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Communications should be addressed to the Editor at Friends House.

Doris N. Dalglish

THE death of Doris N. Dalglish on 11th February, 1954 is a loss to us all in a more than personal sense. Her capacity for penetrating assessment and lively portrayal of character and scene in a charming style is exemplified in *People Called Quakers* (1938), which rekindles interest in Thomas Story, John Woolman, Thomas Wilkinson, Stephen Grellet, Caroline Stephen and others, at a time when Quaker seers and stalwarts are too little regarded among us. She also published *We Have Been Glad*, an autobiographical work, and *Presbyterian Pirate*, a life of R. L. Stevenson, besides many contributions to periodicals. Doris Dalglish had accepted an invitation to be president of the Friends' Historical Society in 1955-6.

Presidential Address, etc.

THE presidential address was delivered by Dr. Geoffrey F. Nuttall at Friends House on 1st October. It was entitled "James Nayler, a Fresh Approach." A summary appeared in *The Friend* for 6th November, after the lecture had been repeated at Woodbrooke. It is being printed separately, and published as Supplement no. 26, to be distributed with this number of the *Journal*.

At the Spring business meeting, held on 4th March, T. Canby Jones, Woodbrooke Fellow, 1953-54, delivered an address on "Jesus Christ in the message of George Fox."

Supplement no. 25: *John Greenleaf Whittier the Quaker*, by C. Marshall Taylor, an address delivered to the Society on 4th September, 1952, just after the Tercentenary commemoration, is also published.

This spring number includes a paper by William H. Marwick of Edinburgh on nineteenth-century Scottish Quakerism, which supplements the information given in his epilogue to Dr. G. B. Burnet's *Story of Quakerism in Scotland*. John Sturge Stephens contributes a study of Nathaniel Morgan of Ross-on-Wye, tradesman, banker and political and social reformer. This article deals particularly with the Quaker activities of a man, on whose public life John Stephens has recently written in the *University of Birmingham historical journal* (vol. 4, no. 1, 1953, pp. 30-46).

Continuing our series showing how Friends looked to outsiders, we print four foreign views on Quakerism. Two German items are brought to light by W. D. Robson-Scott of Birkbeck College, London, author of *German Travellers in England, 1400-1800* (1953). A Polish reminiscence of Elizabeth Fry comes from Marek Waysblum from his materials for the study of Quaker-Polish relations. A passage from the diary of Francisco de Miranda the Venezuelan patriot throws another light on the kaleidoscopic picture of Philadelphia Quakerism in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Henry J. Cadbury contributes a short note on a collection of tracts from the library of Margaret Fox.

Pressure on space and the impossibility of printing more within our present budget has compelled the holding over of some waiting matter due for this number of the *Journal*.

The Standing Conference of Theological and Philosophical Libraries in London (SCOTAPLL for short) has arranged for a short term research ticket which will give the holder access for one month to any of the twenty-two libraries in London which co-operate in the scheme.

This ticket is intended to help the student or researcher, beginning work in the field of religious and philosophical literature, to examine with the fewest possible formalities the resources of the religious libraries in London, before becoming a regular reader in those found most serviceable to his studies.

Application for the ticket (price 3s. 6d.) should be made (about ten days before it is required) to Miss Joan Ferrier, Hon. Secretary SCOTAPLL, C.M.S. Library, 6 Salisbury Square, London, E.C.4.

A brief directory to the twenty-two libraries is also available, price 1s. 3d. post paid.

The Library at Friends House is one of the co-operating libraries.

Friends in Nineteenth Century Scotland

THE Society of Friends in Scotland fell into a parlous condition in the late eighteenth century. Several meetings became extinct, and of those which survived, only Edinburgh, Kinmuck and Aberdeen showed any vitality. The nominal organization into two Yearly meetings became virtually dormant and records were imperfectly kept. The *Memoirs* of John Wigham senior, who was in consequence moved by a concern to reside in Scotland, state that

"there were at that time but very few in profession with Friends, and even of this small number the greater part had so much departed from their principles and had become in their manners their language and their dress so conformed to the fashions of the world that there was little or nothing left to distinguish them; and in this state of things, the discipline of the Society was scarcely supported at all."[1]

By the labours of John Wigham and of other Friends travelling in the ministry, such as George Dillwyn of U.S.A. and Henry Tuke of York, "who were drawn to visit this nearly desolate part of the heritage, the discipline was before long measurably restored, and a few well-concerned Friends raised up to conduct the affairs of the Society."[2] In 1786, London Yearly Meeting intervened, and under its auspices the "Half Yearly Meeting of North Britain" was instituted, and was held alternately in Edinburgh and Aberdeen. The name was altered in 1807 to "General Meeting for Scotland," with the status of a Quarterly Meeting subordinate to London Yearly Meeting, and continuity was thereafter preserved. Men's and Women's meetings were held separately until 1903. In 1868 it agreed that Meeting be held thrice a year, with Glasgow as the third venue. Until 1845 leading members were chosen in rotation as clerk for the occasion; for the next twenty years William Miller was regularly reappointed, and it was then (1864) decided to make the appointment endure "until some change is thought necessary." William Gray held the office for the next sixteen years. A Select Meeting of Ministers and Elders was held before each General Meeting until it was laid down in accordance with a Minute of Yearly Meeting in 1906.

[1] Memoirs of John Wigham (1842), p. 12.
[2] *ibid.*, p. 13.

Representatives were regularly appointed to attend London Yearly Meeting, but (no doubt owing to difficulties of travel) the right to appoint to Meeting for Sufferings and other central committees seems to have been little exercised. Answers to the Queries were submitted so long as the usage was in force, and triennial reports on the state of the Society in Scotland were prepared. The minutes are largely formal, but refer occasionally to public affairs such as the abolition of slavery (1835), the restriction of hours for licensed premises (1874) and the Contagious Diseases Acts (1897). Regular business for some time consisted mainly in reports of "Sufferings," sustained chiefly through distraint for non-payment of military assessments and church dues, and in care of legacies and trusts. These included the benefaction of John Robertson (1818) for Friends travelling in the ministry and for the education of children, and that of Anthony Wigham (1857) for relief of distressed members. By an agreement of 1819 the Meeting became a participant in the conduct of Wigton School, with preferential terms for the children of its members. Endowments from a School at Kinmuck which existed from the 1680's until about 1808 were applied for its benefit. The Horniman Trust "for the promotion of Friends' Principles in Scotland" was endowed by John Horniman in 1896 and administered by trustees appointed but not controlled by General Meeting.

Subordinate to General Meeting were the Aberdeen and Edinburgh Monthly meetings in which the existing and subsequent Preparative meetings were united. Both became Two Months meetings, Edinburgh in 1808 (until 1902) and Aberdeen in 1874. The balance of membership shifted in favour of the south. Complete statistics do not seem to have been compiled prior to 1884 when the figure was 196. The Aberdeen and Kinmuck membership was then 23; of the residue, in Edinburgh Two Months meeting, 105 were in Glasgow meeting. The total rose to over 300 by the end of the century. Circumstantial evidence suggests that it averaged well under 200 during the earlier period. One hundred and sixteen attendances at morning meetings for worship throughout Scotland were recorded by the *British Friend* on a Sunday in March, 1851.

This periodical was privately published in Glasgow by members of the Smeal family from 1843 until its transfer to

England under new auspices in 1891; it, however, gave little prominence to Scottish affairs.

The isolated seventeenth century burial ground at Shawtonhill, Lanarkshire (1675) remained in possession of the Society and was occasionally used. That at Partick (1711) was ultimately transferred to Glasgow Corporation for preservation as an open space.

Travelling Ministers

Scotland was frequently visited by Friends travelling in the ministry, including some from America, and recurrent stimulation was thus given from outside at times when native meetings languished. Among those who contributed to revival early in the century Stephen Grellet (1801) is best known. The ministry of Deborah Darby (1804) had as one effect the conversion from Moderatism to Evangelicalism and from a military chaplaincy to pacifism of Rev. Henry Duncan, minister of the rural parish of Ruthwell, where he established a pioneer savings bank. He was, late in life, a founder of the Free Church (1843); his association with Friends was noted in an obituary in the *British Friend* (12th month, 1848). Sarah and John Grubb paid an extended visit in 1807 and addressed large public meetings; an account was published in the *British Friend* many years later (1852). Elizabeth Fry and Joseph John Gurney spent some time in the south of Scotland and the short-lived meeting at Hawick (1823-39) was regarded as one fruit of their labours. Friends of Evangelical views were now welcomed by the orthodox clergy, particularly in the Highlands, where appreciation was expressed of "kind co-operation and hospitality from Free Church and U.P. ministers,"[1] Churches were put at their disposal and large audiences were addressed. No permanent meetings resulted.

A vivid account of one such visit, particularly to the Orkneys and Shetlands, was left in the form of a MS. journal by Sarah Squire, compiled from letters sent to relatives (1835). She had the company of one female and two male Friends; they sailed from Leith on 10th June, and reached Lerwick on the 16th. They visited many of the islands and held well-attended meetings; they were everywhere well-received and had much assistance from local residents. The

[1] *British Friend*, 10th mo. 1861.

journal contains interesting observations on natural scenery and social conditions, which were often primitive, especially housing. The weather was generally unfavourable and returning in August they had "a very stormy rough passage" to Peterhead. To General Meeting in Aberdeen she gave an account of her tour. They went on by the north-east coast to Thurso, crossed the Pentland Firth and visited the "Mainland" having meetings in Kirkwall, Stromness and Evie and returned to Aberdeen by the same route, "having been 252 miles in open boats and 564 miles in ships and packets, besides land travelling." They then travelled south holding meetings in Stonehaven, Perth, Crieff and Glasgow, where "the invitation was principally extended amongst the middle classes and the Methodists. . . . it was a very respectable attendance." After visiting Edinburgh, Dundee and Hawick they finally crossed the border to Carlisle. Sarah Squire found among the Scots "much to be felt that cannot easily be reached, and a great tenacity of sentiment."[1]

An American Friend, Sarah Smiley, was in 1869 allowed to preach in Kirkwall cathedral. In the 'eighties, apparently as an outcome of the later Evangelical movement associated with Moody and Sankey, visitation by such Friends as Richard Brockbank (1824-1912) a Cumberland farmer, and Daniel Pickard was largely responsible for the revival in Ayrshire, from which sprang several rather ephemeral meetings. The visit in 1895 of an American Friend, Jesse Egerton, is commemorated in his journal, selections from which appeared in the Philadelphia *Friend* in 1925.

Some Scottish Friends also travelled extensively, both within and without the compass of their own meeting; e.g. John Wigham senior who spent three years in America (1794-97), William Miller of Hope Park, and, towards the end of the century, Alexander Dunlop.

There was much interchange of membership between English and Scottish meetings, as the economic relations of the two countries became closer, and several Scottish Friends emigrated overseas. Friends from Aberdeenshire who settled in Derbyshire, such as Thomas Davidson and George Smith, were among the founders of the Fritchley meeting. The maintenance and growth of the Society in Scotland was largely indebted to incomers from south of the border such as the

[1] MS. Journal of Sarah Squire (in Edinburgh P.M. Library).

Wighams who came from Northumberland at the end of the eighteenth century and migrated to Ireland at the end of the nineteenth.

The growth of membership was retarded and its decline at times accelerated by the meticulous care taken in admission and the readiness to disown for minor infractions of discipline. The frequency of the "offence" of bankruptcy is remarkable; a disposition neither Quaker nor Scots to "engage in hazardous and unwarrantable speculations" is censured. A "conservative" outlook dominated for a large part of the century, and was expressed by Lydia Ann Barclay (1799-1855) a descendant of the Apologist and noted minister, and in the columns of the *British Friend*, which opposed the mid-century relaxation of discipline; "no amount of which can change matters of principle;"[1] and sympathized with the Fritchley secession. Puritanical standards of social practice were insisted upon by minutes of the 'eighties. Dissension took a serious form on several occasions, and involved the temporary suspension of Edinburgh Monthly Meeting early in the century and intervention in Aberdeen and Kilmarnock towards its close. There was much intermarriage, and it would require a Quaker Burke or Debrett to trace the genealogies of leading families.

Among the essays on the Decline of Quakerism submitted in the well-known prize competition of 1858 was one by Rev. Robert Macnair, a Scottish Baptist clergyman, published in 1860. Admitting that his knowledge of the Society was second-hand, he charged it with "desolating heresies . . . bowing down to the shrine of George Fox," regarding his teachings as "doctrinally perfect and incapable of improvement." At the same time he affirmed that this "stereotyped creed" had been modified by a tendency to approximate to other religious bodies through the "development of evangelical doctrine"; hence there was less reason for its independent existence.[2]

Friends in Industry

As in England, Friends in Scotland were in earlier generations mainly associated with the land, and this connexion survived, especially in Aberdeenshire, until well on in the

[1] *British Friend*, 5th mo. 1861.

[2] R. Macnair, *The Decline of Quakerism* (1860).

century. The prolific family of Cruickshanks farmed for many generations in the Kinmuck area. Amos Cruickshank (1808-95) "by the determined devotion of a lifetime shifted the centre of the shorthorn world from Teesdale to Aberdeenshire." Leasing the farm of Sittyton in 1837, he built up a noted pedigree herd of cattle and became "perhaps the most outstanding constructive cattle breeder the world has ever known." He is described as "steady of purpose, not easily daunted, shrewd, cautious and determined, yet gentle and tender withal . . . a man of few words, always to the point and often humorous . . . many of his characteristics were the fruit of the religion in which he had been nurtured and to whose tenets he wholeheartedly subscribed." He had as partner his brother Anthony (1812-79), a "man of business training and methodical habits . . . under average height, of spare build, happy in manner and speech," who had a business in Union Street, Aberdeen, and was a founder of the Royal Northern Show (1844),[1] and director of the North of Scotland Bank.

Two branches of Scottish industry owe much to Quaker pioneers. The hosiery manufacture of Hawick was largely the creation of William Wilson (1764-1832), and William Watson (d. 1843), both convinced Friends, who were in partnership there from 1804 to 1819. Wilson formed his own firm in 1819 and his son, Walter (1796-1890), became a leading figure in the developing industry (with which some of his descendants are still actively connected) and a promoter of the North British Railway line.[2] His younger brother, James (1805-60), was founder of *The Economist*;[3] he resigned membership on marrying out in 1832, and none of the family retained connexions with the Society. James Glenny (1836-1914), of Aberdeenshire Quaker stock, and nephew of Walter Wilson, after experience as a cotton spinner in Lancashire became partner in 1875 with his uncle Provost George Wilson in an offshoot of the original business, and subsequently in Peter Scott & Co., and other local firms.[4] A clerk of Watson's is credited with the famous error or obscurity in writing which

[1] Isabella M. Bruce, *History of Aberdeenshire Shorthorn* (1923), xi, 100-4, 147-48, 346-47, 458-59.

[2] *Hawick News*, July 1882; *Hawick Express*, 21.6.1890; R. Murray, *History of Hawick*.

[3] E. Harrington: *The Servant of All, Jas. Wilson* (1927).

[4] *Hawick Express*, 26.6.1914.

led to the inspired adoption of the word "tweed" instead of "Tweel" for the local make of cloth.[1]

Among the initiators of the manufacture of biscuits in Glasgow (as in Carlisle and Reading) was a partly Quaker firm, Gray Dunn & Co., founded in 1853. William Gray (1811-80) sometime Clerk of General Meeting, was an original partner, and was joined later by John Thompson, who came from Leicester in 1865.[2]

"The shawl trade (in Edinburgh) fell almost entirely into the hands of members of the Society of Friends, but most of the operatives were from Paisley."[3] Among these the Wigham cousins, who set up a business in Nicolson Street about 1820, were outstanding. The Paisley shawl trade declined rapidly in the 'sixties.

The well-known firm of manufacturers of stoves and similar domestic equipment, Smith and Wellstood, Bonnybridge (1860) was largely the creation of Stephen Wellstood (1811-86), who spent some years in the United States, and introduced American types of heating.[4] He was actively associated with the Society for many years before applying for membership a few years before his death. William White of Glasgow (1773-1855), in addition to conducting a tobacco pipe factory in Glasgow, continued by his son, John Charles White (1826-1911), was a railway director.[5]

One of the Aberdeenshire Cruickshanks, Alexander (1759-1842), settled in Edinburgh about 1787 and built up a drapery business, ultimately situated in George Street, which survived until the 1930's, though long without Quaker connexions.[6] A scion of the same family, John William Cruickshank (1852-1918), son of Anthony, succeeded his father as director of Aberdeen companies and of the North of Scotland Bank; he was apprenticed as an engineer, engaged in cotton spinning in Lancashire and later carried on his uncle's breeding of shorthorns at his estate at Lethenty, but on retiring lived latterly in Surrey and Florence.[7] Robert

1 *Scotsman*, 2.8.1949; Wm. Scott: *Auld Hawick* (1890).
2 V. W. Alexander, *Donald Gray* (1945); *Glasgow & Lanarkshire* (1903) p. 26.
3 Metcalf: *History of Paisley*, p. 465.
4 D. Keir: *Dennyloanhead & Bonnybridge* (1921); *Annual Monitor*, 1887.
5 *British Friend*, 1st mo. 1856.
6 Edinburgh Directory.
7 V. W. Alexander, Donald Gray; Bruce: *Aberdeenshire Shorthorn*, pp. 346-47; A. Keith: *North of Scotland Bank* (1936); Ackworth Old Scholars' Association Report (1919-20).

Mason (joined Friends 1814, died 1861) was for some time manager of the famous mill at New Lanark, where William Allen and other Friends were in partnership with Robert Owen early in the century. The works were subsequently carried on by Walker & Co., apparently the descendants of another Quaker partner.[1]

Friends in Public Life

The active participation in public life of Robert Barclay and his contemporaries had, in eighteenth-century Scotland as elsewhere, given place to a separatist aloofness. The philanthropic movement of that century, as Dr. Burnet emphasizes, brought some Friends back into the stream of affairs in their concern to promote specific reforms. The active part taken by May Drummond (1710-72) in the foundation of Edinburgh Royal Infirmary (1739) was imitated in the prominence of nineteenth-century Friends such as the Wighams in the conduct of this and similar institutions. Some Friends, notably John Wigham junior, participated in promoting an inquiry (1818) into alleged abuses and irregularities in the Infirmary; the official report denied the more serious charges, but admitted some dislocation in consequence of an epidemic in 1817; several improvements were made.[2]

Through her visits to Scotland, Elizabeth Fry inspired local support for her mission of prison reform. The care of Edinburgh Friends for Polish refugees after the abortive revolt of 1830 has recently been mentioned in *The Friend*, and is the subject of present study by a Polish author.[3] Support was given to a fund for the relief of destitution in the Highlands, sponsored by Friends such as Edward Pease[4] (1855).

Probably the anti-slavery movement was that which most strongly enlisted the sympathies of Friends. The labours of William Smeal of Glasgow, "a strenuous Abolitionist" have been particularly noted by modern authorities such as Mr. G. A. Shepperson of Edinburgh University. Smeal founded

[1] Podmore: *Life of Owen*, pp. 97, 153, 393; *Life of Owen by Himself*, pp. 247-51; Local Reports on Sanitary Condition of Labouring Population (1842), No. 12.

[2] "A.B." *Rambling Recollections* (1867), p. 67; Logan Turner: *Story of a Great Hospital*, pp. 200-1.

[3] *The Friend*, 9.1.1953.

[4] *British Friend*, 5th mo. 1855.

and was Secretary of the Glasgow Anti-Slavery Society (1822), Glasgow Emancipation Society (1833) and Glasgow Freedmans' Aid Society (1864-67). Criticism of the Free Church for "fellowshipping the slaveholders of America" by accepting funds from the churches of the Southern States—a burning issue of the 'forties—was voiced editorially in the *British Friend*.[1] Eliza Wigham published (1863) a booklet on "the Anti-Slavery Cause."

The mid-century incursion into politics of Joseph Sturge and John Bright was anticipated by John Henderson of Paisley (1797-1851). His earlier and more extreme participation was indeed prior to his convincement in 1837. An ironmonger by trade, nicknamed "Cutler Jock the Quaker," he was suspected of providing arms for the threatened (or imagined) "Radical Rising" of 1820, and fled to America to escape prosecution. On his return from exile he resumed political life as councillor (1833) and Provost (1841-44) of his native burgh and editor of the local edition of the Radical *Evening Post and Renfrewshire Reformer*.[2] His son James (1833-93), for some years Clerk of General Meeting, became an Inspector of Factories.

William Gray was Provost of Kinning Park, and his partner John Thompson, Provost of Govan, both satellite "police" burghs of Glasgow.[3]

Walter Wilson of Hawick held municipal office as secretary of the local Board of Health (1832), and a magistrate. He took part in the movements for franchise reform and free trade. Stephen Wellstood sat on Edinburgh town council as a Radical representative of St. Leonard's ward (though before becoming a Friend), and was noted as a temperance reformer. He was secretary of the Lancasterian educational Society and took part in the unsuccessful mid-century agitation for women's suffrage.[4] Of an "Edinburgh Female Emancipation Society" (1848) Sarah, wife of John Wigham junior, was president; in this "Year of Revolution" the Society drew up

[1] *British Friend*, 9th mo. 1848; J. Urie: *Reminiscences*, p. 102; G. A. Shepperson: *Free Church & American Slavery* (Scottish Historical Review, October 1951), *H. B. Stowe & Scotland, ibid.*, 1953.

[2] Parkhill: *History of Paisley*, pp. 51-53, 65; do., *Arthur Sneddon*, pp. 69, 179; M. Blair: *Paisley Shawl*, p. 62; Brown: *History of Paisley*, pp. 303, 418; J. Urie: *Reminiscences*, p. 32; *North British Daily Mail*, 5.5.1851.

[3] *Glasgow & Lanarkshire* (1903), p. 26.

[4] *Scotsman*, 4.11.1874; *British Friend*, 2nd mo. 1886; *Annual Monitor* 1887.

an "address to their Sisters in Paris."[1] Eliza Wigham was later secretary of a local Women's Suffrage committee.[2]

The *British Friend* gave full reports of an international peace conference at Frankfurt (1850). Some Friends took part in the Edinburgh Peace Conference of October, 1853; William Miller was chairman, and Henry Wigham secretary of the Arrangements committee.[3] William James Begg, subsequently Clerk of General Meeting, was Secretary of the Glasgow Peace and International Arbitration Association about 1890.[4]

Interest was taken in the passage of the Affirmation (Scotland) Act of 1865, which amended the procedure in a way which finally satisfied Friends' scruples as to the taking of legal oaths.[5]

Robert Bird (1855-1919) solicitor, a convinced Friend, like Bright and other noted members, supported the Unionist cause after 1886, but unlike most of them, was, with Farrer Ecroyd, active in tariff reform propaganda.[6]

In the field of science, whose attraction for Friends Arthur Raistrick has demonstrated, the application to medicine seems to have appealed most to Friends in Scotland. The greatest name is that of Joseph Lister, professor in Glasgow (1860-9) and in Edinburgh (1869-77), who, however, was soon lost to the Society through marrying out (1856). As in earlier generations, when the absence of religious tests was also a factor, the repute of its medical school drew many students to Edinburgh, including James Baker (1852-77) house surgeon to Lister, and Edwin Thompson of the Children's Hospital, both of high promise, quenched by their early deaths. John Barlow (1815-56) was Assistant Professor at the Edinburgh Veterinary College. John Theodore Cash (1854-1936), son-in-law of John Bright, afterwards became Professor of Materia Medica in Aberdeen (1886-1918). Sir George Newman was a student in Edinburgh in 1889-93, and Henry Gillett started medical practice there in 1898.

The virtual taboo on literary pursuits, together with the decline of cultural life in Victorian Scotland, is perhaps

1 *British Friend*, 7th mo. 1848.
2 *Scotsman*, 13.1.1871.
3 *British Friend*, 10th mo. 1853.
4 *British Friend*, 11th mo. 1889.
5 *British Friend*, 4th mo. 1865.
6 *Who's Who in Glasgow* (1909).

responsible for the paucity of Quaker contributions to the art of writing. Only at the very end of the century did Robert Bird of Glasgow acquire some repute as an author. His varied works include humourous verse ("Law Lyrics"), a novel "Reversed on Appeal" and Biblical stories for children.[1]

Edinburgh Meeting

Finally some supplementary details may be given about local Meetings and their members.

Edinburgh erected in 1791 a new meeting house in the Pleasance where there was already a burial ground. The meeting flourished about the middle of the century when it had about eighty members, mainly resident in the southern suburbs, "each family having its own commodious villa, with garden in the front and rear."[2] Reminiscences of the period are contained in *Memorials of Hope Park*, by William F. Miller (1835-1918) who removed to London in 1867 and professed the Jacobite sympathies of his ancestors. This work, privately printed in 1886, is supplemented by his articles in this *Journal* (1913) and by MS. notes by his niece Helen M. Neave.

The Millers of Craigentinny for three generations dominated eighteenth-century Edinburgh Quakerism. The main line died out with the eccentric collector, William Henry Miller (1789-1848). Their history has been fully studied in volume XXII of the *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*. The will (1829) of W. H. Miller, who had no connexion with Friends, left the estate to other relatives; it was contested by the nearest male representative of the family, Joseph Miller (1792-1855) bookseller, George IV Bridge; the suit lasted four years; a final appeal to the House of Lords was rejected (1853). Joseph's youngest brother, William of Hope Park (1796-1882), achieved much repute as an engraver; he travelled widely in the ministry and was active in the causes of peace and anti-slavery. His second wife Jane (1818-1908) continued to sit at the head of Edinburgh meeting until the first years of this century; she is described as "clever and executive," noted for "efficiency and caustic remarks." They "kept open house and young men attending the Meeting returned there for dinner."

[1] D. W. Brown: *Clydeside Litterateurs*, pp. 9-14.
[2] W. Chambers: *Story of a Long & Busy Life*, p. 59.

Edinburgh Friends of the mid-century formed a Literary Society.[1] Their social habits approximated to those of Victorian Presbyterianism and they enjoyed intercourse with their fellow citizens of similar standing, a connexion encouraged by the marriage (though it temporarily involved her disownment) of Priscilla Bright to Duncan McLaren, political henchman of her brother, leading merchant, M.P., and sometime Lord Provost. William Chambers, a founder of the publishing firm, noted also as a social reformer during his Lord Provostship (especially in slum clearance) wrote in his autobiography:

"I somehow became acquainted with several members of that limited but respectable body the Society of Friends. . . . There was something peculiarly delightful in the placidity of manner of these people. The family that I knew best was that of John Wigham, junior. In the conversations that took place there was a studied abstinence from all disagreeable topics. . . . All matters treated of bore reference to something practically good, connected with social progress. . . . On one occasion I attended a kind of public breakfast given by the family in honour of Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe. . . . In the small evening tea parties given by this excellent family I often met with Elihu Burritt 'the learned blacksmith'."[2]

The Wighams were a Border family mentioned as a "clan" in 1493. They acquired the manor of Coanwood in Northumberland by purchase during the Commonwealth, but apparently sold it about 1758. In the early eighteenth century they were associated with a colliery which supplied coal to the Quaker Lead Company in Cumberland. Cuthbert Wigham was convinced about 1734 and with the families of Watson and Richardson "formed a strong Quaker community."[3] It was his grandson John (1749-1839) who removed to Scotland in 1784 "under a feeling of religious duty" and spent most of the rest of his long life in Aberdeen. His second son John "junior" (1781-1862) came to Edinburgh about 1800, and was in the shawl trade until his retirement in 1855 "in easy circumstances," due partly to his first marriage to "a considerable heiress." He was a director of the United Kingdom Provident Institution, and resided in Salisbury Road. He was "devoted to benevolent and useful institutions" and served on the boards of the Edinburgh House of Refuge, the Royal Maternity Hospital and the Prisons Board. Anticipating the

1 W. F. Miller: *Memorials of Hope Park*, ch. vii.
2 W. Chambers: *op. cit.*, pp. 59-61.
3 A. Raistrick: *Quakers in Science & Industry*, pp. 176-77.

modern Barns, he proposed in 1851 "schools for destitute" at which juvenile offenders would be trained for farming at home or in the colonies. He was Chairman of the Anti-Corn Law Association; he nominated Macaulay at the General Election of 1840, but afterwards supported his Radical opponent.[1]

His cousin, namesake and partner, distinguished as John Wigham tertius (1784-1864), came to Edinburgh from Coanwood in 1805, and resided in Gray Street. He also "realized an ample competency," but lost much of his fortune as a shareholder in the Western Bank which failed in 1857, two years after his retirement. He was an overseer and treasurer of the Meeting and "diligent and regular in attendance." He was a manager of the Royal Public Dispensary.[2] His widow Jane (1801-88), sister of the Smeals, was active in the anti-slavery, temperance and feminist movements, as was her step-daughter Eliza (1820-99) well-known within and without the Society, being one of the last to retain the old garb. Her social work included the management for forty years of a "Penny Bank," and conduct of a "Women's Work Society or Mothers' Meeting" (1866-97); "her yearly reports were models of concentration and her spiritual aim was always visible." Her services have been commemorated by the present Edinburgh University Settlement. Shortly before her death she joined her brothers who had settled in Dublin.[3]

Among other leading personalities were Harry Armour (1790-1867) printer, admitted in 1859 after previous association in peace and anti-slavery activities; David Doull (1784-1858) wine merchant and confectioner, a native of Caithness who before his convincement in 1817 had served in the Fencibles; and Helenus Gibbs (1801-76) boot and shoemaker, received in 1859.[4]

Glasgow Meeting

In 1791 Glasgow sold its original premises, but a new house was built in Portland Street in 1804. After much tribu-

[1] MS. records of Wigham family; *British Friend*, 12th mo. 1851 & 6th mo. 1862; *Annual Monitor*, 1863; Memoir of J. Wigham Richardson (1911).

[2] *British Friend*, 11th mo. 1864; *Annual Monitor*, 1865.

[3] *Annual Monitor*, 1901; J. Goodfellow: *The Print of His Shoe*, pp. 72-78 (with portrait).

[4] *Scotsman*, 2.2.1867; *Annual Monitor;* Edinburgh Directory; *Journal F.H.S.*, January, 1913.

lation in the early years of the century, it had 50 to 60 members in the 'sixties, and about 100 in the 'eighties. The best known of its members in the early decades were John Robertson (1761-1818) admitted in 1794, and Anthony Wigham (1776-1857), brother of John Wigham junior, who became Clerk in 1799. They were partners in the muslin trade and benefactors of the Society; Anthony retired to Aberdeen in 1835. In the middle of the century the most weighty members were William Gray (1811-80) founder of the biscuit firm and Clerk of General Meeting, and the brothers Smeal, grocers in the Gallowgate. Their father, the first William Smeal (1762-1836) left the Church of Scotland for the Independents and came in touch with Friends in Glasgow about 1800; he was afterwards an elder and overseer. William (1793-1877) was the more prominent of the brothers. Born in Leith, he joined the Society in 1817, and was successively Clerk of Preparative, Monthly and General Meetings. He took part in Liberal politics especially in campaigns for Church disestablishment, Corn Law repeal, and a national system of education. He was secretary of the local Peace committee and advocated the abolition of capital punishment, but his agitation against negro slavery brought him most repute. Robert Smeal (1804-86) devoted himself chiefly to his tea business and to the conduct of the *British Friend*.[1]

Towards the end of the century leading members included John Charles White of Hillhead (1826-1911), tobacco pipe manufacturer, and his sister Mary (1827-1903), president of the Glasgow branch of the British Women's Temperance Association, and prominent in the "Prison Gate Mission" and Girls' Friendly Society, in co-operation with Agnes Bryson (1831-1907) a native of New York.[2]

Catherine Cuthbertson has contributed some recollections of the Portland Street Meeting house at this period, "where we toiled up the last steep hill in the heat of summer or slid down the slippery path in winter. In the gallery were the benign personalities of Mary White and William James Begg (d. 1922) a solicitor, afterwards Clerk of General Meeting. The Gray, Hodge, Thompson and White families constituted a considerable part of the Meeting."

[1] *Annual Monitor*, 1837, 1878, 1887.

[2] *Ibid.* 1904, 1908.

Other Meetings

The old Meeting at Kelso expired in 1797 with the death of Jane Waldie, Walter Scott's early acquaintance, and last scion of the Ormstons of Hendersyde who had maintained it for generations. Possession of the meeting house was retained until 1905; it was meantime let for various purposes, including that of the local School of Arts.[1]

Hawick (1822-39) gave the only subsequent sign of life in the Borders. The meeting house, after being let as a school to J. A. H. Murray the lexicographer, was sold in 1866 and demolished.[2]

Aberdeen continued with fluctuating vitality, meeting from 1825 in Diamond Street. In 1900 there was an average attendance of about twenty. The Meeting was dominated by John Duguid of Blackdog Farm, of strongly Conservative views; Sophia Cash, daughter of John Bright, was Clerk of Two Months Meeting.

Kinmuck declined with the depopulation of the rural areas; members fell from thirty-eight in the 1790's to sixteen about 1830. The Meeting possessed a three-acre croft, long occupied by the brothers Robert and James Gray.

Old Meldrum, the only other relic of early Aberdeenshire fervour, was already moribund by 1800. For most of the century the staple of membership of the Two Months Meeting was provided by the farming families of the district—Cruickshanks (Amos the breeder and his brothers Anthony and John, of Altons, 1803-78), Brantinghams (e.g., George 1791-1860), Grays and Wighams (e.g., Amos, 1776-1848).[3]

Perth had a temporary life in mid century, when meetings were held in the homes, first of Patrick Murdoch and then of Sarah and James Fenwick, umbrella manufacturer, Bridgend (admitted 1849, died 1868). Their son James Edwin Fenwick (1863-1942) head of a bakery and benefactor of Wigton School was ultimately the only survivor.[4]

Dundee was recognized as a Meeting in 1802, but discontinued in 1813 on the death of the only remaining member Alexander Webster, merchant. Meetings for Worship were resumed about 1870; a Preparative Meeting was recognized

[1] J. Haig: *Account of Kelso*, p. 123.
[2] J. Turner: *Hawick in Bygone Days* (1927), p. 11; R. Murray: *History of Hawick*, pp. 77, 142-44; J. Edgar: *Hawick of 90 Years Ago* (1929).
[3] Old Statistical Account, II, p. 529; New Statistical Account, XII, p. 746.
[4] *British Friend*, 3rd mo. 1852; 5th mo. 1864.

in 1889 and premises built in 1891. Robert T. M. Allan (1845-1916) a grocer's assistant who became a photographer in Broughty Ferry, convinced in 1862, and James C. Steel, tea merchant, Broughty Ferry, convinced in 1872, were chief promoters; they were joined by James A. Braithwaite from Cork in 1897.[1]

In the south-west, several new meetings were established late in the century, at Kilmarnock where a meeting house was opened in January, 1886, and Kirkintilloch in the 'seventies; at Ardrossan, Irvine, Annan, Crosshill and Maybole in the 'nineties. All, except the first, remained very small and did not survive the first generation. All the members, says a contemporary visitor, were convinced Friends, "dissatisfied with the Kirk," and had a strong Evangelical bias. George Cuthbert, the leading figure at Crosshill, had for many years served in the Navy.[2] Alexander Dunlop, joiner, Ardrossan (d. 1906) and Alexander Lamont, drysalter, Kilmarnock (d. 1899), were active in the ministry throughout the country.

WILLIAM H. MARWICK

AUTHOR'S NOTE

I am much indebted to the following for supplying information: Catherine Cuthbertson, Helen M. Neave, Henry T. Gillett, Jane Watt Brown, John D. Mitchell; to John Wigham for loan of family papers; to Crawford H. Thomson, for assistance in exploring archives in Glasgow; to the late Andrew E. C. White for much and varied assistance and encouragement, and to John L. Nickalls and Muriel Hicks for facilities in using Friends House Library.

Where not specified, the source of information is found in Minutes and other records of Friends in Scotland, either directly or through references in Dr. G. B. Burnet's *Story of Quakerism in Scotland* (1952), or in his unpublished Ph.D. thesis (Glasgow University) on which his book is based.

Supplement 20 Wanted

Any available copies of *The Swarthmore Documents in America*. Edited by Henry J. Cadbury, 1940, will be welcome at The Library, Friends House, London, N.W.1, as the stock of this is exhausted. The *Journal*, vol. 37 (1940) is also out of stock. Identified senders will receive grateful acknowledgment.

[1] Norrie: *Dundee*, p. 68; *British Friend*, 3rd mo. 1891.

[2] *The Friend* (Philadelphia), 1925, p. 576; *British Friend*, 3rd mo. 1887, 2nd mo. 1892.

Nathaniel Morgan of Ross

IN the days of my youth there hung in the hall of my grandparents' home the portraits of two elderly Friends painted in early Victorian times. They were always referred to as "Uncle and Aunt Morgan," and their memory was revered in particular by my grandmother, whose great uncle and aunt they were, and in whose house in the middle of Ross she had stayed as a girl. Near the portraits stood a beautifully made model of a farm waggon about a foot long, bearing the inscription "Archenfield." Family tradition had it that this model had stood in the back parlour of the Ross and Archenfield Bank in which Nathaniel Morgan was the leading partner, during the panic of 1825-1826 when many banks suspended payment. It had been full of sovereigns, and the saying had got around that "there was a waggon load of gold in the Bank," whereupon confidence was restored among anxious clients fearing for the loss of their deposits.

It was not until I was able to read the four volumes of Nathaniel Morgan's "Private Memorandum Book," which cover the years from 1812 to his death in 1854, that I fully realized what a remarkable life he had led in the little Herefordshire town so far from the main stream of English life. He stands revealed in them as a progressive Friend, a Radical reformer in politics, and a man of singular sweetness of character combined with devotion to humanitarian causes and great public spirit. Above all he was a lifelong pacifist, an enthusiast for the abolition of slavery, and an advocate of mutual tolerance and understanding between the various religious denominations.

He does not record his doings from day to day, but writes on matters or events of consequence to him or about persons whom he thought worthy of record. His fervent religious outpourings were evidently meant for no eyes but his own, yet he refers to his large family circle as if he were writing for posterity, and scarcely ever fails to indicate the relationship to him or his wife of each person mentioned. He is fond of anniversaries, and the memory of his beloved father and of a promising nephew who died young is kept green year by year, as is the story of his first meeting with his wife and of his Bank's signal preservation in 1825 through the guarantee given by ten per-

sons of substance in Herefordshire. For this he never ceased to thank God. He constantly refers to his desire to serve his fellow men to the best of his ability, and to use part of the profits of his banking to help the poor and further the cause of civil and religious liberty. He writes admirable obituaries of his friends and neighbours of both sexes which constitute a portrait gallery of Herefordshire worthies of high or low degree. He records his many difficulties and trials as well as his achievements in the causes which he loved. His political outbursts are often naïve, but are most revealing of his outlook. His friendship with Joseph Hume, the famous Radical M.P., brought him near to the mainsprings of nineteenth-century Liberalism.

The Morgans had been settled in Ross since the reign of Charles II, when Thomas Morgan, a Worcester Friend of the first generation, suffered persecution and decided to change his abode. The family tradition is that on reaching the highest point of the Malvern Hills he was undecided as to where he should go, but agreed with himself that his staff in God's directing hand should guide him. He placed it so that it might have fallen in the direction of either of the church spires visible. It fell towards Ross and thither he directed his steps. In 1683 Thomas Morgan's son, James, was among those distrained upon when, as recorded in Besse's *Sufferings*, three "Justices of the Peace came to the Meeting at Ross, turned out the Persons, lockt up the House and took away the Key so that they were obliged afterwards to meet in the Street." The grandson of this James, bearing the same name, was born in 1733 and married Sarah Baker of Leominster in 1767. Her dove grey wedding dress and flat Leghorn straw hat have been preserved and are now at Friends House. The hat, its brims tied down with a ribbon coalscuttle-wise on either side of the face, seems to have been the prototype of the stiff grey Quaker bonnet of later generations. James and Sarah Morgan's third son Nathaniel was born in 1775. His schooling was in Ross and he seems to have gone at the age of 14 to help his father, whose linen draper's shop and house were in the middle of the town opposite the Market House, on the site where George Fox had held a meeting at James Merrick's in 1667.

Nathaniel Morgan records that he first attended Yearly Meeting in 1798 and then set out on a tour of England with

ministering Friends, covering 914 miles in all. In this year he first spoke in meeting at Leominster "which I did in great fear & found Peace in submitting a few Sentences."

His first portrait painted about this time shows a dark, handsome young man with an amiable expression. In the background appears a picture of Christ crucified between the two thieves, in itself a sign of extreme unorthodoxy in a Friend of those days. Year by year he wrote down his deepest allegiance to the crucified Saviour on "the day called Good Friday."

In 1796 his elder brother Caleb, my ancestor, married Ann Taylor of Ruxton Court, a beautiful timbered farmhouse with a later Elizabethan stone-built wing, in the parish of Llangarren west of Ross. Thus it was that Nathaniel met the Taylor family, who were not Friends. When ill and fearing consumption he went to their home for a change of air—there is a family legend that he was cured by eating Roman snails (Helix pomatia), which though common in parts of Oxfordshire are not now found much further west. The truth is that his recovery was due to the tender care and nursing of Sarah, one of the Taylor daughters. They became engaged soon after, but seemed in no hurry to marry. Deborah Darby of Coalbrookdale noticed this and admonished them to take the final step. When they at last did so in 1806 she congratulated them.

[Deborah Darby to Nathaniel and Sarah Morgan]

C[oalbrook] Dale
11th mo. 13th 1806

My Dear Friends,

I am glad to find by my Fd N Ms letter—that you are not only united in the tyes of Marraige—but in that of tender affection—whereby I trust you will not only be one anothers Joy—in the Lord—but strengthen each other in the work of your Day—for it is not a Day to live at ease in ceiled houses while the House of God lyes waste—the harvest truly being plenteous but the faithful labourers few—we are called upon not only to pray the great Lord of the Harvest to send forth more faithful labourers—but to put our hand unto the nail—and the right hand as unto the workmens hammer—as the Great Shepherd may condescend to put us forth and go before us. My Dear Friend S.M. has been called into our Society & may she be a blessing not only to her Dear Nathaniel but unto the Church. My best wishes attend you—that you may walk like Zacharias and Elizabeth in all the ordinances and commandments of the Lord blameless.

I am with regard your interested Friend,

N & S. Morgan
Ross.

D. Darby.

It is evident that his travels of 1798 had given young Nathaniel a true understanding of Quaker principles and of the state of the Society. In 1799 he wrote on behalf of his father to the Commissioners of the Income Tax at Ross, "War being inconsistent with the Character of a Christian I cannot comply with the contents of this Bill. All Wars I object to, defensive as well as offensive. Could I give my assent to war I should feel much less objection to comply with this mode of raising money for that purpose than any other yet proposed." The tax thus unpaid, the sum assessed by the embarrassed Commissioners was raised "as Kindly as man could do it" by distraint on household goods.

At the Yearly Meeting of 1813 Morgan upbraided Friends for their lukewarm spirit in the cause of peace, reminding them of their ancient testimony. He alleged that "we have shrunk from that Glorious Cause & Joined with the Nations in Blood, by Assenting to the payment of a Tax, specially Levied for War." One elderly Friend rose to support him, but the clerk allowed no further discussion. After the session he was approached by Joseph Tregelles Price of Neath who "said he had long been uneasy on the same subject & asked me my Motive for opening the matter. I said that it might be brought before the meeting. I nor my Father had never Paid [the war tax] only during the interval of Peace 1801 or 1802.

"I fear my fellow Professors are led by Paltry Interest & fear of offending the High People of this day. I am glad nay greatly rejoice I have endeavoured to keep my hands from Blood in this business & have Publickly avowed my sentiment to them & to the world on this important concern." In the Yearly Meeting of 1814 he spoke again. "I have long believed that war is one of the greatest evils & inconsistencies in the Christian world, and that it is the bounden duty of every Christian peaceably to oppose it, being not only quite contrary to the Language & Life of Jesus Christ, but to every feeling that dignifies human nature. I do, therefore, hope that nothing may cause us to differ on this important subject." Again and again he refers to the scandal of "Professors," whether Friends or no, failing to support the progressive causes which he loved. When peace was proclaimed in June, 1814, he rushed out to the Market House steps opposite his shop. "I shouted & loudly exclaimed 'May it last for Ever &

Ever if there be such a time'." But he was moved to this gesture by the absence from the ceremony of "any persons of known sobriety," a thing "shameful to Professors of Christianity."

In the Yearly Meeting of 1817 Luke Howard took exception to a phrase in one of the foreign (American?) epistles read, in which Friends were called "the peculiar people of Zion," saying that "he believed that many in the Church of Rome and from that Church through all religious Societies down to our own belonged to Zion and had as much right to consider themselves its peculiar favorites." Nathaniel Morgan at once rose to support Luke Howard's "truly correct, just & Liberal observations." When the Epistle was discussed he objected to the words "being Holy in all manner of conversation" saying that "the most plain & simple conversation was of very small import unless our lives did comport therewith."

Morgan was profoundly shocked when, in 1818, a Ross Friend came with the rector and others to solicit his vote for Colonel John G. Cotterell, one of the county members for Herefordshire in the Ministerial interest, who accompanied them. "I told him I wished him well, but that no Quaker could in his conscience vote for a Man of Blood." This incident provoked him to write "Oh may I be preserved on this & Similar occasions to be honest just & true to my convictions even if it be in the most direct opposition to the Judgment or Practice of all the Princes, Priests, Elders or overseers in the World." Following up the same train of thought he noted a few days later, "Oh how shocking to see even the Highest Professors in this little Meeting winking at every iniquity so that they may meet with the applause & approbation of those they call the great."

From a later entry it appears that Ross Friends disapproved of Nathaniel Morgan's venture into banking in 1820. He and his wife were regarded as "speckled Birds," and only when visiting Friends were present does he record satisfaction with the ministry in Ross Meeting. It is significant that no account of his life appeared in the *Annual Monitor* or *British Friend*, and no testimony was sent up by his monthly meeting after his death.

His conception of true worship is well expressed in a letter to a woman Friend who was staying away from meeting.

"I greatly admire & feel the sweet comfort arising from Worshiping God in Silence, to me far beyond all I ever enjoyed amidst the Pomp or Parade of Preaching or Public Teaching. But I also fully believe that saying of Jesus Christ our Lord that where two or three are met together in his name he will be in the midst of them and therefore whether it be in the Church or Chapel, or Meeting house so called, or in a Mountain, it is all the same. But the Spirits must be centred on God alone & not in, or on, Outward or Visible Objects."

Of a monthly meeting he writes:

"I had to read the answers to the Queries respecting do Friends train up their Children Servants & others under their care in a religious life & conversation consistent with our Christian profession, in the frequent reading of the Holy Scriptures, in Plainness of Speech behaviour & apparel. I observed that as far as Plainness of Speech & Behaviour I certainly recommended it & required it to be observed by our Servants let their salary be what it might. I never allowed Sir Maam or Madam Mr. or Mrs. Esquire or Reverend. N.B. These have been my strict sentiments many years notwithstanding I highly object to creeping & cringing, much the case with what poor narrow minded persons among us call the Great ones of our Society."

Greatly moved by Captain Pilkington's Peace lecture in 1834, at which this former Army officer had exposed all the horrors of war and the inconsistency of Christians in supporting it, he penned another *cri de coeur*. "Oh Lord My God, what are Monthly Meetings, Quarterly or Yearly Meetings, what is Plainness of Speech Behaviour or Apparel, what are the Observance of Sundays, Good Fridays, Christmas Days, Christenings, Baptisms or things called Sacraments, compared with preventing the Sorrows, fastings, dying, Wounds & Agonies of thousands who fall on the field of Battle & Millions pining & starving from their dire effects."

In the same year he complained that Friends "have cruelly withheld our Meeting Houses from friendly Persons who differ from us in Religion," and related that this had moved him to present the "Westlyans" with a site for their chapel and to stipulate that any of the Dissenters in Ross were "to have the use of the Chapel at convenient hours free, while their Meeting houses were under repair." He states that Friends' refusal to allow others to use their meeting houses went back to an "act" of Yearly Meeting in 1800 or 1801, against which he had "there loudly testified."

Of the Plymouth Brethren he thought well as "a Sincere People fearing God & most anxiously desiring to be the humble followers of the Lord Jesus Christ, who in many particulars seem to be more ardent followers than us who call

ourselves Friends & Quakers, being much more devoted in acts of Charity & self denial than ourselves."

When in 1837 his brother James' son Joseph married Elizabeth, daughter of his second brother Caleb, Nathaniel Morgan was provoked to another outburst against Friends' practices.

Being Cousins they could not be married at our Meeting,[1] being a disownable offence, [they were married at Dixton Church near Monmouth by a clergyman] whilst Pride, Covetousness & scores of other evils are winked at. Yea a complete abstaining from our Meetings for Worship will not disqualify a person from holding what empty Professors of Religion consider a high & honourable post amongst them. Well might the great Redeemer of Mankind call such Blind Guides straining at Gnats & swallowing Camels.

Oh what a mockery nowadays to see the main principles for which our Pious Patterns George Fox & many of my Dear Ancestors suffered & were ready to die, hardly regarded & yet the Shadow or appearance of Sanctity strongly pleaded for almost every day.

In April, 1838, Nathaniel Morgan attended Peel Meeting in London and was "most painfully affected with the great declension in this Meeting." Numbers were greatly reduced since his last visit. He went on to indite a fervent plea for greater faithfulness to the Peace Testimony, for co-operation with other Christians, and for refusal to conform to the ways of the world in using flattering titles.

"If we were to simplify our Rules & Queries to these three things & treat all Men as Brethren, then would the Lord Bless us & cause his face to shine upon us as in former Years & we should become a great Blessing in the Earth & I believe many would see & Love our ways & great would be the increase of Truth amongst us, instead of the great falling away of our Society."

At the end of this passage he refers to the sad fact that there had been only one convincement in South Wales, Herefordshire and Worcestershire during the last five years.

I can only refer very briefly to Morgan's many public activities.[2] He was regular in his attendance at the Anti-slavery conventions held in Exeter Hall and elsewhere, and wrote with enthusiasm of the part taken at them by Daniel O'Connell, Thomas Clarkson and Joseph Sturge. In 1840 he was indignant at the exclusion from full participation in the

[1] At this time the Book of Discipline laid down that no Monthly Meeting should permit the marriage of first cousins according to Friends' usages. They, therefore, as in this case, had to be married "by a priest", and were then disowned. This rule was not rescinded by Yearly Meeting till 1883.

[2] For a fuller account of these see my article in the *University of Birmingham Historical Journal* for 1953.

Convention of Lucretia Mott and her fellow women from America.

"Having felt extremely at these Excellent Women being rejected & prevented advocating this Heavenly Cause for which they had suffered much & laboured long in their own Land, & traversed the Ocean at great expense, & most Anxious that they should have been heard, I felt it my duty to obtain their Names & to Cordially thank them for their blest intentions. Accordingly Lucretia Mott procured their autographs for me and handed them through the hands of James Canning Fuller, a Delegate of New York State."

When Cobden came to Hereford in 1843 to speak against the Corn Laws, Morgan was present. He proposed his friend Sir Samuel Meyrick of Goodrich Court[1] as chairman and the motion was put by John Southall of Leominster and carried unanimously.

In 1849 Morgan spoke in favour of Cobden's arbitration proposals at a public meeting in Hereford Town Hall, the Mayor taking the chair. "Samuel Bowley of Gloucester spoke Most Nobly for 1 Hour & 50 Minutes & Joseph Morgan My Nephew Seconded one of the Motions in an excellent Manner."

Other progressive Friends mentioned are John Benbow of Hereford and Samuel Southall of Leominster. For "dear William Allen" Morgan had an unbounded admiration.

The cause of education was one of those nearest his heart. As a very young man he had visited Joseph Lancaster's pioneer school in the Borough at London and from 1799 onwards had done all he could to introduce the "Lancasterian system" in a "British and Foreign School" at Ross. He was one of those who set out successfully to cleanse the Augean stables of misused educational and other foundations. He was fiercely attacked by the champions of vested interests and by intolerant Anglicans, determined if they could to exclude Dissenters from public influence. He championed the newly introduced police in 1839 against those "deeply interested in the Continuance of Disorder in this Town." He was three times Mayor of Ross and was responsible for the introduction of gas lighting and for an important road diversion between Ross and Hereford to avoid a steep hill which occasioned much suffering to horses and driven cattle.

He was active, too, in the agitation against Church tithes levied on Dissenters and in that for the reform of the corpora-

[1] Two charming letters from Sir S. Meyrick to N. Morgan have been preserved in which he "thees and thous" his Quaker friend. Meyrick had been knighted by William IV as a great authority on and collector of armour.

tions. On behalf of the latter he forwarded a petition signed by Ross citizens to Lord Brougham. "My friends here are emboldened to trouble thee from having for many, many years known thee to be the steady & unflinching friend of the oppressed of every Rank, colour & Clime." After his copy of this letter he has pasted a cutting from a newspaper of Brougham's hymn "'There is a God', all nature cries."

I will end by a quotation from an obituary notice of Nathaniel Morgan in the *Hereford Times* of 11th November, 1854, which speaks for itself. "His obsequies were marked by a significant proof of the esteem in which he was held; the shops were closed and business was suspended. Many along the route of the procession shed tears, and we observed men of all shades of religion and politics in the funeral group. We were once without a town clock, a fire escape, a brigade engine, a British and Foreign School; we have them now. The deceased contributed with others to their obtainment."

JOHN STURGE STEPHENS

Research in Progress

WINIFRED M. WHITE, 65 St. Mildred's Road, Lee, London, S.E.12, is engaged on a study of the Christian contribution to the treatment of mental illness during the past one hundred and fifty years, to be submitted as a thesis in B.A. (Honours) in the department of theology at Nottingham University.

The Bulletin of Friends Historical Association, vol. 41, no. 2, Autumn number, 1952, includes an article on Quakerism in Danzig, edited from the manuscript of the late William I. Hull, by Henry J. Cadbury, articles on the Yearly Meetinghouse at Mount Pleasant, Ohio (by Ellen Starr Brinton), on the founding of Whittier College in California, and the second portion of John Forbes's study of American Friends and Russian relief, 1917-1927.

The January, 1953 issue of *The Pennsylvania Magazine* includes reviews by Thomas E. Drake and Richmond P. Miller of Penn's *Irish Journal* and *Embattled Maiden: the Life of Anna Dickinson*—the nineteenth century "Queen of the Lyceum", who was born a Philadelphia Quaker, and a short notice of the revised edition of George Fox's *Journal*.

Ex Libris Margaret Fox

TO the short list of the known books from the Library of Margaret Fox[1] another volume can be added. At the Library Company of Philadelphia is a group of fifty-eight Quaker quarto pamphlets and broadsides, which were originally in a single bound volume. This is shown by the former shelf number which was retained for each of the pamphlets when they were bound separately in 1909, and by the serial numbers marked on the fly leaf of each item, and by the inked pagination which continues, after the seventy-second printed page numbers of the first item, throughout to page 1315 at the end of the fifty-eighth item. As with two other known collections from Margaret Fox (one for 1660 and 1661, one for 1670 to 1672), the pieces here are limited to a period of time—nearly all 1659 and a few 1660. This is an interesting period in Quaker history. Many of the pieces deal with the attitude of Friends in the last year of the interregnum, many with their sufferings, and of these the first four pieces and one or two later ones in the collection are among the rare items prized by American collectors, which deal with the persecutions of the Quakers in New England. The nine broadsides have been collected and bound in a thin folio volume. The great majority of the pieces have the imprint of Thomas Simmons; some represent other printers or are without imprint. Few, if any, appear to be completely unknown, though some may be quite scarce, or are unnoticed in Wing's *Short Title Catalogue*.

The first item in the original volume is Francis Howgill's *The Popish Inquisition Newly Erected in New-England*, 1659. Bound with it are two fly leaves of the original volume, and on the first of these is an inscription, "The Gift of John Abraham," on the second, "Ex Libris Margaret Fox", written in the same bold round hand of Daniel Abraham as in two earlier noted collections of bound quarto tracts. Under it is this inscription:

The Gift of John Abraham of Swarthmoor-hall in Lancashire Old England Grandson to Margaret Fox to Elizabeth Shipley in Pensilvenia in America The 30th Day $\frac{mo}{7}$ 1750

[1] *Journal F.H.S.*, ix, 135; xxxiv, 27f; xli, 29, 85.

On the back of this leaf and facing the title page are these two inscriptions:

This rare and curious work as it relates to important circumstances in the History of the Quakers should be carefully preserved in the Library of the religious Society of Friends in Philadelphia.

Roberts Vaux 1829-

This work was intended to be presented by its owner Nicholas Waln to the Library Comp'y of Philadelphia previous to his lending it to Roberts Vaux and it is now presented to them by the hands of Richard Waln agreeably to his original intention. 3rd mo. 5th 1834.

All these persons are readily identified. Elizabeth, the wife of William Shipley (*née* Levis) had travelled in the British Isles as a minister in 1743-44. With the help of these inscriptions we can follow the history of the volume in question up to 1751 and since 1829.

This interesting association volume came to light in the course of the process of recataloguing lately undertaken at the Library Company of Philadelphia.

There is every reason to expect other books of Margaret Fox to turn up at unexpected times and places. Her library was not small, as its inventory value at the time of her death was £10, at that time a substantial valuation.[1]

HENRY J. CADBURY

The Puritan Contribution to Scientific Education in the Seventeenth Century in England. By Charles Edward Allan Turner, of King's College, London. Presented for the degree of D.Ph. (History of Education) in the Faculty of Science of the University of London, 1952. Typescript.

The appendix contains the names of over 80 Friends and a few more of known Quaker sympathies and connections.

A brief abstract and a list of the Quaker names is in the Library at Friends House.

The Baptist Quarterly, vol. 15, no. 5 (January, 1954), includes, at p. 226, a notice of a letter from Bourne (Lincs.) Baptist to the local Quaker meeting, warning them of the ill behaviour of certain villagers, who had forsaken the Baptists and joined themselves to the Quakers (7th February, 1703). This is the first entry in the Old Minute Book of the Bourne Baptist Church, the subject of a paper by the Rev. F. J. Mason.

[1] *Journal F.H.S.*, ii. 106; xliii. 54.

Two German Views on Quakers

Ferdinand Albrecht, Duke of Brunswick, a learned and somewhat eccentric German princeling of the seventeenth century, spent some months in this country in 1664/5, and has left an account of his impressions and experiences in his fantastically written autobiography.[1] During his visit he was sponsored by Prince Rupert of the Rhine, who presented him to Charles II and other members of the Royal Family. He was also made an honorary member of the newly founded Royal Society. Among other matters he has some remarks on the Quakers, which are of interest for the picture they give of the movement at a comparatively early stage of its development and also of the distrust and prejudice it inspired.

THE so-called Quakers in England are descended from the Anabaptists and Visionaries, and under Cromwell they flourished exceedingly. They are called Quakers, because they are accustomed at their prayer meetings to quake and tremble like the heathen prophets. They say themselves that already in this life they attain to perfection. They often fall into such violent ecstasies that their whole body trembles, because, according to their story, they are unable to contain the great splendour of the Divine Light which shines upon them; and then they roar and shout most strangely. When this is past, they boast of their glorious experience, and in this delusion of perfection they carry out everything which has occurred to them in their trance, even if it should run counter to good morals. The only Heaven or Hell they believe in is that of their own hearts. They reject all church discipline, and say that even Christ had his failings, nor did he trust fully in God, since he called out on the Cross, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? They disapprove of preachers who are paid for their services. They reject infant baptism, and refuse to recognize days set apart for divine service. They maintain that the Holy Scripture is not the word of God and that our sermons are nothing but a bewitching of the intellect. Christ has no other body but the Church, and his Second Coming is only a parable. Every man has a light within him sufficient unto salvation, and it is vain to beg for forgiveness of sins, since by our own righteousness must we be justified. They do not believe in the Resurrection

[1] *Wunderliche Begebnüssen und wunderlicher Zustand in dieser wunderlichen verkehrten Welt*, (Bevern, 1678) pp. 230-31.

of the Body. Christ came to abolish all private property, therefore it is right that all things should be shared in common. No one shall be called Lord, nor should one remove one's hat, because we are all equals and brothers; much less should anyone have command over another. Otherwise they seem to be conscientious people in their lives and business dealings. Their clothes are poor and without adornment.[1]

Christlob Mylius, friend of Lessing and himself a man of letters on a minor scale, visited this country in 1753 on his way to America. London was his first and, as it proved, his last port of call on this voyage, for he died there in the spring of 1754. Mylius kept a diary of his journey, which was published many years after his death, and this includes a description of a visit he paid to the Quaker Meeting House in Gracechurch Street.[2] In view of the tone of his remarks it should perhaps be added that Mylius was a free thinker and, it was alleged, something of a free liver too.

Dec. 16 (third Sunday in Advent): I went in the afternoon to the Quaker Meeting House in Gracechurch Street. It is like a church, but without altar or pulpit. As usual they all kept their hats on. The men who were to preach sat, as in Amsterdam, on a raised platform along one side of the room, and immediately in front of them, somewhat lower but also raised, sat the women who were to preach. After complete silence had reigned for a considerable time, except for an occasional sigh, one of the men on the platform, who was a brewer, stood up and preached for some twenty or twenty-five minutes. His nonsensical address dealt with the temptation of the flesh and the world, which we cannot withstand without God's grace. He repeated this about fifty times, almost in the same words. His whole speech and his foolish accent, his frequent pauses and monotonous tone were entirely worthy of a brewer and Quaker. After he sat down there was silence again for five or ten minutes. At length a woman got up and preached in a foolish lachrymose voice about the Holy Ghost and the gracious gift of baptism, in just such insipid tautologies, for nearly a quarter of an hour. She went on repeating that the Holy Ghost was the Holy Spirit, the Holy Spirit the Holy Baptist and the Holy Baptist the Holy Ghost, etc. When she

[1] More antipathetic is the Duke's account of "another sort of Quakers, called Ranters, who openly confess their abominable errors. They proclaim that God, devil, angels, heaven and hell are mere inventions. . . ." (See my *German Travellers in England*, 1953, p. 101).

[2] *Archiv zur neuern Geschichte, Geographie, Natur-und Menschenkenntniss* (Leipzig, 1787), vol. vii, pp. 137-9.

had finished, they sat sighing for another quarter of an hour. Finally the men preachers shook hands with each other, and then the play was over. There was also a large dog at the meeting, which must have been a Quaker, too, for it rivalled the other Quakers in sighing. Most Quakers can be recognized by their poor clothes, which have no pockets and few button-holes, and by their floppy hat brims. Many of the women are clad very simply in a sort of sacking, but many, too, dress like other women. Many of the men also go about decently clad like other people, but they never wear cuffs.

W. D. ROBSON-SCOTT

The Bulletin of Friends Historical Association, vol. 42, no. 1 (Spring 1953) includes an article "William Edmundson, 1627- 1712. . . . Some new and little-known memorabilia" by the late Frank Edmundson, and a paper by Albert J. Wahl on "The Progressive Friends of Longwood." John E. Pomfret edits Robert Barclay's *Vindication* against the charge that he was a Papist (1689) printed in the rare *Reliquiae Barclaianae*.

The autumn number (vol. 42, no. 2) opens with an article with a detective story flavour by Carroll Frey. It is a study of the Penn-Mead trial book, *The Peoples Ancient and Just Liberties Asserted*. The author proved that the issue accepted as the first by the bibliographer, Joseph Smith, with the title-page spelling ASSRTED, is in fact the third issue—the type having been kept standing and the E borrowed and replaced by an S, which (through the inadvertence of Andrew Sowle the printer) was not put right when the title-page came to be used again. (May this also explain the "typographical error of very high visibility" on the cover of the present number of the *Bulletin?*) Joseph Smith's second issue (with the errata on p. 63, and no Christian name for Edward Bushel the juryman on p. 5) is now to be accepted as the first issue. The second article is also of bibliographical interest—a description by Mildred N. Hirsch and Dorothy G. Harris of a volume of Dutch and German tracts from the library of Daniel Pastorius, recently added to the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College.

Joseph M. Ernest, of Mississippi Southern College, writes on *Whittier and Whitman: uncongenial personalities*, and there are the usual Notes and Documents and book notices and news.

The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, vol. 78, no. 1 (January, 1954), includes excerpts from the diary of Hipólito José da Costa during his visit to Philadelphia in 1798-99. During his visit this Portuguese naturalist saw most of the places of interest. He learned that the least severe Quakers were called "gay Quakers" and the strictest ones "hickory Quakers."

Elizabeth Fry at Newgate, 1820

A Polish Reminiscence

Charles Sienkiewicz (1793-1860), historian, bibliographer and minor poet, was in England in 1820 collecting books for Prince Adam Czartoryski. During his travels he kept a diary and the manuscript was acquired by the Polish National Library at Warsaw in 1948. It was published in 1953 by Bogdan Horodyski, and it includes the following account of a visit he paid to Newgate Prison, 4th August, 1820.[1]

DECOPET[2] came, and invited me to accompany him to a religious meeting at Newgate prison. I went with him, and a Swiss clergyman made a third.

The prison was near the place of execution. We entered, after producing tickets which the prison guard did not at first recognize as valid. We crossed a few cells, each barred by a heavy grate which opened in turn for us to pass through, while pale light reflected on the opposite wall. Then we came into a small courtyard of the separate women's prison wing, where the prisoners were free to walk. Then we were conducted to the place which served as a chapel.

There we met Mrs. Fry, a Quakeress famous for her devotion to the cause of improving the prison conditions. She has the superintendence of the conduct of female prisoners, and has considerably improved their morals. Mrs. Fry, no longer young, was there in her simple Quaker dress, with only a bonnet on her head. Her daughter was there as well. Mrs. Fry does not take any reward for her pains, being sufficiently rich herself.

Soon another company of visitors came, and a bell was rung. Women prisoners started to enter and took their seats. The meeting began with a Bible reading and was held according to the Quaker ritual. The priest and preacher are women, and can officiate not only among the women, but among men as well. After the Bible reading all sat in silence. Then, unexpectedly, a woman from Mrs. Fry's company fell to her knees and started praying, or rather singing a prayer, with words which came into her mind. During this all the people knelt down.

[1] Karol Sienkiewicz: Dzienik podróży po Anglii, 1820-1821. Z. rekopisu wydal, wstepem i komentarzem opatrzyl Bogdan Horodyski. Wroclaw, 1953. The account appears at pp. 49-50.

[2] A tutor of Counts Constant and Andrew Zamoyski, former pupils of Sienkiewicz.

Besides the Bible, the Quakers do not use any other books and do not preach previously prepared sermons. In church they meditate, and whomsoever the Holy Spirit inspires—be it man or woman—he rises and speaks. If nobody feels inspired, worship ends in meditation only.

After the prayer had been sung, the people resumed their seats in silence. Then Mrs. Fry began talking; it was a kind of teaching, unaffected and reasonable. And with this the worship ended.

One of the prisoners fainted, and the visiting ladies revived her with their salt-bottles.

When the prisoners had left, the visitors signed in a book. When signing myself, I saw that I was there in the company of two famous authoresses, Mrs. Opie[1] and Miss Porter.[2] I asked for them to be shown to me, and I had sufficient time to take a good look at them, because the guests were viewing various fancy-work made by prisoners, which those who wanted, bought. Mrs. Opie is rather stout, with a cheerful countenance, but not attractive, and has a French vivacity. Miss Porter is a bit taller, slimmer, with a quiet and interesting face. Both of them are middle-aged. They had arrived together.

MAREK WAYSBLUM

Yorkshire Village. By Marie Hartley and Joan Ingilby. London: Dent. 1953. Pp. viii, 319; 1 plate. 18s.

In this account of the village of Askrigg in Wensleydale in Yorkshire, there are lively stories of the trials of the eighteenth-century highways surveyor building a turnpike—the surveyor was Alexander Fothergill, brother of the Doctor, and his task was not easy. There are many references to Friends in the district, commencing with George Fox's visit to Wensleydale in 1652, but none of them stand out more clearly than the aforesaid Alexander—the champion of the poor, the frequenter of ale-houses, attending meeting at Bainbridge, Hawes or Countersett, or riding out from Carr End to view the Highlanders retreating northwards in the '45.

[1] Amelia Alderson Opie (1769-1863) was later a valiant protagonist of the Polish cause during and after the insurrection of 1830-31.

[2] Jane Porter (1776-1850), novelist. Her first novel, *Thaddeus of Warsaw* (1803), based on the history of the Polish insurrection of 1794, won her fame in England and popularity among the Poles. She was active in relief work for Polish refugees after 1831.

A Spanish Officer among the Quakers

The Diary of Francisco de Miranda's Tour of the United States, 1783-1784

Francisco de Miranda (1750-1816) was a Spanish American who rose to the rank of colonel in the Spanish service, and spent most of his life working for the liberation of his native Venezuela. He travelled widely in Europe and America, fought in the American War of Independence, and finally returned to Caracas. He took a prominent part in the declaration of Venezuelan independence in 1811, and was for a year Dictator of the young country. A revolution resulted in Miranda falling into the hands of the Spanish royalists, and he died in prison in Cadiz.

A collection of Miranda's manuscripts was secured by the British Secretary for War and the Colonies, the third Earl Bathurst, and the diary from which these notes are taken records Miranda's tour of the eastern seabord of the United States, from Charleston in Carolina to New Hampshire. The manuscript was found in 1922 among the other volumes of the collection in Lord Bathurst's estate office at Cirencester.

The Spanish text of the diary, with introduction and notes by William Spence Robertson, was published by the Hispanic Society of America (New York, 1928) in an edition of 1500 copies. It is from the printed edition that these items of Quaker interest are noted.

IN the course of his travels, Miranda was at Beaufort, N.C. and (18th July, 1783) he went an excursion about twelve miles up the little Newport river into the country, to the abodes of two brother-Quakers (dos hermanos-Quakaros); the one, rich and ignorant Mr. ——, the other (Mr. Williams) poor, learned and humane. Mr. Williams later wrote him a long letter, and sent him "R. Barkley's *Apology*."

In Philadelphia, in December, 1783, Miranda met, among others, John Penn, ex-Governor of the province and lineal descendant of the founder, and "James" Benezet the author of a well-written little work on the doctrine and religion of the Quakers. Among the ladies of the place, Miranda mentions two Quaker girls, relatives of General Mifflin, Miss Susan and Miss Rebecca Morris, whose learning, attractive appearance and dress gave him a more favourable opinion of the Quaker way of life (Sistema) than all the writings of Fox, Barclay, Whitehead, etc. Miss Isabella Marshall, another Quakeress, spoke French middling well.

Going round Philadelphia, Miranda observed that neither theatres nor assembly rooms had been built there, since such entertainment was inconsistent with the way of life of the Quakers, who had been predominant in the colony. All types of religion were represented in the city and had full freedom. There were Quakers, Anabaptists, Church of England men, Methodists (their method of singing the Psalms was most agreable), Presbyterians, Moravians, Lutherans, Catholics, Reformists (a new sect formed by those Quakers who had taken part in the War, and who in consequence had been expelled from their old church), and others.

Miranda described the plain architecture of the principal Quaker meeting house in Market Street, near the City Hall. He attended a two-hour meeting there. The benches were filled with people seated in deep silence, their hats on and heads bent. A man on his left hand rose and broke the silence, declaring in a loud voice, "My Spirit says that God shall not always tread upon earth! because he is in heaven." Miranda's neighbour was but a novice (principiante), and a little afterwards one of the principal preachers, taking for text a proverb which says "Think twice, and lead once,"[1] gave a sermon of over an hour and a half, in the style of the itinerant friars (frayles edomadarios). Another mournful voice (voz lugubre y enfatica), apparently a woman's, recited the Lord's Prayer. Then all rose and shook hands, greeting each other as *Friend*, and went out of the building in any order (promiscuamente), men and women together. Some of the women were to be seen shaking hands with the men and calling them *Friend*. Miranda saw no sign (but, of course, there was a large crowd there) of those convulsions or tremblings which were supposed to affect these people in their meetings when they were moved by the divine spirit; nor was there any occurrence which he found deserved his ridicule.

In September, 1784, Francisco de Miranda was at Newport, in Rhode Island. On the 4th, a Saturday, he had a pleasant evening of conversation on literary and political topics with two Quaker doctors, Dr. Senter and Dr. Easton, at the house of Dr. Senter. The following day, he went to the Friends' meeting which lasted from three o'clock until five. No word was spoken and Miranda spent the time examining

[1] In English in the original manuscript. Perhaps the proverb was "Look before you leap."

the women's dress and appearance. He came away convinced that neither the colours of a Rubens nor the tints of a Titian could portray the lovely complexions of these simple Quakeresses.

Recent Publications

Quakers and Education, as seen in their Schools in England. By W. A. Campbell Stewart. London: Epworth Press, 1953. 30s.

Friends "were, and are, as a body on the right wing of progressive education." They have not been radical educational thinkers, but have responded with a "careful enthusiasm" to "the leads given by others." Such are the conclusions reached by Professor Stewart. His book is based on the work done for his Ph.D. degree in the University of London. It is a critical estimate of Quaker education through the years, supported by evidence from a wide range of material, published and unpublished, on Quaker thought and practice about education. There is an extensive bibliography of sources on pp. 283-290.

The book opens with an analysis of the distinctive tenets of Quaker belief. Quaker educational principles, from 1660 to 1779, are then discussed in the light of these; followed by a summary of the history of Quaker schools until the founding of Leighton Park. The next ten chapters give detailed consideration to "aspects of the educational provision in Quaker schools during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries":—cost; staffing; curriculum (including civic studies and labour in schools); school government; punishment; "guarded" education; and co-education. A final chapter studies the same themes as they have developed in the "meeting" schools since 1918. Professor Stewart ends by asking some questions which he regards as "crucial to the further existence of Friends' schools."

Throughout the book every attempt is made to relate Quaker education to the contemporary social, economic and intellectual developments.

As a Professor of Education, not a member of the Society of Friends, Campbell Stewart has many fresh and illuminating things to say. He brings out particularly clearly the continuing conflict between the liberating idealism of Quaker belief and actual life in Quaker schools, which for much of their history have been graded on social divisions, kept a repressive discipline, withheld co-education, allowed no women on their governing committees, and obstructed man's God-given imagination from expressing itself in art and music. But this essentially fair-minded book also shows the strength and receptiveness of outlook which enabled Friends to face these conflicts and slowly to resolve them.

The book suffers from being unnecessarily repetitive in details and comment. A lengthy quotation from Penn, for instance, on

page 31 is repeated again on pages 139-40. Nor is the arrangement of material always helpful: comments, for instance, on some of the important changes in Quaker schools since 1918 are scattered through the earlier chapters, instead of being in the section given to this.

One wishes that fuller treatment had been given to the size and social structure of the Society of Friends, as the minority group in English society which organized these schools; to the work of Friends in English education outside their schools; and to the place of Quaker education in the national pattern since the 1944 Act. But these things were either beyond the author's purpose, or the knowledge not yet available. Not the least of the values of this book is that it suggests new avenues both for research and for experience.

DAVID BOLAM.

Sudbury Quakers, 1655-1953. Extracts from various sources collated by Stanley H. G. Fitch. Pp. 60. [The Author, 110 Queen's Road, Sudbury, Suffolk, 1954.] 3s. 6d. (3s. 8d. post free.)

Too often, denominational local histories are failures because they do not take into account the wider setting, either nationally or locally. "Facts" are set down unrelated without estimation of significance, so that the narrative becomes patchy and attempted history pales into chronicle.

Stanley Fitch has wisely been content to provide some of the chronicle material for a history of Sudbury Friends, extracted from the minutes of Sudbury, Bury and Colchester monthly meetings, to which Sudbury Meeting successively belonged. As a source book of references it is enhanced by quotations from Braithwaite and Rufus Jones as a reminder of the general Quaker climate of the time. Wisely, too, the reader is warned that these extracts are intended as a stimulant to the study of those histories, not a substitute for them.

Inevitably, in work like this errors are bound to creep in. Was Sudbury M.M. laid down in 1734 (*cf.* pp. 15 and 34) or in 1738 (*cf.* pp. 2 and 53)? Quotations from Besse are in fact from vol. 1 of the folio edition of 1753, not vol. 1 of the octavo edition of 1733-38, as suggested in the preface. Meeting for Sufferings was established in 1676 (*cf.* pp. 8, 17); Appendix 7 does not list the minute books of Sudbury Women's Meeting (*cf.* p. 17); John Grubb (1766-1841) was the son of Benjamin and Susanna, not of John and Sarah (Pim) Grubb (*cf.* p. 33).

Preoccupation with quaintness leads many local historians into the irritating and usually unnecessary habit of transcribing *verbatim et literatim*. Stanley Fitch happily avoids this; it might have been useful to follow the British Record Association's rules, or the abbreviated recommendations in this *Journal*, 1946, p. 47. A year date before each entry and a note on Old and New Style dating (or a consistent transposition to New Style to agree with the histories quoted) would have been advantageous.

Stanley Fitch's concept of a guidebook anthology is so admirable that (with a few modifications of detail) it might well serve as a pattern

for workers in the field of local history. It is to be hoped that for many readers one incident or another will fire the historical imagination as a significant episode, leading to further disciplined research.

EDWARD H. MILLIGAN.

Warwick County Records. Volume VIII. Quarter Sessions records, Trinity, 1682, to Epiphany, 1690. Edited with an introduction by H. C. Johnson. With a supplement to the introduction: Warwickshire nonconformist and Quaker meetings and meeting houses, 1660-1750, by J. H. Hodson. Foreword by R. A. Willes. (Warwick: Shire Hall, 1953. Pp. cxxxix, 385; 7 plates. 30s.)

This volume of Warwickshire Quarter Sessions records, from 1682 to 1690, includes many records of proceedings against Friends, for not going to church, for attending conventicles and for having meeting houses. In 1689 the registration of Friends, meeting houses among those of other dissenting congregations is recorded. The certificate of registration of the meeting house in Newhall Lane, Birmingham, is reproduced from the original at the Bevan-Naish Library.

In a 60-page Supplement to the Introduction, the nonconformist evidence in the records is skilfully tabulated, interpreted and supplemented, and the material produced concerning Friends is most valuable for anyone interested in the county. Mr. Hodson enumerates the monthly and particular meetings, giving many particulars concerning their early development and later history. Two photographs (exterior and interior) are reproduced of the little meeting house at Ettington, erected between 1684 and 1689. Among the figures given are those for numbers of registrations of meeting places to 1750 (Friends being second to the Presbyterians), and of membership (calculated from various sources). The writer thinks there were between 700 and 900 adult Quakers in Warwickshire in 1689.

A review appeared in *The Friend* (London), vol. 111, no. 48, 27th November, 1953, pp. 1077-8.

Notes and Queries

Martha Jackson's Inventory

Further correspondence has been received concerning some of the words which appear in Martha Jackson's accounts (see p. 102 of last issue, and the original article xlv, 6-14). J. L. Nevinson writes: I suspect that "Elgauls" [p. 7] are some form of "galls", e.g. oak-galls which gave a dye. Alcohol or alkali seem less likely, since mordants were only used, I think, for colour-printing on cotton.

The "night-gown" [p. 11] would in the 1720s still have been a dressing-gown, a sort of morning negligé, worn perhaps without stays. It is interesting that the young lady wore a riding coat [p. 12], rather than a riding-hood or cloak; this indicates quite fashionable attire, as does the word "manto" for mantua, a short cloak.

Corrections

Dr. H. McLachlan, in "Our Contemporaries" (*Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society*, vol. 10, no. 3, October, 1953, p. 174), has kindly pointed out two errors in *Journal F.H.S.*, xliv (1952), for which we apologize. H. Lismer Short's name was misspelled at page 98, line 2; and at page 101, col. 2, line 11, for James H. Thom read John H. Thom.

Guli Springett, in 1659

In the spring of 1659 when Gulielma Maria Springett had just turned 15, she was one of the "more than seven thousand handmaids and daughters of the Lord," many of them Friends, who signed a popular petition presented to Parliament on 20th July, 1659, for the abolition of the tythe system. The women's petition when printed, unlike that of the men, gave the names of the signers; and the list of 415 for Buckinghamshire (on p. 47) includes:

Gulielmamaria Sprin
Martha Giger [get
Mary Pennington
Anne Sweane
Jane Pensen
Anne Hersent

Isaac and Mary Pennington and Mary's daughter, Guli, had become Friends the year before. Anne Hersent was Guli's maid, a Friend; and Martha Giger was probably the wife or possibly sister, of John Gigger who was also Guli's servant and a Friend. John we know could not write his name, for we have instead "his mark" on a marriage certificate. Is this not the oldest occurrence of Gulielma's name in manuscript or in print? And is it the earliest evidence of her sympathy with the Quaker position?

Extensive research (30,000 names in Besse's *Sufferings* alone) suggests that Guli was unique among early Friends in having more than one Christian name, the practice being then almost entirely confined to royalty and nobility. She had a third name, Postuma, given because she was born after her father's death.

Henry J. Cadbury

William Penn and Chaucer

In the February, 1954, number of *Notes and Queries* (vol. 199, pp. 49-50) is a note by Beach Langston of the California Institute of Technology on the use made of Chaucer by William

Penn in his *Treatise of Oaths* (1675). Penn quoted from the Parson's Tale where the Parson states that swearing is expressly against the Commandment of God, and our Lord Jesus Christ, "who saith by St. Matthew's words, Ne shall ye not Sear in all manner, or on no Account."

William Penn at Chester

In the Ven. R. V. H. Burne's article on *Chester Cathedral after the Restoration* (Journal of the Chester and North Wales Architectural, Archæological and Historic Society, vol. 40, p. 46), there is a reference to William Penn preaching at the Tennis Court in Chester on 28th August, 1687. The author quotes Bishop Cartwright's Diary (printed by the Camden Society in 1840), and identifies the Tennis Court as the Tennis Court theatre, on the south side of Foregate Street, opposite the Nag's Head and next to Astbury's, the monumental mason.

William Penn's Influence in Germany

Lawrence Marsden Price, in his *English Literature in Germany* (University of California publications in modern philology, vol. 37, 1953), points out that "Seven of William Penn's works, *A Brief Account of the Quakers, Good Advice to the Church of England, Roman Catholick and Protestant Dissenters, A Key Opening the Way, Letter of Love to the Young, No Cross no Crown, Some Fruits of Solitude,* and *Truth Exalted,* were translated in Holland earlier than elsewhere on the continent. Four other of Penn's characteristic treatises were written first in Holland in the Dutch language and later translated into English, French, and German.

In the second half of the seventeenth century the complaint was publicly voiced in Germany that the bookshops were filled with translations of English works in which a secret poison was concealed. This poison was, of course, Puritanism and Protestant heterodoxy in other forms" (pp. 14-15).

Thomas Allgood, Japanner

Annals of Science, vol. 9, no. 3 (28th September, 1953) includes (pp. 197-213), part 3 of Dr. F. W. Gibb's *Historical Survey of the Japanning Trade*, dealing with Pontypool and Usk. In it Dr. Gibbs mentions Quaker Thomas Allgood (d. 1716) "a man of projecting genius," who moved to Pontypool from Northamptonshire, and who invented the method of lacquering iron plates, just as the Japanese lacquered wood. The method was developed and perfected by Thomas Allgood's son, Edward, in the score of years after 1716. Pontypool gave its name to all ware of this type.

Dr. John Fothergill

A short paper on the life and work of *John Fothergill, M.D., F.R.S., an Eighteenth Century Scientist*, by Dr. James Johnston Abraham, is included in "Science, Medicine and History", a collection of essays in honour of Charles Singer, issued by Oxford University Press (1953, vol. 2, pp. 173-78).

Sydney Smith on Elizabeth Fry

In the recently published edition of *The Letters of Sydney Smith*, edited by Nowell C. Smith (Clarendon Press, 1953. 2 vols.)

evidence is forthcoming of the admiration which he felt for Elizabeth Fry's humanitarian activities—although he differed about the measures taken by the prison reformers. A sermon in 1818 contains the following passage:

> "There is a spectacle which this town now exhibits, that I will venture to call the most solemn, the most Christian, the most affecting, which any human being ever witnessed! To see that holy woman in the midst of wretched prisoners—to see them calling earnestly upon God, soothed by her voice . . . this is the sight which breaks down the pageantry of the world. . . .

There is more besides (p. 296).

Sydney Smith wrote two articles on prisons in *The Edinburgh Review* (1821, 1822).

William Allen, F.R.S. (1770-1843)

Helena Hall's recent biography of William Allen is founded on his Diary, and is well worth reading for its own sake as well as by those who have had opportunity to read the 3-volume biography published in 1846. William Allen's interests in chemistry, education, anti-slavery, prison reform and poor relief were wide indeed, and the story of his continental journeys and interviews with crowned heads is well told.

The book is illustrated and locally published by Charles Clarke (Haywards Heath) at 10s. 6d. Christine Majolier who helped at Lindfield school and printing works when William Allen was away for some months in France and Spain had trouble with proof correcting "for there were often as many mistakes as words!" The disease still exists in places locally.

Joseph Addison on Quaker Language

Peter Smithers in his recent *Life of Joseph Addison* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1954) says that Addison was distrustful of all religious zeal and prescribed reason as the sovereign corrective. He dismissed Quakerism as "nothing but a new-fashioned grammar, or an art of abridging ordinary discourse." (Quoted from *The Tatler*, no. 257, 30th November, 1710; on p. 428 of the book.)

The *Tatler* paper purports to represent a wax works show representing the sects in the British Isles. Among them we find the following described:

> "The next figure was a man that sat under a most profound composure of mind: he wore an hat whose brims were exactly parallel to the horizon: his garment had neither sleeve nor skirt, nor so much as a superfluous button. What he called his cravat, was a little piece of white linen quilled with great exactness, and hanging below his chin about two inches. Seeing a book in his hand, I asked our artist what it was, who told me it was the Quaker's religion; upon which I desired a sight of it. Upon perusal, I found it to be nothing but a new-fashioned grammar, or an art of abridging ordinary discourse. The nouns were reduced to a very small number, as the *light*, *friend*, *Babylon*. The principal of his pronouns was *thou;* and as for *you*, *ye*, and *yours* I found they were not looked upon as parts of speech in the grammar. All the verbs wanted the second person plural; the participles ending all

in *ing* or *ed*, which were marked with a particular accent. There were no adverbs besides *yea* and *nay*. The same thrift was observed in the prepositions. The conjunctions were only *hem!* and *ha!* and the interjections brought under the three heads of sighing, sobbing, and groaning. There was at the end of the grammar a little nomenclature, called 'The Christian Man's Vocabulary,' which gave new appellations, or (if you will) Christian names to almost everything in life. I replaced the book in the hand of the figure, not without admiring the simplicity of its garb, speech, and behaviour. (*Works*. Bohn ed. II, 208-209.)"

Kinmuck School

There is a short account of the Quaker School at Kinmuck, Aberdeenshire, which existed from 1681 until 1807, in Dr. Ian Simpson's *Education in Aberdeenshire before* 1872 (Publications of the Scottish Council for Research in Education, 25. 1949), pp. 162-171.

Brighouse Friends

In *Brighouse: Portrait of a Town*, published by Brighouse Corporation (1953), Dr. R. Mitchell describes George Fox's first visit to the district in 1654, when he went to Captain Thomas Taylor's at Brighouse Park. Dr. Mitchell quotes from Fox's *Journal* and notes that the riot which occurred (*Jnl.* ed. Nickalls, p. 179) is the first record of mob violence in Brighouse. It was not the last—as the rapid and disturbed industrial development of the region in the next 200 years was to show (pp. 27-28).

In spite of the early difficulties, Brighouse became an important centre of Quakerism in the West Riding of Yorkshire and gave its name to a large monthly meeting. The main meeting house at Snake Hill, Rastrick was replaced in the 1860s by a new one at Newlands.

The author records a spirited seventy-year-old Quaker woman collecting signatures for the anti-Corn Law petition (p. 86).

Wiltshire Quakerism

The Victoria History of Wiltshire, vol. 7 (1953), dealing with Bradford, Melksham and Potterne and Cannings hundreds, contains various notices of Quakerism (not indexed). For Bradford-on-Avon and Cumberwell see pp. 32, 33, 47; Erlestoke, p. 85; Melksham, pp. 107, 114, 117; Trowbridge, p. 157; Bromham, p. 183; and Rowde, p. 221. Nonconformity in the region dealt with in this volume appears to have been strongest at Melksham, an important centre for the clothing industry, and various Quaker names are mentioned—including Robert Flower, John Emeat, the Newman and the Beaven families. Paul Newman (1693-1760), clothier, lived for some time at Place House, Melksham (demolished 1864), of which a drawing is reproduced facing p. 96.

Friends and the French

In *La France et les États-Unis: Échanges et Rencontres* (1524-1800), by Léonie Villard (1952), is an account of Pennsylvania. Mention is made of a French translation of William Penn's letter from Philadelphia, printed in Rochefort's *Recueil de diverses pièces concernant la Pennsylvania*, 1684. This was designed to attract French Protestant refugees to the colony. The rapid development of Pennsylvania gave the colony in the

eyes of metropolitan Frenchmen, the appearance of a new Utopia where peace and prosperity were solidly established among men of goodwill. It is calculated, however, that the French element in the population of the United States on the morrow of the break with the old country numbered only 1·7 per cent., as against (for instance) 14 per cent. German.

Sections of the book are devoted to Benjamin Franklin (commonly believed in France to be a Quaker, simply because he was a Philadelphian), to Benjamin West, and the accepted French view of Quakerism—the tone set by Voltaire and fortified by other literary works such as Chamfort's play, *La Jeune Indienne* (1764); the tradition continuing into the nineteenth century in de Vigny and Chateaubriand.

Mention is made of the efforts of Anthony Benezet, aided by the friendship of La Fayette, to secure freedom of worship for Friends in France and then the abolition of the penal laws against all French Protestants. There is an extended account, based on William Rotch's *Memorandum*, published at Boston in 1916, of the Nantucket Quaker whalers' venture in establishing their industry at Dunkirk in 1785 under the protection of the French government. William Rotch (father and son) and Jean Marsillac delivered an address concerning their religious principles to the French Assembly, 10th February, 1791. The address was well received, but Mirabeau in his reply was careful to say: "Mon frère, tu souhaites la paix; mais réfléchis bien; la faiblesse attire la guerre, la résistance amènerait la paix universelle." Words which are now commonly heard in many quarters. The Americans left Dunkirk in 1793, two months before the outbreak of war with England, and returned to Nantucket. The Dunkirk episode has been covered by Henry J. Cadbury in a paper in *Proceedings of the Nantucket Historical Association*, 1944-45, pp. 44-47, in which he shows that some American Friends stayed on in Dunkirk at least until 1797.

Friends and Prisons

The Treatment of the Young Delinquent; by J. Arthur Hoyles (Epworth Press, 1952), quotes the work of W. David Wills from a Christian standpoint in our own day and many other ventures in the past and present day. Among the historical passages there is mention of the work of the Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons (founded 1777) and the experimental prison based on Christian principles where "the efficacy of mild and gentle measures of treatment" was to be tested. The officers were unarmed and during a plague prisoners were allowed outside to assist in burying the dead and went back to jail when the work was done (p. 172).

Supplements to the Journal of Friends' Historical Society

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15. QUAKER LANGUAGE. F.H.S. Presidential address by T. Edmund Harvey, 1928. 30 pp., 1s. 6d., post 2d.

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20. THE SWARTHMORE DOCUMENTS IN AMERICA. Edited by Henry J. Cadbury, Ph.D. 1940. 90 pp. Thirty-five 17th c. MSS., originally in the Swarthmore Hall collection. 5s., post 2½d.

21. AN ORATOR'S LIBRARY. John Bright's books. Presidential address 1936 by J. Travis Mills. 1946. 24 pp., 2s., post 1½d.

22. LETTERS TO WILLIAM DEWSBURY AND OTHERS. Edited by Henry J. Cadbury, Ph.D. 1948. 68 pp. Thirty-three early Quaker letters, 1655 to 1678. 5s., post 2½d.

23. SLAVERY AND "THE WOMAN QUESTION." Lucretia Mott's Diary, 1840. By F. B. Tolles. 5s., cloth 7s. 6d.

24. THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY OF THE EARLY FRIENDS. Presidential address by Frederick B. Tolles, 1952. 2s. 6d.

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