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## Friends' Historical Society

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### Editorial

THREE hundred years ago, in early September, 1666, a fire began in Pudding Lane in the City of London which devastated a large area of the ancient city. The rebuilding of London after the Fire laid down a plan which has influenced the growth of the capital and the life of its citizens ever since, and which can still be traced even after the changes which three centuries have brought. People far and wide are interested in London, and many persons have had cause to be grateful to George Edwards for his knowledge of London history and his willingness to share it. It is therefore most appropriate that our *Journal* for 1966 should open with his short article, bringing together the little that we know concerning London Friends and the Fire of 1666.

"Anthony Pearson: an early Friend in Bishoprick" reproduces the substance of the address which Amy Wallis gave to the Society at its spring meeting on 1st April, 1965, throwing light on the Quaker activities of a man of affairs who was, during its formative period, a valued leader in the Quaker movement north of the Humber.

Bruce Gordon Blackwood, currently working for an Oxford D.Phil. on the Lancashire gentry, 1625-1660, contributes a paper touching on Lonsdale Quakers against a background of agrarian unrest in the middle of the seventeenth century. New evidence is produced from Duchy of Lancaster papers in the Public Record Office.

Alfred Braithwaite's paper on Informers gives a general picture of one aspect of the persecutions of early Friends which local historians will be able to fill out for themselves with local evidence in the records of Sufferings in meetings up and down the country.

Kenneth L. Carroll, of Southern Methodist University (and Dallas, Texas, Monthly Meeting), edits the appeal for a national collection for money to support Friends' work which went out in 1662 and which is preserved in Friends House Library, Portfolio 24,27. Kenneth Carroll provides notes and brief biographies of the signatories to the document.

In searching for his ancestors on both sides of the Irish Sea, Robert Davis was directed by Isabel Grubb to an article in *The Friends' Monthly Magazine*, a short-lived periodical of the early 1830s. From it he recounts the curious features in a tale of shipwreck on the Somerset coast in January, 1782, in which two Quaker passengers, embarked from Cork to Bristol, lost their lives.

Henry J. Cadbury cogently questions the ascription of the "Woolman" letter which was printed in 1957 in *Journal F.H.S.*, xlviii, p. 147.

This number also includes Reports on Archives, New Publications and the usual features.

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The spring meeting of the Society, postponed until 5th May, 1966, was given over to an address by Lucia Beamish, entitled "The silent century: Quaker ministry, 1750-1850". It incorporated some results from her researches for the Oxford degree of B. Litt.

Charles F. Carter has had to defer his Presidential Address until next year, and the normal autumn meeting, held this year on 6th October, heard a talk by Henry J. Cadbury on "John Woolman in England in 1772". The substance of this will appear in the forthcoming Supplement to this *Journal*.

## The Great Fire of London

**W**HEN Samuel Pepys, a near neighbour of the Penn family at Tower Hill, was awakened by his servant about 3 o'clock on the morning of Sunday, 2nd September, 1666, to be told of a great fire that could be seen in the City, he decided, after looking out of the window, that it was too far away and so returned to bed. Later that morning he realised that this was no ordinary fire, and all that day, and the following days, he was torn between his curiosity to see more of the fire and his anxiety as to the possible damage to his goods, his home and to the Navy Office of which he was Secretary. On the Monday he and Sir William Penn sent some of their possessions down river to Deptford. The narrow congested streets, with bottlenecks at the gates and posterns, where everyone was endeavouring to escape with what goods he could save, added to the confusion.

On the evening of the second day of the fire Pepys and Sir William Penn dug pits in their gardens in which to place their wine; Pepys, remembering his favourite Parmesan cheese, put that in, as well as some of his office papers. Sir William Penn brought workmen from the Dockyard to blow up houses in order to prevent the fire reaching the church of All Hallows by the Tower.

The anxiety of Pepys and Penn, their uncertainties whether or not to remove their goods, their lack of sleep and the difficulty of obtaining food, which Pepys records in his Diary, are typical of the problems of the citizens, among whom were a large number of Quakers.

Friends' Book of Sufferings for the year 1666 has no mention of the Fire. Friends only recorded those Sufferings inflicted on them by the hand of man; a catastrophe which was suffered by all finds no place in Quaker records. They saw in the Fire a Divine Judgment on the Nation that had been their persecutors. Friends were not alone in this, and each sect saw the Fire as a judgment on their own particular enemies. Catholics regarded it as a punishment for heresy; many people believed that the Catholics were responsible for starting the fire, and at one time The Monument had an

inscription to this effect. Anglicans laid the blame on the Schisms, and the Dissenters said it was because of the pride of the Clergy; some thought it was for the murder of the late King, others a judgment on the licentiousness of the Court. Most Englishmen were convinced that it was the work of French or Dutch secret agents.

Solomon Eccles, a Southwark Quaker, had been moved to pass, almost naked, through Bartholomew Fair (24th August) bearing upon his head a pan full of fire and brimstone, warning the pleasure-loving city of God's impending judgment. Another Quaker, a few days before the fire broke out, had stopped the King's coach as it was leaving Whitehall, in order to present a petition as to the Sufferings of Friends in Reading. A footman who endeavoured to prevent him mounting the step, was told by the King to desist and to allow the Petitioner to approach; the King also told the footman to return the Quaker's hat; the Friend then informed the King that unless he set Friends at liberty the Lord would bring a judgment of sword and fire upon him.

The most singularly correct prophecy was made by Humphrey Smith, who died in Winchester Gaol in 1662, four years before the Great Fire. In *A Vision which I saw concerning London*, he wrote:

As for the City herself and her suburbs and all that belong to her, a fire was kindled therein, but she knew not how, even in all her goodly places, and the kindling of it was in the foundation of all her buildings and there was none that could quench it, and the burning thereof was exceedingly great, and it burned inward in a hidden manner which cannot be described. All the tall buildings fell and it consumed all the costly things therein, and the fire searched out all the hidden places, and burnt most of the secret places, and there were parts of broken down walls which the fire continued burning against, and the vision thereof remained in me as a thing that was shewn me of the Lord.

Some of the more responsible Friends tried to curb the exuberance of their prophetic brethren. "That morning the fire broke out," wrote George Whitehead:

some of us were at Gerard Roberts' House in Thomas Apostle's where Thomas Ibbot met us and told us, he must go to the King with a message to warn him to release our Friends out of Prisons or else the Decree of the Lord would be sealed against him in three days time to his destruction and overthrow. Upon which I was afraid he would be too forward and give occasion against

Friends and cause that to reproach Truth and them. I earnestly charged him not to limit a time; if he had a warning to give the King that he would set no time of the King's death or end or that might be so taken or constructed as a prophesy thereof for he might cause Truth to suffer if he did.

Many Friends were imprisoned in Newgate gaol which was destroyed by the Fire. One Friend records that he carried his bed out on his back when the prison was burnt.

Ellis Hookes, the first Recording Clerk, writing to Margaret Fell in reply to an enquiry by her as to how Friends had fared, replied:

people are in great confusion here by reason of the fire which happens in this City to the great destruction and ruin of the same which has not been without a just cause or provocation of the Lord. Concerning what thou desired to know how it was with Friends where the fire was; there were very few but lost a great deale yett not so much I think as the people of ye world lost because Friends were helpful one to the other. I saved thy booke from the fire and last seventh day I gave it to W. Warwick.

Ellis Hookes also rescued Friends' Records, which were kept at the Chamber at the Bull and Mouth Meeting House; this building, which formed part of Northumberland House, and had been the headquarters of Friends since 1655, was destroyed on the last day of the fire.

John Pennyman, a Friend, had his business premises on Ludgate Hill; he also had a cottage in the country at Kentish Town. On the morning of 2nd September he saw from the upper window of his city property, the fire in Thames Street, and sent at once to Kentish Town for two carts and removed his goods to the country.

At the other end of the city lived another Friend, Mary Boreman; she was a spiritually minded woman with strong mystical leading; she was obedient to such leadings. Being a widow with three children, she supported her family by selling oil and lamps. During the visitation of the Plague in 1665, trusting in Providence, she continued her business; none of her family sickened, though her shop was next to a churchyard where many victims of the epidemic were buried. During August 1666 she felt strong promptings to settle all her outstanding debts, which she obeyed.

The Great Fire broke out on the second of September in Pudding Lane, only a short distance from Leadenhall Street,

where Mary Boreman's shop with its inflammable wares was situated. Her servants and children were nervous, so she sent them to the country at Mile End Green, but she herself remained in London. Friends and neighbours urged her to follow while there was yet time, using the argument that it was not right to cause loss to her creditors by not saving her goods. One Friend told her "that she cared nothing that her children might become chargeable to Friends." To these she replied that she did not owe anyone anything and she could work for her children, but she must be faithful to her leadings. When John Homested, who had come 20 miles from the country with a cart to help remove her goods, learnt that there were no debts and that Mary Boreman did not wish to leave, he departed satisfied. The fire had travelled westward, fanned by a strong east wind; the eastern section of the City only suffered damage among the wharves by the river, so that the oil-shop escaped unharmed and Mary Boreman's faith was justified. The churches of St. Catherine Cree and St. Andrews Undershaft, of which the latter adjoined her shop, still survive in Leadenhall Street.

After the fire had abated, when others were charging exorbitant prices, Mary Boreman said she dare not raise the price of her goods but must allow her customers to benefit from her preservation.

The spectacle of the fire and its effect on the atmosphere must have been awe-inspiring. In *Reliquiae Baxterianae* we read "To see the air, as far as could be beheld, so filled with the smoke that the sun shined through it with a colour of blood; yea even when it was setting in the west, it so appeared to them that dwelt on the west side of the City."

George Whitehead describes how Friends reacted to the catastrophe:

Our meetings were held on fourthday weekly at Wheeler Street, our usual place, the Bull and Mouth being demolished by the fire; and at the other parts of and about the City, we kept our Meetings at the usual time and places, as at the Peel in John Street, at Westminster, Horslydown, Ratcliff and Devonshire House. We had some respite and ease from violent persecution and disturbance until the city came in a great measure to be rebuilt. Our adversaries took no warning by the Plague nor the following consuming fire which had laid waste the best part of the City.



In the long run much good came out of what at the time seemed a terrible misfortune. Building Acts were passed which ensured that houses were built of brick, with brick or stone partitions, no oversailing was allowed, streets were widened and "New River" water made available to all households.

When William Penn was laying out the city of Philadelphia in his new state of Pennsylvania, he had in mind the Great Fire of London and planned that each house should have space round it to prevent any fire from spreading. He also planned the streets wide and straight with no bottlenecks that might impede transport in the event of a similar catastrophe.

Caroline Graveson in her story of "The Farthing Family" has described the fire of London from the point of view of a Quaker living near Aldersgate. While the story is fiction the description of the experience of this family is based on accounts left by people who were living in the City, and can be taken as typical of the experience of London Quakers at the time.

GEORGE W. EDWARDS

#### NOTE ON SOURCES

- Friends House Library: Cross collection, 64; Swarthmore MSS.  
 A. R. Barclay, *Letters, &c., of early Friends*, 1841, p. 160.  
 W. G. Bell, *The Great Fire of London in 1666*, 1920.  
 R. Bury, *Collection of sundry messages and warnings*, 1713-28.  
 S. Pepys, *Diary*.  
*Quakeriana*, i. 136.  
 G. Whitehead, *Christian Progress*, 1725, pp. 291-316, and in particular, pp. 314-16.

## Agrarian Unrest and the Early Lancashire Quakers

IN *The Quakers in Puritan England* (1964) Professor Hugh Barbour has suggested that Quakerism had its strength initially in the north of England, where the tenants had strongly protested against paying rising rents and impropriated tithes. Unfortunately he does not establish a direct connection between agrarian unrest and the rise of the Quakers.<sup>1</sup> To establish this, we need to know whether any of the early Friends had personally resisted the demands of their landlords before joining the ranks of George Fox. What happened in Cumberland, Westmorland and north Yorkshire is for another historian to discover, but the evidence for the Lonsdale hundred of Lancashire is very suggestive.

It is well known that north-west Lancashire was a stronghold of Quakerism during the Interregnum and that Swarthmoor Hall, the home of Judge Fell, was the centre of Quaker organization in the entire north of England. Few are aware that north-west Lancashire was also an area of sharp agrarian conflict. Both before and after the Civil War some landlords were imposing excessive "gressoms" or fines, reinforcing their claims to labour services and other servile dues, and refusing to recognize the tenant's right of inheritance.<sup>2</sup> The sixteen-forties also witnessed bitter opposition to the payment of tithes, especially in the parishes of Hawkshead and Cartmel.

In Cartmel the lay impropiator was Thomas Preston of Holker. Because of his royalism during the Civil War, he had been heavily mulcted by the Parliamentary authorities.<sup>3</sup> Anxious to raise money, he tried to increase the rate of tithes and many of the parishioners refused to pay. On 7th September

<sup>1</sup> The only example given is the case of Grayrigg, Westmorland, on p. 77. But here he does not name any rebellious tenants, or their relatives, who subsequently became Quakers.

<sup>2</sup> B. G. Blackwood, "The Lancashire Cavaliers and their tenants", *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, Vol. 117 (1965), pp. 24-31.

<sup>3</sup> *Calendar of Committee for Compounding*, ii. 1163-4, v. 3268.

1649 thirty of the inhabitants of Cartmel parish were summoned to appear before the Justices to answer complaints of Thomas Preston "touching the subtraccon" of their "tythes." On 1st June 1650 over one hundred of the parishioners were ordered to appear before the Justices to answer another complaint of Thomas Preston regarding non-payment of tithes.<sup>1</sup> In the circumstances it was only to be expected that the people of Cartmel would welcome to their district any religious leader, such as George Fox, who had denounced the compulsory payment of tithes, and Cartmel did in fact become a centre of Quakerism. As early as 1655 the sum of £1 5s. was contributed to the Quakers' Funds by "friends at Newton" in Cartmel.<sup>2</sup> The non-existence of Quaker minute books for this period is rather disappointing, but the existing evidence would suggest that George Fox recruited some of his supporters from those who had refused to pay their tithes in 1649 and 1650. The man who most stubbornly resisted the demands of Thomas Preston was Thomas Atkinson of Newton, who had denounced tithes as "popish and superstitious ceremonies" and who, on 1st November 1649, was said to be "behind for four or five yeares" in respect of payment.<sup>3</sup> Fox mentions in his *Journal* a certain Thomas Atkinson whom he describes as "a friende of Cartmell,"<sup>4</sup> and in 1653 the same Thomas Atkinson defended Quakers in a pamphlet entitled *Divers Queries*.<sup>5</sup> Two other Cartmel parishioners who had refused to pay tithes to Thomas Preston were Richard Waller and John Rowland Braithwaite,<sup>6</sup> and both seem to have become prominent Quakers. A Richard Waller appears as a Furness Quaker in 1654. A year later a person by the same name went as a Quaker missionary to Ireland.<sup>7</sup> The name John Braithwaite is mentioned in Fox's *Journal* under date 1652. He

<sup>1</sup> Lancashire Record Office, Cavendish of Holker Papers, DDCa 8/39. Thirty-two papers concerning non-payment of tithe, 12th April 1649-5th June 1650. See nos. 9, 11, 22, 27, 30, 31.

<sup>2</sup> Friends House Library, Swarthmore MS. i. 252.

<sup>3</sup> DDCa 8/39 no. 27.

<sup>4</sup> G. Fox, *Journal*, ed. Penney (Cambridge, 1911), ii. 39.

<sup>5</sup> See G. Fox & Richard Hubberthorne, *Truth's Defence* (York, 1653), pp. 1-45.

<sup>6</sup> DDCa 8/39, nos. 30, 31.

<sup>7</sup> B. Nightingale, *Early Stages of the Quaker Movement in Lancashire* (1922), p. 35; G. Fox, *Journal*, ii. 331, 336. N. Penney thought that the home of this particular missionary was probably Cartmel (*ibid.*, ii. 472-3).

is described as a youth of Cartmel who "became a fine minister of the Gospell", and John Braithwaite was in fact one of the Quaker missionaries to the south of England in 1654.<sup>1</sup> Other Cartmel parishioners refusing to pay tithes in 1649 and 1650 were Richard Britton, John Fell, Thomas Barrow and John Barrow. All these are Quaker names and appear in records of the 1660s. Also included in Besse's lists of Lonsdale Quakers for the years 1659-61 are many other persons who, although not specifically described as natives of Cartmel, were almost certainly some of the rebellious parishioners of the earlier period.<sup>2</sup>

There were also some Friends at Hawkshead who, just after the Restoration, were persecuted for their faith.<sup>3</sup> Here, too, there had been strong opposition to the payment of tithes before George Fox arrived in the district. In 1646 Nathaniel Nicolson, the Roundhead lay impropiator, gave to the court of the duchy of Lancaster the names of thirty-five inhabitants of Hawkshead who had "for fower yeares last past . . . refused to pay any manner of tythes" to him.<sup>4</sup> A study of their surnames suggests that many of these people were related to the Hawkshead Quakers.<sup>5</sup>

The early Friends also obtained support from those who had opposed rising rents and other dues. In 1639 and 1640 the tenants of Blawith, near Lake Coniston, had shown bitter hostility to their rack-renting landlord, William Ambrose, and after the Civil War two of their leaders—William Coward and Robert Wilson—seem to have joined the Quakers. In 1652 the tenants of Heaton, near Lancaster, told the Committee for Compounding that John Brockholes, their deceased Royalist lord, had refused to recognize their heritable rights and had forced them to take leases for lives involving "most unreasonable services by plowing, harrowing, shear-

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, i. 46; E. E. Taylor, *The Valiant Sixty* (1951), p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> DDCa 8/39 nos. 22, 30, 31. Besse's lists of Quakers appear in B. Nightingale, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-58. See also pp. 110, 114 for Cartmel Quakers named in the records of quarter sessions. All the above-mentioned Cartmel parishioners, except Thomas Atkinson and John Braithwaite, appear in the Lancs. Register Digests in Friends House Library.

<sup>3</sup> B. Nightingale, *op. cit.*, pp. 34, 110, 113, 114.

<sup>4</sup> Public Record Office, *Duchy of Lancaster Pleadings*, D.L.1/373. This extract from Crown-copyright material appears by permission of the Controller, H.M. Stationery Office.

<sup>5</sup> Some, like Gyles Walker and Edward Braithwaite, are later to be found in the Quaker Burial Registers.

ing, mowing and other personall and slavish burthens (which they had never before answered).” One of the more vociferous tenants—Thomas Hynd—seems to have become a Quaker, and was arrested in 1660 for attending a meeting of Friends at Lancaster.<sup>1</sup> It was, however, the most militant and exploited tenants—those of Yealand as well as of Cartmel—who supplied the Quakers with the most numerous and zealous recruits.

In 1642, 1648 and 1649 the tenants of Yealand, near Carnforth, complained to the Chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster about the excessive fines imposed by their landlord, Sir George Middleton of Leighton. The tenants told the court that their landlord was entitled to receive both general and particular fines of four years’ ancient rent: instead, he had demanded fines of up to thirty years’ rent. Occasional labour services and food rents were another grievance. These lingered on in parts of north-west Lancashire until well into the eighteenth century, but in the previous century the Yealand tenants already regarded them as obsolete. In 1649 the tenants of Yealand admitted that “by the Custome they ought . . . to performe such boones of plowinge etc And rent hens etc.” But on 12th November 1651 the jury of the court of the manor of Yealand declared that neither labour services nor food rents were authorized by manorial custom.<sup>2</sup> The following year George Fox held “a great meetinge” at Yealand,<sup>3</sup> and apparently gained the active support of some of the tenants. Among the prominent opponents of Middleton in 1642, 1648, 1649 and 1651 were men with names like Hubbersty, Backhouse and Cumming, which later became well known in Quaker circles.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, one of the jury which in 1651 declared against servile dues was John Hubberthorne.<sup>5</sup> His wife, Jane, was shortly to

<sup>1</sup> For landlord-tenant relations in Blawith and Heaton, see B. G. Blackwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 27, 29–30. For the Quakers named, see B. Nightingale, *op. cit.*, pp. 29, 51, 110.

<sup>2</sup> B. G. Blackwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 25–7.

<sup>3</sup> *Journal*, i. 61.

<sup>4</sup> See Register Digests at Friends House. For the names of the Yealand tenants, see D.L.1/370, 379, 382 in P.R.O. and Yealand Court Roll, 1651, among the Towneley Papers in the Lancashire Record Office.

<sup>5</sup> Yealand Court Roll, 1651. John Hubberthorne had previously been prominent among those tenants opposing Sir George Middleton’s heavy fines (D.L.1/382). For an account of the Hubberthorne family, see Elizabeth Brockbank, *Richard Hubberthorne of Yealand* (1929).

become a Quaker, while his son, Richard, was one of the earliest of Fox's travelling preachers. A number of other Yealand tenants, such as Thomas Watson and Mabel Jackson, later became Quakers, although not particularly prominent ones.<sup>1</sup>

It seems, therefore, clear that in north-west Lancashire a number of the early Friends, or their relatives, had been both victims and opponents of landlord oppression. If similar evidence could be obtained for other parts of England, it might go some way towards explaining the early Quaker concern for social justice.

BRUCE GORDON BLACKWOOD

<sup>1</sup> See Burial Registers (Digests at Friends House).

# Anthony Pearson (1626-1666)

## An Early Friend in Bishoprick

**T**WO small pamphlets in the Library at Friends House, not reprinted since their issue in 1653<sup>1</sup> and 1654,<sup>2</sup> are the introduction to this study of Anthony Pearson.

The first paper is addressed:

“To the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England”  
[the so-called Nominated, or Barebone’s Parliament of July to December, 1653]

Christian Friends,

I am moved of the Lord to present this Paper to you, it requires your speedy consideration; and therefore as you love your own souls defer it not: the crying sin of persecuting the righteous seed of God, is now brought to your door, and you must account for every day’s delay; arise, stand up and execute Justice and Judgment, that you may be hid in the day of the Lord’s fierce wrath, which is at hand.

I come not to you to clamour or complain, nor to petition any thing from you, but to discharge my duty in obedience to the command of the Lord, in laying before you the afflictions and sufferings of the innocent by the hands of your Ministers and Servants, that so you may acquit yourselves, lest the guilt fall upon your own heads.

In the northern parts of this nation, God hath raised and is raising up his own Seed in many people, according to his promises; which hath layen in bondage in a strange Land for many generations, and is daily encreasing their number to the praise of his name which gathers their hearts out of all the world’s ways, Worships, Customs, Riches and Pleasures, to live with the Lord in Spirit, and to be taught of him alone; Whereat the formal Professors of the World, and the carnal-religious of these dayes are so much enraged, that in every place, to the utmost of their power, they beat, wound, stone, imprison and persecute them; as it was in all Generations, as the Scriptures witness, ‘He that is born after the Flesh, will persecute him that is born after the Spirit’.

<sup>1</sup> *To the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England*. 3rd October, 1653. No imprint.

<sup>2</sup> *A few words to all Judges, Justices and Ministers of the Law in England*. From Anthony Pearson. London, Printed for Giles Calvert at the Black Spread Eagle at the West end of Paul’s, 1654. This contact, as Giles Calvert was in touch with the Levellers, may mean that Anthony Pearson showed his interest in their agrarian aims by dealing with the subject of tithes, as well as the question as it affected Friends.

And the reason why these People above all others are hated by all sorts of men, is, because the righteous Spirit of God that rules in them, as it will not comply or have fellowship with the wicked in their Pride, lusts, pleasures, customs, Worships, fashions and unfruitful works of darkness, so will it not wink at them, but reprove them where and in whomsoever they are; it spares not a man because he hath a flattering Title, nor passeth by him that is rich or decked with gay clothes, but reproves all, yea, in the gate, without respect of persons; and therefore is it that snares are laid for them in every place to make them offenders for a word: And as the wicked are thereby provoked, so are their cruel minds encouraged by the Lamb-like dispositions of these people; for having the same Spirit that was in Christ Jesus, they are like-minded, they do not resist the evil; but like Sheep are led to the slaughter and open not their mouths: being cursed they bless, he that takes their cloak, may take their coat too, to him that smites one cheek they offer also the other; And as they save not themselves, but cast their care on the Lord, so they seek not for relief to any man, but patiently wait on the Lord for his deliverance, bearing stripes, wounds, Prisons, reproach and shame with joy, knowing that through many tribulations they must enter the Kingdom; praying even for their persecutors, that their sin may not be laid to their charge. And being raised up with Christ and made partakers of the Life which is eternal, their hearts burn with love to all Creatures: and therefore in the Spirit and Power of the Lord they are carried into the public meetings of the world, to declare his word, and to reason and dispute against their outside profession, to bring them to repentance, that they may know the true God, whom they ignorantly worship, which dwels not in Temples made with hands, but in the humble and contrite hearts, that tremble at his word, as the manner and practise of Jesus Christ and his Apostles was.

And for these things did about 30 of them lie in Prison when I came lately from thence, and I hear six more are since committed: those that are set to do justice, being of the same nature and spirit with the rude world, take part with them in their wickedness, encouraging their hands, and laying the blame on the innocent, calling them disturbers of the Peace, movers of Sedition, turbulent persons, when it's only the man of sin they disquiet; and all the uproars of the brutish people that live in wrath, anger and quarrels are laid to their charge; as it was in all Generations.

Anthony Pearson's paper, with the list of sufferers, is dated 3rd October, 1653, although the information contained in it is of an earlier date, because he speaks of George Fox as being in custody at Carlisle charged under the Blasphemy Act, whereas Fox was released about the end of September.

Pearson continued his argument:

Oh ye Heads and Rulers of the people raised up to do Righteousness and Justice! Look upon these poor despised



Creatures, what evil is found in them? What wickedness have they committed? not one of six and thirty committed for a vice; is it not time to appear for the innocent and to save him from the seed of evil-doers? What are the offences laid to their charge? They will not put off their hats, no not to a Magistrate; are not men ashamed to call themselves Christian and pretend liberty for tender consciences, and yet stand upon such trifles, and to fine and imprison for it? is not obedience to the Magistrate, and a chearful, ready performance of his just commands, his greatest honour? that he may say to this man go, and he goeth; and to another do this and he doeth it; but now the life of all Religion is placed in outside shadows and formalities . . .

Let the Magistrate look to his duty to punish him that breaks the Peace, or offers violence to any, and that will soon be prevented; are they Churches? then may all prophesie, and if anything be revealed to him that sits by, let the first hold his peace: Are they assemblies of the world? then why doth the Magistrate interpose his Authority to hold up their false worship, and not suffer the Messengers of the Lord to call people to the Truth, and leave all men to manifest the power of the spirit they speak from . . . Doth not the Minister of God speak the word of the Lord from his own mouth? When, where, and how the Lord please, for it is not he that speaks but the Holy Ghost that dwells in him. He that hath his words from his own wit and memory may speak and be silent when he will: he that hath them from the Holy Ghost must speak as he is moved and as they are brought to his remembrance by the Spirit of Truth: be careful how ye meddle in these things! Oh ye powers of the Earth; men have long been taught one by another but now the Lord is come to teach his people himself.

In conclusion an appeal was made to the Parliament:

Oh ye members of the Parliament that fear the Lord! . . . The great work of the Lord is not to throw down one man, to set up another. But to throw down the unrighteous seed, that the holy Seed may be raised up and have dominion. If you restrain the Lord in his work, all the Armies in the World shall not save you: all these witnesses are raised up to shew you where the way is stopped and the Lord hath herein made it known to you: its not the release of the Prisoners alone that the Lord requires but to make a free way for the sons of Zion . . . It's not long till a light will shine in this Nation to shew the deceits of this and many other like things. Consider scruples of conscience are not obvious to every man's reason, if they were, no liberty need to be pleaded for tender consciences.

The moneth called Oct.

3. 1653

A servant of the Truth

Anthony Pearson

In 1654 another paper from the same hand appeared, addressed:

"A few Words  
To all Judges, Justices and Ministers of the law in England  
From Anthony Pearson"

This dealt with judicial oaths, and was concerned with tithes, with law of the conscience rather than man-made rules, and against executing the law for gifts and rewards. The paper ends:

He that makes a law against that in the conscience which is pure and holy, makes a law against God: and he that executeth that law for gifts and rewards, his heart is in the earth for selfish ends, and in the same carnal nature with the Priests who preach for hire: and with the light which is free, which is the gift of God not to be bought or sold for money, he is to be condemned, and with the life of all the Judges and Holy men of God he is eternally judged.

Anthony Pearson's home at this time was at Ramshaw Hall,<sup>1</sup> near West Auckland, and we are told by George Fox that he was a "Justice in three counties", only two (West-

<sup>1</sup> Ramshaw Hall still stands, though used as a farmhouse for many years and in need of repair. It is five miles from Bishop Auckland and close on two miles due west of West Auckland—this name of "Auckland" signifying "Oak-land" and forest. The house stands on the north of the river Gaunless, on rising ground and is a typical manor house of the period, with garden plot in the front, walled, and with steps down to an orchard below, where a large company could meet and listen to George Fox and others speak from above. The gateway has roundels either side, and the mounting block is near which Anthony Pearson must have used often as he started on horseback for Durham and Newcastle to the north, Barnard Castle and Appleby, Kendal or Carlisle to the west, or took the "London road" by Darlington and York to the south. There are many outbuildings near the house and in the fields, bearing traces of a large establishment. Inside, the broad staircase rises from the panelled hall, the parlour still has shell-shaped topped alcoves either side of the fireplace with shelves. Beyond the hall is a small room, possibly Anthony Pearson's study or business chamber, also with panelled walls and cupboards. On one side is a stone wall with pointed arch which would have led to the large room now the kitchen, possibly the dining hall in earlier days.

The bedroom over the parlour has a wall-cupboard but the remaining rooms have evidently been partitioned off later. As I was shown over it, the then occupier told me she had heard of John Wesley staying there but knew nothing of Fox's visits. For here Anthony Pearson and his wife, formerly Grace Lamplugh, of an old family, with branches in Cumberland, Westmorland and East Yorkshire—and his children, kept open house for visiting Friends, and here George Fox came, James Nayler time and again, Edward Burrough and Audland, Howgill and others, to conduct a systematic campaign in "Bishopricke", and Ramshaw Hall was the base of operations. In all, thirteen "First Publishers of Truth" came.

morland and Cumberland), however, have been established.<sup>1</sup> Later "for conscience sake" he was put "out of the commission" as was his friend Gervase Benson. Both had been opponents of Friends. But in 1652 the account by James Nayler of his spiritual experience given in his trial at Appleby before them, brought about the conviction of Pearson later (Benson being already convinced).<sup>2</sup> It was to Pearson's home that James Nayler came after his release in summer 1653—walking over the fells from Westmorland and Cumberland and by Swaledale and into Durham—and a great meeting was held there.

But before this Pearson had come into touch with the family at Swarthmoor. His letter to his fellow justice, Gervase Benson, written in May, 1653, follows their work in January at Appleby, and after a visit he had paid to Judge Fell. Fox's *Journal* states that when at Swarthmoor he had gone to see Colonel West (who had aided him in his trial at Lancaster)—the same who on a previous visit when Fox and Richard Hubberthorne crossed the sands from Ulverston swimming their horses over the channels of the rivers, exclaimed as coroner he would soon have the clothes of two travellers he had seen as they must be drowned crossing where they did, and was astonished to hear instead they were his guests! While on this second visit, a message came from Swarthmoor asking Fox to come, as Anthony Pearson was there, and Colonel West said, "Goe, George, for it may be of great service to the man", and "going, the Lord's power reached him", adds Fox.<sup>3</sup>

A comment by G. M. Trevelyan in his *England under the Stuarts*<sup>4</sup> is interesting. "To hear Fox preach once in the churchyard as he passed through the town, or to spend an evening with him by the fireside often was enough to change a persecutor into an enthusiast, to emancipate a man from the intellectual and social customs of a life-time." This last was true for Pearson.

<sup>1</sup> George Fox, *Journal* (Cambridge), 1911, i, 108; W. C. Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, 1955, p. 121; J. W. Steel, *Early Friends in the North*, 1905, 5-11; *Journal F.H.S.*, xlviii (1957), p. 122; *Extracts from State Papers* (ed. Penney), 2nd series, 1911, pp. 111, 112, see also pp. 137-141.

<sup>2</sup> J. Nayler, *Works*, pp. 1-16; Besse, *Sufferings*, ii, 3-6; *First Publishers of Truth* (ed. Penney), 1907, p. 248, see also p. 88.

<sup>3</sup> *Cambridge Journal* (1911), i, 104, 108.

<sup>4</sup> G. M. Trevelyan, *England under the Stuarts*, pp. 9-10, 312.

Writing afterwards therefore from Ramshaw, he describes his spiritual condition, finding his former positions much in the outward—uncertain:<sup>1</sup>

All my religion was but the hearing of the ear, the believing and talking of a God and Christ in heaven or a place at a distance, I knew not where. Oh how gracious was the Lord to me in carrying me to Judge Fell's to see the wonders of His power and wisdom, a family walking in the fear of the Lord, conversing daily with Him, crucified to Him and living only to God. I was so confounded all my knowledge and wisdom became folly: my mouth was stopped, my conscience convinced and the secrets of my heart were made manifest and that Lord was discovered to be near whom I ignorantly worshipped.

He continues:—

What thou told me of George Fox I found true: when thou seest him or James Nayler (they both know my condition better than myself) move them (if neither of them be drawn this way) to help me with their counsel by letter: they are full of pity and compassion, and though I was their enemy, they are my friends, and so is Francis Howgill from whom I received a letter full of tenderness and wholesome advice. Oh! how welcome would the faces of any of them be to me: truly I think I could scorn the world to have fellowship with them.

Dear friend, there is a carrier comes from Kendal within a mile of my house every fortnight and he shall call at Peter Huggin's to bring any letter that shall be there left for me: it will much refresh me to receive any lines from thee but be thou faithful . . . I am afraid lest the orders we made at Appleby cause some to suffer who speak from the mouth of the Lord: I heartily wish they were suppressed or recalled. I have been at Judge Fell's and have been informed from that precious soul his consort in some measure what these things mean which before I counted the overflowings of giddy brains. Dear heart, pity and pray for me: and let all obligations of former friendship be discharged in well wishes to the soul of the old familiar friend that he may partake with them of your heavenly possessions.

Anthony Pearson

Ramshaw neare West Auckland

May 9 1653

In these early years very few cases of persecution of Friends in Durham, compared with other areas, are known, Anthony Pearson's influence no doubt shielded Friends, for he was now a person of great influence. At twenty he had

<sup>1</sup> Friends House Library, Swarthmore MSS. I. 87; A. R. Barclay, *Letters &c. of early Friends*, 1841, p. 10 note; M. Webb, *Fells of Swarthmoor Hall*, 1867, p. 71.

become secretary to Sir Arthur Hesilrige in 1648 going down with him from London (having no doubt had legal training there) to Newcastle where Hesilrige was in control as Governor for the North.<sup>1</sup> Pearson was Judge Advocate at a court martial there in 1649 and also in that year appointed Clerk and Registrar to the Compounding Commissioners and other posts. When Hesilrige in 1650 went back to Parliamentary work in London, Pearson came into Bishoprick, looked after the estates of Hesilrige, who had purchased the manor of Bishop Auckland amongst others<sup>2</sup> and was steward of the Bishop's lands, some of which he had bought himself—one being Aspatria in Cumberland. The conveyance, by information from the Public Record Office,<sup>3</sup> is to Anthony Pearson of *Cartmell* in May, 1650, which gives us his birthplace as this is in North Lancashire (or Furness) his "native country". It is strange that only William Charles Braithwaite has noticed this phrase in Pearson's detailed statement, though he did not follow it up apparently. Most have thought Pearson was born in or near Ramshaw. A baptismal entry has been found very recently in Cartmel parish register for Anthony Pearson, son of Edward Pearson of Cartmell Fell, 7th January, 1627.<sup>4</sup> This sheds a flood of light on why Judge Fell, Colonel West and others knew him, Anthony Pearson, being of their neighbourhood, and his acquaintance with Lancashire.

But in spite of this protection by Pearson the "Publishers of Truth" met with opposition from Presbyterian "professors", especially in Newcastle where *The Perfect Pharisee*

<sup>1</sup> W. C. Braithwaite, *Beginnings*, p. 116; *Extracts from State Papers*, p. 138.

<sup>2</sup> By information from the Public Record Office, the conveyance of Bishop Auckland to Sir Arthur Hesilrige, 1647, is enrolled on Close Roll C.54/3363 No. 9.

<sup>3</sup> By information from the Public Record Office, conveyances enrolled on Close Roll C.54/33522 Nos. 24 and 25 of the manor of Aspatria, and of further manors, including Allerthwaite, Cumberland, 21st and 28th May, 1650, name him as Anthony Pearson of Cartmell, co. Lancs. Cf. *Extracts from State Papers*, pp. 137, 141; the Public Record Office confirms that the documents S.P. 29/49 to 27 gives *twenty* unmistakably as Anthony Pearson's statement of his age in 1648.

<sup>4</sup> 7 Jan. 1626 [Old Style]; by kind research of Giles Howson, Lancaster. The date of Anthony Pearson's birth is not known, but it may well have taken place towards the end of December, 1626; the birthdate 1626 in the title of this article may thus be true as well for New Style as it is for Old Style.

*under Monkish Holiness*<sup>1</sup> was published by five ministers, one of whom had been in New England, and a second was chaplain to Hesilrige, Samuel Hammond, in 1653. James Nayler wrote an answer to be followed by yet another pamphlet, *A further Discovery of that generation of men called Quakers*, in 1654.

Anthony Pearson, together with his wife, had gone in the late summer of 1653 to join George Fox at Bootle, and when Fox was imprisoned at Carlisle during the sessions Pearson took active steps to secure his release. Anthony Pearson was in London where his first paper was published in October. In the following February he wrote to Edward Burrough<sup>2</sup> from Ramshaw hoping to have gone to the meeting at Arnside but is prevented by "business in pursuance of an ordnance of the protector so called" and hopes for George Fox to come and others. "Those towards the East side would fain see James once. When he comes it were well if he could pass through them and take a circuit by Darnton and so to Norton, Shotton and round by Medomsley and Wolsingham to my house."<sup>3</sup>

George Fox's visit to Ramshaw was in March, 1654. One of those also visiting the area in Bishop Auckland was Ann Audland<sup>4</sup> who though put in the gaol for preaching, continued her ministry through a window or grating to those in the market-place. John Longstaff, a prominent local man hearing her was convinced, going into her prison, and on her discharge later in the day, took her to his home. His wife objected, so Anne left to seek a place to sleep in a wood outside the town. George Fox had told Pearson of her being in Auckland and he came on horseback to take her, on the pillion, to Ramshaw—one of the incidents which take us into the actual conditions of the work.

A large meeting gathered at Ramshaw Hall while George Fox was there, convincing many and confirming those

<sup>1</sup> See Braithwaite, *Beginnings*, 115.

<sup>2</sup> Swarthmore MSS. III. 70.

<sup>3</sup> The circuit from Darnton (Darlington) runs eastwards to Norton (NE. of Stockton), northwards (on A19) to Shotton a couple of miles south of Easington, then westwards across the county to Medomsley (NE. of Consett) and south to Wolsingham and Ramshaw. This is of interest especially to present Durham Friends, as it is very similar to any "round" we should suggest today.

<sup>4</sup> See *Piety Promoted*, pt. 2, pp. 51-52 (vol. 1, p. 356 in the 1812 edition). MS. John Bigland, Bp. Auckland.

already influenced, from a wide area. Possibly the "setting up the men's meeting in Bishoprick" may have been at this time—the paper relative to it is docketed by Fox himself thus, with the date 1653.<sup>1</sup>

In the early summer of 1654 Pearson joined Gervase Benson (the first worker), in London and, together with Edward Burrough and Howgill, John Camm and Richard Hubberthorne, led in the attack on the city—a band of young men finding great response as well as opportunity but also opposition. On his return home, Pearson wrote to Fox at the end of July:<sup>2</sup>

All cry out what do these men say more than others have said, but to bring them to silence confounds their wisdom. [And goes on] Very many societies we have visited, and are now able to stand. Many honest hearts are among the Waiters—And some that are joined to the Ranters are pretty people. The living power of God was made manifest to the confounding of all and we were carried above ourselves to the astonishment both of ourselves and others: we were made to speak tremblingly among them in dread and much fear.

But he also pleaded that only seasoned Friends should go to London "for there are so many mighty in wisdom to oppose and gainsay, that weak ones will suffer the Truth to be trampled on; and there are so many rude, savage apprentices and young people and Ranters that nothing but the power of the Lord can chain them". He closed with a personal note. "The bearer hastens me and I can now write no more—only my wife's and family's love to all Friends.

Anthony Pearson"<sup>3</sup>

When in London in July, 1654, Pearson had visited Oliver Cromwell, as had others, who, as William Charles

<sup>1</sup> 1653 (Old Style) [March, 1654]. See my "Establishment of a Monthly Meeting in Durham (1654) and a Note on Anthony Pearson (d. 1666)" (*Jnl. F.H.S.*, xlviii (1957), pp. 119-22) and references there given. The paper is in Swarthmore MSS. II.17. See also *Jnl. F.H.S.*, xlviii (1957), p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> A. R. Barclay, *Letters &c. of early Friends*, pp. 11-14, Anthony Pearson to George Fox.

<sup>3</sup> In August, 1654, Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill write to Margaret Fell from London: "We receive letters every week from the prisoners at Chester: the work goes on gloriously in that county, there is precious seed and Anthony Pearson writes to us of the like in the county of Bishoprick. It is even our reward to hear that the Lord is raising that up in power which was sown in weakness, to the Lord of glory, be glory for evermore." (Barclay, *Letters*, 1841, p. 17.)

Braithwaite says,<sup>1</sup> "considering his press of anxieties, we feel that he treated these self-invited guests with a consideration which showed that he recognized their sincerity, and the value of the truth for which they stood, even when he did not find himself willing to obey their exhortations".

After many delays Pearson won entrance and found Oliver Cromwell walking on the leads of the roof of his house. He came into a gallery, and when he came to Pearson "put off his hat and very kindly asked how I did", recounts Pearson in a letter to George Fox, 18th July. Pearson "waited a pretty while, my eyes being fixed on his which put him in a maze—then the Lord opened my mouth and I declared to him that I was moved of the Lord to come to him", and then gave an impassioned statement "of the great things ye Lord had done in the north" and "to sett up righteousness in the earth, to throw down all oppressors, and I showed him that now the controversies should be no more between man and man in wars and fightings without ye seed was redeemed out of all earthly things and that nature whence wars arise". Eventually Cromwell's wife and twenty ladies joined Cromwell and at least thirty young fellows—his sons and attendants—and Pearson was dismissed after Cromwell had insisted that the "inner light" was a natural light and when followed led astray like the Ranters.<sup>2</sup>

Again in London in November, however, in a second interview, Pearson had success in winning a discharge for Thomas Aldam who was in prison in York, Cromwell signing the orders with his own hand, "very ready to do it and standing with his hat off and it was much noised abroad", Pearson told Margaret Fell.<sup>3</sup> He mentioned that he hoped to join his wife, after delivering the discharge in York for Aldam, and together go to see Fox at Balby the following week.

In the following spring Benson, Pearson and Aldam saw Cromwell on behalf of imprisoned Friends and spoke to him on many things; they found him "very moderate" and he promised to read the papers which they had prepared.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Braithwaite, *Beginnings*, p. 435.

<sup>2</sup> Anthony Pearson to George Fox, 18th July, 1654; Swarthmore MSS. III. 34.

<sup>3</sup> Letter 28th Nov., 1654; Swarthmore MSS. I. 216; Braithwaite, *Beginnings*, p. 436.

<sup>4</sup> Barclay, *Letters*, 1841, p. 34.



Friends had found Cromwell often sympathetic and mourned his decline in not fulfilling the promise they had first seen in him.

In 1656 came a crisis that tried the band of workers sorely.<sup>1</sup> Nayler had held the ear of great assemblies in London, with influential persons there, Lady D'Arcy and her friends among them,<sup>2</sup> but allowed a group around him to indulge in adulation apparently and a rift grew between the warning voice of Fox and himself till the entry into Bristol in imitation of Christ's entry into Jerusalem. For Nayler it was done as a sign and not as impersonation, but it was completely misunderstood. A sentence in a letter written by Nayler to George Fox hoping to see him at Ramshaw a year or two earlier, at an Easter General Meeting there, seems a forecast: "Dear brother, let me heare from thee—if I may not see thee then—and cease not to pray ye Father for me that I may be found in His will and not my own."<sup>3</sup>

Parliament had him brought before a Committee of the House. Major-General Lambert, who had known Nayler as a trustworthy quartermaster in the army, among several, spoke in favour of him and of the individual experience, known among Friends, of the light of Christ in the heart, but others were shocked and not to be convinced.

Pearson wrote on 18th November, 1656,<sup>4</sup> on the trial, which he attended daily, and said the whole assembly, except some violent men of the Committee, was strangely astonished and satisfied with Nayler's answers, summed up in these words by Pearson:

For any worship or honour he denies that any was due to James Nayler. But if any was moved to give such things to the appearance of God in him, as to a sign of Christ's second coming and being revealed in his Saints, the great mystery that hath been hid from ages, he did not judge them for it,

and Pearson added that the testimony given by Nayler "was the highest that had been made since the days of Christ".

<sup>1</sup> Braithwaite, *Beginnings*, pp. 241 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Barclay, *Letters*, 1841, p. 38; Braithwaite, *Beginnings*, p. 242, note 5.

<sup>3</sup> Swarthmore MSS. III. 70; G. F. Nuttall, *Early Quaker Letters*, 1952, letter 56 refers to the Easter meeting.

<sup>4</sup> Swarthmore MSS. III. 78; Braithwaite, *Beginnings*, pp. 256 ff. Earlier in 1656 Anthony Pearson had been one of those who took part in a great meeting at Preston, Lancashire, where ministers accused Friends, but were "vanquished", and the Major-General presiding was kind to them. (Braithwaite, *Beginnings*, p. 448.)

We can imagine Pearson's feelings, having so often worked with him, after his conviction through his witness, though, with other Friends, Pearson disapproved of the outward things which had been acted by Nayler, but was tender towards him himself. The effect of Nayler's conduct, however, spread not only over England, but over Europe. Accounts were published in several languages, and from Pearson's own words later it is clear that his withdrawal and disillusion began at this time. Others in the north were affected, and the damage to Quakerism generally was too great to be calculated.

At this time, together with Thomas Aldam, Anthony Pearson visited many of the prisons to gather details of the causes of Friends' imprisonment, often for non-payment of tithe, and his *Great Case of Tythes* was published in 1657 and went through three editions quickly in two years.<sup>1</sup>

The question of tithes was not merely a Quaker "concern"—it had troubled many generations as an unjust imposition, being applied for the maintenance of Church and clergy where originally it was for the support of the poor, and to many represented a remnant of the power of Rome. In his introduction Pearson addressed "the Countrymen, Farmers and Husbandmen of England".

It is for your sakes that this small Treatise is sent abroad that in a matter where you are concerned, you might be truly informed and for more than two years last past I have made much enquiry into it.

The title-page to the first edition has, "By a Countryman, A.P.", the second edition "By Anthony Pearson". In the eighteenth century the title appeared (1730) as "The Great Case of Tithes/Truly stated clearly open'd and fully Resolved/By Anthony Pearson formerly a Justice of the Peace in Westmorland."

The 1730 edition has an appendix which quotes from a paper by Thomas Ellwood, including the latter's use of Milton's essay on the subject, and also some account of Pearson's conviction at "a Quaker's trial" before him at the assizes at Appleby. The volume closes with a description of Friends' testimonies and principles. The clear presentation and orderly development of the theme in this work, supported

<sup>1</sup> These and subsequent editions are listed in Joseph Smith, *Descriptive catalogue of Friends' books* (1867), II, 275-6.

by legal knowledge, made Anthony Pearson's work the standard book on tithes for Friends for two hundred years. The last edition appeared in 1850. Anthony Pearson gave Friends a lasting benefit.

Parliament had debated the question and even proposed abolition of tithes, but could not find a suitable method of maintenance for ministers. In the last year of the "Interregnum" again it came up. Friends at once seized the opportunity and organized a petition. Between the 29th May and 27th June in 1659, 15,000 signatures were collected—not all Friends—when it was presented by Gervase Benson, Anthony Pearson, Thomas Aldam and others who had come up to London, and read in Parliament.<sup>1</sup> A supplemental paper presented from women Friends on the 20th July bore 7,000 additional names.

Anthony Pearson succeeded in arranging the visits of George Fox to Sir Henry Vane at Raby Castle (about five miles from Ramshaw Hall; *Cambridge Journal*, I, 312-14) and to Alderman Ledgard in Newcastle. During the rising of Sir George Booth in 1659 Anthony Pearson was commissioner for the militia in County Durham, and was prepared to aid in keeping the peace, even laying in weapons to that end before Lambert's troops overcame the rebels.

By the death of Judge Thomas Fell in 1658 there was loss of protection at Ulverston and Swarthmoor and to the Society. Judge Fell's service in sheltering the movement, in allowing meetings at the Hall, and his family's support, with constant guests, cannot be measured. In his work as Judge of Assize of the Chester and North Wales circuit, Vice-Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Attorney for the County Palatine of Lancaster, and member of Parliament, he took an independent line. He allowed Fox to defend himself in his trial at Lancaster in the face of his prejudiced accusers. The closeness of Anthony Pearson's contacts with the household at Swarthmoor is revealed by the testamentary dispositions made by Thomas Fell before his death in 1658. In his will two executors, non-Friends, are appointed who could take the required oaths for probate, but as trustees to see the will was properly administered he says,

Braithwaite, *Beginnings*, pp. 458 ff.

I desire my very true friends, Anthony Pearson of Ramshaw in the county of Durham gentleman, and Jarvis Benson of Heaygarth in the county of York gentleman to endeavour what in them lies to see this my last will and Testament truly performed by my executors.<sup>1</sup>

One of the gifts of Anthony Pearson clearly lay in organization and he took a leading part in framing that of the Society from the first Monthly Meeting in 1654 to arrange for maintenance of those in need or in prison by subscriptions to a treasurer. His paper proposing this, signed by Durham Friends, is well expressed as always.<sup>2</sup> General meetings for the northern counties held at Scalehouse and Skipton arranged for funds for a larger area and the care of travelling ministers, often overseas, from 1656 onwards following the Meeting of Elders at Balby when the first set of advices was framed with the postscript we know so well:

These things we do not lay upon you as a rule or form to walk by, but that all with the measure of light which is pure and holy may be guided, and so in the light walking and abiding these may be fulfilled in the Spirit, not from the letter, for the letter killeth but the Spirit giveth life.<sup>3</sup>

In 1657 Fox's Journal has the entry:

Also this year there was established and ordered for general collections to be for the service of Truth and Friends that travelled beyond seas, *through all the nation*, which charge had lain mostly upon the northern counties before this time, which was established about the third month [May] 1657.<sup>4</sup>

The plan had been discussed at Swarthmoor with Margaret Fell, Anthony Pearson, Gervase Benson, Robert Widders and some others, and at a meeting at Drawell, of Francis Howgill and John Blaykling, the two Kendal treasurers Taylor and Willan and three Friends from Durham, Pearson, John Longstaff and Anthony Hodgson, a letter was prepared to go to every county in the nation signed by Aldam, Widders, Benson and Pearson. It asked for a general collection for the expenses of service beyond seas to be sent up to London. Howgill helped Pearson to nominate Friends for the several counties of England and Wales, and

<sup>1</sup> I. Ross, *Margaret Fell*, 1949, pp. 121, 398-400; M. Webb, *The Fells of Swarthmoor Hall*, 1867, pp. 141-144.

<sup>2</sup> Swarthmore MSS. II. 17; see p. xx, note xx.

<sup>3</sup> The Balby Advices; see Braithwaite, *Beginnings*, p. 311.

<sup>4</sup> Braithwaite, *Beginnings*, p. 321; *Cambridge Journal*, ii, 337.

Pearson undertook to send ten copies of the letter, with an accompanying note of directions to the ten Friends nominated for the southern counties.<sup>1</sup>

Durham Friends prepared the business for the autumn meeting also in October, 1659, and sent a paper, presumably drawn up by Pearson, who acted as clerk, a document of great importance.<sup>2</sup> It suggests particular meetings, county meetings, and general meetings two or three times a year and "we wish the like may be settled in all parts, and *one General Meeting of England*". Each particular meeting to care for its own poor, to help parents in the education of their children "that there may not be a beggar amongst us", monthly meetings to supply needs of Friends in the ministry among them and relieve Friends in prison, making collections. As in the case of monthly meeting treasurers, two persons at least in all trusts about money to be appointed and render full accounts. The letter concludes that if an agreement can be reached on these matters—which have taken up time at previous General Meetings—"Friends will see greater things before" them "which more chiefly concern the state of the Church and will be greater service to the Truth."<sup>3</sup>

When the General Meeting met at Skipton four days later (5th October) the letter was "by all Friends owned approved and agreed, to be observed, and copies therof to be sent to all Monthly Meetings". Several Friends sign the endorsement of approval and add:

As to the particular which concerns a meeting of some Friends from all the General Meetings of England, it is desired that Anthony Pearson do forthwith write up to George Fox, Edward Burrough, and other Friends at London, and lay it before them, and if they see it fit, and appoint time and place for it, we do in our names, and as from the body of Friends of the Northern parts desire that Gervase Benson, Anthony Pearson, Thomas Aldam [and five other Friends named] attend.<sup>4</sup>

This shows a General Meeting for the whole country was now being proposed for the first time. Fox, Burrough and Friends of London must have fallen in with this proposal,

<sup>1</sup> Braithwaite, *Beginnings*, p. 322, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> A. R. Barclay, *Letters*, 1841, pp. 288-292; Braithwaite, *Beginnings*, pp. 328 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Braithwaite, *Beginnings*, p. 331.

<sup>4</sup> Braithwaite, *Beginnings*, pp. 331-332.

for the representative meeting was held at Skipton, 25th April, 1660.

William Charles Braithwaite, whose skill has given us this résumé of the formation of our business meetings as we know them, speaks of this as a fine piece of service to the Quaker community on the part of Anthony Pearson,<sup>1</sup> and that the organization of Friends in other places was naturally guided largely by the example of the strong churches in the north.<sup>2</sup>

Friends had also sent up lists of those they thought suitable for Justices in 1659, describing those already acting as "Friends that are in a capacitie to be in Commission for the Peace" or "Moderate" men or "Persecutors", and George Taylor of Kendal writes to Gerrard Roberts in London:<sup>3</sup>

In answer to yours of the 17th instant which was considered of by several Friends in these two counties and the north part of Lancashire, they have ordered me to returne you the names of those hereunder written:—

In the countie of Westmorland

Friends—John Fallowfield, John Morland, Edward Burrowe, Henery Warde besides two that was put out of Commission for the Peace for Conscience sake which we desire may be in Commission for our countie again viz Gervase Benson and Anthony Pearson.

Pearson's name appears again in the Cumberland list of Friends, and amongst the "moderate" men here is Thomas Lamplugh of Ribton Hall, Cumberland, father-in-law of Anthony Pearson. It is interesting that in *First Publishers of Truth* under Broughton, Cumberland (near Cockermouth), James Lancaster and Robert Widders came in 1653, "and they went to Ribton Hall".<sup>4</sup>

But it was noted by Friends that Pearson was becoming "politically minded", and Margaret Fell wrote to him.<sup>5</sup> He had kept contact with Hesilrige's affairs in Durham county and knew Sir William Darcy, living quite near him at Witton Castle, who was usually severe against Quakers. A letter (printed in *Swarthmore papers in America*) from George Fox to Anthony Pearson similarly asks him to remember early days.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 463.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 339.

<sup>3</sup> *Extracts from State Papers*, p. III.

<sup>4</sup> *First Publishers of Truth*, p. 45.

<sup>5</sup> Friends House Library, Spence MSS. III. 52-53.

<sup>6</sup> *Swarthmore documents in America* (ed. H. J. Cadbury), 1940, No. xv, p. 41.

The other side of this letter is one from James Nayler to G. Fox.<sup>1</sup>

Anthony Pearson is reported as attending a meeting in Cumberland in January, 1660, by Stephen Hubbersty writing to Margaret Fell.<sup>2</sup> He says,

I was glad to see him and friends is glad to see him come amongst them. And this I know is the desire of thy heart that Friends be kept in good order and in ye wisdom of God which they are generally in these parts, and all these things which is without doth not move, but they are kept well and quiet.

This may have been on Pearson's return from accompanying Justices and Judges from the Carlisle Assizes to Lancaster Assizes, following on Booth's rebellion, as they asked his protection and he went on to make preparations in Lancaster.<sup>3</sup>

In the disturbed months of 1660 he seems to have withdrawn finally from Quaker affairs. After the Restoration in May, 1660, Hesilrige and Vane were imprisoned, and Anthony Pearson, having worked with them under the Commonwealth, was also under suspicion. He was examined by Sir Edward Nicholas, principal Secretary of State, at Whitehall, December, 1661, and it is his account there of his life which gives us the details, otherwise lacking, and to be seen in *Extracts from State Papers*, of his official life.<sup>4</sup> He cleared himself of any enmity towards the king, spoke of kindness shown to ejected ministers and their families, and pleaded 'Being ignorant of ye doctrine and decency of Ecclesiastical Government when young' [which may mean that in Lancashire he was under Presbyterian influence, strong there], he 'joined with zeal into opinions of religion which I then took to be ye most honest and harmless'. He proceeded to disassociate himself strongly from these, however, and gave assurance of his allegiance. He received a certificate from Sir E. Nicholas (16th January, 1662) and returned north.

This must have been a period of melancholy for him, with the loss of his patron and friend and the sudden reversal of events. With the appointment of John Cosin as Bishop in 1660, County Durham had again become rightly known as Bishoprick. In March, 1663/4, Pearson was made Under

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, No. xiv, p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> Swarthmore MSS. I. 146; 23rd Jan., 1660.

<sup>3</sup> *Extracts from State Papers*, p. 141.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 137-141.

Sheriff by Bishop Cosin, to continue the official life he was accustomed to. There is an interesting tradition, originally given by James Wilson,<sup>1</sup> a minister of the early part of the eighteenth century, that on a case of persecution arising in the diocese of Durham a deputation of Friends waited on the Bishop to lay it before him. On retiring Anthony Pearson accompanied them to the Palace Gate and parted from them in tears. "It is evident he was no morose, vituperating Seceder" says the recorder of this incident; and there is no accusation against Pearson in Friends' letters or papers, and his *Great Case of Tithes* continued to be reprinted.

It is clear that Pearson's ready pen and influence were missed, as was his genius in promoting progress in the affairs of the Society. His early death at under 40 in 1666 was reported in the *London Gazette* and in Cosin's correspondence,<sup>2</sup> on 23rd January. He was buried by the Register of St. Mary the Less, Durham, on 24th January, 1666, the entry of which I have seen—the cause not given, but plague had been in the county that year and such speedy interment suggests this.<sup>3</sup>

Though his family as well as himself were said to have received "Episcopal confirmation" his widow evidently retained contact with Friends and was married as second wife to James Hall of Monk Hesleden near Durham in 1673.<sup>4</sup>

In leaving Anthony Pearson may we remember his work for the Society, his hospitality, time and money given freely in much travelling, and evidently with much affection for Fox and others, even though, probably due to sorrow and anxiety, he finally returned to the Church of his childhood and its work.

As we look through the changing pattern of these early

<sup>1</sup> James Wilson (1677-1769) lived near Brigflatts and it was in his home that Dr. John Fothergill and his brother Samuel lived while going daily to Sedbergh School. He could have had this account from Grace (Pearson) Hall's daughter, Grace Chambers of Kendal. See *The Friend*, i.xi.1860.

<sup>2</sup> See the note by Norman Penney in *Cambridge Journal*, i. 470, with reference to the Surtees Society, volmue lv.

<sup>3</sup> *Journal F.H.S.*, xlvi (1957), 122.

<sup>4</sup> The entry in our registers names her as "Grace Pearson, widow of Anthony, late of Ramshaw". Their daughter, Grace Hall, married Robert Chambers of Kendal. She travelled in the ministry both here and in the colonies. The Testimony of Kendal Friends also says she had "considerable skill in surgery" and in "administering relief in many disorders", an unusual attribute. She lived well into the eighteenth century, dying in 1762 aged 85, after a full life of Quaker service. See *Jnl. F.H.S.*, vii (1910), 182-3; xlvi (1957), 122.



years three hundred years later, the ebb and flow of personalities and circumstance, we may echo some words of the historian, Dr. Thomas Hodgkin, in his still longer view:<sup>1</sup>

“Lord of the ages! Thine  
Is the far-traced design  
That blends Earth’s mighty Past with her To-Be.  
Slowly the web unrolls,  
And only wisest souls  
Some curves of Thine enwoven cipher see;  
Power fades and glory wanes  
But the Unseen remains—  
Thither draw Thou our hearts  
And let them rest in Thee.”

AMY E. WALLIS

<sup>1</sup> Louise Creighton, *Life and letters of Thomas Hodgkin*, 1917, p. 432, Appendix III—Ode 1887.

## George Fox's 1662 Appeal for Money

### I

QUITE early in the history of the Society of Friends there arose a need for a common fund to meet the requirements of travelling Friends, so that there soon developed a collection at Kendal "for the service of truth." Margaret Fell, "a tender nursing mother unto many," played such an important part in the establishment and development of this Kendal Fund that its accounts were submitted to her by George Taylor and Thomas Willan in 1654, 1655, 1656, and 1657.<sup>1</sup> The earliest contributions appear to have come from Margaret Fell and the Westmorland Seekers. At the end of 1654, however, an appeal was made to Friends in North Lancashire and Cumberland. Before long gifts were also being received from Yorkshire and Durham.<sup>2</sup>

In the earliest days of this fund for the service of truth appeals for contributions went out from Margaret Fell or the two Kendal treasurers, Taylor and Willan.<sup>3</sup> Durham Friends, having likewise developed a similar "stock" quite early, supported some travelling Friends (especially in Scotland), and also made gifts to the Kendal Fund in 1655 and 1656.<sup>4</sup> London Friends about the same time established a meeting of men Friends, held fortnightly or monthly, to deal with the physical needs of the poor, sick, weak, or persecuted. This London fund also helped support Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill in their Irish ministry.<sup>5</sup>

By 1657, with the great expansion of Quakerism in England, Scotland, Ireland, continental Europe, and even the American Colonies, it had become clear that the backing of the whole of Quakerism would be needed for the support of the ever-expanding service of truth. George Fox and others took this necessary step in 1657, as Fox records in his *Journal*,

<sup>1</sup> William C. Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, 1923, p. 135. See also Henry J. Cadbury, "History in Cash Accounts," *Bulletin of Friends Historical Association*, L (1961), 49.

<sup>2</sup> Braithwaite, *op. cit.*, pp. 136, 317.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 317-20.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 319-20.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 320.

there was established and ordered for general collections to be for the service of Truth and Friends that travelled beyond seas, through all the nation, which charge had lain mostly upon the Northern Counties before this time.<sup>1</sup>

Response was immediate with receipts of £443 3s. 5d. and expenditure of £490 12s. 5d. in 1657-8.<sup>2</sup>

At the 1658 General Meeting held at Scalehouse near Skipton there was issued a call for a second collection, seeking:

in the Lord's name and power, to move and stir up the hearts of Friends in these counties, whom God hath called and gathered out of the world, with one consent freely and liberally to offer up unto God of their earthly substance, according as God hath blessed every one, to be speedily sent up to London as a freewill offering for the seed's sake that the hands of those that are beyond the seas in the Lord's work may be strengthened and their bowells refreshed, and others that are moved to go may be encouraged and provided for.<sup>3</sup>

The money thus raised was to be sent to London and entrusted to Amor Stoddart, Gerrard Roberts, John Bolton, Thomas Hart, and Richard Davis who would use it "for the supplies of such as are already gone forth, or such as shall be moved of the Lord to go forth into any other nation, of whose care and faithfulness we are well assured."<sup>4</sup> This appeal was signed by forty Friends, thirty-eight of whom Braithwaite identifies as being from Yorkshire, Durham, Northumberland, Cumberland, Lancashire, Westmorland, Notts, and Derby.<sup>5</sup>

Later general meetings issued other calls for money—with a third collection being authorized by the 1660 General Meeting at Skipton and a fourth by the General Meeting of the Northern Counties held at Kendal in 1661. By this time the appeal for a general collection had become almost an annual development (being omitted only in 1659).<sup>6</sup> It is in the light of these developments that George Fox's undated letter (actually written at the end of 1662 or the beginning of 1663 at the very latest), can best be understood—for it is really the appeal for the fifth general collection.

<sup>1</sup> *Cambridge Journal*, ii, 337, as quoted in Braithwaite, *op. cit.*, p. 321.

<sup>2</sup> Braithwaite, *op. cit.*, p. 324.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 325-6.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 325-6.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 326. None of these forty were signers of the 1662 appeal.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 328, 336-8.

## II

[late 1662]<sup>1</sup>

Deare Freinds

In the Everlasting seed of god, by which all things was made & Created, in which all may feele every ones Condition as their owne, and now as y<sup>e</sup> Lord god of heaven & Earth, who by his mighty power & hands is spreading his truth over all y<sup>e</sup> Earth, to y<sup>e</sup> exalting his kingdome & his name. And this Island being as a family of prophets & traineing up by y<sup>e</sup> virtue of y<sup>e</sup> god of life, to goe forth into other barren Nations, & wildernesses beyond the seas, where some are cast into prison, by y<sup>e</sup> hard hea[r]ted darke powers of the Earth, As two lyes in prison about Hungaria, goeing towards the Turkes Campe to declare y<sup>e</sup> message of truth to him, & two woemen have long layne in Malta, & are lately come forth, who have left a sweet savour behinde them, and given a good report to truth, whome the Lord hath brought backe safe And alsoe a shipp y<sup>t</sup> freinds of necessity was faine to hire in the beginning of last winter was a twelve moneth, to Carry the kings letter, in behalf of our poore freinds, that lay in prison in New-England, about 40 then lyeing in prison, & some of them had bin banished on paine of death, & were returned back againe after banishment, & being in prison the generall Court at Boston drew neare, who had murthered foure of our deare freinds before, & knowing their bloody mindes wee were necessitated to hire a Shipp on purpose, the hire of which came to 140£, who ventured their lives (goeing soe neare winter) for their lives, & that brought the truth over them all, through which freinds have their liberty, & it hath not bin soe bad since, & besides freinds are under great sufferings y<sup>t</sup> way, where truth is but young, And George Wilson is lately dead in Irons in a prison in Virginia, & though some are bad yet truth prospers & spreads, & hath a good report, even among y<sup>e</sup> very heathen, & freinds are dayly goeing over, & there is 240£ & upwards paid out, more then what hath bin received. And therefore it is thought fitt, y<sup>t</sup> a generall manifestation of yo<sup>r</sup> loves, might be manifested by way of a Collection in every County, & sent up to Gerrard Roberts, Amor Stoddartt, John Bolton, or Thomas Coveny. And you may shew this at every mens meeteing y<sup>t</sup> is appointed

<sup>1</sup> This estimated date seems most probable.

for such services, & alsoe to every perticuler meeteing in Every County, & Consider y<sup>e</sup> thing with Care and speed, & send up the thing together, and not by peeces with speed, as every one as he is moved freely of the Lord god, for outward things is the least love, for many friends are moved of y<sup>e</sup> lord to passe beyound sea who have not much of y<sup>e</sup> outward, & this is only for such, for they that have of their owne, they can spend it no wayes better then in y<sup>e</sup> service of y<sup>e</sup> lord: Soe this is y<sup>e</sup> intent, that nothing may be lacking, then all is well, & all is preserved low, as a family in y<sup>e</sup> order of y<sup>e</sup> everlasting life, w<sup>ch</sup> was w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> father before y<sup>e</sup> world began.

G.F.

“And whereas there have bin severall Collections formerly concerning this service, all being disbursed upon y<sup>e</sup> same account before mentioned, as by o[u]r accounts may appeare to any who desire to see them: Soe our desire is that you minde the thing, it being of so publique concernment to y<sup>e</sup> general good of spreading y<sup>e</sup> trueth, & y<sup>e</sup> supply of friends who are moved thereunto.

“This is from London where friends had a meeting where was many of the ministers of y<sup>e</sup> everlasting trueth & gosple of god.”

Francis Howgill	Thomas Briggs
Samuel Fisher	Thomas Thurston
George Whitehead	Adam Gouldney
Joseph Fuce	Josiah Coale
John Moone	Joseph Coale

### III

This undated appeal, found in Friends House Library, Portfolio 24, item 27, appears to have been written at the very end of 1662. John Philly and William Moore, who had been in Germany at the beginning of 1662, were the two Friends drawn to Hungary to visit the Hortesche Brethren (a type of Baptists who held their property in common, lived together in “families” of several hundreds, and refused to fight or swear). Their imprisonment began shortly after their arrival in Hungary early in 1662 and lasted until 4th

of 7th month, 1663 for Moore and 6th of 7th month, 1663 for Philly.<sup>1</sup>

The two women who were imprisoned in Malta were Katherine Evans, wife of John Evans of English Batch near Bath, and Sarah Cheevers, wife of Henry Cheevers of Slaughtford in Wiltshire. These two women were on their way to Alexandria and Jerusalem when they stopped in Malta in 1659. They were imprisoned there by the forces of the Inquisition and remained prisoners for about three and a half years, finally reaching home toward the end of 1662.<sup>2</sup>

The ship that Friends were "faine to hire in the beginning of last winter was a twelve month" belonged to the Quaker captain Ralph Goldsmith. The King's order, putting an end to the hanging of Quakers in New England, was dated 9th September 1661. Goldsmith's ship, carrying Samuel Shattuck as the King's messenger with the King's missive, left within ten days and arrived in New England six weeks later—at the end of October or early November.<sup>3</sup> The time of the year, with its added danger for sailing, raised the price more than such a trip would ordinarily have cost. Yet, it should be noted that this 1662 appeal gives *a much lower cost* than is usually recorded. Jones, basing his figure on Besse's account, lists the fee at £300. The 1662 appeal, however, says that the amount was £140.

George Wilson had laboured in New England, Maryland, and Virginia, in 1660. After being banished from Virginia in 1660, he returned, via Barbados, to that colony once again in late 1660 or early 1661. This return journey to Virginia brought about his imprisonment in Jamestown. Wilson has left behind him a fascinating little manuscript written in minuscule script (nine lines to the inch) in which he described his prison experiences. On the 20th of 9th month, 1661, Wilson noted that he was writing from "James City

<sup>1</sup> Joseph Besse, *Collection of the Sufferings of the People Called Quakers*, 1753, ii, 420-32; "A Narrative of the Sufferings of John Philly and William Moore in Hungary and Austria" in William Evans and Thomas Evans [eds.], *The Friends Library* (Philadelphia, 1840), iv, 469-79; Braithwaite, *op. cit.*, 415.

<sup>2</sup> Besse, *op. cit.*, ii, 399-420; Braithwaite, *op. cit.*, pp. 428-32.

<sup>3</sup> Besse, *op. cit.*, ii, 225-6; Rufus M. Jones, *The Quakers in the American Colonies*, 1923, pp. 92-102. Concerning the hanging of Mary Dyer, Marmaduke Stephenson, William Robinson, and William Leddra, see James Bowden, *The History of the Society of Friends in America*, 1850, i, 173-203 211-18.

soe called where I am a prisoner and was chained to an Indian, which is in prison for murder; we had our legs on one boolt made fast to a post with an ox chaine, but [I am] not now though in Irons.<sup>1</sup> Wilson died in 1662 as a result of "the heavy irons with which he was fettered irritating his flesh."<sup>2</sup>

The four Friends in London, to whom the 1662 collection was to be sent, include three who had been entrusted with the second collection (1658).<sup>3</sup> Amor Stoddart (d. 1670) first met George Fox in 1647 and was his travelling companion in 1655 and 1656. After that Stoddart appears to have settled in London and suffered imprisonment in Newgate.<sup>4</sup> Gerrard Roberts (1621?–1703) was long active in the financial affairs of the Society of Friends, so that he became the leading London Friend in all matters of business. He was one of the original members of the Six Weeks Meetings, established in 1671 "to weigh & Consider of such affaires relating to Truth & y<sup>e</sup> service thereof as might not be judged fitt to be publickly discoursed of at the ffortnights Meeting."<sup>5</sup> John Bolton, the third of those entrusted with the 1658 collection and now named in this 1662 appeal, also became a "charter" member of the Six Weeks Meeting. A short note in one of the Friends House manuscripts says "John Boulton, a goldsmith, was convinced about [16]54 & a faithfull man & minister for y<sup>e</sup> L<sup>d</sup> & went through great suffering both in Olivars days & since y<sup>e</sup> King came in & finished his testimony (having kept it to y<sup>e</sup> end) in London about 1680."<sup>6</sup>

To these three, who along with others had been managing the general collections for several years, was now added another Friend—Thomas Coveny. Coveny (d. 1670) was one of the three authors of *Some Grounds and Reasons Drawn from the Law of God and this Nation, to Manifest the Unlaw-*

<sup>1</sup> Manuscript journal of George Wilson, Friends House Library, London.

<sup>2</sup> Besse, *op. cit.*, ii, 381. Wilson here describes the terrible conditions in the "nasty stinking prison" and "dirty dungeon" (where the windows have been sealed up with Brick and Lime") in which he was imprisoned in Jamestown; still more descriptions are in the small manuscript journal.

<sup>3</sup> Braithwaite, *op. cit.*, p. 326.

<sup>4</sup> Dictionary of Quaker Biography, typescript in Friends House Library, London.

<sup>5</sup> Manuscript Minutes of Six Weeks Meeting, I, 2. These are in Friends House Library, London.

<sup>6</sup> Manuscripts, Portfolio 17, item 7, Friends House Library, London.

*fulnesse of the Practice of those Magistrates, and others, who commit men to Prison* (London, 1660) and with Gerrard Roberts and others *For the King and both Houses of Parliament* (London, 1661). Coveny, who lived at Newington Green, Middlesex, died of a fall from his horse in 1670 and was buried at Checker Alley.<sup>1</sup> Coveny, Stoddart, and Boulton were all three among the 163 Friends who offered, in 1659, to lie "body for body" for their fellow Friends in prison.<sup>2</sup>

#### IV

Following George Fox's appeal that the collection be speedily made and sent up to London, there appears a short postscript signed by ten influential seventeenth-century Quaker ministers. They mention the "several collections formerly made and state that the accounts of disbursements were available to any who desired to see them. This mention of accounts open for inspection may have been occasioned by the 1656 differences over the Kendal Fund.<sup>3</sup> These ten Friends, writing "from London where friends had a meeting where was many of the ministers of y<sup>e</sup> everlasting truth and gosple of god," then asked all Friends to give serious and prompt attention to this new collection.

One is struck by the names attached to the postscript. Several are among the Quaker "greats," while others now have been largely forgotten. Today the first three are the best known of the lot. Francis Howgill (1618-1669) of Todthorne, near Grayrigg, Westmorland, received a college education in preparation for the Anglican ministry. Dissatisfaction with the Church of England led him first to the Independents and then to the Baptists. Like Thomas Taylor, he ministered to the Seekers before his own conviction by Fox's preaching at Sedbergh Fair in 1652. He began work in London in 1654 and made a deep impression upon many people, speedily rising to a top-rank position among the early Quaker leaders. By the time of the 1662 collection Howgill had become a prolific writer, publishing

<sup>1</sup> London and Middlesex Quarterly Meeting Burial Register.

<sup>2</sup> *A Declaration of the Present Sufferings of above 140 Persons of the people of God (Who are now in Prison) called Quakers*, (London, 1659). pp. 24, 25, 44.

<sup>3</sup> Braithwaite, *op. cit.*, p. 319.



dozens of his works. His ministry and his writing made his name a valuable one to accompany the appeal.<sup>1</sup>

Samuel Fisher (1605–1665), whose signature appears in second place, was the son of John Fisher, “shopkeeper of Northampton.” At one time he possessed the vicarage at Lydd and may possibly have held it up to the time of his conviction in 1655—although there is some suggestion of a Baptist interlude between 1649 and 1655. Fisher travelled widely in France and the South of Europe in 1658, 1659, and 1660. An M.A. from Oxford, he wrote several learned works quite early. All of these were published in 1679 as *The Testimony of Truth Exalted*, a folio volume of 800 pages. Thomas Danson, who in 1659 debated with Fisher (as well as George Whitehead and Richard Hubberthorne) said “this Mr. Fisher . . . was sometime a Minister, and well reputed of for his gifts in this County.” While a prisoner at Southwark, he died of the Plague in 1665.<sup>2</sup>

The third signer, George Whitehead (1636?–1723), was born in Westmorland and raised as a Presbyterian. Whitehead, who later became a schoolmaster, was convinced while still in his teens and became one of the “First Publishers of Truth.” He, too, was a prolific writer—so that Smith uses twenty-five pages to list Whitehead’s works.<sup>3</sup> Whitehead’s life and work easily qualified him as one of the signatories of this letter. The remaining seven signers, however, are much less well-known today than Howgill, Fisher, and Whitehead. Several are barely mentioned in published sources, while no thorough study has been made of any of them.<sup>4</sup>

Joseph Fuce (d. 1669), convinced about 1654, was sentenced to be shipped to Jamaica in 1655 but was not actually banished. In 1660 Fuce was committed to Dover Castle,

<sup>1</sup> Smith, *Descriptive catalogue of Friends' books*, i, 987–97; E. E. Taylor, *The Valiant Sixty*, 1951, pp. 72–89; Braithwaite, *op. cit.*, pp. 87–8, 157–62, and *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> Smith, *op. cit.*, i, 613; Besse, *op. cit.*, i, 289, 432, 691, 693, and ii, 395; Thomas Danson, *The Quakers Folly Made Manifest to All Men* (London, 1659), pp. 9, 11, 12–13, 52.

<sup>3</sup> Braithwaite, *op. cit.*, pp. 138, 162–4, 187–8, 359–60; Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 41; Smith, *op. cit.*, ii, 884–908. Whitehead moved to London about 1670. He was extremely successful in pleading the cause of his fellow Quakers—appearing before Charles II, James II, William III, Anne, George I, and George, Prince of Wales.

<sup>4</sup> This writer is at present engaged upon study of the lives of Josiah Coale and Thomas Thurston.

where he was very cruelly treated. Two of his works published in London during 1659 were *A Visitation by way of Declaration unto the Manifestation of the Spirit in you Rulers and Heads of Nations*, and *The Fall of a Great Visible Idol*. Fuce, like Fisher and Whitehead, was also questioned by Thomas Danson in 1659. Joseph Fuce died while imprisoned in White Lion prison in Southwark where he had been taken from his home in Kensington. Besse gives the date of his death as 1665, but the Burial Register of Surrey and Sussex Quarterly Meeting places it in 1669.<sup>1</sup>

John Moone was one of the first to proclaim Quakerism in Dorset, and with Joseph Coale (another signer of this Appeal) he travelled in Ireland in 1659. In 1657 and 1658 Moone produced several publications including *The True Light Hath Made Manifest Darkness [etc.]* and *The Revelation of Jesus Christ Unto John Moone, in the Fourth Month, 1658*. Moone was one of the twenty-six Friends who signed a document dealing with the 1660 persecution of Friends in Cambridge. In 1666 John Moone married Sarah Snead at Bristol, and both of them were witnesses at the marriage of George Fox and Margaret Fell. Finally, with their children the Moones removed to Pennsylvania where John served as a Justice of the Peace.<sup>2</sup>

Thomas Briggs (1610?–1685) was an early “messenger” in Cumberland and Lancashire in 1653, travelled in Gloucestershire in 1655–1656, and was active in Dorset and Somerset in 1656. At least three different missionary journeys were made by Briggs into Ireland. He was one of George Fox’s companions in his great trip to the American colonies in 1671–73. No work of his is recorded in print before the time of this 1662 appeal, so that it was his reputation as a travelling Friend in the ministry and as one who had suffered

<sup>1</sup> Smith, *op. cit.*, i, 824; Besse, *op. cit.*, i, 291–2, 708; Thomas Danson, *The Quakers Wisdom descendeth not from Above*, 1659, appendix.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, v, 36; ix, 101, 104; x, 104; Smith, *op. cit.*, ii, 182; *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, xviii (1894), 421–2; Francis Bugg, *The Pilgrims Progress From Quakerism to Christianity*, 1698, p. 138. Smith, *op. cit.*, ii, 182, has mistakenly connected this John Moone with Carhouse near Garstang. The John Moone of Carhouse married Margaret Harrison at Lancaster in 1665 and continued to live at Carhouse near Garstang until his death in 1689. His widow Margaret died in 1693. Our John Moone was in Bristol early, married Sarah Snead there in 1666 and four of their children are listed in the Bristol and Somersetshire Quarterly Meeting Births from 1667 to 1676.

greatly for the Truth which qualified him as a recommender of this collection.<sup>1</sup>

Perhaps the most colourful signer was Thomas Thurston (1622?-93). Thurston was one of the eight English Quakers who in 1656 went to New England in the *Speedwell*. In late 1657 he returned to America with Josiah Coale, and they were imprisoned in Virginia for several months before going on to Maryland in 1658 for further labour and imprisonment. Then they took the back-door route into New England by travelling overland through the wilderness, since no captain would carry them by ship to New England. Thurston, a Gloucestershire man coming from Thornbury, settled in Maryland in 1663 where he long was a disturbing influence in American Quakerism. John Burnyeat attacked him for his Maryland "wickedness" during Burnyeat's visit to America in the summer of 1665. And George Fox, while in Maryland in 1672, sent for Thurston "to bring the truth over his bad actions." Thurston, in spite of several condemnations and acknowledgments, continued to be an embarrassment and source of trouble to Maryland Friends and to the larger Society until his death. Unlike most of the other signers of this Appeal, Thurston was not known as a writer. His place as one of the First Publishers of Truth and his widespread travelling in the ministry recommended his inclusion in this list of those recommending the collection.<sup>2</sup>

Adam Gouldney (d. 1684) remains almost unknown today. He was the father of Henry Gouldney, at whose house George Fox died. In 1678 Adam was one of the witnesses to Thomas Camm's offer to prove the charge he had given against John Wilkinson. A 1682 letter by Gouldney refers to someone reading one of the writings of William Rogers. What little is known about Adam Gouldney shows him to be a champion of Fox and the main body of Friends in the

<sup>1</sup> Smith, *op. cit.*, i, 318; [Thomas Briggs], *An Account of Some of the Travels and Sufferings of that Faithful Servant of the Lord, Thomas Briggs*, 1685, pp. 12-14; Norman Penney, *First Publishers of the Truth*, 1907, pp. 37, 79, 106, 222, 226, 227. Probably Briggs, who became ill in the West Indies, did not go on to Maryland with Fox and his party.

<sup>2</sup> Penney, *The First Publishers of Truth*, p. 109; *The Truth Exalted in the Writings of That Eminent and Faithful Servant of Christ, John Burnyeat*, (1691), pp. 33-4; Bugg, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, p. 139; Kenneth L. Carroll, "Persecution of Quakers in early Maryland, 1658-61", *Quaker History*, LIII (1964), 67-80. This author is working on a detailed study of Thurston's life.

Wilkinson-Story separation. No hint of the nature of his early position of importance has been found, either as a writer (for Smith does not mention him) or as a travelling minister.<sup>1</sup>

Among the more influential signers of this Appeal was Josiah Coale (1633–1669) of Winterbourne in Gloucestershire, who was convinced by John Audland at Bristol in 1654. His long series of imprisonments began in 1656 with a time in Newgate Prison, London. He was likewise imprisoned in Virginia in 1657 and Maryland in 1658, before travelling overland with Thomas Thurston through the swamps and forests of the wilderness to New England where he met still more persecution. Later travels took him to Barbados, Maryland, and Virginia in America and to Holland. His first publication was *An Invitation of Love to the Hungry and Thirsty*, published in London in 1660. Three works, one written in New England and one in Barbados, were published in 1662.<sup>2</sup>

The final Friend who signed this request for funds was Joseph Coale (1636?–1670) whose suffering and imprisonment began as early as 1655, not long after he became the first person convinced in Reading. Shortly after his conviction he bore testimony to the Truth he had then received. Coale's travels led him to Cornwall in 1656; later that same year he was active in Dorset, apparently in the company of George Fox. His first published work was *A Testimony of the Father's Love*, published in London in 1661. His travels outside England seem to have been limited to Ireland where he worked in 1660. Joseph Coale spent the final six years of his life in Reading goal "because he conscientiously refused to swear," dying there 26th April 1670.<sup>3</sup>

KENNETH L. CARROLL

<sup>1</sup> Dictionary of Quaker Biography, Friends House Library, London; *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, ix, 193.

<sup>2</sup> Besse, *op. cit.*, i, 41, 87–88, 165, 577, and ii, 196, 380; *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, i, 18; x, 120–1; xxxiii, 57–8; Smith, *op. cit.* i, 433; and *The Books and Divers Epistles of the Faithful Servant of the Lord, Josiah Coale*, 1671.

<sup>3</sup> *Some Account of the Life, Service, and Suffering, Of an Early Servant and Minister of Christ, Joseph Coale*, 1706, pp. A3, A4, A5, A6, 11–12, 32; *First Publishers of Truth*, pp. 8, 21–2, 24, 27, 79; Smith, *Catalogue*, i, 436.

## Early Friends and Informers

NORMAN PENNEY, writing in 1925, said that a monograph on informers was much to be desired. What follows does not pretend to be such a monograph; that would require a good deal more detailed research, into the records of other nonconformist bodies as well as Friends; but some notes, derived largely from the cases in Besse's *Sufferings*, of the impact of informers upon Friends, may be of interest.

Friends' contact with informers arose largely out of the Second Conventicle Act, which came into force in 1670. The earlier (1664) Conventicle Act, now lapsed, which had imposed considerably severer penalties, including transportation for a third offence, had failed, partly because of the unwillingness of the local magistrates and officers to enforce its stringent provisions. For this new attempt to suppress nonconformity, the legislature, inspired by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Sheldon, devised a quite different method, an attack on the nonconformist's purse rather than his person, and with special measures to prevent the practice of holding meetings for religious worship in private houses. The fines on individual worshippers were comparatively light; but the penalty for harbouring a conventicle was to be £20, perhaps £200 in our money, and the fine on the preacher or teacher was also to be £20, with £40 for a subsequent offence. Fines were recoverable by distraint, and to meet the case of a preacher who was a stranger, and had therefore no goods to be distrained on, the magistrate was empowered to charge one or more members of the congregation with the payment of his fine. To discourage any lukewarmness on the part of the local executive, such as had tended to nullify the earlier legislation, it was provided that constables and similar officers neglecting to carry out their duties were to incur a fine of £5, while in the case of magistrates themselves the fine for neglect was to be £100.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Besse records a number of such fines being imposed or threatened; e.g. for constables, *Sufferings I*, pp. 172, 177, 204; for magistrates, *I*, p. 460; cf. C. E. Whiting, *Studies in English Puritanism 1660-88*, 1931, p. 436.

Moreover, the crucial innovation was made that the magistrate could pass judgment and sentence on receiving the sworn statement of two witnesses, without notice to the parties charged, and that a third of the fines in connection with unlawful meetings was to go to the persons who gave information as to the breach of the law.

#### FRIENDS' OBJECTIONS TO INFORMERS

It was this provision for allowing, and bribing, "beasts of prey"<sup>1</sup> to give ex parte information against them that was a particular outrage to the feelings of Friends. They objected strongly to the character of many of the informers, "soldiers and base persons," "a rambling woman who used to stroll about the country begging and blowing a horn," "beggarly rude informers (some of them confident women)."<sup>2</sup> But they objected also to the whole conception of the informer, and procedure by information, as alien to the principles of English justice. Their knowledge of legal history came mostly from Coke's *Institutes*, a book coloured by its author's stand against arbitrary monarchy; and the particular illustration they took from him in this connection, was the law of Henry VII passed to legalize the proceedings of informers like Empson and Dudley, which was repealed by Henry VIII, as soon as he came to the throne, to ensure his popularity. Modern historians point out that this procedure by information (instead of by indictment) was in use before Henry VII's law, and continued intermittently to be used after its repeal; and undue importance may have been attached by Coke to the episode. It was rightly cited nevertheless in support of the principle, so strenuously maintained by Penn and others, that the power of the Crown and State was not absolute, but was subject to limitations that had long been recognized as fundamental to the laws of England.

It is worth noting, in passing, though Friends soon ceased to be affected by it, that the heyday of the informer was yet to come. In the eighteenth century a very large number of statutes were passed, giving informers, not now a third, but a

<sup>1</sup> "Informers, like beasts of prey, were lurking, creeping and skulking about in many, or most, parts of the nation." (Geo. Whitehead, *Christian Progress*, 1725, p. 500).

<sup>2</sup> Besse I, pp. 105, 356, xliii. Confident = forward, presumptuous, as in *Tom Jones*, IV. xii. Readers of the *Georgics* will remember how the pinioned Proteus addresses Aristaeus as *iuvenum confidentissime*.

half, of the fine, and a modern authority,<sup>1</sup> after quoting some of these, adds the comment:

The incentive of the "moiety of the appointed penalty" was not confined to a few isolated penal statutes selected at random. It formed part of the deliberate and consistent policy of the legislature and pervaded the entire body of the criminal law.

The system, whatever its superficial attraction in enlisting lay co-operation in the work of the police, gave rise to many and notorious abuses, of which two, the giving of perjured evidence, and the practice of modified blackmail whereby offenders were offered immunity by informers on payment of a fee, had already been experienced by Friends.<sup>2</sup>

The whole system, with a few unimportant exceptions, was finally abolished by the Common Informers Act of 1951.

#### WHAT DEFENCES DID FRIENDS POSSESS?

Of these the one appearing to give the greatest measure of protection, the right of appeal to a jury at Quarter Sessions, proved by experience to be largely illusory. There are many records of appeals, but of these few were successful.<sup>3</sup> An account of one appeal is given later in this article. There is another illuminating example in Oliver Sansom's *Life*, which shows some of the appellant's difficulties very clearly.<sup>4</sup>

If the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century practice, under which the same man could not be both heard as a witness and rewarded as an informer, had been generally adopted, the lot of Friends would have been easier. But this was not so; in many cases the magistrate allowed the informer to swear to the facts, and proceeded to pronounce sentence, and authorise distraint, immediately. The first the Friend knew of it was often when the officer arrived to seize his goods.

<sup>1</sup> L. Radzinowicz, *A History of English Criminal Law*, 1956, vol. 2, p. 146.

<sup>2</sup> For a case of proposed "immunity" see Besse I, p. 188. The cases of false information are very frequent.

<sup>3</sup> Though it must be remembered that the cases recorded by Besse do not give a true sample, as he and his sources were naturally mainly concerned with instances of *continued* "suffering."

<sup>4</sup> See Chapter VI. One interesting point emerging from this account is that Friends did not object to evidence being given on oath, by non-Friends, in support of these appeals. No other evidence would of course have been allowed; but Sansom seems to regard it as an additional grievance that "sworn" evidence was rejected!

There was frequently difficulty in obtaining particulars of the information, with a view to an appeal. Before an appeal could be entered, the amount of the fine had normally to be deposited, and this was by no means always recoverable, even should the appeal be successful.<sup>1</sup> When the Quarter Sessions met, the convicting magistrate was usually one of the Bench himself, and obstacles could easily be put in the path of the appellant; the informers could be treated as "king's witnesses," and so pronounced exempt from cross-examination; or the Friend could be required to take the Oath of Allegiance before proceeding.

One method of limiting the hardship of distraint seems to have been used: a Friend who owed money to business creditors would execute a "Deed of Sale" for the benefit of these, so that there should be nothing in his own possession that was available to be distrained on. This procedure, so far as it ensured that creditors should not suffer, was officially commended from London, but there are hints that it was made use of, or goods deposited elsewhere,<sup>2</sup> where no genuine debt existed, and this must have been one of the points on which differing degrees of scruple created tensions between Friends.

#### WERE FRIENDS MORE "STEADFAST" THAN OTHER DISSENTERS?

It is attested by a large number of witnesses, of whom many were otherwise hostile to Quakerism, that whereas Friends, with some exceptions, continued to meet openly, other Nonconformists endeavoured to evade persecution by meeting in secret, in the woods or elsewhere. It is not at first sight clear *why* Friends should have shown this greater steadfastness, except perhaps that they were more inured to suffering, through their experience in tithe and other cases. But another, less apparent, reason may have been that other dissenters were more immediately *vulnerable* than Friends. There was some legal authority for the view that the Second Conventicle Act did not apply to the silent Friends'

<sup>1</sup> See, for two examples, Besse I, pp. 80, 457.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Besse I, pp. 217, 536, 541.



meeting at all.<sup>1</sup> But even if this was wrong, there was not much attraction to an informer in the small fines levied on individual worshippers; the chief prize was the fine of £20 on the preacher, and if there were no preacher, or teacher, this could not be imposed; it was even doubtful whether praying was preaching.<sup>2</sup> There is evidence of considerable uncertainty as to the position<sup>3</sup> and informers may well have decided to concentrate on other conventicles, where the element of preaching or teaching was manifest, and the £20 was certain to be secured. But when these defenceless congregations had gone into hiding, the informers had perforce to be content with what they could get at Quaker meetings, even though they were often frustrated. Besse describes the lengths to which they went, on a number of occasions, to try to ensure that there was a "preacher"; in one case a Friend who had reproved "certain rude boys who threw in a dead dog" was held to be preaching.<sup>4</sup>

#### A DEVONSHIRE CASE

We have a racy account,<sup>5</sup> clearly based on verbatim notes, of an appeal to Quarter Sessions in 1670, in which Counsel appeared on Friends' behalf; in this case he was able to maintain successfully that the same person could not act both as informer and as witness. The meeting was at the home of a widowed Friend, and the appellants admitted that it was a "conventicle," but claimed that there was no evidence of any preaching. It appeared that a number of informers decided after church to make a "raid" on the

<sup>1</sup> See the volume of Opinions at Friends House known as the Book of Cases, vol. I, Thos. Corbett, a Counsel frequently employed by Friends, advised (p. 15) that for a breach of the Act some exercise of religion not according to the liturgy and practice of the Church of England was necessary; and that "till some of the company begins to preach or teach none can say or swear that there was any colour or pretence of exercise of religion." Corbett was in this, as in other matters on which he was consulted, a little too sanguine, as perhaps befitted his Welsh temperament. Another Counsel advised less hopefully (p. 116): "Quakers' silent meetings have been taken to be within the law," *i.e.* caught by it.

<sup>2</sup> George Whitehead at least was still arguing in 1684 at the Guildhall, "preaching, or teaching, is done to men, but prayer and supplication is made to God. Men do not preach to God, nor teach God, but pray to God." (*Christian Progress*, 1725, p. 562).

<sup>3</sup> See, e.g. Besse I, p. 30.

<sup>4</sup> Besse II, p. 26. Friends were also frequently incited to speak, e.g. I, pp. 555, 754.

<sup>5</sup> Besse I, pp. 156-9.

Meeting, but one of the widow's sons, who was in the churchyard, heard what was intended, and ran on ahead to give notice. When the informers arrived, having brought constables with them, they found the company sitting in silence, with no other indication of any "preaching" than the presence, so it was stated, of a Bible on the table, and the fact that one member of the gathering was standing behind it, half concealed by the others. Both these statements were denied.

An interesting interlude was provided by one witness, a blacksmith, who said that he had frequently attended the Meeting in the past, and that there was always preaching at the Sunday gathering; the silent meeting was held on a weekday; he knew this because he had often shod the horses of leading Quakers; he named among others George Fox, a shoemaker, and Margaret Fell. The blacksmith's evidence was received with marked disapproval; he was called "a counterfeit Quaker" and "an impudent fellow," and his statement that Friends concealed their activities was disbelieved, as inconsistent with their reputation for honest dealing. ("They are of a more noble spirit than so.")

When the testimony of another constable had been read, confirming Friends' denials, the Court was in a quandary; the Chairman directed the jury that the evidence on either side was about equal, and it was left to them to decide. They also could not agree for some time, but eventually, "the foreman and some others over-ruling the rest," found against the appellants. This case well illustrates the difficulty of succeeding on such an appeal, even when the rebutting evidence was strong, and the Court reasonably impartial.

#### PROSECUTION OF INFORMERS FOR PERJURY

One possible safeguard against reckless accusations by informers was that if the person informed against could prove he was not in fact present at the Meeting, he might indict the informer for perjury, an offence carrying heavy penalties, as well as social ignominy, in days when the absolute dependability of sworn evidence was thought to lie at the very root of justice. There is some divergence of view as to whether Friends made much use of this weapon. Arnold Lloyd states that "the Meeting for Sufferings financed

and organized the prosecution of informers,"<sup>1</sup> but the Minute he quotes, which authorizes a Friend, Josiah Ellis, to prove perjury if he can, at the Meeting's expense, seems more likely to refer to an appeal by the Friend to Quarter Sessions. There is one famous case of a successful prosecution by a Friend, Thomas Ellwood's indictment of the informers Lacy and Aris; and there are two unsuccessful attempts recorded by Besse, though he does not *say* that the prosecutors were Friends.<sup>2</sup> But George Whitehead states quite positively that informers were "prosecuted by other dissenters, not Quakers," and although, writing many years after the event, he might have overlooked or forgotten a few isolated cases, from different parts of the country, he could hardly have been in error as to the official policy of the Meeting for Sufferings, in which he was a leading member all the time.<sup>3</sup> It seems right then to conclude that Friends on the whole did not make use of this weapon; the procedure was an expensive one,<sup>4</sup> and the prospects of success uncertain; moreover Friends may well have felt that there was an element of vindictiveness in attacking individual offenders, when what was really objected to was the system under which they worked. Later, however, when persecution had ceased, Friends did take a leading part in demonstrating, by massive evidence before the commissioners appointed by James II, the abuses to which the system led, and the many examples of perjured evidence that had been given.

#### CONCLUSION

The Second Conventicle Act bore very hardly on Friends, though its burden varied a good deal from district to district. In London its chief effect at the beginning was to prevent the use of meeting-houses, and informers are said to have

<sup>1</sup> *Quaker Social History*, 1950, p. 95. The Minute is in vol. III, p. 252, of the MS. Meeting for Sufferings Minutes at Friends House.

<sup>2</sup> See Besse I, p. 80 (from Ellwood's *Life*), I, p. 636 (Somerset), p. 724 (Sussex).

<sup>3</sup> Geo. Whitehead, *Christian Progress*, 1725, p. 327. Friends also did not use physical violence against informers, in the way that other nonconformists sometimes did; see C. E. Whiting, *Studies in English Puritanism 1660-88*, 1931, pp. 437 *f*, and the amusing episode of the barricading of a minister's house reproduced in *J.F.H.S. IV*, p. 148.

<sup>4</sup> Arnold Lloyd, *op. cit.*, p. 162, quotes the Minutes of Upperville Monthly Meeting as showing that the Meeting spent the equivalent of over one year's income in the prosecution of Lacy and Aris.

been few for some time, following their unfortunate experience with George Fox.<sup>1</sup> Later however they appeared in London in large numbers. At Colchester no informer dared show his head,<sup>2</sup> and in the whole of Shropshire there was one only; no other of "the sons of Belial . . . would be a partner with him in it."<sup>3</sup> But in other counties sufferings were continual, informers, when Friends in one district were impoverished, moving to another.

One grievous result of the persecution was the occasion it provided for censoriousness between Friends. Loss of property is often harder to bear patiently than loss of liberty; there was some backsliding and evasion, and reprimands from London were not well received. The Wilkinson-Story separation stemmed in part from this feeling of resentment in the provinces. Again, the way in which the penalties were imposed threatened to impair the work of the travelling ministers, from which so much of the strength of early Quakerism had come. For if a meeting held in silence was comparatively inexpensive, even if informed against, while a meeting with a visiting speaker might cost the local Friends £20,<sup>4</sup> it was only in human nature for them to wonder whether the visit was worth it. The original estrangement of that interminable controversialist Francis Bugg of Mildenhall arose from just this grievance, and his contention that if the Morning Meeting chose to send a visiting Friend, it ought to be responsible for the "preacher's fine."

Yet it is possible that, as in other instances, Friends' sufferings worked out in the end to their advantage. Their neighbours, knowing them to be harmless and peaceable Christians, disliked seeing them continually plundered by a disreputable band of informers. An atmosphere slowly gathered which made the novel principle of toleration in religious matters more acceptable and congenial. If so, some good will ultimately have come from what Ellwood called "this unlawful unjust unequal unreasonable and unrighteous law."

ALFRED W. BRAITHWAITE

<sup>1</sup> *Journal*, ed. Nickalls, p. 566.

<sup>2</sup> *First Publishers of Truth*, p. 95.

<sup>3</sup> Besse I, p. 753.

<sup>4</sup> It will be recalled that George Whitehead, arrested for preaching at Norwich, was careful to insist that he had an estate elsewhere, in the hope that this would prevent his fine being levied on Norwich Friends (*Christian Progress*, 1725, p. 381).

## An Exercise in Quaker Ancestor Worship

**A**BOUT fifty years ago, when visiting Friends at Bentham (Yorks.), I was having tea on Sunday afternoon at the house of Benson Ford, and in the course of conversation he asked me if I had any connection with the Robert Davis who was Clerk of London Yearly Meeting in 1781. I have, he said, a folio copy of the Epistle of that year bearing his name as Clerk, and he very kindly presented it to me.

In reply to his question I had to plead ignorance. I knew that among my Irish Quaker forbears there were Grubbs and Shackletons and Russells and Clibborns (collateral), but I was unaware of any direct ancestral connection with English Friends.

My curiosity being aroused, I set to work to find out how anyone bearing my name could ever have been Clerk of London Yearly Meeting! Knowing that my cousin, Isabel Grubb of Carrick-on-Suir, was a recognized authority on the history of Friends in Ireland, as well as on genealogy, I wrote to ask if she could throw light on this mystery, and she drew my attention to an article by William Ball which appeared in *The Friends' monthly magazine*, vol. 2, 1831.

This gives an account of a remarkable, probably unique, incident in the annals of Quaker history. Its title is "Some Account of the Shipwreck of Joseph Sparrow and Edith Lovell, in the year 1782." It occurs to me that a brief summary of this article may be of interest to readers of *Journal F.H.S.*, and so I will venture to re-tell the story in my own words, and shall try to do justice to its main features. What deductions may be drawn from the narrative must be left to the judgment of the reader.

It appears that the said Robert Davis, who lived at Minehead, had a large family, one of whom, Mary by name, became engaged to a young Friend, Joseph Sparrow, of Clonmel, Co. Tipperary. At that time an English Friend, Edith Lovell, residing in Bristol, paid a ministerial visit to Friends in Ireland during the latter part of the year 1781. Having concluded her service in the South, and being about to return home, it was arranged that Joseph Sparrow should accompany her to Bristol and then go on to Minehead to visit

his fiancée. It seems clear that Joseph Sparrow felt a strong desire to accompany Edith Lovell on this journey, and share with her the hazards of the voyage, so much so that, instead of embarking at Waterford, much nearer his own home, he went to Cork, from where Edith Lovell proposed to sail. After various enquiries about sailings they eventually left Cork for Bristol by the Elizabeth Packet on 29.xii.1781. All went well across St. George's Channel, the boat passed Minehead on a beautiful afternoon (though dark clouds threatened a change of weather) and continued smoothly on her way up the Bristol Channel, when a heavy storm broke and she was wrecked on the Culver Sands off the Burnham Strand. This disaster was caused, not by the storm but by the illness and death of the lighthouse-keeper, whose son was so busy attending to his father that he forgot to put fire in the beacon. When the vessel struck on the sands she was soon overwhelmed by rough seas.<sup>1</sup>

At this point we come to the most surprising and baffling part of the story. Passengers were being taken off, on to lifeboats, with all speed, but Edith Lovell stoutly refused to leave the sinking ship! Why? No clue is given and we are left to guess the answer. Did she fear to trust herself to the lifeboat? Did she feel that the boat was already overloaded and she must sacrifice her own life (and that of her companion) in order that others might be saved? Was she acting under a mistaken sense of divine guidance? The answer to these questions will never be known. All we do know is that the stop in her mind proved to be a full stop both for her and her companion who, being a gallant young man, felt it his duty to stay by her side to the end. "I will not leave thee", was his firm resolve.

<sup>1</sup> *The Gentleman's Magazine*, January, 1782 (p. 42), under date December 30th, [1781], has the following entry: "The Elizabeth Packet, Capt. Summister, on her passage from Cork to Bristol, struck on the Culver Sands, near the Steep Holmes, and bulged. In this dreadful situation a young gentleman from Canada and some of the crew got the boat out, into which 13 men and a woman ventured, intreating the Captain and the other passengers to come also, which they refused, chusing rather to abide by the wreck than venture a more immediate death in the boat. About a quarter past 10 at night the boat left the wreck, leaving behind them 24 persons. The boat was . . . thrown on shore near Uphill, about half past six the next morning. It is supposed the poor souls on board the wreck continued in their dismal situation till the flood tide swallowed them up." —ED.

The body of Edith Lovell was never recovered, but that of Joseph Sparrow was washed ashore seven weeks afterwards at the village of Quantoxhead and was immediately buried on the spot.

Naturally news of this event came as a shattering blow to the Davis family, and in particular to Mary, who had lost her future husband. She seems to have borne her loss with serenity and Christian fortitude.

The sequence provides the answer to my question: with many generations of Irish Quaker ancestry on both sides, how did it come to pass that a direct ancestor of mine was Clerk of London Y.M. in 1781? It appears that soon after this sad event, a brother of Mary's went over to Clonmel to visit the bereaved family, and whilst there he fell in love with one of the Sparrow girls, married and settled in the town. Hence it came about that many years later my father, one of his descendants, lived in Clonmel, and was at one time a partner in business with Ernest Grubb (father of Isabel Grubb and brother of Anna Southall of Birmingham). Later, before I was born, the family moved to within a few miles of Limerick and later still, after my father died, to Dublin. The plate which bears the family crest inscribed "Robert Davis, Clonmel" was handed down to me and is a treasured possession.

How unpredictable are the forces that shape our lives and determine our destiny!

ROBERT DAVIS

## A Woolman Attribution Denied

“IT seems improbable that a major Woolman document should still be lying, unknown and unprinted in Friends House Library; yet such appears to be the case.” So wrote Ormerod Greenwood in *Jnl. F.H.S.* xlviii, 1957, p. 147 and he proceeded to edit with appropriate introduction an “Extract of a Letter from John Woolman to Susanna Lightfoot.” It is a long piece of about six printed pages, which is long for even a whole letter of Woolman. It is taken from a copy “Wrote 17th of 4 mo. 1800 at London by J. C. [atchpool]” in Catchpool MSS. II, 305–10, and collated with two of three other known copies which vary only slightly.

Having lately steeped myself in Woolman, I discovered on rereading this that it did not seem to be at all in Woolman’s style. This is, I know, a subjective judgment, but it remains with me. I can only submit it to others who know Woolman well. The editor himself says of this piece “Here, more than anywhere even in the Journal, he [John Woolman] reveals the dark night of the soul which he sometimes knew, in phrases that have none of the careful simplicity of the Journal, but pour out in breathless profusion, the more moving from their formless and impetuous flood.” If there is any doubt of Woolman’s authorship, that doubt should at least be mentioned before the piece is further cited, as is done in Edwin H. Cady’s *John Woolman*, 1965, p. 136 note, as an example in Woolman of the survival of the “chanting” style of the early Quaker rhetoric. It is indeed an attractive piece of eighteenth century Quaker introspective writing. No wonder that the editor accepted its attribution to John Woolman.

At one point at least he was in error as he also later discovered. The piece had been previously published. It appeared in *Letters on Religious Subjects written by divers Friends Deceased Now first published by John Kendall*, London, 1802, Letter XVIII, pp. 49–57. There are several quite minor differences from the MS. and towards the end about twenty lines less in the Kendall publication. But none of the 138 pieces in that printed volume have an addressee’s



or writer's name. Without examination it is natural to assume that the Catchpool MS. copy is the ancestor of the form printed two years later. From a comparison of a note dated 1815 and signed by J. C. "One of his near connections" on page 40 of the *Memoirs of . . . John Kendall*, London, 1815, and the name Joseph Catchpool on the Colchester Monthly Meeting testimony, on p. xiii, I assume that there was a close connection between the two men.

In 1803 John Kendall published in London a second volume of *Letters on Religious Subjects*, as he anticipated in the first. There were seventy four, but this time he indicated the name of the author without exception, or at least the initials, and frequently the addressee. In two cases, letters 25 and 32, they are signed "John Woolman."

In 1805 Volume I was republished in Burlington by David Allinson, and at the end was an index of writers to "most of the foregoing letters," except Nos. 14, 18 to 20 and 123-132. With these exceptions they are assigned to Samuel Fothergill, Dr. John Ritty, Sophia Hume, and Richard Shackleton. All these Friends were contemporaries of John Woolman.

When the two volumes were reprinted as one in Philadelphia in 1831 these names were added as signatures in Volume I, though the second London edition of 1820, which also gave the two volumes in one, followed the practice of 1802 and 1803 for the respective volumes. It will be observed therefore that the alleged letter (Vol. 1, No. 18) of John Woolman to Susanna Lightfoot remained one of relatively few which never acquired in the later printed form the name of author or addressee, not even when reprinted in the American cities where Woolman had been best known. That of course does not argue that he did not write it, as would be confirmed if some other attribution should have been made or should still come to light.

HENRY J. CADBURY

ORMEROD GREENWOOD writes:

The attribution does not depend merely on the Catchpool MS., since there are a number of other MS. copies, one in Friends House MS. Portfolio 31, 88, another (which we collated) in the Proctor commonplace book, and yet another

(uncollated) in the Nicholson MSS. (Liverpool). All of these attribute the letter to Woolman. In addition, it is attributed to Woolman in a contemporary note on the flyleaf of the first edition of Kendall's *Letters on religious subjects* Vol. I, in Friends House library. There was thus considerable evidence for claiming it when it was published. Kendall's first volume contains two other (authentic) Woolman letters.

Yet I now feel that Henry J. Cadbury is right, and that it is probably not Woolman's; the length and style sound wrong, the circumstances are unknown, and all the copies we have seem to depend on one original which may have been in error.

Incidentally, there is an excellent short biography of Susanna Lightfoot (not used in the published note on her) in *A collection of memorials*, Philadelphia, 1787, pp. 400-09; it does not, however, throw any light on the letter or on any connection with Woolman.

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## Historical Research

Historical research for university degrees in the United Kingdom: Theses completed 1965. (Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research. Theses supplement no. 17, May 1966.)

91 The Quaker understanding of the ministerial vocation, with special reference to the eighteenth century. By Mrs. Lucia K. Beamish. (Professor H. Chadwick.) Oxford B.Litt.

128 John Bright and the representation of Manchester in the House of Commons, 1847-57. By J. Skinner. Wales M.A.

Research on Irish history in Irish universities, 1965-6: Theses in progress in January 1966.

Dublin, Trinity College. M.Litt.

J. H. Holt—The Society of Friends and Irish relief during the great famine.

## Reports on Archives

Among the "Principal accessions received by the Gloucestershire Records Office, 1964" noted in the *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, vol. 84, for 1965, is the following item (p. 184):

Society of Friends: Gloucester Monthly Meeting minutes, 1820-34 (addnl.).

Lincolnshire Archives Committee. Archivists' report, 16: 1st April 1964-31st March 1965.

Society of Friends, additional deposit: Lincoln, minutes of preparative meetings 1895-1948 with accounts, correspondence and notes re cases of conscientious objectors 1914-18, deposited by Mr. N. Ingram.

London: Greater London Record Office, Middlesex Records, 1965.

Guide to the Middlesex sessions records, 1549-1889. Prepared for the Standing Joint Committee of the County of Middlesex. K. Goodacre, clerk to the Committee; E. Doris Mercer, county archivist.

The guide includes a section on religion, and in particular registers of Quakers' and dissenters' meeting houses, registered under 1 W. and M., c.18.

Northamptonshire Archives Committee: Annual report, 1st April 1964 to 31st March 1965.

List of donors and depositors, 1964-5: (pp. 21, 23):

Record Clerk, Wellingborough and Northampton Monthly Meeting, Society of Friends. Records of the Northampton and Wellingborough Monthly Meetings (also of the former Bugbrooke Monthly Meeting, and of Kettering, Northampton and Wellingborough preparative meetings), 1647-1929.

The Librarian, Library of the Society of Friends: Minutes of the Northamptonshire Quarterly Meeting, 1725-1843, and of the Bucks, and Northants Quarterly Meeting, 1843-65.

(There is a brief descriptive note on Friends' records in the county on pp. 11-12 of this report.)

Oxfordshire County Council: Record publication no. 4. Summary catalogue of the privately-deposited records in the Oxfordshire County Record Office. Published by the Clerk of the County Council, County Hall, Oxford.

The following items are included:

1 *Depositor* Mrs. Dilworth Abbatt.

*Deeds*: Sibford Gower and Burdrop 1720-1814 (19).

*Probate*: Wills and probates: of Thos. Gilkes of Sibford Gower

1720, 1721(1); of Thos. Norton of Sibford Gower 1735, 1737 (1); of Thos. Harris of Bloxham 1757 (1); of Thos. French of Sibford Gower 1808 (1).

*Quakers*: Marriage certificate Sibford Ferris 1737 (1); alphabetical vols. of births, marriages and deaths prepared for Banbury Monthly Meeting nineteenth century. (3).

*Misc.*: Book of poems (copy) by Thos. Ellwood and Ant. Purver late eighteenth century. (1).

301 *Depositor* Mrs. S. G. Shilson.

*Remarks*: These deeds mainly concern the Spendlove family of Charlbury.

*Deeds*: Various lands and houses including "The Star" and a house next to the Quaker Meeting House in Charlbury held of the manor 1748-1825 (67).

302 *Depositor* Governing Body of Sibford School, Sibford Ferris.

*Education*: Minute books of committee and subcommittee of Sibford School established by the Quarterly Meetings of the Society of Friends for Berks and Oxon, Northants and Bucks 1839-1921 (7); school admission registers 1841-1906 (2).

582 From the Society of Friends, Banbury Meeting.

Records of the Banbury Monthly Meeting of the Society of Friends, 1632-twentieth century.

Somerset Record Office: List of Main Manuscript Accessions, July 1963-June 1964 *in* Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archaeological & Natural History Society for 1963-4, vol. 108 (1964), p. 165 includes:

The records of the Bristol and Somerset Quarterly Meeting of the Society of Friends, comprising men's minutes, 1668-1858, women's minutes, 1784-1883, half year's meeting minutes, 1719-1868, minutes of ministers and elders, 1758-1865, Suffering books, 1656-1827, "Bristol MSS." (Epistles of early Friends, etc.), 1658-1746, "Christian and brotherly Advices," 1672-1773.

Government of Northern Ireland: Public Record Office.

Report of the deputy keeper of the records for the years 1954-9. Presented to Parliament, January 1966. (Belfast, H.M. Stationery Office, 10s. Cmd. 490).

This report includes summary inventory of accessions, and indexes of names, places and subjects. Deposits received during the period include the following:

*Miss A. H. Barcroft, Moneymore, co. Londonderry.*

c. 50 documents . . . Barcroft family, together with genealogical notes relating to the Barcroft, Hogg, Malcolmson, Richardson and Webb families. Counties Antrim, Tyrone and Armagh, c. 1700-c. 1900. D.979.

*M. C. Bryans, Berkhamsted, Herts.*

7 documents . . . Quaker marriage certificate, James Pillar, Culkeeran, with Arabella English, Oldcastle, co. Meath, 1766. T.1334.

*Miss Sheila Greer, Tullaghoge, co. Tyrone.*

*c.* 100 documents . . . Sanderson and Greer families, 1630–  
*c.* 1900. *T.1173.*

*V. McG. Greer, Moneymore, co. Londonderry.*

*c.* 1,000 documents. Correspondence of the Greer family of  
Dungannon, co. Tyrone, 1717–1891. The letters which form  
the main section of this collection were written to and by the  
second Thomas Greer, 1724–1803. *D.1044.*

*Longfield, Kelly & Armstrong, Solicitors, Dungannon.*

*c.* 30,000 documents. (Include family documents of Barcroft,  
Greer, Richardson families.)

*J. S. W. Richardson, Bessbrook, co. Armagh.*

250 documents . . . Richardson family, 1806–*c.* 1910. *D. 1006.*  
*c.* 300 documents and volumes. Minutes and account books, of  
the Bessbrook Weaving Company, Bessbrook, Co. Armagh,  
1881–1956. *D.1133.*

*c.* 150 documents. These include the correspondence between  
Elizabeth Goff, Horetown, Co. Wexford, and numerous rela-  
tives, 1760–1814. The letters are principally concerned with  
family affairs and with the Society of Friends, but there is  
some reference to the impact of the 1798 Rebellion upon  
Dublin. *T.1621.*

*Miss Muriel Richardson, Belfast.*

8 documents. These include the correspondence between  
James N. Richardson, Lisburn, Co. Antrim and Edward Pease,  
Darlington, Yorkshire, 1833–47. The letters are principally  
concerned with family affairs and with the Society of Friends,  
and include a comment on the future of Quakerism in Van  
Diemen's Land. *T.1489.*

*Mrs. G. Watt, Edinburgh.*

*c.* 40 documents. These include. title deeds to property in  
Rathfryland, co. Down, including the Quaker meeting house,  
Murphy family, 1677–1808. *D.687.*

## New Publications

*Gilletts, Bankers at Banbury and Oxford: a study in local economic history.* By Audrey M. Taylor. pp. xii, i, 247; 10 plates and maps. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1964. 35s.

At a Meeting of the Society on 6th April 1961, the author of this book spoke on the subject of Quaker Country Bankers. Those who heard her will especially be interested to read this fuller account of one particular Quaker Country Bank, centred in Banbury and later in Oxford; it was one of the last country banks to be absorbed by a joint stock bank, shortly after the First War.

The same family of Gilletts was also responsible for founding the Discount Company that bears its name; and it is in connection with the approaching centenary of Gillett Brothers Discount Company that the present volume has been written. It covers the period from 1784 until the amalgamation with Barclays in 1919. A subsequent volume, to be published shortly, will tell the history of the discount business.

The author is not a Friend, and she has not attempted to portray the partners in this Quaker Bank otherwise than as bankers; her purpose is to show how closely the fortunes of a nineteenth-century country bank were linked with the economic vicissitudes of the neighbourhood; this is what made inevitable, in the long run, the welding of the smaller units into the nation-wide organizations. But there are some interesting and amusing sidelights on Friends. One of these is that the Gillett family, like some other Quaker families, had members whose zeal as inventors and entrepreneurs was greater than their business capacity; and their financial difficulties were particularly embarrassing to relations who were bankers.

The book is beautifully printed and illustrated.

*Quakers in Russia.* By Richenda C. Scott. pp. 302. 12 plates. London, Michael Joseph. 1964. 30s.

This eagerly-awaited book fulfils expectation. Covering as it does nearly three centuries of varied and sporadic contacts between Russians and Friends, it yet preserves the essential unity of its theme, the constant desire of Friends to be of service to this far-distant and largely unknown land.

Nearly half the book is occupied, as was natural, with the one consecutive piece of service undertaken by Friends, the relief work carried on with scarcely a break for a whole decade during the First World War and after. The story has been told briefly in Ruth Fry's *A Quaker Adventure*, but readers will be very grateful for this much fuller account; it portrays what is perhaps the finest example in our history of the results that can be achieved, in the face of apparently insuperable difficulties, by patience and persistence and the talent for inspired improvisation that has so often marked Friends' work.

The remainder of the book is more episodic; it relates the earlier contacts of Friends with successive Tsars, the help given in the emigration of the Doukhobors, and, at the end, a brief mention of the latest contacts, especially with Soviet youth. In connection with the famous visit of Alexander I to Westminster Meeting, William Allen's account might perhaps have been supplemented by the naively entertaining record of a humbler member of the Meeting, preserved in Beck and Ball, *London Friends' Meetings*, 1869, p. 265.

*Voice of The Lord: a Biography of George Fox.* By Harry Emerson Wildes. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1965. pp. 473.

It is very difficult to write a biography of George Fox. A great effort of historical imagination is required to take the writer back into that extraordinary middle of the seventeenth century, when, for a period, men regarded their spiritual lives as their most important concern, and someone like Fox, who seemed to have an answer to their religious problems, was thought of literally as a prophet sent from God.

Yet without such an appreciation, how can Fox be portrayed in the light in which he appeared to his followers and contemporaries, rather than as the intolerant and self-opinionated young man that he may appear to us?

The book is at its best when it is dealing factually with the events of Fox's life, and particularly his voyage to America. The author expresses his strong belief that Fox's influence on and involvement with the colonial projects of Penn and others has been underestimated, and this is probably true. It is appropriate to have a truer emphasis laid on this by an American author.

*The Huntington Library quarterly*, vol. 29, no. 1 (November 1965) includes a paper "Escape from Barbary: a seventeenth-century genre," by G. A. Starr, assistant professor of English, University of California at Berkeley. There is a note on p. 41 concerning the story of Thomas Lurting, mate of a ship captured by Algerines in 1663. Lurting and his crew retake the ship without bloodshed and eventually deposit the pirates safely on their own shores. Lurting's story seems to have appeared first in George Fox's *To The Great Turk* (1680), and it was republished frequently under the title *The Fighting Sailor Turn'd Peaceable Christian*, and also appeared in Sewel's *History* (1722 edition, pp. 387-97). A further note on p. 49 mentioning *Captain Singleton* (by Daniel Defoe) and the Barbary episode in it, suggests that the careers of such men as Thomas Lurting may have contributed to the portrait of Singleton's Quaker aide, William Walters. The author also mentions E. H. W. Meyerstein's edition of Edward Coxere's *Adventures* (Oxford, 1945).

The Huntington Library has acquired the following: Maria Edgeworth. Thirty-eight family letters, and correspondence with Mary Leadbeater about her *Cottage Dialogues*, 1810-28. (p. 89).

## Notes and Queries

### DANIEL AMES OF LAKENHAM

*The Ames correspondence*, volume 31 of the publications of the Norfolk Record Society (1962), contains letters written by members of the family of Daniel Ames of Lakenham, Norwich (1775-1852), mainly to Mary Ames his wife during the 1830's and 1840's. Daniel was a Quaker, the rest of the family were Methodists. Some of the family emigrated to New York. Joseph Ames, one of the sons, wrote from New York, 12th June, 1839:

"Our City is now quite busy the Quakers holding their 'Yearly Meetings and J. J. Gurney is high Stifler (sic) among them here, now wears quite the Old Fashion 'Penn Garment'. I heard him the other evening, he looks quite old and grey. Is much criticised among other Sects and the Public Prints ridicule him." (p. 50)

In 1840 Charles Fuller Ames, another son also emigrated. In comment on one of Charles's letters home, his sister wrote to her mother:

"He seems to stick to the *Quakers*. I do not altogether approve of this, on account of their (so often) silent meetings they may do very well for older and more reflecting minds—but dear Charles want oral instruction and that in a plain manner, among these, I fear, he will seldom enjoy this." (p. 68)

### DANIEL DEFOE

"Defoe acquisitions at the Huntington Library", by John Robert Moore (*Huntington Lib-*

*rary quarterly*, Nov. 1964, vol. 28, no. 1, pp. 45-57), includes notice of tracts which were purchased from the Barry Brown collection in Ireland in 1961. Among these is one *Proper Lessons Written by a Quaker, To Be Read throughout the Year* (Dublin, Re-printed by Thomas Hume, over-against the Bible on the lower-end of Cork Hill). The caption-title on p. 3 is "Proper Lessons for the Tories", under which title the work had appeared in London in 1716. The author provides reason to think that the Dublin issue is a "reprint of an earlier version of a London tract which was re-issued in London as *Proper Lessons for the Tories*."

### BENJAMIN FURLY

Peter Laslett, in an essay "John Locke and his books" prefixed to a catalogue of *The Library of John Locke*, by John Harrison and Peter Laslett (Oxford Bibliographical Society publications, N.S. 13, 1965) includes the following note on page 4: "From early in 1687 to early in 1689 Locke lived in the household of Benjamin Furdy, an English Quaker settled at Rotterdam, who left some 4,400 books (titles) when he died, see *Bibliotheca Furliana, sive Catalogus Librorum B. Furdy*, Rotterdam, 1714. The overlap with Locke's final library is interesting, and it seems that the drafts of the books which he brought out so soon afterwards were influenced by what he could read in Furdy's house—except, of course, the



draft on government." Locke had at least a dozen Quaker books, among which it is interesting to note John Anderdon's *Call to all bishops . . . to come to the way of the Quakers*, 1670, for he too had Somerset connections. One item which the compilers have not been able to identify is: "2419. Caution to Quackery not to be concerned in Government. P 13."

#### LUKE HOWARD AND THE BAROMETER

*The History of the Barometer*, by W. E. Knowles Middleton (Johns Hopkins Press, 1964) notes that: "In 1801 Luke Howard . . . constructed a linseed-oil barometer outside his house and compared it frequently with a mercury barometer."

The author also mentions that in 1814 Luke Howard purchased a barograph constructed by Alexander Cumming, and used it in London on his climatological investigations until 1828 "when it was moved to Ackworth, Yorks. This barograph is still in the Howard family, though only the clock was operating in 1962." (p. 289).

Also mentioned in the book is the work of John Dalton (1766-1844), and John Gough (1757-1825) of Kendal.

#### THOMAS WILKINSON OF YANWATH

*The Transactions of the Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, vol. 64 new series, 1964, prints (pp. 392-3) a copy of a letter from Thomas Wilkinson to Mary Leadbeater, dated Yanwath 2 of 11 Mo. 1806, concerning the

restoring of a leaning tower to its perpendicular at Yanwath Hall, contributed by W. Douglas Simpson.

In the same volume there is a brief obituary notice of Kenneth Richardson Pumphrey of Preston Patrick Hall, who died 8th February 1964. Also there appears a paper on "The Broad Oak deeds" by Professor G. P. Jones, which mentions the Burrough and Halhead families.

#### COLONIAL DOCUMENTS

*The Fulham Papers in the Lambeth Palace Library. American Colonial section—calendar and indexes*. Compiled by William Wilson Manross. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1965.) £6 6s. od.

This calendar of documents resulting from the relationship between the Bishop of London and the Church of England in the American colonies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries has a good many references to Quakers in nine of the mainland American colonies as well as in Antigua, Barbados, Jamaica and Tortola. Unfortunately, the indexes do not appear impeccable, but nonetheless it is most welcome to have a guide to this valuable collection.

#### WEST COUNTRY INDUSTRIES

In the first of a projected series of books on the industrial archaeology of the British Isles, Kenneth Hudson (*The industrial archaeology of southern England (Hampshire, Wiltshire, Dorset, Somerset, and Gloucestershire east of the Severn)*, Dawlish, David and Charles; London, Macdonald, 1965, 45s.) includes references to industries in which Friends have been active.

Among the industries reviewed are iron founding in Bristol and district (with Harfords, Lloyds, Goldneys and Pearsalls engaged in it); the brassworks, the glass-houses and potteries, the cocoa manufacture, and the dock work of William Champion in the same city. Further westward, mention is made of the Foxes at Wellington and the Pittard firm at Yeovil. There is an illustration of the shoe factory at Street from a painting of about 1845, showing Cyrus Clark's house, and this is matched by a modern photograph. A mile or so away is the fifteenth century fulling house of Glastonbury Abbey (now used as a caretaker's residence by Morlands).

#### ACKWORTH SCHOOL

A 40-page catalogue of Ackworth School archives, 1964, compiled by James S. Lidbetter and fully indexed makes known the collection of books and papers preserved in the School's collection. In addition to the School minutes, reports and accounts, and plans of the estate, there are relics of Dr. Fothergill, examples of scholars' work, and books and papers dating from the period of the Foundling Hospital. There is a copy in the Library at Friends House.

#### BEAVER HATS

Second among the "Humourous Reasons for Restoring Canada" to the French, written by Benjamin Franklin at a time when the victories of 1759 turned many thoughts towards the settlement to follow the Seven Years' War, is the following:

"2. We should restore it [*i.e.* return it to the French], lest,

thro' a greater plenty of beaver, broad-brimmed hats become cheaper to that unmannerly sect, the Quakers."

(Printed in *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, viii. 450, from *The London Chronicle*, Dec. 25-27, 1759.)

#### CHINA MISSIONS

*A Guide to the archives and records of Protestant Christian missions from the British Isles to China, 1796-1914*, by Leslie R. Marchant (University of Western Australia Press, 1966), provides a nearly alphabetical list of bodies working in China, together with addresses, lists of periodicals published, a brief summary of details of the life of the society, a resumé of the records preserved and the accessibility of the material in the repository. The Friends' Foreign Mission Association (founded 1866) occupies a page, and the Religious Society of Friends (founded 1652) (*alphabetized under R*) nearly two pages.

#### COFFEE HOUSES

*London Coffee Houses*, by Bryant Lillywhite (Allen and Unwin, 1963) is a list of references and notices of the London coffee houses of the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries. It is arranged in alphabetical order by title of the establishment, supported by good indexes and street lists. No. 204, Bull and Mouth Inn, St. Martin's-le-Grand, has (as expected) several references to Friends' occupancy up to 1740. No. 422, Four Swans Inn & Coffee House, Bishopsgate Street, gives a note of Friends' use of the place as lodgings (*c.* 1809-11)

"almost every street of that district, fairly swarms with Friends" (Timbs, *Curiosities of London*). No. 519, Half Moon Tavern & Coffee House, Cheapside; this house saw the first recorded meeting of the London (Quaker) Lead Company, 1692. No. 748, London Assurance Coffee House, Birchin Lane, was entered by William Gibson in 1727 when not in unity with London Friends. No. 772 & 773, Mackerell's Quaker Coffee House, Bartlett's Buildings, Holborn, c. 1702-35. No. 1517, The White Hart Without Bishopsgate, used by Friends for lodgings, 1680-90's.

#### FRIENDS AND MENNONITES

"Relationships of the Brethren with the Mennonites and Quakers, 1708-1865," by Donald F. Durnbaugh, Associate Professor of Church History, Bethany Theological Seminary, appears in *Church history*, vol. 35, no. 1 (March 1966), pp. 35-59. The author quotes the Latin verse:

Papa, Moses, Pennus,  
Calvinus, Menno, Lutherus  
Una in Creyfelda,  
varium cantant alleluja.

The relationship with Friends is largely illustrated from Pennsylvanian sources, for the Brethren mostly came to Germantown and from there spread out as the eighteenth century progressed. The author finds that the Brethren were content to follow Quaker political leadership in the early period, and he thinks that in the later period there was further Quaker influence, even to the point of the Brethren adopting the plain dress.

#### INSTRUMENT MAKERS

*The mathematical practitioners of Hanoverian England, 1714-1840*, by E. G. R. Taylor (Cambridge, University Press, for the Institute of Navigation, 1966. 84s.).

This work consists largely of biographical notices of the teachers of mathematics and navigation and makers of instruments for the physical sciences and nautical use during the period covered. The notices are brief and restricted to the interests covered by the work. A glance through reveals the following (among others): Richard Abbatt, William Allen, John Churchman, John Dalton, Jeremiah Dixon, Samuel Fuller, Robert Were Fox, Luke Howard, J. J. Lister, William Pengelly, Thomas Young.

#### MANUSCRIPTS IN EDINBURGH

"A testimony in uprightnes to all people of a part of the travel of my Soul within thy borders, O Scotland, these many days," by A. Robeson, a Quaker, Duns, 1662. MS. 2201, f.98. This work forms portion of the manuscript collection of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, deposited in 1934 in the National Library at Edinburgh.

Among the Raeburn papers, purchased by the National Library, in 1936, there is included a collection (MS. 2889) of "Correspondence, etc., 1660-1822. It includes religious writings of the seventeenth century, by George Fox, "the younger in the truth," George Keith, Walter Scott, the Quaker laird of Raeburn, and others . . .

In the collection of letters to Sir Walter Scott (MS. 3191, f.25) There is one from John Barclay, dated 1831.

The above come from the National Library of Scotland: Catalogue of manuscripts acquired since 1925, vol. 2 (Edinburgh, H.M. Stationery Office, 1966).

#### THE MILITIA

*The English militia in the eighteenth century: the story of a political issue, 1660-1802*, by J. R. Western (Routledge, 1965, 70s.) includes some brief notices of the use of the militia under the Restoration to discourage dissident political movements venturing into armed insurrection. It also, in this connection, mentions some cases of disturbance of Quaker meetings. In the eighteenth century statutory allowance was made for Quakers to provide substitutes, or to have them hired for them, when they were required for militia service.

#### PHILANTHROPY

A chapter on George Cadbury, notices of such Quaker enterprises as the Retreat, the work of Joseph Lancaster, the Frys, and the Rowntree trusts, all grace the solid history *English Philanthropy, 1660-1960*, by Professor David Owen of Harvard (Oxford University Press, 70s.) published in 1965. With so large a field to cover the author has not been able to give much space to any one subject (Richard Reynolds, the most considerable philanthropist among Friends under the Georges, is dismissed in little over a page) but the historical material is well documented and the footnote leads to sources and further reading will make this an indispensable work to the student in these fields.

#### QUAKER DRESS, 1862

A Costume "that is more Honoured (now) in the Breach than in the Observance."—The Quaker costume.

(*Punch*, 27.ix.1862, p. 129.)

#### QUAKER GRAMMARIANS

Readers of Dr. R. C. Alston's review of *You und Thou* in our last issue (pp. 61-62) may be interested to see that the first portion of his *A bibliography of the English language from the invention of printing to the year 1800* has appeared. In addition to works by E. P. Bridel, James Gough, Lindley Murray and William Sewel, there appears the *Prittle prattle. Or, a familiar discourse on the persons I, Thou, He or She. We, Ye or You, and They. Designed for the use and benefit of the people called Quakers*, 1752. This is catalogued under J. J. on the strength of an inscription in the Woodbrooke copy of the pamphlet.

#### RAIN

*A History of the Theories of Rain and other forms of precipitation*, by W. E. Knowles Middleton (London, Oldbourne Book Co. Ltd., 1965) includes an extended chapter on "Water vapour in the nineteenth century," which deals among other things with the theory of John Dalton (1766-1844), and the climatological work of Luke Howard (1772-1864) including his classification of cloud forms.

#### REGISTERS

*An introduction to English historical demography from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century*, under the editorship of E. A. Wrigley

(Weidenfeld and Nicolson), 1966, contains papers by D. E. C. Eversley, Peter Laslett, the editor, and contributions by W. A. Armstrong and Lynda Ovenall. The volume covers the period roughly from the beginning of English parish registers in 1538 up to the registration of 1837. The writers show what new methods can do to assemble from parish registers and elsewhere a picture of the structure of society in the period. Friends' registers are mentioned, as also is the fact that the Digests at Friends House which were prepared before the surrender of the originals to the government last century, may not reproduce all the information in the originals. Mention is also made of the family reconstitution methods used by Irish Friends in their records at Eustace Street, Dublin.

#### REGISTRATION

"The Registration of Meeting Houses," an article by Edwin Welch in the *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, vol. 3, no. 3 (April 1966), pp. 116-20, includes a few brief notes on the registration of Friends' meeting houses after 1689. The author points out that:

"Registration was voluntary. . . . Of the older denominations the Baptists, Congregationalists and Presbyterians usually registered and the Quakers usually refrained. There are, however, a number of examples of Quaker licences."

A footnote records that in 1729 the Devon Quakers tried to get a licence from the archbishop of Canterbury (Devon Quarterly Meeting minutes, 10th May 1729).

This comprehensive account

brings the development in the registration service up to modern times and cites the most recent Act of 1953 on the subject.

#### THE RESTORATION, 1660

George R. Abernathy, Jr. in "The English Presbyterians and the Stuart Restoration, 1648-1663" (*Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 55, pt. 2, 1965 New Series) mentions Quakers at four points. He notes that William Prynne, writing in the Spring of 1659, demanded that the laws against Catholics be executed and that no arms be put into the hands of Anabaptists or Quakers "lest London become another Munster, and England another Germanie." (Prynne, *A true and perfect Narrative*, pp. 58-9).

In the summer in London some Presbyterians, Independents and Anabaptists had held a meeting for reconciling their differences and co-operating against the Quakers (Sir Archibald Johnston, *Diary of Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston, 1655-60*, ed. James D. Ogilvie (Edinburgh, 1940), pp. 134-5).

In January 1660 the London Presbyterian ministers in *A seasonable exhortation of sundry ministers in London to the people of their respective congregations* said that (whereas in 1640 the Romish church had hidden behind the skirts of the Anglican Church) Rome since 1640 had found refuge among the sectaries, especially the Quakers.

#### THE SPECTATOR

The new edition of *The Spectator*, edited by Donald F. Bond (Oxford University Press, 21 gns.) brings to notice again the

references to Friends in that periodical. Often in the situation of a coach journey, the Quaker is usually presented with sarcasm, sometimes amused. In the issue of 19th March 1711, there is the "Quaker . . . trimmed close and almost cut to the Quick." Ephraim the Quaker (1st August 1711) and Hezekiah Broadbrim (16th January 1712) also appear. The only note of sympathy comes in depicting the pretty young Quaker woman (also in a stage coach) (10th December 1714)—"The Plainness of her Dress was very well suited to the Simplicity of her Phrases."

#### BIRMINGHAM FRIENDS

Some indication of the cultural interests of Birmingham Friends, including the Lloyd and Sturge families, is revealed in Charles Parish's *History of the Birmingham Library* (The Library Association, 1966, 21s.). The book deals largely with the eighteenth-century history of the library, and more succinctly with the later developments. The proprietors included Samuel Galton, F.R.S., and quotations are given from Mary Anne Schimmelpenninck's autobiography, illustrating intellectual life in Birmingham at the end of the eighteenth-century. There is a list of the principal officers.

#### ESSEX SUFFERINGS MS.

In the *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, vol. 38, no. 97 (May 1965) list of Migrations of historical manuscripts, occurs the following: item, with reference given to a bookseller's catalogue: Essex: account of Friends Sufferings, 1786-93. (Stanley Crowe, no. 74, p. 21, no. 350.)

#### GLOUCESTERSHIRE FRIENDS

Volume 6 of the Gloucestershire series in the *Victoria History of the counties of England* (Oxford University Press, 1965, £7 7s.) covers parishes in the northern part of the county on the Cotswolds. The volume contains references to Friends in the district as follows: seventeenth-eighteenth centuries—Lower Swell; seventeenth century—Great Barrington; eighteenth century—Adlestrop, Broadwell, Oddington, Bourton on the Hill, Todenham; and Stow on the Wold (seventeenth-twentieth centuries, including a burial ground still existing).

#### KENT QUAKERS

*Seventeenth-century Kent, a social and economic history*, by C. W. Chalklin (Longmans, 1965), includes a brief notice of Friends in the county. George Fox's visits to the district in 1655 and 1656 resulted in the permanent formation of groups of Friends. At Dover there was "Luke Howard a shomaker, chiefe of ye Quakers." (Reference to *VCH*, Kent II, 100; Lambeth MS. 1,126 ff.6, 22.)

#### NEW YORK QUAKERS

*The Independent reflector, or weekly essays on sundry important subjects, more particularly adapted to the Province of New-York*, by William Livingston and others. Edited by Milton M. Klein. (John Harvard library) Cambridge, Mass., 1963.

This is the first complete edition since the periodical's original appearance in 1752-3. The issue of 26th April 1753 (p. 211) includes a paragraph addressed to the Quakers expressing the hope of their support for the

incorporation of New York College:

"You, my Friends, in Derision called Quakers, have always approv'd yourselves Lovers of civil and religious Liberty; and of universal Benevolence to Mankind. And tho' you have been misrepresented as averse to human Learning, I am confident, convinced as you are of the Advantages of useful Literature . . . you would generously contribute to the Support of a College founded on a free and catholic Bottom. But to give your Substance to the rearing of Bigotry, or the tutoring Youth in the *enticing Words of Man's Vanity*, I know to be repugnant to your candid, your rational, your manly Way of thinking."

#### NORWICH POLITICS

Among the letters from Rev. Robert Potter to Rev. John Conway Potter (National Library of Wales MSS. 12433D: Wigfair 33) is one giving news of the election of 1796. This is noted in the following terms in the *Handlist of manuscripts in the National Library of Wales*, part 26, page 205:

"the election of members of parliament for the city [of Norwich], the violent contest against Mr. [William] Wyndham [one of the two members returned] and the defeat of the 'Democratic Quakers' . . . (1796)."

#### PENNSYLVANIA LIBRARIES

"Benjamin Franklin and eighteenth-century American libraries" by Margaret Barton Korty (*Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*. N.S., vol.

55, pt. 9, 1965) includes chapters on the Library Company of Philadelphia (in which Franklin was a prime mover) and the Loganian Library (with a contemporary picture of the building, and a facsimile of a letter from Franklin in 1789 concerning the trusteeship). Academic and medical libraries also figure in the account as well as governmental libraries, including notices of some works which Franklin sent to Congress, although the Library of Congress itself was not formally established until 1800. There is a useful bibliography.

#### SHERINGTON, BUCKS.

*Sherington: fiefs and fields of a Buckinghamshire village*; by A. C. Chibnall (Cambridge University Press, 1965, 84s.) includes a chapter entitled "The emergence of non-conformity." In the course of this chapter the author notes the puritan leanings of many in the parish, and there seems to have been resistance to the payment of tithe, for "John Cunningham, farmer and butcher as well as a follower of George Fox, not only withheld his own payment for 1649 but was urging his fellows to do likewise, 'there is noe manner of tithe due to the rector or any other minister or religion or person whatsoever'." In tithe cases after the Restoration it would appear that about one-third of the parishioners were dissenters.

Richard Hunt, ploughwright in Water Lane, at whose house Friends met, suffered for tithe, as did likewise Richard Marks, smith. After the Toleration Act Richard Hunt's house was registered as the Friends' meeting

house, with the burial ground adjacent. In 1705 the rector estimated 17 Quakers to be in the village.

#### STRATFORD-ON-AVON

The Historical Manuscripts Commission Joint Publication no. 8 (1965), also volume 23 of the Dugdale Society's publications, is an edition of the *Correspondence of the Reverend Joseph Greene, parson, schoolmaster and antiquary, 1712-90* (London, H.M. Stationery Office, 40s.). It contains (on p. 157) the following passage in Joseph Greene's brief account of the town of Stratford-upon-Avon:

"About thirty years past, there was a monthly Sunday Meeting of the People call'd Quakers held in the Town, but they . . . have now wholly quitted it, and no Dissenters of any sort remain, unless a few illiterate Mechanick Methodists may deserve that appellation . . ."

#### WARWICKSHIRE MEETING HOUSES

*Warwickshire* by Nikolaus Pevsner and Alexandra Wedgwood (*The Buildings of England. B.E.31.* Penguin Books. 30s. 1966) includes notices of meeting houses in the county dating from the seventeenth century to the twentieth. Information will be found on pages 46, 73 (Armscote), 77 (Atherstone), 113 (Bull Street, Birmingham), 157 (Bournville), 189 King's Norton, 291 (Ettington), 342 (Long Compton), 395-6 (Shipston-on-Stour) and 452 (Warwick).

#### WILTSHIRE

Wiltshire VIII in the *Victoria*

*History of the Counties of England* (1965) includes histories of a score of villages in north-west Wiltshire. Among these places, Quakers are noted at Dinton (p. 33), North Bradley (p. 232), Norton Bavant (p. 57) and Steeple Ashton (p. 216), as well as in Warminster (pp. 125, 127) and Westbury (pp. 181, 183, 185.)

#### YORK M.H.

Nonconformist Chapels of York, 1693-1840, by Ronald Willis (York Georgian Society occasional paper no. 8) includes a section on (and photograph of) the Friends' Meeting House in Clifford Street. Although the present meeting house dates from 1816-18, seventeenth century brick is incorporated in the outer walls, and the site dates back to 1674 when Friends adapted some tenements belonging to Edward Nightingale. Reference is made to a souvenir pamphlet of the re-opening of the Meeting House, May 1919.

#### YORKSHIRE RECORDS

The National Register of Archives, West Riding (Northern section) committee has produced in 1965 inventories of the records of Settle Monthly Meeting (including Lothersdale, Settle and Skipton preparative meetings and Keighley adult school) and of Pontefract Monthly Meeting (including Ackworth, Burton and Barnsley, Pontefract and Wakefield preparative meetings, and Castleford adult school). These latter records date from the 1670's onwards and are housed at Ackworth School in the joint custody of the clerk to Pontefract M.M. and the bursar of Ackworth School.



## YORKSHIRE DOCTORS

Among the most valuable features of the second and final volume of S. T. Anning's history *The General Infirmary at Leeds* (E. & S. Livingstone, 1966) is a biographical appendix. Among the persons appearing there are Harold Collinson, C.B., C.M.G. (19.viii.1876-25.i.1945) son of a wool merchant at Halifax and educated at Ackworth and Bootham before attending the Leeds Medical School; Benjamin Hird, M.D. (30.xiii.1763-11.iii.1831); William, Hird, M.D. (28th December 1728/9[sic]-23.viii.1782) who took on Dr. John Fothergill's London practice after Fothergill's death; Robert Benson Jowitt, J.P. (1841-9.xi.1914), from 1882-1900 chairman and treasurer of the Infirmary; and Joshua Walker, M.D. (14th October 1746-12th February 1817) who married into the Arthington family, and was physician at the Infirmary from 1782 until 1806.

## YORKSHIRE FRIENDS, c.1850

*A Month in Yorkshire*, by Walter White (Chapman and Hall, 2nd edition, 1858), is an account of the author's summer walking tour in the eastern seaboard and in the northern half of the county. Visits to Scarborough and Whitby draw from the author accounts of George Fox in Scarborough Castle, and thoughts on the decay of Quakerism in Whitby, repeated later in other places. Ayton School, the Peases and their railways, Carperby in Wensleydale ("where dwells a Quaker who has the best grazing farm in the North Riding"), George Fox's well on the side of Pendle Hill, all find a mention.

At Bainbridge the author

found some worthy Quaker Friends of his who had journeyed from Oxfordshire to spend the holidays under the paternal roof-tree and a ready welcome for his sightseeing in the dale and work in the hayfield.

Walter White records that he hoped to be buried in a little Quaker burial-ground in Oxfordshire "on the brow of a hill looking far away into the west country . . . that is, if the sedate folk will admit among them even a dead Philistine." The author's thoughts on the causes of the decline of Quakerism, anent the recently advertised essay competition on the subject, are discerning.

## BRIEF BIOGRAPHY

*Who's Who in History*, vol. 3—England, 1603 to 1714; by C. P. Hill (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1965. 42.), includes brief biographies (and a note of one or two main sources) for Robert Barclay (1648-90), John Bellers (1654-1725), Colonel Thomas Blood (1618?-80), Sir Ambrose Crowley (1658-1713), Abraham Darby (1678-1717), Margaret Fell (1614-1702), George Fox (1624-90), Lodowick Muggleton (1609-98), James Nayler (c. 1618-60) and William Penn (1644-1718).

## HANNAH BARNARD'S COWS

The Yale edition of Horace Walpole's *Correspondence* proceeds on its magisterial way. Volumes 32-34 (1965) contain the correspondence with the Countess of Upper Ossory. On 6th September 1787, Walpole wrote to Lady Ossory:

"There lives at Kingston a Mrs. Barnard, a very wealthy

hen-Quaker: she has a passion for beautiful black and white cows, never parts with a pretty calf, and consequently has now a hecatomb as striped and spotted as leopards and tigers. The Queen happened to see this ermined drove, and being struck with the beauty of their robes, sent a page to desire to purchase one. Mrs. Barnard replied, she never sold cows, but would lend her Majesty her bull with all her heart. . . ."

(vol. 32, p. 568). The editor notes that "Mrs. Anna Barnard (d. 1792)" visited Strawberry Hill, 22nd September 1786.

In a letter of 27th October 1774, Walpole told the Countess a story of an unidentified Quaker who dined with the Comtes de Provence and d'Artois, brothers of Louis XVI. "He would not pull off his hat: they admitted him with it on; and then made him sit down to table with them. Charles II could not have been better humoured."

#### JOHN BRIGHT

*John Bright, Victorian Reformer*, by Herman Ausubel, professor of history at Columbia University (John Wiley, 1966) is a political biography in the best tradition. It has a slightly astringent flavour which adds piquancy to the author's judgments. This book does not supersede G. M. Trevelyan's classic work on Bright, but it has an importance and readability which should ensure a wide circulation. The author's learning sits lightly on him, but the references are there at the end of each chapter (including many letters at Friends House Library), and the political cartoons illustrating the work are a great pleasure.

#### JOHN BRIGHT

Letters to and from John Bright and other members of the Bright family, Henry Ashworth, the Peases, Joseph Sturge, and others of like interests are preserved among the Cobden papers, catalogued by Francis W. Steer of the West Sussex County archive office, County Hall, Chichester. The catalogue was published in 1964, and among the many other documents listed are the Memorandum by John Bright on the Irish land question, 1869 (no. 492), and the 1908 reprint of the account of the Penn-Mead trial (no. 815).

#### JOHN DALTON

*John Dalton, 1766-1844: a bibliography of works by and about him*, by A. L. Smyth. (Manchester University Press, 1966, 42s.) This includes printed works and manuscripts, separate monographs and periodical articles, press-cuttings and references and "Daltoniana." This is an essential work for the student of Dalton and his place in the history of science. The indexes are not so full as one would have wished. Only by reading the text does one come upon the *Annual monitor* notice (item 505). It is unfortunate that Friends House Library does not figure among the locations assigned to entries.

#### JONATHAN DENT

Lincolnshire Archives Committee: Archivists' report 17, 1st April 1965-31st March 1966, includes (pp. 14-15) a report on a collection of deeds and papers deposited by Major G. Dent of Ribston Hall, Wetherby, Yorkshire. The summary account recalls a paper by the late

Howard Brace on Jonathan Dent in the *Reports and Papers of the Lincolnshire Architectural and Archaeological Society*, vol. 5, part 2, [1954]. Jonathan Dent eventually was disowned by Friends. The papers deposited throw some light on his money lending activities.

#### THOMAS ELLWOOD

A reassessment of the influence of Thomas Ellwood upon John Milton, and also a consideration of Ellwood's own *Davideis*, is contained in "The influence of Thomas Ellwood upon Milton's epics," by J. Max Patrick of New York University in the Festschrift *Essays in history and Literature*, edited by Heinz Bluhm, and published by the Newberry Library, Chicago, in honour of Stanley Pargellis, Newberry Librarian, 1942-62.

#### DAVID EVANS, M.A.

A verse autobiography of David Evans (1681-1750), a native of Carmarthenshire, who emigrated to Pennsylvania, is edited and printed by Dr. Gareth Alban Davies in *The National Library of Wales Journal*, vol. 14, no. 1 (Summer 1965), pp. 74-96. There is a summary in English. Evans graduated M.A. at Yale in 1714 and became an independent minister. He held pastorates at Pencader, at Tredyffrin, and at Pilesgrove, N.J. Dr. Davies has used works on Friends in Wales and Pennsylvania, including Evelyn Whiting's "The Yearly Meeting for Wales, 1682-1797" (*Jnl. F.H.S.*, xlvii, 57-70). There is a copy in the Library at Friends House.

#### HENRY TOBIT EVANS

The Annual report, 1964-5 of the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, includes among the purchases for the library a collection of letters to Henry Tobit Evans (1844-1908), schoolmaster, journalist and author. The collection includes "a certificate of the admission of Henry Tobit Evans to membership of the Herefordshire and Radnorshire Meeting of the Society of Friends, 1879" (p. 45 of the Annual report).

#### GRACE, DARBYSHIRE & TODD

The History of the Institute of Chartered Accountants in England and Wales, 1880-1965, and of its founder accountancy bodies, 1870-80 (Heinemann, 1966) includes a section devoted to brief sketches of founder firms. One such account (p. 235) is given of the firm of Grace, Darbyshire & Todd, Bristol, founded by John Moxham in 1818. In 1822 Moxham married into the Quaker community and the partnership brought in the Grace family. From 1857 to 1861 it was known as James Grace & Son, and from 1861 until the present name was assumed in 1920 as James & Henry Grace.

#### HANBURY FAMILY

*Archaeologia Cambrensis*, vol. 113 (1964) includes at pages 129-49 an article by D. Morgan Rees, entitled: "Industrial archaeology in Wales: an introduction." It includes a notice of an iron furnace in the Llanelly district which belonged to the Hanbury family and was in operation from 1690 until the 1860's.

## R. L. HINE

W. Branch Johnson writes on "Reginald Leslie Hine of Hitchin, Hertfordshire, 1883-1949" in *The Amateur Historian*, vol. 7, no. 1 (1966), pp. 28-32.

## JAMES NAYLER

"Naylor's case and the dilemma of the Protectorate," by Theodore A. Wilson and Frank J. Merli, is an article in the *University of Birmingham historical journal*, vol. 10, no. 1, 1965, pp. 44-59. The authors deal mainly with the constitutional difficulties and the differences between the wishes of the parliaments which Cromwell summoned during the Interregnum and his hopes for a settled constitutional framework within which Parliament and Protector could work. The conflict of aims was brought out in the consideration of the case of James Nayler and his entry into Bristol on horseback which occupied much of Parliament's time at the end of 1656.

## PENN FAMILY

"Pedigree of Penn of co. Wiltshire and of Bristol," by O. F. G. Hogg, appears on a folding leaf facing p. 130 of *The Wiltshire archaeological and natural history magazine*, vol. 60, 1965. It is unfortunate (and casts a shadow over the whole work) that the information on Hannah Callowhill Penn should be misleading. From the information given here it would be difficult to believe the usually accepted chronology, *i.e.* Hannah Callowhill b. 11th February 1671; m. William Penn, at Friars, Bristol, 5th March 1696; d. 20th December 1726.

HANNAH (CALLOWHILL) PENN  
1671-1726

The American Philosophical Society and Yale University are sponsoring a magisterial edition of *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin* edited by Leonard W. Labaree (Yale University Press). Volume 9, covering the years 1760 and 1761 was published in 1966. This will provide material for eighteenth-century historians for many decades to come, so it is unfortunate that Hannah Callowhill's date of birth is given as 1664 (p. 261) when the most probable and now accepted date is 1671.

## PENN IN HIDING

Two letters from William Penn to the Earl of Nottingham, 12th June and 21st November 1692, are quoted in the recent *Report on the Finch Manuscripts* (Historical Manuscripts Commission, 71), vol. 4 (*H.M. Stationery Office*, 1965). They show Penn asking no more than liberty to live in peace: "let not, pray, the vulgar opinion of my sentiments or obligations have any longer prevalency to intercept my deliverance . . . I am sure I shall never misuse the liberty I humbly crave." In November he reports that he is much broken in health, "and my wife so very ill these 9 weeks, and now dangerously relapst, so that she cant come to me and I must not goe to her."

## JAMES PENNINGTON, 1777-1862

Professor R. S. Sayers has edited, with an essay on the life and work of the author, a volume of Economic Writings of James Pennington in the series of Reprints of scarce works on political economy issued by the

London School of Economics, 1963. Born at Kendal in 1777, third child of William Pennington and Agnes Wilson, James Pennington migrated to London, made a career for himself in commercial life in the city, and then wrote and advised the government on monetary and currency problems. He appears to have left Friends before his marriage.

#### JOSEPH TREGELLES PRICE

"The insurrection at Merthyr Tydfil in 1831," the Cecil-Williams memorial lecture, 1965, is printed in the *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, session 1965, pp. 222-43. It contains a mention of the efforts of Joseph Tregelles Price to secure the reprieve of Richard Lewis (known as Dic Penderyn) condemned to death. No record is known of his part in the riots, if any. He was condemned for wounding a Highlander outside the Castle Hotel, and executed at Cardiff, 13th August 1831.

#### JANE RAINE

"Jane Raine, a Quaker, baptized 7th January 1726." The above entry appears in the Rokeby, Yorks, parish register, printed for the Yorkshire Archaeological Society Parish Register Section, vol. 128, p. 29.

#### JOSEPH JOHN SEEKINGS

*The Newcomen Bulletin*, no. 75, March 1965, records a meeting of the Newcomen Society on 3rd February 1965, at which a paper was read by J. Edward Belliss on the "History of G. E. Belliss & Company and Belliss &

Morcom Ltd." In 1866 George Edward Bellis (1838-1909), together with Joseph John Seekings, took over the business founded by Bach Bros. of Broad Street, Islington, Birmingham, in 1852. The partnership developed steam engines for launches, and the work was taken up by the Royal Navy, "but Seekings as a Quaker had no wish to deal with the armed Services," and the partnership was dissolved.

#### RICHARD BRINSLEY SHERIDAN

*The Letters of Richard Brinsley Sheridan*. Edited by Cecil Price (3 vols. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1966) include two unexplained notices of the word Quaker.

In a letter of January 1801, to William Adam, Sheridan says "I send also £100 (my Quaker's Legacy)," and in another of the same month, to Richard Peake, there is a postscript "Burgess has only the nest egg of my Quakers £100" (II. 145, 147).

The final volume includes a list of summaries of other letters. No. 145, p. 281, is an undated letter:

"Locking up a Quaker Farmer in Prison is a curious way of admitting a Dissenter into a place of Trust and Power."

#### JOSEPH STURGE

"Arthur O'Connor" by Frank McDermot, an article in *Irish Historical Studies*, vol. 15, no. 57 (March 1966), includes the following mention of the relations of the old United Irishman and Joseph Sturge. Arthur O'Connor lived the second half of his life in France.

“In the 1840’s he declared himself a pacifist and became a friend and correspondent of the well-known Quaker and right-wing chartist, Joseph Sturge, though pacifist views came oddly from one who attacked Louis Philippe for not giving military aid to the Poles.” (*I.H.S.* xv, p. 67.)

## Supplements to the Journal of Friends' Historical Society

7. THOMAS POLE, M.D. (1753-1829). By E. T. Wedmore. 1908. 53 pp., 10s. 6d., post 9d.
  - 8-11. EXTRACTS FROM STATE PAPERS relating to Friends, 1654-1672. Ed. N. Penney. 1910-13. 4 parts. 365 pp., 21s., post 1s. 6d.
  12. ELIZABETH HOOTON, First Quaker woman preacher (1600-1672). By Emily Manners. 1914. 95 pp., 10s. 6d., post 9d.
  13. TORTOLA. By C. F. Jenkins. 1923. 106 pp., 10s. 6d., post 9d.
  14. Record of the SUFFERINGS OF FRIENDS IN CORNWALL, 1655-1686. 1928. 152 pp., 15s., post 9d.
  15. QUAKER LANGUAGE. F.H.S. Presidential address by T. Edmund Harvey. 1928. 30 pp., 5s., post 3d.
  - 16-17. PEN PICTURES OF LONDON YEARLY MEETING, 1789-1833. Ed. Norman Penney. 1930. 227 pp., 25s., post 1s.
  21. AN ORATOR'S LIBRARY. John Bright's books. Presidential address 1936 by J. Travis Mills. 1946. 24 pp., 2s., post 3d.
  22. LETTERS TO WILLIAM DEWSBURY AND OTHERS. Edited by Henry J. Cadbury. 1948. 68 pp., 8s., post 3d.
  23. SLAVERY AND "THE WOMAN QUESTION." Lucretia Mott's Diary. 1840. By F. B. Tolles. 1952. 7s. 6d., cloth 12s. 6d., post 6d.
  24. THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY OF THE EARLY FRIENDS. Presidential address by Frederick B. Tolles, 1952. 3s. 6d., post 3d.
  25. JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER, The Quaker. By C. Marshall Taylor. 1954. 3s. 6d., post 3d.
  26. JAMES NAYLER, A FRESH APPROACH. By Geoffrey F. Nuttall, D.D. 1954. 2s. 6d., post 3d.
  27. THOMAS RUDYARD, EARLY FRIENDS' "ORACLE OF LAW." By Alfred W. Braithwaite. 1956. 2s. 6d., post 3d.
  28. PATTERNS OF INFLUENCE IN ANGLO-AMERICAN QUAKERISM. By Thomas E. Drake. 1958. 1s. 6d., post 3d.
  29. SOME QUAKER PORTRAITS, CERTAIN AND UNCERTAIN. By John Nickalls. 1958. Illustrated. 3s. 6d., post 4d.
  30. "INWARD AND OUTWARD." A study of Early Quaker Language. By Maurice A. Creasey. 1962. 3s. 6d., post 4d.
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