The Journal of the Friends' Historical Society

VOLUME 53 NUMBER 1 1972

FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY
FRIENDS HOUSE · EUSTON ROAD · LONDON NW1 2BJ
also obtainable at Friends Book Store :
302 Arch Street, Philadelphia 6, Pa., U.S.A.
Yearly 50p ($1.75)

Contents

Friends' Historical Society

The Membership Subscription is 50p ($1.75) per annum (£10 Life Membership). Subscriptions should be paid to the Secretary, c/o The Library, Friends House, Euston Road, London NW1 2JB.

Vol. 53 No. 1 1972

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Publishing Office: Friends House, Euston Road, London NW1 2BJ

Communications should be addressed to the Editors at Friends House

Editorial

CHRISTOPHER J. HOLDSWORTH'S Presidential Address to the Historical Society, entitled "Mystics and Heretics in the Middle Ages—Rufus Jones reconsidered", was delivered at Friends House on 3 November 1972. It forms the leading article in this issue. It does not deal specifically with Rufus Jones' views on the relationship between mysticism and Quakerism; its purpose is rather to re-examine critically his treatment of the mysticism of earlier centuries; but Christopher Holdsworth's study of this may clearly, as he modestly suggests, "have some relevance to the other debate."

The Society's Spring meeting was held at Friends House on 5 May 1972, when David Eversley addressed a large and appreciative audience on "Statistics and Experience: a demographer's approach to the Quaker past". The speaker described the ways in which he and his colleagues had been sifting Friends' records for data, and mentioned some of the provisional conclusions arrived at. When the full analysis is ready for publication we shall look forward to a considerable enlargement of our knowledge and understanding of Quaker "vital statistics".

In addition to the Presidential Address, we include a paper by Kenneth L. Carroll on "Martha Simmonds, a Quaker enigma", in which he studies one more aspect of the Nayler episode, and the woman who in many ways took the leading part in the events which signalled a turning point in

Quaker development. Whether or not Martha Simmonds was (in Kenneth Carroll's apt quotation) "that Woman through whom this hour came", as George Bishop said, we are fortunate to be able now to see a fuller picture of her career than heretofore.

Henry J. Cadbury throws some further light on the relations between King Charles II and Friends, and Alfred Braithwaite considers the evidence for statements that Penn's Jury (in the Penn-Meade trial of 1670) were "starved" in an attempt to force them to bring in a verdict acceptable to the Court.

George J. Willauer presents a study of some letters in Friends' Historical Library, Dublin, in his "An Irish Friend and the American Civil War; some letters of Frederic W. Pim to his father". The letters throw light on both Friends' attitude to events in America and on conditions there at that time.

Included also are various bibliographical notes, information on historical research, and notes and queries.

During the past year members will have received the following supplements to the *Journal*:

32. John Woolman in England, 1772. By Henry J. Cadbury.
33. John Perrot, early Quaker schismatic. By Kenneth L. Carroll.

* * * * *

It is with great regret that we have to report the death on 1 February 1972 of Isabel Grubb, of Coolros, Grange Park, Waterford, at the age of 90. Isabel Grubb was president of the Historical Society, and delivered her presidential address entitled "Quakerism and home life, an eighteenth century study" on 28 February 1935.

An appreciation of her work in Irish Quaker history, and in particular in the development of the Friends' Historical Library at Eustace Street, Dublin, is contributed by Olive C. Goodbody, the present Curator of that collection and compiler of the printed *Guide to Irish Quaker records* (Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1967), which has made the wealth of the collection available to a wider public. Appended is a list of the published historical works of Isabel Grubb, based on information kindly provided by the library at Friends House, London.

Isabel Grubb (1881–1972)

THERE has been no Irish Quaker historian of the calibre of Isabel Grubb since the time of John Rutty (1697–1774). Her grasp of the essentials of Quakerism enabled her to place it in the varying Irish scene with its historical background, and her works are consulted by scholars of many countries in their search for a knowledge of Irish Friends. Isabel was humble in appraisement of her own gifts which, nevertheless, she was very ready to share with others. Asked to write one of a series of small pamphlets edited by Stanley McC. Halliday on the Quaker message she, characteristically, chose to collect some sayings of eminent Friends and quote entirely from them as her contribution. Among her papers sent up to Eustace Street Historical Library after her death are folders of letters from all over the world asking for her advice and guidance for work being undertaken. All are answered and filed. For the careless or ignorant she had scant respect, though entering with candour and appreciation into the queries of an enquiring mind. Her thesis (1916) on Irish Quakerism gained her an M.A. degree from London University. Later she studied at Woodbrooke, of which she became a Fellow in 1926.

The title of Isabel's thesis (which was not published) is "Social conditions in Ireland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as illustrated by early Quaker records". After a preliminary introduction including an informative bibliography and description of the Irish background the work is divided into seven chapters illustrative of Quaker life in Ireland, the last one being on Relations with the Government. This is probably the most comprehensive study ever made of Friends in the Irish contemporary scene and it is a pity that it was never published.

Before giving her whole attention to writing and Quaker work Isabel had taught at Mountmellick School (where she had been a pupil) and at one or two English schools, including Sidcot School (1920–24). There are still Mountmellick old scholars who speak of her with affection and great respect. William Glynn tells us in his appreciation in *The Friend*

(February 1972) of her lifelong interest in botany, archaeology and local history, nurtured by her father, J. Ernest Grubb (1843–1927). From her father Isabel absorbed stories of the great famine in Ireland which, although only a small child at the time he remembered perfectly, his parents, John and Rebecca (Strangman) Grubb having played an active part in relief work in Carrick-on-Suir where they lived. Through her biography of her father (*J. Ernest Grubb of Carrick-on-Suir*, Talbot Press, 1928) one is made aware, not only of the great bond of affection and shared interests which existed between the two of them, but also of the deep spiritual influence which he bequeathed to his daughter.

A year prior to this publication her *Quakers in Ireland, 1654–1900* (Swarthmore Press, London, 1927) was published. We learn from the Introduction that "the Quaker community had a definite place in the national life as traders and farmers". Following this there are chapters on Pioneers, a Quaker merchant, Friends in War-Time, Daily Life, Education, Philanthropy, Light and Shade—all outlined with clarity and brevity in a book which is widely read by scholar and layman alike. *Quakerism and industry* (published by Williams and Norgate in 1930) has not such a wide appeal though still asked for as an authoritative reference book. *Quaker homespuns* (1932, H. R. Allenson Ltd.) is justly beloved by all, adult or child. It treats of well-known Quaker incidents, wrapped in a semi-fictional guise which has a definite appeal especially to the young. Probably the work best known to historians is her edition of William Penn's *My Irish Journal* in 1952. This was done at the suggestion of Henry J. Cadbury, its outstanding value lying in its masterly elucidation of names and places which otherwise are obscure in the Journal. Only one equipped with Isabel's knowledge of Irish personalities and topography could have produced this. Among her shorter works "Quakerism and home life", contributed to *Children of light* (1938), is a study based on incidents and difficulties of everyday life as reacted to by ordinary Friends' families in the eighteenth century. In 1929 *Friends' quarterly examiner* published an article by Isabel Grubb based on the address she had given to Dublin Yearly Meeting in May of the same year. It is entitled "Quaker Ministry in Ireland". One paragraph from this illuminates for us the rare devotion of Isabel's mind. "It is not my

intention however", she says, "to speak of the ministry which works directly for the betterment of social conditions. Irish Friends have had their share in it in the past and continue to find fresh openings for it in our country to-day; but in passing from the subject I must add that I believe a real danger exists in the inclination of some to look on social service as a substitute for divine service—for worship. Love to man cannot take the place of offering ourselves to God in worship, nor of the spiritual energy for service which comes to those who seek to know His will for them by communion with Him". Again, "I seem to distinguish three elements in the Meeting for Worship: the physical presence, the mental equipment, and the spiritual experience. The third of these is, of course, the most important but one about which it is difficult to say anything. Our spiritual experience can be trained in every incident in our lives. One or two souls of outstanding religious experience make a great difference to a meeting. We all may pray for power to make our lives as rich as theirs".

She practised as she preached, and looked upon her duties to the Society as an integral part of her religion. She was assistant clerk to Dublin Yearly Meeting from 1931 to 1937, in which year she became the Recording Clerk for the Friends' World Conference. In addition, she was the first Irish Friend to become a member of the World Committee for Consultation. Through all her middle years she travelled widely in international work for Friends. Her last long journey at the age of 74 was to Australia to see some of her family and to visit many small meetings in that continent. One of her greatest interests lay in the Historical Library of the Religious Society of Friends in Ireland. For very many years she gave it devoted care as curator and as clerk of its Committee, only resigning in 1955 on finding the journey from Waterford too great to attend regularly. She remained a committee member to the end of her life.

Much of the cataloguing in the library was done by her and the accession book bears witness to the large number of books, pamphlets, curios, etc., either presented by her or by her instrumentality. Some years ago she gave the library her large collection of manuscripts which up to then had been housed in her own home. This is fully catalogued as a separate collection. Seven boxes contain the correspondence

of the Shackleton family of Ballitore and two of Mary (Shackleton) Leadbeater's correspondence. These are known as the Fennell collection having been collected by a Fennell descendent of the Shackletons. The remainder should properly be called the Seskin collection, having been indexed by Isabel under the prefix "S" for Seskin the name of her home above Carrick-on-Suir; but together they are usually known as the Grubb Collection.

Isabel's wisdom, advice and vigorous personality are missed by young and old alike. Her witness remains in the results of such a life.

OLIVE C. GOODBODY

LIST OF BOOKS, ARTICLES, COMMUNICATIONS, &c. BY ISABEL GRUBB

Books:

Quakers in Ireland, 1654–1900. London: Swarthmore Press, 1927. 158 pp.

J. Ernest Grubb of Carrick-on-Suir. Dublin & Cork: Talbot Press, 1928. 94 pp.

Quakerism and industry before 1800. London: Williams & Norgate, 1930. 192 pp.

Quaker homespuns, 1655–1833. London: H. R. Allenson, [1932]. 144 pp.

Some practical thoughts on worshipping together. London: Friends Book Centre, for Friends Literature Committee, 1934. 4 pp.

My Irish journal, 1669–1670; by William Penn. Edited by Isabel Grubb. With an introduction by Henry J. Cadbury. London [etc.]: Longmans, Green, 1952. [vi], 103 pp.

Contribution to CHILDREN OF LIGHT: in honor of Rufus M. Jones. Edited by Howard H. Brinton. New York, Macmillan, 1938.

"Quakerism and home life: an eighteenth century study." pp. 279–303.

Contribution to the AMERICAN FRIEND:

"Gradual development of Irish Quakerism." vol. 34 (O.S.), no. 40, 1927, pp. 672–3.

Contributions to BULLETIN OF FRIENDS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION:

Documents. [An account of John Grubb, 1689–1731]. vol. 19 (1930), no. 1, pp. 33–9.

Documents. [Three letters in Dublin Friends' Historical Library: from Morris Birkbeck, 1773; Sarah Hall, aft. Birkbeck, 1772; Thomas Chandlee, 1812.] vol. 24 (1935), no. 2, pp. 99–102.

Contributions to THE FRIEND [London]:

"A Quaker pilgrimage: (5) In Ireland" and "A Quaker pilgrimage: (6) Through Ireland continuing south." 17 and 24 July 1936, pp. 671–2 and 698–700.

"A relief centenary—Friends and the Irish Famine." 13 December 1946, pp. 1035–7.

"The earliest minutes?" 14 May 1954, p. 449.

"An Irish Friend at Australia General Meeting." 18 Feb. 1955, pp. 165–6.

"Joseph Pike and ourselves." [Letter] 16 May 1958, pp. 618–9.

"Edwin B. Jacob" [Obituary]. 26 December 1958, p. 1671.

Contribution to THE FRIEND [Philadelphia]:

"Irish Quakerism." vol. 103 (1929/30), no. 16, pp. 183–4.

Contributions to the FRIENDS' QUARTERLY EXAMINER:

"Irish Friends' experiences of war, 1689–92." vol. 50, no. 198, 4th mo. 1916, pp. 169–87.

"An unpublished memoir" [of Anthony Sharp of Dublin]. vol. 59, no. 234, 4th mo. 1925, pp. 175–84.

"Quaker ministry in Ireland." vol. 63, no. 251, 7th mo. 1929, pp. 252–68.

Contributions to JOURNAL OF THE FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY:

"Sarah (Lynes) Grubb (1773–1842)." [A note.] vol. 27 (1930), p. 83.

"A Quaker family carrying pistols." vol. 30 (1933), pp. 47–8.

"An anti-slavery enthusiast, 1826. [Letters of Joshua Beale (1763–1823) of Cork.]" vol. 31 (1934), pp. 21–26.

"Margaret Edmundson (c. 1630–1691): her husband's testimony." vol. 33 (1936), pp. 32–34.

"Irish Quaker records: some items of interest in the Dublin collection." vol. 34 (1937), pp. 29–31.

"A conscientious objector in the eighteenth century [James Hastie]." vol. 34 (1937), pp. 32–43.

"American visitors in Ireland: some reminiscences, 1784–1852 [from the diary of Mary Leadbeater, and the recollections of Deborah Martin]." vol. 37 (1940), pp. 25–30.

"At a Meeting of the midwives in Barbadoes, 11.xii.1677." [Document communicated.] vol. 37 (1940), pp. 22–24.

"The earliest National Meeting of Friends in Ireland: new evidence as to its date." vol. 38 (1946), pp. 19–20.

"Elizabeth Fry at Newgate." vol. 38 (1946), pp. 21–23.

"William Edmundson, 1627–1712, some notes on his family and second marriage." vol. 40 (1948), pp. 32–36.

"Quaker china." [Notes.] vol. 41 (1949), p. 4; vol. 42 (1950), pp. 90–91.

"The Settlement of church discipline among Irish Friends, with special reference to George Fox's visit, 1669." vol. 45 (1953), pp. 75–80.
"Newtown school, Waterford." [A note.] vol. 49 (1960), p. 183.

Contribution to JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND:
"Notes on two prehistoric burial sites in the townland of Seskin, co. Waterford." vol. 74, pt. 3 (30 September 1944), pp. 176–9.

Unpublished material at Friends House Library:
"Social conditions in Ireland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as illustrated by early Quaker records." London University M.A. thesis, 1916. Typescript. 186 pp.
"Friends' books in the library of Archbishop Marsh, Dublin." 1931. Typescript, with accompanying letters.

Friendly Heritage: Letters from the Quaker Past. By Henry J. Cadbury. A Friends' Journal Book, pp. 342. Silvermine Publishers, Norwalk, Connecticut, 1972. $9.95.

This is a collection of the 240 "letters", or occasional essays, written by Henry Cadbury between 1941 and 1969 for the "Friends Intelligencer" (later merged with another American periodical to form the "Friends' Journal") under the pseudonym "Now and Then".

How is one to attempt to review them? They have no consecutive theme, apart from their Friend content, and were written as the spirit moved their author; but in nearly every case he has some fresh information or insight to give on his subject which will make them of lasting value to the historian, especially to those who share Henry Cadbury's enjoyment in exploring the obscurer paths of history.

If there is one element that is common to perhaps the majority of the essays, it can be found in the author's relish for relating the events of the past to those of the present; clearly this contributed to his choice of his pseudonym. An enforced halt in Lisbon between 'planes during the War leads him to write of Anne Gargill and her surprisingly courteous treatment there in 1655. The vagaries of wartime censorship remind him of the confiscated Quaker letters of the 17th century which are to be found in the Public Record Office. A reference in the "Spectator" to the vocational tendencies of modern Quakerism inspires him to draw on his fund of learning about the occupations of early Friends. And so on.

We will add just a few essay titles, without comment, as a further means of whetting our readers' appetitite for what is in store for them in a perusal of this delightful book. "Quaker Sinners", "Robin Hood and the Quakers", "'That of God'—A Moratorium?", "A 'Grave' Mistake", "George Fox and the Beatniks".

A.W.B.

Mystics and Heretics in the Middle Ages : Rufus Jones reconsidered

Presidential Address to the Friends' Historical Society, 1972

WHILST Rufus Jones was alive he was too large a man, touching at so many points the life of his own Society of Friends, and of wider society, for anyone to have tried to see his work as a whole. Since his death in 1948, one side of it has become the centre of critical discussion, particularly in America: that is to say his understanding of the relationship between mysticism and Quakerism.[1] The argument has concerned the sense in which early Quakerism should be seen as a mystical movement and also about whether its modern form has this character also. My purpose is to look at an allied, but different, problem; what contribution did Rufus Jones make to our understanding of the mysticism and heresy of the middle ages and of the Roman era. I believe this approach may have some relevance to the other debate, as well as to the more restricted question of Rufus Jones' place as a scholar, who, it is hardly necessary to remind this audience, also wrote about the reforming movements of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and about Quakerism in America. Undoubtedly he did some of his best work in the field chosen tonight, and his work here has not, so far as I am aware, been reassessed.

The mystical stand in pre-Reformation Christianity appears again and again in Rufus Jones' books. It was the theme of two of his books and turns up frequently in his more general books on mystical religion.[2] Medieval heresy, on the other hand, provides the core of one whole book, and that one of his own favourites. The amount he wrote is by

[1] J. Calvin Keene, "Historic Quakerism and Mysticism", *Quaker religious thought*, vii (1965), 2–17; Lewis Benson, *Catholic Quakerism* (published by the author in duplicated form, 1966); and articles by Eric Holttum, R. W. Tucker and John Dobson in *Friends' Quarterly*, vol. 17, January, July, October 1971, January 1972.

[2] In addition to works cited later one may note *New studies in mystical religion*, 1927; *Some exponents of mystical religion*, 1930; *The Eternal gospel*, 1938.

any standard astonishing, especially when one bears in mind that for most of his working life he bore a heavy teaching load at Haverford and was deeply committed to three other causes: Quaker journalism, the drawing together of the sundered strands of American Quakerism, and the work of the American Friends Service Committee.[1] In all Rufus Jones wrote fifty-six books and the toll of his articles is enormous.[2] Faced with such a massive *corpus* I can only confess that I have not read it all. Long ago Isidore of Seville contemplating the still more extensive output of Augustine remarked that if anyone said they had read it all he was a liar.[3] I make no pretence to have read the complete Jones. Yet just as the great bishop of Hippo's work varies in its quality, some of it arising very much out of the needs of the moment, some of it worthy of eternity, so the American Quaker's writing varies and demands differing treatment. Some of Rufus Jones' books (and I have confined myself to them) do not make a great contribution to scholarship; they are part of his sincere and moving claim that attention should be given to the mystics' way, which he himself walked upon so attractively. In this category I would place both of his early books in this field, *A Dynamic faith* and *Social law in the spiritual world*, which appeared in 1901 and 1904 respectively. The latter was typical of this category of his books in that it was based upon lectures he had given; in this case at summer schools in Scarborough, Woodbrooke and Haverford in 1901, 1903 and 1904.[4] His first major book, *Studies in mystical religion*, appeared five years later, in 1909. After it two books stand out for the care with which they present a range of new material: *The Church's debt to heretics*, published in 1924, and *The Flowering of mysticism; the Friends of God in the fourteenth century*, which came out thirty years after *Studies*, in 1939. Most of what I shall say will arise out of a consideration of these three books. I do

[1] For his life I have used Elizabeth Gray Vining, *Friend of life*, 1958; this is referred to in later notes as Vining. One may also consult David Hinshaw, *Rufus Jones, Master Quaker*, 1951.

[2] Nixon Orwin Rush, *Bibliography of the published writings of Rufus M. Jones* (Waterville, Maine, 1944) contains signed work to date. Between 1944 and his death Rufus Jones wrote 5 books and 40 articles or shorter pieces: Hinshaw, *op. cit.*, 222.

[3] Cf. Peter Brown, *Religion and society in the age of Augustine*, 1972, 25. The original passage is in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 83, col. 1109.

[4] Vining, 103.

not mean by my choice to implicitly condemn his other books which deal with my theme—there are many good passages in them—but I do not think they reveal his scholarly achievement so well.

On the other hand I cannot resist drawing attention to the last of them at this point, *The Luminous trail*, published in the last year of his life, when he was eighty-four. For those who have not read any Rufus Jones this is a good place to start. Here he writes with characteristic lucidity and warmth of early Christians, of the Fathers, including one of his first loves, Clement of Alexandria, of St. Francis of whom he wrote so often, and of his own son, Lowell, who died so tragically in 1903 whilst his father and step-mother were crossing the Atlantic. The transposition to this final chapter, which could have been so awkward, is made without the least jar, so that the spiritual awareness of the young boy finds a natural place along with the example of those other far better known men and women.

Studies in mystical religion appeared in 1909 when Rufus Jones was 46 years old. In his preface he explained that it had been planned as an introduction to a series of books to be devoted to the history of the Society of Friends, which he described as "a religious body which has made a serious attempt to unite inward, mystical religion with active, social endeavours, and to maintain a religious fellowship without a rigid ecclesiastical system, and with large scope for personal initiative, immediate revelation and individual responsibility".[1] The plan had been generated by him and John Wilhelm Rowntree at least twelve years before in 1897, and work upon *Studies* had begun early in 1904 with the help of books which had been sent to him by his English friend. The whole scheme had had to be considered afresh after John Wilhelm's tragic death on a visit to America the following year. The Rowntree family and others met with Rufus Jones in England, and it says a lot for the enthusiasm and vision of that group that the decision to press ahead with the Quaker history was taken. Rufus Jones' task was defined as that of tracing "the historical development of inward and Spiritual Christianity as a contrast to the ecclesiastical and ritualistic types". The appearance of the book only four years later witnesses to the energy with which Rufus Jones applied

[1] *Studies*, xxxviii.

himself. It is said that he devoted two mornings a week to the book from 1904 onwards; it was finished in England during a period of sabbatical leave in the summer of 1908.[1]

It would, however, be concealing a great deal to trace the gestation of *Studies* only as far back as 1897 and so to consider it as a reflection of his friendship with John Wilhelm Rowntree. The seeds of the book are to be sought much earlier in Rufus Jones' life. One impulse undoubtedly came from his earliest experience as a child in a home where the practice of an "inward and spiritual Christianity" was part of the very air he breathed. His parents, Edwin and Mary Hoxie Jones, and his aunt Peace Jones who lived with them, were exemplars of the way he came to live himself and to describe for others.[2] The realization that such a way of life could also be the centre of his scholarly interest came at Haverford which he entered in 1882 and graduated from in 1885.[3] There one of his teachers Pliny Earle Chase, a man of wide interests, which stretched from mathematics to languages and meteorology, suggested to him that for his graduation essay he should write on the subject of "Mysticism and its exponents". At Haverford too he read at least the *Apology* and *Crito* of Plato, and when in his Senior year he read some history, it was under Allen Thomas who was soon to publish work upon one of the sixteenth century mystical groups, the Family of Love.[4] Home and college had therefore turned his interests to mysticism long before 1897, but the way he approached it was influenced by two further periods of study: in Europe during 1886–87 and at Harvard in 1900–1901.

In the former period, when Rufus Jones was twenty-three, he made many contacts with Quakers in this country and on the continent of Europe which were to mean much to him, but it was his four months in Strasbourg which moulded his scholarly career.[5] In later years he recalled what happened: "I had strayed off into the field of history and for a time I

1 For the writing of *Studies* see Vining, 71–3, 112–18, 123–25. The quotation comes from a type-script report of the meetings about the Quaker History.

2 Vining, 15–29.

3 *Ibid.*, 33–39.

4 A. C. Thomas, "The Family of Love or the Familists", *Haverford College studies*, xii (1893).

5 Vining, 45–54.

seemed likely to make history my major work, but after I had followed Fischer a few weeks [this was Kuno Fischer who was lecturing on Greek philosophy] I knew that philosophy was to claim me henceforth—'for this I was born'." He went on to say that previously his interest in mysticism had been steadily growing and that then he realized that "the best approach to an understanding of this great human experience was to be found in philosophy and psychology".[1] It is fascinating to speculate what might have happened if Rufus Jones had come under the influence of a great historian at this point in his development, and in some senses it was a pity that he did not. Karl Schmidt, an authority on fourteenth-century mysticism at Strasbourg, did give him help with his reading, but he does not appear to have lectured to him and Rufus Jones fairly rapidly questioned some of his views. But it is quite understandable why philosophy and psychology attracted Rufus Jones in his formative years, whilst history failed to. History was not in a healthy condition in the United States at this time, there were few chairs in it, perhaps twenty, and most of them not occupied by very distinguished figures, whereas the other two disciplines appeared to be flourishing.[2] Perhaps the outstanding scholar of that generation was William James, brother of the novelist, who combined an interest in both philosophy and psychology, never more impressively than in his Gifford lectures *Varieties of religious experience* published in 1902; a book, incidentally, referred to with approval in Rufus Jones' *Studies*.[3]

When Rufus Jones was at Harvard the previous year William James was on leave, but he was able to attend courses given by the philosophers George Herbert Palmer and Josiah Royce.[4] Royce, a friend of James, had a deep interest in mysticism and affected Rufus Jones considerably, whilst to Palmer he owed the term "the conjunct self," which crops up in a number of his early books.[5] Although perhaps neither Royce nor Palmer have many readers today, another

1 R. M. Jones, *The Trail of life in college*, 1929, 166.
2 See Dr. J. R. Pole's forthcoming article on history in the U.S. in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, xxiii (1973).
3 *Studies*, xxix.
4 Vining, 86–91.
5 One may note references to Royce in the introduction to *Studies*, xv, xxxi.

of the teachers at Harvard, then, George Santayana, probably has. Under him Rufus Jones extended his understanding of Plato and his followers.

Studies in mystical religion was, therefore, a book written by a man with a long-standing and deep interest in mysticism who looked at it through the eyes of a philosopher who was also aware of some of the trends in the new study of psychology. But it is also important to appreciate that in attempting to trace the history of Christian mysticism up to the seventeenth century he was, at least in the English-speaking world, an isolated pioneer. Dean Inge, who read certain chapters of *Studies* in proof, had it is true published his *Christian mysticism* in 1899, but neither of the other two notable English exponents on the theme, Evelyn Underhill and Baron von Hügel published early enough to be of help to Rufus Jones, and at that stage, apparently, none of them knew each other.[1] Von Hügel's *Mystical element in religion* came out in 1908 whereas Underhill's *Mysticism* did not appear until 1911. Jones came to a field which was dominated by the approach which was congenial to his own formation. In fairness it must also be pointed out that the whole historical approach to medieval mysticism was in its infancy, but so indeed was the study of medieval theology and philosophy, and so the essential intellectual background of the mystics was but hazily understood.[2] These facts are essential to an understanding of Rufus Jones' first considerable book and of his later ones.

The range of *Studies* is very wide. It begins with chapters on the mysticism of Jesus and his first disciples, particularly Paul and John. Then, after two somewhat awkward chapters on Ministry and Organization in the early Church and on Montanism, there is a discussion of the contribution which Greek and Latin thinkers, especially Plato and Plotinus, made to Christian mysticism. Then on the path lies through the Fathers, among whom most attention is given to Augustine, and from them to Dionysius, usually called the Areopagite. From him we are taken to John Scotus Erigena, the ninth century Irishman and then by another jump to the

[1] **Vining**, 132.

[2] M. D. Knowles, "Some recent advance in the history of medieval thought", *Cambridge historical journal*, ix (1947), 22–50 and "Further note on some recent advance . . .", *Idem*. x (1952), 354–58.

Waldensians. The temporal movement becomes gentler after this and we are led steadily forward from St. Francis and the Spiritual Franciscans, some learned pantheists of the thirteenth century, and the Beguines and Beghards, to the great figures of the fourteenth century: Eckhart, Tauler, Suso and the Friends of God. Next comes a chapter on the Brethren of the Common Life (which includes an excursus on Catherine of Siena) followed by a chapter on Wyclif and the Lollards, after which the book moves for its last pages on to post-Reformation movements. The ground covered is astonishing but certain things about this terrain need underlining. In the first place the individuals and movements studied are extremely disparate; it is difficult, for example, to subsume the very orthodox Brethren of the Common Life who affected a very considerable number, under the same umbrella as Amaury of Bêne and David of Dinant, two French teachers who were accused of pantheism, and affected, as far as we know, far fewer and those principally the learned.[1] The Waldensians hardly are a mystical sect in the same sense as either of these.[2] Secondly, one is struck by one of his omissions—the Hebrew strand in Christian spirituality which through the Old Testament and particularly the Psalms had enormous effect. Where else, for example, did the Bride Bridegroom symbolism of so much mysticism come if not from the Song of Songs? It is curious, too, to realize that there is no mention of Benedict of Nursia under whose Rule so many mystics lived in community, nor of Gregory the Great who played perhaps a crucial rôle in making the ideas of the Fathers accessible to the middle ages.[3] The whole Spanish school, represented by Theresa of Avila and John of the Cross, appears not at all. To some extent in later works Rufus Jones extended the terrain—he wrote, for example, fairly extensively on Hugh of St. Victor and St. Bernard, besides, pushing well past the seventeenth

[1] For the Brethren an admirable introduction is R. W. Southern, *Western society and the Church in the middle ages*, 1970, 331–58. For Amaury and David see Etienne Gilson, *History of Christian philosophy in the middle ages*, 1955, 240–44, 654.

[2] There is a useful survey of recent work on them and other twelfth century groups by Brenda Bolton, "Tradition and temerity: papal attitudes to deviants, 1159–1216" in *Schism, heresy and religious protest*, edited by Derek Baker (1972, being *Studies in Church history*, 9), 79–91.

[3] Jean Leclercq, *L'Amour des lettres et le désir de Dieu*, 1957, *passim*.

century to Browning and Whitman, but the large holes I have mentioned were never filled.[1]

It was only retirement from teaching in 1934 which gave Rufus Jones the chance to develop one of the themes which he had written about in *Studies*, the Friends of God in the fourteenth century. During the autumn and winter of 1934–5 he was able to spend some months in Europe extending his reading, which was to bear fruit in *The Flowering of mysticism*, published in 1939.[2] Although it grew out of his earlier work, in fact far less of the book than one might expect from its title is concerned with Rulman Merswin and the community he established on the Green Isle near Strasbourg. Its main concern is with the whole of German mysticism, and that of the Netherlands, in the fourteenth century, so space is given to Eckhart, Tauler, Suso, and Ruysbroeck, as well as to the lesser-known women whom they influenced. Two chapters, somewhat uneasily linked to the rest, on English mystics of the period and on Groote and the *Devotio Moderna*, round off the book. It is interesting to find that Rufus Jones was aware of the discovery of the original manuscript of the Book of Margery Kemp, which was only published three years before *The Flowering* appeared.[3] His reading on the German mystics too shows signs of books written since his *Studies* had appeared, although he was able to note that his account of the Friends of God still stood almost alone in the English-speaking world thirty years later.[4] At various points in the later work one can see that he had changed his opinion; he now doubted, for example, whether the austerities mentioned in the so-called Autobiography of Suso described actual events, whereas previously he had treated them as part of "this extraordinary practice of asceticism".[5] He himself points out that his former belief that Ruysbroeck was untrained was no longer tenable.[6]

In between *Studies* and *The Flowering* came a very different book on heresy, *The Church's debt to heretics*, published

1 Hugh has a chapter in *The Luminous trail*, 1947, 55–62, cf. p. 22 for St. Bernard. Browning and Whitman are in *Some exponents of mystical religion*, 1930.

2 Vining, 248–51.

3 *Flowering*, 227–33.

4 *Ibid.*, 88 note.

5 *Ibid.*, 145; *Studies*, 284 note.

6 *Flowering*, 195; cf. *Studies*, 308.

in 1925, which is also much slighter than either of them. It has, however, like them an index: an aid to scholars missing from many of his other books. Having defined heretics as people called heretics by the Church (a definition which leaves many questions unanswered) he also said that he was not interested in people who were "freakish disturber[s]" or "hysterical champion[s] of novelties", but only in those who had made "discoveries of fresh insight . . . [who were] recipients of new illumination, gifted leaders of unwon causes, prophets of neglected or forgotten truth, profound interpreters of the deeper significance of life".[1] These rather heady words serve to introduce a really rather breathless journey through Gnosticism, heresies about the nature of Christ, about the Spirit (this last taking us from Montanism to Joachim of Fiore), anti-Church heresies (which again covers a wide spectrum from Donatists to Cathari), heretical movements of the mid to late middle ages and of the Reformation. An enormous number of individuals and movements are brought under review, but it is difficult to see how some of them, for example Arius, stigmatized as the teacher of "a thin, poor makeshift for Christianity", fall within his original definition of heretics as those who had made "discoveries of fresh insight", and to appreciate just what debt the Church had towards them.[2] The book does, however, show that Rufus Jones had been able to keep up with some of the literature on his vast subject; there are references, for example, to Harnack's book on Marcion published in 1921 and to Turberville on the Inquisition which appeared a year earlier.[3] From time to time he referred to his own *Studies* for fuller information about people, and so it becomes clear how this book which at first sight seems apart from interest in mysticism is in fact another expression of it.[4]

More than a generation has now passed since the last of Rufus Jones' books appeared; over sixty years since his *Studies*, both periods in which an enormous amount has been written. His understanding and achievement therefore look very different now. It is not my purpose to criticize him for not realizing what scholars were going to discover—this

1 *Church's Debt*, 24, 12.
2 *Ibid.*, 102.
3 *Ibid.*, 45, 150.
4 *Ibid.*, 148 (on Amaury of Bêne), 218 (on Eckhart).

would be absurd—but it is important to see how his approach compares with that being made now. I shall begin by comparing his treatment of some heresies with some current views and then go on to his approach to certain mystics.

Let us begin with Pelagius, the British teacher whose ideas caused a furor in the early fifth century, provoking Augustine to clarify his ideas on key matters like the nature of grace and the effects of baptism. Pelagius attracted Rufus Jones since he seemed to him opposed to dogmas and theological systems and, contrariwise, to be a supporter of a practical, positive Christian life.[1] His famous abhorrence of Augustine's prayer in Book ten of the Confessions—"Lord, Thou hast commanded continence; give what Thou commandest and command what Thou wilt", sprang out of his conviction that man was not irredeemably corrupted by the Fall. For Pelagius sin was not inherited inescapably by all men from Adam; instead he had been endowed with powers, of reason and free will, and had been given the gift of Jesus Christ through which he could learn to live the good life. So whilst Augustine needed a Church which would dispense mysterious, magical powers to sin-scarred humanity, Pelagius looked for assistance within man himself, as well as to the creation and the whole process of revelation. The one looked for Grace "in the sphere of the natural; the other in the sphere of the supernatural".[2]

Recent work has brought out two very different sides of Pelagius: the social setting of his work and the central rôle of baptism in his theology.[3] Rufus Jones did refer to the fact that he taught whilst the barbarians pressed at the gate of the Roman world, but he did not realize that Pelagius' support came principally from a very restricted group within Roman society, a rich aristocratic group, who wished to discover a new identity for themselves. During the fourth century there had been a good deal of superficial adherence to Christian belief in this stratum of society, as well as lower down, but there were some of good education who wished to adopt a way of life which would symbolize their rejection of the old pagan *mores* which had previously guided them. To

[1] *Church's Debt*, 122–30.
[2] *Ibid.*, 127.
[3] See particularly Peter Brown, *Religion and society*, 183–226. Cf. Henry Chadwick, *The Early Church*, 1967, 227–35.

them Pelagius with his insistence that the highest ideals of Christian life should be their aim, came as an inspired teacher. Such a circle was able to respond to his call that they immerse themselves in an icy puritanism (the phrase is Peter Brown's), which previously Christians had held was only for the few.[1] Rufus Jones himself realized that this type of holiness was monastic, but he would have been startled to discover that for Pelagius the waters of baptism were an absolutely vital washing without which no man could hope to live as an authentic Christian.[2] Man could not help himself up by his boot-straps, so to speak; he could only cut himself off from his past through an initiation which had the power to wash away the encrusting rust accumulated on the personality through sin. Only after baptism and conversion could man regain innocence through the careful, regulated exercise of his life. There is no "natural" capacity to attain salvation outside the Church for Pelagius (save in the case of men who had lived long ago in a primal age of innocence). Jones' striking contrast between Pelagius and Augustine as seekers after grace in the natural and in the supernatural is no longer appropriate. There is, of course, still a very real difference between Augustine and Pelagius; for the bishop of Hippo baptism did not heal the old man, instead it put ointment on his wounds, like the Samaritan's treatment of the man he found on the way between Jerusalem and Jericho, and enabled the sufferer to look forward to "a life-time of precarious convalescence in the Inn of the Catholic Church".[3]

To turn from Pelagius to the Donatists is to stay within the world over which Augustine casts his shadow and so, perhaps, to give more coherence to this reassessment.[4] Rufus Jones rightly emphasized that what was at stake was the relationship of the Church and the world; the Donatists stood for "a Church separate from the world and untainted by its corruptions".[5] Nowadays it is realized how long and honourable was this view; its pedigree goes back through Cyprian to Tertullian and to the early Christian vision of the

1 Brown, *op. cit.*, 194.
2 *Church's Debt*, 123: he was "an eager advocate of monastic holiness".
3 Brown, *op. cit.*, 203.
4 *Church's Debt*, 164–69.
5 *Ibid.*, 164.

Church as a community called apart, out of the world.[1] Augustine, on the other hand, stood for a view that the Church was a community which had to dominate and absorb, by force if necessary, the society in which it was placed. But Rufus Jones went on to argue that because the Donatists would not accept the sacraments from men who had compromised with the State during persecution, or who lived impure lives, they emphasized "the inner spirit, the *subjective* side of religion, as against the prevailing emphasis on the *objective* side".[2] Real holiness of life was aimed at, not adherence to an objective institution, the Church, whose sacraments were channels of grace, however sinful the minister, and outside whose life there was no salvation. It comes as something of a shock, therefore, to discover that the Donatists believed that the sacraments of sinful bishops did have effects, admittedly not good ones. They held that to accept the sacraments from apostate bishops would infect the Church and *ipso facto* would debar the communicant from heaven.[3] The Donatists, therefore, are in some senses much more like Augustine than Rufus Jones realized, and we can now see as well that their stand was linked to an attempt to maintain a provincial tradition of Christianity, against an aggressive Catholic tradition.[4] Just as we now understand that Pelagius appealed to a particular social group at a crucial time, so, thanks to Professor Frend and many others, we realize that the Donatist view of the Church appealed to part of African provincial society which had genuine complaints and worries.

To the heresies of the central middle ages Rufus Jones did not devote so much space as to those active under Roman rule, and what there is lies mainly in one chapter in *The Church's debt to heretics* called "A Harvest of Sects and Schisms".[5] This begins by asking why the late eleventh and

[1] W. H. C. Frend, "Heresy and schism as social and national movements", in *Schism, heresy and religious protest*, 37–56, espec. 45; and R. A. Markus, "Christianity and dissent in Roman North Africa: changing perspectives in recent work", in the same collection, 21–36, espec. 27–28. The contrast between Pelagius and Augustine is given powerful expression by Peter Brown in *Augustine of Hippo: a biography*, 1967, 212–43. Frend's *The Donatist Church*, 1952, is the starting-point for all recent discussion.

[2] *Church's Debt*, 166.

[3] S. L. Greenslade, "Heresy and schism in the later Roman empire" in *Schism, heresy and religious protest*, 8–9.

[4] Markus, *op. cit.*, 30; and Brown, *Religion and society*, 255.

[5] *Church's Debt*, 184–215.

early twelfth centuries saw so many heresies come into existence. The answer provided is fairly brief, pointing to three aspects of the situation; the state of Western Christian society, the infiltration of ideas from outside that society, and the birth of new movements and ideas. Under the first head Rufus Jones mentioned the feeble morals of the clergy, "the crude and unspiritual state of the people in general", the lack of regular preaching and (a typical note) the "substitution of external systems and practices for inward and living experience".[1] As for external influences he mentioned the dualist ideas coming from the Balkans, and in the rest of the chapter he described a number of individuals and groups who had new ideas, ranging from Abelard to Wyclif, and even *mirabile dictu*, Joan of Arc. The problem raised by his explanation is that it does not explain why things were so bad *c.* 1100 that orthodox belief ceased to satisfy, and many were ready to turn to new ideas and movements. After all hardly any age has not complained about the quality of its clergy and the fervour of its people: Bede and the reformers of the tenth century provide evidence of this kind, and so Rufus Jones does not help us with the question why just then did so many new ideas arise and attract support.[2]

It must be admitted that so far there is no very clear consensus of view among historians such as one can find concerning heresy in the time of Augustine. With few exceptions we still have scattered articles to consider, not books, at least if we confine ourselves to works in English.[3] More and more, however, it appears to me that we are being invited to consider the effects of the transformations of European society which occurred a century earlier than Rufus Jones had looked, that is to say from *c.* 1000 onwards. Then

[1] *Ibid.*, 184.

[2] Letter of Bede to Egbert, archbishop of York (5 November 734), in C. Plummer, *Venerabilis Baedae Opera historica*, I (1896), 405–23; a useful translation is in Dorothy Whitelock, *English historical documents* c. 500–1042, 1955, 735–45. The same volume contains extracts from Aelfric's Life of St. Æthelwold which illustrate the latter point, espec. 835.

[3] Again *Schism, heresy and religious protest* provides a useful entrée into recent approaches: Janet L. Nelson, "Society, theodicy and the origins of heresy: towards a reassessment of the medieval evidence", 65–77. The following paragraph is based upon her article. R. I. Moore, "The origins of medieval heresy", *History*, vol. 55, pt. 183 (1970), 21–36 is also a good introduction. J. B. Russell, *Dissent and reform in the early middle ages*, 1965, and Gordon Leff, *Heresy in the later middle ages* (2 vols, 1967), are the only two extensive books in English. The literature in European languages is vast.

occurred the break between a relatively stable, primarily agricultural, and rural society in which each man knew his place here and in the hereafter, and a society in which men moved, competed with each other, and often did not know how they fitted into this earthly scheme of things, or what place they would occupy in heavenly mansions. Admittedly we lack still a detailed explanation for how this change began, but it is very clear that by say 1100 the population of Europe was growing, and that there was movement in the countryside from settled villages to new clearings made from forest, marsh, or moor, and that others were moving towards towns. There were, therefore, growing urban populations and it seems that, to a degree, they resembled their nineteenth-century successors in being under-provided by the parish structure of the Church. Certainly we can believe that some of the displaced people of the early twelfth century were seeking for a new certainty to aid them in a situation in which old ties of kinship and lordship had no longer any meaning. Once this is appreciated it becomes possible to understand why so many heretical movements arose in towns, and why they took particularly firm hold in areas where the authority and prestige of central governments were weak—as in Lorraine, southern and eastern France and in northern Italy. This gives a whole new unifying dimension to movements which otherwise do seem quite bewildering in their diversity. But it is also interesting to realize that whereas heresy gave back to some people a sense of belonging and understanding, other people found it in the practices and beliefs of a Church which showed itself able to change very considerably in this period. The growth of a new devotion to the human Jesus, the popularity of pilgrimage, the enthusiasm for the Crusade, the enormous investment in church building, all speak of these changes. Rufus Jones inevitably focused on the heretics, but the forces of light and truth were not all on one side.

Any student of medieval mysticism has to try to come to grips with Eckhart; Rufus Jones devoted a considerable chapter to him in *Studies*, returned to him twice again before his retirement, and after that in *The Flowering*.[1] He attracted

[1] *Studies*, 217–41; *Flowering*, 61–85. There are also chapters in *At one with the Infinite*, 1921, and *Some exponents of mystical religion*, 1930, 77–113.

Rufus Jones because of his teaching that in this life the soul could attain to a share in the beatific vision through the process which Eckhart called "the birth of the Son in a loving soul".[1] Eckhart's mysticism seemed to Rufus Jones to have a calm and depth which was refreshingly free of the emotionalism of much contemporary mysticism which spoke in the imagery of the Bride and Groom in the Song of Songs.[2] On the other hand he recognized that the unique contribution of Eckhart was the way he spoke about his own experience in a manner and language which got across to "great popular audiences of lay people".[3] But this is not to suggest that Rufus Jones considered that the fourteenth century scholar was a Proto-Protestant, he realized that Eckhart was "essentially loyal to the faith and to the Church and to his order".[4]

Although the chapter on Eckhart in *The Flowering* is written with enthusiasm and clarity, it cannot now be taken as a very safe guide, since Rufus Jones avoided the problem of authenticity.[5] He knew that there was a problem, but when he wrote, the task of producing critical editions of Eckhart's Latin and German works had been barely begun. For our present purpose it is sufficient to note that, according to a recent estimate, of one hundred and eleven vernacular sermons printed by Pfeiffer in 1857, only thirty-three can be accepted without question as genuine.[6] Rufus Jones quoted often from the dubious ones, and depended for his version on Miss C. de B. Evans' English version published in 1924 and 1931, which has some serious defects.[7] It was reliance upon dubious works which led Rufus Jones to say, for example, that Eckhart valued the life of Martha, the life of activity, higher than that of Mary, the life of contemplation.[8] Recent scholarship has also made abundantly clear that the difficult concepts of the "Fünklein", the "Etwas" in the soul, or of *Abgeschiedenheit*, detachment, which are both so central to his mystical system are intimately connected with his theology, which grows out of the scholastic background of

1 *Flowering*, 78.
2 *Ibid.*, 80.
3 *Ibid.*, 69–70.
4 *Ibid.*, 64.
5 *Ibid.*, 71.
6 James M. Clark, *Meister Eckhart*, 1957, 115.
7 *Ibid.*, 124.
8 *Ibid.*, 80; *Flowering*, 83–84.

his day.[1] All this is not, however, to deny that by expressing himself so often in speech which laymen, and laywomen, could understand, Eckhart did have enormous influence on succeeding generations.[2]

Rufus Jones felt sure that Eckhart was the "Father" of the movement which had the name "Friends of God" which *The Flowering* was written to portray.[3] There does not now seem much ground for talking of a movement, if by this is meant an organized group, although it is true that the followers of Tauler and Suso (who were each undoubtedly influenced by Eckhart) did sometimes call themselves friends of God.[4] The name itself has good Biblical precedent in the Book of Wisdom (chapter vii, 27), and there is no ground for believing Eckhart used the phrase in any technical sense. To the actual founder of the community in the ruined abbey of Grüner Wörth near Strasbourg, Rulman Merswin (d. 1382), time has not been kind since Rufus Jones wrote of him. I think, reading between the lines, one may feel that in the late 30s Rufus Jones himself did not have as high an opinion of him as he did in the 1900s; at that earlier stage the degree to which the works preserved under Merswin's name were compilations with little original in them, was not so clear to him as it became. Nonetheless he still wrote that for an untaught man the ex-Strasbourg merchant showed "considerable skill in adopting anonymous writings to his purpose"; whereas one recent critic has called him a plagiarist of "mediocre ability".[5] Certainly in comparison with Tauler or Suso the writings associated with Merswin and his circle seem pressed from a very different vintage.

But why, one may ask, was Germany such a centre for the search for mystical experience in the fourteenth century? To answer this question Rufus Jones pointed to the effects of civil war, of schism in the Empire, of the "captivity" of the Papacy in Avignon, and of a series of natural disasters, culminating in the Black Death.[6] In short he seems to have

[1] Leff, *Heresy*, 262–94, as well as Clark, *op. cit.*, 26–81, 82–98 both make this abundantly clear. Cf. also Clark [*The Great*] *German mystics*, 1959, 7–35, and François Vandenbroucke in J. Leclercq *et al.*, *La Spiritualité du moyen âge*, 1961, 454–65.

[2] A point well made by R. W. Southern, *Medieval humanism and other studies*, 1970, 19–26.

[3] *Flowering*, 61.

[4] Clark, *Meister Eckhart*, 122–24.

[5] *Flowering*, 137; Clark, *German mystics*, 81.

[6] *Flowering*, 21–22.

believed that the desire to cultivate the interior garden of the soul was developed by the unattractiveness of the exterior field of the world. There may be something in this hypothesis, but it should be noticed that Eckhart's life—*c.* 1260–1327—falls before most of the external troubles mentioned. It therefore seems right to give weight to the fact that Eckhart, and many of those who came after him, were Friars who had as part of their duties, to provide teaching for religious communities of women.[1] Whilst Eckhart was in Strasbourg, *c.* 1314–*c.* 1319, he preached to nuns, as well as to lay people, and Tauler's sermons are good examples of the mystical teaching which he gave to nuns. The growth of a great mystical tradition in Germany should therefore be connected with the work of teachers who had been trained in the universities of their day and who simplified their theology to suit their audiences. But it is also important to ask how this mystical teaching met the needs of its audience. Here I think we can suggest that it gave religious communities, and to some degree laymen, a sense of reality, of belonging, in a world which often appeared hostile. These communities, like the lay audiences, were generally situated in the crowded cities, where men and women so often felt themselves adrift. Some "ran out", to use a seventeenth century term, into heresy, others found a home in a mysticism, which whilst formally orthodox, in the sense that it took the creeds and the sacraments for granted, gave the individual a sense of his worth.[2] If this approach has value it is worth underlining that it complements Rufus Jones' suggestions rather than excludes them, since once the turn within had begun, outward disturbance and discord reinforced it.

So far I have, perhaps rashly, not asked what Rufus Jones understood by mysticism, although I have moved on the edge of this question.[3] Now I can no longer avoid it and the best place to start is the definition which he put forward in his first considerable book, *Studies* in 1909. There he wrote that mystical religion is the "type of religion which puts the emphasis on immediate awareness of relation with God, on direct and intimate consciousness of the Divine presence. It

[1] Clark, *German mystics*, 1–6; Vandenbroucke, *La Spiritualité*, 448–54.

[2] The heresy of the Free Spirit gained many adherents, cf. Leff, *Heresy*, 308–407.

[3] Vining, 252–65 has a very useful and clear chapter.

is religion in its most acute, intense, and living stage."[1] Thirty years later he was saying much the same in *The Flowering*; "Mysticism, that is to say the attitude of mind which comes into correspondence with a spiritual world-order that is felt to be as real as the visible one, is not confined to any race or any specific longitudes or latitudes".[2] We may note one thing about both these formulations at once; they emphasize feeling rather than belief. Observe the words "immediate awareness", "direct and intimate consciousness", or "that is felt to be". For Rufus Jones mysticism is a description for something sensed in the emotions. Not everyone has defined it this way. Lalande, for example, wrote that it was a "belief in the possibility of an intimate and direct union of the human spirit with the fundamental principle of being, a union which constitutes at once a mode of existence and a mode of knowledge different from and superior to normal existence and knowledge".[3] Here is a definition which, besides including non-theistic systems, lays its emphasis on something which occurs and is known, rather than felt. Admittedly the relationship between knowledge and sensation is a subtle one, but I would suggest that Rufus Jones stressed the primacy of feeling.

Now this emphasis affected the way that he described the words used by particular mystics, either in teaching others, or in explaining to others what they had themselves experienced, or what they hoped to experience. Eckhart, for example, is generally considered to have been directing his hearers towards a state of being, a mode of existence, or *Wesenmystik* as German scholars call it, *not* an experience involving the emotions of love, hope, fear and so on.[4] He was, indeed, reacting against the school of affective mysticism which had dominated western Europe from the late eleventh century of which John of Fécamp, Bernard of Clairvaux and Bonaventure the Franciscan are perhaps the most notable exponents.[5] Rufus Jones' approach made it hard for him to see this side of Eckhart.

On the other hand, just because he laid emphasis on feeling

1 *Studies*, xv.
2 *Flowering*, 210.
3 *Vocabulaire de la philosophie*, 5th edition (1947), 644, quoted by E. R. Dodds, *Pagan and Christian in an age of anxiety*, 1965, 70.
4 Leff, *Heresy*, 280; Vandenbroucke, *La Spiritualité*, 460–61.
5 Leclercq and Vandenbroucke in *La Spiritialité*, 161–447.

he was particularly keen to guard mysticism against identification with peculiar and sometimes pathological states. Here we can see the influence of the psychology of his day; he wished to establish the healthiness, normality and soundness of mysticism.[1] For this reason he took pains to try and draw a line between where, say, the ascetic practices recommended by Tauler seemed wholesome and where they reflected something disordered in his personality.[2] And he sought to test the value of the experience which an individual claimed to have had by the effects it had on his personality and behaviour.[3] This approach led him to call St. Francis's experience of the stigmata "a point of weakness rather than a point of strength"; a remark which quite inadvertently gave deep offence.[4] It was partly because of this distrust of the abnormal that Rufus Jones came to deplore those mystical writers who placed ecstasy at the summit of the individual's search for God. Such an emphasis upon the loss of self-consciousness, which he derived quite rightly from Neo-Platonism, seemed to him "an unfortunate and very costly contribution and quite foreign to the mysticism of the New Testament".[5] Yet it should be realized that this strand in Western, and Eastern, Christian mysticism is a very strong one, so much so that some writers about mysticism would restrict the use of the term to views which do lead the individual upwards to a loss of individuality and a feeling of union with something other.[6]

But if we return to Rufus Jones' definition again we also find that he never succeeded in differentiating the experience he described from what might be called the religious experience of the normal believer, or from the experience of the prophet.[7] Far be it from me, a mere historian, to attempt to draw these lines, but it seems to me that the current Quaker discussion on prophetism and mysticism needs to explore this ground much more closely than it has done so far. For my own part, I am impressed by the way that continental scholars have transcended this difficulty by

1 *Studies*, xvii–xviii, xxvii–xxix.
2 *Studies*, 284, 290–91; cf. *Flowering*, 148.
3 *Studies*, xxx–xxxi.
4 *Ibid.*, 165; Vining, 127–28.
5 *Flowering*, 5–6.
6 Cf. David Knowles, *The English mystical tradition*, 1961, 1–20.
7 Dodds, *Pagan and Christian*, 70 note.

talking about the history of spirituality—an approach which enables the rather unusual reports of, say, Eckhart to be set against the evidence that survives of what the "ordinary man in the pew felt", if one may use a phrase anachronistic to the pre-pew era.[1] It is when this approach is used that it is possible to take account of the influence of habit, institutions and thought-systems on the way that individuals describe their experience. Rufus Jones, on the other hand, seems to have felt that there was a discontinuity between what happened inside a person, so to speak, and what happened to their bodies.

There are extremely subtle problems here but it seems to me that the whole experience of an individual needs taking seriously, and that we separate inward and outward at the cost of understanding less fully. May I illustrate this suggestion in four ways.

In the first place we have to recognize that the individual uses certain words to express certain experiences very largely because his nurture has accustomed him to do this. Home, school, work place, worshipping community, all contribute to this. Social groupings help to pattern our ways of thinking. It is unsafe, therefore, to isolate the individual from his society and to say, for example, that Augustine's doctrine of grace "is not the fruit of personal experience, it is rather a product of historical influence and of logic".[2]

Secondly, it seems to me unwise to draw a firm line between the institutional forms of corporate religious life and the religious experience of individuals, or of groups belonging to those bodies. No corporate, continuous body can exist without organization, and the forms this takes influence the experience of individuals. In his own life Rufus Jones acted on this understanding: he worked, no one harder, for the drawing together of the pieces of American Quakerism, sundered by theological discord in the nineteenth century. First he played a large part in the foundation of the Five Years Meeting and then of the American Friends Service Committee. But if he saw the need for a united discipline, a form of life and organization for American Quakerism, in

[1] The oft-cited book by Leclercq, Vandenbroucke and Bouyer is a good example of this approach. R. W. Southern's *Western society* also shows what happens if an individual's insights are put in their setting, e.g. St. Francis, 281–83.

[2] *Studies*, 96.

his historical work again and again he deplored the development of organization. Of the Early Church contrasted with the Church of the sub-apostolic age he wrote that "It was a spiritual fellowship . . . an organic body held together by a common experience and by internal forces of life. It was guided by gifted persons rather than by technical officials"; whereas of the Church in the time of Gregory VII he said that it had substituted "external systems and practices for inward and living experience".[1] I do not think it unfair to comment that as a member of a relatively small religious body within whose supporting institutions most of his early life occurred, he was not well equipped by experience to appreciate the problems of scale involved in organizing the church in either the second, or eleventh centuries.[2] A hostile world, strong alien ideas, poor communications (compared with nowadays), a low level of literacy and fairly few books, all presented the earlier Christians with very real problems, totally unlike those of New England in the 1900s. Europe around 1100 did not have many familiar landmarks either.

In the third place, I do not think we can delimit the external acts in which worship is expressed from the inward effects they may have on individuals. Just as the form of a Quaker meeting for worship is a part of the whole spirituality of Quakerism, it embodies beliefs about reality and affects our reaction to experience, so sacramental worship expresses beliefs and shapes the experience of those who share it.[3] It was unawareness of this which led Rufus Jones to a curious comment on the *Imitation of Christ*, which he said "took men away from creeds and systems to the eternal idea of Christianity, . . . [ministering] to an inward, first-hand spiritual life".[4]

[1] *New Studies*, 139; *Church's debt*, 184.

[2] The discussion about the earlier problem in *Studies*, 28–9 is notably inadequate.

[3] A sensitive discussion of how the design of church buildings reflects changing beliefs about the presence of saints and the eucharist is C. N. L. Brooke's "Religious sentiment and church design in the later middle ages", *Medieval church and society*, 1971, 162–82. A Quaker parallel exists in the way that the design of meeting houses reflects changing ideas about ministry and the position of recorded ministers and elders.

[4] *Studies*, 323. In *Flowering*, 238–44, Rufus Jones accepted the then prevalent view that a large part of the *Imitation* was by Gerard Groote. The traditional view has been re-established by the discovery of the autograph manuscript; L. M. J. Delaissé, *Le Manuscrit autographe de Thomas à Kempis*, 2 vols., 1956. See also J. Huijben and P. Debongnie, *L'Auteur ou les auteurs de "L'Imitation"*, 1957.

One who turns from this to Thomas à Kempis' book will be surprised to find the large amount of space devoted to the eucharist.[1]

Lastly, I doubt whether it is possible to draw a frontier between thinking about experience and experience itself, or in religious terms, between theology and disclosure or revelation. We may regret the influence of certain types of thought, but talking about God, theology, and talking with Him are not completely separable activities. It is, I think, futile therefore to say that the Logos idea "carried along with it a separation between scholars and lay-Christians, logic-men and plain disciples",[2] since over the centuries the words used by even the plainest men in prayer or worship have sometimes, at not many removes, reflected theologians' formulae.[3]

Rufus Jones worked as a historian of medieval mysticism and heresy somewhat apart and his work inevitably appears now to be very much the product of his age and upbringing.[4] But if I have, inevitably in an address to this association, spoken so far *more historico*, as an historian, this does not mean that I do not value, and to my lesser capacity share in, his major concern, that men and women should seek a more vital, transforming knowledge of God. I am sure this is a living task, to which Rufus Jones made in his day an enormous contribution—so many lives were deepened by him—yet now we need a wider understanding of those forces and institutions which mould experience if we are to pursue it.

CHRISTOPHER J. HOLDSWORTH

[1] i.e. the whole of the fourth and last part.

[2] *Church's debt*, 67.

[3] This could be illustrated by the absorption of, for example, poems like *Jesu Dulcis Memoria* by an anonymous XII c. Cistercian into the prayer-life of Europe: cf. A. Wilmart, *Le "Jubilus" dit de Saint Bernard*, 1944.

[4] It is significant that no reviews of his major works in the field being considered appeared in the American periodicals *Speculum* and *Traditio* devoted to the period, nor in the *American historical review*, the *Journal of theological studies*, nor major historical journals on this side of the Atlantic.

Martha Simmonds, a Quaker Enigma

ONE of the more mysterious figures among early Friends is Martha Simmonds, who was active in English Quakerism from 1654 to 1665. Although she is a very intriguing sort of person, no one ever seems to have made a study of Martha herself. Interest in her has centred on her connection with James Nayler's entrance into Bristol. After crossing her trail several times while examining the Nayler episode and also in connection with a study of prophetic "signs", I came to feel that some effort to picture her more fully should be made—so that she might begin to emerge more fully as a person in her own right.

Martha was born in 1623/1624[1] in the Parish of Meare in Somerset, the only daughter and last child of George and Elisi [Elisabeth] Calvert. She had several older brothers, Giles (1612–1663), George (1617–1618), and a second George (born 1619). Giles Calvert eventually became one of the chief printers for early Quakerism and even published several of Martha's works.[2] Martha Calvert married Thomas Simmonds, who, interestingly, also became a prolific printer of Quaker books[3]. There were some children of this union, but their names are not now known.

Martha Simmonds appears to have spent most of her adult life in religious search. In *A Lamentation for the Lost Sheep of the House of Israel* (1655, 1656), published for her by her brother Giles Calvert within two years of the time she embraced Quakerism, she leaves a brief account of her fourteen year struggle or pilgrimage:

[1] These dates are taken from the registers of the parish of Meare, Glastonbury, Somerset (where they are actually the dates of baptism, which usually came several days after the birth of the child). Martha's baptism was performed on January 28, 1623 [O.S.].

[2] Altha E. Terry, "Giles Calvert, mid-seventeenth century English bookseller and publisher: an account of his publishing career, with a check-list of his imprints" (MS thesis in Library Science, Columbia University, 1937). See *J.F.H.S.*, xxxv (1938), 45–49 for a summary of this thesis, under the title "Giles Calvert's Publishing Career".

[3] R. S. Mortimer, "First century of Quaker printers", *J.F.H.S.*, xl (1948), 37–49, especially pp. 43–44.

> Having had a Habitation in this City of London sometime, for seven yeers together I wandered up and down the Streets, inquiring of those that had the Image of Honesty in their countenance, where I might finde an honest Minister; for I saw my soul in death, and I was in the first nature; and wandering from one idols Temple to another, and from one private Meeting to another, I heard a sound of words amongst them, but no substance I could finde; and the more I sought after them, the more trouble came on me; and finding none sensible of my condition, I kept it in, and kept all close within me; and about the end of seven yeers, hunting, and finding no rest, the Lord opened a little glimmerings of Light to me, and quieted my spirit; and then for about seven yeers more he kept me still from running after men, and all this time I durst not meddle with any thing of God, nor scarce take his Name in my mouth, because I knew him not, it living wilde and wanton, not knowing a cross to my will, I spent this time; it something I found breathing in me, groaning for deliverance, crying out, *Oh! when shall I see the day of thy appearance?* About the end of the last seven yeers, the Lord opened my eyes to see a Measure of himself in me, which when I saw, I waited diligently in it, and being faithfull to it, I found this Light more and more increase, which brought me into a day of trouble, and through it; and through a warefare, and to the end of it, and now hath given me a resting place with him; and this is my beloved, and this is my friend, O daughters of Jerusalem. And now all that have a desire to come this way, must lay down your Crowns at the feet of Jesus, for now a profession of words will no longer cover, for the Lord is come to look for Fruit, all types and shadows is flying away, and he that will come in may inherit Substance, and he that will not shall be left naked.[1]

Martha Simmonds lived in an age of great religious excitement and expectations. A large number of powerful preachers had appeared among the Puritans of seventeenth century England. Many people believed that they were living in the "last days" when the "pouring out of the Spirit" would occur once more, just as it had in the apostolic age long before. Radical Puritans, caught up in the apocalyptic expectations which marked much of the religious life and outlook of the time, believed they were about to enter the "New Age". Geoffrey Nuttall has written that

> Accompanying this dynamic principle of pressing on, through and beyond all outward and imprisoning forms, to attain to the full

[1] Martha Simmonds, *A lamentation for the lost sheep of the House of Israel* (London, 1656), pp. 4–5; an earlier edition was printed in 1655, in which see pp. 5–6.

liberty of the Holy Spirit, was a powerful eschatological consciousness. Religious enthusiasm, working over the prophecies in Daniel and Revelation, and conscious of contemporary religious revival, has issued in eschatological convictions at other periods also. Puritan eschatology combined such convictions with the further belief, based on the tone of references to the Holy Spirit such as they found in Joel, Acts and Paul's Epistles, that the last age had come, or was at hand, for the reason that it was "the age of the Spirit". Precisely when the age was to be was a subject admitting difference of opinion, but it would not be long delayed.[1]

It is quite clear that, at their beginning, Friends shared the apocalyptic expectations and beliefs of the radical Puritans. If anything, these were heightened among the Quakers of the 1650s as a result of the great burst of religious energy and the groundswell of revelation which came with the religious pilgrimage, discoveries, and proclamations of George Fox.

Going hand in hand with the apocalyptic concepts and expectations of the early Quakers was their belief that prophecy had reappeared in their day. George Fox was very much a prophet or "spokesman for God", having become aware—out of his own religious experience—of God's purpose for and message to all men. Fox and other early Quakers caught up in the itinerant preaching mission must have sensed how much they had in common with the Old Testament prophets (and also the apostles in the early Church).[2] Truly prophecy had resumed once more.

Only with some knowledge of these developments does the strange career of Martha Simmonds make any sense. Also, her shortcomings and failures become more understandable, even though they remain indefensible for the most part. Her own intense religious search and pilgrimage, the apocalyptic expectations of seventeenth century Puritan England, and the nature of the new Quaker movement to which she was drawn, all combined to make her what she was—and what, in an unstable moment in her life, she became.

Martha Simmonds must have been one of the many early converts to Quakerism that London produced in 1654.[3] By

[1] G. F. Nuttall, *The Holy Spirit in Puritan faith and experience* (Oxford, 1946), pp. 108–109. Cf. pp. 28ff.

[2] Recently I have completed a monograph "Early Quakers and the Spirit of Prophecy" which deals at length with these points.

[3] William C. Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism*, second edition with notes by Henry J. Cadbury (Cambridge, 1955), pp. 157ff.

1655 she had been called to the ministry and begun her travels in religious service. James Parnell, the early Quaker martyr, wrote to William Dewsbury on December 16 of that year, saying:

> Our tender sister Martha Simmondes is heare in Bondes in the Towne prison; she was put in the last evening for speakeing to a priest; she hath beene in twice before this within a weeke but they had not power to keepe her in & I believe now they will be Tormented. The Lord hath shown his power much by her since she came here, she is A faythful heart in her measure.[1]

This passage by Parnell shows his appreciation of Martha Simmonds' work and her person, both referring to her as "our tender sister" and mentioning that "the Lord hath shown his power much by her" since she had arrived at Colchester. Parnell then continued with the very interesting information that Martha "was moved to walke in sack cloth barefoote with her hayre sprred & ashes upon her head, in the Towne, in the frosty weather, to the astonishment of many".[2]

Martha Simmonds was not the first Quaker to appear in sackcloth and ashes, nor was she to be the last. As early as May 1655 Sarah Goldsmith had appeared in this manner "as a sign" to the people of Bristol.[3] Richard Sale (1655), Thomas Morford (1656), William Simpson and Dewance Morey (both "in Oliver's days") all engaged in this practice—as did Elizabeth Harris (in 1658), the "mother of American Quakerism".[4] Appearing in sackcloth was most frequent in the 1650s and 1660s, but isolated cases among Quakers continued for some time—with John Pemberton, well-known American Quaker, making such an appearance in Londonderry in Ireland as late as 1784.[5]

Undoubtedly the practice of wearing sackcloth arose

[1] H. J. Cadbury (ed.), *Letters to William Dewsbury and Others* (London, 1948), p. 41. This monograph was published as *Jnl. F.H.S.* Supplement 22.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 41.

[3] Richard Blome, *The Fanatick History, or An exact relation and account of the old Anabaptists and new Quakers* (London, 1660), p. 221 (wrongly dated 1654); Besse, *Sufferings*, i.41; Geo. Bishop and others, *Cry of Blood*, 1656, pp. 98–100.

[4] K. L. Carroll, "Elizabeth Harris, the founder of American Quakerism", *Quaker History*, lvii (1968), 96–111. These other cases are dealt with in Chapter V of my monograph "Early Quakers and the Spirit of Prophecy".

[5] "Occurrences for the Progress of Truth", *J.F.H.S.*, ii (1905), 135.

among early Quakers in part as a result of their study of the Old Testament prophets—especially the messages of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Jonah.[1] The major impulse for this action, however, must have come from the Revelation of John, which so greatly influenced both radical Puritanism and Quakerism. Revelation 11:3 promises "And I have two witnesses, whom I shall appoint to prophesy, dressed in sackcloth". Early Quaker belief that prophecy had resumed, coupled with their apocalyptic hopes, made this passage a "natural" for them.

It was Martha's call to a prophetic ministry that led to her early travels in the service of Truth. Exactly where she travelled, other than Colchester, is unknown. She must have been in that city a number of times. Besse speaks of a four months' imprisonment which she experienced in 1656 or 1657 in Essex[2] and Penney notes an incarceration in the "Moot Hall" at Colchester in 1657.[3] Yet Martha Simmonds' travels were much more widespread than these two reports suggest, for in a 1656 publication she says

> O England! thou hast not wanted for Warnings; my soul stands witness in the presence of the Lord against thee, that in thy Cities, Townes, and Market-Streets, I have past with bitter cryes and streams of tears for almost two yeers time, warning you of this day that is coming upon you as a Snare, with this Lamentation, O people of England repent! O that thou wouldest consider the time of thy visitation! O that thou wouldest prise thy time before the dore of Mercy is shut! . . .
>
> This mournful cry began at London, so to Colchester, and through the Nation.[4]

Martha's call to repentance was directed, first of all, to the nation as a whole.[5] She called upon the entire people to

> see him who is the Rock of Ages to be thy Rock and strong defence; and then shouldst thou see a war begin contrary to thy

[1] Cf. Isaiah 3:24; 15:3; 20:3; 22:12; 37:1–2; 50:3; Jeremiah 4:8; 6:26; 48:37; 49:3; Ezekiel 7:18; 27:31; Jonah 3:5–6, 8.

[2] Joseph Besse, *Sufferings* (London, 1753), i, 192. The date seems a bit uncertain.

[3] Norman Penney (ed.), *The First Publishers of Truth* (London, 1907), p. 97.

[4] Martha Simmonds (*et al.*), *O England; thy time is come* (London, 1656), pp. 1–2. Thus she had already been in Colchester at least once in 1655–1656.

[5] Simmonds, *A lamentation for the lost sheep of the House of Israel*, 1656, p. 1.

> will, and him that brings into the war, and carries through; and then there would be nothing to do on thy part, but to stand still; and keep thy minds in, girt up to him that works; and then thou wilt come to see what it is to follow the Lamb through Tribulation.[1]

She also directed some of her message to the "High Priests of this Nation, and Teachers of all sorts of opinions", telling them that they should

> be content with that you have, and let the people alone to the measure of God in them, that it may guide them into the way that they may finde bread for their souls; and seeing that you will not enter yourselves, do not shut the kingdom against them, in laying stumbling blocks before them, and raising up false accusations against the Light, and those that walk in it.[2]

Her final appeal is to the sober and religious in all of England, challenging them to accept the Quaker message—for the Kingdom of God was at hand:

> And now all people that hath sobriety, and love to your souls, come out from amongst these doll dumb Shepherds, that feed themselves, and not you, and if you put not into their mouths, they will soon shew violence to you: Come out from among them, and be no longer partaker of their uncleanness, for they are broken Cisterns, that can no longer hold water; and come into the Fountain that runs forth freely, the streams whereof would refresh your hungry fainting souls; In my Fathers' house there is bread enough: Oh! why will you perish for hunger? minde the Light, the measure of Christ in you, that with it you may see where you are, that you may see his eternal love, how he calls and invites you into the kingdome, that he may take off your filthy garments, that he may clothe you with the garment of Righteousness, and marry you unto himself; And now the day of his mighty power is appeared, and the Fountain of Life set open, to wash and clense you from your sins, and baptize you into his death and sufferings: Oh be not stubborn and stiffnecked against him! for we that do follow him do finde his pathes pleasant, pure and sweet; and the further we follow him in the straight Gate, and narrow Way, we see that his love is past finding out. And now in the tenderness of my heart, longing for your souls good, am I made open to you.[3]

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 2.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 2–3.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 4. Cf. Martha Simmonds, ***When the Lord Jesus came to Jerusalem***, printed as a separate broadside (n.d.) and as pp. 5–6, at the end of *A **lamentation for the lost sheep** of the House of Israel.*

Early Quakers, much like the radical Puritans, believed very strongly in the indwelling of the Spirit. The Quaker adaptation and interpretation of the Puritan concept of the indwelling of the Spirit was accompanied by a great danger—so that even Fox himself was charged with "professing himself to be equal with God, to be the eternal judge of the world and to be the Christ, the Way, the Truth and the Life". Braithwaite, while discussing this situation, writes

> Fox replies to the more serious charges, as he had done at the quarter sessions, by denying that he had ever made such statements in the sense that George Fox was equal with God or that George Fox was Christ, but he insists that the new life, the spiritual man, is the Lord from heaven and that Christ is one in all His saints. Fox's words, even in this answer, are open to misconstruction . . . Fox, and others of the early Friends, had a vivid sense of personal union with their living Lord, but they coupled this experience of the indwelling Christ with a doctrine of perfection that betrayed them, during the first exhilaration of the experience, into extremes of identification with the Divine. They believed that inspiration gave infallibility, a belief that men have often held with respect to the writers of scripture, and they had to learn, with the help of some painful lessons, what we are learning to-day about the writers of scripture, that the inspired servant of God remains a man, liable to much of human error and weakness.[1]

Martha Simmonds strongly embraced this view of the indwelling of the Spirit. Undoubtedly this was one of the several factors which led to the Nayler episode at Bristol. Perhaps the clearest expression of her attitude on this subject is seen in the following passage from one of her early writings:

> Why should it seem a strange thing to you to see Christ reigne in his Saints and fit and prepare the Vessels, make our bodies fit for himself to dwell in, seeing our hearts are ready to bow to his Will? And is it not more for his glory, though it be a greater cross to your wills, to purifie these bodies, and pour out the dregs thereof, then to bring down that body which was crucified at Jerusalem, seeing all are in his power and one Spirit rules in both, by much tribulation, anguish of Spirit, and sufferings of the flesh, hath he now fitted a bodie for himself, who hath conquered death and hell, so perfect is he that he can lay down his life for his enemies, not opening his mouth to defend himself, this Vessel is as precious to me as that which was tortured at Jerusalem, seeing

[1] Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, p. 109.

> the Father hath prepared them both, and the same Graces springs from both according to its time of working, which now is finisht in sufferings.[1]

One or two other factors should be mentioned, in order to set the stage for the Bristol "caper". It should be noted that by 1656 Martha Simmonds had developed a deep feeling for James Nayler, although her convincement must have come at the hands of Edward Burrough, Francis Howgill, or some of the other 1654 leaders who were at work in London.[2] Nayler himself did not arrive in London until 1655. Soon, however, he achieved great success, moving in high circles and becoming the chief Quaker minister or Publisher of Truth in London—in part as a result of the departure of Howgill and Burrough for Ireland and also as a result of his tremendous gifts. Overworked and increasingly "ensnared by trifles, vanities, and persons," however, he began to be drawn away from the Light and into darkness.[3]

Martha Simmonds herself appears to have been strongly caught up in apocalyptic expectations in the summer of 1656, at a time when Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men were proclaiming that "this very year Christ should come and reign upon earth a thousand years".[4] This undoubtedly combined with her own strength of personality and Nayler's growing weakness to give her an increasing influence with and power over him. In addition to these factors there was also that strange development whereby Martha increasingly became the leader of a small but vocal group of women who so troubled London Quakerism in 1656 and 1657. Their primary interest appears to have been in insisting that Nayler was the chief leader of Quakerism—in the South (if not in all of England).

With the return of Howgill and Burrough to London in the spring of 1656 growing signs of trouble began to appear. Martha Simmonds, having become more caught up in enthusiasm, undertook some religious work outside London (after having been "denied" for some of her earlier appearances in the ministry in London). Her excesses and refusal

[1] Simmonds, *O England; thy time is come*, p. 5.

[2] Cf. Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, pp. 155–164, for this development.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 243–244.

[4] George Fox, *Journal*, ed. Nickalls (Cambridge, 1952), p. 261.

to heed the advice of Friends to refrain from such work brought her under condemnation by Howgill, Burrough and others. Martha then appealed to James Nayler for "justice" but was, for the moment, rebuffed. Her violent response to Nayler's "judgment" appears to have sent him into a state of shock—and also to have exhilarated Martha Simmonds:

> then I was moved of the Lord to go to James Nailer, and tell him I wanted Justice, and he being harsh to me, at length these words came to me to speak to him, which I did, and struck him down; *How are the mighty men falen, I came to Jerusalem and behold a cry, and behold an oppression,* which pierced *and struck him down* with tears from that day; and he lay from that day in exceeding sorrow for about three daies, and all that while *the power arose in me,* which I did not expect; seeing I knew he was in that condition: But after three daies he came to me, and confessed *I had been clear in service to the Lord,* and that he had wronged me, and should have done Justice, but did not do it. And then he lay at my house three daies.[1]

Richard Hubberthorne, one of the better known early Quaker leaders, was in London at this time. Not having been involved in the controversies up to this point, he felt free to go to see Martha Simmonds. On July 26, 1656, he sent the following report to Margaret Fell:

> I went to Martha Simonds, which was ye woman that F[rancis] H[owgill] mentioned in his letter, And I asked her the ground of those things which had made the differences, . . . and she being constrained as to tell mee, haveing nothing in her mind against mee as Against others she told me some thing plainly how shee came under judgment; she being at one time in A meeting, she spoke and was judged by F. H. to speak in her will and she being troubled in her mind went to James [Nayler] & told him that she was moved to speake and then was judged & he alsoe judged her, And told her that she sought to have the dominion & charged her to goe home & follow her calling, & that with the other things wrought in her mind: And the other woman, Hanah Stringer she alsoe went to James, and said that he had judged the Innocent, and not judged righteously, and something to that effect did she & Martha speake to him, which word he received to be the word of the Lord, and coming under the power of their words, Judgement came upon him, and ——— [?] trembling night and day, while he was in London, for some nights lyeing upon A table, And then ther reignes & deceipts got up especially in Martha to glory and boast over all, And now an exceeding filthy spirit is

[1] Ralph Farmer, *Sathan Inthron'd in his Chair of Pestilence.* (London, 1657), pp. 10–11.

> got up in her, more filthy than any that yet departed out of the truth, And with it Labours to break and destroy the meetings if it were possible. When I spoke to her and told her how the deceipt entered she could not beare it.[1]

Hubberthorne then reported that he had been at a "great meeting of Friends" to which Martha Simmonds had come. Her behaviour there shows how unbalanced she had become —earning a place with the worst of the Ranters, such as Mildred and Judy:

> And when we had waited in silence A while, she stood up & spoke, judgeing all Friends that they were not come to the crosse, nor that there was not one to take her part, And would have drawne them from the meeting & to have withdrawn [?] with her, and have kept their own habitations, & then shee fell on singing, with an unclean spirit. And the substance of that which she said in her singing was, Inocency, innocency, many times over, for the space of one hour or more, but in the power of the Lord I was moved to speake soon after she begun, And with many teares was I in the eternal power made to reap [?] the witnesse of god to bring that under the fear & dread of god, which she would have raised into righteousness, and she Continued singing but when the witness of god was raised And the many hearts was broken into tears with the eternal power, then the word of life in others rose against her, and when she saw the power of god arissing against her, and reigne over her in those that were ready to be stumbled by her before then, she was tormented against mee, and Cryed of deep subtilty, for A long time together turning it into A song, And that wee were all the beast, and I [was] the head of the beast, but the day was a day to the Lord, that the life of god in many was raised from under a thick cloud which was come over and it was A day of washing of the garments of many that were spotted and stained through offence but the Lord God is Ariseing to his eternaly glory, and is bringing his Image and brightnesse from under a cloud, and chaining the dragon.[2]

Not only was Martha Simmonds opposed publicly (as by Burrough and Hubberthorne in the cases already mentioned) but she was also condemned by letters which were delivered to her. Edward Burrough, in late May or at the very beginning of June it would seem, wrote to her as follows:

> This is the truth from the Lord God concerning thee Martha Simons: thou and [those] whoe followes thy spirit; you are out of the truth, out of the way, out of the power, out of the wisdom,

[1] Friends House Library, London, Caton MSS, III, 364–365.
[2] *Ibid.*, III, 366–367.

> & out of the Life of God; For you are Turned from the Light of Christ Jesus . . . & doth disobey it, & Lend your eare to another, & followe a Lying spirit . . . It is not the spirit of god, But the voice of the stranger which you follow; And are become Goats, rough & hairey . . . though some of you have prophesied in the name of Christ yet now are you workers of iniquity.[1]

William Dewsbury, apparently about the same time, joined in the attacks on Martha Simmonds, writing

> Martha Simons, thou hast departed from the Counsell of God, & in the evil imaginations of thy heart, thou is run forth to utter wordes without knowledge (whoe saith) thou dost not trouble Israell; the righteous seed is burthened with thee, who hath in thy deceitful practice opened the mouth of the Enemies of god to blaspheme his name, & through thy sorcery, hath abused the simplicity, which to thy charge will be laid, in the day when the Lord will be glorified.[2]

Having made such a strong criticism of her activities, Dewsbury then proceeded by calling upon Martha Simmonds to return to the counsel of God.

As has already been noted, James Nayler was "pierced" by Martha's sharp attack on him, for

> it smote him down into so much Sorrow and Sadness, that he was much dejected in Spirit or disconsolate. Fears and Doubting then entered him, that he came to be clouded in his Understanding, bewildred, and at a Loss in his Judgment.[3]

Somehow Nayler allowed himself to be persuaded to go to the Simmonds' house, where he spent three days—during which time his condition went from bad to worse. His own account of this development, produced some time later, tells us that

> Thus having in a great Measure lost my own Guide, and Darknes being come upon me, I sought a Place where I might have been alone, to weep and cry before the Lord, that his Face I might

[1] Friends House Library, Markey MSS, pp. 120–122. This letter caused Martha to be quiet for a brief period. For some unknown reason she read the letter publicly in a meeting. Cf. Cadbury, *Letters to William Dewsbury*, p. 24, for a June 4, 1656, letter.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 123.

[3] Introduction to Nayler's *Works*, p. ix, quoted by Mabel Richmond Brailsford, *A Quaker from Cromwell's Army: James Nayler* (London, 1927), p. 98.

> find, and my Condition recover: . . . I could not be hid . . . And so letting go that little of the true Light which I had yet remaining in myself, I gave up myself wholly to be led by others, whose work was then wholly to divide me from the Children of Light.[1]

This picture really contradicts Martha's claim that Nayler had sought her out and confessed that he had been wrong in his judgment of her, saying that she had been correct in her disruption of meetings for worship and in her other actions.[2]

Some of Nayler's friends were worried by the great change which came about both in his appearance and outlook—so much so that they came and "plucked" him away from Martha's house and captivity.[3] Many of them felt that she had bewitched Nayler, for they could account for the changes in him in no other way. In order to rescue him from Martha's power, his friends then sent him on to Bristol, so that he might participate in some religious service there at the time of St. James's Fair (July 25).

Not even in Bristol was the ailing Nayler safe from Martha Simmonds, for she followed him there in order to bring him under her control once more and also to keep the opposing group from influencing him against her. Upon her arrival Martha rushed up to Nayler and knelt at his feet. Nayler himself remained "silent and apathetic, but the sweat began to trickle down his forehead."[4] Nayler's friends quickly led him—without any resistance—into a neighbouring house. When Martha attempted to follow she was forcibly restrained. In her attempt to break loose and follow Nayler she fell or was flung down the steps.[5] Seeing that Nayler would receive no privacy in Bristol, his friends sent him on toward Launceston (where George Fox was imprisoned). Martha, temporarily giving up the contest, returned to London for the moment.

Within three miles of Launceston, Nayler and his companions were arrested and then taken to Exeter as prisoners. In the course of this imprisonment Nayler fasted a great deal.

[1] Nayler's *Works*, p. xlii, quoted in Brailsford, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

[2] Cf. R. Farmer, *Sathan Inthron'd*, pp. 10-11.

[3] Farmer, *op. cit.*, p. 11. Note how Dewsbury's letter quoted above spoke of her "sorcery".

[4] E. Fogelklou, *James Nayler*, (London, 1931), p. 155.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 155. Cf. Farmer, *op. cit.*, p. 11 (where Martha claims to have been thrown down the stairs) and George Bishop, *The Throne of Truth exalted* (London, 1657), p. 29, where Bishop denies that charge.

Fogelklou describes him as "ravaged by mental distress, bad air, fastings, probably also by fever".[1] During this time Martha Simmonds had been nursing the wife of Major-General Desborough (who was also the sister of Oliver Cromwell). Her only request, in return for the day-and-night nursing which she performed, was that an order be granted for the release of James Nayler. Such an order, signed by Cromwell himself, was eventually forthcoming.[2]

Martha Simmonds, accompanied by her crony Hannah Stranger, made her way rapidly to Launceston where she suddenly appeared before George Fox in his lonely dungeon abode—calling upon him to submit to James Nayler and telling him that his heart was rotten and his leadership was false. Fox, believing that Martha had come from Nayler, wrote to James Nayler as follows:

> Martha Symonds which is called your Mother, she bid me bow downe, & said I was Lord & king, & that my Heart was rotten, & shee said, shee denyed that which was Head in me, & one of them said, she had stopped Francis Howgills Mouth, & silenced him, & turned my word into a lye & into a Temptation, & she came singing in my Face, inventing words, & Hannah boasted, & said, if they was Devills make them to tremble, & she boasted what she would do & cry against. Many did not expect that thou wouldst have been an Incourager of such as doe cry against the power & Life of Truth, but would have been a nourisher of Truth, & not have trained up a company against it.[3]

From her confrontation with George Fox at Launceston, Martha Simmonds hurried immediately to Exeter where Nayler was in prison. Nayler himself had seemed to become more tender towards Friends until Martha Simmonds appeared there. Richard Hubberthorne, September 16, wrote to Margaret Fell:

> but there came Martha Simmonds when I was there & when at any time wee are together shee would have caled him away & he was so much subject to her; she remains in her filthiness still; she had then been at GF & begun to singe before him at Launceston & he judged her uncleane spirit but shee exalted herselfe & Judged him as shee had Judged me & worsse, & said he must come downe out of his wissdome & subtilty & much of that nature

[1] Fogelklou, *op. cit.*, p. 159.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 159.
[3] Swarthmore MSS, III, 193 (Transcripts II, 233).

> & did appeare so Impodent that had not the wissdome of god prevented it would have set the rude multitude against them but at last she was brought downe to confess & to owne her condemnation in words & from there she came to Exeter wheare I was as I said before.[1]

Martha Simmonds, according to Fogelklou, had "come into Nayler's life like a whirlwind, and like a whirlwind she was to cause havoc."[2] She did all she could to widen the gulf between the two—even persuading Nayler, it seems, that Fox wanted "to bury his name in order to exalt his own".[3] Fox, stung to the quick by Martha's actions at Launceston and by the reports coming to him from Exeter, made his way there to see Nayler as soon as Fox was released from his own imprisonment. His meeting with Nayler was tragic, only serving to make a bad situation so much worse that it has been described as a "terrible nightmare".[4] The once close relationship between the two had so ruptured that Fox condemned both Nayler and his followers:

> James! Thou hadest Judged & writtine thy secrite & falce Letters against him thou shouldest not, thou shouldest not deale soe presumptuously against the innocent . . . Justice is sett A top of you all and this thou must read & owne . . . And James it will be harder for thee to gett downe thy Rude Company than it was for thee to set them up (if ever thou Come to know & owne Christ) whose Impudence doth spoart & blaspheeme the truth . . . Martha Simonds & stringer [Stranger] and his wiffe is denyed for there lyes & slanders & so Judged out with the truth.[5]

For some time following Fox's visit with Nayler, the latter remained in prison at Exeter—probably not receiving his freedom until about October 20, 1656.[6] Martha Simmonds and the Strangers had remained in Exeter after Martha's husband Thomas had returned to London (following the delivery of the order of release).[7] Nayler, Martha, the Strangers, and several other disciples set out for London via Bristol, which they reached on October 24. Here, filled with some sort of apocalyptic expectation, the group—under the

1 *Ibid.*, III, 153 (Transcripts II, 597).
2 Fogelklou, *op. cit.*, p. 161.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 161.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 170. Cf. Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, pp. 247–248.
5 Swarthmore MSS, III, 195 (Transcripts II, 231).
6 Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, p. 248.
7 Farmer, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

guidance and control of Martha Simmonds[1] it would seem—enacted a "sign",[2] with James Nayler as the central figure making his "messianic" entrance into Bristol.

The story of Nayler's "entrance" and/or "fall" has been told many times,[3] so that there is no need to retell it here. Only Martha Simmonds' part in this episode needs examination. Martha and her friend Hannah Stranger walked beside Nayler's horse, holding its reins and leading it. Martha (accompanied by her companions) sang "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Israel," spread her clothes before him, and knelt down before him.[4] Nayler, who had been absorbed in thought or perhaps in a vague stupor, snapped out of that state long enough to ask them not to do anything which the Lord had not prompted them to do.

That Martha was the engineer of the whole episode appears very likely. Her almost hypnotic influence on Nayler and the apocalyptic expectations with which she and her small circle were filled during that summer and autumn of 1656 made it possible for her to use Nayler as a "sign" of Christ's coming. While Nayler himself always insisted that he had never claimed to be Christ but was only acting out a "sign",[5] Martha and her small band of fanatical women (especially Hannah Stranger and Dorcas Erbury) and men were convinced that he was "Jesus himself come again in the flesh". They had begun with their belief that God was present in every man, believing that "a double portion of that Spirit" was in Nayler. During the time of his Exeter imprisonment one of Nayler's fellow Quaker captives (Dorcas Erbury) fell into such a lasting coma that she was believed to be dead. When Nayler was called to see the "dead" girl he put his hands upon her, at which point she revived and began to talk. This "miracle" convinced some of Nayler's followers that he was truly Christ.[6]

[1] Martha appears to have been the ringleader and Nayler the somewhat confused "dupe". Martha, it will be remembered, believed in "signs", appearing in sackcloth, and speaking in favour of going naked.

[2] Cf. my monograph "Early Quakers and the Spirit of Prophecy", especially chs. IV–VII, concerning early Quaker use of "signs".

[3] Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, pp. 244–273; Brailsford, *op. cit.*, pp. 93–123; Fogelklou, *op. cit.*, pp. 143–188, all have good discussions of this development.

[4] Farmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 15–16.

[5] Cf. Carroll, "Early Quakers and the Spirit of Prophecy", ch. VIII.

[6] Brailsford, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

Martha Simmonds herself called Nayler "the everlasting sone of Righteousness", the "Lord of Righteousnesse and prince of peace," and "King of Israel"—saying that he had been so anointed by a prophet (whom she refused to identify). She said that "there is a seed borne in him which I shall honour above all men".[1] Such views as these, when coupled with what is known of her leadership of the strange group which surrounded Nayler, suggest that she was largely responsible for what took place at Bristol. This conjecture is strengthened by her husband's letter from London, condemning her for outrunning her true guide:

> Had you stood in the wisedome and counsell of the Lord, and there waited single to have been guided by him alone, then the Lord had brought you safe to this City [London], where he would have manifested his mighty power amongst us. Now this it was, and I know it so with you, you being all joyned in love, when you wait on the Lord, there is a great power amongst you, and then when any thing arises in any particular as to speak or Act which many times arises from the earthly dark principle, to this you all joyn although you see it not, neither the life of God which is in you, answers to it. And hence comes all your Cumber and Trumpery without; which my soul was grieved to see it, abundance more hath been acted amongst you since I came away, which the Lord delivered me from; whose presence I now feel, and he was with me in my journey & brought me in peace to this place, and warned me in the night at Exeter, not to return by Bristol, but to go the streight way to London, & M. S. as I was upon the way, I saw thee in the light, going before on the left hand, which was towards Bristoll, and my love was to thee, none else did I see, which made me think thou was coming along towards London; *surely thou was the chief leader in that action.* If there was such a glory amongst you; why were you not silent, and have let the people cry Hosanna. Oh how is dark night come upon the Prophets, and those who once were honourable and glorious, are now falen, because they were in prosperity and the Lord honoured them, they forgot the Lord; therefore hath he darkened their understanding, and given them up to believe lies, . . . Dear heart my love is to thee, . . . but this I could not but write, to warn you that you stand single to the Lord, and not believe every spirit. Your work is soon come to an end; part of the Army that fell at Burford was your figure.[2]

[1] Farmer, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 20–21. This letter, from London, was dated November 1, 1656. Italics added. It would be both interesting and helpful if more could be learned about the "prophetic immaginations" that Martha and her friends were caught up in. Did Martha Simmonds belong to a "band" of prophets?

For her part in this episode Martha—along with Nayler and the other participants—was imprisoned at Bristol on that very day of their "sign". After some examination by the Bristol magistrates (who were at a loss to know just what to do) Martha Simmonds, Nayler, the Strangers, and Dorcas Erbury were all sent on to London where a committee of fifty-five members of Parliament was appointed to consider the Bristol "misdemeanors and blasphemies".[1] As they were brought toward London the whole company sang in most of the towns through which they passed.[2]

The same spirit which had led Martha and her compatriots into the Bristol extravagancies was still at work in London, so that Hubberthorne reported to Margaret Fell on November 25 that he had visited Nayler in London and discovered that

> the women are exceeding filthy in Acting in Imitations & singing, And that power of darkenesse in them rules over him as I wrote to thee at the first that it was come over him; many people come dayly to them, both of the world and also such as are Convinced, And wonders at the Imitation which is Acted Among them as often they will kneel before him &c. James speakes pretty much to Friends as in Justifieing all their Actings to be in Innocency.[3]

As a result of this type of behaviour poor Nayler was called upon to answer a "new charge touching some unseemly communications between him and Martha [Simmonds], his fellow prisoner. She stroked his head, and sat breast to breast, and desired him to go with her". Nayler, however, answered that he was not free to go.[4]

Nayler's punishment began on a cold December 18, when he was placed in the pillory for two hours. Then he was whipped on his naked back 310 times with a whip of seven cords full of knots. On December 27 Nayler was placed in the raised pillory beside the Old Exchange and a hole was bored in his tongue and he was branded with a hot iron on his forehead.[5] Present at this terrible spectacle were Martha Simmonds, Hannah Stranger, Dorcas Erbury and the "mad

1 Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, p. 255.
2 Swarthmore MSS, I, 294 (Transcripts III, 645).
3 Caton MSS, III, 370.
4 Thomas Burton, *Diary*, (London, 1828), p. 10.
5 Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, p. 266.

merchant" Robert Rich.[1] One report says that Martha sat just behind him on the right side and the others before him—one on the right side and one on the left "in imitation of Mary Magdalen and Mary the Mother of Jesus, and Mary the Mother of Cleophas".[2] Robert Rich, caught up in the mad imaginations of this small circle, put a sign saying "This is the King of the Jews" over Nayler's head.[3]

After a brief return to Bristol for further punishment there (by whipping and riding backwards through the city), Nayler was brought back to London once more and imprisoned in Bridewell. Martha and her circle still continued to seek him out for honour and attention. On February 10, 1657, Hubberthorne reported to Margaret Fell that Nayler was in Bridewell and that few were allowed to see him. He then added that

> then the women, when they will not let them in to him, they fall down & knealls before the wall, And they sometime Appointes meetings in the most publick places of the Citie as in the Exchange and at the places where J: N: suffered, And from the Exchange they sent some of them to prison at Bridwell, And they are A great offence to the way of Truth here for the present.[4]

Not only did Martha Simmonds and her crew persist in their mad adoration of Nayler, but they also continued to invade and disrupt the meetings of Friends. Hubberthorne, in this same letter, reported several experiences which London Quakers had met with at the hands of Martha and her companions. He reported that he had attended a meeting at the Bull and Mouth where hundreds of people were present. Martha Simmonds, accompanied by six or seven women, came, and

> there was also men of that Company, which in all may be above ten; And they began to sing and to make A noise to stop the Truth from the people & they grew very both Impudent & filthy. And Mar[tha] took A bible and read A psalme, And they sang it after her, as they doe in the steeplehouses, but I keeping clear in Innocency, & ministering in the power of Truth as I was moved to the people their singing was Confounded, And after that shee

[1] John Deacon, *An exact history of the life of James Nayler*, (London, 1657), p. 35.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 35–36. Cf. John 19:25.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 36. Cf. Luke 23:38.
[4] Caton MSS, III, 375.

took a chapter in Ezek: which speake to the Rebellious children, And she said that the Lord had sent that chapter to be read unto us, and commanded me to be silent and hear it read, but when she saw the Truth prevaile over all their deceipt & gainesayinges, then she cryed out to the people, that we denyed the scriptures; And after that she said, who would have thought that the Quakers would tell people that there Teacher is within them And thou hast taught this three houres and much more noyse & clamour they made to hinder the Truth, or to make it odious to the people.[1]

Not only did Martha Simmonds and her party attack Friends, attempt to destroy their meetings for worship, and also introduce the singing of psalms into Quaker gatherings, but on one occasion at least they made a great show of holding some type of eucharistic or communion meal one Sunday at the Bull and Mouth some time after Friends had ended their own meeting at that place:

> The people aforementioned met again at the bull & mouth in the afterpart of the day upon the first day after wee were gone And they broke bread & drunk drinke, & gave to the rude multitude, that would take any & soe fullfilled an Imagination of their harts: And they said that was to manifest that they had Love to the wicked.[2]

At the same time that Martha and her inner circle (still in custody, but with some real freedom of movement it appears) were disturbing Quaker meetings, they were also to be found attending services at Westminster Abbey with quiet and dignity. It was recorded that, on February 22, 1657

> This day, being the Lord's Day, the persons called Quakers, which were brought from Bristol with James Nayler,—vis. John Stranger, and Hannah his wife, Martha Simmonds and Dorcas Erbury—,remaining yet undischarged under the custody of the serjeant-at-arms, but now somewhat altered in their carriage, went to the Abbey, morning and afternoon, where they gave ear civilly and attentively to the sermons of Mr. John Rowe, an emminent preacher, whose spiritual doctrine so far wrought upon them, that they intend to hear him again, which gives hope that they may be rectified in their judgment.[3]

It was undoubtedly the example of Martha Simmonds which loosed a whole band of "Ranters and loose persons"

1 *Ibid.*, III, 373–374.
2 *Ibid.*, III, 376.
3 Burton, *op. cit.*, p. 377n, quoting from *Mercurius Politicus*, No. 350.

upon the London meetings. The two most troublesome ones, known simply as Mildred and Judy,[1] remained a problem for a year or two. Not only was London Quakerism plagued in this way, but the movement soon spread into other parts of England. In August 1657 John Braithwaite reported to Margaret Fell that Quakers around Salisbury "have received some hurt by some of Martha Simmonds company which came there about to dwell; but the Lord gave us dominion over them".[2]

Martha Simmonds was still active in her destructive work in April 1657, when George Fox, Edward Burrough and a number of other Quaker leaders had assembled in London. John Perrot,[3] Humphrey Norton, and William Shaw (all of whom had recently been active in proclaiming Quakerism in Ireland) wrote to Ireland from London on April 10 that

> The Agents of J[ames] N[ayler] have come creeping on their Bellies to be owned yea: Martha their Miserable Mother, this day hath been [at?] us, & all her witchery & filthy Enchantments is set at Naught, they are left for Miserable Examples, unto all that feare god, Pride & Vaine glory, & fleshly liberty was their Overthrow.[4]

Not only were Martha Simmonds and her followers opposed openly in such Quaker meetings as have been mentioned, but there were also some published attacks directed against them and their activities. George Bishop's 1657 publication *The Throne of Truth Exalted over the Powers of Darkness*, written against Ralph Farmer's *Sathan Inthron'd*, refers to Martha and her followers as "that Woman and her company, with all their filthiness in their deceipt". He reported "that spirit which darkened him [Nayler], was then denyed by them [Friends], and also the Woman from whom it had entred him, and the other two with her, and all their Filth". He also referred to Martha as "that Woman through whom this hour came".[5]

William Dewsbury, according to Braithwaite "the chief

1 Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, pp. 269–270.
2 Swarthmore MSS, II, 129 (Transcripts I, 247).
3 Cf. K. L. Carroll, *John Perrot, early Quaker schismatic* (London, 1971), published as *J.F.H.S.*, Supp. no. 33.
4 Swarthmore MSS, V, 27 (Transcripts VII, 125). This letter was to William and Margaret Blanch of Waterford.
5 Bishop, *op. cit.*, pp. 4, 5, 9.

agent in reconciling Nayler to Friends",[1] not only laboured with those who had "run out", but also called upon Nayler to judge the "deceiptful spirit" which had brought suffering upon Truth. In a letter to Nayler, Dewsbury wrote, "My Bowells [y]earnes towards thee, with whom I have suffered in the day and howre of temptation wherein thou hast suffered much wrong in hearkening to the words of Martha Symmonds and Hannah Stringer and in not reproveing what they with others have done out of the Light and wisedome of God".[2] Although Nayler did not openly condemn his own proceedings at Bristol, he did produce a paper which condemned the spirit of disorder which had seized control of so many. This paper was published before the end of July 1657, along with letters showing Nayler to be in a "tender frame of mind".[3]

The transformation taking place in Nayler and his denunciations of the various rents, divisions, and disorders, must have had an almost immediate effect on Martha Simmonds. In an undated letter (which belongs to the autumn of 1657)[4] Hubberthorne wrote to Margaret Fell that "Martha Simmonds & that Company is quiet". He then continued his report with the rather surprising statement that "there is something of God stirring in her". This is almost the last reference to Martha that I have come upon, in spite of a rather thorough search of the manuscript and printed sources for the period 1657–1665. It is true that there is a brief mention of her in a 1659 anti-Quaker document which attacks her as a Quaker who advocates going naked as a sign.[5] Whether or not Quakers had accepted her back into their fellowship, Blome certainly looked upon her as a Friend.

The final mention of Martha Simmonds is found in connection with her death in 1665. The burial records of London and Middlesex Quarterly Meeting state that she died September 27, 1665, and was buried that same day in

1 Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, p. 271.
2 Swarthmore MSS, V, 50 (Transcripts VII, 231).
3 Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, p. 272.
4 Caton MSS, III, 391. This letter mentions the return of Henry Fell from Barbados (which took place on October 29, 1657), the death of George Bayly in France (in the autumn of 1657), the return of Gerrard Roberts from Paris, and the continued imprisonment of John Harwood in France.
5 Richard Blome, *Questions Propounded to George Whithead and George Fox, who disputed by turnes against one University-Man in Cambr., August* 29, 1659 (London, 1659(?)), p. 6.

Southwark.[1] Another source lists her death as taking place on April 7, 1665, while on her way to Maryland.[2] However one handles this discrepancy in the recorded dates of her death,[3] it would appear that she was in the good graces of the Society of Friends at that time. Martha, like Nayler (who in 1657 condemned his outgoing) and Hannah Stranger (who in 1669 condemned her conduct "with all its stratagems, wiles, and practices")[4] must have made her peace with the Society of Friends and then remained quiet during the closing years of her life. There is no evidence that she, like so many of Nayler's former followers, became a follower of John Perrot during the great controversy and the schism of 1661–1665. The "M. S." who had some connections with Perrot turns out, upon close examination, to have been Mary Stancliffe.[5] It must be that Martha Simmonds, following the urgings of Nayler, her husband Thomas, and other Friends, finally learned to "stand single to the Lord, and not believe every spirit".

KENNETH L. CARROLL

1 London and Middlesex Quarterly Meeting Burial Digest (Friends House Library, London). She is listed as being of "Magdalens Bermon[d]sey Parish".

2 Swarthmore MSS, I, 45, as quoted in Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, 269.

3 Can the Martha Simmonds who died in Southwark have been the daughter of Martha and Thomas Simmonds (one of their unknown children)?

4 Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, p. 269. Hannah Stranger later became Hannah Salter and proved to be a valuable Friend. Bristol Record Society, XXVI (1971), p. 25n.

5 Friends House Library, Crosse MSS.

Some light on Charles II and Friends

ALTHOUGH the reign of Charles II was the period of longest and worst persecution for Quakers, there were some cordial relations between the monarch and these subjects. Robert Barclay had family ties with the Stuarts and addressed his famous Apology to the King in a rather individual way. Repeatedly William Penn, Margaret Fell and other well-known Friends appealed personally to him on behalf of prisoners. It was Charles who soon after his accession sent a mandamus to the authorities in Massachusetts Bay colony to stop the execution of his Quaker subjects, and who promoted the release of a large list of Friends in England by the great pardon in 1672. One day in between Pepys' diary could report (December 21, 1667) "The Quakers had very good words from the King himself".

A unique personal relationship is suggested by the case of Richard Carver. He is brought to our attention anonymously by a letter from Ellis Hookes in London to Margaret Fox, dated January 16, 1669/70. It tells how among those applying on behalf of Friends directly to the King was "one that is John Grove's mate.[1] He was the man that was mate to the master of the fisher-boat that carried the King away, when he went from Worcester fight; and only this Friend and the master knew of it in the ship, and the Friend carried him ashore on his shoulders. The King knew him again, and was very friendly to him; and told him he remembered him, and of several things that was done in the ship at the same time". Ellis Hookes explains that this Friend in the past had never sought anything for himself, but now asked for the release of 110 Friends mentioned on a paper that he brought, who had for six years been imprisoned with praemunire. A month later Ellis Hookes writes of a later visit to the king by the same Quaker seaman, "He had a fair and free opportunity to open his mind to the King; the King has promised to do for him, but willed him to wait a month or two longer".

These letters were published quite accurately in a

[1] For John Grove of London, "a choice Friend and Sailor", see Thomas Ellwood's *Life* under 1670.

valuable collection called *Letters, &c., of Early Friends* in 1841, edited by A. R. Barclay, and were re-published in the rare Birmingham periodical *Monthly Record* for 10th month 1878, under the heading "Letters of Early Friends". Thomas W. Marsh in *Some Records of the Early Friends in Surrey and Sussex*, 1886, pp. 71–73, reprinted at length the latter account on the assumption [or knowledge?] that Richard Carver was a Sussex Friend.

For the identification of this former benefactor of the monarch we are indebted to one of the many brief endorsements by George Fox. On the first mentioned letter he wrote in his scrawly hand: 'paseges consarning richard carver that carred the King of his backe.'

The general situation is well summarized in this account. "The event with which this Quaker seaman was associated—the escape to France of Charles II after the battle of Worcester in 1651—was preceded by adventures of thrilling interest.... For forty days, under various disguises, he moved from place to place; and eventually having arrived at Brighton, then an inconsiderable place,—a mere fishing village—his friends engaged the captain of a fishing smack to land him and Lord Wilmot in France." When they drew near a harbour the tide failed and there they went forward in a cock boat, and finally in shallow water carried on the backs of sailors ashore. The barge in which they made this final voyage is described as a coal barge not above 60 tons, and had as master one Nicholas Tattersall. The crew was four men and a boy. They left the night of October 4 from near Brighton and arrived next morning at Fackham on the French coast.[1]

Samuel Pepys collected several different reminiscences of these events in writing. The King himself was an eager reporter of his experiences, and as late as 1680 he gave Pepys an interview which the latter took down in shorthand, and next day supplemented it with notes based on answers by the King to questions. One of these additions gives this information: "One of the sailors was named Thomas Tuppen, the mate was Richard Carver, and the ship's name was *The*

[1] Those who remember Henry Marriage Wallis, of Reading, will recall also his "Ballad of King Charles & Richard Carver" (printed in "Many Measures", 1934). H.M.W. allowed himself some historical licence, but the poem gives a racy version of a memorable episode in Quaker history. It identifies the Fackham of the narrative, on the French coast, with Fécamp.

Surprise". Thus Charles himself confirms George Fox's identification of the sailor. These notes were published by William Matthews in 1966 in *Charles II's Escape from Worcester*, p. 83.

Later events can be culled from other sources. According to the registers of Munster Quarterly Meeting in Ireland, Richard Carver, shipmaster of London, died at Cork, 8 month 19, 1670.[1] After his death his widow appealed directly to the King by letter. That was printed in *Extracts from State Papers relating to Friends* (1911), p. 158,[2] as though it belonged about 1662, but it is undated, and of course is later. She writes:

> My late husband, Richard Carver, was not only an honest and faithful subject to thee, but (by the providence of God) was made an instrument of great service unto thee in the day of thy calamity to carry thee from the English shore between Shoreham and Brighton into France, gladly serving thee, O King, in thy then great distress, though he knew if he had been discovered he must have lost his life for it, whereas if he could have discovered thee to thine enemies he might have had one thousand pounds. Yet neither did the promise of such a reward, nor his own poverty with the hazard of his life tempt him to unfaithfulness, but then, and to the day of his death did remain faithful to the King, desiring no other reward of the King in his lifetime than the delivery of some of his friends (called Quakers) out of prison, but it pleased not the King to answer his request.

It will be seen how exactly her review agrees with what we learned of the case from other sources. But she herself is now ready to ask a personal favour. She concludes:

> And whereas after some time, my husband dying. I was left a poor and desolate widow with three small children. I therefore do request that the King would be pleased (in tenderness and nobility) on consideration of my deceased husband's faithfulness and service to thee, to [?] consider the low estate of me and my fatherless children, knowing that he that shews mercy shall find mercy.
>
> MARY CARVER, the late wife of Richard Carver.

This letter shows by its plain language (thy, thee), and its good diction, either an educated Quakeress, or a literate writer on her behalf.

[1] Joseph Smith, *Supplement to a Descriptive catalogue of Friends' books*, 1893, p. 76.

[2] With reference: S.P.D. lxvi. 54. *Cal.* 1661–2, p. 616.

I find only one other reference to the family. It is in the Register of deaths of London and Middlesex Quarterly Meeting: there is none under marriages or births. It says: Isaac Carver, died of teething 6 m. 14, 1671 aged about 1 year, son of Mary, a widow of the parish of Magdalen, Bermondsey, belonging to Southwark Monthly Meeting, and was buried in Southwark burial ground.

It is a surprising coincidence that in 1690, nearly forty years after Charles II escaped to France, his brother James II, defeated in Ireland at the Battle of the Boyne, likewise was assisted in flight to France by a Quaker. At least according to information sent to the editor (John Barclay) of the *Life of Joseph Pike* Francis Randall, of Randall's Mills near Enniscorthy, being known to the King, defended him from capture by Randall's own employees, and sent his son with fresh horses to escort him to Duncannon Fort where a French ship of war was waiting to receive him.[1]

Further evidence of the king's personal predilection towards lenient treatment of Friends (at least during the first half of his reign, and so far as he found possible) is provided by a document of 23 August 1662, issued on the occasion of the arrival of his queen Catherine of Braganza in the capital.

This is printed below from a single issue of one of the more long-lived of the newsbooks, *Mercurius Publicus*, Numb. 34, Published by Authority. From Thursday Aug. 21 to Thursday Aug. 28, 1662, pp. 568–69.[2]

Westminster Satturday Aug. 33 [sic.]

We told you last week of the affection and Loyalty of the Common Councel and City of *London*, exprest in their gift of five hundred pounds *per annum* to Sr. *Richard Browne* for the vigilant care in his Majesties service as Major General of that City: And now we should acquaint you with that Renowned Citty's large demonstrations of duty and affection to the King's and Queen's Majesty on the River *Thames* this 23. of *August*, being the day of her Majesties first coming to *Whitehall*. To particularize the several

[1] See *The Life of Joseph Pike*, London, 1837, pp. 108, 109.
See also "The runaway king, 1690" in Isabel Grubb's *Quaker homespuns*, 1932, pp. 35–43, 141–42.

[2] For the value of contemporary British newspapers as source of early Quaker history see my remarks in *J.F.H.S.*, vol. 50 (1963), pp. 94–96.
The newsbook from which the quotation is printed is now deposited in the Haverford College Quaker Collection.

Companies, Barges, Representations of the Mercers, Drapers, Merchant-Taylors, Goldsmiths, *&c* is neither possible nor proper for this place, therefore we shall onely say (which none but the absent will deny) that the oldest person alive never saw the Thames more or more nobly covered, than it was on this great and happy occasion, the benefit whereof redounds also to such as have not deserved it, as you may perceive by this following Letter from his Majesty to the Lord Mayor of *London*, and others Commissioners and Justices for Goal-delivery of Oyer and Terminer, and of the Peace for *London* and *Middlesex*.

Charles R.

Right trusty and well beloved, and Trusty and well beloved, We greet you well. We are informed that there are several persons who go under the name of Quakers, or other names of separation, now in the Gaols for London and Middlesex, for being at unlawfull Assemblies, who yet profess all Obedience and Allegiance unto us. We would be glad that all our Subjects could be brought to agree in an Uniform Worship of God, and we hope that the foresight of the Dangers which they runn into by a willfull contempt of the Laws, and our present indulgence, may prevail with some of these persons, to reduce them to a better Conformity. And therefore we do willingly lay hold of this time and occasion of publick Joy for the first coming of our dear Consort the Queen to our Royal Palace at Westminster, to declare this our Royal pleasure unto you, That you cause all such of the said persons in our Gaols for London and Middlesex, who have not been Indicted for refusing the Oath of Allegiance, nor shall appear to you to have been Ringleaders or Preachers at their Assemblies, to be enlarged.

Given at Hampton Court this 22th day of August, 1662.

By His Majestie's Command,

EDWARD NICHOLAS

The royal letter is found also in the Public Record Office and was published in *Extracts from State Papers Relating to Friends* (*1911*), p. 150.[1] It was also paraphrased in *A Monthly Intelligence relating the affairs of the people called Quakers in and near about the City of London* (*1662*), which included later events. This in turn was reprinted in full in Joseph Besse, *Collection of the Sufferings*, 1753, i. 382–87. Its earliest publication is almost certainly the newsbook which I have quoted. See Braithwaite, *Second period of Quakerism*, chap. 2 for the general context. The pageant on the Thames is noted in the diaries of this date of Evelyn and Pepys, who both witnessed it.

HENRY J. CADBURY

[1] With reference: S.P.D. Entry Book 3, p. 80. *Cal.* 1661–2, p. 466.

Were Penn's Jury "Starved"?

A STATEMENT which has been made by many writers (including myself) in connection with the 1670 trial of William Penn and William Meade for "unlawful assembly" is that the jury were starved, kept locked up without food and drink for two nights.[1] This statement has allowed imaginative historians to depict movingly the presumed condition of the jury at the end of the trial, John William Graham, for example, saying: "Some were in high fever, some wandered in their minds, from overstrain, lack of sleep and raging thirst".[2]

But is the statement correct? Recently I have had occasion to look at the evidence again and this is, I feel, not quite so conclusive as has been supposed.

It will be remembered that the jury's original verdict was that Penn was "guilty of speaking or preaching to an assembly met together in Gracechurch Street"; but that the assembly was an "unlawful" one they could not be induced to say. The verdict was therefore not in accordance with the indictment on which Penn had been charged, and the Bench were probably entitled to decline to accept it.[3]

As the jury would not agree to bring in any other verdict, it was probably also in accordance with usage that they should be kept locked up, in some degree of privation, until they did agree. In former times a jury in this position was often ordered to be carried round the town in a cart, to the derision of the populace, and Penn's jury was in fact

[1] The dates concerned are Saturday 2 to Monday 4, September 1670. W. Beck and T. F. Ball, *London Friends' meetings*, 1869, p. 153, may serve as an example of the accepted version: "The character and incidents of this trial are too well known by those interested in the history of the Englishmen's struggle for liberty of conscience, to require further note here, save to observe that an English jury were on this occasion kept for two days without meat, drink, or fire, were fined and imprisoned, all because the verdict of their conscience did not accord with the wishes of a prejudiced and persecuting court".

[2] J. W. Graham, *William Penn*, 1917, p. 56.

[3] William Meade was found Not Guilty on the indictment, and it was only on the pretext that the verdict against two "conspirators" had to be the same that this was not accepted. The important thing now, however, was to secure a verdict of Guilty against Penn.

threatened, perhaps not very seriously, with this. This procedure had fallen into disuse, but the punishment of being locked up and "starved" remained. In another Quaker case, at Reading, where the jury disagreed, "they were ordered to be kept all night without fire or candle, &c., and that no person should come at them till they were agreed".[1]

There is no reason to doubt, therefore, that the Recorder ordered the similar incarceration of Penn's jury, and the statement to this effect in the famous pamphlet relating the trial[2] is corroborated in the counter-pamphlet issued over the initials of the Lord Mayor.[3] The Recorder's actual words were:

> "Gentlemen, you shall not be dismissed till we have a verdict that the Court will accept; & you shall be locked up, without meat, drink, fire and tobacco; you shall not think thus to abuse the Court; we will have a verdict, by the help of God, or you shall starve for it."

Similarly, when they returned next day, with the same unacceptable verdict as before, they were again sent off, and "the Court swore several persons, to keep the jury all night without meat, drink, fire, or any other accommodation."

But was this complied with throughout? A passage in the Appendix to *The Second Part of the People's Ancient & Just Liberties Asserted* seems to imply that it was: one of the parties to the dialogue forming this Appendix, when complaining of the hardships involved in serving on a jury, laments: "But to be kept without meat and drink two days and nights together . . . is hard service."

The counter-pamphlet already referred to, however, denies it contemptuously, saying, in a *Nota*:

> "These men were very like to be starved, when they had roast beef, capons, wine & strong drink sent them (as is ready to be proved) during the time they were considering of their verdict."

This counter-pamphlet was itself replied to by Penn, in

[1] Besse, *Sufferings*, I, p. 26.

[2] *The People's Ancient and Just Liberties Asserted in the Trial of William Penn and William Mead*, 1670.

[3] *An Answer to the Seditious and Scandalous Pamphlet, entitled The Trial of W. Penn and W. Mead*, 1670.

a masterly piece of polemical writing[1] that demolishes it completely, except in this one particular. His reply here is curiously lame:

> "Answer to *Nota*. This is but a vain surmize, and how positively soever asserted, the proof remains behind, ***which had there been any***, it is not to be thought this libeller would have omitted it;[2] besides, the officers of the Court were sworn to keep them from all sort of refreshment. But had it been so, I see no evil in the thing, unless it be an evil to prevent men from starving, especially since they were not there encloistered for not agreeing in their verdict, but for agreeing in a verdict some persons' humours would not allow for one".

We must remember that the jury, like Penn, were sent to Newgate at the end of the trial, and that he had plenty of opportunity for speaking to them there, and would presumably have acquainted himself with the exact nature of their privations. It is true that in a letter written to his father from Newgate, Penn says:

> "The jury was about six times rejected in their verdict; and besides vain, fruitless, illegal menaces, were kept two days and two nights without bed, tobacco, provisions, &c."[3]

But this was written immediately after the end of the trial, and might well therefore have been before Penn had had time to converse with the jury, and only knew what had been said in Court.

One guess as to what may have happened is this. At a certain point on the second day (the day between the two nights) the jury decided, if their first verdict continued to be rejected, to take this back and bring Penn in Not Guilty

[1] *Truth Rescued from Imposture* in Penn, *Works*, 1726, I, 486 sq. The "Answer to *Nota*" is on p. 509.

[2] What Penn is referring to here is the practice, common in 17th century pamphlets, of inserting affidavits by the persons concerned, as proof of their statements. It will be noticed that Penn does not offer to produce any evidence on his side. Nor, perhaps, is there reason to expect that he should in any case do so. It would be no part of Penn's programme to go into unnecessary detail, giving disproportionate attention to matters in which servants of the court might have failed in their duty or could have connived at some irregularity in discharging it, particularly when the irregularity (if it occurred) would have comforted and kept up the spirits of the jury which had already clearly delivered a verdict favourable to the defendents.

[3] Quoted in S. M. Janney, *Life of William Penn*, 1852, p. 72.

instead. Having decided this, they could clearly claim to be agreed on a verdict that would have to be accepted, and they might then have persuaded those in charge of them that they were now entitled to be fed, even though they could not bring in their new verdict until the next morning.

This is only conjecture, but it does seem to reconcile most of the inconsistencies in the evidence. Whatever actually happened does not in any way lessen our admiration for the fortitude and constancy of the jury. Nor do I suggest that the tablet[1] commemorating them in the entrance-hall of the Old Bailey (which refers to two nights without food) should be altered.

ALFRED W. BRAITHWAITE

HISTORICAL RESEARCH

Historical research for university degrees in the United Kingdom. List no. 33. Part II. Theses in progress 1972. University of London, Institute of Historical Research. May 1972.

Included are the following:

Quakers and the development of Kendal. Sheila J. MacPherson. (Dr. J. D. Marshall.) Lancaster M.Litt. 1426

Historical study of the discipline of the Society of Friends 1738–1861. D. J. Hall. (Professor W. R. Ward.) Durham M.A. 1427

William Cookworthy (1705–80) and his circle. A. D. Selleck. London Ph.D.(Ext.). 1428

The history of the chocolate industry, with special reference to Frys of Bristol. D. A. Williams. (Prof. Pollard.) Sheffield Ph.D. 1780

The Society of Friends in Birmingham, 1815–1918. J. D. Hunter. (Mrs. Dorothy K. G. Thompson.) Birmingham Ph.D. 1891

[1] For an illustration of the tablet see J. W. Graham, *William Penn*, 1917, plate facing p. 50. See slso a note in *Journal FHS*, vol. 5 (1908), p. 162.

An Irish Friend and the American Civil War: Some Letters of Frederic W. Pim to His Father in Dublin 1864

THE majority of Irishmen who went to America during its Civil War were young Catholics discouraged by unemployment and the economic crisis at home. Although their situation improved somewhat, they were, more often than not, grateful to America and decided to remain. When they wrote home, they very likely described the availability of employment in industry or the army, in spite of potential competition from Negroes upon emancipation. Perhaps these Irishmen also wrote about their fondness for Americans, especially Democratic politicians who taught them a new sense of patriotism and the importance of preserving the Union. In general, the response to the new country was favourable, and many decided to live there permanently. Very often the attitudes of such Irishmen are considered typical of the period.[1]

Unlike most of these individuals was another Irishman, Frederic W. Pim, a Friend by birth, who at the age of twenty-five visited the United States from April to August, 1864 and returned to his native Dublin. He went as a representative of his family's commercial interests and as a tourist.

Pim's response to the United States is revealed in eight unpublished letters he wrote to his father.[2] They are of interest for their view of America and reflection of seldom recognized Irish-American relations as presented by a member of an influential but unconventional family in nineteenth-century Ireland.

[1] See Joseph M. Hernon, Jr., *Celts, Catholics and Copperheads: Ireland Views the Civil War* (Columbus, 1968), pp. 1–44; Albon P. Man, Jr., "The Irish in New York in the early eighteen-sixties", *Irish historical studies*, vi (September, 1950), 87–108; and A. W. Potter, *To the Golden Door: The Story of the Irish in Ireland and America* (Boston, 1960).

[2] Now in the Historical Library, Religious Society of Friends in Ireland, which has given permission to quote from them. The shelf mark in Friends' Historical Library, 6 Eustace Street, Dublin, 2, is Room 4, Pim MSS. Bundle f nos. 43–49a. See Olive C. Goodbody, *Guide to Irish Quaker records* (Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1967), p. 112, para. 110 (f).

The Pims of Dublin were descended from Richard Pim who left Leicester for Ireland in 1655. In 1841 the family set up two businesses. Pim Brothers Limited dealt in wholesale and retail linen, cotton, and poplin, while Pim Brothers and Company manufactured these materials. Jonathan Pim (1806–1885), the father of Frederic Pim, was active in these enterprises and from 1865 to 1874 represented Dublin in Parliament. Highly regarded as a businessman and statesman, the elder Pim was also respected for his efforts to help victims of the recent famine through the relief committee of the Society of Friends, of which he was a prominent member. During the aftermath of the *Trent* seizure in 1861, he tried arduously, though without direct success, to convince the British government of the need for arbitration and the rights of neutral powers at a time when sympathy for the South was running high.[1]

Joshua E. Todhunter, Jonathan Pim's brother-in-law, was the agent for the family business in New York and while there formulated an elaborate theory requiring British recognition of the South, which he outlined in several letters to his brother-in-law, Jonathan.[2] During 1864 Todhunter served as business associate, host, and travelling companion of his young nephew, Frederic.

Born in Dublin in 1839, Frederic Pim attended Bootham School, York, but he had his residence in Ireland until he died in 1925. He was twice married and the father of five children. Throughout his life he was active in his family's businesses, and from 1896 to 1916 was chairman of the Dublin and South-Eastern Railway. For several years he was vice-president of the Dublin Chamber of Commerce.[3] His interests in the welfare of his country were broad, and he wrote a number of pamphlets and books on such topics as public health, home rule, improvements in the parliamentary system, and Irish history. Perhaps his most well-known works are *Railways and the State*, published in 1912, and "The Mites

[1] William H. Marwick, "Some Quaker firms of the nineteenth-century, II". *J.F.H.S.*, 1 (Spring, 1962), 17–36 and David Large, "Friends and the American Civil War: the *Trent* Affair", *J.F.H.S.*, xlviii (Autumn, 1957), 163–167.

[2] David Large, "An Irish Friend and the Civil War", *Bulletin of the Friends' Historical Association*, xlvii (Spring, 1958), 20–29.

[3] Bootham School *Register* (Scarborough and London, 1935), pp. 305–306; *Irish Times*, January 8, 1925, p. 8.

in the Cheese", which appeared in 1918, on natural resources.[1] Like many Friends, Frederic Pim belonged to the Liberal Party, in which he held an executive post.

Pim was not only a prominent man, then, but he belonged to a prominent family, which maintained its English heritage in religion, schooling, and political loyalty. At a time when Catholic Ireland was impoverished, and increasingly nationalistic, the Protestant Pims maintained a remarkably high degree of wealth, prestige, and leadership. In the spring of 1864, when Frederic went abroad, the linen business was flourishing, partly because of exports to America.

Public opinion in Ireland generally favoured the Confederacy, but the Irish liberals, in spite of Southern sympathies, were inclined to be more cautious. Even though they endorsed Gladstone's pronouncement that President Davis had made a nation, they "preferred a policy of official neutrality to one of recognition and intervention by the United Kingdom".[2]

In going to America in 1864, then, Frederic Pim no doubt had some preconceptions about it. As a Friend, he was apprised of the importance of universal peace and the abolition of slavery, and he may have been influenced by the works of Joseph Sturge and William Tallack, Quaker travellers to America, or Harriet Beecher Stowe's very popular abolitionist novel, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.[3] As a business man, Pim was probably apprehensive about free trade during wartime, the safety of his merchandise, not to mention himself, and the possibility of increased tariffs rumoured at the time of his visit. Belonging to the Liberal Party, which favoured Southern independence, Pim probably assumed its

[1] *Friends' quarterly examiner*, lii, pp. 167–89 (iv, 1918). Other works he wrote include: *The Health of Dublin* (Dublin, 1890); *The Society of Friends and Home Rule: A Letter to a Fellow Member of the Society of Friends* (Dublin, 1893); *Private Bill Legislation: Suggestions for a Permanent Commission in Lieu of the Present Parliamentary Procedure* (Dublin, 1896); *The Sinn Fein Rising: A Narrative and Some Reflections* (Dublin, 1916); and *Home Rule Through Federal Devolution* (London, 1916).

[2] Hernon, *Celts, Catholics and Copperheads*, p. 85 and J. G. Randall and David Donald, *The Civil War and Reconstruction*, 2nd ed. (Lexington, Mass., 1969), pp. 504–505. For general information I have relied on this latter source, as well as on E. D. Adams, *Great Britain and the American Civil War*, 2 vols. (Gloucester, Mass., 1957).

[3] See Joseph Sturge, *A Visit to the United States* (Boston, 1842), and William Tallack, *Friendly Sketches in America* (London, 1861).

position, although other factors, such as his religious beliefs and his commercial interests, may have tempered this attitude.

Between his arrival in New York on Wednesday, April 7, 1864, and his departure on Saturday, August 6 of the same year, Pim wrote at least eight letters to his father, dated as follows: April 8, 16, 26; May 5, 14, 17; and July 8, and 14. Six of the letters were written in New York, the other two in Philadelphia. During this time Pim was staying with his uncle Joshua E. Todhunter in Brooklyn or with a friend nearby. Although he spent a major portion of time in and around New York, Pim took an extended tour south as far as Washington, west to Independence, Missouri, and north to Canada before returning to New York by way of Boston. Apparently his intention on this expedition was mostly sight-seeing, for he visited the usual historical monuments in the cities and natural sights like Mammoth Cave in Kentucky, Niagara Falls, the Erie Canal, and the Saguenay River. Perhaps the absence of letters dated in June is explained by the demands of travel, which prevented letter writing.

Like most foreigners travelling in America, Pim was interested in her institutions and people, and in this respect his letters show how different he was from most Irishmen who went to America after the Famine. Throughout his correspondence one senses a degree of amusement and condescension, characteristic of many tourists in a new country. In writing about Manhattan, already famous for its large population and grand scale, he appears to be mocking it in saying that Fifth Avenue "is the fashionable street for the upper Ten Thousand" and that Broadway "is narrow, as its name implies".[1]

Some thirty years prior to Pim's visit another British visitor, Mrs. Trollope, found American men lacking in 'gentlemanly feeling' and deportment and women over-dressed.[2] Although these remarks are clearly hyperbolic, Pim's reflect a similar sense of superiority when he says, for example, that he was "surprised to find so little singularity

[1] Pim's letter, written in New York to his father, dated April 8, 1864. The pages of the letters are not numbered; henceforth only the place and date of composition will be provided.

[2] Frances Trollope, *Domestic Manners of the Americans*, ed. Donald Smalley (New York, 1949), p. 420.

in the appearance of the men, except a small proportion", and the women "singularly 'plain'."[1]

Another example of Pim's patronizing attitude appears in his remarks on the American tendency to reverse a major decision without sufficient comprehension of the situation. In one letter he attributes the fluctuation in the gold market to this characteristic:

> the people are so liable to sudden changes of opinion that a very small thing may bring the whole thing to an end and send greenbacks down to nothing in a day. In fact no change however great or sudden would surprise me, except a display of sense or wisdom in the people or Government.[2]

Here Pim seems to echo an earlier French observer, de Tocqueville, who associated the low calibre of political leadership with the Americans' "superficial inspection of the more prominent features of a question".[3]

A much larger portion of Pim's letters is devoted to his commercial interests. In his first letter he expresses a sense of exhilaration when he says that "the appearance of business is immense",[4] but when writing about his own affairs he is less sanguine. Once he advises his father to keep on sending damasks throughout the summer, other conditions being equal, but two weeks later he notes that advances from agents in America are down, which puts foreign manufacturers in a precarious state. Large amounts of capital and a variety of materials, he believes, are the only means for successful business ventures in America. Pim records elsewhere his concern for unsold goods, and in his last letter he registers his dismay at the news that more goods are being sent because economic instability makes the future market uncertain.

Underlying this perplexity is Pim's familiarity with the whole financial crisis, particularly its foreign aspects, which were largely precipitated by the war. Duties on foreign items had to be paid for in gold, and while Pim was in the States the price for gold premiums rose from $1.95 in mid-June to

[1] New York, April 8, 1864.
[2] New York, July 8, 1864. Greenbacks are non-interest bearing United States notes.
[3] Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, ed. Phillips Bradley *et al.*, 2 vols. (New York, 1945), I, p. 201.
[4] New York, April 8, 1864.

$2.84 in early July.[1] Since his business profits were partly dependent upon the price of gold premiums, required for duty payments in gold, he naturally devoted a lot of time and space to the gold crisis. The first time he wrote home he reported how exciting the whole matter was. He systematically quoted the price of gold, and he kept himself informed about the situation through the newspapers and his uncle's contact with the exchange. One incident, with direct relevance to family interests, was experienced by his uncle's deputies, who spent four days, including one night, at the door of the Treasury building in an effort to secure duty certificates.

Pim's fascination with the country's financial troubles extended beyond his own, and in his letters he occasionally analyses the scene and speculates on the outcome. In April, for example, the gold premium fell almost twenty points in a few days, and he explained the decrease by the presence of Salmon P. Chase, the Secretary of the Treasury, in New York, which prompted rumours of dramatic intervention by the government. Actually, the visit merely coincided with the payment of dividends on government notes due on May first. When Pim wrote home again, however, he noted how nervous the "Commerce classes" in New York had become because of the speculations in gold and the advance of Confederate troops northward.[2]

Although the passing of the "gold act" in June and its repeal in early July helped to alleviate the economic crisis, gold premiums continued to fluctuate widely during the military encounters at Cold Harbor, Petersburg, and Richmond. Accordingly, Pim's correspondence later in the month reflects this instability and attendant anxiety. In his letter of July 8 he suggests the possibility of a crash in the value of greenbacks, which would be followed by a complete return to gold currency. Should a disaster come, however, there might be an increase in the sale of Pim materials, a tangible and thereby relatively safe investment. Nonetheless, he thought peace was in the distant future, and not till then could one expect consistently good trade.

Pim's scepticism about a stable economy and its effect on the people apparently lingered throughout his stay in

[1] Randall and Donald, *The Civil War and Reconstruction*, p. 349.
[2] Philadelphia, May 5, 1864.

America. The last time he wrote home in the middle of July he echoed an earlier remark but added a degree of passion in suggesting the possibility of riots pursuant to an economic collapse:

> The fact is—I do not consider anything here as at all safe. Whenever the crisis comes I have no doubt there will be serious outbreaks in New York and probably in all other large Cities. Not insane party riots as before; but bread and gold riots, when men will rob the banks and compel merchants to give up the gold they may have in their safes, actuated by absolute want of means to procure the necessaries of life, when the paper currency is found to be worthless, and there is nothing else to substitute for the moment.[1]

Closely tied to Pim's concern for the economy, especially the value of gold, was the increase in tariff regulations during the period. Following the precedent of the Morrill Act, passed in 1861, which provided for an appreciable increase in duties over those stipulated in 1857, the Federal government proceeded to raise throughout the war its revenue as more funds were required for military use.[2] Although this action would not diminish profits enough to force liquidation of the family business because losses could be balanced in domestic enterprises, Pim was naturally worried about the changing legislation, which permitted some tariffs to reach 100% at the end of 1865. On arrival, then, Pim was sufficiently alarmed to write that the Republicans wanted to raise the tariff on linen to 40% and soon thereafter noted that the House of Representatives approved a resolution raising the linen tariff to 45%. This prompted him, he told his father, to reserve £3,000 for necessary payments in gold despite a rumour of exemption for bonded materials. Perhaps this cautious action was related to his continued lack of faith in the government, for he concludes with this statement: ". . . so little reliance can be placed in the Government or Congress, that we do not think it wise to leave any goods remaining [in bond] on the chance".[3]

In passing, it is interesting to note that like most aliens involved in the import and export business during the Civil War, Pim bought cotton and wheat. At one time, for

[1] New York, July 14, 1864.
[2] Randall and Donald, *The Civil War and Reconstruction*, p. 287.
[3] New York, April 26, 1864.

example, the young Irishman wrote that he had considered investing revenues from the sale of materials in New York in cotton, but he decided not to because of current military activity and the fluctuations in monetary exchange. At another time, he requested clarification about the procedure for shipping and paying for a quantity of corn to his Uncle Thomas in Ireland.

In spite of the large amount of material that has been written about the impact of "King Cotton" and "King Wheat" on British-American relations during the Civil War, there has been little real agreement about its importance. At one time historians claimed these items were crucial in the establishment of British alliances with the North or South, but more recently the opposite position has been argued.[1] Martin P. Claussen, for example, believes that

> in British foreign policy, national interest, with the corollary of commercial self-preservation . . . appears as the dominant factor in support of peace and non-intervention in the American war. The interest in peace was essentially an interest in the promotion and maintenance of Britain's foreign commerce. Peace and trade were inseparable, thus ran the axiom of the free traders whose tenets were becoming the accepted policy of the government.[2]

As a matter of fact, Pim never mentions political alliances when writing home about cotton and wheat, which suggests that his interest in them, like the businessmen Claussen describes, was a function of a pragmatic response to favourable markets and not to any partiality for the South of North. If this is true, Pim's letters support these recent theories about the relative insignificance of cotton and wheat in international relations during the Civil War period.

[1] For example, see Louis B. Schmidt, "The influence of wheat and cotton on Anglo-American relations during the Civil War", *Iowa Journal of history and politics*, xvi (July, 1918), 401–439; Adams, *Great Britain and the American Civil War*, ii, 4, 13 n. 2, 17; Frank L. Owsley, *King Cotton Diplomacy* (Chicago, 1931), 562–578; Martin P. Claussen, "Peace factors in Anglo-American relations, 1861–1865", *The Mississippi Valley historical review*, xxvi (March, 1940), 511–522; Eli Ginzberg, "The Economics of British neutrality during the American civil war", *Agricultural history*, x (October, 1936), 147–156; Robert H. Jones, "Long Live the King", *Agricultural history*, xxxvii (July, 1963), 166–169; and Amos Khasigian, "Economic factors and British neutrality, 1861–1865", *The Historian*, xv (August, 1963), 451–465.

[2] M. P. Claussen, "Peace factors in Anglo-American relations, 1861–1865", 516.

Pim devotes most of the space in his letters, of course, to the war. He writes a lot about the actual events, but he is also fascinated by their meaning and implications for the future. Apparently, he had a fairly clear comprehension of the major incidents of the period, which he carefully conveyed to his father.

By the spring of 1864, Grant's command of the Union armies, coupled with the numbers of recruits available to him, had the edge on Confederate depletion in leadership and men. In early May, Grant and Meade, commander of the Army of the Potomac, encountered Southern forces led by Lee in the neighbourhood of Fredericksburg. During the ensuing Battle of the Wilderness, Grant crossed the Rapidan River in Virginia and fought steadily south, ending the campaign victoriously but with a good deal of bloodshed, at Cold Harbor in early June. Thereafter, Grant concentrated on the siege of Petersburg until he and his men headed west toward Appomatox in the spring of 1865.

On other fronts there was less dramatic action. Beginning in March, Union forces, under the leadership of General Banks and Admiral Porter, penetrated the Red River in an unsuccessful attempt to gain control of Louisiana and East Texas and to seize large supplies of cotton grown there. In May and June Sherman and his men met the forces of Joseph E. Johnston in a series of battles, culminating in Sherman's ultimate capture of Atlanta, while Sheridan and Custer were involved in tactical raids on Lee's army in Virginia.

Although the contents of the letters, taken in sequence, do not correspond to the actual sequence of events, they do demonstrate Pim's understanding of the significance of almost all of them. In the letter of April 26, for example, young Pim reports that "there is now no doubt that the affair on the Red River was a serious defeat and that Banks has turned out rather an ass than otherwise. It is probable he will be at once suspended".[1] Even though Banks' future did not depend on this debacle, the defeat was considered relatively crucial until Grant and Meade intensified their campaign in Virginia. Pim's sense of the proportionate value of these activities, *vis-à-vis* those following, is clear in later correspondence. In the letter of May 5, the only military event mentioned is Grant's strategically significant removal

[1] New York, April 26, 1864.

of the Army of the Potomac across the Rapidan, which began the day before and signalled the beginning of his final thrust to victory. Then, twelve days later, after the Battle of the Wilderness was over, Pim reported the relative insignificance of the Red River fiasco in comparison to events in Virginia:

> The taking of Fort Pillow, was a success which coupled with the disastrous ending of Banks' cotton expedition on the Red River, would be felt as very severe blows were we not so intent upon the theatre in Virginia.[1]

Also during the spring of 1864 naval operations of the Union and Confederacy brought danger to maritime activity. By then the Northern blockade prevented commerce with Southern ports all the way to the Gulf of Mexico, with the exception of Charleston, Mobile, Wilmington, and Galveston. Confederate cruisers, such as the *Sumter*, *Florida*, and *Alabama*, caused countless damage to the Federal navy and merchant ships bound to and from Northern ports. The *Alabama*, built at Liverpool, was for over two years an especially dangerous vessel, before being sunk by the *Kearsarge* at Cherbourg on June 19.

As a British subject and merchant of foreign goods, Pim was naturally interested in the exploits of the *Alabama*, and its loss prompted him to write about it. He thought Captain Semmes' leadership was overrated and that the ship's sinking was more a result of the *Kearsarge*'s iron equipment than Semmes' ineptitude or its British construction. Later, when commenting on the threat posed by another Southern vessel, the *Florida*, Pim suggested that she, too, would be sunk before long, and then realizing she was responsible for sinking a merchant ship carrying Pim merchandise he wisely recommended an increase in the company's marine insurance.

A major event in early July was a raid on Washington by Confederate forces under Jubal A. Early. Although the capital was virtually unprotected, hasty intervention by Grant's men repulsed Early in time. Pim also clearly understood the motivations behind and ramifications of this incident. In one letter written at the beginning of the month he noted that such an invasion would "do much to restore the somewhat flagging spirits of the North [and] force Grant

[1] New York, May 17, 1864.

to detach re-inforcements, and perhaps they may succeed. . . ."[1] In the next letter he mentioned the ensuing excitement; men had failed to rally to the cause by enlisting, as they had in earlier crises.

As generally complete as Frederic Pim was about the military events during his visit to America, he was not always clear, at least in his letters, about his own alliance with either the North or South. Throughout the ambiguity suggests the complexity of his attitude.

In several places one senses his loyalty is with the North. In May, when writing about the lack of decisive battles on both sides, he assumes the mask of a Northerner and says:

> Of course we talk here as if Richmond were already taken, and are beginning to think, whether we shall turn our attention at once to turning Maximilian out of Mexico and upon what sort of tree Jeff Davis is to be hanged, along with a few minor matters; not including the manner of governing the conquered South or the settlement of the currency.[2]

Pim uses the same pose when commenting on the future outcome of the *Alabama*'s encounter with the *Kearsarge*: "we are of course in great glory about the 'Alabama' and are now satisfied that having sunk an 'English Man of War' we need not fear the British Navy".[3] Implicit in both of these quotations, however, is a good measure of irony mixed with sarcasm. By contrasting the apparent with the actual, Pim shows in the first instance how the Northerners construed the status quo to mean conclusive victory and in the second case how they confused a victorious battle at sea with maritime supremacy. In doing so, Pim is indirectly criticizing the Yankees' lack of judgment, misguided enthusiasm, and false priorities.

Objection to the hypocritical leaders of the Union, which reflects Irish popular opinion, is also discernible in the correspondence. If silence is any measure of disfavour, Pim implies lack of respect, if not distaste, for Lincoln in his descriptions of him and his activities, which are void of any comment whatsoever. More specific intolerance of Northern leadership and its irrational followers is evident in the

[1] New York, July 8, 1864.
[2] New York, May 17, 1864.
[3] New York, July 8, 1864.

suggestion that should Grant take Richmond "he will possibly be elected by the popular insanity of the moment".[1] Pim also indirectly criticizes Congress whenever he refers to increased tariffs.

Pim's dislike of the North is sometimes indirect, but his partiality to the South is obscure and uneven. Some remarks on a variety of its reversals and conquests, for example, are objective in tone. "The affair on the Red River was a serious defeat", he reports, and then says that several victories in the vicinity of Plymouth, North Carolina "may be of great advantage to Lee" and are, along with other victories, "encouraging to the South".[2] In another letter, with no apparent enthusiasm, he claims "that nothing but continued Southern victories will end the war".[3]

Southern partisanship is nonetheless implicit in a few places. In writing to his father about the sinking of the British-built *Alabama*, Pim actually rationalizes the loss by citing its limited value as a man of war and the relative strength of the *Kearsarge*. Nonetheless, he adds that the Confederate cause justified the *Alabama*'s endeavours.

The event which caused Pim to express his Southern sympathies the most, however, was the attempted invasion of Washington by Confederate soldiers in July. During the preliminary stages Pim explained his reservations about such an endeavour; it would be "very imprudent and mischievous".[4] Then, after the Southern troops withdrew, he wrote of his relief: "the risk was great and the chances of advantage small".[5] Clearly, comments like these indicate a sincere identification with the underdog, untinged with sarcastic irony. When Pim is ironic with regard to the South, as he is in surrounding the word rebel with quotation marks, he is actually critizing the Yankee appellation and thereby demonstrating his Southern alliance.

If Pim were against the North and in favour of the South, why are his letters so ambiguous? Why the pretence? Why isn't he consistent? Was he confused, or a Laodicean? Or was he reluctant to adopt a single position because he was unable, as an alien and because of idealistic and pragmatic

[1] New York, July 8, 1864.
[2] New York, April 26, 1864.
[3] New York, July 8, 1864.
[4] New York, July 8, 1864.
[5] New York, July 14, 1864.

reasons, to identify completely with either faction? Was his fondness for the South coupled with an outward sense of neutrality?

It may be that these last two questions contain the best answers. As a British subject in the midst of a country at civil war, Pim understandably could not assume a thorough feeling of partisanship, nor as an unofficial representative of Britain, which maintained, if unofficial, neutral relations with America during the period, could he outwardly show any other attitude. Some indication that he actually held this view is apparent in these letters which contain no hint of disagreement between him and his father, who tried so hard to promote neutrality at the time of the *Trent* affair. As a matter of fact, the tone of all the letters indicates a congenial rapport of mutual understanding between father and son.

Idealistically, too, a neutral attitude was a reasonable one. As a Friend Pim supported abolition, yet the apparently insincere motives of Northern leaders, especially Lincoln, to preserve the Union by enforcing abolition, was anathema to most Irishmen, Protestant and Catholic alike. Nonetheless, Pim's affiliation with the Liberal Party and the possible influence of his Uncle Joshua Todhunter, so dedicated to British recognition of the South, may have reinforced his fondness for the Confederacy.

From the point of view of economics, neutrality also permitted Pim to carry on business as usual and avoid embarrassment and loss of business, especially since his base of operations was in a Northern city. Nor would victory for either faction require compromise of principle. In any event, Southern cotton would again be available, an idea implied in one of the letters. After telling his father that the war would not end for another year, Pim continues by saying that then "the South will be open, with her cotton, and though goods may fall somewhat, there will I expect be a good trade".[1]

Other evidence suggesting Pim harboured a Southern loyalty tempered by neutrality is found in the journal he kept while in America. On May 11, he records a conversation he had with some Quaker acquaintances in Philadelphia:

[1] New York, July 8, 1864.

> In the course of the evening Mrs. W[right] suddenly asked whether we were for North or South, which rather took me aback, had to get out of it by an evasive answer, or we should have been into a regular fight, of course they, like nearly all the Friends, especially the orthodox body, are fierce republicans and abolitionists.[1]

Perhaps Pim's reliance on decorum had not prepared him for such an abrupt question, and maybe he equivocated because of this and his own dislike of Republicans. At any rate, his reluctance to discuss partiality in such a context and the content of his letters further support the argument that Pim's alliances were close to his countrymen who shared the same political and religious convictions.

A study of these letters shows that the attitudes toward and relations with America during the Civil War they contain are not typical of Irish Catholics who emigrated here and became Northern patriots. Instead, they are the result of the author's own heritage, personality, and the nature of his mission. As an Irish Friend with English allegiance, Pim's response to America is exemplary, and the implicit neutrality is similar to the official position of Parliament. Accordingly, this private correspondence is valuable to historians who have relied primarily on public documents, such as the Parliamentary debates, to understand British neutrality, particularly as it developed within the context of Ireland. The letters are also helpful because their contents are representative of the interests of a British subject concerned with Anglo-American relations during the period.

With regard to the life of this important Friend, moreover, the letters reveal a remarkable amount of wisdom from someone only twenty-five years old. No doubt Pim's experience in America was invaluable in his later years as a leader in the financial and political spheres of Dublin. During the time of the First World War, when he wrote on the subject of war again, he stated that sincerity, frankness, and good faith are the requisites for international peace.[2] Perhaps Pim learned such wisdom many years earlier during his American visit.

G. J. WILLAUER

[1] Frederic W. Pim, "American Notes", Vol. I, 85. See Olive C. Goodbody, *Guide to Irish Quaker records*, 1967, p. 134, para. 157. This journal, in manuscript, is in the archives of the Historical Library, Religious Society of Friends in Ireland, which has given permission to quote this passage.

[2] Frederic W. Pim, "The Mites in the Cheese". *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, lii (1918), 187.

Reports on Archives

The Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts *List of accessions to repositories in 1971* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1972. 73p), reports the following additions to the manuscript collections in various institutions which may interest workers on Quaker history:

Bodleian Library, Oxford OX1 3BG.

Single letters and small groups: Laurence Housman.

Bristol Archives Office, Council House, Bristol BS1 5TR.

Friends' First-Day Schools, Adult School and Day and Evening Schools, minutes, reports a/cs., etc., 1810–1963.

Cambridgeshire and Isle of Ely Record Office, Shire Hall, Castle Hill, Cambridge CB3 OAP.

Society of Friends: misc. papers of Huntingdonshire meetings, 1738–94.

Cumberland Record Office, The Castle, Carlisle CA3 8UR.

Braithwaite and Mounsey of Irton, Whitehaven and Beckermet, 1666–1893.

Society of Friends: Carlisle and Holm Monthly Meeting, minute and other books, 1837–1965.

Westmorland Record Office, County Hall, Kendal.

Business: Gilkes & Gordon Ltd., turbine engineers, Kendal, wages books 1873–1949, estimates books 1931–64.

Glamorgan Record Office, County Hall, Cardiff CF1 3NE.

Society of Friends: Swansea Preparative Meeting, minutes 1852–1963.

Manchester Public Libraries, Archives Department, Central Library, Manchester M2 5PD.

John Bright: 2 letters from, 1875–7.

National Library of Ireland, Kildare Street, Dublin, 2.

Literary: Douglas Hyde, diaries 1877–1914, notebooks and MSS., *c.* 1880–1930.

Oxfordshire Record Office, County Hall, Oxford OX1 1ND.

Society of Friends: Banbury Monthly Meeting (addnl.), 18–19c.

Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, 66 Balmoral Avenue, Belfast BT9 6NY.

Missionary and family letters from Elsie Hodgkin in China, 1921–8.

York City Library, Museum Street, York YO1 2DS.

Education: York Educational Settlement (addnl.), records 1909–61, incl. minute, a/c. and log books, photographs and York Settlement Community Players papers.

* * *

The National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections, 1969. Compiled by the Library of Congress from reports provided by American repositories with assistance from the Council on Library Resources, Inc. (Library of Congress, Washington, 1970.)

This volume includes catalogue entries for manuscript collections reported from Guilford College Library, Greensboro, N.C., and from Haverford College Library (Evans, Jones, Kite, Lewis, Morley, Roberts, Shackleton, Sheppard and Updegraff families, and Little Egg Harbor Monthly Meeting (Tuckerton, N.J.)), and from Friends' Historical Library at Swarthmore College (Anna Gillingham, 1878–1964; Oliver Edward Janney, 1856–1930; Edward F. Stratton, 1876–1968; and the Howland and Walton families.)

One merit in this type of listing of resources is that collections outside the main libraries used by historians of the Society are brought to notice, such as the Levi Talbott Pennington papers in the University of Oregon Library (Eugene).

* * *

Sources of business history in the National Register of Archives, No. 4 (Items indexed 1 Dec. 1970–30 Nov. 1971), issued by the National Register of Archives, Quality House, Quality Court, Chancery Lane, London, WC2A 1HP, includes the following items:

907 Backhouse & Co., bankers;
912 Barclay, Perkins & Co., brewers;
983 J. T. Clay & Sons Ltd., Rastrick;
1037 Eliot family, merchants, Falmouth & London;
1083 Gurney family, merchants & bankers;
1112 Howard, Robert & Luke;
1281 Tuke & Co., London.

* * *

Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts. *Report of the Secretary to the Commissioners, 1970–1971*. (London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1971. 45p).

In the "List of reports added to the National Register of Archives between March 1970 and January 1971" are the following:

14014 Birmingham Area: Society of Friends. (M/film) Worcs. R.O.
14065 Raistrick MSS. 1 Craven Museum, Skipton; 2 Leeds City Library.
14144 Aberdeen: Society of Friends. Aberdeen University Library.

* * *

List & Index Society, special series, vol. 5: Calendar of letters from Canada, Newfoundland, Pennsylvania, Barbados and the Bahamas, 1721–1793, preserved at the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (1972. London, Swift (P & D) Ltd. £3.20) includes reference to material concerning Quakers, as material for reclamation, as supporters of unsatisfactory clergy, or as opponents of the efforts of S.P.G. missionaries.

* * *

List & Index Society. Vol. 78: Department of Education and Science, class list, part V. (1972.)

In the files of Secondary education: Estate management files include such school items as: [Somerset, p. 100] Winscombe Sidcott[sic] School (Reference: Ed. 43/858); [Yorkshire, p. 116] York Bootham School (S. 8770X) (Reference: Ed. 43/1079), York The Mount Friends' Girls School (S. 8772X) Charity of G. S. Gibson for Friends

Training School for Female Teachers, 1912 (Reference: Ed. 43/1081), Great Ayton North of England Agricultural School (or Friends' School) (S. 8831X), 1915 (Reference: Ed. 43/1089); [Yorkshire, pp. 117–8] Ackworth Educational Foundation (S. 8995X) 1905–1917 (Reference: Ed. 43/1104), and Ackworth Friends' School (S. 8951X) Jackson's Charity, 1909–1915 (Reference: Ed. 43/1105). Also noted are: Penketh Friends School (S. 4403X) (Reference: Ed. 43/489); Saffron Walden Society of Friends School (S. 3463X) (Reference: Ed. 43/246).

* * *

A Guide to manuscripts and documents in the British Isles relating to Africa, compiled by Noel Matthews and M. Doreen Wainwright. Edited by J. D. Pearson. (Oxford University Press. 1971.)

The volume includes two pages describing the resources of the library at Friends House for the student of African history and affairs. Notable also is the Arthington Trust collection (recording the disposal of the money left by Robert Arthington, 1823–1900, for missionary work) reported by Leeds City archives department.

Among other items noticed are Friends' records deposited at Bristol Archives Office (18th century, slave trade), and the William Smeal collection at the Mitchell Library, Glasgow (including papers of the Glasgow Emancipation Society) for the period 1833–76.

* * *

The *Guide to the Bristol Archives Office* by Elizabeth Ralph (Bristol Corporation. 1971. £2) does not include any detailed list of the Friends' records deposited by Bristol and Frenchay Monthly Meeting (reserved for a forthcoming *Guide* to the nonconformist records in Bristol and Gloucestershire). Many items in the lists of estate and family archives have Quaker connections, and we may note the Fry MSS: Notes by Marian Fry Pease on the Fry family (of Sutton Benger and Bristol) 1627–1921; the Gane MSS (Crofton Gane); Harford MSS; Wright MSS; and solicitors' collections from the firms of Churchus, Gregory & Pitt, Crossman & Co., Lloyd, Burch, Inskip & Co., Meade, King & Co., and Osborne, Ward, Vassall, Abbott & Co.

* * *

Ely Records: a handlist of the records of the Bishop and Archdeacon of Ely, by Dorothy M. Owen. Published by the Marc Fitch Fund, 1971. This volume includes among the Records of the Court of Quarter Sessions B/5/1 the Quakers' Roll, containing a declaration of allegiance to the crown, with signatures or marks affixed, in accordance with the Act of 1 Geo. 1, *c.* 33 (Sept. to Dec., 1723). Other records noted are those of the registration of dissenting meeting houses (pp. 23, 39, 44–45, 73).

* * *

In spite of there being no index entry under QUAKERS, the *Guide to the Kent County Archives Office*, first supplement, 1957–1968, prepared by Felix Hull (Maidstone, Kent County Council, 1971), does record the receipt of Kent General Meeting minutes, 1943–1963, and Rochester Monthly Meeting minutes, 1910–58, as well as minutes from Dover, Folkestone and Maidstone meetings (overall period 1805–1964).

Recent Publications

A Procession of Friends: Quakers in America. By Daisy Newman. Doubleday & Co., Garden City, New York. $10.

This beautifully-produced book, one of a series on "Religion in America", sets out to give a comprehensive picture of Quakerism on the other side of the Atlantic. It was clear that this could only be made comprehensible to the non-Quaker reader, for whom it was primarily intended, by including some account of the historical background; but Daisy Newman has very skilfully combined this with her treatment of modern events, so that the two are seen all through to be part of the same story.

The British reader will find this the best picture of American Quakers of today that he is likely to come across; many of the stories related will be quite new to him, and will certainly have the effect of increasing his understanding and admiration of our fellow-Friends. Those who have enjoyed Daisy Newman's novels will not need to be told that she brings a vivid pen to such episodes as the meeting for worship in support of the "Absent Without Leave" soldier, which lasted, unexpectedly, for eighteen days.

It appears unlikely that there will be an English edition of the book published, but copies of the American edition are available in England, and it is hoped it will be widely read.

A.W.B.

Christianity and Violence. By Geoffrey F. Nuttall. Being the Frederick Denison Maurice Lectures for 1970. Published for the Christian Economic and Social Research Foundation by Priory Press Limited, Church End, Arrington, Royston, Herts. 25p.

These three lectures by Geoffrey Nuttall on the Christian attitude to violence, and especially his first lecture, Violence and Response to Violence in Christian History, contain many references to Friends and early Quakerism. "If the Independents give us the theory of the thing", he says, "for its dynamic we must turn to the Quakers". He lists a number of points on which misconceptions exist as to the Quaker attitude, and Friends will find his analysis of these as valuable as his audience must have done.

It is interesting to find also how closely the conclusions come to by F. D. Maurice on this question resemble the conclusions of Friends. though the road by which he reached them was very different.

A.W.B.

Pioneers of the Peaceable Kingdom. By Peter Brock. Excerpted from the Author's *Pacifism in the United States.* Princeton University Press, 1970. $3.45.

This paperback is a reprint of those parts of the author's longer work which deal specifically with Quakers, and we can warmly commend it to our readers as containing a mine of information on all matters relating to the pacifist witness of Friends in America from the earliest period to the outbreak of the First World War.

A.W.B.

The Fifth Monarchy Men: A Study in Seventeenth-Century Millenarianism. By B. S. Capp. pp. 315. Faber and Faber, 1972. £5.25.

The Fifth Monarchy Men have hitherto been associated in Friends' minds almost entirely with their attempted armed rising under Thomas Venner in the first year of the Restoration, which, although insignificant in itself, led to oppressive measures against all sectaries, and to the famous Declaration of 1661, whereby Quakers dissociated themselves from the rising and repudiated fighting "with outward weapons, neither for the Kingdom of Christ, nor for the kingdom of this world".

Dr. Capp's book will enable us to extend our knowledge of this sect, or movement, as it should more accurately be called, as it did not have the permanence or homogeneity of a sect. He shows that their advocacy of force for the establishment of Christ's kingdom on earth was largely a theoretical doctrine, with very little attempt, or apparently desire, to put it into practice, and that the real interest of the movement lies in its being the most forceful exponent in contemporary England of millenarianism, that is, the belief in an imminent second coming, the date of this calculated by reference to Biblical prophecies.

G. P. Gooch once suggested that many disillusioned Fifth Monarchists subsequently became Quakers. Dr. Capp does not find much evidence for this: only two prominent Friends, the Welshmen John ap John and Richard Davies, are known to have had Fifth Monarchist associations previously. "For the more deeply committed, a move to the Quakers meant accepting their 'spiritualizing' notions and also reversing in most cases their own predestinarian beliefs." He therefore discounts the suggestion.

Nevertheless, Dr. Capp's book, with its mine of information on mid-seventeenth-century religious movements, will be of great interest and value to Friend historians.

A.W.B.

The Tukes of York in the 17th, 18th and 19th Centuries. Presented by William K. and E. Margaret Sessions. pp. 115;

50 illustrations. Friends Home Service Committee (in association with the Sessions Book Trust), 1971. £1.

Most of our readers will already have seen this charming detailed record of a famous York family, but a brief notice in our pages should certainly be made. It is well known how intimately the Tuke family was connected with the early days of Ackworth, The Mount and Bootham Schools, and of the Retreat Mental Hospital, but many other interests and innovating projects are also mentioned. The attraction of the book is greatly increased by the large number of illustrations.

A.W.B.

The British Studies Monitor, vol. 2, no. 2 (Winter 1971–72) reports the Robert Owen Bicentennial Conference at New Harmony, Indiana, "amid renewed interest in communitarianism, women's rights, higher education, and millenialism" (p. 39).

The same issue also reports (p. 43) that the Bath and Camerton Archaeological Society has issued *A Second North Somerset Miscellany*, including an account of the attempts of the Camerton clergyman to collect tithes from dissenting farmers in the nineteenth century.

Quaker History: the Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association, vol. 61, no. 1 (Spring number 1972) includes three major papers: "Three hundred years ago: the Penn-Meade trial and its sequel" by Alfred W. Braithwaite, read at the Spring meeting of the Association, May 9, 1971, at the Westfield Meetinghouse, Riverton, N.J., dealing with Bushell's Case and its place in the history of British justice; "Another Woolman manuscript" by Henry J. Cadbury concerns a manuscript in the Haverford Quaker Collection of Woolman's "Word of Remembrance and Cuation to the Rich"; in "Friends Sufferings—collected and recollected", Richard T. Vann, describes manuscript and printed accounts of early Friends' brushes with authority which were finally collected into printed form in the middle of the 18th century by Joseph Besse, but which still also exist in both manuscript and printed form to provide raw material for the searcher.

Notes and Queries

American Independence

The attempted intervention of Doctor Fothergill (physician to Lord Dartmouth, the secretary of state) and David Barclay (merchant in the American trade and friend of Lord Hyde the chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster) with Benjamin Franklin in an unofficial attempt to prevent the outbreak of the War of American Independence, is briefly touched on (p. 152) in an article entitled "The North Government and the Outbreak of the American Revolution", by Allan J. McCurry (*The Huntington Library quarterly*, Feb. 1971, vol. 34, no. 2, pp. 141–157). The author concludes that the effort "cannot be regarded as a bona fide effort at conciliation", because at no time was the government directly involved.

American Indians

"Though Quaker relations with the Indians were not so benign as some historians have suggested, it is significant that not a single incident of organized violence between Indians and Quakers occurred during the colonial period".

The above passage comes in the course of a paragraph dealing briefly, but with bibliographical references satisfactorily provided, with Friends, in the course of an article by Gary B. Nash on "The image of the Indian in the Southern Colonial mind", in *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, vol. 29, no. 2, 1972, pp. 197–230.

American Men of Science

Science in the British colonies of America, by Raymond Phineas Stearns (University of Illinois Press, 1970. $20.00) is a massive book. It includes within its covers references to such men as John Bartram, Peter Collinson, Dr. John Fothergill, John Coakley Lettsom and James Logan.

The index is good, and worthy of a work which immediately makes itself the standard treatment of the field studied.

Anthropology

"What's in a name? The origins of the Royal Anthropological Institute (1837–71)", an article by George W. Stocking, Jr. (University of Chicago) in *Man*, vol. 6, no. 3, pp. 369–390 (Sept., 1971), delineates in its earlier pages the formative influences which went into the establishment of the R.A.I. The author makes particular mention of the Aborigines' Protection Society, Thomas Fowell Buxton (1786–1845), Thomas Hodgkin (1798–1866), James Cowles Prichard (1786–1848) and others who, working from a base in humanitarian interest gradually spread into various fields of informed scientific activity.

The "name" of the title of the article reflects discussion of the choice of the term "anthropology" or "ethnology".

Assizes

"On some circuits Quakers and papists appear to have been prosecuted impartially; elsewhere

Quakers were treated leniently or, conversely, allowed to linger for long periods in prison, vainly appealing to the judges for a hearing of their cases". That sentence, with appropriate references appears in J. S. Cockburn, *A history of English assizes, 1558–1714* (Cambridge Studies in English Legal History. Cambridge University Press, 1972).

Banking

The second volume of Dr. George Chandler's *Four centuries of banking as illustrated by the bankers, customers and staff associated with the constituent banks of Martins Bank Limited* (Batsford, 1968) deals with the Northern constituent banks. It ranges from the Kendal and Ulverston banks in the north west, the Craven, Halifax and West Riding Union banks in Yorkshire, the Carlisle and Cumberland Banking Company and the North Eastern Banking Company Limited in the far north and north east, and in Lancashire banks centred on Bury, Preston, Liverpool and Manchester. Many banking families were Friends—the Wakefields, Wilsons, Crewdsons in Kendal, and Birkbecks in Settle, to name a few.

A Birmingham Friend?

William Alexander (1824–1911), who became Church of Ireland Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of All Ireland was much attracted as a young man by the teaching of J. H. Newman, especially soon after Newman had become a Roman Catholic. One day in 1845 Alexander took his name off the books of his Oxford college, informed his mother that he had determined to become a Catholic and set off homeward. On the coach he met and talked at length to a Quakeress whose presence he found soothing. Before spending the night in prayer in a cheap Birmingham hotel he was able to have tea with her and to receive a gift of a book. Finally he decided to remain a member of the Church of England and his daughter wrote in her biography (*Primate Alexander* by Eleanor Alexander, London, 1913, pp. 68–9): "He had been calmed and elevated by the gentle Quakeress, and to the end of life she remained in his grateful memory as an influence for good . . . She was dressed . . . in the charming neutral tint with spotless white muslin, so becoming to a sweet and attractive face."

Can anyone identify the Quakeress?

David J. Hall

Brislington House

The Trade in Lunacy, a study of private madhouses in England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, by William Ll. Parry-Jones (London, Routledge, 1972. £4.75) includes a brief account (pp. 112–115) of Brislington House, near Bristol, "one of the most reputable provincial licensed houses" for the treatment of the insane. It was built specifically for the purpose by Edward Long Fox (1761–1835) and remained open until 1951.

Bristol Workhouse

Friends' Workhouse in Bristol (founded 1696) receives passing references in Emily E. Butcher's "*Bristol Corporation of the Poor, 1696–1898* (Bristol branch of the Historical Association, Pamphlet no. 29, 1972, 25p). As well as founding their own workhouse

for the relief of Friends, prominent members of Bristol Meeting served in the management of the Corporation of the Poor which served a like purpose in the city at large.

Miss Butcher edited the Corporation's records (Bristol Record Society's publications, vol. 3, 1931). The volume is now out of print, and the records themselves were destroyed in 1940. Miss Butcher quotes from a Nottingham unpublished thesis of 1962 entitled "The 2 Workhouses of Bristol" by M. M. Tomkins; the second establishment is of course the Friends' Workhouse, on part of the site of which the new Friars Meeting House in Bristol now stands.

Broseley

Iron-Top Cottage, Broseley is illustrated in a short note from the *Shropshire Journal* of August 27, 1971, which recalls that the cottage (believed once to have had a cast iron roof) was built by John Wilkinson the ironmaster (1728–1808). Locally the house is still known as a "Quaker House".

Buckingham

The Huntington Library quarterly, vol. 34, no. 2 (Feb. 1971), pp. 159–181 contains a fascinating story of the politics of a small, predominantly evangelical and low church electorate in the period of the Reform Bill and after. This is unfolded in "Buckingham, 1832–1846: a study of a 'pocket borough'," by R. W. Davis of Washington University, St. Louis. Two Friends are named, Thomas Gilkes, and William Richardson a corn dealer who proposed Sir Harry Verney in opposition to the Duke of Buckingham's interest.

Castleton, Yorks.

The Bulletin of the Cleveland and Teesside Local History Society, no. 9, June 1970, p. 25, has the following:

> "Mrs. T. M. Nattrass writes: We can throw some light on the fate of the Friends Meeting House at Castleton. I think that it was purchased by Mr. Edward Watson when he owned Dibble Bridge (about the 1930s) and the stone removed to use in extensions and alterations at Dibble."

Colthouse

G. P. Jones, in the course of a review of *Wordsworth's Hawkshead*, by T. W. Thompson, edited by Robert Woof (Oxford University Press, 1970, £6) in *Notes and Queries*, March 1972, pp. 115–6, recounts some of the discussion in the book concerning the possibility that Wordsworth may have attended Colthouse Friends' Meeting on hot or wet Sundays when the journey to the parish church may have been considered unsuitable by Ann Tyson for her boarders.

Coventry

Twentieth-century Coventry, by Kenneth Richardson (Macmillan, 1972) a handsome volume issued under the patronage of Coventry City Council includes some brief mention of Friends.

Friends had a meeting house in Hill Street just outside the city walls at the end of the 17th century. In the 19th century John Gulson (1813–1904) sometime mayor, but long before a liberal reformer, active in the establishment of the mechanics' institute and the public library; the Cash family; the Browett family were in manufacturing.

In the 20th century Charles Webb Fowler (1861–1922), doctor and city councillor, and Walter Chinn (1904–) post-Second World War director of education are mentioned.

Essex

Essex people, 1750–1900, from their diaries, memoirs and letters by A. F. J. Brown (Essex County Council, Chelmsford: Essex Record Office publications no. 59) is a volume of extracts from personal documents concerning seventeen Essex people.

Included is Elizabeth Fry (granddaughter of *the* Elizabeth Fry, of whom a portrait appears), aged 15, of Warley Lodge, 1842.

John Crosier, of Maldon, miller (1753–96) visited Bristol in September 1769 in company with his father. Returning to their inn one evening they "found Mr. Reed (a Quaker), having met him upon 'change in the morning, a most generous hospitable kind of man I ever met with. He intreated us very much to go home with him but were oblig'd to refuse his civill offer." [p. 3]

In the early summer of 1774 John Crosier visited Wisbech with some friends, and reported: "The same day we din'd at Miss Buxton's and drank tea. Spend the evening at Mr. Goddard's, a Quaker; he being absent we were entertain'd by his daughter and neice who, discarding the stiff veil of Quakerism, render'd themselves as agreeable as possible. The hours glided along in *Love and innocence*; we reluctantly left them and begg'd for another interview which they granted. The civility and politeness of these and the rest of our friends render'd our time there quite agreeable and made us leave Wisbeach unwillingly." [p. 11]

In the summer of 1783, when at Uxbridge John Crosier "spent the evening at Mr. Hull's, a miller of great property, a Quaker, in a very agreeable manner." [p. 26]

William Wire, watchmaker and postman of Colchester, noted in 1842, 1843 and 1844 that the Quakers in the town kept their shops open on Christmas Day, or (in 1842) on the day after. The entry for December 26, 1842, reads: "Christmas Day falling on Sunday, the shops were closed this day and a holiday was kept generally by all excepting the Quakers, who refused to shut up their shops when others do." [p. 166, see also 174, 177]

Factory Architecture

The Development of the Factory, by Jennifer Tann (Cornmarket Press, 1970), is packed with illustrations of plans of factories and power machinery from the period of about 1780 to 1850, reproduced from originals in the collection of Boulton and Watt papers in Birmingham Reference Library.

Among establishments illustrated are those of Owen, Scarth & Co., Chorlton, Manchester, *c.* 1795 (cotton manufacture; before Robert Owen's move to New Lanark), Brooke & Pease, Hull, 1795 (oil seed crushing) and Barclay and Perkins, Anchor Brewery, Southwark, 1786, where some power was provided by the horse wheel.

Coalbrookdale, and Fox, of Wellington, are mentioned.

The author quotes in passing a note by Sidney Pollard (writing on "Factory discipline in the Industrial Revolution", *Economic*

history review, 1963): "Quakers showed some fine feeling for their workers but made high demands of moral conformity on them."

FARNDALE, YORKS.

Hob of High Farndale: a story of daffodils and deep waters, by Brenda H. English (Whitby, 1971. 57p), contains several Quaker characters. The story begins with the news of the death from a fever of Master Aspin, a farmer, imprisoned in York Castle for refusing to pay tithes. His nephew Michael brings the news to Farndale and has the misfortune to fall in love with Ruth who attends the parish Church on Sundays but whose life is ruled by belief in hobs and witches, charms and spells. Events however cause Ruth to turn away from the established Church and the last obstacles to her marriage with Michael are removed when she acknowledges that she has "given thought to the necessity of joining the Society of Friends". Another character Benjamin Slape is said to have been "converted" shortly before his marriage with Hannah, a young Quaker, who had inherited a farm, with the implication that his conversion had served only as a means towards ownership of the farm, although it is stated that he was "subjected to a good deal of examination and inquiry as to his 'clearness', before being finally accepted as a member."

GAINSBOROUGH

"Modestly located out of sight in Market Street, the Friends of Gainsburgh, prominent in good works, occupy a small Chapel capable of accommodating some fifty or sixty persons. The adjoining graveyard was closed in 1855. At the Inclosure the burgess-right pertaining to the building was compensated by an allotment of 3 roods 6 perches of land in Humble Carr. This land was sold by the trustees immediately afterwards." (Moor, *History of Gainsburgh*, Gainsburgh, C. Caldicott, at the Office of the "Gainsburgh News", 1904, p. 289).

Other pages in the volume noted above include some brief notes about Friends in the town. e.g. Burials in the burial ground were allowed after 1855 for members of families already interred there, and this right was exercised on occasion; Bishop Wake (William Wake, Bishop of Lincoln from 1705–1716 and thereafter archbishop of Canterbury) in his Speculum Dioceseos, noted 10 Quakers [families?] in the town.

The erection of the simple brick meeting house was reported to London Yearly Meeting in 1705 (see *Journal FHS*, 51 (1967), p. 190). Harold Brace dated the house 1704 in his edition of *The First Minute Book of the Gainsborough Monthly Meeting* (Lincoln Record Society, vol. 38, 1948, p. xxi) and he printed the trust deed of 18 May 1705 in Lincoln Record Society, vol. 44, 1951, pp. 167–70.

Almost the whole of the inner core of the old town is built in a most acceptable brick, and one hopes that the council, faced with a formidable clearance problem, will be able to continue to preserve as much as possible of the style and appearance of the early work.

The great house in the town, and one where a major work of preservation is going on, is the Old Hall, a timber framed build-

ing dating from the second half of the fifteenth century. Since 1970 the work has been in the hands of the Department of the Environment, carrying on restoration begun by the local Friends of the Old Hall Association.

The work of Harold Brace in this connection is recorded by a handsome memorial showcase in one of the main exhibition rooms, and the inscription on a plaque in the great hall of the building:

> "This tablet commemorates the work of Harold Witty Brace, F.R.H.S., who died on October 2nd, 1962. He was the founder of the Friends of the Old Hall Association, being chairman from 1949 to 1958, and president from 1958 to 1962."

Genealogy

English Genealogy, by Anthony Richard Wagner, Garter King of Arms. 2nd edition, enlarged (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1972) contains a paragraph or two about Friends, in England and in Pennsylvania, concerning the economic success and intermarriages of the great Quaker families of Gurney, Fry, Barclay and Lloyd.

Industrial Libraries

"British industrial libraries before 1939" by Margaret R. Marshall (*Journal of documentation*, vol. 28, no. 2, June 1972, p. 107–121) includes some notice of the important libraries of Allen and Hanburys, the Rowntree works at York, and Reckitt and Sons at Hull.

Kingston-on-Thames

An Index of Kingston Quakers in the seventeenth century, by J. S. L. Pulford (Walton & Weybridge Local History Society. Paper no. 8. 1971. 50p) in 50 pages of typescript includes an alphabetical list of Friends drawn from the Kingston Monthly Meeting registers deposited in the Public Record Office, giving locality, date of birth, trade, spouse, and date of death or burial, with family relationships indicated as far as possible. Other sources used have been the monthly meeting minutes (from 1667), subscription lists, Meeting for Sufferings records and Surrey Quarter Sessions records for 1661–68.

A list at the end (pp. 39–46) indicates the names of witnesses to the marriages. This reveals that promenent London Friends like Ellis Hookes, Alexander Parker, Gerrard Roberts and George Whitehead went down to Kingston to witness the marriage of Gilbert Latey, tailor, of the Savoy, to Mary Feilder, daughter of John Feilder of Kingston, mealman in 1673; the deaths of 9 of their children are recorded inside the next twenty years.

Northallerton

The history and annals of Northallerton, by J. L. Saywell, 1885, includes the following notes:

> (p. 108) "In the fourth register of burials of the parish church under date 1698, the following entry appears: June ye 5th, 1698.
>
> James Whitehead, buried
> Elizabeth Metcalfe, buried
> Quakers, both."
>
> (pp 118-9): "On Sunday morning, July 20th [1735], Ann Flower, of Northallerton, incited by her husband, a quaker, went into the church during the time of divine service, to

> the great consternation and confusion of the congregation, or as she termed it 'assembly', and though cautioned, nay positively forbidden by the vicar to talk, or as they call it, speak in the church, began to hold forth. The vicar, without further remonstrance, than that it was the apostle's command that a woman should not be suffered to teach in the church, directly led her out, thereby preventing a mob from cooling her frenzy in a neighbouring brick-pond, which they began to threaten, although she said she was sent by the Spirit."

PEACE

American Studies, an interdisciplinary journal sponsored by the Midcontinent American Studies Association and the University of Kansas vol. 13, no. 1, Spring 1972, is entitled "Peace Movements in America" and includes papers dealing with the American peace movement, 1898–1914, "Democracy in wartime: antimilitarism in England and the United States, 1914–1918", "Kenneth Boulding and the peace research movement".

PENNSYLVANIA

For the Reputation of Truth: politics, religion, and conflict among the Pennsylvania Quakers, 1750–1800, by Richard Bauman (Baltimore and London, Johns Hopkins Press, 1971). The author differentiates between Quakers in Pennsylvania who were devoted to Quakerism, those who were politicians, pure and simple, and the "politiques" who tried to uphold Quaker principles in politics. There are some useful "capsule biographies" at the end of the book.

PENNSYLVANIA, 1765

Lord Adam Gordon, 4th son of the 2nd Duke of Gordon visited Pennsylvania in 1765, and an account of his visit is printed in *Narratives of Colonial America, 1704–1765*. Edited by Howard H. Peckham (R. R. Donnelley & Sons Company, Chicago, 1971). Gordon did not view Quaker pacifists kindly. He wrote: "The Germans in this province are not under 60,000, and there are white men enough fit to bear arms and able to repulse all Indians [who] could molest them, was their spirit equal to their numbers". "The Quakers here bear the great sway in government, which is clogged and encumbered, and I cannot help wishing that this and every other proprietary government in America was reannexed to the Crown and governed by royal governors, whose salaries ought to be permanent and independent of the fickle will and fancy of those they are sent to superintend."

PORT ROYAL, JAMAICA

"Quakers and the earthquake at Port Royal, 1692", by H. J. Cadbury (*Jamaican historical review*, vol. 8, pp. 19–31, 1971). prints letters from Friends giving accounts of the earthquake and lists of the Friends who lost their lives in the disaster.

PORTSMOUTH

Portsmouth Record Series. Borough sessions papers, 1653–1688. A calendar compiled by Arthur J. Willis, and edited by Margaret J. Hoad (Phillimore, London and Chichester, 1971. £4.25).

Item 60 records information laid concerning one John Cleverley (1660), box-maker, who "went under the name of an Anabaptist or Quaker" and who was suspected of disloyalty to the king.

Extract 69 in Appendix II (p. 163), dated 15 April, 1659, records sentence: "John Bristowe a Quaker, being committed for disturbing Mr Jackson ye Minister in ye publique ordinance upon the Lords day was discharged by the Court".

V. S. Pritchett's Quaker Soldier

In a long extract from *Midnight Oil*, a book of reminiscences by V. S. Pritchett, appearing in the *New York Review of Books*, Jan. 27, 1972, p. 6, occurs a passage describing how the author met "a very serious young Englishman, in fact a Quaker" in Limerick, who confided to him that "he had been in the fighting against the Sinn Feiners, but had lately married an Irish girl. I think he had been in the Auxiliary Force".

Quaker Journals

Chapters dealing with "Quaker Journals", "Quaker Testimonies" and "A language of spiritual experience" adorn *The Spiritual Experience* by Owen C. Watkins, lecturer in education at the University of Leicester (Routledge, 1972. £3.75).

The author has a full bibliography, which lists a large number of the spiritual journals of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, including some still in manuscript at Friends House Library and elsewhere.

Readers will remember an article by the author entitled "Some early Quaker autobiographies", which appeared in *Jnl. F.H.S.*, 45 (1953), pp. 65–74. This article covered part of the field surveyed in the book which has now made its welcome appearance.

Quakers and Politics

The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas during the English Revolution, by Christopher Hill (Temple Smith, London, 1972. £5) is a most rewarding work. It brings early Friends to notice in a context which does not immediately spring to mind to a Quaker historian. For instance, Samuel Fisher "deserves greater recognition as a precursor of the English enlightenment than he has yet received" (p. 215); the political pronouncements of Burrough and others are mentioned, and the book brings forward ideas found among early Friends which were shared by other bodies and movements in the middle of the seventeenth century.

Scots Friends

"Swinton and Jaffray, like so many other genuine ex-Cromwellian laymen, became Quakers. Perhaps it was no accident that the strongest centre of early Scottish Quakerism was in Aberdeen, the area where the Covenant had always been weakest, where there was an old tradition of lay life, and where Cromwell had found most local support. In Scotland, as in England, Quakerism was the ghost of deceased Independency sitting hatless in the seat thereof." (H. R. Trevor-Roper, *Religion, the Reformation and Social Change* London, 1967, p. 443.)

Slave Trade

Dale H. Porter: *The Abolition of the Slave Trade in England, 1784–1807* (Archon Books, 1970) concentrates on the practical economics and the parliamentary discussions on the problem and is based firmly on a study of the British sessional papers and some local archive collections.

* * *

"A re-interpretation of the abolition of the British slave trade, 1806–1807" by Roger Anstey (*English historical review*, vol. 87, no. 343, April 1972, pp. 304–332) traces the forces which enabled William Wilberforce to carry to success his long parliamentary campaign against slavery.

The author says that the campaign against the slave trade was begun in an "intellectually favourable climate", and that the opponents of the slave trade (Quakers among them) were surprised that they failed to obtain success quickly. However, the years from 1787, when the London Abolition Committee was founded, originating in deliberations of the Meeting for Sufferings, saw the gradual development and widespread organisation of the "lobby" which eventually enabled Wilberforce to carry his point at Westminster.

Southampton

Agitation against church rates, and the part which Friends in Southampton took in this during the 1840s, is mentioned in the second volume of A. Temple Patterson's *History of Southampton* (Southampton Records Series vol. 14. Southampton University Press, 1971). Joseph Clark engaged in this movement, and took part in many other public affairs in the town besides.

Spelling

Instructions for Right Spelling, and Plain Directions for Reading and Writing True English, by George Fox and Ellis Hookes (London, 1691) has been added to the Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif. The *Huntington Library Quarterly*, vol. 35, no. 2 (Feb. 1972), p. 193, states that the recent acquisition is an unrecorded fifth edition, "it is a general text book for Quaker children in reading, writing, mathematics, and religious education".

Stevington, Beds.

Some early nonconformist church books. Edited by H. G. Tibbutt (Publications of the Bedfordshire Historical Record Society, vol. 51. 1972) includes the following names of Quakers mentioned in the Stevington church book (now on deposit at the County Record Office): Elizabeth Frint of Oakley (excommunicated, p. 25); Church Meeting, December 1st, 1695, "Elizabeth Haines, wife of Richard Hai[nes of Stev]enton, a Quaker by denomination, gave in her experience, and was baptized at night and admitted on December 3d, [16]93" (p. 37).

Trollope on Quakerism

Anthony Trollope's *The New Zealander*, the manuscript which describes England in the mid-1850s and is now first published by N. John Hall (Clarendon Press, 1972) has this to say (p. 77):

> "Practical Quakerism can hardly be said to be natural to an Englishman. One might as well attempt to persuade

one's bull-dog to allow his favourite bone to be taken without resistance from between his jaws, by the semi-shorn parlour poodle."

STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC

Calendar of State Papers preserved in the Public Record Office, Domestic series. James II, volume 3: June 1687–February 1689 (London, H.M. Stationery Office, 1972. £12.50). This volume includes the following items:

(488) Nov. 6, 1687. The Earl of Sunderland to the Lord Mayor [of London]. Edward Brooker, Henry Jefferson and Joseph Tomlinson, Quakers, of Southwark, to be allowed to serve in office (as constables and the like) without taking any oaths or else that they be not fined or otherwise molested on that account. *S.P.* 44/16, *p.* 394.

(613) Dec. 14, 1687. The Earl of Sunderland to the Mayor and Aldermen of Leeds. Goods belonging to John Wales and other Quakers of Leeds remaining unsold in the hands of John Todd, constable at the time of the seizure (from them on account of their religious worship), to be restored to their owners without any charge. *S.P.* 44/56, *p.* 400.

(2160) [Undated] *Three Considerations proposed to Mr. William Pen, Concerning the Validity and Security of his New Magna Charta for Liberty of Conscience, by A Baptist; which may be worthy the consideration of all the Quakers, and of all my Dissenting Brethren also that have Votes in the Choice of Parliament-Men. Printed. S.P.* 31/1, *fols.* 235–7. [By Thomas Comber, dated [1688] in Wing's *Short-title catalogue*, C. 5496.]

(2168) [Undated] *To the King and Both Houses of Parliament The Suffering Condition of the peaceable People, called Quakers, Only for tender Conscience towards Almighty God, Humbly Presented. Printed. 3 folio pp. S.P.* 31/3, *fols.* 4–5. [Dated "about 1685" in Joseph Smith's *Catalogue*, ii. 681; and in Wing T 1491.]

TEESDALE

"Early Teesdale Quakers", by W. M. Andrews (Teesdale Record Society, Bulletin, New series, no. 1, January 1971, pp. 11–12) gives brief paragraphs about John Bowron, Thomas Railton of Bowes (who married Tacy Sowle), the early meetings, and the local sufferings of the Friends who now form Cotherstone meeting.

THIRSK

An exhibition to illustrate Quakerism in its present-day and historical aspects was held in Thirsk Friends' Meeting House, Kirkgate, in August 1972. *The Darlington & Stockton Times*, August 26, p. 13, reports that the exhibition included a collection of minute books and manuscripts dating back to the middle of the 17th century. Roderic Hall gave a talk on Quakerism one evening at the close of the exhibition.

VICTORIAN QUAKERS

Elizabeth Isichei's *Victorian Quakers* (Oxford University Press 1970. £3.25) is given a couple of pages at the end of an extended review article by Peter Marsh entitled "The other Victorian Christians" in *Victorian studies*, March 1972, vol. 15, no. 3, pp. 366–68.

In the course of his remarks, Peter Marsh, associate professor of history at Syracuse University, points out how Friends emerged from the isolation which they experienced until the first half of the nineteenth century into a broader field of endeavour. They were enabled to provide cohesion, money and respectability for reform movements which might otherwise have failed for lack of provincial support, financial assistance and the cloak of respectability which members of the Society of Friends were able to afford.

Wexford Friends

Olive Goodbody's "Quakers in Wexford", *Journal of the Old Wexford Society*, vol. 3, pp. 36–41, is noted in the list of Writings on Irish History in *Irish Historical Studies*, vol. 17, no. 68, Sept. 1971, p. 558.

Whitby

An introduction to the collecting and history of Whitby prints, by Thomas Harks English (Horne & Son, Limited, Whitby, 1931. 2 vols.) was published in a limited edition over forty years ago, and has recently been reprinted.

For the Quaker historian, Whitby presents some of the classic situations which have occurred in the history of local meetings, and these volumes by the late Dr. English give reminders of the bare bones of the history of the Meeting, from the time of George Fox's first visit in 1654.

In the 18th and early 19th centuries Friends numbered among their members prominent bankers and shipowners, as well as shopkeepers and tradesmen. Among the Friends mentioned are John Walker (to whom Captain Cook was apprenticed after he left the grocer's shop at Staithes, just a little up the coast—there is an etching, of the attic in which he worked at his navigation), the Chapman, and the Sanders families.

Glimpses of family life in a well-to-do Friend's house in the 18th century are contributed from the pen of one of the Sanders family, a descendant of the shipowner and banker and a leader in Whitby Meeting who came under discipline of York Quarterly Meeting for arming his ships against privateers in the French wars.

York Politics

The Yorkshire Philosophical Society's *Annual report for the year 1971*, includes an article entitled "Charles Wellbeloved", by A. J. Peacock.

The Rev. Charles Wellbeloved, Unitarian clergyman in York for many years until his death at the age of 90 in 1858, was interested and active in many of the reform movements of the 1820s and early 1830s. York Friends are mentioned, notably in connection with the survey of 1826 into educational provision in the city of York. This survey found that many children never attended day schools, only Sunday schools.

In the 1835 parliamentary election bribery was rampant and brought forth two petitions to unseat the successful Tory candidate; one petition was from "Joseph Rowntree, Samuel Tuke and the City's Quaker community". The select committee on enquiry decided that the Whigs had bribed in the same

way, so nothing came of the petition.

This was the first election in which George Hudson the Railway King was active in Tory organization. For the next ten years Hudson reigned supreme. Erstwhile opponents of political corruption joined his throng. "Others, like Tuke, Rowntree and Wellbeloved, who were outside the King's sphere of influence, said nothing".

The *Annual report* also contains articles which mention John Ford's meteorological work (pp. 74–75) and the Quaker background of John Thurnam (1810–73, D.N.B.).

York Retreat

An American in Regency England by Louis Simond and edited by Christopher Hibbert (London, 1968) is a shortened version of the anonymous *Journal of a Tour and Residence in Great Britain during the Years 1810 and 1811* published in 1815. This new edition includes an account of The Retreat and mentions the high incidence of lunacy among Friends, tailors and the aristocracy.

David J. Hall

John Armstrong, d. 1792

"An Armstrong tragedy", a note in the *Transactions of the Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society*, vol. 71, N.S., 1971, p. 296, by C. Roy Hudleston, gives information of the death of John Armstrong, linen draper of North Shields, "one of the people called Quakers", 10 Dec. 1792. The note comes from the *Newcastle Courant* 15 Dec., 1792.

Henry and Edmund Ashworth

The Ashworth Cotton Enterprise by Rhodes Boyson (Oxford, 1970) describes the growth of the Ashworth family business in the nineteenth century, and the general activity of Henry (1794–1880) and Edmund Ashworth (1800–81) in political, economic and social affairs. Dr. Boyson examines the progressive attitude of the Ashworths towards educating and housing their workers and contrasts this with their resistance to factory legislation.

Although Edmund was for a period Clerk of Marsden Monthly Meeting he left the Society formally in 1876, and neither brother could generally be described as a conventional Friend. Henry's principal recreation, shooting, was a cause of concern to his meeting. Evidently the Ashworths did not receive a good press and it appears that this was partly justified. [See also *Jnl. F.H.S.*, vol. 52, p. 54.]

David J. Hall

Robert Barclay (1672–1747)

In the Clerk of Penicuik muniments (GD. 18) noticed in the Scottish Record Office *List of gifts and deposits*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh: H.M. Stationery Office, 1971. £2.75) is correspondence from Robert Barclay of Urie, Quaker, (2), 1728.

Anthony Benezet

"New sidelights on early antislavery radicalism", by David Brion Davis (*William and Mary quarterly*, 3rd series, vol. 28, no. 4, Oct. 1971, pp. 584–94) includes some notes on Anthony Benezet as "a kind of middleman of ideas"—"It was as an anthologist and collator of scattered material that Benezet made his major contribution to the early antislavery movement. Many of

his pamphlets are little more than hastily compiled collections of quotations and extracts regarding West African culture, the slave trade, and the injustice and inhumanity of Negro slavery". These writings came to influence Granville Sharp, John Wesley and through them a much wider audience.

The number also includes (pp. 688–90) a review by Edwin Bronner of Betty C. Corner and Christopher C. Booth's edition of Dr. John Fothergill's letters published by Harvard University Press under title *Chain of Friendship* (1971. $20.00).

JOHN BRIGHT

Gladstone remembered first seeing John Bright (before Bright's parliamentary career had begun) as member of a delegation from Lancashire at the Board of Trade in 1842. The delegation of some fifteen or twenty gentlemen presented a formidable appearance, but the one who stuck in Gladstone's mind was

> "the figure of a person in (I think) black or dark Quaker costume, seemingly the youngest of the band. Eagerly he sat a little forward on the bench, and intervened in the discussion, which I believe I did not. I was greatly struck with him. He seemed to me rather fierce, but very strong and very earnest".

(Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts. The Prime Ministers' Papers: W. E. Gladstone. 1: Autobiographica. Edited by John Brooke and Mary Sorensen. H.M. Stationery Office. 1971. £4).

The volume also includes some recollections concerning John Bright in the years about 1866, coming from the autobiographical memoranda which Gladstone wrote in his old age.

* * *

Liberal Politics in the age of Gladstone and Rosebery: a study in leadership and policy by D. A. Hamer (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1972. £4.75) inevitably includes notices of John Bright in connection with the 1870 Education Bill, with Chamberlain's 1885 campaign, and the Irish Home Rule question, and in other fields. The author has based his work firmly on manuscript sources, and has used the papers of Robert Spence Watson, the outstanding figure in Newcastle upon Tyne liberalism, and president of the National Liberal Federation throughout the 1890s.

* * *

The Diary of Sir Edward Walter Hamilton, 1880–1885. Edited by Dudley W. R. Bahlman (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1972. 2 vols.). This volume includes many references to John Bright, at this period nearly at the end of his political career.

CYRUS BUSTILL

The William and Mary quarterly, vol. 29, 3rd series, no. 1, Jan. 1972, pp. 99–108, contains an article by Melvin H. Buxbaum, on the address by Cyrus Bustill, a free Christian Negro, to a group of slaves in Philadelphia. Cyrus Bustill was born a slave in Burlington, N.J., in February 1732, and he was sold in 1762 to Thomas Pryor, Jr., an influential Friend. Thomas Pryor freed Bustill in 1769 and taught him to be a baker. After liberation he "married an Indian woman who, like himself, was imbued with Quaker principles". The text of

the address is printed in the article.

THOMAS CARLYLE

That the article on Quakers in the *Edinburgh Encyclopaedia* (1809–31) was written by Thomas Carlyle about 1820 seems fairly established from evidence produced in *The collected letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle*, Duke-Edinburgh edition (Duke University Press, 1970, vol. 1, pp. 229, 252).

CLARKS OF STREET

A diagram of "The spread of the factories of Clarks Ltd., from Street in Somerset, 1939–1967" shows the spread of the firm into Devon, Wiltshire (Warminster) and Northamptonshire (Rothwell) as well as in various towns of Somerset. This appears (p. 210) in an article by D. J. Spooner, of the University of Hull, in *Regional Studies*, vol. 6, June 1972, pp. 197–215, entitled "Industrial movement and the rural periphery: the case of Devon and Cornwall".

JAMES CROPPER

"The state of Ireland in the 1820s: James Cropper's plan", by Kenneth Charlton (*Irish historical studies*, vol. 17, no. 67, March 1971, pp. 320–339) studies Cropper's work and plan to ameliorate economic distress in Ireland as propounded in his pamphlet *The present state of Ireland, with a plan for improving the position of the people* (1825). The author recognises James Cropper's concern for education to assist the Irish overcome their difficulties, and also notices his part in the establishment of Penketh School.

The same number includes a long review of *John Bright and the empire*, by James L. Sturgis, by Dr. E. D. Steele.

JOHN DALTON, F.R.S.

"Three drawings of Fellows by William Brockedon, F.R.S." by Lise Wilkinson of the Chemistry Department, Imperial College, London, in *Notes and records of the Royal Society of London*, vol. 26, no. 2 (Dec. 1971), pp. 183–187, includes an illustration of the half-length figure of Dr. Dalton, dated May 1834, and a vivid account of his visit to London during which the drawing was made. Dalton was presented at court, in the robes of an Oxford Doctor of Laws. "The King asked Dalton several questions, and seemed genuinely interested in his views".

The Society's Obituary in the same issue of *Notes and Records* includes the name of Kathleen Lonsdale, 1 April, 1971.

DENWOOD, OF MARYLAND

George Gale (1671–1712) of Whitehaven and Virginia, married (as his first wife) Mildred (Warner) Washington (d. 1701, grandmother of George Washington), and as his second wife "Elizabeth Denwood, the daughter of Levyn and Priscilla Denwood, of a Quaker family, of Somerset County, Maryland". There is a family tree in an article "The Washingtons of Whitehaven and Appleby", by E. Hinchcliffe (*Transactions of the Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society*, vol. 71, N.S., 1971, pp. 151–198) which illustrates the links between the families.

Among the persons thanked for assistance by the author is our Friend Amy Wallis of Darlington.

Ann Ecroyd of Edgend

In an article in *The Manchester Review*, published by the Cultural Committee (Manchester Public Libraries), vol. 12, no. 2, Spring 1972, concerning the papers of Dr. William Farrer, 1861–1924 (born William Farrer Ecroyd, second son of his father of the same name, stuff manufacturer and merchant, of Lomeshaye Mills, Marsden (Nelson), Lancs.) there is a section (pp. 55–60), concerning the notebooks and papers of Ann Ecroyd of Edgend, relating to the work done by the Society of Friends to help the poor in the area of modern Nelson, between 1819 and 1853.

Hugh Marmion

French Protestant refugees relieved through the Threadneedle Street church, London, 1681–1687; by A. P. Hands and Irene Scouloudi. (Huguenot Society of London. Quarto series, vol. 49. 1971).

On p. 136 appears the following entry:

> MARMION (Marnion) Hugues, camelot weaver (*faiseur de camelot*) 1681 27 Dec., 2/6; 1681/2 10 Jan., to go to Ipswich 12/-; 28 Feb., to discharge the charity £2; 8 Aug., last grant, by order of the Committee, 12/-. 6 grants in all. Total £3.11.6 (B).
> 1681 27 Dec., tem. from Hanau (E).
> B=MS. 63, the *Grand Livre*, in the archives of the French Church.
> E=*Livre des tesmoignages de l'église de Threadneedle Street: 1669–1789*. Q.S.XXI.

Bristol Men's Meeting records gifts to one Hugh Marmiron in 1704 and 1705; see *Journal F.H.S.* vol. 48 (1958), p. 277.

Frederick Lucas

"Before Convocation—London students in early days", the address by A. Taylor Milne, president of the Historical Association, to the meeting of the University of London Convocation, 19 October 1971 (see p. 20–23 of the agenda paper for the Convocation meeting of 22 January 1972) mentions "a young Quaker, Frederick Lucas, who was converted to Catholicism and founded *The Tablet*", as one of the early students at University College, London. "The College in Gower Street turned out to be very much a middle-class affair, patronised by the sons of dissenters, both Protestant and Catholic, Jews and freethinkers attached to no particular religion".

Both Frederick Lucas and his brother Samuel (who married John Bright's sister) are in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

Lindley Murray

Lindley Murray (1745–1826) "the most successful author of school texts for middle class children of the time. Some of his works were still being reprinted for use in the English-speaking parts of the world in the second half of the nineteenth century". So runs J. M. Goldstron's account in his *The social content of education, 1808–1870: a study of the working class school reader in England and Ireland* (Irish University Press, 1972).

This interesting book has much concerning the influences on, and people and societies active in, education during the first half of the 19th century, including a good deal on the work of Joseph Lancaster.

Supplements to the Journal of Friends' Historical Society

7. THOMAS POLE, M.D. (1753–1829). By E. T. Wedmore. 1908. 53 pp., £2.00.

8–11. EXTRACTS FROM STATE PAPERS relating to Friends, 1654–1672. Ed. N. Penney. 1910–13. 4 parts. 365 pp., £5.00.

12. ELIZABETH HOOTON, First Quaker woman preacher (1600–1672). By Emily Manners. 1914. 95 pp., £1.50.

15. QUAKER LANGUAGE. F.H.S. Presidential address by T. Edmund Harvey. 1928. 30 pp., 50p.

16–17. PEN PICTURES OF LONDON YEARLY MEETING, 1789–1833. Ed. Norman Penney. 1930. 227 pp., £4.00.

20. SWARTHMORE DOCUMENTS IN AMERICA. Ed. Henry J. Cadbury. 1940. £1.50.

21. AN ORATOR'S LIBRARY. John Bright's books. Presidential address 1936 by J. Travis Mills. 1946. 24 pp., 25p.

22. LETTERS TO WILLIAM DEWSBURY AND OTHERS. Edited by Henry J. Cadbury. 1948. 68 pp., £1.50.

23. SLAVERY AND "THE WOMAN QUESTION". Lucretia Mott's Diary. 1840. By F. B. Tolles. 1952. £1.50, cloth £2.50.

24. THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY OF THE EARLY FRIENDS. Presidential address by Frederick B. Tolles, 1952. 50p.

26. JAMES NAYLER, A FRESH APPROACH. By Geoffrey F. Nuttall, D.D. 1954. 25p.

27. THOMAS RUDYARD, EARLY FRIENDS' "ORACLE OF LAW". By Alfred W. Braithwaite. 1956. 25p.

28. PATTERNS OF INFLUENCE IN ANGLO-AMERICAN QUAKERISM. By Thomas E. Drake. 1958. 25p.

29. SOME QUAKER PORTRAITS, CERTAIN AND UNCERTAIN. By John Nickalls. 1958. Illustrated. 50p.

30. "INWARD AND OUTWARD." A study of Early Quaker Language. By Maurice A. Creasey. 1962. 25p.

31. GEORGE FOX AND THE PUREFEYS. By T. Joseph Pickvance. 1970. 30p.

32. JOHN WOOLMAN IN ENGLAND, 1772. By Henry J. Cadbury. 1971. £1.25.

33. JOHN PERROT. By Kenneth L. Carroll. 1971. £1.00.

Journals and Supplements Wanted

F.H.S. would be glad to receive unwanted copies of back issues of the *Journal* and of the Supplements. Address to F.H.S., c/o The Library, Friends House, London NW1 2BJ.

The Longer-Term Savings Plan.

A breakthrough in Life Assurance.

A new whole life with-profit contract from **Friends' Provident** which combines:—

- ☐ Flexibility of choice to the policyholder.
- ☐ Generous (and profitable) discontinuance terms.
- ☐ Substantial protection cover.

Write to our Agency Manager or ask your Insurance Broker for details of this new plan.

Friends' for Life

Friends' Provident & Century Group

7, Leadenhall Street, London EC3P 3BA.

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY HEADLEY BROTHERS LTD
109 KINGSWAY LONDON WC2B 6PX AND ASHFORD KENT