Friends to take heed of that Treacherous Spirit that is entred into W.R. and his Abettors. (As appears in his Malicious Book, falsely called, The Christian-Quaker, &c.)*, which was issued in 1681 with Bringhurst's imprint. The printer states that since he was given the *Epistle of Caution* to print it had occurred to him several times to add a short testimony against that "spirit of division, and its fruits," particularly as he might

<sup>1</sup> *Jnl. F.H.S.*, xl (1948), 37-49. For a reference to the Sowle firm as "well-affected to King George" see in Negus's list, 1724, printed in Howe, E., *The London compositor* (1947), 37. Luke Hinde (*ibid.*, 38) is said to be a "high-flyer."

<sup>2</sup> I am grateful to Henry J. Cadbury for bringing to my notice a reference to a letter from George Fox to Andrew Sowle, 17.iii.1676 which shows how this influence might be used. Item 73F on page 139 of the *Annual Catalogue of George Fox's Papers*, edited by Henry J. Cadbury (1939) enters this letter (which is in a manuscript not now extant) as follows: "To Andr. Sowle, Dear Andrew, I received thy letter and thy books, and I strange, thou shouldst so soon go upon printing Wm. Bailey's books, and to leave so many of the Ancient Friends . . ."



be expected to show some reason for his former printing of the book complained of,

especially since it has been so noised about, both in City & Country by the Propagators and Encouragers thereof, that a Friend Printed it, I can do no less . . . than declare publickly, that I was led thereto by the Enemy of my Souls Peace (though I saw it not at first to be of an Evil Nature) and when I saw my Peace was departed, & a weight & load came upon my Mind . . . in which time of Exercise, Breathings often went up to the Lord, that if I might find favour in his sight, he would be pleased to shew me the way how I should come out of this snare & great sin against him, and enjoy his Peace: and the answer I in that day received was, *That I was not to expect Peace with the Lord while I persisted in the thing which caused his Displeasure*; which was the real cause of my putting the Book out of my hands before finisht, the Spirit of the Lord pursuing me . . . till I had rid me of it (though now I stand accused of Injustice for so doing) and then did the Lord, who had given me Trouble, speak Peace to me, and gave me access (in measure) to the Throne of his Grace.

John Bringhurst then addresses the publishers,<sup>1</sup> asking them carefully to consider the book and its tendencies,

for if things were as pretended in that Book (which I cannot believe) I aver the Lord is against any ones discovering the Nakedness of his Brethren or Fathers in his spiritual Israel this day, as in the dayes of Ham, or laying stumbling Blocks in the way of the weak, as in the dayes of Balaam, &c.

John Bringhurst was born in 1655. He had been apprenticed to Andrew Sowle, and between 1681 and 1685, after his work on *The Christian Quaker*, he published forty-six works for Friends. Until 1683 his sign was the Book, in Gracechurch Street (near Cornhill), but in the latter year he appears to have moved to the Book and Three Black Birds in Leadenhall Mutton Market. During the few years in which his imprint appears, Bringhurst comes as near to being the official printer to the Society as the Sowles at this period ever did. He was employed (probably in rough justice for the part he played with Rogers's work) as printer for Friends' replies in the Wilkinson-Story controversy, and in 1681 all but one of his productions relate to that

<sup>1</sup> Who the publishers were, and whether the same as the printer who took up the work when Bringhurst laid it down is not known. It is noteworthy that by November 1680 scarcely fifty of the five hundred odd pages of the five parts of *The Christian Quaker* remained to be printed, so that by far the largest portion of this rambling production came from Bringhurst's own press. See Whitehead, G., *The Accuser of our Brethren Cast Down* (1681), 22-23; Ellwood, T., *An Antidote* (1681), 27.

matter. In 1682, jointly with Benjamin Clark and Andrew Sowle, he was concerned in the augmented second edition of William Penn's *No Cross, No Crown*, and in the same year eight of Fox's pieces appeared with his imprint. John Bringhurst was committed to Newgate for a time for reprinting George Fox's *Primer*, which contained matter offensive to the government, and finally in 1684 he was fined 1s. and ordered to stand for two hours in the pillory.<sup>1</sup> In 1685 he was still printing for Friends; Dorcas Dole's *Salutation of my Endeared Love to the Faithful*, dated 17.xii.1684 from Newgate, in Bristol, and three papers from George Fox, including his *Concerning the Pure and Undefiled Religion*, dated 4.ii.1685, came from John Bringhurst's press in that year. It appears that he went to Amsterdam later in the year and ceased to print for Friends, but he was back in London in 1690 selling stocks of books to Friends to help discharge his debts,<sup>2</sup> and died about 1699.

Of THOMAS COOKE nothing is known save that in 1682 he issued reprints of *William Penn's last farewell to England* and William Loddington's *Salutation to the Church of God*. It may be significant that both authors had an interest in the plantations, but no evidence has come to light that Cooke was a Friend.

MARK SWANER or rather SWANNER, on the other hand, was a Friend, but there is no direct evidence of his activity as a bookseller. The second edition of William Penn's *No Cross, No Crown* (1682) was "Printed for Mark Swaner: and sold by A. Sowl, in Devonshire Buildings; B. Clark, in George yard; and J. Bringhurst, at the Book in Grace-Church Street." This probably implies simply that Swanner saw the work through the press and supervised distribution on behalf of William Penn when the author was busy with his preparations for Pennsylvania.

WILLIAM SKEATE is another little-known bookseller of George Yard, Lombard Street. His imprint is found in

<sup>1</sup> Besse, J., *Collection of the Sufferings* (1753), I. 466 n.

<sup>2</sup> See Andrews, C. M., *The Quakers in London and their printers there, in Byways in Quaker history*. Edited by Howard H. Brinton (1944), 195-196; Littleboy, A. L., *A history of the Friends' Reference Library* (1921), 9. There is an entry in Norman Penney's edition of *The Short Journal and Itinerary Journals of George Fox* (1925), 136, 334, which indicates that Bringhurst was perhaps to be asked to print *Anti-Christian Treachery Discovered*, an account of the Wilkinson-Story controversy (8.ii.1686).



connection with two slight works of Thomas Ellwood, *A Caution to Constables and other inferiour Officers, concerned in the Execution of the Conventicle-Act*, and *A Seasonable Disswasive from Persecution* (both 1683). Whether he succeeded Benjamin Clark in George Yard, or has any connection with Thomas Howkins who followed at this address, cannot be determined. Perhaps so, for Ellwood had dealings with both these.

As a publisher for Friends, THOMAS HOWKINS, bookseller in George Yard, did little. Between 1683 and 1685 he issued seven works for them, and then again, in 1692 he published the third edition of William Mather's *The Young Man's Companion: Or, a very useful Manual for Youth Containing Plain Directions whereby Youth may attain to Read and Write true English*. His publications continue to appear in the *Term Catalogues* until 1693. The general silence after 1685 may imply a lapse from Friends, for until then he had issued works for George Fox, Thomas Ellwood, John Field and John Whiting. It is most likely that Howkins followed Benjamin Clark, for his label (dated 1684) is found pasted over Benjamin Clark's imprint on some copies of the second edition of William Penn's *No Cross, No Crown*. Thomas Ellwood's *Discourse concerning Riots*, which was authorized by Morning Meeting (10.vii.1683) to be printed by Benjamin Clark is also found with Howkins' imprint.<sup>1</sup>

There is no evidence to show that Thomas Howkins was a Friend, and similarly his wife Sarah, who continued the business in 1694 and 1695, is known to Friends only from her issue of three controversial works for William Mather, including the undated *A Novelty: or, A Government of Women, distinct from Men, erected amongst some of the People, call'd Quakers*. The fact that Mather's subsequent works were sold by Samuel Clark may indicate that the latter succeeded Sarah Howkins.

The last of these George Yard booksellers who merits notice is THOMAS NORTHCOTT. He was most active between 1690 and 1692, when his annual output of thirteen or fourteen items exceeded that of the Sowles, but thenceforward his production fell away. In all, between 1685 and

<sup>1</sup> The date 1687 which is given in *Short Journal*, p. 300, for taking over Clark's business may thus be an error. John Dunton (*Life*, 1818, p. 292) mentions "noisy H——kins."

1702 he published nearly eighty items of size varying from George Fox's *Journal* in folio (1694) to the duodecimo of that other classic, Penn's *Some Fruits of Solitude*. As well as the enduring works, Northcott issued many of the polemical tracts which punctuated the new-found peace of the early 1690s. George Whitehead, Joseph Wyeth, Steven Crisp, John Field and Edmund Elys all wrote books which came from Northcott's press. John Dunton appears to have borne "Friend Northcott" no malice for his part in publishing Joseph Wyeth's *Athenian Society*, and other answers to the hostile strictures on Quakerism in Dunton's *Athenian Mercury*. Thomas Northcott's later history is as yet obscure. In 1697 he appears to have been in financial straits, and London meetings were raising money for him by the sale of stocks of his books in bulk.<sup>1</sup> Thereafter there is a break, and he is found merely re-issuing William Penn's *Key* (1699 and 1700) and the sixth edition of *Some Fruits of Solitude* (1702), both of which works he had issued in earlier editions. In the imprint, too, "George Yard" has by this time become "George Alley." The seventh edition of *Fruits of Solitude* was published by Tace Sowle in 1706, so doubtless Northcott had retired from business before then.

From this time Tace Sowle had the London work much to herself, and we have to move on a quarter of a century before we meet another who may come within our field. JAMES SMITH of George Yard and the Bible in Lombard Street makes a brief appearance in 1726 and 1727. He is known only as publisher of controversial pamphlets for Elias Bockett (disowned in 1717), including *Punchinello's (Wm. Gibson's) Sermon; preached at the Quaker's Meeting in Gracechurch-street: on Sunday, May 14, 1727*. James Smith may be identical with the J. Smith of "near Fleet Street" who had issued the same author's *All the Wonders of the World out-Wonder'd* (1722).

JOSEPH ADY, in Marshall Street, the Bank-side, Southwark, and John Ady, comb maker, over against the South Sea House, are not known to have been Friends, but they jointly sold a collection of sermons, printed and edited by Joseph Ady, and entitled *Sermons of several of the People called Quakers, taken in short hand, as they were spoken in*

<sup>1</sup> See Devonshire House M.M. 2.i.1697/8 (Minute book, vol. 1, p. 111). George Fox's *Journal* (the folio edition) was priced 8s. 3d.



*their Meeting Houses, and made publick to prevent the clamour and misunderstanding of many people, about their manner and method of Preaching* (1738).

LUKE HINDE, who carried on the George Yard printing business from the middle of the eighteenth century alone, can first be traced there in 1735. In the next fifteen years he issued over seventy works for Friends, more than sixty of them being produced in conjunction with Tace Raylton. Their collaboration appears to have begun with the sixth edition of Barclay's *Apology* (1736) and, after a break in 1737 and 1738, continues to 1749. The earliest item yet ascribed to Luke Hinde alone is Josiah Martin's edition of *The Archbishop of Cambray's Dissertation on Pure Love* (1735). In 1741 Hinde and Raylton published Martin's *Letter from one of the People called Quakers, to Francis De Voltaire, occasioned by his Remarks on that People*. Further portions of *Piety Promoted* came from this press during these years, and new works by Joseph Besse, Samuel Bownas, John Fry of Sutton Benger, David Hall, Benjamin Holme and Jonah Thompson appeared side by side with frequent reprints of standard Quaker authors. Tace Raylton died in 1749, and Luke Hinde continued alone until his own death in 1766, when the business was carried on by his widow—but this is much beyond our period.

Others are known as booksellers for Friends for whom there is no imprint evidence,<sup>1</sup> and authors also are noted as selling their own works. Among these latter we may mention Thomas Crisp, and George Keith, who in 1696 and 1697 sold some of his own books "at his House at the Golden Ball, over against Red Lion Street in Whitechapel."

\* \* \* \* \*

During the seventeenth century there were few Friends in the book trade in the provinces of sufficient note to have left their names in print on title-pages. The earliest in time, and not least in interest, was THOMAS WAYTE in the Pavement at York. In 1653, before Friends had ventured south, Wayte was selling James Nayler's *Lamentacion . . . over the Ruines of this oppressed Nacion*, William Tomlinson's

<sup>1</sup> e.g. Henry Boreman, who was imprisoned for selling Friends' books and died in jail (1662). *Antiquarian researches*, 11; *A Brief Relation of the Persecutions . . . since . . . 7th Month* (1662), 6-7; Besse, *Sufferings*, I. 389.

*Word of Reproof to the Priests or Ministers, who Boast of their Ministry and Ordinances, and yet live in Pride*, and the London printed *England's Warning-Peece gone forth*, by Richard Farnsworth. For the next forty years Thomas Wayte acted as Friends' local book agent and was one of the leaders in York Quakerism. He died in 1695.<sup>1</sup>

We have no further record of any Quaker bookseller in York until NATHANIEL BELL, in Pavement, from 1739. In 1739 and 1740 he sold three of Thomas Story's works, printed by James Lister at Leeds. About 1744 he sold Steven Crisp's *Thirty Sermons*, also from Lister's press, and six years later he was selling an edition of John Rogers's *Memoirs*, printed at York by John Gilfillan. He died in 1778.

Elsewhere in the north Friends do not appear to have been active in the book trade. THOMAS WILLAN the Kendal schoolmaster is the only one who springs to mind. He is known solely from the imprint to William Caton's *Abridgement or a Compendious Commemoration of the Remarkablest Chronologies . . . in that Famous Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius Pamphilus*, printed in Rotterdam in 1661, but he does appear (as Thomas Williams) in the list of Dispersers of Quaker books, preserved in the State Papers.<sup>2</sup>

Turning south, the earliest centre of Quaker bookselling outside London, and a centre of Quakerism for the west of England, was Bristol. At the early period, even with the fuller London evidence, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish Friends from near-Friends or mere political pamphlet-sellers. The more so is this the case in Bristol and smaller centres. An illustration in point is provided by RICHARD MOON, bookseller, of Wine Street. He may perhaps be identical with the Richard Moon, at the Seven Stars, near the Great North Door, in St. Paul's Churchyard, London, who published for John Lilburne and Samuel Fisher between 1653 and 1655. More likely, however, he is the same member of the Broadmead church who took a leading part in controversy with Friends when they first came to Bristol.<sup>3</sup> However, in 1660

<sup>1</sup> *First Publishers of Truth* (Supp. 1-5 of this *Journal*), 318 n.

<sup>2</sup> Printed in *Extracts from State Papers* (Supp. 8-11 of this *Journal*), 228-229, from State Papers, Domestic, cix. 44. See also the *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1664-5, 142. The document is dated c. 1664.

<sup>3</sup> See Hollister, D., *The Skirts of the Whore Discovered* (1656), sign. A2a, and pp. 14-23.



he was selling the London-printed *Presentation of Wholesome Informations, unto the King of England*, by Edward Burrough, and George Bishop's *Tender Visitation of Love, to both the Universities*, and his *Warnings of the Lord to the Men of this Generation*, all of which have a Bristol interest. Later on, Richard Moon was in trouble for selling seditious literature.

Although he was not a Friend there is much of interest for us in the career of WILLIAM BONNY, the first printer to come to Bristol and set up a press when the Licensing Act lapsed in 1695.<sup>1</sup> His first year's work included Thomas Beaven's *John Plimpton's ten charges against the people called Quakers briefly answer'd*, and in 1698 he printed for Bristol Friends<sup>2</sup> *Jeremiah Hignell's Loving and Friendly Advice and Council, Given forth to the Inhabitants of Bristol*, a broadside containing exhortations to piety and a warning against pride. In the following spring he printed for them *The Truth of God, As held by the People called Quakers, Further cleared from Mistakes. . . . Published by some of the said People in the City of Bristol*, a controversial work by William Penn and Benjamin Coole against Francis Bugg and the Norfolk clergy declaration.<sup>3</sup> The booklet has an errata list on the final page, but the corrections noted there, with some others, and the missing section-titles on pages 23, 26 and 27 have been filled in in ink. The date of these emendations can be fixed exactly from a minute of Bristol Men's Meeting, 13.xii.1698, which reported that the books were printed, " & wanting som. small Correction " eight

<sup>1</sup> The Licensing Act had been renewed in 1685 for 7 years (1 Jac. II, c. 8, §15). The Act was continued to the end of the Parliament then sitting (4 & 5 Will. III, c. 24, §14) but was not re-enacted afterwards.

<sup>2</sup> At a cost of 23s. See Bristol Men's Meeting minutes, vol. 2, p. 164 (21.ix.1698).

<sup>3</sup> This was reprinted (1699) by Tace Sowle, with title *A Testimony to the Truth of God. . .* The Bristol edition, dated 1699 but printed 1698 old style, is listed in Joseph Smith's *Descriptive catalogue of Friends' books*, II. 457, without an author. The London reprint is also listed, II. 318, but under William Penn, with Benjamin Coole as joint author. Immediately preceding this reprint Joseph Smith lists an edition of 1698, but gives no imprint. The information was probably taken over from John Whiting's *Catalogue* (p. 123) without any copy having come to light, and I think the 1698 edition must be a ghost. The ascription to William Penn and Benjamin Coole stands on the testimony of John Whiting, who would be in a position to know, and although Bristol minutes give no hint as to authorship the work is included in the edition of William Penn's collected *Works* (1726), II. 876-83 on which Whiting was at work at the time of his death.

Friends were appointed "to Meet together at the house of Ch: Harford behind Allhallou about 7th howre this Evening in order to Correct the same & to agree & pay printer out of our publick stock."<sup>1</sup>

We come next to JOSEPH PENN who printed the Bristol Men's Meeting's *Epistle of Friendly Advice and Counsel, to the People called Quakers in the City of Bristol* (1719), and to his widow, who, in 1733, sold at her Wine Street shop the anonymous *Second Letter to the Men's Meeting of the People called Quakers in Bristol*, which sought to prove that Friends, when defending the plain language, were wrong to quote scriptural authority, as Bristol Men's Meeting had recently done in another general paper of advice, entitled *The Primitive Testimony of the People called Quakers: together with exhortations to all those, who are under that Profession in the City of Bristol, to faithfulness therein* (1732).

Two editions of this last item were printed in 1732 by SAMUEL FARLEY, in Wine Street. This Samuel Farley is the second of the name in a family honourably remembered for the part it played in establishing early newspapers in Bristol. Between 1732 and 1750<sup>2</sup> Samuel issued nearly twenty works for Friends, from his Wine Street, Castle Green or Old Market addresses. Many of his productions have a local flavour, as for instance he printed *Remarks on a Letter to the Men's Meeting* (1732), Friends' answer to the first pamphlet in the controversy on plainness of speech, and the second edition (1747) of that little classic *Some Memoirs of the Life of John Roberts*, of Siddington, Gloucestershire. Samuel Farley also printed three editions of Benjamin Holme's

<sup>1</sup> Bristol Men's Meeting minutes, vol. 2, p. 166. The edition was one of 500. At the following meeting, 27.xii.1698, it was decided that 400 copies were to be distributed by the same eight Friends, and 100 were placed on sale "per Elias Osburn, and he to be accountable, to freinds generall stock."

It is interesting to note that while the Bristol introduction to the Reader closes with the familiar "For no Cross no Crown," the London edition (which corrects the Bristol errata list as well as other minor points and makes good the omissions which Bristol Friends supplied in ink) stops short before this reminiscent phrase. Whether the phrase was originally used here by Penn himself, or whether it is to be attributed to the "adulatory" amanuensis (as hostile critics dubbed him) Benjamin Coole, the collected edition of William Penn's *Works* follows the corrected reading.

<sup>2</sup> Samuel Farley's will, dated 7.ix.1753 and proved 9.ii.1754, left the printing business to his niece Sarah, daughter of Edward Farley late of Exeter, provided she continued and married a Quaker.



much-read *Serious Call in Christian Love to all People, to turn to the Spirit of Christ in Themselves* (1738, 1745 and 1747), the second edition of John Bockett's curious tract *A Backbiter's Tongue Destructive to Religion*,<sup>1</sup> an edition of George Fox's *To all that would know the Way to the Kingdom* (1746), and the second edition of Claude Gay's translation of William Penn's *No Cross, No Crown*.<sup>2</sup>

Between 1738 and 1745 FELIX FARLEY issued about half a dozen Friends' works in conjunction with Samuel his brother, and in the latter year, from his address "at Shakespear's Head in Castle Green" he issued *Joshua's Resolution to serve the Lord*, a sermon by Jonah Thompson delivered at Bristol Yearly Meeting, 15.iii.1745, and taken down in shorthand.<sup>3</sup>

There are other printers in the Farley family, but I have no evidence that they were Friends. One, SAMUEL FARLEY, printer at Exeter, 1699-1727, provides a good illustration of the type of work undertaken by local printers—a few works by Friends of the district and one or two standard Quaker authors. Samuel Farley is known only as printer of works for two local Friends, Henry Hingeston and Thomas Gwin (1708 and 1709), and a reprint in 1708, of George Whitehead's pamphlet *A Few Positions of the Sincere Belief and Christian Doctrine of the People of God called Quakers (to obviate Misrepresentations and Calumnies about the same)*.

<sup>1</sup> There is a possibility that Samuel Bonner, Farley's foreman printer, published separately about 1746, for his name appears on an undated reprint (ascribed to this period) of John Bockett's pamphlet, but he apparently continued to act as foreman to Samuel and Sarah Farley until 1774 when *Bonner and Middleton's Bristol Journal* commenced. See *Bristol Times and Mirror*, 15th and 22nd April, 1911.

<sup>2</sup> This work is entitled: *Point de croix, Point de Couronne : ou, traité Sur la Nature & la Discipline de la Sainte Croix de Christ. . . . Seconde Edition, reveuë & corrigée*. It is a reprint of the first edition, issued without place or publisher but apparently a Raylton-Hinde production, and corrects the errors in that and introduces a few of its own, one of which it mentions at the foot of the final page, and then proceeds: "Les autres fautes ne paroissant pas materielles, on n'a point écrit d'autre Errata."

<sup>3</sup> Felix Farley also published some numbers of a new translation of the Bible by Anthony Purver (then a schoolmaster near Bristol). The work (published 1741 or 1742 according to Joseph Smith, *op. cit.*, II. 437) was not completed, and the translation did not appear until 1764, after Dr. John Fothergill had given Purver £1,000 for the copyright and had it published in London at his own expense. I have traced no copies of the Bristol issue.

Although Dublin printing for Friends can be dated from 1693 when Jacob Milner, bookseller, at his shop in Essex Street, was selling the first Irish edition of William Penn's *Some Fruits of Solitude*, I do not find that Milner was a Friend, and it is not until the end of the second decade of the eighteenth century that any Friend appears as printer in that city. SAMUEL FULLER, of the Globe and Scales in Meath Street, is first known for his edition of Steven Crisp's *Short History of a Long Travel, from Babylon to Bethel* (1720). Within the next seventeen years until his death in 1736, Samuel Fuller was responsible for publishing nearly twenty works for Friends. Production included the 1721 issue of the first five parts of *Piety Promoted*, Thomas Ellwood's *Dauides* (1722), and his own popular work of instruction *Some Principles and Precepts of the Christian Religion by way of question and answer* (1733).

MARY FULLER, widow of Samuel Fuller, carried on the business after the death of her husband in 1736 until her own death in the following year. She is known for her reprint of May Drummond's *Internal Revelation the source of Saving Knowledge* (1736). Isaac Jackson appears to have succeeded to the business, and between 1738 and 1749 he issued some eleven books for Friends, commencing with David Hall's *Epistle of Tender Exhortation and Wholesome Advice, to Friends at their Half-Year's Meeting in Dublin*, dated from Ballitore, 29.vii.1737, and ending with a reprint of the same author's *Epistle of Love and Caution, to the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings of Friends in Great Britain*, prefaced with a recommendation from Dublin Men's Meeting, signed by Peter Judd and John Ruddy.

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The story behind the changes of imprints here outlined, and the details of printing production and selling organization await further investigation in manuscript materials in Friends' libraries in London and elsewhere, before any assessment can be made of the full Quaker contribution to the history of printing.

RUSSELL S. MORTIMER



## Additions to the Library at Friends House

HENRY J. CADBURY has presented photostat copies of two rare pamphlets by Roger Crabb published in 1659: (i) his *Gentle Correction for the High-flown Backslider* (from the only known copy, in the Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.); and (ii) *A Tender Salutation: or, The substance of a Letter given forth by the Rationals, to the Despised Remnant, and Seed of God, in the People called Quakers.*

Other gifts have included the Thomas Wilkinson MSS. collection, from Mary D. Baker; a water-colour painting of Claverham Meeting House, Somerset (artist unknown), from Edward Gregory; and two papers on Hampshire Friends' history by William C. Stewart.

In our last issue (p. 29) the note on books that belonged to Margaret Fell should have included four instead of two. We are indebted to Henry J. Cadbury for a reminder that he wrote an article in this *Journal*, xxxiv, 1937, p. 27, drawing attention to three such books, one certain and two almost certain. The first was the volume in the Library of Congress, which was described in our last issue.

The others were, first, a quarto volume of seventeenth century Quaker tracts with "M.F." stamped on the binding, second, a copy of the *Battledore*, 1660, inscribed "Daniel Abraham of Swarthmore Book," in his own hand, and containing a list of tracts in George Fox's handwriting. The former of these has now been transferred from Friends' Library, 302 Arch Street, Philadelphia, to Haverford College, Pennsylvania. The latter is in the Library of Congress.

Henry J. Cadbury also calls attention to the mention by Isabel Ross of a Bible in her *Margaret Fell* (1949), p. 203. The book referred to is actually a *Concordance to the Bible*, of which Friends House Library has a folio edition inscribed "Margaret Fox" and "Bridget Fell."

## 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.

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### GEORGE FOX, LEICESTERSHIRE COUNTRYMAN

The influence on George Fox of his Leicestershire upbringing, and through him on the development of the Society of Friends, does not seem to have been studied in any detail, and my recent reading of books about the county has suggested some points which may have interest.

How far did Leicestershire character influence George Fox to make his insistence on the plain language? Francis Petty, writing of Leicestershire in 1703, declared: "I have not found one fool in this country. They answer all concisely—Yes—No—Can't Tell—Indifferent."

Conditions in Leicester recorded in 1640 bring to mind many of the traits for which George Fox was known and which he encouraged in Friends—dwelling in brotherly love, care for the poor, honesty, cleanliness. John Taylor "the Water-poet" wrote,

"I noted the peace, tranquillity and unity which the people live in. . . They are so charitable and careful in providing for the relief of the poor and needy, that a man must go seek where to bestow his alms. . . . The people generally are so loving one to another that the lawyers want work, and so honest that the apparitors are idle. . . . The streets are so well paved and kept so clean from dung-hills, filth or soil, that in the hottest and foulest weather, a man may go all over the town in a pair of slippers and never wet his feet." [Quoted from Firth, J. B., *Highways and Byways in Leicestershire*, 1926, p. 5.] (If the villages were as well-kept as the county town, George Fox must have suffered all the more during his imprisonments in filthy jails.)—BEATRICE SAXON SNELL, 23 St. Anne's Road, Caversham, Reading.

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### "WOE TO THE BLOODY CITY OF LICHFIELD"

"So I went up and down the streets, crying with a loud voice, 'Woe to the bloody city of Lichfield!' It being market-day, I went into the market-place, and to and fro in the several parts of it . . . as I went thus crying through the streets, there seemed to me to be a channel of blood running down the streets, and the market-place appeared like a pool of blood." (George Fox. *Journal*, under 1651; Bicent. ed., i, 78.)

The reason why George Fox's vision at Lichfield took the form



it did has never been explained. Can it be that his mind was influenced by a subconscious memory of Garendon Pool waters turning blood red? This pool (about 2 miles West of Loughborough and 20 miles North of Fenny Drayton) would be well known to Leicestershire folk, how it turned blood red and cattle refused to drink from it, for the occurrence achieved some celebrity and is recorded in a pamphlet of 1645, on the basis of which there is a full account in Nichols's *History of Leicestershire* (iii, 800-1), and in *Highways and Byways in Leicestershire*, 96-98. The pool was seen by one Master Neale of Greate Leake in Nottinghamshire "just at that time when the water did begin to return to its first complexion, and perceiving the red substance in the nature of a filmy body to return to the bottom, he did put spurs to his horse, who did fling back and snorted, and was unwilling to go into the pond; but after he had forced him to enter a little way into it, and stirred towards the bottom of the water with his cane, he perceived clots, as it were, of congealed blood in great abundance to rise up, and having stayed upon the top of the water for a little space, to descend afterwards by degrees again." The country people drained the pond, but found nothing, and no physical explanation has come to my notice.—BEATRICE SAXON SNELL, 23 St. Anne's Road, Caversham, Reading.

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GEORGE FOX AND "LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE"

"Even George Fox had admitted 'that he never lik'd the Word Liberty of Conscience, and

would have no liberty given to Presbyterians, Papists, Independents and Baptists.' " This quotation from a recent biography of *Thomas Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury* (by Edward Frederick Carpenter. S.P.C.K., 1948) ran so counter to the usually accepted picture of George Fox that it appeared worth pursuing. With the author's aid the basis for the statement was found on page 18 of Tenison's *An Argument for Union*. This work was published anonymously in 1683 and instanced many examples from Commonwealth times to show the impossibility of the sectaries agreeing among themselves. Comment on Quakers included a paragraph based on William Mucklow's *Spirit of the Hat* (1673), an adverse pamphlet in a controversy concerning Friends' practice of raising the hat during vocal prayer in meeting. William Mucklow wrote (p. 41), "George Fox was heard to say in a selected great Assembly thus, *Though many Friends have writ for Liberty of Conscience, I never lik'd the word, it is not a good word, No Liberty to the Presbyterians, no Liberty to the Papists, no Liberty to the Independents, no Liberty to the Baptists, &c.* Liberty is to be only in the Truth, and saith he, no Liberty out of the Power." In this last sentence, which Tenison ignored, appears the clue to the meaning of the whole passage. This is made abundantly clear by the answer William Penn made in *The Spirit of Alexander the Copper-Smith* (1673). He denied that George Fox was concerning himself with outward exercise of conscience in freedom of worship—"for, Conscience being an Inward and Spiritual Thing, no

mortal Man could bind or inthrale it." He asserted that George Fox was right to say there was no liberty of conscience "out of the Power; that is, The Power of God. Nor in reallity is there: For all Consciencs that are defiled or enslaved by Wicked Works, they are not truly free; the Power of God has not delivered such into the Glorious Liberty of the Sons of God." Such people (including the Presbyterians and the rest, and presumably the Hat men when they persisted in spreading confusion among Friends) could not be free in their consciences. William Penn concludes: "In short, He [George Fox] spoke, and meant it of an Inward Liberty of Conscience from Sin, which is call'd in Scripture, Purging the Conscience from Dead Works, and If the Truth make you Free, &c. and this Alexander the Copper-Smith, that Vile and Peevish Apostate, turns to an outward Exercise of Religious Worship, as if G.F. would have had those Professors persecuted by the Civil Magistrate. O Base and Wicked Perversion of an Innocent Man's true Words!"

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WILLIAM PENN AND JOHN  
AUBREY

In the recent biography, *John Aubrey and his Friends*, by Anthony Powell (Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1948) appears the following passage. The information is based on the Bodleian Aubrey MSS. (13 f. 98, and 26, 9) and the quotation is taken from pages 192 and 193 of the book.

"There was a letter from William Penn, dated from Philadelphia 'the 13th of the 4th

month called June,' 1683, giving some description of the country, and saying: 'I have begun a vineyard by a French man of Languedock and another of Poictou'; and, in *Faber Fortunat* Aubrey noted: 'William Penn, the Lord Proprietor of Pennsylvania, did, *ex mero motu et ex gratia speciali*, give me a graunt under his seale, of six hundred acres in Pennsylvania, without my seeking or dreaming of it. He adviseth me to plant it with French protestants for seaven yeares gratis and afterwards they are to pay such a rent. Also he tells me, for 200 acres ten pounds rent for ever, after three yeares.'"

It would be interesting to know more of Aubrey's contacts with Penn and Pennsylvania.

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ANTI-QUAKER TRACTS

*Some rare Seventeenth Century Pamphlets*, an article by A. J. Westlake, minister at Kingsbridge, Devon, in a recent issue of *The Baptist Quarterly* (vol. 13, no. 3, July 1949, pp. 109-115) brought to our notice a volume containing seven Commonwealth tracts and entitled *A Confession of the Faith* from the short title of the first item, recently presented by Miss E. K. Adams of Kingsbridge to Bristol Baptist College library (*shelf mark* JJ.a.9). Thanks to the courtesy of the librarian, the Rev. E. J. Tongue, we have examined the book and are able to give the following particulars concerning items of Quaker interest.

The sixth pamphlet in the volume is Thomas Collier's 16-page tract (small quarto, no printer's name or date) entitled: *An Answer to an Epistle, written*



by Thomas Salthouse, to the Churches of the Anabaptists, so called. Wherein his Epistle being weighed in the Ballance, is found too light. With a word to the Churches and another to the people caled Quakers. This controversial item treats of various themes, as baptism, perfection and ministry. James Nayler is mentioned. The "few words" to the Quakers open (p. 16) typically with: "This I say unto you by the word of the Lord, that you are deluded, that you are deceivers being deceived; you erre in the Faith; and instead of the Truth you follow cunning devized Fables." The *Short Title Catalogue, 1641-1700*, by Donald Wing has no record of this item, Joseph Smith had evidently never seen a copy, for his *Bibliotheca Anti-Quakeriana* (p. 132) gives only a short title; but the work is given in W. T. Whitley's *Baptist Bibliography* (I, 67) under date 1657, as an answer to Thomas Salthouse's *Epistle* (which latter is recorded in Smith's *Catalogue* II, 528).

A second work by Thomas Collier not recorded by Wing is the fourth item in the volume: *The Personal Appearing and Reign of Christs Kingdom upon the Earth, Stated and proved from the Scripture of Truth, and the state of the Saints till then, proved to be a state of suffering, and not of Reigning and Conquering with a Materiall Sword as some imagine* (London, 1657. pp. [viii], 32, small quarto). This work is of interest in that it illustrates development towards pacifism among the advanced sects in Protectorate England.

The final pamphlet in the volume is Thomas Higgenon's *A Testimony to the true Jesus*

*And the Faith of him. Wherein the Way of the People called Quakers is in Aleekness and righteousness summed and weighed* (London, 1656). This work includes an answer to James Nayler's *Love to the Lost* and is fully entered in *Bibliotheca Anti-Quakeriana* (p. 231) and by Wing, *op. cit.*, H.1950.

#### THE TURKISH SPY

Isabel Ross, in her recent book on *Margaret Fell* (p. 110), quoted from *Journal F.H.S.*, viii, 25-27, the account of Quakerism and of James Nayler found in the *Letters Writ by a Turkish Spy*. Later in the same volume of the *Journal* are notes by William Charles Braithwaite and A. Neave Brayshaw on the nature and authorship of the letters. The author, G. P. Marana, was an Italian. He settled in Paris, and from 1684 published anonymously a series of letters (in Italian and in French in 1684, translated into English in 1687) dealing with events of the period of his supposed residence in Paris as a spy for the Ottoman Porte (1637-82). The work enjoyed great popularity, and it ran through many editions. Further volumes were added by other authors.

The letter referring to Quakerism illustrates the very limited knowledge which people on the continent had of the movement. In a French edition published at Cologne in 1717 with title *L'Espion dans les Cours des Princes chrétiens* this letter (tome 4, p. 313) is illustrated by a curious engraving entitled "Trembleurs ou Quackres." This shows a room with a woman in a broad-brimmed hat standing on an

upturned tub and exhorting a fashionably dressed couple in the foreground to repentance, while the background is occupied by a praying congregation. The sombre lines probably reflect faithfully the contemporary view of Quakerism.

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JOHN BUNYAN

*John Bunyan, l'homme et l'œuvre*; par Henri A. Talon (Editions "Je Sers," Paris, 1948. Pp. xii, 400. 700 fr.) is a refreshing account of one of the outstanding men of the seventeenth century. Although one may doubt the profundity of the author's researches when so much English material has appeared, he gives a lively account of Bunyan's first controversial essay with Edward Burrough (pp. 109-15). M. Talon notes that in this pamphlet battle (in which quarter was neither asked nor given) Bunyan was developing a telling use of words, forging an instrument which served him well in the *Pilgrim's Progress*, and the *Life and Death of Mr. Badman*. In considering the controversy concerning the Inner Light, the author ventures the suggestion that Quakerism was not fully Christian before Robert Barclay.

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QUAKERISM AND AUTHORITY

A recent author speaking of Quakerism (Ralph Barton Perry: *Puritanism and Democracy*, New York, Vanguard Press, 1944, at pp. 98-99) makes an interesting observation: "the peculiar root of its offending was its complete rejection of the distinction between clergy and laity, and its acceptance of 'inner light' as an

authoritative source of inspiration and guidance. 'We utter Words,' said John Woolman, 'from an inward Knowledge that they arise from the heavenly Spring.'

"Quakerism tended to reduce priest to believer rather than, as with the Anabaptists, to exalt believer to priest, but it had the same tendency to render its adherents recalcitrant to any mode of organized control, whether through civil or through ecclesiastical institutions. The quietism of this sect and its later reputation for sobriety and liberality must not be allowed to obscure the fact that in the seventeenth century it was associated with factiousness, intolerance, and obscurantism. Passive resistance is nonetheless resistance, and because the Quaker's passivity made it difficult to convict him of overt crimes, it did not make him less obnoxious to authority."

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A GOLD TEAPOT

In *The Life of George Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne* (London, Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1949), A. A. Luce recalls the following story connected with the Bishop's visit to Rhode Island (1729). The story came through Berkeley's daughter-in-law, Eliza, who remarking on the Islanders' rage for finery, and how the men wore "flaming scarlet coats and waistcoats, laced and fringed with the brightest glaring yellow," continues, "The sly Quakers, not venturing on these charming coats and waistcoats, yet loving finery, figured away with plate at their sideboard, or rather *beau-fait*." One sent to England for a large teapot of solid gold, and



had it made on purpose. Drinking tea one day with *friend* Berkeley, he asked him whether he had ever seen such a curious thing. Berkeley said that silver ones were much in use in England, but that he had never seen a gold one, and Ebenezer replied, "Aye, that was the thing. I was resolved to have something finer than anybody else. They say that the Queen has not got one." (Quoted from p. 120.)

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THE TERM "QUAKER"

(*Supra.* 4-5) Mr. Geoffrey C. Scrimgeour, the Clerk of Cheshire County Council, writes with reference to the document on which our Query was based that

the reading given in the printed version is an error. The word should be "Coaker," meaning a harvest labourer. Had we but known at the time, this elucidation and explanation had already been printed as one of a number of interesting items in *Letter from the Past* No. 5, entitled *Quaker by Error*, which appeared in the *Friends Intelligencer* (Philadelphia), 24.v.1941, p. 330, which the author, Henry J. Cadbury, has kindly brought to our notice.

We would take this opportunity of bringing to the attention of those who do not know it this lively historical series which still continues in the *Friends Intelligencer* and has already passed its century.

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## Recent Publications

*Margaret Fell, Mother of Quakerism.* By Isabel Ross. London, Longmans, Green, 1949. Pp. xvi, 421, 4 plates. 21s.

For the historian of Quakerism this is the book of the year. By patient study and careful research, combined by a deep appreciation of her subject, by family piety and an extensive knowledge of Swarthmoor and its countryside, Isabel Ross has here presented a comprehensive survey of material connected with the woman who, from the time of George Fox's first coming to Swarthmoor in the late June days of 1652 until her death half a century later, did so much to support and refresh the leaders in the movement which became the Society of Friends.

In this valuable book Isabel Ross gives a picture of Margaret Fox's remarkable life with such wealth of detail from original letters and sources that one is sometimes in danger of losing sight of the main outline. But the volume is more than a biography, it is a broad survey of the development of Quakerism during the first twenty years of its corporate existence as the events touched the "Mother in Israel." If from that time forth the scope diminishes,

it is because (with the development and organization of local meetings for business, which naturally looked to London, the Meeting for Sufferings, and ultimately to the regular Yearly Meetings) Swarthmoor was no longer the main centre of Quaker activity. It was part of the triumph of early Friends that the leaders could serenely share their power in a growing movement. The reader studying Margaret Fell's sentiments revealed in this volume can detect no suggestion of jealousy or unco-operative hesitation.

In the later periods the surviving evidence is more of a family nature, and it seems likely that Isabel Ross has found long gaps which it is difficult to fill. This may account for instances in which the author is less sure in her emphasis. For example, in her anxiety to place a favourable construction on Margaret Fox's activities during her last visit to London, Isabel Ross has perhaps been less than just to Friends with Tory sympathies and to the Friends who were dissatisfied with the statutory form of affirmation then lately approved by Parliament. But light on events of this period can well be obtained from other sources, and it is for its view of the early years of Quakerism that this work will be valued.

In so well-produced a work the index should have been completely comprehensive.

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*Edward Burrough, a Wrestler for Truth, 1634-1662.* By Elisabeth Brockbank. London, Bannisdale Press, 1949. Pp. 176, 1 plate. 7s. 6d.

Through the death of Elisabeth Brockbank on 13.vii mo. 1949, the Friends' Historical Society has lost a keen member, and a past president. Her presidential address in 1939 on *The Story of Quakerism in the Lancaster district* was printed in the *Journal* for that year. Her *Richard Hubberthorne* was published in 1929.

One cannot but admire in this fascinating story of an early Friend from the time of his disownment by his father until his death in Newgate, London, the stalwart personality of Edward Burrough and of his companions who together made Quakerism the dynamic force it was. Special attention may be drawn to the account of the stirring years of the early missions from the North (II. Chap. 2, The assault on London; Chap. 3, Bristol and the West Country), and to the account of Edward Burrough's Vision (III. Chap. 9), which last merits further study to seek its meaning and what justification there was for the use made of it during the Wilkinson-Story controversy.

This story is not new, there are some over-simplifications, and the references to sources are not so clear as might be desired, but it is useful to view the growth of Quakerism through Burrough's eyes and to have him so well fitted into the background of his native Westmorland. There are useful appendices, but the index leaves something to be desired.



*Authority, Leadership and Concern: a study in motive and administration in Quaker relief work.* By Roger C. Wilson. London, George Allen & Unwin, 1949. (*Swarthmore Lecture.*) Pp. x, 78. 3s. 6d. and 5s.

From 1940 until 1946 Roger Wilson was General Secretary of Friends Relief Service, and this book is the valuable fruit of his thought and experience. It is useful to the historian not only for its consideration of motives underlying Friends' relief work, which probably have not changed greatly through the generations with the expanding opportunities for their expression, but also for the apt illustrations from earlier times which show the modern relief work to be firmly based on a continuing Quaker concern.

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*Brothers of the Spade: Correspondence of Peter Collinson, of London, and of John Custis, of Williamsburg, Virginia, 1734-1746.* By E. G. Swem. (Reprinted from the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society, for April 1948.) Worcester, Mass., 1949. Pp. [ii], 17-201, 3 plates.

This correspondence, now printed for the first time from the Collinson letters in the possession of the American Antiquarian Society, and the Custis letter book in the Library of Congress, is valuable source material for the history of eighteenth century botany and horticulture.

Peter Collinson, one of the band of Quaker Fellows of the Royal Society, has an honoured name not only for his introduction of over 180 new botanical species into Britain, but also (as the editor of this correspondence points out) for his influence on American colonial botanical study. The letters here reproduced largely concern the joint interest of Peter Collinson and John Custis in the exchange of plants and the study and enrichment of their gardens.

---

*Abington Friends Meeting & School, 1682-1949.* By Horace Mather Lippincott. Pp. 84.

This attractively illustrated little piece of Pennsylvanian Quaker social history is more than a chronology traced back to the day when Richard Wall settled at Shoemakertown and presented to Philadelphia Monthly Meeting his removal certificate from a meeting held at Stoke Orchard in the county of Gloucester, the 26th day of the 4th month 1682. H. M. Lippincott mentions earlier works on the history of the Meeting; the doings of many public Friends of an earlier day are brought to life often with telling quotations from the records. He continues the story with recollections obtained from living Friends—a source for Quaker history which every

generation should take heed of before it is too late. Of the illustrations we would single out the reproduction of Robert Sutcliffe's charming drawing of Abington, 1805, showing Friends going to meeting, taken from his *Travels in North America*, 1811; but this and some others lack indication of where the original may be found.

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THE *Haverford College Bulletin*, vol. 47, no. 3 (November, 1948) includes on pages 15-20 the Report of the Curator of the Quaker Collection, 1947-1948. Thomas E. Drake records the gift of over 800 Quaker manuscripts from various sources, as well as the acquisition of several rare pamphlets, both Quaker and anti-Quaker, including a copy of John Pitman and Jasper Batt's *Truth Vindicated and the Lyers Refuge Swept Away* (1658) from George Fox's personal library given by Henry J. Cadbury. The collection provides service in a wide field of research, but the Curator regrets the time-lag in cataloguing, due to college policy which results in Quaker material having to give precedence to books needed for the academic curriculum. The staff exchange with Friends House Library, under which Muriel A. Hicks spent a couple of months at Haverford, is mentioned with appreciation.

---

SOME new evidence on *The Imprisonment of John Bunyan* is brought to light by Joyce Godber, county archivist for Bedfordshire, in the April 1949 issue of the Congregational Historical Society *Transactions* (vol. 16, no. 1, pp. 23-32). Friends will remember that Bunyan was released on the general pardon of 1672 along with more than 400 Friends. In the same issue is an interesting article by Norman G. Brett-James on *Nonconformity in Mill Hill village before 1807*.

---

## Periodicals Exchanged

Receipt of the following periodicals is gratefully acknowledged :—

- Bulletin of the Friends' Historical Association* (Philadelphia).
- Wesley Historical Society, Proceedings*.
- Presbyterian Historical Society, Proceedings*.
- Presbyterian Historical Journal* (U.S.A.).
- Unitarian Historical Society, Transactions*.
- Mennonite Quarterly Review* (U.S.A.).
- Institute of Historical Research, Bulletin*.

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