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Editorial

THE Society's Presidential Address for 1973 by Stephen S. Wilson will be published separately.

This issue of the *Journal* opens with two articles from across the Atlantic. Andrew W. Brink studies aspects of Milton's connection with Friends in his paper entitled "*Paradise Lost* and James Nayler's Fall". Kenneth L. Carroll presents a study of Henry Fell, a First Publisher of whom comparatively little is known. Jean Mortimer surveys Mary Mollineux's work—the poems of a Lancashire Friend and sufferer, which went through six editions before the end of the eighteenth century, and none afterwards.

As London Yearly Meeting is to meet in 1974 in York it is perhaps appropriate that we include a description of the Birkbeck Library, a comprehensive collection of early Friends' works formed by Morris Birkbeck the bibliographer and by him bequeathed to Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting.

A. Day Bradley, member of the Records committee of New York Yearly Meeting, brings to light records concerning two Cumberland Friends who were pressed into British naval service in 1781 in "Friends in Admiral Rodney's Squadron". Melanie Barber enumerates items of interest to Friends in the records preserved in Lambeth Palace Library.

The issue includes the usual features, and (in particular) a Query concerning papers of Amelia Opie, and a brief note concerning the *Narrative Papers of George Fox*, the latest in

the long line of contributions to scholarship from Henry J. Cadbury.

The 1973 Spring meeting of the Society was held on 4 May, when Edwin B. Bronner, of Haverford College, delivered an address on "The Evolution of a Yearly Meeting—Philadelphia Yearly Meeting before the crisis of 1755". Edwin Bronner is one of three American historians currently engaged in re-writing the story of American Quakerism during the colonial period, and his address, based on his "work in progress", gave his audience a foretaste of the new light that the forthcoming volumes will shed on this period of history.

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Narrative Papers of George Fox, unpublished or uncollected. Edited from the manuscripts, with introductions and notes by Henry J. Cadbury. Richmond, Indiana, Friends United Press, 1972. pp. xii, 249. (Available at Friends Book Centre, Friends House. £3.50).

This welcome volume deals with, and reproduces some of the preserved or recoverable manuscript material which preceded the three folio volumes of George Fox's works published in the two decades following his death—namely, the *Journal*, 1694, the *Epistles*, 1698, and the Doctrinals (*Gospel-truth demonstrated*) 1706. No one else could have attempted, much less carried this work so successfully though, and it falls naturally into place after Henry Cadbury's other works on *The Annual Catalogue of George Fox's Papers*, 1939, and *George Fox's Book of Miracles*, 1948.

By its nature this is not an easy book, but it is one which it is good to have available, and which will not be ignored. Henry Cadbury has arranged his material under nine chapter headings: The rise of Friends and Truth, Fragmentary Journal sources, The Great Journal, Letters to Margaret Fell (later Fox), Letters concerning passages, Lives of Friends in the ministry, Sufferings, Examples of judgments upon persecutors, Visions. Each chapter brings to light eligible material which earlier editors of George Fox had decided to reject.

This volume reminds me of the descriptive title of Richard Samble's Works (1684) *A handful after the Harvest-Man*, for this is truly a collection illustrating the work of Henry J. Cadbury who has long been occupied with various manuscript sources on the early history of Friends closely linked with George Fox, and many in Fox's own hand.

R.S.M.

Paradise Lost and James Nayler's Fall

"Let such that think they stand, take heed least they fall."
James Nayler[1]

IS it possible that John Milton's portrayal of Adam and Eve in *Paradise Lost* draws more on contemporary sources, on Quaker sources in particular, than has been recognized? When Milton constructed the epic fall of Adam and Eve he did so using highly developed characters who might occur amidst the religious excitement in Cromwell's unstable England just prior to the Restoration. Milton's Adam and Eve are characters who could not have existed at any other time, faced as they are with a lonely search for inward religion when the security of Eden was sacrificed to forbidden knowledge. Theirs is the separatist predicament in essence: rebelliousness finding out its frailty by asking for knowledge too high for man. Expecting to become "A Goddess among Gods", as Satan suggests to Eve (IX, 547), she and Adam soon find themselves reduced to total dependence on their forsaken God. To discover his love afresh through Christ's renewal of conscience is a task that Milton knew to be essential for those separatists who had sought, only to transgress, the highest spiritual knowledge. Where is the boundary between man and God? How far may he go toward becoming Christ, having measured access to God's inmost mind? Failing like Satan in his proud attempt to become God, how is the self-damage done by Adam and Eve to be repaired? This was a living issue for Milton in a perilous time of prophetic drive for ultimate justification by sects and by individual prophets.

Adam and Eve show the unwanted effects of each man becoming his own church. Unlike their portrayals in Milton's most likely literary sources, Hugo Grotius's *Adamus Exul* (1601) and Giambattista Andreini's *L'Adamo* (1613) the first humans in *Paradise Lost* are marked by mid-seventeenth-century English Protestant separatism. Their individuality is

[1] James Nayler, *How the Ground of Temptation is in the Heart of the Creature*. Quoted by Emilia Fogelklou in *James Nayler the Rebel Saint* (London, 1931), p. 309.

heightened, like the artist Rembrandt's grotesque Adam and Eve, when contrasted with their medieval prototypes.[1] Milton's figures have become similarly complicated, psychologically impenetrable to each other and puzzling to the reader who is expected to discern a meaning in this. Each is self-concerned, proud and distant, or after the fall hotly familiar in a sensual way. They are creatures of extremes, so fervent and inward that they are prone to lose the sense of common obedience with which they were charged.

Milton portrayed his characters' spirituality to make them immediate for readers who knew first-hand the lonely, conflicted and often unpredictable search as it was for many Puritans. Adam and Eve as separated man and woman, are rebels against God's authority, ambiguously held by the bonds of matrimony while disentangling from the guilt of breaking his decrees. Few separatists went so far as they, but some realized that the most intricate emotions of personal relationship might be involved in religion. The simple characters of Grotius and Andreini discuss their precarious positions more fully than do Milton's, but they experience less of its anguish. We are continually reminded that Milton's figures were conceived in the period of George Fox and the early Friends, whose spiritual searches take individuality into account to a degree seldom seen before. The spiritual status of Adam and Eve is conditional upon autonomous personality, whose development is an issue in the poem. The individual was emerging with a definition new in literature, a definition clearly found in such Elizabethans as John Donne that by mid-seventeenth century was pervasive. Milton gave Adam and Eve dramatically separate and opposed personalities, which are developed beyond what seemed necessary to his predecessors in the hexameral tradition (writings about the six days of creation). By doing so the woman's iniquity and the man's impossible dilemma of loyalties are heightened. Adam speaks honourably of accepting God's prohibition not to touch the tree of knowledge (IV, 423), while his partner, in a quite different frame of mind, thinks admiringly of her mirrored image on the day she was shaped from Adam's rib.

Thus early in the poem, the hierarchical principle of "Hee for God onely, shee for God in him" (IV, 299) is infringed, from which follows conflict over gardening duties and from

[1] Rembrandt's "Adam and Eve" is an etching of 1638.

them, the fall itself. Milton well knew the actual difficulties of keeping domestic accord. Thus the question of fit spiritual knowledge is combined with that of stresses in an intimate relationship, and *Paradise Lost* examines the perils of a union between man and woman in the likelihood, as he could believe, that she would try to exceed the bounds set by God's decree. Beginning from Genesis III, Milton re-examines the marital conflict as presented by Grotius, Andreini, by Serafino Della Salandra in *Adamo Caduto* (1647) and others early and late in the Renaissance. Milton is heir to all of them, but his epic gives the domestic upset of natural order a new and troubled gravity, the gravity of spiritual presumption.

How did Milton come to this? Of course his own early marital difficulties—the abrupt leave-taking of Royalist Mary Powell after their marriage in 1642—could not help but rankle still. A poet's unsettled conflicts may prove the stuff of his imaginings, and a lurking mistrust of woman is surely behind the portrayal of Eve's false hopes. But the incident with Mary Powell and the divorce tracts were far behind him when he turned to depicting the Eve of his Biblical epic. Residual mistrust of woman there was, but I want to suggest that what gave Milton more immediate material for his Adam and Eve, the fallen separatist saints, was the scandal of James Nayler's fall. "The Quakers' Jesus's" shaping power over the contemporary imagination can be detected in *Paradise Lost*, whose vivid characterization may in part be explained by looking to this event.[1]

The epic's development was cumulative with actual composition beginning perhaps as early as 1655, certainly by

[1] It had seemed possible that Milton was drawn close to Nayler's circle through his second wife, Katherine Woodcock, whom Milton married in 1656. She was the daughter of a Captain William Woodcock of Hackney (W. R. Parker, *Milton A Biography*, Oxford, 1968, p. 1053). This prompted the thought that Katherine's father might have been the Quaker William Woodcock who was invited to serve in the militia (so arguing previous military experience) in June 1659 (W. C. Braithwaite, *The Second Period of Quakerism*, Cambridge, 1961, p. 18), and in whose house in the Savoy a retired meeting was held at which Nayler sometimes preached. However, a careful search of Quaker records for the period, made by Malcolm Thomas, Assistant Librarian at Friends House, failed to disclose a connection: "It is possible that the Milton Woodcocks are related in some way to the Quaker ones, but there is no evidence I can allege for it." There is therefore no firm evidence of Milton's contact with Friends much before his association with Thomas Ellwood in 1662. Although they can hardly have escaped his notice, Milton's acquaintance with the early Quaker leaders in London remains speculative.

1658. The poem took shape in Milton's mind through the revolutionary period, reaching its final state at the undoing of Cromwell's republic, with which he had associated his reformist hopes. *Paradise Lost* was not published until the comparative safety of 1667. As the idea of a Christian epic of paradisal loss and inward recovery grew, it picked up a wealth of useful socio-political material in the course of events—from parliamentary debates to civil war battles. The saga of James Nayler's ill-judged entry into Bristol in October 1656, his cruel punishment for blasphemy, and his attempt to recover grace may well have offered a stimulus to construct a new version of the archetypal fall and recovery as it looked in the midst of changing sectarian hopes for a final revelation of truth. The occurrence of Nayler's fall, at just the time of Milton's greatest impressionability in forming the poetic fiction, has been overlooked. Studies of the hexameral tradition assume its literary influence almost to the exclusion of contemporary religious happenings, to which it is certain Milton attended closely.

Nayler's Christ-like entry into Bristol, conducted by immoderate women admirers, was as sensational as any event in those excited times. For this Nayler barely escaped martyrdom after a trial for blasphemy that engaged Cromwell's parliamentarians in one of their most searching debates. The setting was Westminster Hall, only a short distance from Milton's place of residence in Petty France. He was still occasionally translating foreign correspondence for the government, a task which had occupied him more fully prior to his blindness. Nayler's was a trial about a fundamental point in prophetic religion—whether a man who presents himself as a dramatic sign of Christ's coming has profaned Christ. The degree to which the inner light confers sanctity was being judged, and the possible dangers of Quaker belief lay exposed. How could Milton, the champion of religious liberty, ignore so conspicuous a test of separatism's most extreme consequences? Religious freedom continually occupied his thoughts, and indeed he probably attended to the ten- or eleven-day argument that developed over the acts of Nayler and his followers, noting each turn of opinion as speakers wrestled with the issue. In the House of Commons it was finally agreed that he had exceeded all permissible prophetic bounds, and the strongly worded decision had it

that Nayler was guilty of blasphemy, was an impostor and seducer of the people. The difficulty lay in what should be done about the offence, liberty of conscience being upheld by several influential speakers. Those who debated were well known to Milton who, in another connection in *Defensio Secunda*, favourably mentions five among the most lenient: The Lord President Lawrence, Major-General John Desborough, Major-General John Lambert, William Sydenham, and of more doubtful opinion Sir Gilbert Pickering.[1] As a loyal Cromwellian and civil servant, Milton was bound to feel deeply the testing through which Nayler put those parliamentarians who were most tender toward manifestations of the spirit; no doubt he relived their trial of conscience himself. The first part of Nayler's punishment was executed in a pillory set up in Palace Yard, Westminster, where the atmosphere must have been charged with the strangeness of what was happening to that godly man. Was blind Milton led out to witness this spectacle with his remaining senses? It is quite probable he was.

Nayler's official punishment, the pillorying, whipping through the streets, the burning of his tongue and branding of his forehead, all in view of the London public, showed the savagery that could attend questions of doubtful personal sanctity. Undeniably he had over-reached his rightful dispensation, sinfully moved by "imaginations" through subtle stages leading to identification with Christ. This was the revenge of a people frightened by Familist and other prophetic excesses in a time of extreme social instability. However sweet Nayler's acceptance of suffering, he was made an object of derision as well as of pity. Even George Fox said he had "runn out", and Friends could not countenance him. A preacher of strength and unsurpassed spiritual gifts had been brought down by meddling with the prerogatives of God. Under the spell of enthusiasm Nayler pretended to the highest knowledge, and in this Milton's Adam closely resembles him. He, too, allowed woman to waste his being in a futile grasp for Godhead, which had been expressly forbidden

[1] John Milton, *Defensio Secunda* in *The Complete Prose Works of John Milton* (Yale University Press, 1966), Vol. 4, Part I, pp. 675–677. In this tract of 1654 defending the revolutionary party, Milton commemorates certain leaders he considers to be virtuous in war and peace. He makes clear that they were known to him "either through friendship or by report": they are familiarly addressed as preservers of liberty.

as a test of obedience. Nayler's test may not have been so clear-cut, but it was no less one of listening to the serpent in woman rather than trusting the still audible voice of God.

Adam's pride initially shows itself somewhat differently from Nayler's. It drives reason, not inspiration, beyond proper limits so that it might be said that Milton is commenting more on the presumptions of the new cosmological science than on sectarian excess. But pride is one and indivisible. In Book VII of *Paradise Lost* the angel Raphael gives an account of the six-day creation which, for all its poetry, fails to satisfy Adam who, enquiring farther about celestial mechanics, implies that they may be defective.[1] He is answered with deliberate obscurity and a touch of rebuke. The angel directs him to matters more immediate to the spiritual welfare of himself and Eve, whom we know to be prone to the sensual temptations Satan is preparing. Adam ironically affirms what bitter experience will have to teach him:

> to know
> That which before us lies in daily life,
> Is the prime Wisdom . . .
>
> (VIII, 192–194)

At this stage he is dwelling on the condition of selfhood, not thinking of the common good. Adam further draws attention to himself by narrating the experience of creation, his difficulty in finding an identity and his regret at being without a partner. The long passage closing Book VIII elaborates Adam's self importance, his rights and needs rather than the patient trust in God that would be fitting. Milton shows this self importance leading to "imaginations" that are controlled only within the providential system made real by the poem. Adam moves steadily towards error, becoming culpable in the fall in almost the same degree as Eve. When he admits that she fills him with ungovernable passions (VIII, 530f.), we see the danger ahead. Milton's descriptions of Adam emphasize his emotional vulnerability, his unpreparedness to deal with the passions woman arouses: the parallel with Nayler is very close, when we reflect on the

[1] Act two of Grotius's *Adamus Exul* finds Adam curious about the creation but not excessively so. There is no suggestion of an overly curious intellect. Watson Kirkconnell, *The Celestial Cycle* (University of Toronto Press, 1952), p. 117f.

entanglement with women enthusiasts he could neither govern nor understand.

Writing of the biblical fall, Nayler strangely gives no emphasis to the woman's part in it. In a pamphlet of 1656, he explains in cryptic phrases how it came about that man "turned to the Lust that is carnal and self-ended".[1] Something painful is being avoided.

> When man looked out into the other, where he ruled who abides not in the Truth, wherein the disobedience was received in, of that which was contrary to the will of God to feed upon, then he joyned to that w^ch^ was contrary, wherein the weakness was, and the death, darkness and blindness, as to the things of God; and that which freely he had received of God; and grew subtil within himself, and wise to do evil, so that he had lost the will that was free, to wait upon God in his wisdom and counsel, freely to be carryed forth by him; and so from the uprightness and innocency, and pure wisdom and spiritual power, which God had placed in his heart, he fell, and into the self-inventions which he had chosen in the contrary will . . .[2]

A wrong choice loses the seed of righteousness and man becomes brutish, turning to "vanity" and "folly". Subject to the "earthly principle, he is covered with thick darkness", cut off from the spirit and "heart-blinde", for which the only remedy is Christ's renewing light. It is plain that Nayler saw the spiritual meaning of temptation, while missing the human involvement that a dramatic poem could reveal and that was present for many to see, in his own case.

Nayler's "other", wherein the disobedience was received, is woman, the Eve whom Milton shows bending to Satan in betrayal of God, Adam and herself. This Eve Nayler experienced in the person of Martha Simmonds, who together with Hannah Stranger and some others led him into folly at Bristol. Martha Simmonds seeming to defer to Nayler's spiritual gifts, as Eve deferred to Adam's higher intellect, undermined and nearly destroyed them. When Martha Simmonds tried to enlist Nayler to oppose Burrough and Howgill, the chief Quaker preachers in London, it was charged that she had bewitched him. In the language of the day the charge was accurate enough: he had certainly lost the "raigning power that was in him", to use her own words.[3] It

[1] James Nayler, *Love to the Lost* (London, edition of 1665), p. 2.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 1.
[3] Emilia Fogelklou, *James Nayler*, p. 307.

seemed that Satan himself could not have depressed Nayler's spirit more, so strongly was he influenced during the three days of spiritual travail he unwisely spent at her house. A strange attraction for women was Nayler's weakness, and he easily became subservient to them. Witchcraft was the name given to malevolence directed by certain women toward those around them, and one can almost believe that Martha Simmonds disguised such feelings under apparent admiration for Nayler.[1] She would not leave him alone in London or in Bristol, following him as he weakened, much as Satan tracked Eve until he implanted the self-destructive idea of becoming a goddess. Martha, already possessed, captured the vulnerable Adam in Nayler by assailing the melancholic strain in his temperament. Her audacity, extending to a challenge to Fox's very leadership, stunned and weakened him. Dominated by this Ranterish woman, herself suspiciously like a challenger to his leadership, Nayler passively accepted a messianic role upon release from Exeter prison. Adulated by Hannah Stranger and her husband, who had written, "Thy Name shall be no more James Nayler, but Jesus", Nayler was set on the road to spiritual disaster which befell his progress into Bristol. Even those excited times were unprepared for such a spectacle. The authorities could do little but punish the seeming mockery of Christ's entry into Jerusalem. Possession was immediately suspected, as the title of Ralph Farmer's *Sathan Inthron'd in his Chair of Pestilence* indicates. Friends passed judgment by meeting in silence; great must have been their consternation at the inflated "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Israel" with which Nayler had been adulated. This leader, a preacher of the subtlest

[1] The social history of seventeenth-century witchcraft does not include the name of Martha Simmonds, who was no more than passingly accused of the offence. Hers is not a typical case, as appears from Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (London, 1971), Ch. 16. Though at the hearing Sir Gilbert Pickering said "He is bewitched, really bewitched . . ." (Fogelklou, p. 202), Richard Hubberthorne, writing to Margaret Fell, says simply of Martha Simmonds that Nayler was "much subject to her" (Mabel Brailsford, *A Quaker from Cromwell's Army: James Nayler* (London, 1927), p. 108), while George Fox refers to her oddly as "Martha Symonds, which is called thy mother" (Brailsford, p. 113). Nayler himself, however, was more than a little concerned about bewitchment, writing of "the woman of Witchcraft, which hunteth for the precious life of the holy Child, seeking to draw your strength of affections from him after the harlot, that so he may fail & die daily in your hearts and affections, while the Lust goes out to another, covered with some fair pretence . . ." (*Milk for Babes* (London, edition of 1665), p. 16).

power, and a man of matchless charm was brought low, as Adam was to be brought low in the poem forming in Milton's mind.

The fall of Eve and then Adam, Milton stresses, follows from their desire to become God, each in his way aspiring to higher knowledge than is fit: "Man hath offended the majesty of God by aspiring to Godhead", he wrote in the Argument to Book III. At the poem's close, the regenerate Adam admits to having looked for "Forbidd'n knowledge by forbidd'n means" (XII, 279), and when Milton has foretold an age of persecution for conscience, Adam shows the Archangel Michael wise contrition, and he promises to limit aspiration in times to come.

> Greatly instructed I shall hence depart,
> Greatly in peace of thought, and have my fill
> Of knowledge, what this vessel can containe;
> Beyond which was my folly to aspire.
> Henceforth I learne, that to obey is best,
> And love with feare the onely God, to walk
> As in his presence . . .
>
> (XII, 558–563)

Nayler, like Adam, is a learner in the school of hard experience. Change by inward refinement is the all-important teaching of *Paradise Lost;* the knowledge of how both active and passive sinfulness can be reduced, the error of separation overcome, is man's most important attainment. Here Nayler's acts could certainly have helped Milton shape a separatist Adam, so disloyal to God yet remediable had his lapse been. Nayler had taken the passive part at Bristol; fanatically led, he entered the city gates, hands folded before him as if enclosed in a trance. Adam too succumbed passively, "overcome with Femal charm" (IX, 999). Nayler's non-interfering inwardness was evident at the Parliamentary committee hearing where he explained that he had been "commanded by the Lord to suffer such things to be done by me, as to the outward, as a sign, not as I am a creature".[1] A reporter said the answer was given in great meekness and wisdom. Adam's trial by Christ similarly finds the offender explaining circumstances with a willingness to learn meekly (X, 85f). Adam, too, might have pleaded his "sign" of

[1] Mabel Brailsford, *A Quaker from Cromwell's Army: James Nayler*, p. 133.

faithfulness to a reality above the creature, but at this stage he had more to learn of forgiveness than had Nayler. Did Nayler and Adam equally know the woman to be deceived, and follow because indissolubly bound to her? Was it an "effeminat slackness" (XI, 634), wearied out by imprisonment and fasting, that led Nayler to obey woman as his God, following where her presumption led? The deepest motives are obscure in both cases, and the parallel is not complete. But there are enough elements in common to argue a connection that would have occurred naturally to Milton's Puritan readers as arising from his summing up of Nayler's folly and his redeeming spiritual education.

The course of Nayler's reformation was centrally important to all contemporary separatists. His later pamphlets recognize that the Christian reader was especially attentive to the providential means of remedying pride, the greatest crime against God. How regeneration came about was of broad interest, and seventeenth-century religious literature shows that a great variety of falls, from that of Catholic John Donne into sensuality to that of John Bunyan in "selling Christ", might all be referred to Adam's renewal in Christ. Acceptably to remake the fallen person required not only free confession but a prototype of rebuilding. In this the doctrine of the first and second Adams stood supreme, and its various incarnations were of intense concern in this period. There was no better place for Milton to find an account of rebirth in the spirit than in Nayler's tracts, which plead with the unregenerate while yet the smarting experience of his own fall is being assimilated. Many passages meditate on the excess to which an inability to distinguish between Christ's outward coming and a visionary consciousness of him had led. More pertinently still, Nayler meditates on carnal deviations from true godliness, the material of Milton's high drama.

> If any Carnal Way be opened, it will form a fair pretence as though it were of God, which is not of God; and this seeks to betray the just and faithful one from you; and would part you from your chast waiting upon him whom you love, taking his advantage by your hast, weariness and weakness in the journey . . .[1]

Such passages, searching the predicament in which he had been, give Nayler's admonitions their life, and make plausible his call to forsake all wordliness.

[1] James Nayler, *Milk for Babes* (London, edition of 1665), pp. 3–4.

> But in all your Journey, take heed of the Adulterous mind, for it secretly devoureth the precious Life; Wherefore take heed of that which looketh out, give not way to that eye not for a moment; for if you consent to it upon any pretence whatsoever, you enter into a Covenant therewith, against the holy Seed, to destroy the chast mind; but whether it be rough or smooth, yet hold it as an Enemy, and that which if it get in by consent, must out by suffering double to the delight it brings with it; but if as an Enemy you withstand it by constant and patient resistings, it will flie, and grow weaker upon every assault; and he that giveth you victory, will grow more in your esteem and delight.[1]

Thus Nayler establishes a sense of limits, of observing clear restrictions found by moving too close to the carnality of prophetic religion. Nayler learned to "wait low, and diligently hearken thereto, untill the thing it self spring up, which naturally hath . . . Riches in it . . .".[2] We think of Raphael's advice to Adam, which he is able to take only after suffering: "be lowlie wise" (VIII, 173). This is "the summe/Of wisdom . . ." (XII, 575–576), for which praise is offered by both fallen saints, Adam and Nayler, when the true riches are known.

Nayler's words are much more than a recantation, constrained though he was to explain his lapse. In an astonishingly compressed metaphoric account of regeneration closing this pamphlet, he tells how "I went on the way of wrath, & passed by the gates of hell . . .", suffering until rescue. The passage speaks of providential guidance, the greater good that comes of rising from a fall: "then didst thou lift me out of the pit & set me forth in the sight of mine enemy". "And how good is it that man be proved in the night", he adds, quite in keeping with Milton's belief that the second Adam is a better, more tender, child of light than the old one had been. A sense of limits, spiritual triumph over the divided self, consummates both Nayler and Milton's Adam. Nayler's words on revival are fittingly paradisal, and as poetic as any description of the garden in *Paradise Lost*: "thou fill'dst the lower parts of the Earth with gladness, & the valley was opened, thy showers descended abundantly, so the Earth was fill'd with virtues. Thou madest thy Plant to spring, & the thirsty soul became as a watered Garden . . ."[3]

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 12.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 1.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 24–25.

Such resonant language is good evidence of the change that had come about, and the imagery unites prophet and poet.

Nayler, like Adam, realized that God is authority as well as inspiration. To follow him correctly is to be guided, not possessed: "you shall have your Laws from the Law-giver Christ Jesus, and your judgement from the Father of lights . . .".[1] Consent is given to limits, yet Nayler's prose retains its power of exhortation, its subtlety and lift. Even the severest imprisonment and disapprobation from former followers could not reduce his determination to grow beyond what he had been in the days of confusion. The judgmental melancholy through which he passed abated, a chastened humility appeared in the whole man, who at his death could speak the most moving sentences about grace found among the oppressed. No longer open to self-deception, Nayler's confessional pamphlets show him to have gathered the ravages of Satan under the Seed's promise. Though Nayler cannot dramatize the fallen woman's part, his is exactly Milton's language in the closing books of *Paradise Lost.* Milton wrote of ultimate deliverance to come at the end of history, with its inward signs to be cherished until that final event. Nayler agrees that the moment of fulfilment is still to be awaited, that the process of becoming ready is long and arduous. A man perfected by error and suffering enlarges his hopes over those of mere prophetic fervour: he thinks now of the shared need to grow and to change in things of the spirit. Milton's symbol for this hope is the Seed of Adam and Eve in its power to restore, and the dramatic restoration is that of man and woman in living union.

> Both in one Faith unanimous though sad,
> With cause for evils past, yet much more cheerd
> With meditation on the happie end.
>
> (XII, 603–605)

This regeneration, on its earthly plane, is the reconciliation and reunion of separated persons. As it is between Adam and Eve reconciled in *Paradise Lost,* so it was with Nayler seeking out those from whom he had been so long separated. We recall that Nayler the pilgrim ended his life on the road home to wife and family at Wakefield.

[1] James Nayler, *What the Possession of the Living Faith Is* (London, edition of 1664), p. 40.

The story of Nayler's fall and recovery has a fitting symmetry, completed with his death in 1660, when an era of wonders was checked by the return of Charles II. Nayler's fall became legendary as an example of the highest enthusiasm judged and forgiven. Parted from God by asking for too much knowledge, he was returned through loving obedience; this is the archetype of Adam, but was Nayler's experience in fact in Milton's mind as he constructed the fall in *Paradise Lost*? Milton himself had not undergone the spiritual upheavals of the great sectarian leaders, yet he certainly knew the springs from which they arose. He felt poetry being written through him by the Holy Spirit, while the scruples of a cultivated European prevented him prophesying a reign of Christ about to begin in England. The possibility was none the less exciting, and Milton never ruled plenary inspiration, such as Nayler's, to be impossible. He could gauge its excesses without falling into them himself, and without loss of concern for those who discovered them to their sorrow. For Nayler there had been the test of a religious liberty Milton had long upheld, that liberty, in which self-discipline was understood, he opposed to enforced uniformity of belief. Nayler's was the indiscipline of one freed of all ecclesiastical restraint who has to discover it again through the most rigorous religious experience.

Nayler, the rebel saint, underwent an essential human experience at the boundary of inspiration. Any individual human soul venturing to the place of contact between man and God would be especially noted by Milton, who had long since given up hope of the churches composing their differences by agreement. When beginning his grand summary of man's lot in *Paradise Lost*, he looked for signs of divine intervention that were more than speciously stated, signs in keeping with the poem's mystical invocation to a new church of the upright hearted. The post-Restoration Quakerism of Ellwood and Penington that was to attract him tended toward mystical quietism of which there is much in the chastened Adam. But Adam's initial enthusiasm is active and the course it runs belongs to the heroic age of Nayler. The beauty of Nayler's prophetic language, the penetration with which he preached and wrote, insured a hearing from the poet. Many sectarians found themselves in error and disgrace; none but Nayler went so deep into the pit, were restored in the spirit by humble learning, and found the exact language

to discern the religious meaning of that experience. To use language with candour and beauty was given only to a few. This Milton would have recognized in Nayler, judging him to be singularly favoured, given as a sign in a larger sense than the Bristol episode alone to convey a meaning all men should grasp. Nayler was an Adam whose bitter-sweet seed held the fullest promise Milton envisages in his epic. Similar mistakes would be made again, wisdom won and lost many times over, but at least there was something on record to show how yielding to temptation might be overcome and a larger good attained. Nayler himself indicates the way:

> And if you abide faithful in the light waiting, you will be so far from turning into the liberty of the flesh, that you will see every vain thought and imagination judged in the first motion, and the ground of all sin you will see laid open, and so come to see the Axe laid to the root of the corrupt tree that hath brought forth evil fruit, which is Johns Ministry, and the Baptism of Repentance, and so be led on to him who fulfils all righteousness; and that kingdom you will hear preach't at hand, which consists not in words, but in power . . .[1]

ANDREW W. BRINK

[1] James Nayler, *A Salutation to the Seed of God* (London, edition of 1665), p. 26.

Henry Fell, Early Publisher of Truth

ONE of the more intriguing figures in early Quaker history is Henry Fell, who was probably the first Friend to travel on four different continents. His various missionary activities carried him through England, across Europe, several times to the West Indies, and to such widely separated places as New York, Surinam on the coast of South America, and Alexandria in Egypt (while on his way to visit the legendary figure Prester John). With the exception of the unknown Friend who laboured in the East Indies for three years prior to 1661,[1] Henry Fell was perhaps the most widely travelled of all the early Quakers.

Fell's origins, like his end, are shrouded in obscurity. He appears to have been born in 1630 and to have died sometime in the mid-1670s. The latest known letter from Henry Fell was written in 1674. He was already dead by the time that Richard Richardson's "list of Friends in the Ministry deceased" was produced in 1680.[2] Henry Fell belonged to one of the many Lancashire families of that name. Although he was closely attached to the family of Judge Thomas Fell (and once served as his clerk), it is not clear that he was actually related to Judge Fell.[3]

It seems probable that Henry Fell was one of George Fox's many converts in the Swarthmoor area at the time of Fox's first visit there in 1652—when Margaret Fell and most of her family at Swarthmoor and Leonard Fell and others at Baycliff were convinced.[4] Henry's close relationship with Margaret

[1] William C. Braithwaite, *The Second Period of Quakerism*, second edition with notes by Henry J. Cadbury (Cambridge, 1961), pp. 217, 668–669.

[2] Friends House Library, London, Manuscripts, Portfolio 5.60. Henry Fell is recorded as number 96 on this list. The two Friends listed just before him died in 1678, while the three immediately after him died in 1675, 1678, and 1672—so that there is no apparent chronological pattern to the listing of these deceased Friends.

[3] Friends House Library, Swarthmore MSS I, 42 (Tr. II, 97). Henry Fell in 1656 speaks of "my Brother Thomas Fell" in a list of other people (including Leonard Fell) not so designated. This Thomas appears to be someone other than Judge Fell, although the name *Thomas* may indicate a closer relationship than has been hitherto thought likely.

[4] George Fox, *Journal*, ed. by John L. Nickalls (Cambridge, 1952), pp. 113–117. All references to Fox's *Journal* are to this edition unless otherwise stated.

Fell (and her children) and William Caton (who was employed in a secretarial capacity at Swarthmoor) is reflected in his many extant letters to these two. Although Henry Fell probably was convinced in 1652, there is available no evidence of his travelling in the ministry before 1655, when he suddenly appears quite active as a "Publisher of Truth."

Early in 1655 Henry Fell was at Gravesend, where he was able to report that meetings had been held and that several people had been convinced.[1] In May 1656 he seems to have been back at Swarthmoor Hall once more, writing to William Caton twice that month.[2] In August 1656 Henry Fell wrote from Bristol that he had been going toward Launceston to visit George Fox who was imprisoned there but had heard that no Friends were allowed to pass. He had also been in Gloucester visiting some Friend who was in prison there.[3]

A few days later, on August 14, Henry Fell reported to Margaret Fell from Bristol, the main gateway to the West Indies, that he would shortly be travelling to Barbados. He also noted that six Bristol Quaker women, whose husbands were already in Barbados, would probably travel out on the same ship with him—as well as a young Friend who was going there on "outward business."[4] Fell arrived in Barbados on October 7 and soon was hard at work in his proclamation of the Quaker message. For two weeks he joined with Mary Fisher, Peter Head, and John Rous in holding meetings throughout the island, prior to their departure for the Leeward Islands. He reported to Margaret Fell that he had experienced some difficulty with Joseph Salman,[5] an English Ranter, who had "bewitched" many who had leaned towards Friends, and that he had also spent half an hour with the governor, who was a "very moderate" man. The governor, he added, "took no offence att my hatt or thouinge of him but he is high in his wisdom & many words, and conceited of himself".[6]

[1] Swarthmore MSS IV, 167 (Tr. II, 85).
[2] *Ibid.*, IV, 260 (Tr. II, 91); IV, 265 (Tr. II, 93).
[3] *Ibid.*, I, 42 (Tr. II, 97).
[4] *Ibid.*, I, 65 (Tr. II, 99). Cf. *ibid.*, I, 292 (Tr. III, 639) for a reference in the Swarthmore accounts to money being provided for his voyage to Barbados.
[5] Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down* (London, 1972), *passim*, especially pp. 162–163, 174–177, 226–227.
[6] Swarthmore MSS I, 66 (Tr. II, 101).

By December 19, persecution and suffering had become Henry Fell's lot, so that he reported having been abused and beaten while on his way to visit Colonel Morris, who had requested a visit. The guilty ones, however, had already been "bound over to their sessions".[1] Whenever Fell tried to speak at any of the various "meeting houses" or to any of the priests (usually waiting until they had completed their own talks), he was "hayled forth". He reports that,

> I went to speake to one of the Cheife preists in the Land on that day they call Christmasse day who was preachinge & I spoke to him but was carryed away to the marshall's house where I was kept but till he had done; & then two or 3, called Justices came, & I was before them brought, one of them tould me I must find security for the good behaviour, & for my app[ea]rance at the generall Sessions, & he would give me three dayes tyme to give security else I should goe to prison. I tould him I had not behaved myself ill & therefore I should not give him Security, & the lord was my Security & taught me to behave myself honestly, and I looked not to men for Security, for I had broken noe law that was accordinge to that of God in the Conscience. If I had done evill to any man, I deny not to suffer thou mayst use thy power &c. and I gave him a paper which I had written ag[ains]t the observation of that tyme (There was another, with me, who was but newly convinced) soe a little before the sessions came they Issued out their warrants under 3 Justices hands for us both to be apprehended & sent them up & down the Country from Constable to Constable but none layd hould of us to bringe us to the Sessions, & though we were presented by the grand Jury (soe called) yet nothinge was done against us.[2]

On January 11, 1657, the "word of the Lord" came to Henry Fell that he should go to New England where Friends had been undergoing an increasing persecution. He was able to report to Margaret Fell on February 19 that Mary Dyer (who was one of the four Quakers later to be hanged at Boston) and Ann Burden, who were both returning from England to New England, were now in Barbados and that it was his hope to go to New England with them.[3] On March 14, Fell wrote that he had not yet been able to go to New England but still intended to do so and reported that John Rous hoped to go with him. In the meantime Fell and Rous had been

[1] *Ibid.*, I, 67 (Tr. II, 107).
[2] *Ibid.*, I, 68 (Tr. II, 111).
[3] *Ibid.*, I, 68 (Tr. II, 111). Mary Fisher and Peter Head were now on their way back to England via Holland.

holding four or five meetings a week in Barbados—where the work had been made more difficult by reports coming from England about James Nayler's "fall," for this had produced opposition to and attacks on Quakerism by many of the enemies in the island.[1]

Henry Fell's plans to go to New England were still very much in his mind when he and John Rous wrote to Margaret Fell on April 24, but there is no record of such a religious visit. Just when his return journey to England got under way is uncertain; probably it was shortly after July 22, when John Rous wrote to Margaret Fell that Henry Fell "hath freedom to go for England" and that at his departure Rous would be the only ministering Friend in Barbados.[2] When Fell's ship was approaching England, it was captured by the Spaniards and he was taken to Spain as a prisoner. Escaping from Spain, Fell then made his way through France to La Rochelle and got passage to England—arriving in London on October 29, 1657.[3]

After some months in England, Henry Fell decided to return to Barbados once more. Sailing from Plymouth, where he had waited eight or nine days, he arrived in Barbados in September 1658. This time he was accompanied by Ann Clayton, Robert Malins, Peter Cowsnocke, Edward Eades [Teddes], Philip Rose, Marmaduke Stevenson, and Peter Pearson, some of whom intended to continue on to New England, Virginia, Jamaica, and elsewhere.[4] Shortly after this return to Barbados Henry Fell wrote to Margaret Fell that John Bowron—who had just completed his visit to Surinam—was in Barbados and reported that Bowron "hath done little good here, but rather hurt".[5] In his next letter to her, written early in October, Henry shows that the "spell" of Surinam was now upon him (perhaps as a result of his conversations with John Bowron), so that he expects that he may soon visit that temporarily English colony on the north-eastern coast of South America.[6]

Almost seven months passed before Henry Fell's next extant letter was written on May 8, 1659. He reported that

[1] *Ibid.*, I, 69 (Tr. II, 117).
[2] *Ibid.*, I, 80 (Tr. III, 261).
[3] *Ibid.*, I, 71 (Tr. II, 127).
[4] *Ibid.*, VI, 20 (Tr. VII, 505); IV, 238 (Tr. IV, 249); IV, 218 (Tr. IV, 289).
[5] *Ibid.*, I, 70 (Tr. II, 125).
[6] *Ibid.*, I, 72 (Tr. II, 129).

during this period he had journeyed to Surinam, having been accompanied by four Barbados Quakers. They had performed some service among the settlers there, and some convincements had been made in Surinam. It was his belief, however, that the inhabitants in that colony exceeded in wickedness any that he had thus far met among the English—"Insoemuch that the Indians thereaways by the evill example of the English are much worse and hardened in their ways, & little of God appearing in many of them wee were Among." Fell also described his labours among these Indians and told of the Quaker sufferings at the hands of the officials (books were burned, and Fell and his companions placed in stocks and then temporarily banished into a great wilderness). Finally Fell, who was suffering from a great illness at the time, and his companions were shipped back to Barbados.[1]

Probably Henry Fell returned to England shortly after this, for he was in England by mid-autumn. On November 14, 1659, he was back at Swarthmoor Hall and was corresponding with George Fox, seeking advice about going on some religious travel with "J. S.".[2] In all probability, he was already entertaining the idea of going with John Stubbs to Alexandria and beyond, in their projected visit to Prester John. More than a year would pass, however, before they began that journey. Henry Fell appears to have spent much of late 1659 and early 1660 in the Swarthmoor vicinity. On May 21, 1660, after having been active in the Norfolk area, he was arrested at a meeting and was placed in Thetford Prison.[3] While imprisoned here, Fell wrote to Charles II (who had been upon the throne only a short time) warning him to walk in uprightness—otherwise God "will overturn till Truth and Righteousness comes to raign in Kingdoms, Nations and Governments, which he alone loves and takes delight in."[4] He

[1] Friends House Library, London, Caton MSS, III, 229–232. Cf. Kenneth L. Carroll, "Early Quakers in Surinam (1658–1659)", *Quaker History*, scheduled for publication in 1973. The section of Fell's letter dealing with Surinam is reproduced in full in this article.

[2] Swarthmore MSS IV, 181 (Tr. II, 133).

[3] *Ibid.*, I, 73 (Tr. II, 135). At Thetford, Fell had been pulled out of a meeting, whipped, then turned out of the town and sent as a vagabond from parish to parish until he might return to Lancashire.

[4] George Fox (*et al.*), *The Copies of Several Letters, which were delivered to the King* (London, 1660), pp. 17–22, contains Fell's letter. The quotation comes from the foot of p. 20. On pp. 23–24 is found a sort of postscript dealing with Henry Fell's own case. Cf. Swarthmore MSS I, 74 (Tr. II, 139).

also wrote, at Thetford in July, *An Alarum of Truth Sounded forth to the Nations*, a fifty-page work which is a sound presentation of the Quaker faith, calling others to seek the Light and Truth. In this work, which frequently alludes to scripture, Fell appears conscious of living on the threshold of judgment.[1]

At the beginning of August, Henry Fell was released from his imprisonment and arrived in London on the ninth—joining such Friends as Margaret Fell and William Caton.[2] Caton wrote to George Fox several days later that he believed Henry Fell would stay in London for "a season".[3] It was while Fell was in London, at the time of the Fifth Monarchy uprising, that he nearly lost his life—for, while he was going to a general meeting at Major Beard's, soldiers knocked him down and he would have been killed if the Duke of York (later James II) had not come along and rescued him.[4]

At the beginning of December, Fell was at work in Suffolk and reported that he had been labouring also in Essex, and a part of Norfolk. His plans called for him to return to Thetford and then to London once more. He also noted that John Stubbs had written to him about some likelihood of passage to the East Indies (and the projected trip to visit Prester John—sometimes thought of as dwelling in Central Asia and other times identified with the ruler of Ethiopia). Fell, however, was still seeking George Fox's advice on this projected visit to Prester John.[5]

It was early in 1661, on January 21, that George Fox and eleven other influential Friends issued their famous "Declaration," setting forth the Quaker peace testimony.[6] Among these eleven others is found the name of Henry Fell, thus testifying to the important place which he had won for himself during the first decade of the Quaker movement.

[1] Henry Fell, *An Alarum of Truth Sounded forth to the Nations* (London, 1660).

[2] Swarthmore MSS I, 77 (Tr. II, 141). This letter to Bridget Fell mentions that her mother Margaret is present in London. It also reflects the great love Henry Fell has for the Swarthmoor Hall family.

[3] *Ibid.*, IV, 271 (Tr. I, 418).

[4] George Fox, *Journal* (Cambridge, 1911), i, 386.

[5] Swarthmore MSS I, 78 (Tr. II, 143).

[6] *A Declaration from the Harmles & Innocent People of God, called Quakers. Against all Plotters and Fighters in the World* (London, 1660 [1661]). Cf. Fox, *Journal*, pp. 398–404.

In mid-spring of 1661, Henry Fell and John Stubbs were finally able to embark on their voyage to Egypt, which was meant to be only a stepping stone on their way to meet Prester John. Even before their departure, these two had produced a special message addressed to this legendary figure (with the first three pages being in Latin and the last three in English).[1] They noted that

> Our message is sent unto Thee, and to thy Kingdomes by us the servants of the Lord, and [who] hath sent us his servants to give Thee, and Thy Dominions, and Nations a visit and hearing that thou hast a Love to the faith of Christ, the Light of the World, which enlightneth every man that cometh into the world, by which men apprehend the Faith from him.

They also noted their awareness that they are only a small part of the great missionary surge that marked Quakerism in 1660/1661:

> We from the Lord having a moving out of great Brittain, England, from among the family of the Prophets of the most high God, among whom his name and power and glory is revealed, who are two of the rest which are sent out into the Nations, into the World, into the utmost parts of the Earth, to visite Gods Vineyard, and the Kings of the Earth whom God hath in his hand, and rules them as the waters.[2]

Even before these two travelling Friends could get under way, they met with many difficulties (as recorded by Fox in his *Journal*):

> John Stubbs, and Henry Fell, and Richard Scosthrop were moved to go to China and Prester John's country, but no masters of ships would carry them. At last they got a warrant from the King; but the East India Company would not obey it, nor the masters of their ships. Then they went into Holland, and would have got passage, but no passage there could they get. And there John Stubbs and Henry Fell took shipping to go to Alexandria in Egypt, and so to go by the caravans from thence.[3]

Fell and Stubbs met much the same type of treatment in Alexandria that John Perrot and his companions had experienced several years earlier in Smyrna (where the

[1] H[enry] F[ell] & J[ohn] S[tubbs], *For Presbyter John, and All his subordinate Kings and Princes* (London, 1660).

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 4–5.

[3] Fox, *Journal*, 420. Fell, Stubbs, Scosthrop, and Daniel Baker travelled together to Leghorn, then separated—with Baker and Scosthrop going on to Smyrna and Fell and Stubbs to Alexandria.

English consul there discovered their purpose and strongly encouraged them to return home).[1] Fox reports that the English consul banished Fell and Stubbs from Alexandria, but only after they had been able to distribute a number of books and papers to the Turks and Grecians.[2] These two Quaker missionaries then returned by ship to Italy from Egypt. Then they went by land from Leghorn, travelling thirty-two days without resting before they joined William Caton at Heidelberg in Germany. Here they also met with the Prince Palatine, at his request, having a two-hour discussion with him. From here Fell and Stubbs travelled on to Holland, where they spent a brief period working with William Ames before setting out for England. By the beginning of February 1662 they were back in London once more.[3]

Very little is known about Henry Fell in the dozen or more years of his life following his arrival back in England from Egypt. It would appear that he soon returned to Barbados, and there is no known reference to any work in England by him after that time. The several remaining bits of information all relate to Barbados—suggesting that Fell settled down on that island, which had a large Quaker population and on which he had laboured so much a few years earlier. It seems probable, though, that his travels in the ministry came to a stop before very long and that he then became involved in a period of deep inward and outward turmoil and suffering.

Henry Fell is said to have been imprisoned in Barbados in December 1662.[4] Our next news of him is found in a 1666 letter which he wrote to Margaret Fell.[5] This document shows that he had written a number of earlier letters which apparently had been lost as a result of the war which had caused many ships to "miscarry". (Margaret Fell's own letter of December 9, 1665, had taken almost six months to reach him.) He reports that meetings in Barbados are peaceful, but that "things are not well"—for the enemy had sown tares

[1] Kenneth L. Carroll, *John Perrot, early Quaker schismatic* (London, 1971), published as *J.F.H.S.*, Supp. No. 33, p. 18.

[2] Fox, *Journal*, 420. Cf. Besse, *Sufferings*, 1753, ii. 420.

[3] Swarthmore MSS, IV, 171 (Tr. II, 149). Cf. William I. Hull, *The Rise of Quakerism in Amsterdam, 1655–1665* (Swarthmore, Pa., 1938), p. 183.

[4] Backhouse, Biographical Memoirs (MS.), III, 256, found in Friends House Library, London.

[5] Friends House Library, London, Thirnbeck MS. 4.

(probably a reference to the schismatic influence of John Perrot). He records the earlier death of Perrot in Jamaica,[1] but notes that R. Stacke—who seems to have fallen into the Perrotonian error—has recently arrived from Virginia and is very much like Perrot in his work.[2]

Fell also reports that, with the departure of Ann Clayton, Joseph Nicholson and his wife, and Ann Coleman, all to Rhode Island, there were now no ministering Friends in Barbados. Fell, himself, was about to depart for New York "in New England", travelling in a vessel in which he had bought part interest. It was his plan to visit Friends in that area, while investigating the possibilities of settling there the following year. In the meantime, however, Fell's wife[3] and her family would remain in Barbados while he was away for four or five months.

The next glimpse we get of Fell comes some six and a half years later in a letter to Margaret [Fell] Fox from Henry Fell, who was still in Barbados.[4] After reporting the great work which George Fox had done in Barbados, Jamaica, and New England (before returning to Maryland to "winter"), Fell notes that his own wife and another Barbados Friend were in Bermuda, having gone there on religious service some seven weeks previously. Although his wife's religious situation was "solid", Fell himself had by now floundered spiritually, morally, and financially. Probably it was his participation in various commercial enterprises (such as the shipping adventure noted in his 1666 letter) which caused him to go deeply in debt. He greatly longed to return to England but knew that it would be impossible for him to remove from Barbados until debts there were satisfied. He therefore noted,

> but [I] must bear it, for it is the fruit of my own doings. Had I kept to the Truth and in the fear of the Lord, I had been preserved out of the things into which I did plunge and pierced myself through with many sorrows. So that it is very just from the Lord upon me;

[1] Carroll, *John Perrot*, p. 82.

[2] This is probably Robert Stack [Stake, Stage] of Maryland (which at this time was often thought of as a part of "Virginia"—that whole area opening off the Chesapeake Bay). Cf. Henry J. Cadbury, *Friendly Heritage, letters from the Quaker past* (Norwalk, Conn., 1972), pp. 194–195.

[3] The name of his wife and the place and date of their marriage are unknown. New York had only recently been taken from the Dutch.

[4] Maria Webb, *The Fells of Swarthmoor Hall and Their Friends* (Philadelphia, 1896), pp. 305–308. This letter was written December 14, 1672. Cf. Friends House Library, London, Manuscripts, Portfolio 31.62.

> and I find most peace in keeping under it, till he shows me a way of deliverance out of it, which I believe he will do in due time.

Henry Fell's final letter known to us was written from Barbados to Margaret Fox on March 8, 1674.[1] One cannot help but be touched by the pathetic situation in which Fell found himself. Margaret's letter of March 8, 1673, had proved to be both a challenge and a comfort to him in his unhappy state. To it was due some of the credit for the reawakening of his spiritual life—as well as to Fox's visit to Barbados a short time before. Fell writes,

> And blessed be the name of the Lord, who againe hath opened an eye in me; of his infinite mercy & goodnesse & hath let me see my fall, & losse in a great measure: and not only soe, but also the way out of it to returne unto himselfe, and hath brought me into that way in measure, and into the Spirituall warfare against that which separated me from God; & hath brought me to waite upon him, in the way of his Judgments; & my hope is that he will give me patience alsoe to abide & waite there untill Jud[g]ment be brought forth into victory; & the Captivity be returned; and that which brought forth captivity be for ever ledd captive; by the power of that blessed seed (which was promissed of old to bruise the Serpents head) Christ Jesus whose right it is to raigne over all for evermore. O I cannot but remember the great & mervilous love of god to mine, & many poore Soules here in this Island in sending his blessed Apostles and servants to vissit us here, vizt. dear G F: and the rest with him. O it was a blessed vissitation of love to us, even to the raysinge of my soule out of death, which was even dead in sins and trespases; but now againe quickened by the power of the word of life, through the preachinge of the everlasting Gospell wherby the blinde came to see, the deafe to heare; and the dead to be raysed; even as Lazarus out of the grave soe that my soule (above many) hath great cause for ever to prayse and magnify the name of the Lord on their behalfe; whose Labour of love the lord hath & will reward for ever.
>
> And indeed as thou mentioned in thy last letter, the pure in me thereby hath again received a Second resurection. And though it meet with great opposition, & many enemyes; yea greater & stronger then before; and tryalls & temptations many, yet as I am kept low in the feare of the Lord, I am dayly preserved and faithful to the measure of his grace in me I finde it is sufficient for me: ffor he is come who is stronger then he that is in the world: so that as Sin hath abounded, his grace doth much more abound (glory to his name for ever), and (I hope) at length will bringe Salvation and deliver my Soule out of the hands of all it enemyes, that it may for ever blesse and prayse the Lord in the land of the livinge.[2]

[1] Fox, *Camb. Jnl.*, ii. 256–258.
[2] *Ibid.*, ii, 256–257.

Fell's wife and child were scheduled to sail for Bristol in the fleet about to depart. Henry, himself, would like to have been able to accompany them, but his "debts & outwards engagements" had made him "as it were a prisoner in this Island".[1] John Stubbs, Fell's old friend and former yoke-fellow on the journey to Alexandria (who was also to be the bearer of this letter to Margaret Fox), had almost made it possible for Fell to satisfy his creditors and return to England; however, John Cartwright, who was then travelling in Barbados, had set Friends against the project so that it had failed for the time being. Fell's letter then ends with a cry from the heart:

> I should be very gladd once more to see my native Country; if the Lord soe please that it may be soe. In the meane tyme I desire thy prayers for me, that I may be preserved faithffull to persevere unto the end ffor I meet with many tryalls both inward & outward, & many Snares & temptations from the enemy, whereby he seekes by all meanes possible to entangle me againe. But I hope the Lord will preserve me out of them (by his power), & in due tyme give me dominion over him: for which my Soule breathes & cryes dayly unto the Lord that it may be accomplished.[2]

How did Fell's struggles end? This we do not know, for nothing subsequent to the 1674 letter has been found. Probably he never succeeded in freeing himself from his debts, for one very early bit of information records that he died in America[3] rather than returning home. It seems, however, that he was much more successful in the spiritual struggle—for he was listed in Richard Richardson's 1680 "list of Friends in the Ministry deceased"[4] as well as having a brief testimony of his work preserved.[5]

KENNETH L. CARROLL

[1] *Ibid.*, ii, 257.
[2] *Ibid.*, ii, 258.
[3] Friends House Library, London, Manuscripts, Portfolio 17.3.
[4] *Ibid.*, Portfolio 5.60.
[5] *Ibid.*, 17.3. It reads as follows: "Henry Fell, who was Judge Fell's clerk, being convinced of Gods truth, after a while he travelled with John Stubbs, & having got an order from the King to the master of the shipps to carry him towards East Indys. But the master of the shipps in Holland & England would not obey it & carry them. Therefore they took Shipping to go through Egypt by the Caravans. But when they came into Egypt the Consule there banished them out of Egypt. And after when they had some service they came into England & [he] travaild into America and there dyed."

Baltimore Yearly Meeting

A History of Baltimore Yearly Meeting of Friends: Three Hundred Years of Quakerism in Maryland, Virginia, the District of Columbia, and Central Pennsylvania. By Bliss Forbush. Pp. 174; map & 27 illustrations. Published by & obtainable from Baltimore Yearly Meeting of Friends, 17100 Quaker Lane, Sandy Spring, Maryland 20860, U.S.A. $3.50 post free.

We are glad to have the opportunity of commending to our readers this tercentennial history of Baltimore Yearly Meeting, written by one who has been intimately connected with it for many years. The story is a most interesting one: the Meeting has passed through many vicissitules, & it is pleasant to be able to leave it, at the end of the book, a united & prosperous Yearly Meeting.

A.W.B.

An Early Quaker Poet: Mary (Southworth) Mollineux, d.1696

THOUGH Mary Mollineux, whose *Fruits of retirement: or, miscellaneous poems, moral and divine* went into six editions in the course of the eighteenth century, cannot on any grounds be reckoned among the great or even the good writers of poetry, yet her life and the fact that she chose to express chiefly in verse her attitude to religious and moral questions, and to sustain her friends with advice and teaching on such questions, make her a not uninteresting figure.

The events of her life are given in the three Testimonies (by her cousin Frances Owen, by a friend Tryal Rider, and by her husband Henry Mollineux) prefixed to her poems and prose letters, published in 1702 after her death under the title *Fruits of retirement.*[1]

Mary Southworth was born in 1652 or thereabouts.[2] Where she was brought up is not stated in the accounts of her life, but it would appear that Lancashire was her native county. A prose *Epistle to her kinswoman F.R.*, printed before the poems, is dated from Warrington, the 3d of the 10th month 1678, and in 1684 she was one of a number of persons imprisoned for attending Meetings at the house of James Wright in Warrington. Several *Epistles*, addressed to F.R. are dated from Lancaster Castle in July and August of that year.

For an account of Mary Southworth's upbringing, we are indebted to her cousin Frances Owen. (Mary Southworth's mother and Frances Owen's father were sister and brother.) Each was an only child, and although Mary was older and "of different Principles, in matters of Religion, at that time (Being one call'd a Quaker)", a close friendship existed between them. Mary's wise and affectionate influence eventually led to Frances's convincement.

[1] Octavo. pp. [xl], 174, [1]. The preliminary matter includes, besides the three Testimonies (sig.A2[a]–B4[a]), Verses by Henry Mollineux, in remembrance of M.M. (sig.B4[b]–B6[b]), an account of her "Discourse" with the Bishop of Chester (sig.B7[a]–C1[b]), 68 lines of verse (unsigned) addressed To the Reader (sig.C2[a]–C3[a]), and a list of contents (sig.C3[b]–C4[b]). At the end of the volume (pp. 173–4) are verses *Upon Silence*, "written by another hand", signed W.A. There follow 2 pages of advertisements for books printed and sold by T. Sowle, 1702.

[2] Her age at her death in 1696 is given in *Piety promoted, the second part* (London, T. Sowle, 1702), page 53, as 44 years.

There is little information about Mary Southworth's parents, except for the statement that her father taught her Latin and Greek; but it is possible that the poem *An Elegy* (pp. 102–6)[1], written in 1682, may refer to her own parents[2]

> Ah, he is gone, who was a Father dear
> Unto his Off-spring, with a tender Eye,
> Waiting for good; tho' seemingly severe,
> When careless Crimes enforc'd Severity . . .

The poem goes on to describe the effect of paternal love on his *children's* hearts, although Mary is said in the Testimony of Frances Owen to have been an only child. It is hinted that the father had early in life seen "the empty Vanity/Of Rome's seducing Soul-Idolatry" and that in spite of much generosity and kindness from a relation, he resisted the urgings by that relation that he should "dye a Catholick" and remained faithful to the "sacred Precepts of the blessed Truth" which he had learned in his youth. Mary states in the poem that his widow survived him for some time, and endured some trials and sorrows, but remained a widow, "A second Lóve she never entertain'd."

It is not stated in the accounts of her life whether either of Mary Southworth's parents became Friends, but if the *Elegy* does refer to them it seems likely that they were among George Fox's earliest followers. Frances Owen states that Mary herself "was one who loved the Blessed Truth (and they who walked according to it) from a Child, being early Convinced thereof." The Testimony by Henry Mollineux corroborates this: "She was Convinced of the Way of Truth in her Youth, by the Light, or inward Appearance, of Christ in her Heart." It is possible that the Robert Southworth who was on trial in London in 1684, with others, for "unlawful Assembly" may have been a relation, but there is no evidence for this. Robert Southworth was committed to Newgate and was a prisoner for more than five months.[3]

[1] References are to pages in *Fruits*, 1702.

[2] Mary Southworth's parents are not mentioned on the certificate of her marriage to Henry Mollineux, 10 April 1685 (P.R.O. RG6/1420, fol. 58), nor in the entry in the Digested Copy of the Registers of Marriages for 1652–1807 in the Friends' Meeting House, Mount Street, Manchester, nor in the records of Hardshaw West M.M., which may indicate that they had died. The Hardshaw West M.M. records include entry for burial at Penketh of Alice Southworth, widow, of Warrington, died 10 July 1681, who may possibly have been Mary Southworth's mother. (Information from Charles Griffith, custodian of the records of Hardshaw West M.M.)

[3] Joseph Besse, *Sufferings*, 1753, i. 465, 470.

In 1684 Mary Southworth was attending Meetings in Warrington. Besse lists her name among some twenty-five persons who were committed to Lancaster prison in that year, "having been taken in religious Meetings at the House of James Wright in Warrington."[1] In Lancaster Castle Mary Southworth first became acquainted with Henry Mollineux, although, as Henry Mollineux says, "we had seen each other before." Henry Mollineux too was a prisoner, "for being at peaceable Religious Meetings of the People called Quakers."[2] "In which Imprisonment", Henry Mollineux goes on to say, "I believed that she should be my Wife; but never intended to express any thing thereof, whilst we were both Prisoners there; and after she was released, I saw her, and was in company with her several times, before I expressed any thing of my Concern to take her to be my Wife; several considerable Men having before attempted to prevail with her on that account."[3]

In spite of the other "considerable Men" Henry Mollineux had his way, and they were married at Penketh, Lancashire, 10 April 1685. In the Register of Marriages Mary Southworth was entered as "Spinster, of Warrington," and Henry Mollineux is described as "Yeoman, of Lidiat, Lancs.", both of Hardshaw East Monthly Meeting.[4]

[1] Besse, *Sufferings*, i. 327–9. See also B. Nightingale, *Early stages of the Quaker movement in Lancashire*, 1921, pp. 44 and 160.

[2] Testimony in *Fruits*, p.[xvi].

[3] *Fruits*, p.[xvi].

[4] Information supplied by Mavis McWatt from the Digested Copy of the Registers of Marriages for 1652–1807 of Lancashire Quarterly Meeting, kept at the Friends' Meeting House, Mount Street, Manchester, M2 5NS. The marriage certificate (PRO RG 6/1420, fol.58) was signed by 60 Friends as witnesses, nine of whose names appear in Joseph Besse's list of those who were prisoners in Lancaster Castle in 1684 at the same time as Mary Southworth (Besse, i. 327). Perhaps the best known was Roger Haydock (1644–1696 *DNB*) of Coppull, Lancs. who (like his brother John who died in Lancaster Gaol in 1719) was notable for the thousands of miles which he travelled in the ministry. Another witness, Richard Johnson had been imprisoned in 1663 & 1666 for tithes, prosecuted in 1674 for refusing to contribute to the repair of Ormskirk Church, and in 1685 spent 3 months in prison, being taken from a meeting at "Hartshaw" (Besse, i. 311, 317, 320, 329). One of Johnson's fellow prisoners in Lancaster Castle in 1663 was Richard Cubban (*or* Cubhan, d.1709), who also signed the marriage certificate. He and his wife Ann lived at Bickerstaffe; he suffered much persecution with great fortitude; when quieter times came his intractable nature brought him into conflict with the meeting and in the minutes of 1698 he is recorded as having "resisted the advice of the meeting"; he was later described as "a man of a very strong will, and very intent on having his own way, though all the Friends, and all the world besides, were opposed to him." (*JFHS*. 5 (1908), 104–9; Besse, i. 303, 305, 311, 320, 324, 327.)

In 1691 they were living at or near Ormskirk: in the account given by Henry Mollineux (*Fruits*, pp. [xxix–xxxiv]) of the "discourse" which his wife had with the Bishop of Chester, Dr. Stratford, in that year, it is stated that the Bishop was at Ormskirk "near our dwelling". Later they were at Liverpool, and Mary Mollineux is described on the title-page of the first edition of *Fruits of retirement* (1702) as "late of Leverpool".

They had two children, both boys; Othniel Mollineux was born 21.xi.1685, died 12.x.1732 and was buried at Bickerstaffe;[1] the younger son, Elleazor Mollineux, was born 28 February 1687[2] and died 2 September 1709 and was also buried at Bickerstaffe.[3] During her last illness Mary Mollineux spoke of her regret at leaving "her little Lads." Henry Mollineux gives an account of her last illness, and their conversations, when she was beginning to feel ready to leave "outward things", and when she begged him, speaking in Latin, not to be too much troubled on her behalf, "and she never spake in Latin, in this Illness, that I remember, except when Company was present, that she would speak only to me." She died in the evening of 3 January, "without any Noise, Sigh, or Groan,"[4] and was buried at Bickerstaffe on 6 January 1695/6.[5]

Character

Henry Mollineux pays tribute to her steadfastness during the ten years of their married life, when they both suffered persecution "for the Testimony of Truth" and when Henry Mollineux was more than once imprisoned. She was punctual in performing whatever she undertook, "quick, discreet, and diligent in her Business", and also most diligent "in attending the Assemblies of the People of God, called Quakers, with

1 Like his father, Othniel Mollineux was the schoolmaster of Bickerstaffe; he married Margaret Barton, whose niece Anne Wolsey (1705–84) had a daughter Mary who married John Ecroyd of Edgend in 1779.
See *Memorials of the families of Cropper, Cubham and Wolsey of Bickerstaffe, and of Winstanley of Winstanley*. Collected by N. Waterhouse. Liverpool, 1864.

2 Hardshaw West M.M. records. Information from Charles Griffith.

3 Digested Register of Burials, Q.M. Lancs, 1654–1824. (Friends' Meeting House, Manchester.)

4 *Fruits*, p.[xxii].

5 Hardshaw West M.M. records: P.R.O. RG 6/1616A, fol. 329. Henry Mollineux died 16 January 1720, and was buried 18 January at Bickerstaffe. (P.R.O. RG 6/1616A fol. 340).

them, to meet in the Name, Power, Light and Spirit of the Lord." Henry's own words are a fitting epitaph to her life of devoted service

> . . . her Life and Conversation was serious, innocent, sweet, and savoury; and she was very loving, diligent, tender-hearted, and kindly affectionate towards me, and our Children; and generally loving and tender towards all People, especially such as were in any Distress, Sickness, or Affliction, tho' never so poor.[1]

He goes on to say that she was anxious that no evil should "get a place in her Children, or in any with whom she was concerned", and she therefore frequently gave good advice and admonition "which many received in Love and Good Esteem of her." The kindly tone of her advice is evident in many of the prose letters as well as in the poems. All three of the printed Testimonies pay tribute to the genuine humility she displayed, in spite of her many gifts. In short, she was by common consent, as the writer of the verses "To the Reader" emphasises, "the Mistress of a Noble Mind."

Joseph Besse quotes Mary Southworth's "Meditations concerning our Imprisonment only for Conscience sake, 1684, in Lancaster Castle" as an example of "the pious Disposition, and sweet Frame of Mind wherein these Christian Sufferers endured their Confinement."[2]

She was evidently however not a person to sit down under adversity, for when Henry Mollineux and a neighbour were taken prisoner 18 February 1690/91 and taken to Lancaster Gaol, on a charge of not appearing at the Bishop's Court in Chester, in spite of the fact that they had not received any citation or due notice, Mary Mollineux went to see the Bishop, Dr. Stratford,[3] who was at Ormskirk in August 1691, and put the case before him. The Bishop accepted her account and agreed that the fault was with those who should have sent the summons. He said that if she would come to his house in Wigan, within two or three weeks, when he had conferred with his Chancellor, he would do any kindness in his power for her, if he could find a way to do it.

[1] *Fruits*, pp. [xvi–xvii].

[2] Besse, *Sufferings*, i, pp. 327–9.

[3] Nicholas Stratford (1633–1707), Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, 1656; bishop of Chester, 1689–1707, and Rector of Wigan, Lancs.; noted for his tolerance of dissenters. *DNB*; Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, Early ser. iv. 1434; Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, I. IV. 173.

On her visit to the Bishop's house at Wigan, 24 August 1691, Mary Mollineux had a long discussion with the Bishop on why the two men refused to pay the "Church-leys", in which he was at a loss to answer her arguments, and was sufficiently impressed to tell the Chancellor's Deputy, "I pray you, Mr. Prescot,[1] if you can find out any way, that they may put in their Appearance, that they may have their Liberty, let it be done; and do what kindness you can for them."

The two interviews with the Bishop in 1691 are related by Henry Mollineux in an account "touching some Discourse that (upon occasion) she had with Doctor Stratford (so called) Bishop of the Diocess of Cheshire and Lancashire, &c. Given forth and attested by my kinsman Henry Mollineux, who was there present."[2] After the Bishop's departure Mary Mollineux was engaged in a dispute about religion with "one Entwistle,[3] the Bishop's Chaplain, so called", who was accompanied by his brother Entwistle,[4] a lawyer, and another priest, and by the Bishop's daughter; after about half an hour, the chaplain "was so taken and confounded in his own Arguments, that his Mouth was stopped; which his Brother, the Lawyer, seeing, as it were to excuse him, said to him, *I wonder you should trouble your self to Discourse with that Woman! she hath so much Learning, it makes her mad.*"

Unfortunately it was not long before Henry Mollineux was in prison again, through the endeavours of the parish priest, who was determined to get his tithes. On that occasion Mary Mollineux was inspired to describe the priest in Latin verses:

Crudelisq; rapax, cupidus, sine jure, Sacerdos
Nummos, non animas, curat, egetq; cupit

[1] Probably Henry Prescott, b. Upholland, Lancs., son of Thomas, gent., admitted Trinity College, Dublin, 1675, aged 25; LL.B. 1682; incorporated at Oxford 1687; later, of Chester (registrar 1720). G. D. Burtchall & T. U. Sadleir, *Alumni Dublinenses*, 1935, p. 681; Foster, *Al. Oxon.*, Early ser. iii. 1199; Venn, *Al. Cantab.*, I. iv. 173.

[2] *Fruits*, pp. [xxix–xxxiv]. The kinsman was perhaps Henry Mollineux of Maghull, d. 3 Oct. 1696, buried at Bickerstaffe (Hardshaw West M.M.). Edmond Mollineux, son of Henry & Elizabeth Mollineux, of Maghull died 18. vii. 1695. Edmond, Henry and Robert Mollineux signed the Mollineux/Southworth marriage certificate in 1685.

[3] Edmund Entwisle (d.1707), of Ormskirk, chaplain to Dr. Stratford, bp of Chester, and canon of Chester, 1691. (Foster, *Al.Oxon.*, Early ser. ii, 463.)

[4] Richard Entwisle, of Ormskirk; brother of Edmund; bar.-at-law, of Gray's Inn, 1675. (Foster, *Al.Oxon.*, Early ser. ii, 463.)

which Henry Mollineux translated:

> The cruel Priest, fierce, covetous, unjust,
> For money, not for Souls, doth cark and lust

adding "And so, in getting us into Prison again, the Priest obtained his Point; but he missed of his Prey, and never got it."

Henry Mollineux speaks of the "loving, sweet, and sensible Epistles" which his wife sent to him when he was in prison, and of the cheerfulness and patience with which she endured their trials, putting her trust in the Lord, "and he preserved her."

Education

Mary Southworth had a better education than women generally received at the time. According to her cousin Frances Owen

> She was one who, in her Childhood, was much afflicted with weak Eyes, which made her unfit for the usual Imployment of Girls; and being of a large Natural Capacity, quick, witty, and studiously inclined, her Father brought her up to more Learning, than is commonly bestowed on our Sex; in which she became so good a Proficient, that she well understood the *Latin Tongue*, fluently discoursed in it; and made a considerable progress in *Greek* also; wrote several *Hands* well; was a good Arithmetician . . . had a good understanding of Physick and Chyrurgery, the Nature of Plants, Herbs, and Minerals . . .[1]

Despite Frances Owen's emphasis on Mary Mollineux's proficiency in Latin and Greek, it is her writings in English which are of interest. Henry Mollineux quotes a few short poems in Latin, with translations by himself, but they are competent rather than inspiring.

One detects a slight apologetic note in Frances Owen's explanation that Mary Southworth owed her education to the fact of the weakness of the eyes; yet there was no need for any apologia for a woman writer in Quaker circles—Joseph Smith's *Descriptive catalogue of Friends' books* lists no fewer than 84 Quaker women writers of the second half of the seventeenth century. Outstanding among these were Margaret Fell, who published some 25 works between 1655

[1] *Fruits*, pp. [vii–viii].

and 1677; and Dorothy White of Weymouth who sounded an alarm and uttered many a warning to the rulers of the country, and words of comfort and consolation to all "sufferers", in numerous small pamphlets between 1659 and 1684. A modern writer points out that "Testimonies to deceased Friends, Warnings, Lamentations and Prophecies, Invitations and Visitations of Love figure largely among the tracts of women writers."[1]

Mary Mollineux's poems and epistles were of a different stamp. She did not write controversial pamphlets. Her education and experience did not lead her towards controversy, though when her husband was imprisoned she was willing to confront the Bishop of Chester with her views on tithes and support them by references to the Bible. Otherwise she left the handling of controversy to her husband.

The writings of Henry Mollineux are in marked contrast to those of his wife. His *Popery exposed by its own authors* (1718) was an answer to accusations made against Friends by James Watmough of Blackroad, Lancashire and his "abettor" Matthew Hall, both "Papists", and a defence of the writings of Francis Howgill against charges made by Watmough. The volume contains a three-page list of authors and persons mentioned in the treatise, a list which includes Arnaldus de Villanova, Augustine, R. Barclay, Cardinal Bellarmine, Eusebius, Gregory the Great, Jerome, the "Rhemists Translation", Stapleton, and many others. One cannot suppose that he had read all these works. Indeed, in the preface to the reader of his *Antichrist unvailed* (written in prison in Lancaster Castle, and printed in 1695) Henry Mollineux lays more emphasis on the spirit of Truth in a man's heart than on scholarly learning:

> And if thou Reason, saying, Ah! But I am Unlearned, and how should I understand, or know the Truth? For there are many great Scholars and Men Learned in Latin, Greek and Hebrew, and yet one sort of them preacheth one Doctrine, and others other Doctrines, and therefore how should I know which is the Truth? I answer that thou mayest be as capable to know the Truth, as if thou understood Latin, and Greek, and Hebrew; for the Manifestation of the Spirit of Truth in thy own Heart, that reproveth for Sin, is sufficient to teach thee to know the Truth, if thou believest in it, and be truly willing to obey it.

[1] Unsigned article "Women writers among Friends of the seventeenth century and later." *J.F.H.S.*, X (1913), pp. 93–96.

These words might well stand for the viewpoint of Mary Mollineux, particularly in her later and more mature poems, when she had moved away from the accounts of Old Testament events of the early poems, towards more personal contacts with those who came to her for advice and support.

Fruits of Retirement

The manuscript of the Poems was received by Friends at Second Day Morning Meeting, 21.ii.1701. On 23.xii.1701 John Tomkins reported that it had been read through by the Friends appointed and agreed to be printed. John Tomkins was asked to see it through the press.[1]

The poems were first printed by Tace Sowle under the title *Fruits of retirement: or, miscellaneous poems, moral and divine. Being some contemplations, letters, &c. written on variety of subjects and occasions . . . To which is prefixed, some account of the author* (London. 1702).

The Birkbeck Library's copy of the first edition is inscribed "Ann Owen Ex Dono P. [?] O.", an inscription which one is tempted to think may have been written by some member of the family of Frances Owen, the writer of one of the Testimonies (dated: Rigate, the 20th of the Third Month 1701) in the volume.

Joseph Smith[2] records five more editions of *Fruits of retirement;* he gives no imprint for the second edition of which he had apparently not seen a copy; the third (1720) and fourth (1739) editions were also issued by the Sowle firm. A fifth edition (1761) was published by Luke Hinde who had worked as a junior partner with Tace (Sowle) Raylton and who, after her death in 1749, carried on the business as the main publisher for Friends. The sixth (and apparently the last) edition of *Fruits of retirement* was printed in 1772 by Mary, the widow of Luke Hinde. The edition of 1772 is a much more attractive and better printed volume than that of 1702. Three editions were also issued in America, all in Philadelphia.[3] The poems of Mary Mollineux, therefore, were

[1] Minutes of the Second days morning meeting in London, 3rd book (28. viii. 1700 to 29. viii. 1711), pp. 21, 59, 61. (Friends House Library).

[2] J. Smith, *Descriptive catalogue of Friends' books*, ii, p. 181.

[3] *Samuel Keimer*, 1729; *Andrew Bradford*, 1730; *Joseph Crukshank*, 1783. (Charles R. Hildeburn, *A century of printing. The issues of the press in Pennsylvania, 1685–1784*, Philadelphia. 2 vols. (1885–6), nos. 373, 407, 4320.)

current for over three quarters of a century, although this continuing esteem was more probably a tribute to their moral teaching than to their merits as poetry.

The poems appear to be arranged in chronological order, although by no means all of them are dated. Those which are dated range between 1663 and 1691.

During her lifetime Mary Mollineux did not feel free to publish her poems. Her friend Tryal Rider whose Testimony is prefixed to the work, writes "I have more to testify than I shall commit to Writing, having had intimate Acquaintance and Fellowship with her above sixteen Years" and points out her reserve about her talents and her disinclination to put forward "her Gifts to the public Censure, without weighty Consideration; so that she would not cast her Pearls before Swine . . . I remember, that several Years ago, when she was a single Woman, upon the perusal of some Copies of her Verses which she gave me, I felt such Unity of Spirit with them, that I said, I thought they might be of service, if made publick in print; but she was not then free that her name should be exposed; she not seeking Praise amongst Men, but to communicate the Exercise of peculiar Gifts amongst her near Friends and Acquaintance." Tryal Rider's opinion was that after her death "it would be very ungrateful to her Memory, and also a wronging of others, to keep such worthy Things unpublished." Henry Mollineux states in his Testimony that although she did not wish to commit her poems to public view in her lifetime, "yet she had nothing against the publishing thereof afterwards." He himself was "desirous and concerned" to publish them, in order that many more people might receive benefit from them, since "her Words, Writings and Conversation, were acceptable, prevalent, and serviceable to the Invitation, Convincement, Strengthning and Encouragement of some to seek after the Lord, and his blessed Way and Truth, inwardly revealed, and to be revealed; wherein many have found great Satisfaction and Cause of Rejoicing."

Such a plain statement of the aim and object of publication was in line with the contemporary Quaker custom of informing readers in prefatory material of the lives and service of the writers. The classic instance of statement of aims is contained in William Penn's preface to *The written Gospel labours of John Whitehead* (1703).

Luella M. Wright advances the theory, in her *Literature and education in early Quakerism*,[1] that "the leaders of the second generation of Friends differed from their predecessors in their fuller consciousness that they had become the makers of Quaker literature, and that they shared with one another the responsibility of shaping it to the needs of the group," and emphasises that by the beginning of the eighteenth century the Society of Friends had "passed from the stage of enthusiastic pioneer work to that of developing quietistic traits, inherent nevertheless in the basic beliefs and practices of Friends." Seen from this point of view, it is probable that the instinct which prevented Mary Mollineux from publishing her poems and letters at an earlier date was right; she was not among the fiery souls who could not rest until they had convinced the world of the truth of Quaker beliefs, although she had been willing to suffer imprisonment for them; and she was not equipped to enter the debate with other churches, as Henry Mollineux did. When Henry Mollineux agreed in 1702 to the publication of her works, the time was ripe, in a way that it had not been before, for giving to the world the *Fruits of retirement*, an apt title for the bulk of her low-keyed epistles, meditations, contemplations and so on, all of an improving nature, with emphasis on the homely domestic virtues, a message of kindness and affection, friendly advice on behaviour given to friends and relations, nothing which could offend the generation which embraced conservatism and quietism. The writing of meditations, verse, and advisory epistles was the natural outcome, among the early Friends, of their desire to demonstrate the workaday aspect of their gospel of the inner light, and as Luella M. Wright puts it, "to awaken their age to a firm belief that Christianity could be practical, and living in this world a spiritual experience."[2]

Though not fiery, Mary Mollineux was persistent, as may be seen from the numerous epistles, in prose and verse, to "Cousin F.R."[3] who was attracted to Friends, and attended

[1] Luella M. Wright, "Literature and education in early Quakerism", *University of Iowa studies. N.S. No. 244. Humanistic studies. Vol. V, no. 2.* 1933.

[2] Luella M. Wright, *The literary life of the early Friends* (New York, 1932), p. 10. *See also* Evelyn Noble Armitage, *The Quaker poets of Great Britain and Ireland.* London (1896), pp. 206–9, where the poems are described as "brimful of the quaint tenderness and mystical passion which are so characteristic of the writings . . . of the early Quakers."

[3] Possibly the Frances Ridge who signed the Mollineux/Southworth marriage certificate in 1685.

Meetings, but apparently needed a good deal of encouragement to counteract the influence of others who pulled in a different and more worldly direction. In the first *Epistle* (in prose) in the volume (pp. 1–3), written in 1678, Mary writes, "my Heart is concerned for thee, really desiring thy temporal and Eternal Welfare: I should be glad indeed to be made instrumental for thy Satisfaction, in Doubts or Scruples; but, alas! Words or Arguments cannot, without the powerful Influence of the living Eternal Word in thy own Heart, resolve or disannul the Consultations and Reasonings of this kind, that may inwardly arise, or be by others suggested, unto thee." She goes on to explain the three Quaker usages which appear to be a stumbling block, beginning with the use of "Thou", which some people are deterred from using by a slavish fear of men, "Yet I desire not to invite thee to a bare Formality, &c. for until thou art convinced in thy own Mind . . . it signifies little." She argues that the names of days and months as commonly used are "contrary to Scripture", and that outward Sacraments "indeed are outward only, and Shadows; but the Substance being come, they flee away."

In another *Epistle* of the same year (1678) she expresses her pleasure at hearing that F.R. has been to a Meeting and has heard "M. Worrel"[1] and her hope that the effect will not soon be erased, "I do dearly desire thee, not to prolong thy Servitude in Egypt's Land, the Land of Darkness."

Many of the epistles to F.R. are in verse, a number of them dated 1678, enjoining humility, simplicity, and seriousness, the putting away of vanity and childish sports and "Time-beguiling Play". The letters to Cousin F.R. occur throughout the volume, and express great affection and pleasure at receiving letters after "tedious Silence", and sometimes chagrin at losing touch for long periods. F.R. does not appear to have been a very faithful correspondent, and also appears to have been strongly tempted by some prospect of riches (perhaps a proposal of marriage?). *The Conclusion of a Letter to F.R.* advises (p. 133)

[1] M. Worrel: Perhaps Mary Warrell (d. 1722, bur. at Bristol), daughter of Robert Warrell of Middlewich, Cheshire; active in Bristol in 1699 and visited Ireland in the same year; married (1) in 1683, Thomas Whitehead of Bruton, Somerset, clothier (d.1691); (2) in 1693, Peter Young of Bristol, soapmaker (d.1713); Bristol Record Society, xxvi (1971), p. 222.

Ne'er let the Prospect of so great Estate
Dazzle those Eyes, which I presum'd of late,
Could from on high, with brave Disdain, look down
On this World's fading Glory . . .
. . . if we grasp at Riches that are vain,
Then how is our Religion strong and plain?

The poems addressed to Cousin F.R. form a fair sample of the "advice poems" to friends and relations, of which there are 29 or so in the collection; there are 24 poems entitled "Contemplation" or "Meditation" and 10 on biblical themes, mainly from the Old Testament.

Mary Mollineux as a Writer

Frances Owen, writing her Testimony in 1701, thus describes the writings of Mary Mollineux:

> And tho' Verse is not so commonly used in Divine Subjects, as Prose, and but too much abused by the extravagant Wits of the Age; yet she, like a Skilful Chymist, had learned to separate the Purer Spirits, and more Refined Parts of Poetry, from the Earthly, Worthless Dross; and made use of her Gift, rather to Convince and Prevail upon the Mind, to affect and raise the Soul upon Wings of Divine Contemplation, than to please the airy Fancy with Strains of Wit, and Unprofitable Invention; which she was ever careful to avoid.

The words might be used as the religious poet's answer to Dr. Johnson's argument that the essence of true poetry was "invention", that such novelty was out of place in religion, and that "contemplative piety" or intercourse between God and the human soul cannot be poetical.

Edward Grubb writing on "The early Quakers" (chapter iv, *Cambridge history of English literature*, vol. 8, 1912, p. 102) discussing the large mass of writings by early Friends and the organization which enabled it to be put into circulation, acknowledges that "Of all this vast output, there is not much that could possibly, by its intrinsic qualities, find any permanent place in English literature; its chief interest now is for the curious student of religious history."

It is undoubtedly true that a good deal of religious verse is conspicuously feeble and commonplace, and the reason may lie partly in the gap between the loftiness of the themes and the poet's equipment which is not always equal to the task of expressing them. In some poets and hymn writers there may

even be an underlying assumption that high moral aims should disarm criticism concerning poetical merit. In a recent book[1] Helen Gardner defines religious poetry as that which treats of revelation and of man's response to revelation, and states that if we "demand fresh personal experience spontaneously felt and expressed with the appearance of spontaneity" then religion will be felt to inhibit poetry. She contends that the poet who writes as a religious man is a committed person, and he is asking the reader to accept truths and values which are not his individual discoveries.

The early Quakers however, felt that the revelation of Truth and of the inner light *was* their individual discovery, which illuminated the whole of life. Much of the prose writing of Fox and Penn and others reflects the power of this inspiration and the truth of the feelings expressed.

The Quaker movement was but one part of a more general ferment of religious ideas in the seventeenth century, and there was a remarkable wealth of poetry expressing in many different ways religious experience, sentiments and attitudes. When Mary Southworth was growing up, Marvell, Traherne and Vaughan were still alive, and so was Milton, whose name and work must have been familiar to very many Friends; Richard Crashaw had died a year or so before Mary Southworth's birth, and George Herbert some twenty years earlier.

Yet it is with Herbert that now and then Mary Mollineux's poems seem to have an affinity, and there is an occasional harking back to what George Macdonald called "the oddity of the visual fancy" of the metaphysical poets.[2]

In the poem *On the sight of a skull*, Mary Mollineux reflects on the inevitability of the body being reduced again to dust

> Then shall those Eyes, those Christal Eyes of thine
> Which now, like Sparkling Diamonds, do shine;
> Their little Chambers circular forsake
> And them to Essence more obscure betake;
> The tender Funnel of thy Nose, must thence
> Corroded be, and lose its Smelling Sense (p. 25)

Such "oddities" do not occur very often, and there is sometimes more than oddity to bring Herbert to mind. There

[1] Helen Gardner, *Religion and literature* (London, 1971), pp. 121–195, on "Religious poetry".

[2] George Macdonald, *England's antiphon* [n.d.], p. 185, in which the author is discussing George Herbert's "The Pulley".

are one or two short lyrics, akin to hymns, which would not be out of place in any anthology of the seventeenth century, as *Another Meditation:*

Oh! If my Mind
    Should be inclin'd,
This would Increase my Fear:
    Lord, from above,
    Thou God of Love,
Reveal thy Counsel near;
    That I may know,
    That I may do
Thy Ever-Blessed Will:
    Ah, thine alone,
    And not mine own,
Great King! Do thou fulfil. **(p. 166)**

Meditative and Contemplative Poems

In his *Religious trends in English poetry*, Hoxie Neale Fairchild quotes twenty lines on "Contemplation" from the poem *On Barclay's Apology for the Quakers* by Matthew Green (1696–1737) who was much attracted to Friends, and argues that the lines suggest how readily, "in the absence of any firm belief in the divine reality of the Inner Light," "retreat" and "contempleation" might lose all Christian significance and collapse into a loose pre-romantic reverie, where as Green says "impulses rustle through the mind."[1]

Mary Mollineux shows no such tendency towards uncharted reverie; she is concerned with the love of God and the help which it brings to those in distress, and her meditations are always linked with the need to pursue a line of conduct which is in harmony with "Truth" and to turn aside from the temptations which oppress her

Alas, when my distressed Mind,
    Through secret drawings, is inclin'd,
Great King! to wait on thee;
O how the subtil Enemy
Presents fond Fancies, to entice aside
    My Heart from true Stability;
So to despise true lasting Joys,
And entertain vain transitory Toys,
Which ne'er can satiate the Soul, when try'd.
(pp. 71–2. *Meditations in trouble.*)

[1] Hoxie Neale Fairchild, *Religious trends in English poetry*. Vol. I (1700–1740), New York, 1939, pp. 348–9.

It must not be forgotten that Mary Mollineux's troubles and "exercises" were not light; she herself suffered imprisonment in 1684, and after her marriage her husband Henry Mollineux was imprisoned more than once for tithes. The *Meditations concerning our Imprisonment Only for Conscience sake, 1684, in Lancaster Castle* reveals the strength of conviction which enabled the early Friends to resist the "rage" of those who attacked them "because we cannot Bow/Unto their vain Traditions, since we know/The Blessed Truth . . . (p. 125). The power of God sustained them even in prison

> Here are we with the hidden Manna fed,
> Tho' with Transgressors we be numbered:
> Here can we Prospects from our Tower survey,
> With much more Innocent Delight, than they
> That range at large . . . (pp. 123–4)

This theme runs through nearly all of the poems, including those written to friends or relations in need of advice. Her thoughts always related conviction to daily life, and although a number of the poems purport to be on abstract subjects such as truth, charity, friendship, modesty and chastity, or happiness, the abstractions are generally seen as closely linked to a Christian's daily life, as in the poem *On Charity*

> What a sumblime,[1] celestial Mystery,
> Is couch'd in this obscure Name, *Charity*!
> So frequent in the Mouths of most, but known
> To few, save in the empty sound alone;
> Else it would teach us how to Sympathize
> One with another in Infirmities. (p. 32)

There is an occasional touch of humour, as in the poem *Of a Happy Life*, in which she describes the man who enjoys health and moderate wealth and has a contented mind which enables him to find solace in any circumstances

> And what's more Happy, yet more Strange!
> He's always ready for a Change. (p. 141)

Nature

In her Testimony Frances Owen says that Mary Mollineux had studied the nature of plants, herbs and minerals, and

[1] *Sic.* Corrected in the 3rd and later editions.

delighted in the study of nature "and to admire the great God of Nature, in the various Operations of his Power and Goodness."

The poems seem to show that this interest was in the manifestation of the power of God shown in the works of nature, rather than in the natural world itself; there are virtually no first hand descriptions of the natural world based on observation. The tone is set in a line in the poem *Of the Rainbow* (pp. 95–6) "Doth not each Herb proclaim a Deity?". The sight of a rainbow, "this curious Semi-circle, deck'd/ With such pure undy'd Colours," and of all the other wonders of the heavens serves to "proclaim/a Power divine."

References to pruning, and to the need for rain to refresh plants and trees, in the poem *On a Fruitless Fig-tree* (pp. 16–17) are used to point a moral, and those people who resign themselves to the will of God are "Trees of Righteousness" and "fertile Plants."

In *A Parable to Cousin F.R.* (pp. 112–113) a lily growing in a secluded garden is viewed as the type of innocence, tempted by worldliness in the shape of a Scarlet Poppy, courted with "fine Accademick Phrases", and eventually persuaded to venture outside the enclosed garden, and beyond the safety of the walls which symbolise salvation. Such a parable is characteristic of Mary Mollineux's approach, and the poem shows her powers to better advantage than do some of the "Bible stories."

Biblical Subjects

Mary Mollineux was well versed in the Bible, and at least ten of the poems deal with biblical subjects, mainly Old Testament stories. It is interesting to note that the stories which had most appeal for her are those in which the power of God against evil men is made manifest, and there are poems on Daniel, on Elijah, and on the Three Holy Children. It must be confessed that Mary Mollineux did not excel at narrative, and the events tend to move rather sluggishly, and with too much parenthesis, as in the story of Elijah. The ravens supplied him with bread,

> And for his Drink, Brook *Cherith* did supply
> With Water; which, for want of Rain, grown dry,
> Unto Zarephta, by Command, he came,
> Where a poor Widow (tho' to entertain

A Guest, but meanly furnish'd) did receive
The Prophet; and, through Faith, she freely gave
Part of her small, her almost wasted Store,
Which she had thought a little time before
To dress for her, and for her Son, thereby
To be refresh'd, and shortly after Dye;
Not knowing of so strange Increase, until
The holy Man, that knew the Heav'nly Will,
Did, by Divine Authority, proclaim,
That till the Lord was pleas'd to send down Rain
(Which then with-held, for the Iniquity
That did abound, had brought th'Extremity
Of Dearth and Famine) her small Stock of Meal,
And little Cruise of Oyl, should never fail (p. 85)

Such poems are merely exercises, the metre uninteresting and the narrative uninspired.

Diction

As might be expected Mary Mollineux displays more originality of expression and power over words and phrases in the contemplative and meditative poems and the "letters" to friends and relations than in the poems on biblical subjects, where the words and images tend to echo the Bible version.

Mary Mollineux did not of course wish to use words for any decorative effect, but mainly as tools, to achieve the moral effect at which she was aiming; poetic ornament is never aimed at, yet the choice of verse rather than prose to a certain extent leads to the use of more art and of attention to sound than she perhaps realised, and the occasional vivid phrase, like "gold-hungry seamen"[1] (p. 117) stands out on the page, in marked contrast to the numerous abstract nouns which make little impact on the reader.

Some of the forms of words which Mary Mollineux uses would not be admissible in writing today, although they are sometimes heard in unlettered speech, as in "O How Stupendious are thy Wonders, Lord" (p. 95) or "a heinious Crime" (p. 160).[2] In fact she has a partiality for long words, and for words which are not common, if they suit her purpose, as in "O thou that to the Blind restored Sight, / Capacitating[3]

[1] In the 3rd and subsequent editions this has been altered to "Cold hungry seamen."

[2] Perhaps the printer was at fault; but the lines remain unaltered in the 6th edition.

[3] O.E.D. gives 1657 as the earliest date for the appearance of the word.

to behold the Light" (p. 24); or the word "consolate" for console, and the poetical form "bereaven" for bereaved. Certain words are particular favourites: "durable" for instance occurs often, pointing the contrast between the enduring Truth and frivolous vain "deluding Toys."

Contemporary Quaker readers were not looking for poetic ornament, and would not perhaps have approved of the use of proper names simply for their sound and musical effect. Mary Mollineux used names only in a factual way, as in the Bible narratives, or, as with "Shiloh" and "Sion" to represent important elements of Christian beliefs.

Many of the earlier poems, particularly the biblical stories, are marred by clumsy expression, confusing and puzzling inversion; but when Mary Mollineux writes plainly and with simplicity, one can understand why her poetry continued to be read.

In *An Epistle to Cousin E.S.* (undated but grouped with poems of 1678) she recommends E.S. to "subdue all peevish Passion" and listen calmly to advice

> Then let this Counsel find a place in thee;
> Stoop low to Truth, and learn Humility:
> This thou was once acquainted with; beware,
> Lest Strangeness interpose, and learn to fear. (p. 53)

The use of the phrase "stoop to Truth" recalls Pope's well-known lines in the Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot (published in 1735) where he wishes it put down to his credit

> That not in fancy's maze he wandr'd long,
> But stooped to Truth, and moralised his song.[1]

Mary Mollineux uses a variation of the phrase in a poem to F.R. (1678) in which she urges the need for improving the time and treasuring righteousness

> O Come! Consider, let all Vanity
> Stoop to Concerns of such Importancy. (p. 49)

[1] The editor of the Twickenham edition of Pope's works (*Poems*, vol. IV (1939), p. 341) appends a note to the effect that the poet "stoops" to Truth as a falcon is said to "stoop" to its prey, and compares Sir John Denham's address to his Muse in the poem "The progress of learning" (*Poems and translations, with the Sophy*, 1668, p. 171): "Now stoop with dis-inchanted wings to Truth." It is not easy to think of Mary Mollineux using a metaphor from falconry, and one wonders if Pope's editor was perhaps making heavy weather of what may have been merely a figurative use of the word "stoop" in the sense of bowing to a superior authority.

Metre

The poems as a whole show a fair variety of verse form and metre; the most common is the rhyming couplet (and sometimes triplet) of four feet, used in all the longer poems; it tends to be clumsy, sluggish and pedestrian, particularly when an involved narrative is attempted, as in the account of Elijah quoted above.

Mary Mollineux was more successful in her shorter poems, in which the verse forms are more varied, and the words and sentiments direct and plain, as in *Contemplation*, written in 1678,

> The time that is employ'd
> In holy Meditation
> Of thy Prevailing Love,
> Engaging from above
> The upright Heart, (wherein it is enjoyed)
> In humble Fear, and sacred Admiration,
> Is best Improv'd; for this indeed doth tend
> To true Content and Peace, World without end.
> (p. 44)

A poem written in the following year (1679) *Concerning Trials* also strikes a genuine note:

> Alas, How hard a thing
> It is to bring
> Into a true Subjection, Flesh and Blood,
> Quietly to entertain
> (And not complain)
> Those Exercises that attend for Good! (p. 73)

Such poems justify Mary Mollineux's choice of verse rather than prose as a vehicle for her message.

Infelicities

It cannot be denied that the poems as a whole are marred by many infelicities.

Inversion is not always a bad thing and may be necessary to bring the important aspect of a line or lines into prominence:

> The King of Kings, the Great Eternal One,
> Sent from his Bosom his Beloved Son,
> Lost Man to seek . . . (p. 12)

but it is a device to be used with care. Unfortunately Mary Mollineux was quite unrestrained in this direction; awkward

inversions abound, tending sometimes to confuse the sense, as in one of the Meditations: "Nor shall Worm *Jacob's* Seed for Want complain" (p. 82) with its unfortunate echo of "thou worm Jacob" of Isaiah 41.14; or in the lines

> Yet those that would these Sheep annoy,
> Let them for certain know,
> They shall not, if such them destroy,
> Long unrewarded go. (p. 22)

Sometimes the metre is ruined for the sake of getting a suitable rhyming word at the end of a line, as in

> Which me into Temptation thus hath brought,
> That I (instead of Wisdom) Folly sought. (p. 10)

In addition, the undiscriminating use of "do" and "did" tends to weaken the impact of too many lines, as in

> Though *Zion* sit in Misery,
> And do in Ashes mourn,
> And all her foes, as they pass by,
> Do her deride and scorn . . . (p. 21)

or the beginning of *An Epistle to M.R.*, "This Opportunity did me invite . . ." (p. 99).

There are occasions when Mary Mollineux descends to truly Wordsworthian bathos, as for instance in the poem on Daniel, in which God

> Muzzled the Lions Mouths, with a Command
> Of Abstinence; and whisper'd in their Ear
> Such Dread, that they durst not approach to tear
> The *Angel-guarded* Prey; but still must wait,
> Though Hunger-bit, for other courser Meat. (p. 121)

or in *A Meditation* on God's defence of Sion

> Then shall *Jerusalem* be known to be
> The bright, but tender Apple of his Eye;
> And all that touch her, to afflict or grieve her,
> Shall feel a Fiery Dart struck through their Liver.
> (p. 29)

There are a number of examples of phrases which are simply unfortunate, changes in usage having destroyed for the modern reader any possibility of responding to the

original sense, as in the lines "Man came to know / Sad Disappointments . . ." (p. 9) and the reference to God's promise to save "Perishing Mankind" (p. 10) in the first poem in the volume, *Of the Fall of Man*. It must be remembered however that this was written in 1663 when the author was about twelve. A similar example occurs in a poem *On the Fruitless Fig-Tree*, written in 1666,

> . . . we, of our selves, so Barren be,
> And oft more Fruitless than that Blooming Tree
> (p. 16)

Another blemish is the frequent use of the apostrophe to shorten a word or words, to satisfy the exigencies of the metre; perhaps the most blatant example is in an early poem (1665) *On God's Love* which relates how God sent his Son

> Lost Man to seek, and to restore ag'in,
> From the most vile Captivity of Sin. (p. 12)

To abbreviate thus may be legitimate now and then, but Mary Mollineux overdoes it, and we find "T'obey", "T'accuse", "Th'Immortal Soul", "vult'rous" and similar usages, and even the almost unpronounceable "T'surround", although this latter may even be acceptable in provincial usage.

Conclusion

The modern reader may well be discouraged by the undoubted clumsiness of much of the verse, and may perhaps feel that Mary Mollineux would have done well to confine her advice to prose. But the small circle of her contemporaries who read the poems in manuscript and were the recipients of her "epistles" must have been moved by the sincerity of her concern for "Truth", and the demand which kept the published volume *Fruits of retirement* in print throughout the greater part of the eighteenth century is evidence of the fact that her message and the form in which it was expressed were still valid for a great many readers.

The last word on Mary Mollineux may fittingly be left with her cousin Frances Owen[1]

"And tho' living Testimonies to the Truth are numerous, yet few extant in Verse, which hath an harmonious delightful

[1] Testimony in *Fruits*, p. [xii].

Faculty in it, that influences the Minds of some more than Prose, especially young People, and is more apt to imprint itself in the Memory: Therefore her Subject being divine, and so sensibly and solidly managed; as it hath been of Service to those few who have had the perusal of it, so, I hope, will be attended with a general Benefit."

Acknowledgments

I am most grateful to the following for kindly supplying information from records in their care: Miss J. M. Ayton, Archivist, Manchester Public Libraries, Archives Department, where the records of Hardshaw East Monthly Meeting are housed; Charles Griffith of Liverpool, custodian of the records of Hardshaw West; and Mavis McWatt, Secretary, Friends' Meeting House, Manchester, for entries from the *Digests* of the Lancashire Quarterly Meeting registers.

JEAN E. MORTIMER

Friends in Admiral Rodney's Squadron

In 1781 two members of Holm Monthly Meeting, Cumberland, were impressed into the British Navy; Joseph Skelton and Jonathan Taylor were taken from the merchant ship Isabella, Anthony Harris, member of Holm Monthly Meeting, master. Their plight has recently come to light in two letters found in the archives of New York Yearly Meeting. The letter "on behalf of Joseph Skelton" written at Wigton in 4th month 1782 is signed by eight members of Holm Monthly Meeting.

TO FRIENDS IN NORTH AMERICA OR ELSEWHERE

Dear Friends:

Whereas our Friends Clement Skelton and Anthony Harris, have requested our Certificate, in favour of Joseph Skelton, who was impressed from his Master, Anthony Harris, at New York the 10th day of the 11th month 1781, and carried on Board the King's Ship, Intrepid, Capt. Molloy, one of Admiral Rodney's Squadrent, if the above Ship should come to New York, or any way under your Notice, that you make Enquire for Jo^{s} Skelton, and use your utmost indeavors to procure him his Liberty; or any other Assistance in your power, will much oblige your Friends and Brethern.

These are to certify to you on his behalf that Clement Skelton and Anthony Harris, are both members of our Monthly Meeting, the young man Jo^{s}. Skelton had a religious and sober education with his Father, his conduct whilst here and also when under our Friend Anthony Harris, his late Master, was orderly and agreeable to Friends which Intitles him to the esteem of a member, we therefore Recommend him to your tender Notice; indeavoring if it seem practible to Obtain him Liberty from his disagreeable Confinement, so with desire for the same, and his preservation, and Growth in the Truth, we remain your Friends and Brethern,

Signed in and on behalf of the Holm Monthly Meeting held at Wigton in the County of Cumberland, the 18th of 4th month 1782.

Jos^{h}. Harrison	David Souel [?]	Jn^{o}. Skelton
Thomas Furnas	John Ham [?]	George Rook
Jn^{o}. Bigland	Clement Skelton	

The second letter for Jonathan Taylor is similar to that for Joseph Skelton.[1]

The ship Isabella, a 250 ton merchantman from Maryport, was appropriately named Isabella; the wife of the master was Isabella (Bull) Harris.[2] Anthony Harris carried Friends principles to sea as is shown by the somewhat unsympathetic sketch of him contained in an account of his grandson, John Harris:

> John Harris came of a seafaring family of Maryport, and like that of many Quakers it was distinguished for innovation and eccentricity. His grandfather, Anthony Harris (1755–95), was a master mariner of stern principles: he would not wear clothing dyed with indigo although the common colour among sailors, because it was produced by slave labour; he would never set sail on Sundays; he read the scriptures to his crew, and he was an early advocate of temperance. After his death at sea, his wife Isabella taught at Ackworth school from 1803 to 1826, and was a gospel minister in Yorkshire, Durham and Cumberland. Their eldest daughter, Elizabeth married Joseph Taylor whose father Henry of Whitby had been a friend of Captain Cook, a pioneer founder of lighthouses and author of books on seamanship.[3]

In 1795 Anthony Harris, then master of another ship named Isabella was lost on a voyage between Maryport and Waterford.[4]

[1] The letters are in the Haviland Record Room of New York Yearly Meeting, 15 Rutherford Place, New York City.

[*Editorial note:*] The signatories may perhaps be identified as: JOSHUA HARRISON, draper, of Wigton, d. 1 i 1791; THOMAS FURNAS, joiner, of Standing Stone, d. 28 x 1784 (treasurer of Holm M.M., and sufferer in Wigton meeting 1782); JOHN BIGLANDS, husbandman, of Saltcoats, d. 28 ii 1799, buried at Kirkbride; DAVID SAUL, of Wolsty, d. 10 vi 1790; JOHN HARRIS, mariner, of Maryport, d. 6 v 1787, buried at Eaglesfield [the evidence for adopting the reading *Harris* rather than *Ham* rests largely on the fact that Holm M.M. at Wigton, 18 iv 1782, when the certificates for Jonathan Taylor and Joseph Skelton were read and approved, was attended by John Harris as representative from Maryport Particular Meeting]; CLEMENT SKELTON, yeoman, of Priestcroft, d. 21 vii 1816, buried at Bolton; JONATHAN SKELTON, yeoman, of Kirkbride, d. 17 vii 1820; GEORGE ROOK, yeoman, of Parton, d. 6 i 1814, buried at Bolton.

The information comes from Holm Monthly Meeting records, deposited at the Record Office, The Castle, Carlisle; reference FCF/3/3 M.M. minutes, 1773–1799; FCF/3/28 Register of sufferings, 1727–1792; FCF/3/33 Copy Register of marriages, births and deaths, 1776–1912.

[2] The Isabella is listed in the 1781 volume of *Lloyd's Register*.

[3] H. J. Smith, "John Harris, Quaker engineer and investor, 1812–60" (*Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, vol. 69, New series, 1969), pp. 330–1.

For Isabella Harris (1757–1832) see *Jnl. F.H.S.*, 24 (1927), p. 29, and: Norman Penney, ed., *Pen pictures of London Yearly Meeting*, (Jnl. F.H.S., Supplement, no. 17, 1930) p. 210, n. 10. See also *Annual monitor*, supplement to no. 22, 1834, p. 65–74 (and particularly pp. 67–69 for an account of Anthony Harris). The writer is indebted to Malcolm Thomas of Friends House Library, London, for the references to Anthony and Isabella Harris.

[4] The second Isabella is listed in *Lloyd's Register* for 1793, 4, 5.

Naval discipline on the Intrepid of 64 guns, with a complement of 500 officers and men was a strange contrast to serving on the Isabella with its Friendly atmosphere. Actually Jonathan Taylor and Joseph Skelton were impressed early in October. Muster of the ship company on the Intrepid was taken four times a month and the names of the two Friends appear on all musters from October 5th, 1781, to August 22, 1782. The December 1781–January 1782 list shows "Jon^{a} Taylor, last Isabella, prest 1 Oct. 1781, then Q M Mate", able bodied seaman, with allowances of £2/13/8 for "slop cloaths" and 6/4 for tobacco. No mention is made of Joseph Skelton having been on the Isabella, but he appears on the muster roll with allowances for slop-cloaths, bed and tobacco.[1]

The Intrepid had been part of the fleet of Admiral Graves which had engaged the French under Admiral Comte de Grasse at the entrance to Chesapeake Bay on September 5th, 1781; in this action her Captain had "behaved with the greatest gallantry to cover the Shrewsbury."[2] Shortly thereafter the Intrepid was in New York, where the two Friends were unceremoniously added to its complement, and then sailed for the West Indies in the fleet commanded by Rear Admiral Hood (Sir Samuel Hood, Viscount Hood 1762–1814). Although the damage sustained by the Intrepid on September 5th had been inadequately repaired in New York, it was part of the English fleet in the encounter between Hood and de Grasse at St. Kitts; an action which Admiral Mahan in his *Influence of Sea Power* has credited with disrupting the French time table and preparing the way for the subsequent victory in the decisive Battle of the Saints on April 12th, 1782. On February 19th, Admiral Rodney (George Brydges Rodney, First Baron Rodney, 1719–1792) returned to naval command in the West Indies and on this date the Intrepid was in the line of battle off Barbados; the squadrons of Rodney and Hood were joined on February 25th.

By March 10th, the Intrepid was declared "unfit for service in this climate" and was ordered to sail to Europe with the May convoy. March 18th however found it stationed with other ships "for the better protection of Pigeon Island and St. Lucia in general." Pigeon Island, off the northern tip of St. Lucia, was a lookout point for the British fleet in Gros Islet Bay in St. Lucia. On March 21st the Intrepid was one of a line of ships across Gros Islet Bay. The Intrepid was spared participation in the Battle of the Saints, April 8th to 12th, when Rodney defeated and captured Admiral de Grasse. On April 7th, just before sailing to engage the French, Rodney ordered the Shrewsbury, the Intrepid and the Princess Caroline to sail with a convoy to Jamaica. April 30th found the Intrepid still at Port Royal, Jamaica. On May 11th the order was given for the Intrepid to receive

[1] *Muster Rolls of H.M.S. Intrepid*, vols. ADM 36, Nos. 8505 and 8506. Public Record Office, London.

[2] *Letters written by Sir Samuel Hood (Viscount Hood) in 1781–2–3*. Edited by David Hannay. (Navy Records Society) 1895, 42.

"French soldiers and officers, prisoners of war, and deliver them to the first port you make in England."[1]

The involuntary tour of duty for Jonathan Taylor and Joseph Skelton ended in August 1782. The muster roll of the Intrepid shows that Taylor was discharged August 26th at Egmont and Skelton the following day at Deal. Possibly their discharge was aided by Admiral Rodney's dislike of impressment. In a letter written June 12th, 1782 to Brigadier-General Archibald Campbell, Governor of Jamaica, the Admiral asks the General for assistance in adding some 3000 men to his fleet, but states:

> I have since my arrival Here (and indeed wherever I have had the Honour to Command) not only not had Resource to the disagreeable Mode of Pressing, but have given Orders for such men as have been impressed without my knowledge to be released.[2]

The way would not have opened for Friends in North America to intercede with either Captain Molloy or Admiral Rodney. Available minutes of New York Meetings for this period, understandably not always complete, make no mention of the letters from Holm Monthly Meeting. The extant records of Holm Monthly Meeting and Maryport Preparative Meeting contain no specific reference to the impressment of their members.[3]

A. Day Bradley

[1] The account of the Intrepid in 1781–2 is based on the following: Information Index at the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich; *Order Book of George, Lord Rodney, Admiral of the White Squadron, 1780–1782* (New York Historical Society) 1932, 561, 606, 616, 656–7, 684, 697, 713, 726–7; *Letter Book of George, Lord Rodney, 1780–1782* (New York Historical Society), 274, 317, 348, 381, 455; Sir Samuel Hood, *op. cit.*, 31, 42, 48, 65, 86.

[2] *Letter Book of George, Lord Rodney*, 455.

[3] The extant records of Holm Monthly Meeting and Maryport Preparative Meeting have been very kindly searched by Mr. B. J. Jones of the Joint Archives Committee of Cumberland, Westmorland and Carlisle.

The Birkbeck Library, York

READERS may recall an article on Morris Birkbeck in this *Journal* by Isaac Sharp in 1911.[1] The paper gave some account of Morris Birkbeck the man and his bibliographical work, which secured for him an honourable place in the range of Quaker bookmen between John Whiting and Joseph Smith. Isaac Sharp had little to say of the collection of books which now has for the last century and a half graced the walls at the meeting house in Clifford Street, York.

The collection itself was brought particularly to notice a year or so ago when a reprint publishing firm enquired for the 1699 edition of *God's Protecting Providence* (Philadelphia, R. Jansen),[2] which was, through a misapprehension, thought to be in the Birkbeck Library, and is so recorded in Donald Wing's *Short-title catalogue of books printed . . . 1641–1700*. The Birkbeck Library does contain many rare works, but not that particular one. It may, however, be useful to give a brief account of the scope and coverage of the collection, to show what it may provide to the Quaker historian seeking printed material.

The Collection

The current catalogue of the collection is in manuscript drawn up by Henry O. Scott of Leeds in the 1930s. The catalogue reveals some 4500 entries for individual works. This figure may not be entirely a net figure of items, owing to the presence of certain double entries, so that the number of books and pamphlets in the library (short of making an exact count) may be nearer 4,000. Of these works, 2,500 approximately come from the seventeenth century, and the balance from the next century and a half. Less than a hundred items seem to have been added since 1840, and those entered for this period consist largely of annual reports for Friends' schools and the York Retreat.

It has been estimated that some 6000 works were printed for Friends in the seventeenth century, so that one can see

[1] *Journal F.H.S.*, 8 (1911), 9–15.
[2] D. G. Wing, *Short-title catalogue . . . 1641–1700*, D1389.

that a sizeable proportion of the output of the Quaker press during that period is represented on the shelves in York. Bearing in mind the errors which are possible in the figures, working from a catalogue instead of an actual examination of the books, it may nonetheless be revealing to give a table of the number of items for the different decades. These numbers in themselves mask some significant variations; for instance, the 1650s total (625) includes peaks of 107 and 103 separate publications in 1655 and 1656, falling to the 70s in the next couple of years, and rising sharply to 167 in 1659 and 215 in 1660, the two troubled years of the Restoration period, then falling away to 115 in 1661, 100 in 1662, and right down to 24 in 1666—the time of the Plague and the Fire of London. Thereafter output only rarely reached the fifties in any year.

TABLE OF PRINTED WORKS IN THE BIRKBECK LIBRARY

Dates	Numbers	Dates	Numbers
pre-1650	10		
1650s	625	1750s	53
1660s	818	1760s	66
1670s	439	1770s	101
1680s	308	1780s	71
1690s	310	1790s	122
1700s	250	1800s	148
1710s	129	1810s	212
1720s	62	1820s	266
1730s	81	1830s	233
1740s	55	1840s	72
(1650–1749)	3077	(1750–1849)	1344
		From 1850	21

The fall in numbers in the middle of the eighteenth century gives substance to the usually accepted view of Friends' small publishing activity during the "quietist" period. It probably represents a real trend, because there is no reason to suspect that Morris Birkbeck would have restricted his intake of material if it had been available to him. The rise in the 1810s and onwards, until the end of the 1830s must represent the activity of York Friends (and in particular, as will be seen, William Alexander) in making efforts to complete and continue the collection of printed works which had come to the Quarterly Meeting.

Over 130 of the main Quaker authors are represented at York by more than about four books each in the collection. The following have more than a score of works or editions each: Robert Barclay, William Bayly, George Bishop, Edward Burrough, William Dewsbury, Richard Farnsworth, George Fox, Francis Howgill, Richard Hubberthorne, George Keith, James Nayler, Isaac Penington, William Penn, Humphrey Smith, William Smith and George Whitehead.

The Library catalogue is arranged basically in the order of books recorded in Joseph Smith's *Descriptive Catalogue of Friends' Books*, 1867. There are about 100 linear feet of books in the collection. Some have never been read, being unopened, and some still have evidence of having been housed at a former time in a damp place, although whether this was before or since they came to York is not determined. The volumes of bound pamphlets have lists of the contents inside the front covers.

According to a note by Henry Scott, some 35 volumes were removed to Friends House Library in 1937/38, as they contained works which supplied gaps in that library.

The York books are shelved in the Strong Room at the Friends' Meeting House, 15 Clifford Street, York, YO1 1RG, and may be consulted on application to the Curators.

Morris Birkbeck as Collector

Morris Birkbeck was son of William and Sarah (Morris) Birkbeck of Settle. They were married 5 May 1730 at Stafford.[1] Morris Birkbeck was born 4 November 1734, and died at Guildford 14 April 1816. Details of his life are given in the article by Isaac Sharp mentioned above.[2]

In a letter to Thomas Thompson of Liverpool, Morris Birkbeck gives an account of his method of collecting books, and how he set about increasing the collection which he intended to present to the Society of Friends for the use of its members.[3] "The mode which I pursued . . . was first to ransack all the old book shops and stalls I could find where I

[1] The marriage certificate (University of Durham, Department of Palaeography and Diplomatic, Backhouse Papers, no. 52) has 34 witnesses.

[2] *Journal F.H.S.*, 8 (1911), 9–15.

[3] Letter dated Guildford, 4. x. 1808, addressed to Thomas Thompson, Chymist & Druggist, Liverpool; in volume of bound papers, Yorkshire General Meeting archives, Clifford Street Meeting House, York, Strong Room, shelf 6, no. 9, pp. 2–3.

went, as well the Nation over, as in the bye corners, allies, and publick streets of the Metropolis. If going out on other business, my Catalogue, mostly, was my *vade mecum*; in which I regularly marked off, or entered every fresh acquisition as the case required, old and new . . . thus, I was not liable to purchase the same article twice over, unless in volumes of tracts, some containing, perhaps, only one or two such as I wanted; the rest duplicates, or even triplicates; for the holders rarely would suffer a volume to be mutilated, unless at an extravagant price, inducing me to purchase the whole.

"I also obtained many in the families of Friends, especially of ancients, descendants of the First convinced, and of some who had left the Society, seldom meeting with a refusal, either for love or money; to some I made returns in some shape, thought to be equivalent, in books or otherwise; but I have this testimony to give, that Friends, knowing my motive and intention, have been liberal and kind generally throughout furnishing what I wanted gratis. Some, who seemed not altogether to comprehend the service it might be, for *Cui bono?* was no uncommon question. After all my researches, I suppose I yet want half as many *hundreds*, as I have obtained *thousands*, of distinct publications, large and small. Some may have become quite extinct or lost; but others, I doubt not, are in collections which I have not seen."

Establishing the York Library

The first official communication presented to the Quarterly Meeting concerning the Birkbeck Library came on 26.vi.1811 in the form of a letter addressed to that meeting from Morris Birkbeck. He told Friends that he had, by codicil to his Will, bequeathed the books he has been collecting, to Friends, namely

> to the Quarterly Meeting of York; first supplying, out of them, the Library of Friends in London, which belongs to the Society at large, with what may be wanted towards completing the Collection there . . . it being my desire that, as there is one Collection of the greatest part of the Books &c. published by Friends, kept in London, there may also be the like or a duplicate thereof, kept in the Country; not only for the perusal of Friends that may incline to read them, but for the use of any who may be engaged in writing on subjects relating to the Society, and with its approbation; but it is my desire that no Books, Pamphlets, &c. be lent, or

> taken out of this Library, except on some occasion of this sort; and that, in this case, a particular account kept of such Books, Pamphlets, &c. when taken and when returned; and that this return be made in due time.[1]

In his letter Morris Birkbeck proposed that the transfer to York should take place immediately he had been able to arrange the books, and before his death, but the Will did not take effect until after that event in 1816.[2] Even after Morris Birkbeck was dead, there were delays. John Eliot was handling affairs in London, and he wrote 3.ii.1817 to William Tuke, that "the Books were received several months since from Guildford, and deposited in the Record Room at Devonshire House Meeting House, where they now remain."[3] The selection for London stock was to take place before the Yorkshire trustees took up their duties, and London Friends had not yet begun to make the examination of the books for the choice of works. However, Thomas Thompson of Liverpool, "a Friend peculiarly well qualified for the task", so John Eliot wrote

> has spontaneously offered his assistance, which has been gladly accepted; and I expect that the whole of the Collection will be shortly conveyed to Liverpool, in order that he may proceed in this business as his leisure will permit.[4]

When the books arrived in Liverpool Thomas Thompson wrote to William Tuke:[5] "As the Collection is now under my

[1] Morris Birkbeck to York Quarterly Meeting, dated Guildford, 8. vi. 1811; Strong Room, shelf 6, no. 9, p. 7. The terms of the codicil are recited on pp. 9–13 of the same volume.

[2] Responding to a suggestion from Morris Birkbeck, Henry Tuke [1755–1814] stopped at Guildford on his way to Chichester, intending to assist in the arrangement of the books, but he found that his assistance would not be effective, Morris Birkbeck's "mode of proceeding would be too deliberate for his attendance". The impreciseness of the arrangements gave rise to misunderstanding later, when some York Friends thought that, as the books had been given to them, Morris Birkbeck's trustees in London were interfering, and doing too much. However, in his letter of 27.viii.1817, William Tuke admitted that the testamentary documents supported London Friends' action, and to Thomas Thompson of Liverpool, who made the selection for London, he expressed his "satisfaction that this business fell into thy hands, being persuaded that it might otherwise have been difficult to find one competent to the undertaking." (Yorkshire G.M. archives, Strong Room, shelf 6, no. 9, p. 200.)

[3] John Eliot to William Tuke, York; dated London 3.ii.1817 (Yorkshire G.M. archives, Strong Room, shelf 6, no. 9, pp. 17–20; quotation from p. 17).

[4] 3.ii.1817; York G.M. Strong Room, shelf 6, no. 9, p. 18.

[5] York G.M. Strong Room, shelf 6, no. 9, p. 24. See also John Eliot to Thomas Thompson 1.v.1817, pp. 183–86.

roof, the selection for the London Library will I believe devolve upon me, as I am perhaps most conversant with the subject." He asked for the appointment of some York Friend to correspond with him to expedite the business, and proceeded to present a claim for duplicates. He told William Tuke, "Thou has perhaps been told that our valued Friend M. Birkbeck repeatedly promised me, that upon this appropriation, I should have the duplicates. If the Trustees think it worth while I would endeavour to substantiate my claim." This he could well do on the basis of the letter quoted above.[1] In September 1817 he wrote again to William Tuke to report that he had almost completed the selection for London Friends, and from the remainder had taken a copy for himself "according to what I believe was M.B.'s intention . . . I hope that I have not selected a single page which York Library will not possess, nor a single copy of which I have not left a superior in their collection."

For despatch of the books to York, Thomas Thompson continued, "I think the Leeds & Liverpool Canal will be the best conveyance,[2] & should I hear nothing from thee by an early post I shall forward them accordingly to the address of Wm. Tuke & Co." He hoped also to provide a catalogue, and gave advice about shelving:

> It would be desireable that the frames of cases have wooden backs at a little distance from the walls, & that the doors (if any security is thought necessary) would be preferred in having latice work of wire instead of glass in order to admit a free ventilation. If some part of the shelving could be (conveniently) made of cedar it might

[1] Morris Birkbeck to Thomas Thompson, 4.x.1808; York G.M. Strong Room, shelf 6, no. 9, p. 2. "I have some duplicates yet remaining, which are at thy service, and may be sent to thy order; and, had I thy assistance in the proposed plan of a General Catalogue . . . I believe divers more duplicates will arise . . . some of which, probably, may fall to thy lot, provided J.G.B. [Joseph Gurney Bevan] do not want them." See also letter from John Eliot to Thomas Thompson, 4.vii.1817, in which he says "Leave was very readily granted by the Meeting for Sufferings held this morning, for thy retaining any spare publications of which a copy occurs both in our Collection and in that intended for York." (p. 197 of the same volume).

[2] Thomas Thompson advocated canal transport for the books when they were being sent from London to him at Liverpool; see draft letter of 22.ii.1817 to John Eliot (York G.M. Strong Room, shelf 6, no. 9, p. 176). The proposal to send the books by Leeds & Liverpool Canal followed the suggestion of William Tuke, who, in his letter of 27.viii.1817, said he thought that books would be sent "best by the Canals, as the friction is great by Waggons", and added the query, "Is there not a regular Conveyance from Manchester by the Rochdale Canal to Wakefield?" (p. 199).

> tend to prevent the devastation of the worm. I think that it would be adviseable to have the collection, such as need it, half bound with Russia backs & corners. It will much facilitate references as well as tend to their better preservation.[1]

Some time elapsed after their arrival in York before the books were dealt with. Eighteen months later Thomas Thompson was writing to Samuel Tuke as follows: "It is satisfactory to be informed that you are about to unpack them, & place them upon shelves, as I have not been without apprehension that they might suffer some injury for want of proper ventilation."[2]

In regard to the unbound pamphlets, which formed a large proportion of the whole, Thomas Thompson suggested that the York librarians should

> select all the loose tracts & class them in suitable numbers & size under their authors, & alphabetical succession as may be, & have them bound up in volumes, perhaps half bound in Russia (having a larger volume or portfolio for the broadsides & half sheets in preference to folding them to the quarto size) with the precaution in all the older ones of having three or four fly leaves of good writing paper at the beginning tinged nearly to the colour of the paper of the tracts, upon this may be written at a future time the contents of each volume for easier reference.[3]

This was what York Friends eventually did, although without the refinement of the volumes half-bound in russia. Good quality paper boards have served well, and at this distance of time one cannot judge to what extent William Alexander felt obliged to match the tint of his endpapers to the colour of the original pamphlets.

Samuel Tuke and William Alexander were appointed by York Quarterly Meeting a committee "to have the care of the Books received from our late Friend Morris Birkbeck, & such other books as now are, or may become the property of this Quarterly Meeting.[4]

[1] York G.M. Strong Room, shelf 6, no. 9, pp. 26–27.
[2] 11.iii.1819; York G. M. Strong Room, shelf 6, no. 9, p. 36.
[3] 11.iii.1819; York G. M. Strong Room, shelf 6, no. 9, p. 38.
[4] York Q.M. 25.iii.1819, 23rd minute. By the same minute the same two Friends were appointed to take charge of transcribing the minutes of the Quarterly Meeting; work which William Tuke wished to relinquish "from the defect in his sight". Six months later, the committee proposed and Quarterly Meeting agreed, that a transcribing clerk should be paid twelve guineas a year. Here we may see the advent of the second paid official of the Society of Friends, noted in Thomas Pumphrey's remark of about 1880 (see *Jnl. F.H.S.*, 45 (1953), p. 56).

Thomas Thompson wrote to John Eliot in London saying that he had recently received a letter from York, and "They are anxious to commence their catalogue".[1] John Eliot replied in April that he was sending parts of the catalogue which had been transcribed in London back to Thomas Thompson "by this Evenings Mail". Josiah Forster and John Eliot were making slow progress in London in sorting Morris Birkbeck's manuscripts, from the surplus of which Thomas Thompson was anxious to secure autographs for his own collection.[2]

With the catalogue in active preparation, events indeed were moving in York. At the December Quarterly Meeting in 1822 a broadly based committee was "appointed to unite with the Library Committee, in considering whether further use, might not be made of the Library belonging to this Meeting".[3]

The Friends appointed to this committee were Samuel Tuke (1784–1857), William Alexander (1768–1841), William Tuke (1732–1822) and William Richardson (d. 1864), all four of York and members of the Library Committee, and the following:

James Backhouse, of York (1794–1869);
Thomas Backhouse, of York, nurseryman (1792–1845);
Robert Bainbridge, of Helmsley;
Joshua Bowron, of Ayton, yeoman (d.1837);
John Broadhead, of Leeds, grocer (1761–1830);
Henry Casson, of Hull, tanner (d.1826);
Richard Cockin, of Doncaster (1753–1845);
John Firth junior, of High Flatts, clothier (d.1847);
Caleb Fletcher, of Leeds, (at this time probably of Kirbymoorside) flax spinner (d. 1841);
James Harrison, of Ackworth, yeoman (1762–1828);
John Hipsley, of Hull, woollendraper (1775–1866);
Benjamin Hustler, of Yeadon, clothier (1749–1833);
John Hustler, of Bradford, merchant (1768–1842);
Simon Hutchinson, of Helmsley (1745–1830);
John Johnson, of Sutton on the Forest, farmer;
John King, of Lothersdale, weaver and schoolmaster (1765–1836);
John Rowntree, of Scarborough (d. 1845);

[1] Thomas Thompson to John Eliot, draft, Liverpool 22.iii.1819; York G.M. Strong Room, shelf 6, no. 9, pp. 235–6.

[2] John Eliot to Thomas Thompson, London 20.iv.1819; York G.M. Strong Room, shelf 6, no. 9, pp. 237–40.

[3] York Q.M. 25.xii.1822. The list reads like a Cabinet Committee of Yorkshire Friends.

William Rowntree, of Settrington, farmer (1768–1832);
John Shackleton, of Airton, shopkeeper; and
William Smith, of Doncaster (1756–1832).

The committee duly met on 26 December 1822, and the report was presented to Quarterly Meeting (15th minute, 27 March 1823) by William Alexander. In the report the committee recited the terms of Morris Birkbeck's letter (p. 155 above) to the Quarterly Meeting, as guidance for arrangements to be made for the use of the library: "I doubt not but you will provide a suitable place for depositing them in, & appoint a friend or two to have them properly under care."[1]

A Library Committee minute of 31.iii,1824 records that the catalogue was then in the hands of Wilson Marriott who engaged to return it completed within six months.[2] Wilson Marriott seems to have used an interleaved copy of John Whiting's *Catalogue of Friends' Books*, 1708, as working material, marking his items in red ink. The marginal "Y" in the book appears to refer to material in the York collection. It appears that Wilson Marriott may have worked through the volume at two separate times in 1819 and 1820.[3] A second copy of Whiting (Birkbeck Library, 842) was taken in pieces and bound up again interleaved, with a new back and the old sides, by William Alexander, November 1820, and this volume appears to have been used by Wilson Marriott up to the time of his last work for the committee in 1825. At the end of this copy is a letter from Wilson Marriott to Samuel Tuke, dated Bradford, 21 April 1825, recording his completion of work on the catalogue, and asking for the gift of a duplicate copy of George Keith's *Way to the City of God*, 1678. The book was given him.

Former Owners

In view of the remarks made by Morris Birkbeck about his methods of collecting books it is not surprising that many

[1] Yorkshire G.M. Strong Room, shelf 6, no. 8, pp. 37–38; see also shelf 6, no. 9, p. 7 (Morris Birkbeck to York Q.M., 8.vi.1811).

[2] York G.M. Strong Room, shelf 6, no. 8, p. 2. Wilson Marriott, son of John (1762–97) and Ann (Wilson) (b.1772) Marriott, b.22.v.1796; m. at Bradford, 20.iv. 1825, Margaret dau. of William and Margaret (Richardson) Maud; d.5.ix.1842 at Kendal. A good deal of Marriott's work may be detected in one of the old catalogues still kept with the library.

[3] Birkbeck Library, 843. In the Quarterly Meeting minute of 27.xii.1820 (15th minute) William Alexander reported that the books in the Library had been arranged by Wilson Marriott.

of the works bear many signatures and marks of ownership, some of them names well-known in Quakerism.

"Bethiah Rous's Book 1691" is on the fly-leaf of Joan Vokins, *God's mighty power magnified*, 1691 (Birkbeck Library, 652),[1] and the same signature appears in George Fox's *The Saints . . . their heavenly and spiritual worship*, 1683 (45/1), where Morris Birkbeck has noted, "N.B. This Book was given to Bethiah Rous, (Judge Fell's Daur.) by G.F."

"Wm. Sewel, 1685" appears at the foot of the title-page of George Fox the Younger, *A collection*, 1662 (492). On the title-page of *A Christian-Testimony born by . . . Quakers in London*, 1683 (106/5) is the unmistakable initial "R. Sn" of Richard Snead of Bristol.[2] "Mehitabell Speed her Booke 1663" appears on the fly-leaf of Richard Hubberthorne's collected works, 1663 (838), eight years before her marriage to Issac Hemming, merchant, of London.[3] Thomas Waite's volume of pamphlets (246) is inscribed: "The Guift of Thomas Waite, To his Deare Friends called Quakers Prisoners in Yorke Castle, To Remaine for their Comon use, within the said Castle 1684. the xiith of ye xth mo. 1684." This volume may well have formed part of the Quarterly Meeting's own library before the accession of the Birkbeck gift.

George Keith, *Immediate revelation*, 1668 (60/2) belonged to George and Anne Whitehead, and is marked, "To be returned to G. Whitehead If lent to any". John Whiting had a collection of William Gibson's tracts bound in 1692, and thus a volume (49) owned by the first Quaker bibliographer finds its place on the shelves in the library of the second such.

Friends' libraries supplied certain items; Guildford Meeting (Morris Birkbeck's home) more than twenty, Leeds one (50/1), Oar Meeting five items, Settle, Bentham & Bolland two (935, 1069), Skipwith one (349/11), Monthly Meeting Upperside Bucks one (808), and two (938, 965–966) *Spirit of the martyrs*, 1682 and Ellwood's *Sacred history*, 1705, came from the Chamber in Whitehart Court, Gracechurch Street, London. Non-Quaker sources include the library of the Duke of Newcastle (784), that of St. John's Fort,

[1] For Bethiah Rous see George Fox, *Short journal*, 1925, p. 331. Birkbeck Library call numbers are given in brackets after entries for works referred to in this section.

[2] Richard Snead, d.1712; Bristol Record Society, xxvi, 216.

[3] Bristol Record Society, xxvi, 203.

Newfoundland (801), and a sale of British Museum duplicates in 1787 (26/1).

It is not possible to name all the signatures which appear: there are four Alexanders; Robert Arthington owned works by Penn and Ellwood; three Backhouses; Anthony Benezet presented his own works; Joseph Gurney Bevan; two James Clothiers, one 1695 of Street, another in 1785; Thomas Crewdson of Kendal; Nathaniel English's collection supplied a dozen books, including Bethiah Rous's Joan Vokins; three Fothergills; Travel Fuller, 1745; Anthony Gundry of Chard, and William Gundry of Calne; Thomas Hammond the York printer; Gilbert Heathcote the London physician owned John Freame's *Scripture Instruction*, 1713 (193/3); Benjamin Horner of Leeds; four Howards; three Hustlers; William Jenkins the early Sidcot schoolmaster owned John Whiting, *Judas and the chief priests*, 1701 (837); Edward Penington son of Isaac Penington of London (655); the signature "Wm Penn" appears on the blank final page (Aa2b) of George Bishop's *A rejoinder*, 1658 (10/4); and there are two signatures of Sir John Rodes (374, 620).

From members of his own family, John, William and Wilson Birkbeck and Mary Clutton (born Mary Morris), Morris Birkbeck received books. William Caton's *Journal*, 1689 (17/20) was given to Morris Birkbeck in 1788 by his aunt Sarah Dillworth who (as Sarah Shires)[1] had received it from her grandfather at his decease in 1720; the book is initially inscribed "Willam Storrs his Book." Richard Morris "of Rudgley" signs some leaves in *Compendium trium linguarum*, 1679 (474), which also includes the names Gilbert Thompson (1716) and John Mattern.

Morris Birkbeck's comments are often interesting. At the foot of the title-page of Samuel Crisp's *A libeller expos'd*, 1704 (180/1) is a note, "3 mo. 18th 1704. The Morning Meeting stop'd this being publish'd or dispersd for a while." This note gains added point when one turns to the Advertisement on p. 77. Perhaps Morning Meeting had reason, and its delays at least were effectual with the Birkbeck copy, which has remained uncut and unopened for 250 years.

Other inscriptions there are, not all of serious moment. On

[1] Sarah, daughter of John and Alice Shires, b. 2.iii.1708, m. Thomas Dilworth of Lancaster, 19.xii.1740 at Bradford; H. R. Hodgson, *Society of Friends in Bradford*, 1926, 91, 112.

p. 1 of John Bellers' *To the Arch-Bishop, Bishops, and Clergy*, 1712 (7/10) one may see inscribed,

"John Bellers has no fellers amonge ye Quakers."

Later History

The work of keeping the Birkbeck Library up to date was taken seriously, at least during the lifetime of William Alexander, and his work on the Library Committee is well attested by the recorded minutes of that body. In 1826 Joseph Tatham[1], John Hipsley and William Rowntree were added to the committee, which was "directed to make such additions to the Collection of Books, as may keep it up, on the plan of the Societys Library in London, under the care of the Meeting for Sufferings, & to report to this Meeting annually."[2] Accordingly, in June 1826 the committee met and considered the Quarterly Meeting minute. The committee "agreed that Wm. Alexander & Son as the booksellers of the Library be requested to prepare a list of such works as have been published by friends since the books came into possession of the Quarterly Meeting & which are not in the collection." Further, "It is agreed that a catalogue of the old books wanted to compleat the collection be made under the care of the members of this Committee at York & that 250 copies of the list be printed if they deem it expedient & circulated amongst friends."[3]

Six months later at the December committee meeting it was agreed to purchase books amounting to about £15 for the library. The committee also decided that the books in the library should be numbered in black by the bookbinder.[4]

On June 27 1827 the Library Committee received a bill for books from William Alexander amounting to £15 1s 11d, and one for £2 8s 10d "for numbering & repairs". In its report to Quarterly Meeting the committee asked William Rowntree to say:

> Agreeably to the direction of the Quarterly Meeting in the 3rd Mo. 1826, the Library Committee have purchased a copy of each of most of those Books which have been

[1] Joseph Tatham, of Leeds, schoolmaster (d. 1843, aged 76).
[2] York Q.M. 29.iii.1826 (Strong Room, shelf 6, no. 8, p. 38).
[3] York Q.M. Strong Room, shelf 6, no. 8, pp. 3–4.
[4] 28.xii.1826; York Q.M. Strong Room, shelf 6, no. 8, p. 4.

published since the decease of Morris Birkbeck, which come within the prescribed limits of the Quarterly Meeting's instructions, and some others have been furnished gratuitously. The Committee have also directed the arranging & numbering of the whole, which has been completed, together with some needful repairs, and the amount of expences incurred for these several purposes is £2.8.10, and for the purchase of the Books published during eleven years past is £15.1.11."[1]

The collection, as the statistics reveal, continued to grow through the 1830s and 40s. Memoranda respecting Desiderata for the library, commenced 18.viii.1836, in the hand of William Alexander, are contained in the committee's records.[2] At the same time he wrote to William Manley in London with a series of queries to find out which classes of books were included in the London library, as guidance for the York committee. In the course of his reply William Manley stated that the supply of books to the Library the property of the Yearly Meeting is "left with Darton & Harvey, but in the multiplicity of their business some works it is to be feared escape their attention." For instance, he believed that a complete set of William Alexander's *Annual Monitor* "is not in the Library, but to ascertain what is and is not in the Library would be a great work, the Catalogue not being made up for some years past. There is a Committee who have the charge of the Library, but they seldom meet. Friends in London have so many Societys concerns to claim their notice".[3]

The Birkbeck Library is a valuable collection of works containing much of the printed material basic for the study of the first two centuries of Quaker development. Painstakingly gathered by one keen bibliophile and carefully preserved by Yorkshire Friends for a century and a half, this collection merits continued maintenance and greater use.

R. S. MORTIMER

[1] York Q.M. Strong Room, shelf 6, no. 8, pp. 5–6.
[2] York Q.M. Strong Room, shelf 6, no. 9, p. 247.
[3] William Manley's reply of 20.viii.1836 to William Alexander's letter of 18.viii.1836; York Q.M. Strong Room, shelf 6, no. 8, p. 39.

Records of Quaker Interest in Lambeth Palace Library

FRIENDS in the past may have rejected the Church of England, but a historian of Quakerism would be most unwise to neglect her records. The Church of England archives contain a wealth of information which may not throw up any startling discoveries, yet will lend colour and balance to our understanding of the Quaker past. Lambeth Palace Library[1] has a valuable collection of records illustrating the initial flourish and gradual decline of Quakerism into a relatively small sect tolerated by the Established Church. There is little unity within this miscellaneous group of records though the more interesting items belong to the periods in the seventeenth and twentieth centuries when Friends' activities posed a vital challenge to society. It is not pure coincidence that there is a marked absence of references to Quakers in the nineteenth century manuscripts and archives.

Of all the records in the archiepiscopal library perhaps the most rewarding for the Quaker historian is the 1669 Survey of Conventicles[2] which was designed to gauge the strength and extent of nonconformity and dissent that had flourished during the Commonwealth. A searching enquiry was undertaken to determine the numbers, social status and "Principal Abbettors, Preachers and Teachers" of these heretical beliefs. Copies of the returns have survived for the majority of the dioceses in England and Wales and confirm our picture of early Friends: of their surprisingly large numbers, their itinerancy, their low social origins, their subjection to persecution and even the institution of business meetings. At Wymondham, Norfolk, it is recorded that there were "sometimes 500, 400, 300, 200 sometimes but 30 or 40 when they meete to Communicate letters which they receive from others of their party in foreine places." Their teachers and heads were described as "mostly persons unknowne from all

[1] The Library is open on weekdays from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. Any *bona fide* reader is welcomed on the production of a letter of introduction.

[2] Ms. 639. Transcribed in *Original Records of Early Nonconformity under Persecution and Indulgence*, by G. Lyon Turner, 1911.

parts of the Kingdome such as Fox, Duesbury, Greene, Whitehead & one Allen, a Barber in Cambridge."[1]

A few years later in 1676 another survey, the Compton Survey,[2] was held to assess the comparative strength of recusants and dissenters. This time the ecclesiastical authorities seemed to be far less concerned about the different strands of dissent, and were more interested in the total numbers of "dissenters refusing or absenting themselves from the Holy Communion of the Church of England". Used in conjunction with the earlier survey and the churchwardens' presentments,[3] it may be possible to identify some of the non-communicants as Quakers, and thus gain some idea of the fluctuation in their numbers at this period.

No further national census of nonconformists was undertaken although individual bishops kept an eye on these groups through their practice of visitation. The visitation articles and returns vary for each diocese and betray the changing attitudes of the episcopate to the old and new onslaughts against the comprehensiveness of the Church of England. For the diocese of Canterbury, the articles of Archibishops Secker (1758)[4] and Moore (1786)[5] include a whole series of questions on Quakers:

> Are there any Quakers in your Parish, and how many? Is their Number lessened or increased of late Years, and by what means? Have they a meeting House in your Parish duly licensed, and how often do they meet there? Do any of them, and how many in Proportion, pay your legal Dues without Compulsion? If not, do you lose such Dues? Or how do you recover them? and what Facts do you know, which may help to set their Behaviour towards the Clergy or that of the Clergy towards them in a true Light?

In spite of the thoroughness of the visitation articles, it is clear from both their nature and the answers that Friends

[1] Ms. 639, f.230.

[2] Ms. 639. Also transcribed by G. L. Turner, and original returns for the Archbishop's Peculiars of Arches, Croydon and Shoreham which have only recently come to light (VP IC/9). A more complete series is in the William Salt Library, Stafford.

[3] Churchwardens' presentments for the Peculiars of Arches, Croydon and Shoreham (VP II/4).

[4] Ms. 1134/1–6. Secker had used the identical articles as bishop of Oxford. See *Articles of Enquiry Addressed to the Clergy of the Diocese of Oxford at the Primary Visitation of Dr. Thomas Secker, 1738*, by the Rev. H. A. Lloyd Jukes, 1957 (Oxford Record Society, Vol. XXXVIII).

[5] VC II/1.

were not viewed with the same degree of alarm as that of the previous century. The incumbent of Folkestone was voicing a commonly held belief when he replied that "their number is lessened of late years", though he ventured his own well informed interpretation of their decline, putting it down to Friends' "Intermarriages with People of our Communion" and observed that "the Quakers are not so industrious to make Proselytes, as others are".[1] Possibly the clergy were more concerned about their refusal to pay tithes, though in some cases individuals preferred to come to terms with the parson. There appears to have been a spirit of compromise at work on both sides. Some of the clergy "chose rather to lose them [their dues], than to be at the trouble and expence of a Lawsuit".[2] However, in other parishes a certain aloofness characterized the relations between the Quakers and the parishioners. The vicar of St. Mary's, Dover, remarked that "they seem extremely bigotted to their own Opinions and hold their Neighbours in great contempt as if for want of their light, everybody else was in the dark".[3]

These Canterbury visitation articles were unusually detailed and may have been the result of Secker's non-conformist background. For the diocese of London, the eighteenth century visitation articles[4] make no specific mention of Quakers on the assumption possibly that they would be covered by the questions "Are there . . . any dissenters from the Church of England, and of what denomination? Have they any meeting Houses? are they duly licensed, and are their Teachers qualified according to Law?". On the whole, by the later part of that century, the attention of the episcopate was focused more closely on the Methodists than on the older forms of dissent and nonconformity. The last visitation articles in the Library to include any questions on these groups belong to the years 1806 for the diocese of Canterbury, and 1810 for London. Thereafter the articles were concerned exclusively with the needs of the parishioners and their incumbent.

The picture of Friends gained from the visitation articles is that of a tolerated and declining sect within a society

[1] Ms. 1134/2, f.101.
[2] Ms. 1134/5, f.73.
[3] Ms. 1134/2, f.31.
[4] Fulham Papers: 55, 56(1766); 54(1770); 82–4(1778); 81, 85–7(1790).

dominated by the all pervasive Church. Their activities were hedged round with certain restrictions. They were forbidden entry to the universities and some of the professions open to them still required the sanction of the Church. The application of Joseph Sherwood to the Faculty Office for a licence to practise as a public notary was a test case which reveals the surprisingly wary approach of the ecclesiastical hierarchy to "this seemingly peaceable and inoffensive sect" in 1760.[1] Archbishop Secker would not have chosen to license a Quaker "unless refusing him would raise a Clamour: for they are extremely apt to be perverse in everything. Yet I know not that this office will give them any peculiar opportunities of being so". The Master of the Faculties expressed similar misgivings, fearing that "refusing this or any other Quaker would be productive of much clamour which most probably would be spread and propagated with all that Art & Industry they have too much practised on some other occasions".

That a *modus vivendi* operated is suggested by many of the Library's records bearing on Quakers. No clearer case of this is seen than in the report to the Bishop of London that Friends in Lacovia, Jamaica, "are so moderate, as to permit their children to be christened by Ministers of the Church of England, when desired by your regulations".[2] Quakers, like other officially recognized dissenters, were required to have their meeting houses licensed by the local bishop. However, at Deal, Kent, the meeting house was not only licensed by the Archbishop, but was also on his property. In the leases of these premises its use as a Quaker meeting house was clearly recognized by the Archbishop.[3] At the beginning of the nineteenth century we find Archbishop Manners Sutton employing a Quaker surveyor on his estates.[4] At the same time and earlier, Quakers took their turn in the office of churchwarden.[5]

The spirit of compromise was momentarily shattered by the 1914–18 War when once more Friends posed a vital challenge to society. The papers of Archbishop Davidson

[1] Secker Papers 14/6–14. Also Faculty Office Fiats, F II/1760 Sherwood.
[2] Fulham Papers, vol. 18, f.231 v.
[3] Temporalities: Deal Leases no. 266.
[4] Abraham Pursehouse Driver of Kent Road, Surrey. See Temporalities: Lambeth Enclosure Award, 1810, and Surveys of the Estates.
[5] Affirmations of Quaker churchwardens in the Archbishop's Peculiars of Arches, Croydon and Shoreham. VP II/5b.

dealing with conscientious objectors reveal his opposition to their absolutist stand. Although he was entirely against their maltreatment and punishment by the military authorities, he nevertheless "had painfully to realize how impossible it is to be helpful to men who, while they are ready to accept the security and privileges afforded by the ordered government of the country to which they belong, refuse to undertake any of the responsibilities of citizenship."[1] There is a wide gap between these sentiments and those expressed by Bishop Bell of Chichester whose sympathetic understanding of Friends' position in the Second World War was reflected in his co-operation with them over relief work.[2]

This article does not claim to be an exhaustive account of Quaker material in Lambeth Palace Library; it is intended only to encourage Quaker historians to look beyond their own records, to gain an understanding of the ecclesiastical hierarchy's changing attitudes to them: from fear of their threat to an appreciation of their individual contribution to society. Perhaps the enquirer may come to share the thrill which I felt on unearthing an almost complete series of Yearly Meeting Epistles, 1682–1740, in our collections of Papers of the Bishops of London.

MELANIE BARBER

[1] Davidson Papers: War/Conscientious Objectors, 12 Jan., 1918.
[2] Bell Papers: German Church Papers, particularly Famine Relief.

HISTORICAL RESEARCH

Historical Research for University Degrees in the United Kingdom. List no. 34. Part 1: Theses completed 1972. (University of London, Institute of Historical Research, May 1973.)

Included is the following:

152 Historical study of the discipline of the Society of Friends, 1738–1861. By D. J. Hall. (Professor W. R. Ward.) Durham M.A.

* * *

Annual report of the American Historical Association for the year 1971. Volume 1: Proceedings (Washington, Smithsonian Institution Press). Includes the following items in the list of "Doctoral dissertations in history recently completed in the United States":

Nonconformists in Warwickshire, 1660–1720. Judith J. Hurwich, Princeton, May 1970.

British pacifism during the First World War: the Cambridge-Bloomsbury contribution. Marvin R. Pollock, Columbia, December 1971.

A Quaker commonwealth: society and the public order in Pennsylvania, 1681–1765. Joel D. Meyerson, Harvard, March 1971.

Socioeconomic background of non-pacifist Quakers during the American Revolution. Kenneth Radbill, Arizona, September 1971.

* * *

Dissertation Abstracts International. A—The humanities and social sciences (Xerox University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 48106), October 1972, vol. 33, no. 4, includes an abstract (p. 1666–A) of "The English Quakers and world war I, 1914–1920", by Leigh Royal Tucker, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1972 (279 pages; order no. 72–24,853).

* * *

Scientific Research in Progress in British Universities and Colleges, 1971–72. Volume III: Social Sciences, lists the

following Ph.D thesis in addition to the studies listed in *Journal F.H.S.*, vol. 52, p. 308:

Leicester University: Department of History
H. Forde, "Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire Quakers of the 17th & 18th centuries."

* * *

Two theses concerning Friends are in progress in the University of Oxford:

J. Charlesworth (Jesus College) for D.Phil, "The Sociology of an Established Sect, the Society of Friends in the Twentieth Century."

J. H. Morgan (Mansfield College) for B.Litt, "Religious History of the Society of Friends in England and America, a comparative study of the nature and the relationship of the Inner Light and practical mysticism in the religious thought of the Scottish Quaker Robert Barclay and of the American Quaker Rufus M. Jones."

Nonconformity in the Nineteenth Century

David M. Thompson's collection of documents under this title in the Birth of Modern Britain Series (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972, £3 or paper cover £1.50) will be of interest to Friends chiefly for the information it offers, frequently from sources not readily accessible, about other traditions. Temperance, plainness and the "no politics" rule in Methodism are particular examples. Dr. Thompson's introduction and commentary are also of value, especially with the present lack of a modern general history of English nonconformity. Friends are directly represented by three extracts from 106; from Clarkson's *Portraiture of Quakerism*, J. B. Braithwaite's *Memoirs of Joseph John Gurney* and J. S. Rowntree's *Quakerism, Past and Present*. Dr. Thompson excludes Friends from his definition of nonconformists for the 1906 General Election results, 157 nonconformists were returned and in addition nine Friends and four possible Friends. It is a pity that the bibliography cites only Mrs. Isichei and not Rufus Jones.

D. J. HALL

Where Are the Amelia Opie Papers?

Much of the pioneering research work on Amelia Opie, the Quaker writer and reformer, was done more than forty years ago. Particularly important was the work of Margaret E. Macgregor for her Ph.D. thesis published in 1933 under the title, *Amelia Alderson Opie, Worldling and Friend*.[1] One of the sources of material which Miss Macgregor was able to discover was a collection of letters and papers at that time in the possession of Miss Ethel I. Carr of Canterbury.

[1] Margaret Eliot Macgregor's London Ph.D. thesis (1932), edited posthumously by four of her close friends and published in *Smith College studies in modern languages*, vol. 14, nos. 1–2, Oct. 1932–Jan. 1933.

The Carr MSS. collection contained most of the literary remains of Amelia Opie. There was a large number of her unpublished poems, an unfinished novel and plays, personal reminiscences and other literary MSS, as well as two albums of her pencil portraits. There were also nearly 400 letters and correspondence between Mrs. Opie and her relatives and friends. This collection had formed the basis for the first biography of Mrs. Opie by Cecilia Lucy Brightwell published in 1854,[1] and it was the most important source for the later work of Miss Macgregor and for Jacobine Menzies-Wilson and Helen Lloyd in their biography *Amelia, the Tale of a Plain Friend* published in 1937.

The papers had come into Miss Carr's possession through the Briggs family. Henry Perronet Briggs,[2] the painter, and his wife Eliza Alderson Briggs to whom many of the letters were written, were cousins of Mrs. Opie. It was through their daughter, who had married the Rev. J. H. Carr of Adisham Rectory in Kent, that the papers came into the Carr family.

In 1953, Miss Carr died. The papers then passed to her nephew who put them up for sale at Sotheby's. They were split into 5 lots, and on 22nd June 1953 they were auctioned.[3]

One lot (Lot 102) consisting of the bulk of the letters (364 items) was purchased by the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery in America. The other 4 lots were purchased by Messrs. Francis Edwards Ltd, a firm of antiquarian booksellers in London, who put them into stock. They were subsequently sold, but there is no record of who bought them.[4] Sotheby's catalogue gives a description of the collection:

> *Lot 100*. OPIE (Mrs. Amelia, 1769–1853, *Novelist and Poet*). A series of seven very interesting A.Ls.s., 24 pp., folio and 4to, 1794, to Mrs. John Taylor; . . . also an Holograph Love Poem of William Godwin (signed "St. John Priest") 22nd February, 1776, to Miss Alderson (afterwards Mrs. Opie), 2 pp., 4to . . .
>
> *Lot 101*. OPIE (Mrs. Amelia) A series of about 104 original Portraits in Pencil of her Friends and Relatives, head and shoulders, (on cards 6×4 in.), mounted in two 4to albums, morocco and half morocco, with clasps, also a copy of John Opie's *Lectures on Painting*, 1809, with Amelia Opie's signature on title, 4to, calf, gilt.

[1] *Memorials of the Life of Amelia Opie, Selected . . . from her Letters, Diaries, and other Manuscripts*, Norwich, 1854.

[2] See the article by Warwick Wroth on Briggs in the 1908 edition of the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 2, p. 1235.

[3] I am grateful for information from the executors of Miss Carr's estate. See Miss Carr's will in Somerset House, and Sotheby & Co. *Catalogue of Valuable Printed Books, Autograph Letters, Historical Documents, Etc*, 22nd June 1953, p. 16. The papers are listed as Lots 100 to 104, "The Property of Lt. Col. J. K. Haynes". Col. Haynes's mother was Miss Carr's sister. Sotheby's list of Prices and Buyers' Names gives the following information: Lot 100, 101, 103, 104—Edwards, at £13, £8, £3 and £14 respectively; Lot 102—Maggs £24.

[4] *National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections, 1962*, Hamden, Conn., p. 23, and information from Messrs. Francis Edwards and Sotheby's.

⁂ Only 2 of these portraits are endorsed with the name of the sitter—Lydia Harris and Lucy Pinchback, but an excellent portrait of John Opie is included.

Lot 102. OPIE (Mrs. Amelia) A remarkable series of over 300 A.Ls.s., 1794–1842, to her father, her cousin Henry Briggs, Mrs. Elizabeth Fry and others . . . also 27 A.Ls.s. of David D'Angers to Mrs. Opie, and A.Ls.s. of Elizabeth Inchbald, William Godwin and others to the same . . .

Lot 103. OPIE (Mrs. Amelia) Account of a visit to Abbotsford and Dryburgh in the year 1834, Holograph MS., 4pp., 4to; also an account of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, in Mrs. Opie's handwriting (1839), 29pp., 4to. (2)

Lot 104. OPIE (Mrs. Amelia) Verses written at Cromer, 1791, a large collection of Holograph Poems, covering 330 pp., 4to, sewn; also a long essay entitled *Souvenir d'une visite à Paris en 1802;* and about 30 Holograph Poems on scraps of Paper, including *At Sight of the Tricolour, On the portraits of deceased relatives and friends which hang around one, To David, To Rachel Fry*, etc. (a parcel)

A comparison of this description with reference to the papers elsewhere, raises some questions. For example it is not clear whether all the MSS were in the sale. A "notebook of 1829" and the unpublished play *Adelaide*, mentioned by Miss Macgregor[1] and the "unfinished novel" mentioned by Menzies-Wilson and Lloyd,[2] are not listed in Sotheby's catalogue. One would have expected them to be mentioned. On the other hand we know that Sotheby's did not give a complete itemization of Lot 102. Letters only are described, but there were in fact 5 poems included in the collection. So it may be that the other lots also include unspecified items. As far as can be determined no papers remain in the family.

The date 1839 given for the account of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society (Lot 103) is curious. I would have expected this MS to contain an account of the great Antislavery Convention held in London in June 1840. Mrs. Opie attended the Convention, and Cecilia Brightwell quotes a long extract from her account.[3] It seems unlikely that there was more than one MS concerned with the Anti-Slavery Society's activities. Possibly the date given in Sotheby's catalogue should therefore be 1840. Miss Macgregor also quotes from what was presumably the same account, but gives no details of the MS.[4] My own particular interest lies in this account. It would be of great interest to discover its whereabouts.

It is a relief to find that most of the letters have been preserved. But what has become of all the other MSS? Does anyone know?

RICHARD A. G. DUPUIS

[1] Macgregor, *op. cit.*, p. 6, 14, 102, 129.
[2] Menzies-Wilson & Lloyd, *op. cit.* p. v. This is presumably *The Painter and his Wife* discussed by Miss Macgregor *op. cit.*, p. 86.
[3] Brightwell, *op. cit.* p. 341–3.
[4] Macgregor, *op. cit.* p. 123 (Carr MSS., note 19).

Notes and Queries

American Indians

"Waupecanetta"

"In this neighbourhood [in Ohio] the Friends have done much good by their practical teaching and moral deportment. The Indians in their charge call for Ox chains and farming utensils for their annuity, in place of specie".

The papers of John C. Calhoun. vol. 6, 1821-1822. Edited by W. Edwin Hemphill. University of South Carolina Press, 1972. This volume, like others in the series, contains other notes concerning Friends and their relations with the Indians.

Archives

A report entitled: "Conservation of Archives: Preliminary Report", by the Rev. Andrew M. Hill, in the *Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society*, vol. 15, no. 2 (Oct. 1972), pp. 65-67, records the results of a survey of the location and state of records of the Unitarians in Great Britain. The survey revealed the active concern of the local churches for the care of their records.

One outcome of the survey was a recommendation from the 1972 General Assembly of Unitarian and Free Christian Churches that congregations deposit their archives and records

"on permanent loan either in local record offices, the National Library of Wales, Dr. Williams's Library London or Manchester College Oxford".

Many people feel regret when archives are removed from the immediate care of the originating body, but when that body lacks equipment for satisfactory preservation and facilities for making the documents available for serious research, then such arrangements for permanent loan may be necessary.

It is hoped that a future number of the *Transactions* will contain a check list of the locations where congregations keep their records based on the survey. This will be welcomed, and will deserve wide dissemination.

Barbados

Friends in Barbados figure in Carl and Roberta Bridenbaugh's valuable *No peace beyond the line: the English in the Caribbean 1624-1690*, the second volume in the *Beginnings of the American People* series (New York, Oxford University Press, 1972). Particularly noted is Friends' attitude towards the negro slaves, inviting them to attend meetings and showing concern for their welfare, an interest and work which aroused the fear and hostility of the planters in the island.

Census, 1851

The reprint by the Irish University Press, Shannon, Ireland, in its series of British Parliamentary Papers, of the 1851 Census, Great Britain, Report and tables on religious worship: England and Wales (originally issued in vol. LXXXIX, British Parliamentary Papers, Session 1852-1853)

brings to a larger public the statistics which that Census revealed, and which have lain for long unregarded in its original edition. There are introductory passages in the Report, and tables of attendances at places of worship on 30 March 1851. The estimated number of Friends attending meetings that day was 18,172; that number was out of a total attendance in England and Wales of 7,261,032.

Horace Mann has the following sentence towards the end of his Report: "The history of men and states shows nothing more conspicuously than this—that in proportion as a pure and practical religion is acknowledged and pursued are individuals materially prosperous and nations orderly and free."

Of the 371 places of worship which Friends used, 265 of them were dated before 1801. In all these 371 houses provided 91,559 "sittings". Large town meetings (Bristol, 600 sittings; attenders 455 morning, 200 evening. Manchester, 1330 sittings; attenders 453 morning, 202 afternoon) are matched by small rural meetings (Shaftesbury, 280 sittings; attenders 10 morning. Thorne, 250 sittings; attenders 5 morning, 5 afternoon).

Co. Cork

The coast of west Cork, by Peter Somerville-Large (London, Victor Gollancz, 1972. £2.75) has a page (p. 34) about Major William Morris of Castlesalem (d. 1680) who became a Friend (see Rutty's *History* for an account).

Also mentioned is something of the work of Friends in the famine period (pp. 112, 173); and also the clergyman William Fisher, who lived in Goleen parish for forty years. Fisher was "born of Quaker parents, and in Oxford became influenced by the Oxford Movement". "He made many converts during the time of the famine, and has been accused of being a souper." (p. 128) "Souper" is defined in Chambers's Twentieth Century Dictionary as being "In Ireland, one who dispenses soup as a means of proselytising". See note on "Irish Famine" later.

The Country Innocence

The country innocence: or, the chamber-maid turn'd Quaker. A comedy. With alterations and amendments. As it is now acted at the Theatre-Royal. Written by John Leanerd . . . (London, printed for Charles Harper, 1677). [Wing L795].

This prose play is an adaptation of *The countrie girle*, a verse comedy by T. B. (London, 1647). [Wing B4425], and has no Quaker content.

It is not mentioned in Joseph Smith's *Descriptive catalogue of Friends' books*.

Dorset

The Dorset volume in the Buildings of England series (Penguin Books, 1972. £2.50) is by John Newman and Nikolaus Pevsner. It mentions Bridport M. H. and almshouses, opposite the church (p. 111) in South Street (dating from 1697); Logland Street, Poole (1795–6) now part of the Boys' Club (p. 319); also Pennsylvania Castle, built for John Penn, 1800, now an hotel (p. 342).

* * *

The Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England)

Inventory of historical monuments in the county of Dorset, vol. 4, North Dorset, p. 73, notices a disused meeting house at Shaftesbury (mid 18th century).

The Earliest Meeting House?

"Industrial activity in the North-east was much influenced by the local Quaker community, and the foundation of iron-making at Consett was no exception. Shotley Bridge, in the Derwent Valley, had been one of the earliest strongholds of Quaker activity in the north, and it is believed that the first Quaker Meeting House in England was built there." The passage comes from "The origin of the Consett Iron Company, 1840–1864", a paper in *Durham University journal*, vol. 65, no. 1, December 1972, pp. 90–102, by A. S. Wilson, concerning the history of the Derwent Iron Company of 1841–1857, in which the Richardsons, and in particular Jonathan Richardson (1802–71), were prominent and which had an unfortunate financial history. The note concerning the meeting house refers to W. Fordyce, *The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham* (Newcastle, 1857) vol. 2, p. 700.

Education

Progressives and radicals in English education, 1750–1970, by W. A. C. Stewart (Macmillan, 1972) is a big book and deals knowledgeably with the position of Friends' schools. This is as it should be from the author of *Quakers and education* (1953). There is a good account of Quaker schools in the chapter entitled "Merging into educational radicalism: 1898–1918" and the survey in the final chapter is interesting. The author has made this subject his own, and is surely right in saying that Friends are "a body on the right wing of progressive education" (p. 183).

Gardening

Early gardening catalogues by John Harvey (London and Chichester, Phillimore, 1972. £2.25) notes the inclusion in the catalogue of a Yorkshire nursery, issued about 1788, of the shrub Veronica elliptica from the Falkland Islands, introduced by John Fothergill.

Mention is also made of a florist of Walworth, London, James Maddock or Maddox, a Quaker from Warrington, who offered named varieties of gooseberries, raised in Lancashire.

Hartshead cum Clifton

There is a drawing of "The Quaker Burial Ground, Hare Park Lane", and a brief notice of "The Sepulchre" appears on p. 84 of *The story of the ancient parish of Hartshead-cum-Clifton*, by H. N. and M. Pobjoy, 1972 (£1.80).

The account of "the little triangular burial ground called the 'Sepulchre' in Hare Park Lane, near the church" tells that "In 1673 John Green, a member of a well-known family of 'Quakers' died, and Vicar Ashton (1630–1687) had to refuse, under the law, to bury him in Hartshead churchyard—as he had refused to bury Mrs. Green four years earlier. So he had to rest in this lonely little corner.

"An even more pathetic feature of the story concerns the son, John. He was arrested for worshipping unlawfully and after

being taken to Wakefield was imprisoned at York. There he died and was buried within the prison."

Huntley and Palmer

Quaker enterprise in biscuits: Huntley and Palmers of Reading, 1822–1972, by T. A. B. Corley, senior lecturer in economics, University of Reading (Hutchinson of London, 1972. £4) is a solid business history, written in the light of the remarkably full archives preserved by the firm. The Quaker interest in the matter is covered, and there are useful trees of the Huntley and Palmer families.

Irish Famine

Souperism: myth or reality? by Desmond Bowen (Cork, Mercier Press, 1970) studies the evidence for charges that Protestants in Ireland (and in particular in the counties of Galway, Mayo and Sligo) attempted to win over to their faith Roman Catholics who were starving at the time of the Potato Famine and depended on relief for their very survival.

The author says that it was the exertions of Friends that "kept alive much of the population of Connaught and Munster during 'Black '47' ". Aid from outside sources was chanelled through the Central Relief Committee set up by Irish Friends because the givers had confidence in their disinterested benevolence.

Once they had the resources, Friends had to move to get the food quickly distributed where it was most needed, and they had to use the resources and people available. There were no Friends resident in Connaught, so most grants were made to relief committees administered by Church of England clergymen—as being the most reliable sources for locally organising soup kitchens and like relief work in a province where landlords were often absentees and there was no socially active middle class.

However carefully Friends might choose their local relief organisers, and keep in touch with the work at local level by correspondence and visits, some persons in charge may have shown favouritism to their own co-religionists, and once a charge like that is made it is often very difficult to refute, even if only supported on very flimsy evidence.

More studies for other areas would be welcome, and may they be as well grounded in the archive and printed sources as this one is.

Jamaica

"English commemorative sculpture in Jamaica", by Mrs. Lesley Lewis, F.S.A. (*Jamaican historical review*, vol. 9, 1972) mentions the Friends' meeting house in Kingston (1738), and another at Lacovia (pp. 31, 40). Among the sculptors studied in this distinguished monograph are Edward Hodges Baily (1788–1867) son of a Bristol ship's carver, and pupil of Flaxman; James and Thomas Tyley and sons of Bristol; and Henry Wood who purchased the business of Thomas Paty in 1801 (the Paty firm, it is recalled, did work for the Friars Meeting House, Bristol, half a century before).

Lanarkshire Friends

"QUAKERS profession called, poor of in the west of Hamilton, XV, 65, 66."

The above entry appears in the

Index to particular register of sasines for sheriffdom of Lanark, vol. 2, 1721–1780 (Scottish Record Office, Indexes, no. 68. Edinburgh, H.M. Stationery Office, 1973), referring to matters in the volume dealing with the period 1745 to 1751.

Leeds

"Industrial development and location in Leeds north of the River Aire, 1775 to 1914", by Michael Francis Ward (Leeds Ph.D. thesis, 1973. Unpublished typescript) studies the area and the firms which had their works in the part of the town across the river from the Friends' meeting house in Water Lane.

Some firms with which Quaker names are connected may be noted, like Reynolds & Branson (131), Goodall & Backhouse, Sovereign Street Mills (388), Pease & Co., stuff merchants (389), Roger Shackleton, corn-miller (probably one of the Shackleton family of millers) (389), but the names of the firms in the industrial complex of south Leeds are all missing from this study.

The Leeds Library

In *The Leeds Library, 1768–1968* (printed for private circulation, 1968), Frank Beckwith, librarian for many years of this proprietary circulating library, gives a documented history of the development of the library and its place in the life of Leeds over two centuries.

J. Tatham is mentioned (p. 17) as one of the active members of the committee in the early years; he was probably Joseph Tatham (d. 1785) schoolmaster at the Friends' meeting house from 1756 until the time of his death. Among other names which appear are those of Benjamin Jowett, Dr. Benjamin Hird, the Harvey family, and Robert Arthington (d. 1864) a long-serving member of the committee who rarely missed a meeting from 1842, survived a purge of the committee in 1853, and continued in constant service until 1860.

Local History

J. L. Hobbs's *Local History and the Library*, completely revised and partly rewritten by George A. Carter (André Deutsch, 1973), has a useful paragraph about Quaker records and their location. "Of sixty monthly meetings in England and Wales, excluding London, thirty-five have deposited some or all of their records. Most of the remainder are in the care of the local meetings." "A detailed catalogue of surviving Quaker records is kept at Friends House." The author notes that "Quaker records are generally better kept than those of other faiths". There are various explanations which can be put forward for this state of things, and although there is much to be said for depositing records with local archive offices, meetings which continue to care for their own records should have every encouragement to do so. Friends should not feel that by depositing archives in a professionally run depository they themselves are absolved from responsibility and have no further interest in that aspect of their Quaker heritage.

London, Bull & Mouth

The Archives of the French Protestant Church of London. A handlist compiled by Raymond

Smith (Huguenot Society of London, Quarto series, vol. 50, 1972) gives the following information concerning the location of the Church in London.

In July 1550 King Edward VI gave to the French and Dutch Protestants in London two monastic buildings as Temples where they could practice their religion. To the Dutch he gave the nave of the Austin Friars, where they worshipped until its destruction during the 1939–45 war. They have rebuilt on the same site.

To the French Protestants he gave the monastery of Saint Anthony in Threadneedle Street. This building was destroyed during the Great Fire of 1666. The Huguenots rebuilt on the same site. In 1840 the Corporation of the City of London purchased this church to improve the east end approach to the Royal Exchange, which was being rebuilt as the result of the fire of 1839.

The French congregation then acquired a site at the corner of Bull and Mouth Street and Saint Martin le Grand. This was the site of the first London Friends' Meeting House, which Friends occupied between 1654 and 1740, with two short breaks, one during the rebuilding after the Great Fire of 1666, and again for a short period when they had a difference with the landlord.

In 1887 the Post Office acquired the site from the Huguenots, who moved to Soho Square, where they are today.

GEORGE W. EDWARDS

LONDON, 1747

An alphabetical index of the streets, squares, lanes, alleys, &c . . . in . . . London and Westminster, and borough of Southwark . . . From an actual survey made by John Roque, 1747, reprinted 1971. The index to John Roque's plan has the following items concerning Friends' property:

"Quakers Meeting in Devonshire street, by Bishopgate
Ewers street, Park
Horsleydown, Fair street
St. John's street, the Peel
Little Almonry, Westminster.
Savoy in the Strand
Schoolhouse lane, near Brook street
White Hart yard, Gracechurch street
Quakers Workhouse
Quakers burying ground".

LOTHERSDALE

Lothersdale makes its appearance in Friends' general history for a brief period in 1795 and later years when Friends from the district were imprisoned in York for tithe. One of the prisoners died. One wonders on reading it if one has not suddenly jumped a century, but it is true. This incident is covered by Arthur Raistrick in the chapter on "The Society of Friends" in *The history of Lothersdale*, by Kenneth Wilson and associated writers. Published by the parish council of Lothersdale, 1972, £2.00.

MARRIAGE

"Quaker marriage patterns in a colonial perspective", by Robert V. Wells, of the department of history, Union College, in *The William and Mary quarterly*, 3rd series, vol. 29, no. 3 (July 1972), pp. 415–442, takes evidence from a group of 276 Quaker families from monthly meetings in New

York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

Mosedale Meeting House

The *Cumberland and Westmorland Herald*, 23 Sept. 1972, p. 11 carried the report: "A proposal to convert the Friends' Meeting House at Mosedale into a museum and coffee house has been agreed in principle, the Plans Committee of Penrith Rural Council has been told by the Cumberland County Planning Officer. Details for a car park are still under consideration." Work was carried out in 1973.

For Mosedale (1702) see particularly p. 163ff of the *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, no. 270, 4th month, 1934, in the article on "Some old meeting houses in Cumberland" by Mabel C. Barlow.

Norfolk

Mary Hardy's Diary, with an introduction by B. Cozens-Hardy (Norfolk Record Society, vol. 37, 1968) has a handful of notes of attendance at Friends' meetings by the diarist Mary (Raven) Hardy (1733–1809.) She attended meetings at Norwich (Tues. 13 June 1780) and at Holt (29 April 1781, 15 July 1800). Mr. Hardy went to "Quakers Meeting" at Holt 27 July 1788, 26 July 1789, 30 October 1791.

27 March 1795 "Mr. Secker, the Quaker of Holt was buried this afternoon".

10 November 1783, at Yarmouth "looked at Mr. Boulters Museum"; a note is appended "Daniel Boulter, a Quaker, kept a museum of curiosities at north end of Market Place".

Sunday 20 August 1780 "Mr. Hardy I & children went to Hobis afternoon intending to go to Quakers' Meeting at Lamis, heard there was none came back and went to our church".

A note is appended, that the building and burial ground of the Quakers' Meeting are still there.

Oaths

The parliamentary diary of Narcissus Luttrell, 1691–1693. Edited by Henry Horwitz (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1972. £10). This volume includes notes on the progress of moves in Parliament to excuse Quakers from taking oaths, and accepting their "solemn answers" in place of oaths.

The evidence of the diary shows that Whigs tended to speak in favour of relaxation of the rules, as that Friends "were a useful people and would secure so many persons to the government". The opposition rebutted this, saying "they are a people not well affected to this government; that they are generally a sort of poor people and no interest and will not fight (if occasion) in defence of the nation; that they were friends to King James and were for taking off the penal laws and test under him". (p. 198). Friends at this time (1692) could not muster a majority to vote in their favour in the House of Commons.

There is some mention of William Penn, then under suspicion for Jacobite activity.

* * *

Friends' attitude to oaths is touched upon in an article by Professor Caroline Robbins entitled "Selden's Pills: state oaths in England, 1558–1714" in *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, vol. 35, no. 4, August 1972, p. 315, etc.

Oxfordshire Friends

The Victoria History of the county of Oxford, vol. 10—Banbury Hundred (Oxford University Press, 1972, £14) includes an illustration of No. 85–87 High Street, the house of Edward and Mary Vivers in Banbury, a leading Quaker household of the early period, and one of the old manor house in Sibford Ferris, in which Sibford School was established in 1842.

The volume includes an exemplary account of Quakerism in Banbury, which probably owes much to William Charles Braithwaite's work (notably in *First planting of Quakerism in Oxfordshire*, 1908) as well as to an informed reading of the Friends' records for the county.

Peace Plans

The Codification of Public International Law, by R. P. Dhokalia (Manchester University Press, 1970. £4.80) has an opening chapter entitled "The progress of mankind towards world organization" which contain paragraphs concerning William Penn and his *Essay towards the . . . peace of Europe* (1693) setting it in the period of the 17th century European wars and in its pioneering place among plans for a form of world government co-operation. Another paragraph concerns John Bellers and his *Some reasons for an European state* (1710), a work not so frequently remembered as the one by William Penn.

Further on there is a useful summary of the work and development of the peace congresses of the early and middle years of the nineteenth century.

Pennsylvania

Alison Gilbert Olson's *Anglo-American politics, 1660–1775* (Clarendon Press, 1973) discusses the interaction of English politics and early American party divisions. The author notes that the Anglican opponents of William Penn had influential English connections, but does not find that the anti-proprietary Quakers were aware of English political divisions.

James H. Hutson's *Pennsylvania politics, 1746–1770* (Princeton University Press) is more narrowly focused and deals particularly with the year 1764 when the Quaker party attempted to overturn the proprietary government. By 1770 the party was in eclipse and the new Presbyterian party had "assembled all the elements which supported American independence in 1776".

Printers

A directory of printers and others in allied trades: London and vicinity, 1800–1840, by William B. Todd (London, Printing Historical Society, 1972. £12.25) is a compilation of solid worth for the student of printing history in the metropolis during the first four decades of the 19th century. The "directory" is based on the information which printers were required to register with the Clerk of the Peace concerning their ownership of presses.

The book is welcome and provides information not previously available, which will need to be set beside other sources to give a rounded picture of the activities of the printers of the period. A case in point is presented by the entries covering the Phillips family, who printed for

London Friends during most of the period; William Phillips is given as working from 1799 to 1829, but he died in 1828 and it was his widow (C. Phillips) who printed the *Book of Meetings* in 1829, and there is no entry for the Fardon connection with the firm.

Registers

The *National Index of Parish Registers, vol. 2. Sources for Nonconformist Genealogy and Family History*, by D. J. Steel. Published for the Society of Genealogists by Phillimore (London and Chichester, 1973. £4.50) has nearly 100 pages on "The Society of Friends (Quakers)", with a great deal of information grouped under the headings of History, Administration, Quaker Registers, Births, Marriages, Deaths and Burials, Other Sources.

Slavery

"Slaves and slaveowners in colonial Philadelphia", by Gary B. Nash (Department of History, University of California, Los Angeles) in *The William and Mary quarterly*, 3rd series, vol. 30, no. 2, April 1973, pp. 223–56, attempts a survey of the extent and persistence of the practice in the colonial period. The author's conclusion is that "Philadelphians, including Quakers, avidly sought slave labor when their manpower requirements could not otherwise be met, and not until white indentured laborers became available in sufficient number to supply the needs of the city did the abolitionist appeals produce more than a few dozen manumissions".

"Statesmen"

Dr. J. D. Marshall's article "'Statesmen' in Cumbria: the vicissitudes of an expression" (*Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, vol. 72, New series, 1972, pp. 248–73) discusses the use of the term for the small landowners or yeomen of the area, and how its use may have originated and grown. The will of Myles Halhead of Mountjoy, Underbarrow, 21 May 1667, is mentioned (p. 251).

For the word itself, Dr. Marshall concludes "we might well bury it quietly in the graveyard of English provincialisms. Our forbears, after all, were proud to call themselves yeomen".

Truro

"The earliest documentary evidence for potting on this site is a deed of 1845 in which Lord Falmouth leased to Edward Dennis Tucker of Truro, Potter, five cottages known as the Quakers' Tenement at the foot of Chapel Hill." This sentence appears near the beginning of an article by Peter C. D. Brears on "Techniques of the Truro Pottery" (*Folk life*, vol. 10, 1972, p. 47).

Wales Yearly Meeting

"Welsh Quakers in the light of the Joseph Wood papers", by Owen Parry (*Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, vol. 25, part 2, May 1973, pp. 157–185) is an account of visits in the ministry to various parts of Wales, including attendance at Wales Yearly Meetings in 1773, 1777 and 1792, by Joseph Wood (1750–1821) of Pontefract Monthly Meeting.

Waterford Schools

"Waterford School in the opening decades of the nine-

teenth century", by Michael Quane (*Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol. 101, pt. 2, 1971, pp. 141–145) mentions educational provision for "children of the considerable Quaker population of the city". This included a school in Queen Street kept by Mary Sykes, and another school "held by two Quaker ladies, Elizabeth Hanna and Margaret Davis, in Rose Lane".

A footnote on page 145 records that "Margaret Aylward, foundress of the Sisters of the Holy Faith", born 1810, attended a school kept by "Quaker ladies in Waterford", the influence of which might account for her "austerity or aloofness of manner".

York

In the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, England, volume *An inventory of the historical monuments in the city of York, vol. 3: South-west of the Ouse* (H.M.S.O. 1972. £10.50) there is a short account of the Friends' burial ground in Bishophill. The ground was bought in 1667 and closed in 1855 by an Order in Council of 1854. All the headstones are to one simple pattern and were erected in the 19th century (p. 48).

There is an account and a photograph of Holgate House, the York home of Lindley Murray (pp. 67–68). There is also a plate of the Summerhouse removed from Holgate House to the Mount School.

* * *

Sir Nikolaus Pevsner's *The buildings of England: Yorkshire—York and the East Riding* (Penguin Books, 1972. £2.10) notices Bootham School (p. 154–55), Clifford Street M.H. (p. 129–30) and The Retreat (p. 157) all in York, and the former Friends' meeting house at East Cottingwith in the East Riding (p. 220).

* * *

The Noble City of York. Edited by Alberic Stacpoole and others (Cerialis Press, York, 1972. £10.50) may be a case of too many cooks spoiling the broth. The reader should be warned that topics are repeated in various places and the index is needed to follow them up. In the index one finds page references (not the same ones) under Friends, and under Quakers. Bootham, the Mount, the Retreat, and Rowntrees all receive mention. A comprehensive survey of the stained and painted glass of York is provided by Peter Gibson. There is a good historical survey of printing in York by William E. and E. Margaret Sessions (pp. 921–67) and Friends appear in this right from the time of Thomas Waite in the 1650s down to the present day.

* * *

Philosophers and provincials: the Yorkshire Philosophical Society from 1822 to 1844, by A. D. Orange (Yorkshire Philosophical Society, 1973) includes notices of the scientific work of the Backhouses of York, the scientific contacts of members of the Tuke family, the meteorological work of John Ford (1801–75) headmaster of Bootham, and Thomas Allis (1788–1875).

Yorkshire

"An edition of Abbotside wills and administrations, 1690–

1760", a Leeds University M.Phil. dissertation, 1972, by Hartley Thwaite, includes the following note:

> "Nominally, at least, the bulk of the population were Anglican, but Raydale (south of Bainbridge) was a Quaker stronghold, and there are traces of Quaker influence in a few of the wills" (p. 89).

The allusion is to the wills of Robert Alderson of Bowbridge Hall (Coleby Hall), 10 May 1748, proved 1749, (will no. 113). The will is dated in Quaker style, and is witnessed by Alexander Fothergill of Carr End, who was elected surveyor of the 1751 turnpike from Richmond to Lancaster, and appointed steward and treasurer of the manor of Bainbridge in 1767.

Thomas Winn and Thomas Buck affirmed (1745) in the case of the will of James Parkin (will no. 106).

Backhouse Family

The papers of the Backhouse family of Darlington deposited in Durham in 1949 and 1958, deal mainly with the 18th and the first half of the 19th centuries. They have been listed, with an index, by Miss M. S. McCollum in the Department of Palaeography and Diplomatic, University of Durham, South Road, Durham, 1973. The contents include material relating to prominent Quaker families all over the north of England, among the documents being Birkbeck, Gurney, Hird and Hustler marriage certificates.

The final item in the collection, a label bearing the note, "Family letters selected from a collection of several thousand sent from Trebah [Falmouth, Cornwall] to the Bank on the death of Edmund Backhouse", and dated "After 1906", probably gives a hint of the formation of the present collection.

Bénézet

"Voltaire's London agents for the *Henriade:* Simond and Bénézet, Huguenot merchants", by Norma Perry (*Studies on Voltaire and the eighteenth century*, vol. 102, 1973, pp. 265–99) deals with the Bénézet family, and Jean Etienne Bénézet (1683–1751) father of Anthony (Antoine) "one of America's leading Quaker philanthropists". Antoine (1713–84) emigrated with his family to Philadelphia in 1731, and became a teacher in the Friends school there in 1742.

The author poses the question whether Voltaire in England in 1728 learned from Bénézet about the Quakers.

Clark's of Street

"An English county and education: Somerset, 1889–1902" by Patrick Keane of Dalhousie University (*English historical review*, vol. 88, no. 347, April 1973, pp. 286–311) studies the development and provision of technical education by the new county council in the first years of its existence. Somerset proved itself to be more progressive in its outlook than the popular conception of a backward agricultural area would allow. For this, credit must be due to Sir Henry Hobhouse, local M.P., chairman of Somerset Education Committee from 1900, and one of the founders of the National Association for the Promotion of Technical Education, and to men like C. H. Bothamley, who went to Somerset in 1891 from being

assistant lecturer in chemistry at the Yorkshire College, Leeds, in the Victoria University, and remained in office until 1925 as the education officer for the county and a deservedly respected figure.

The county council "included a number of business and professional men, of whom William Clark was probably the county's most consistent educational philanthropist at the close of the century". (p. 295–6). William Clark and his sister Sophia were both members of the county education committee in the 1890s.

The author notes (p. 301) that, after having sent girls to attend domestic science schools at Gloucester and at Bath, the county in 1897 "opened its own School of Cookery and Housewifery at Street, with the financial aid of that town's major employer. A principal was appointed at an annual salary of £50, with £5 5s. "in lieu of alcoholic liquors".

James Cropper

"James Cropper and Liverpool's contribution to the anti-slavery movement", by K. Charlton, is an annotated account covering the 1820s and early 1830s. It appears in *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, for the year 1971*, vol. 123, pp. 57–80.

Daniel Defoe

In *A checklist of the writings of Daniel Defoe*, 2nd edition (Archon Books, 1971), John Robert Moore notices the following works:

305 A Friendly Epistle by Way of Reproof From one of the People called Quakers, To Thomas Bradbury, A Dealer in many Words. 1715.

310 A Sharp Rebuke from One of the People Called Quakers. To Henry Sacheverell, The High-Priest of Andrew's Holbourn. By the same Friend that wrote to Thomas Bradbury. 1715.

317 A Seasonable Expostulation with, and Friendly Reproof unto James Butler . . . Relating to the Tumults of the People. By the same Friend that wrote to Thomas Bradbury, the dealer in many Words, 1715.

330 A Trumpet Blown in the North, And sounded in the Ears of John Erskine . . . Duke of Mar. By A Ministring Friend of the People call'd Quakers. 1716 [for 1715].

379 A Declaration of Truth to Benjamin Hoadly . . . By a Ministring Friend, who writ to Tho. Bradbury, A Dealer in many Words. 1717.

383 A Letter to Andrew Snape, Occasion'd by the Strife that lately appeared among the People call'd, Clergy-men. By the Author of the Declaration of Truth. 1717.

409 A Friendly Rebuke to One Parson Benjamin; Particularly relating to his Quarreling with his Own Church, and Vindicating the Dissenters. By One of the People called Quakers. 1719.

467 Some Farther Account of the Original Disputes in Ireland, About Farthings and Halfpence. In a Discourse With a Quaker of Dublin. 1724.

200a The Quaker's Sermon: Or, A Holding-Forth Concerning Barabbas. 1711.

William Edmundson

"In 1657, William Edmundson, the Quaker preacher, fell foul of [strolling players] in the market-place of Derry" (Sam Hanna Bell, *The theatre in Ulster: a survey of the dramatic movement in Ulster from 1902 until the present day* (Dublin, Gill and Macmillan, 1972, p. ix).

This extract from the preface to this new survey of the theatre in Ulster brings to notice again the account in William Edmundson's *Journal* (Dublin, 1715, pp. 37–38):

"I came to Londonderry, it was Market-Day, and there were Stage players and Rope-dancers in the Market-place, and abundance of People gather'd; the Lord's Spirit fill'd my Heart, his Power struck at them, and his Word was sharp. So I stood in the Market-place, and proclaim'd the day of the Lord amongst them, and warn'd them all to Repent; the dread of the Almighty came over them, and they were as People amazed; when I found my Spirit a little eased, I walk'd along the Street, and the People flock'd about me, I found my Spirit drawn forth towards them; so I stood still and declar'd Truth to them, directing them to the *Light of Christ in their own Hearts*, and they were very Sober and Attentive; but the Stage-players were sore vexed, that the People left them and follow'd me; whereupon they got the Mayor to send Two Officers to take me to Prison; so they came and took me, but the sober People were angry that Stage players should be suffer'd, and a Man that declared against Wickedness and Vanity, and taught the things of God, must not be suffer'd, but haled to Prison; the Officers made excuse, saying, *They were commanded, and must obey*. So they took me to Prison; the Goaler put me in a Room that had a Window facing the Market-place, where I had a full sight of the People; and my Heart being fill'd with the word of Life, and Testimony of Jesus; I thrust my Arm out at the Window, and wav'd it till some of them espying, came near, and others followed apace; so that presently I had most of the People from the Stage-players, which vexed them much; then they got the Mayor to cause the Goaler to keep me close; so he bolted me, and lockt my Leg to a place where he used to fasten condemn'd Persons, there I sat and lay *in much Peace of Conscience, and Sweet Union with the Spirit of Truth*. As I sat in a heavenly Exercise, I heard the People shout and say, *the Man had broke his Back*. It was the Man dancing on a Rope, which broke, or gave way, so that he fell on the Pavement; and was sore hurt. Many Professors came into Prison to see me, and I had much Discourse with them, and good Service for Truth".

Thomas Fell, 1598–1658

Office-holders in the Duchy and County Palatine of Lancaster from 1603, by Sir Robert Somerville (London and Chichester, Phillimore, 1972) has notices of Thomas Fell in various offices of the Duchy and the County Palatine, and the following personal notes:

"B. 1598; from Ulverston, a Puritan with Quaker connexions. Gray's Inn (called 1631, bencher 1650), MP Lancaster 1646, Parliamentary sequestrator for Lancs, a justice in Cheshire. Also Serjeant

at Law in the Duchy 1649, Attorney & Serjeant in the County Palatine 1649 and Vice-Chancellor, Lancs, 1649. D. 8 Oct 1658."

It is interesting to see that among Thomas Fell's successors as Chancellor, a post which he held from 1655 to 1658, are numbered John Bright and Joseph Albert Pease (Lord Gainford).

Robert Were Fox

The Industrial archaeology of Cornwall, by A. C. Todd and Peter Laws (David & Charles, Newton Abbot, 1972) mentions the Fox family of Falmouth, and Robert Were Fox (1789–1877) founder of the Royal Cornwall Polytechnic. William Cookworthy (1705–80) also appears.

Elizabeth Fry

"Elizabeth Fry earned her celebrity by penetrating the women's side of Newgate, where no reformer had ever been . . . Once Mrs. Fry's Bible readings had become an entertainment for London aldermen and members of the cabinet it was difficult to silence or expell[!] her. But she and her ladies were plainly a nuisance to the professional prison administrators".

So writes U. R. Q. Henriques in "The rise and decline of the separate system of prison discipline" (*Past and present*, no. 54, Feb. 1972, p. 72). Elizabeth Fry was certainly not in favour of undiluted solitary confinement, she "treated the Newgate women as human beings, and even encouraged them to elect their own wardswomen".

Benjamin Furly

"Locke and the Inquisition of Toulouse", by M. A. E. Nickson (*British Museum quarterly*, vol. 36, 1972, pp. 83–92) deals with some correspondence of John Locke and Benjamin Furly concerning the *Liber Sententiarum inquisitionis Tholosanae*, a manuscript containing the sentences on heretics in the diocese of Toulouse from 1308 to 1323, in Benjamin Furly's library which is now Add. MS. 4697 in the Department of Manuscripts of the British Museum. Mr. Nickson details evidence to show that Furly obtained the manuscript from Sir William Waller (son of of the Cromwellian general).

Luke Howard, 1772–1864

"Luke Howard, F.R.S. (1772–1864) and his relations with Goethe", by A. W. Salter, appears in *Notes and records of the Royal Society of London*, vol. 27 no. 1 (Aug. 1972), pp. 119–140. The article closes with a pen portrait of Luke Howard in his later years written by his granddaughter, Mariabella (Lady) Fry. The author acknowledges help from Edward Milligan, Friends House Library.

Reynier Jansen

J. G. Riewald's *Reynier Jansen of Philadelphia, early American printer: a chapter in seventeenth-century nonconformity* (Groningen studies in English, 11), Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1970, includes much more than a plain history of the life of the second printer in Pennsylvania's history. There is a catalogue of the Jansen imprints.

Thomas William Lyster 1855–1922

"Christfox in leather trews": the Quaker in the library in *Ulysses*, by F. L. Radford of the Univer-

sity of Alberta (*ELH*, vol. 39, no. 3, September 1972, pp. 441–458) gives careful consideration to a Joycean allusion which has caused much difficulty to literary "explicators".

The Quaker librarian of the National Library in Dublin is talking to Stephen Dedalus during the Shakespeare discussion. The passage runs:

> "Christfox in leather trews, hiding a runaway in blighted tree-forks from hue and cry. Knowing no vixen, walking lonely in the chase. Women he won to him, tender people, a whore of Babylon, ladies of justices, bully tapsters' wives. Fox and goose". [p. 191 in the 1934 Modern Library edition]

Mr Radford does not deny the possibility of secondary and tertiary allusive levels; indeed, some "explicators" have tried to force the allusion to fit Shakespeare, and one critic sees an allusion to a 1696 Irish edition of the 42nd Psalm. However, Mr. Radford argues that on the primary level "all parts of the passage cited can be related . . . directly to *George Fox his Journal*, and quotes from the Ellwood edition to explain the phrases used by Joyce.

The term Christfox touches three different aspects of George Fox; his messianic nature and ministry, his heretical belief that man on earth can achieve a Christlike perfection, and the accusations brought against him that he claimed to be Christ. The passage of *Ulysses* illustrates the nature and activities of George Fox as flashed through the mind of Stephen Dedalus in a contrasting picture as he listens to the modern Quaker.

James Joyce's intention is parody and contrast. He dwells on Lyster's Quakerism in a manner which opposes it to that of George Fox. Lyster bland and suave; Fox robust and abrasive. Joyce describes Lyster's movements in terms of dances; Fox denounces music. Lyster is bald; Fox has long hair. Fox has the Inner light; Lyster's electric light is a mere social grace.

Mr. Radford suggests as a possible reason for James Joyce's "subdued animosity" towards the librarian, and the effort to portray him in a comic light in the novel, that Joyce might have harboured some resentment because he was on one occasion asked by Lyster to leave the reading room for bursting into loud laughter. [p. 450]

ALFONS PAQUET (1881–1944)

Von Brest-Litovsk zur deutschen Novemberrevolution, aus dem Aufzeichnungen von Alfons Paquet, Wilhelm Groener, Albert Hopman. Herausgegeben von Winfried Baumgart (Deutsche Geschichtsquellen des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts. Herausgegeben von der Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Band 47. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen. 1971).

The volume includes about 250 pages of the memoranda of Alfons Paquet who was in Moscow from July to November 1918. There is a portrait, and the editor notes in passing the Quaker connections of Alfons Paquet.

WILLIAM PENN

The revolution of 1688 in England, by J. R. Jones (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972. £4.35) says that the miscalculation

involved in James II's policy of trying to exploit the antagonism between Anglicans and dissenters was attributable to William Penn (p. 111). "For him the Church of England, not the Church of Rome, was in the foreseeable future the principal enemy of religious liberty. He discounted the Papist menace on the grounds that there were too few Catholics to be a danger . . ."

Such miscalculation here would have been made worse by the anti-French feeling in England, reinforced by revulsion at the coercive measures against French Protestants signalised by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 1685. Whether Penn was right or not in believing that James disapproved of coercive measures, that monarch was prevented, by his dependance on support from Louis XIV, from giving the public condemnation of religious persecution which alone might have opened the way for him to retain (or, perhaps even regain) his throne.

Lieutenant Roper

The appearance of one Lieutenant Thomas Roper in C. H. Firth and G. Davies: *Regimental history of Cromwell's army* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1940), p. 140, raises the question whether he is the Lieutenant Roper of Stanley, near Wakefield, visited by George Fox, 1651 and 1652 (see George Fox's *Journal*; indexed in the 1952 Cambridge edition as Lt. Stanley Roper).

Richard Shipton

Richard Shipton, alum agent and steward to the Mulgrave estates who built Lythe Hall, near Whitby in 1660 and who was twice visited by George Fox, who held meetings at his house in 1666 and 1668 (G. Fox, *Cambridge Journal*, ii. 107, 134; also *Journal*, ed. Nickalls, 1952, pp. 506, 533) is connected in a manuscript in the strong room at Clifford Street Meeting House in York (Shelf VI, no. 11; cited also as York Q.M. MS. P.90, see *Jnl. F.H.S.* 2 (1905)) with a meeting at Lealholm.

From the account of George Fox's visits perhaps Lealholm, rather than Lythe, fits into the itinerary in both 1660 and 1668.

In the Clifford Street, York, manuscript (apparently an 18th century document listing the Yorkshire meetings as they were divided into Monthly meetings at the York Quarterly meeting, 18.i.1668/9) one of the towns in Leverton meeting (one of the five meetings which together formed Gisbrough Monthly meeting) is Lealam (*i.e.* Lealholm) against which appears the name Rich: Shipton (*Jnl. F.H.S.*, 2 (1905), p. 75). The manuscript does not mention Lythe, although Eastrow, just down at the foot of Lythe Bank on the way to Whitby does appear (under Whitby, see *Jnl. F.H.S.*, 2, p. 76).

It may be that later, but before 1686, Richard Shipton removed to Lythe, and this may account for the sale of the "messuage or farm called Lealholm Hall in the manor of Danby" by Richard Shipton of Lythe and Thomas his son to George Metcalfe and Thomas Meriton of Northallerton in 1686 (Victoria County History, Yorkshire North Riding, ii. 350, with reference to North Riding Record Society, iv. 171).

Thomas H. Silcock

Tradeways, a book of poems, published in Sydney by Curra-

wong in 1971, is by Thomas H. Silcock, economist and author of four books on south-east Asia. The book includes some biographical details about the author born in Chengtu, the son of Henry T. Silcock.

Sydney Smith

Sydney Smith, rector of Foston, 1806–1829, by Alan Bell (Borthwick papers, no. 42. York, 1972. 30p) includes the following:

> "In spite of having once told a humourless neighbour that his secret desire was 'to roast a Quaker', Sydney was very sympathetic to the Friends, and he had many local opportunities of seeing active Quaker piety at work. He admired their efforts during an epidemic at Thornton, in his parish, in 1816, and he preached and wrote admiringly of Elizabeth Fry." [p. 13]

The author draws attention to Sydney Smith's essays which date from the period of his residence in Yorkshire, and which show local knowledge "like the essay 'Mad Quakers' (1814), containing a complimentary account of the Retreat at York". [p. 17]

Mr. Sproule

Mr. Sproule, a Quaker chandler of Limerick, reported by Pamela, Lady Campbell (daughter of Lord and Lady Edward FitzGerald), in Gerald Campbell's *Edward and Pamela FitzGerald* (1904), pp. 251ff, to have had connection with the politics of the 1798 rebellion, in later life had a large collection of Irish antiquities in his house in Limerick. Mr. Sproule reported to Lady Campbell that Lord Edward had saved his life when some United Irishmen about Athlone would have shot him for refusing to swear not to reveal treasonable talk that he might have heard in the time of the rebellion when stopping at a small public house on his way home to Athlone.

Is more known of this occurrence?

Sykes Family

In a short piece "Racial exercise" written in 1939, and afterwards published in his *Two cheers for democracy* (1951), pp. 19–32, Edward Morgan Forster stated that he could trace his family on one side to a certain Richard Sykes of Sykes Dyke, Cumberland, who flourished about 1400. The family appeared later at Pontefract and Hull in Yorkshire and, although "they never did anything earth shaking", they managed to make money or to marry into it. "In the seventeenth century one of them, a Quaker, was imprisoned on account of his opinions in York Castle, and died there."

There are a number of persons named Sikes or Sykes listed in Besse's *Sufferings* among those who were sent to York Castle, but the particular ancestor of E. M. Forster still awaits identification.

Travis of Hull

"As early as 1728 a tobacco engine and mill had been imported, from Arundell, and the Travis mill was well established by the second half of the century. In 1786, when the Customs drew up an 'Account of the Manufactories for Tobacco and Snuff in the Port and in the Towns up the Rivers', Hull had four mills: William, John and Joseph Travis

(one of Hull's few Quaker families)" [and three others].

The above quotation comes from p. 198 of Gordon Jackson: *Hull in the eighteenth century: a study in economic and social history* (Oxford University Press, 1972).

Mark Twain

Dixon Wecter's *Sam Clemens of Hannibal* (Sentry edition, 1961. Houghton Mifflin, Boston) points out a possible link between the Quaker family of Clement, of Long Island, and Mark Twain's grandfather, Samuel B. Clemens, of Virginia. The ancestry is traced back to Quaker Zachariah Moorman who arrived from England in 1670.

J. G. Whittier

"John Greenleaf Whittier and Finland" by Ernest J. Moyne (*Scandinavian studies*, vol. 44, no. 1, Winter 1972, pp. 52–62) studies the interest of the poet in Finland's folklore and people. The paper is illustrated by quotations from Whittier's poems and letters. See also the essay "Finns and Friends" in Henry J. Cadbury's *Friendly Heritage*, 1972.

* * *

The friendship between John Greenleaf Whittier and Ina Coolbrith, California's first poet laureate (b. 1841), is mentioned in a short article in *The New England quarterly*, vol. 45, no. 1 (March 1972), pp. 109–118. Ina Coolbrith's account of her visit to Whittier in 1884 is quoted; when she addressed him as Mr. Whittier, he corrected her, "Friend Whittier".

William Whitwell

William Whitwell, ironmaster and Friend, member of the Thornaby on Tees School Board, is mentioned in "The Thornaby School Board elections", by B. W. McManus in *The Bulletin of the Cleveland and Teesside Local History Society*, no. 14, Winter 1971–2, pp. 17–21.

John Jowitt Wilson

A portrait of John Jowitt Wilson, J.P. (1809–1875), woollen manufacturer of Kendal, adorns an article in the *Transactions of the Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society*, vol. 71, New series, 1971, pp. 237–247, entitled "The case of Hannah Rushforth" by Paul N. Wilson. The article relates to the case which went to Appleby assizes (the Kendal magistrates having some doubt whether they could deal with the case) arising from the theft of a bag from Kendal railway station on 1 February 1859 by a girl under the age of 14, and the return of the bag to its owner three days later by J. J. Wilson who had been approached by the unfortunate girl's uncle after her father had discovered what she had done.

The solicitor prosecuting before the magistrates attempted to have J. J. Wilson charged with receiving stolen goods. Indignation at this threat called forth a popular address from the Working Men of Kendal, who subscribed 70 guineas (850 persons contributing) to present him with a silver tea-and-coffee service and silver salver. The gifts were handed to him at a crowded meeting at the Oddfellows' Hall, Highgate, 19 April 1859. The inscribed testimonial is now in the Record Office in Kendal; the silver is in the possession of Oliver Whitwell Wilson in the U.S.A.

Henry Winstanley

Henry Winstanley, quaker, probably so-called to distinguish him from another Henry Winstanley, paid 5s. rent, from about 1668 to 1677 (save when his rent was remitted "for loss by Delf" [presumably on his coal-mining or quarrying activities]) according to documents printed in *The early records of the Bankes family of Winstanley*. Edited by Joyce Bankes and Eric Kerridge. Manchester, Chetham Society, 1973, £4.80.

John Wright

"A mystery and a miscellany" by Ronald H. Clark, M.I.Mech.E., the presidential address of 1969 to the Newcomen Society, printed in the Society's *Transactions*, vol. 41, pp. 103–110, opens with an account of an early attempt at steam navigation on the River Yare in Norfolk. "In the year 1813 a prominent Yarmouth gentleman, John Wright, a quaker" purchased a captured French privateer *L'Actif* and installed an engine. In the following year (1814) John Wright built at Yarmouth a new steamboat called the *Telegraph*, and this vessel steamed round to the Medway. Nowhere has the author been able to find a description of the engines used.

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