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### Editorial

THE Presidential Address by a scholar from across the Atlantic always provides a memorable occasion for the Friends' Historical Society. This experience was repeated in 1978 when, at the time of London Yearly Meeting, Hugh S. Barbour of Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana, under the title "Prophetic or Universal Light?" addressed a large meeting at the University of Lancaster on the evening of 12 August. We hope to have the opportunity to print the text in a future issue.

The Society's programme for the year included addresses by June Rose on Elizabeth Fry; "From Manchester to Leeds—a Quaker journey via South Africa, 1895–1905" by Hope Hay; and by Marjorie Sykes on Quaker attitudes to India in the 19th century.

Helen Forde has continued her work on Nottinghamshire and Derby Friends about which the Historical Society heard at a meeting last year, and we are glad to present some of the fruit of her research in the paper "Friends and Authority", based on Derbyshire evidence mainly concerned with tithes in the late 17th and 18th centuries.

Other articles include Kenneth Carroll's study of the impact of Quakerism on the Cromwellian Army in Ireland in the 1650s, and an edition of an unpublished manuscript defending Friends against an anonymous hostile tract of 1655 entitled *The Quacking Mountebanck*. Professor C. M. Williams of the Australian National University edits the

defence from the draft in the papers of Henry Marten the regicide now in the Brotherton Collection at the University of Leeds. Were it not that the draft is manifestly in Marten's own hand one might doubt that support for Friends would come from such a quarter.

## Friends and Authority: a consideration of attitudes and expedients with particular reference to Derbyshire

THE constraints facing late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth century Friends in many aspects of their ordinary life were formidable. Devoted to the Society as many of them were, industrious in promoting its welfare and unstinting of their time on its business, Friends were still subject to the authority of the Anglican church in a variety of situations. The payment of tithes and church dues has long been regarded as one of the most severe of these impositions, though recent work has shown that not all Friends deserved the reputation for steadfast refusal to pay the demands which the Society as a whole has enjoyed.<sup>1</sup>

Derbyshire Friends were no different from Quakers elsewhere; in 1759, in one of the more blatant breaches of the discipline, two members of the Quarterly Meeting who visited Breach Monthly Meeting (which covered the southern third of the county) complained that there was difficulty in finding a clerk who was free from tithes.<sup>2</sup> Many were the expedients—devised or allowed to occur—which were adopted over tithe payment, and often for the very reason that many Friends lived side by side with non-Friends with whom they were otherwise on excellent terms. Such neighbours frequently included the incumbent of the parish, the impropriator of the tithes or the officers of either, and any one might be prepared to ease a Friend's conscience by assisting the payment of tithes. Tithes might be taken in conjunction with those of another, they might be taken quietly without warrant in the sure knowledge that Friends would not retaliate in the courts, they might be paid by servants "unknowingly". If such connivance was carried on in one matter which concerned the established church it is hardly surprising that it should be carried on in others.

<sup>1</sup> Eric J. Evans, "Our Faithful Testimony", *Jnl. F.H.S.*, 52 (1969), 106-21.

<sup>2</sup> Nottinghamshire County Record Office, Q 61A, 11.X.1759.

The power of the Anglican priests was considerably curtailed after 1687, the year in which James II made his *Declaration of Indulgence*. No longer had the clergy the power to bring their erring flocks to court in a variety of cases which could be twisted to include dissenters of all descriptions. Only matrimonial cases, testamentary matters, tithe disputes and affairs relating to the parish church and its furnishings were left within the compass of the jurisdiction of the church (apart from its own internal discipline), and the main efforts of the clergy in the ensuing years went towards debating the emasculated position in which they were left. Less energy and opportunity was left for the persecution of Friends.

But how much did the clergy wish to persecute Friends, who might well be proving some of their most stable and respectable parishioners as the eighteenth century wore on? If the tithe problem was sometimes solved by quiet agreement the same might well be true of other matters, such as those surrounding the formalities of death. The Anglican monopoly of procedures concerned with death affected everyone, of whatever denomination. A will, which was taken to the ecclesiastical testamentary court for a grant of probate, had to be attested on oath, yet there is little evidence on how Friends either avoided this dilemma by refusing to make wills or accepted the necessity for swearing. It is quite clear that there were no large-scale prosecutions for refusal to comply with the accepted Anglican procedure. Odd references amongst Quaker records indicate that it was occasionally a problem which merited discipline but there are no lengthy lists of those disowned for having taken an oath in these circumstances. In Berkshire an effort was made to get a will proved without an oath in the Bishop's Court in 1682:

it was mentioned concerning the Widdow Louch her proving her husbands Will at the Visitation at Newbery: & it was agreed that Martha Weston should endevore to get it done if it might be without an oath: & friends are willing to assist her in it according as she may desire that if possible it may be some enterance for a president . . . 3

In Nottinghamshire Bore Ellison was reprimanded in 1673 for taking an oath as executor.<sup>4</sup> Yet such minutes

<sup>3</sup> Berkshire Record Office, D/F 2B 2/1, 21.ii.1682.

<sup>4</sup> Nottinghamshire County Record Office, Q 55A, 29.x.1673.

are comparatively rare and certainly few in relation to the number of wills which were proved according to the established procedure. Only twelve Derbyshire Quaker wills have been found for the period prior to the Affirmation Act of 1696—not everyone made a will at this period—but even with a small number it seems worth investigating how the appointed executors dealt with the problem of taking the oath in the testamentary court.<sup>5</sup> After 1696 the situation was considerably eased by the general acceptance of an affirmation in place of a sworn oath.

In four of the twelve cases the executors were probably not Friends, though all were close relatives of the testators, being sons, or, in one case, a nephew. The second generation of Friends were naturally more inclined to move out of the Society and might have an advantage if they could accept the authority of the ecclesiastical court. This solution was probably the most practical in many cases and one adopted frequently since the ties of kinship were particularly strong over the matter of the disposition of property. It is also clear that, either through circumstance or choice, Friends sometimes used a substitute to swear or negotiate for them (see the episode in Berkshire above). If the executor was too old or infirm to appear in person the normal procedure of the church was to accept a deputy to attend the testamentary court. This substitute was frequently the vicar or curate of the parish and in three of the Quaker wills under scrutiny, when the widow was left as executrix of a Friend's will, this procedure seems to have been adopted. The distinguishing clause in these wills comes at the end of the probate when, in place of the normal entry *Iurat coram me . . .* followed by the name of the surrogate, the entry reads *Commissio* [name of cleric] *clerico*. None of the Quaker wills after 1696 follow this device, though it seems highly likely that there were as many aged or infirm widows after the passing of the Affirmation Act as before. If Friends were prepared to submit to this system and the Anglicans were prepared to act for them in this way, is it surprising that there is no record of prosecution for failure to follow the normal procedure?

Of the remaining five Derbyshire wills, one executrix

<sup>5</sup> All the Derbyshire wills referred to are in the Lichfield Joint Record Office, Central Library, Bird Street, Lichfield (LJRO).

renounced her administration in favour of someone who was not a Friend, perhaps another device for easing a potentially difficult situation, and four are recorded as having sworn. Of the latter, three were after 1689 when the possibility of an Affirmation Act of some description must have seemed fairly inevitable. Were these affirmations in fact, and if so did the clergy connive? The clerks were certainly accustomed to write in *Iurat* automatically as, after 1696, the phrase was nearly always crossed out and the phrase about permitted affirmation substituted. Lack of prosecuting evidence amongst the records of the Lichfield diocese certainly suggests that it was possible that the clergy turned a blind eye to the niceties of procedure where their Quaker parishioners were concerned.

After the Affirmation Act of 1696 the majority of executors for Derbyshire Quaker wills affirmed (33) but the fact that 21 swore illustrates the fact that Friends did not rely exclusively on their co-religionists for this last service. In some cases, where there was more than one executor, the non-Quaker swore and the administration was reserved for the other executor, usually a Friend, until he or she attended court. However, this may well have been less a matter of principle than chance, since the compelling need to avoid taking an oath had gone.

Further evidence that Friends went to some length to avoid being put in the position of enforced swearing can be deduced from the lack of disciplinary action taken on this matter by Friends themselves. The loss of records, particularly for the monthly meeting in the north-west part of Derbyshire may be part of the reason but amongst those which do remain, and which are usually quite good, only one Derbyshire Friend was reprimanded for taking an oath in a testamentary court—and that under strained circumstances. A family quarrel broke out over the question of the administration of the estate of Antony Woodward junior who died in 1682. His young wife, Dorothy, felt that she was being passed over in favour of her mother-in-law, Ann, who was named as executrix and both parties gave in papers of self-condemnation, the one for having spoken angry words and the other, Ann, for having been forced to take an oath at the Chesterfield testamentary court.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Nottinghamshire County Record Office, Q 86, 25.iii.1682.

Did other counties have similar experiences? Without detailed studies of wills it is hard to be sure but the presence of a directive to Robert Vaughan by Meeting for Sufferings as late as 1686,<sup>7</sup> requesting him to "bring in a short instruction how to make wills safely among Friends for the probate and execution thereof" suggests, perhaps, that up to this date Friends had had some means of circumventing the problem which, for some unstated reason, was now denied them. The following month the Meeting considered a form of clause to be inserted in a will "to Constitute Executors or Administrators". Objections were made against the practical part, it "being not so safe for the Testator" since the estate was put in the power of a stranger.<sup>8</sup> Derbyshire Friends would appear to have met this problem already and to have entrusted their responsibilities to the Anglican clergy. That they were prepared to do so argues a considerable faith in the intentions of the substitutes, but Meeting for Sufferings was equally aware of the possibility of abuse.

One further possibility remains over this vexed question of the part played by non-Friends in assisting Quakers to overcome the problem of making wills according to the established Anglican practice. It might be thought that Friends would prefer to have their co-religionists act as witnesses to their wills. However from a total of 149 witnesses to 54 Derbyshire wills before 1760, only 35 of the witnesses were definitely Friends and 114 were definitely not. The few who are doubtful make little difference to the overwhelming proportion whose ties with the testator were something other than religious. Objections can be raised against using the presence of the latter as evidence of significant intention by Friends. Testators could have been on their death beds and the matter urgent: alternatively they could, in a more relaxed situation, have chosen witnesses from the ranks of those who were fully conversant with the procedures involved and could sign their names adequately to prove it. Taking the last point first it is significant that a high proportion of those acting as witnesses could sign their names and there was little difference in

<sup>7</sup> Meeting for Sufferings minutes (Friends House Library), vol. 3, p. 283, 19.ix.1686.

<sup>8</sup> Meeting for Sufferings minutes, vol. 3, p. 292, 3.x.1686.

the ability of Friends or non-Friends to do so.<sup>9</sup> If such competence is taken as a measure of literacy (as is usual<sup>10</sup>) the fact that approximately three-quarters of the witnesses were literate suggests that they were, for whatever reason, a slightly select group. They could have been chosen partly because they might have to play a significant part at the ecclesiastical court if the legality of the will was contested before the Anglican authorities.

If this really does indicate a rather careful choice of witnesses it might be expected that Friends would prudently make their wills before they were brought to the last extremity. Yearly Meeting encouraged Friends so to do,<sup>11</sup> and from Derbyshire evidence one sees that they did. The phraseology employed at the beginning of the testaments reveals this. Half of those studied used the common phrase in Anglican wills about being "weak in body but of sound mind"—or words to that effect. The other half gave a variety of reasons for making their wills: seven were in good health, three were in indifferent health but without the immediate threat of death, four were taking precautions "considering the cartinty of death", two considered themselves to be of sound mind and memory without mentioning their physical condition, two were aged and infirm and one was a prisoner

for profession of religion called Quaker, being in health and body of good remembrance but being about 64 years of age and straitned of my liberty . . .<sup>12</sup>

The remainder vouchsafed no particular reason for making their wills. Thus at least half the testators give evidence of having considered the problem of the disposal of their worldly goods before it became imperative, unlike their Anglican counterparts who were nearly always on their deathbeds. Rough calculations of the time elapsing between the making of a will and the death of the testator confirms this. Only a small proportion died shortly after making

<sup>9</sup> For a fuller discussion of the evidence see Helen Forde *Derbyshire Quakers 1650-1761* (unpub. PhD thesis, Leicester University 1978).

<sup>10</sup> Cf. D. Cressy, "Educational opportunity in Tudor and Stuart Britain". *History of Education Quarterly*, Fall 1976, p. 314.

<sup>11</sup> Yearly Meeting minutes (Friends House Library), vol. I, p. 265, 1691.

<sup>12</sup> LJRO will of Edward Lingard, written 1678, proved 1681.

their wills, and nearly one-third survived for a period of a year or even longer.

These conclusions are based on Derbyshire wills alone and may require re-assessment in the light of evidence from other counties. But for this area at least it would seem that witnesses to wills were mostly chosen carefully and in advance of the moment of death-bed crisis. They appear to have been picked as competent members of the community at large, not as members of the small group of Quakers in the county.<sup>13</sup> As the overwhelming majority were not Friends they could have been relied upon for assistance in the testamentary court if necessary: and if it was necessary then the fact must have been recognized by the Anglican clergy and appears, in the face of evidence to the contrary, to have been accepted.

Certification of "burial in woollen" was another of the formalities associated with death which involved both the civil and ecclesiastical authorities; and again negative evidence suggests co-operation, if not collusion, between Friends and Anglicans. The regulation stemmed from a desire to boost the flagging woollen industry in England against the expanding import of cotton from the East and the increasingly common use of luxury cloths like silk for shrouds. Following the second Act for Burying in Woollen of 1678 (30 Car. II, c.3) an affidavit had to be sworn and produced to the incumbent, confirming that woollen cloth had been used to wrap the corpse. Thus the civil authorities involved the Anglican church in enforcing legislation which was not strictly within the compass of the latter. It also meant that Friends were again put in the position of apparently opposing the authority of the Anglican church when some of them raised an objection to swearing. It can only be supposed from the minute agreed in London Six Weeks Meeting in 1678, the year in which the second Burial in Woollen Act was passed, that Friends at the centre of the Society found the problem as difficult as those in the outlying provinces. The minute read:

<sup>13</sup> At no point during the first hundred years of the Society's history in Derbyshire do there appear to have been more than 600 Quakers spread thinly over the terrain. This is roughly equivalent to the figures calculated nationally by W. C. Braithwaite, *The Second Period* (1921), pp. 457-460.

that the Compliance therewith as to burying in wollen is a civill matter, & fit to be done—and to procuring the makeing oath thereof they meddle not therewith but Leave it to friends freedome in the Truth & this to be sent to each Monthly Meeting.<sup>14</sup>

Some monthly meetings adopted their own solutions and it is clear that the disclaimer by London Six Weeks Meeting resulted in many Friends deciding that swearing, whether in person or by proxy, was the only solution.<sup>15</sup> Some were explicit in their solution offered such as the Vale of White Horse Monthly Meeting which recorded in its minute book:

Wee A.B. of etc. and C.D. of &c do Testifie and declare That to and in our knowledge E.F. of the parish of H or son or daughter of wife of J.K. of &c Lately Interred the 17th day of the month called November instant or last past within the parish of Great Farringdon in the County of Berkes Was not put in wrapt or wound up buried in any shirt, shift, sheet or shroud made of mingled with flax hemp silke haire gold or silver or other then what is made of sheeps wooll only or in any Coffin lined or faced with any cloth, stuffe or any other things whatsoever made or mingled with flax hemp, silke hayre Gold or Silver or any other material but sheeps wooll onely according to the true intent and meaning of the late Act of Parliament in that case made and provided. In testimony whereof wee have hereunto sett our handes and seales this twentyeth day of the month called November Anno Domini 1678.<sup>16</sup>

This bears the mark of Oliver Sansom, an energetic Friend in Berkshire, and was intended to “serve for friends in place of an oath”. The detail given in the date and place suggests that, although it was put in a general form, it had been devised for a specific case. Three months later the women’s monthly meeting at Swarthmore recorded its unease over the report

that Emy Hodgson of Swarthmore Meetting, should take an oath, before A Justice of Peace, touching wrapping & burieing old Jane Woodall in Woollen . . .<sup>17</sup>

She subsequently brought a paper owning her transgression to the meeting and later

<sup>14</sup> Six Weeks Meeting minutes (Friends House Library), vol. 1, p. 78, 30.v.1678.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. “Burial in Woollen”, *Jnl. F.H.S.*, 18 (1921), 105–6.

<sup>16</sup> Transcript by Beatrice Saxon Snell of Vale of White Horse Monthly Meeting minutes, 11.xii.1678.

<sup>17</sup> Swarthmore Women’s Monthly Meeting minutes (Friends House Library), 11.xii.1678.

carried her paper of Condemnation to Myles Doddinge [the magistrate] and read it and shee desired him, that it might goe as farr as the Report of her Transgression had gone . . .<sup>18</sup>

In 1679 the subject was causing some concern in Oxford where Elizabeth Steward presented a paper

concerning a vision which she saw concerning Friends that they should not suffer any oath to be taken concerning the burying of the dead . . .<sup>19</sup>

Fifty years later an entry in the minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings indicates that time had not reduced the problem. In Nottinghamshire an Anglican woman had provided the required testimony that a Quaker burial had followed the prescribed rules in 1728. William Thompson, clerk of Nottinghamshire Quarterly Meeting, asked the advice of the Meeting for Sufferings and outlined the circumstances. The deceased Friend had been poor and had been buried at the charge of the Society:

The Affidavit was sworn by a Churchwoman, a Neighbour to the Deceased and was sent to the Parish where the friend was Buried who refused to take the Affidavit and when the eight days were over past, sent the Certificate to the Churchwardens, constrained them to Inform a neighbouring Justice who issued out his warrant to levy the penalty on a friends Goods in the Town who was no further concerned than he to See the poor Man have decent Burial accordingly Distress was made and all the parson had to alledge was that the Affidavit was not according to the Act haveing onely one deponent whereas the Act requires two.<sup>20</sup>

Because the arrangement had gone wrong it caused trouble and the Nottinghamshire Friends were therefore liable to prosecution. After due consideration Meeting for Sufferings concluded that there was no way of fighting the case.<sup>21</sup>

Since such arrangements only came to light in adverse circumstances it is hard to assess how frequently they were made. However, it must be recalled that in 1678, when the regulation came into force, the persecution of Friends was rising to its highest peak; it was a moment when the authorities, both civil and ecclesiastical, might have been

<sup>18</sup> Swarthmore Women's Monthly Meeting minutes, 11.i.1678/9.

<sup>19</sup> Quoted by Arnold Lloyd, *Quaker Social History* (1950), p. 81.

<sup>20</sup> Meeting for Sufferings minutes, vol. 24, p. 277, 31.xi.1728.

<sup>21</sup> Meeting for Sufferings minutes, vol. 24, p. 282, 14.xii.1728.

expected to grasp with eagerness yet one more excuse for harrying Friends. But where are the prosecutions for refusal to comply in this matter? And where are the disciplinary measures taken by Monthly Meetings against Friends who took an oath for this reason? Can there be any other explanation than indulgence by local clergy and assistance by neighbours to Friends who were put into this predicament? And a predicament over which even Meeting for Sufferings was prepared to equivocate. After 1696, no doubt, some Friends affirmed that the burial was indeed in a woollen shroud, but the example from Nottinghamshire shows that this solution was not always adopted.

Negative evidence, such as an absence of prosecutions or of disciplinary action by Friends themselves, has to be treated with caution. It is easy to assume that because the records do not exist that they were never made. This is patently not true in the case of the Derbyshire Sessions records for which there is no complete series before 1682; this is a gap due to negligence or misfortune. In the case of the Anglican and Quaker records however, it is less likely that the passage of time has created a gap. Records of other court cases brought by the church in the Lichfield diocese, and disciplinary action taken by Friends in Derbyshire, do survive without obvious gaps for at least some areas. It is likely that there was deliberate silence on the part of both Anglicans and Friends in many areas of the country about the technical compliance with the law by Friends over executors' oaths and burial in woollen, and every degree of laxity and rigour in enforcing the law in general.

Evidence over one of the better documented aspects of Friends' testimony, the payment of tithes, shows that eighteenth-century Friends in all parts of the country were frequently party to some connivance.<sup>22</sup> That they also found ways round the problem of swearing testamentary oaths and about burial in woollen would not be surprising. The evidence points towards situations in which Friends took considerable care over the drawing up of their wills, their appointment of executors and their choice of witnesses. Were they likely to do so if there was serious doubt about the eventual grant of probate? Is it possible that it was

<sup>22</sup> Cf. E. J. Evans, *op. cit.*

unwritten custom for Friends to assess the attitude likely to be adopted by the Anglican authorities and act accordingly? The Derbyshire evidence certainly suggests that, prior to the Affirmation Act, a number of solutions were adopted to circumvent the necessity for swearing. Irrespective of individual cases, the decision of Meeting for Sufferings in 1686 to provide "a short instruction how to make wills safely" was new; it was not one which had constantly been before them, although by that date a whole generation of Friends had faced the issues involved. If Friends were relatively certain of a favourable Anglican attitude over oaths taken by Quaker executors, it would be logical for a similarly practical solution to have been devised for the sworn affidavit required concerning burial in woollen shrouds. The alternative in both matters—and one which no doubt occurred—was a sympathetic attitude by neighbours or non-Quaker members of the household. If they were prepared to smooth the path of Friends in administrative matters which involved the established church, the problems of conscience could be solved for all but the very strict. There is plenty of evidence that this was exactly what happened in the case of distrained goods.<sup>23</sup>

Friends were always dependent on the individual attitudes of those in authority and their neighbours, and the reception they got differed from decade to decade and throughout the country. With a minority group this could not be otherwise. However, from the above evidence, and negative evidence, it would be unwise to assume that relations with the established church were unremittingly bad.

HELEN FORDE

<sup>23</sup> Cf. John Gratton, *Journal* (1720), pp. 85–6.

## An Unpublished Defence of the Quakers, 1655

**A**MONG the many pamphlets and broadsheets attacking and defending the Quakers which George Thomason, the London book-seller, added to his collection in 1655, few can have been less notable than a tract of twenty pages which he acquired on 24 May: *The Quacking / Mountebanck / or / The Jesuite turn'd / Quaker. / In a witty and full Discovery of their Production / and Rise, their Language, Doctrine, Discipline, / Policy, Presumption, Ignorance, Prophanenes, Dissimulation, / Envy, Uncharitablenes, with their Behaviours, Gestures, / Aimes and Ends.*<sup>1</sup>

“Printed for E.B.<sup>2</sup> at the Angell in Pauls-Church-Yard”, the work is anonymous, its author being described on the title-page only as “One who was an Eye and Eare Witness of their Words and Gestures in their new hired great Tavern Chappell, Or the Great Mouth within Aldersgate”. The best bibliographical authorities attribute the tract to Donald Lupton who, between 1632 and 1658, produced a number of works on subjects as various as devotion, ecclesiastical history, warfare by sea and land, topography and geography. In 1652 he had published two pamphlets against tithes and one advancing the proposition that “all men endowed with Gifts and Abilities may Teach and Preach the Word of God”.<sup>3</sup> *The Quacking Mountebanck*, which attacks the Quakers for seeking to deprive the churches of “all their means” and for presuming to teach without benefit of education, represents a change of opinion striking even in one whose biographer describes him as a “hack writer”.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Title from British Library copy (E.840 (4)). Donald Wing, *Short-title Catalogue . . . 1641-1700* (1948), L3493.

<sup>2</sup> E.B. is identified as Edward Blackmore, a bookseller dealing mainly in “popular literature” who died in 1658 (Henry R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of Booksellers and Printers . . . 1641-1667*, London, 1907, 25).

<sup>3</sup> Wing, Fortescue (*Catalogue of the Thomason Tracts*) and Gordon Goodwin, author of the article on Lupton in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, agree that he was the author of *The Quacking Mountebanck*. George Fox apparently did not know who the author was (Fox, *The great mystery of the Great Whore unfolded*, 31).

<sup>4</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*, under Lupton, Donald, by Gordon Goodwin.

*The Quacking Mountebanck* is an abusive work of a type familiar to students of early anti-Quaker literature. Its author's method was to heap on the Quakers layer upon layer of accusations and odious comparisons, larded with scriptural and classical allusions. Thus

. . . they are like to Froth Cork, and black soape, strive to be uppermost, they as those wicked ones in Psal. 12. say, Our tongues are our own, who is Lord over Us, . . . they are much like Icarus, will be flying though it be with waxen wings, and be drowned; or like Phaeton, will be in the Chariot of State, . . . these are the true preists of Baal, for they do Baul to the purpose . . .<sup>5</sup>

So much for the wit promised on the title-page. As for "Discovery", there is very little in the work to suggest that the author had observed Quaker practice at first hand.

In the pamphlet's torrent of accusations it is difficult to distinguish central from peripheral objections to the Quakers, but a few themes recur with tedious persistence. One is the charge that Quakers sought to subvert magistracy and ministry; another that they were hostile to learning; and a third that they allowed a disgraceful licence to their women, notably "Martha Symmonds, Alias in truth, . . . wife to Mr. Bourn the Astronomer in Morefeilds, a special Light Saint".<sup>6</sup> At the end the author tells with approval the story of an honest country carter who had whipped a naked Quaker. "If more of them met with such Discipline and such rough Tutors", comments the author, "it would be a sure means to force them to a Reformation, and to leave off their simple Pilgrimage and uncivill Perambulations".<sup>7</sup>

Unlike many other anti-Quaker tracts of 1655, *The Quacking Mountebanck* does not appear to have evoked any immediate response from the Quakers themselves: it was not until 1659 that George Fox included a single page of comments on the work in *The great mystery of the*

<sup>5</sup> *The Quacking Mountebanck*, 8.

<sup>6</sup> *The Quacking Mountebanck*, 19. Unless intended as an indelicate insinuation, the description of Martha as wife to Mr. Bourn is puzzling. Presumably she was the wife of Thomas Simmonds and sister of Giles Calvert (both prolific publishers of Quaker works) whose somewhat sinister role in the life of James Nayler is discussed by Kenneth L. Carroll, "Martha Simmonds, a Quaker Enigma", *Jnl. F.H.S.*, 53 (1972), 37-52. I have not been able to trace Mr. Bourn.

<sup>7</sup> *The Quacking Mountebanck*, 20.

*Great Whore unfolded*.<sup>8</sup> But the attack brought to the Quakers' defence the pen of a rather unlikely champion. He was Henry Marten, once Knight of the Shire for Berkshire in the Long Parliament, a precocious and ardent republican and a regicide, notorious in respectable circles for his sexual immorality, his radical sympathy with the Levellers and his contempt for conventional religion.

King Charles I and Oliver Cromwell both called Marten a whore-master. John Pym, ever the moderate, simply accused him of "lewdnesse". He was widely believed to be, if not an outright atheist, at best indifferent to religion. In post-Restoration London John Aubrey was told that Marten was "of the natural religion". To judge by his few surviving writings, including those composed during crises that might have evoked some expression of religious faith in a more conventional man, that meant a rejection of religious dogma and discipline, a deep respect for stoic philosophy and a strong desire to persuade his countrymen to divert the energy they spent on religious quarrels into seeking solutions to their urgent political problems.<sup>9</sup>

Marten's defence of the Quakers was not the act of a man convinced that they were right and their detractors wrong. It was the protest of a good-natured observer against the persecution of what he described, in a passage deleted from his title-page, as a "company of harmles people". At other times he showed himself just as ready to speak up for Brownists, Anabaptists, Antinomians, Levellers and the oppressed Irish; and was reputed to have promoted toleration for English Catholics and the readmission of the Jews. As John Aubrey noted, he was "a great cultor of Justice, and did always . . . take the part of the oppressed".<sup>10</sup> He was fond of reproaching the Presbyterians and the more conservative Independents not only for their intolerance of other sorts of Christians but for their destructive bickering with one another. His friends—and

<sup>8</sup> George Fox, *The great mystery of the Great Whore unfolded*, collects Fox's response to a number of critics. *The Quacking Mountebanck* is dealt with on p. 31.

<sup>9</sup> For brief accounts of Marten's life and character, C. M. Williams, "The Anatomy of a Radical Gentleman: Henry Marten" in *Puritans and Revolutionaries* (ed. D. Pennington and K. Thomas), Oxford 1978; and Sir Charles Firth in the *Dictionary of National Biography* under Marten, Henry or Harry.

<sup>10</sup> *Aubrey's Brief Lives* (ed. O. L. Dick), 194.

enemies—including men of almost every religious persuasion. His chief aversion was what he saw as the tendency of his contemporaries to “domineer”; his life-long ideal an England governed by a single House of Parliament chosen by “popular election”.

The motto Marten affixed to his defence of the Quakers sums up pretty well his attitude to religion. His adversary had used the motto “*Simulata Sanctitas Duplicata Iniquitas*”, to which Marten replied with “*Felicia tempora quae te moribus opponunt!*” He thought it absurd for any church, sect or individual to claim an exclusive understanding of the nature and will of God: everything ever said about God was “but opinion”.<sup>11</sup>

Henry Marten was himself no stranger to persecution and unpopularity. He once wrote that, having publicly discharged his conscience against almost every powerful institution and person in the land, he expected to be “reproched and inveighed against”. In parliament he was usually in a minority, often a very small one. In August 1643 he had been expelled from the House of Commons and imprisoned in the Tower after having suggested, in the course of a speech in defence of the radical minister, John Saltmarsh, that it would be better for the royal family to be destroyed than for the whole kingdom to perish.<sup>12</sup> After his restoration to parliament early in 1646 he espoused the highly unpopular cause of John Lilburne, Richard Overton and the Leveller movement and made enemies of the Presbyterians and their Scots allies by his resistance to their attempts to establish a coercive, national church and to restore Charles I to his throne. Even as a member of Councils of State under the Rump Republic he seems seldom to have sided with majority opinion on any major question. When Oliver Cromwell overthrew the Republic, Marten never forgave him that betrayal.

In May or June, 1655, when he wrote his defence of the Quakers, Marten was again a prisoner, confined to Southwark, within the Rules of the King’s Bench prison, at the behest of his many creditors. Though politically

<sup>11</sup> Brotherton Collection (University of Leeds), Marten-Loder MSS., box ML 78, fol. 10.

<sup>12</sup> For the background to Marten’s expulsion, C. M. Williams, “Extremist Tactics in the Long Parliament, 1642–1643” in *Historical Studies*, No. 57, October 1971.

and financially ruined he was still capable of a generous indignation on behalf of honest and humble people worse off than himself. Why he did not publish his short reply to *The Quacking Mountebanck* we can only guess. Perhaps, as the reply suggests, he found that his adversary was indeed no more than a poor hack writing for money. But perhaps he judged that his own reply was unworthy of a man famous for the sharpness and quickness of his wit. Given his record of public support for unpopular causes it is unlikely that his courage deserted him.

Though it lacks the wit and force of his best writing, Marten's little work is typical in other respects of his style of controversy. His usual method was to follow an opponent's argument section by section, exposing contradictions and absurdities, ridiculing inflated pretensions, finding fault with weak logic and making fun of vulnerable mannerisms. In publishing the work for the first time I have restored some of the common contractions and mended a little of the punctuation to make the sense more immediately comprehensible, though there are still passages whose sense is obscure. The notes are intended to explain allusions to the text of *The Quacking Mountebanck*.

C. M. WILLIAMS

Justice Would-bee / that made himself / a Ranter last week in  
opposition to / those hee calls / QUAKERS / Aunswered / by one  
who knowes as litle of them as / hee doth.<sup>13</sup>

.....Felicia tempora quae te  
Moribus opponunt!

To the Intelligencer himself who carryed his eyes & his eares  
for that purpose to the great Mouth within Aldersgate.

Friend,

My civility putts that title upon you, wherein if I do you  
wrong (as is shrewdly suspected) my following discourse will I  
hope do you right enough; besides you are either my friend, or  
so much in my debt, for I am yours what ever you bee.

First I should be glad to understand the drift of your pen, for  
if any pittifull printer, or under-laden pamphlet-porter have hired  
you to come out at a venture, I should not finde in my heart to

<sup>13</sup> Brotherton Collection (University of Leeds), Marten-Loder MSS., box ML 78, fols. 6-9. The manuscript is printed by kind permission of the Librarian of the University of Leeds from the original draft in Marten's hand. I am indebted to R. S. Mortimer for his help in checking my transcript and in drawing my attention to George Fox's later response to *The Quacking Mountebanck*.

interrupt you; for I doubt you will finde few customers, you can do litle els for your living. But if you think your self too good for any of that, & pretend to a reformership, I must beg your pardon to tell you wherein I conceive you mightily mistaken.

You beginne like a Predicant with a regiment of texts but forget quickly the prophanenes you mentioned in your title-page, when you mingle your Scripture language with gibing & skurrility; & that quality goes through the wholl arraignment, that it may appear not to have dropped from you by chance.

A man would have expected some relation concerning matter of fact from so close a witness & to have known what particular passages happened amongst those you inform against, either in word or deed, gesture, or countenance; then the courteous reader could have given a name to what hee found said or done, whether of politique or ignorant, presumptuous, prophane, envious, or uncharitable. But your manner of talk leaving quite behinde you the undertakings of your title-page makes an ordinary reader very iealous that either you never saw Aldersgate in your life, or els you were there when no body els was.

To your Method beginning with their beginning  
Which may be where it will for you. But your deriving them from the Jesuites<sup>14</sup> is a guesse I cannot tell whether more thread-bare or ridiculous; this I am confident of, were you of capacity to be a Jesuit your self, you would be more their enemy then you are.

Their language & discipline  
Are very learnedly iumbled together by you for of the latter you say nothing at all but that it is litle or none at all & the former is so significantly expressed by you, if it bee so frothy & orderles as you would have us beleve, that no looking-glasse can better represent a fool that stands before it.<sup>15</sup>

Their doctrine  
Is none of the worst if they teach the value of Light & Liberty, neither do I know any man that hath an ey in his head & a heart in his body but is a Quaker, if his prizeing those 2 things make him one. Whether their practise be suitable or no is nothing to your present text honest Mountebank-finder. Liberty indeed may be abused; so may grace. But it will be hard for you to prove that there can be too much of either; & prethee, what cares the magistrate whether he be allowed or no? The lawes are made to punish such as disobey them, not such as dis-allow them.<sup>16</sup>

Their Policy  
Must needes be deep which makes them embrace proverty, humility (so you mean when you say outward humility, for I scarce beleve you ever saw any other), mean habit, short & course fare, hard lodgeing, which makes them refrain their acquaintance, quitt their

<sup>14</sup> *The Quacking Mountebanck*, 4: "'tis thought and not improbably, that these were whelped in the Kennell of *Ignatius Loyola* the Jesuite . . .".

<sup>15</sup> Fair comment on the turbid prose of *The Quacking Mountebanck*, 5.

<sup>16</sup> *The Quacking Mountebanck*, 6: "They allow no Magistrates, not because they are not allowable, but because they are not of their Brother-hood".

trades & decline all things of proffit or pleasure, which the rest of the world runnes madding after.

The religious orders you talk of in the Roman church, whereunto you would fain annex these people, may more safely play those trickes for they know themselves provided for while they live; even the Capuchins finde Charity enough to supply the want of Cookes & Caterers. Should the Quaker turn Jesuit you might call him a crafty knave; but with every Jesuite that turnes Quaker I think you might compare in cunning. As for clayming immediately from God, which you make so strange of, doth not every priest of every religion, & every prince of every region do the same? Why it is so commonly done now that it ceaseth to be policy, it cousens nobody.

#### Their Presumption

If it be no more then thinking themselves in the right, & all other opinions in the wrong, it is common to them with the professors of every Religion in the world.

#### Their Prophanenes & Uncleannes

Sirreverence of your story, I did not think you could have coupled these 2 charges so well together in one case. What they hold concerning honour to Parents, the Sabbath & the Sacraments, marriage and the Scriptures, respect of persons, times & places, you should have told us in your late head of Doctrine. But how comes it to passe that these Emissaryes of Rome should pull down Churches because Papists have prayed in them? Their uncleannes it seemes consists in esteeming themselves cleaner then you.<sup>17</sup>

#### Their Dissimulation, Envy, & Uncharitableness

Will make one head you imagine, because you finde a deal of such stuffe linked together in one of the clauses of our old Letany. You tell us now they dissemble to get their living, & even now that they quitted livings ready gotten; do you dissemble with us now, or did you then? You tell us now they envy such as see more then they, & even now that in their opinion none see ought but they. You would perswade us heer that they would send every body to Hell, & in another place that they use all possible industry for the gaining of soules to their belief, the onely way as they think to salvation.<sup>18</sup>

#### Their ignorance

Comes in very properly for the next head to that chapter wherein you call them foxes 5 times, besides a former head of policy that you father upon them.<sup>19</sup> Nay you fox them twice in this very chapt.

<sup>17</sup> *The Quacking Mountebanck*, 9–10, charges the Quakers with “uncleanes” only in that they despise the clergy, the sacraments and the churches, and hold themselves “holyer then Thou”.

<sup>18</sup> A typical Marten device, exploiting inconsistencies in his opponent’s arguments.

<sup>19</sup> *The Quacking Mountebanck*, like many other anti-Quaker pamphlets, makes free with the name of Fox throughout and attributes vulpine characteristics to Quakers generally.

which should rather have putt you in minde of the goose. You that heard them speak can tell whether they used in their discourse to quibble it like you. For if they do, they shall go for coxcombes with mee too, as well as you.

Their behaviours, gestures, aimes & ends

Or rather their behaviours onely, for their gestures wee shall have in a head by it self though gesture be very Jesuitically distinguished from behaviour. & their aimes & ends (which I beleeve you would have parted too, if you had sped well with this) have gotten another head to themselves. Heer again this same sent of the Fox is so strong in your nose, you cannot forbear likening them to that creature in their behaviour, but to evince their behaviour to be indeed a mis-behaviour. Besides the want of breeding you want not 7 reasons whereof [ ]<sup>20</sup> are grounded upon their wants 1 of Learning, 2 of calling, 3 of meanes, 4 of regularity, 5 of Religion, 6 of Grace. You might if you had pleased have called the 7th. want of Despair; viz: Hope of gain, & credit. By the same token I thank you for explaining what kinde of credit you mean; it is not inward credit among horses, but outward among men, with a small dash of Envy again. & these are your Pullyes—Bridles sure you would say—& your Spurres to draw them in & sett them forward all in a breath.<sup>21</sup> Some more belike of their uncomely actions you would sett down, but that your pen is too modest, so as wee may think our worst.

Their gestures

What they were at the Mouth within Aldersgate wee would have knowen from you, & not be sent into Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cheshire, & elsewhere. But if so publique any where, what need of an Intelligencer? In short, they use variety in their gestures, & go over all postures, kneeling excepted. Foxes they are here again 3 times.<sup>22</sup>

Their aymes & ends

Cannot but be grosse if you have found them out; and found you have 2 pair of Buttes of theirs.

The first is a dangerous one, & therefore not safe to dwell too long upon it.

The second is a double one, yet incident to the greatest part of mankinde.

The third I should have taken for a bow or an arrow rather than a butt.

And so I should the fowerth.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>20</sup> One word indecipherable in MS.

<sup>21</sup> *The Quacking Mountebanck*, 14, suggests that Quakers "Envy . . . the Preachers by *Law* established", because they act as "pulleyes" and as spurs, capable of imposing discipline on the Quakers.

<sup>22</sup> *The Quacking Mountebanck*, 16–17, makes great play with the postures adopted and the sounds uttered by Quakers "in the time of their publick *tumultous* Meetings".

<sup>23</sup> *The Quacking Mountebanck*, 17, accuses the Quakers of (1) "Sedition in State; and so consequently subversion of Government"; (2) "*Enriching* themselves to gain *Credit*"; (3) seeking to "*Delude* poor simple people"; and (4) seeking to "sow *Division* in *Religion*".

Your fox is 5 times on the stage in this chapter, & recommended by you to a fresh dogg.

But let us hear what you say after you have done speaking. Wee must understand you have no more to say concerning men, but [of] women you [pay],<sup>24</sup> first in generall, as any woman may do, & then in particular; onely you transplant the scene (which indeed you never thought of keeping) from the Mouth to Shorditch. Enough being said of her for meddling with other folkes matters,<sup>25</sup> (which you have not bene guilty of all this while) you return to the generall & tell us their proselytes are bewitched, though you do not believe it, for it is believed, you say, by understanding people. Then you carry us to Smithfield & commend a carter for making himself a magistrate in the execution of a law made onely by himself & you.<sup>26</sup> So you make as if you concluded, when you did nothing els all along, leaving the premisses to be admitted which should enforce your conclusions.

Therefore I am glad I have done with you at last.

<sup>24</sup> In MS. "of" may be deleted. "Say" would make better sense than the "pay" in MS.

<sup>25</sup> Amongst the crimes imputed to Martha Symmonds in *The Quacking Mountebanck*, 19, are her busy endeavours "to gain Disciples" and her interrupting a service in Shoreditch church.

<sup>26</sup> Marten's indignation at the presumption of the carter who whipped a naked Quaker seems genuine, though he himself had defied and redefined the law on many occasions.

## Quakerism and the Cromwellian Army in Ireland

ONE of the more surprising facts about the rise and early development of Quakerism in Ireland is that it was in the Cromwellian Army that the "First Publishers of Truth" found their greatest response. Although it has long been known that there was some Quaker incursion into the New Model Army, neither its extent nor its development have previously been studied. Perhaps it was this factor which so intrigued me that I felt driven into an examination of the sources—Irish and English, Quaker and non-Quaker—so that I might have a better understanding of what actually happened and why the developments took the form that they did.

On deeper reflection it is not too surprising that Quakerism in Ireland took root in such a milieu. What better soil than the radical Puritanism of the Cromwellian soldiers, their families which often accompanied them, and the Puritan English communities which they helped to form in Ireland? One of the clearest facts about early Quaker history, I believe, is that Quakerism itself sprang from "radical" Puritanism<sup>1</sup> and that it grew and prospered only in those areas where Puritanism was widespread—Britain, Ireland, the West Indies, and the American mainland English colonies. In Lutheran, Calvinist, and Roman Catholic areas convictions were few and far between, and whatever meetings arose were usually both short-lived and small.

Most of the Protestants in Ireland prior to 1649 were adherents of the Church of Ireland, with few sectaries to be found in the land. It was with the coming of the Cromwellian Army in 1649 that "novel doctrines" such as "religious Independency" and "Baptism" made their appearance in Ireland—having been introduced by the English soldiers and their chaplains. Already by 1647 (two years before Cromwell set out to reconquer Ireland), Independency had triumphed in the "New Model Army,"

<sup>1</sup> This does not deny that *some* continental and mystical ideas and concepts were also present.

where the increase of sectaries had been quite noticeable by 1645.<sup>2</sup> By 1652 there were some 34,000 men in the Army in Ireland (approximately the same number as in England and Scotland).<sup>3</sup> There were garrisons in all the major cities and towns in Ireland, where the countryside was largely left in ruin and desolation. Shortly before the arrival of the first Quaker missionaries, the Baptists began a rapid rise, spread throughout the Army in Ireland, and were often encouraged by the governors of some of the garrisons. By 1655 twelve military governors, as well as a number of civil officials, were reported to have become Baptists.<sup>4</sup> Other forms of extreme Puritanism, such as the Fifth Monarchists, were also now at large in the land.

William Edmundson (1627–1712), once a soldier himself, was probably the first Quaker in Ireland. Unlike the “First Publishers of Truth” who soon followed him into Ireland, he had not come over as an itinerant minister. Rather, in 1652, he had come to settle in the land and to make a new life for himself by entering into trade. His own newfound Quakerism, stemming from his 1653 visit to England, meant so much to him that he was compelled to share it with others. Edmundson is to be credited with convincing the first Cromwellian soldier in Ireland, for he reports that in 1653 his brother “a trooper” received “the Truth and joyned with it.”<sup>5</sup> Edmundson’s *Journal* shows that army officers were constantly discussing religious matters,<sup>6</sup> so that it is not surprising that he reports that both the Governor of Londonderry and Colonel Nicholas Kempston were “convinced” (although Kempston did not join with Friends).<sup>7</sup> Edmundson, who “Thee’d and Thou’d” soldiers,

<sup>2</sup> T. C. Barnard, *Cromwellian Ireland: English Government and Reform in Ireland 1649–1660* (Oxford, 1975), pp. 95–98; C. H. Firth, *Cromwell’s Army* (London, 1902), p. 317. Cf. Firth, *op. cit.*, pp. 313–348 for the chapter “Religion in the Army,” and especially pp. 318–324.

<sup>3</sup> Firth, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

<sup>4</sup> Craig W. Horle, “Quakers and Baptists, 1647–1660,” *The Baptist Quarterly*, XXVI, No. 8 (October, 1976), 355–356.

<sup>5</sup> William Edmundson, *A Journal of the Life, Travels, Sufferings, and Labour of Love in the Work of the Ministry, of that Worthy Elder and Faithful Servant of Jesus Christ, William Edmundson* (Dublin, 1715), p. 9.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 21–23.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 18, 25. Colonel Kempston, before turning against Quakerism, provided land in County Cavan for William Edmundson and other Quakers to settle. For Nicholas Kempston see Sir Charles Firth & Godfrey Davies, *The regimental history of Cromwell’s army* (2 vols., Oxford, 1940), ii.452–5, 594–5.

reported that one "trooper" threatened to cut his head open but was stopped by a corporal who was then convinced.<sup>8</sup> The most significant conviction reported by Edmundson was that of Captain William Morris, who was "an Elder among the Baptists in great Repute, Captain of a Company, Justice of the Peace, Commissioner of the Revenues, Chief Treasurer in that Quarter, also Chief Governour of Three Garrisons."<sup>9</sup>

It was in 1654, just two years after George Fox's experiences at Pendle Hill and Firbank Fell gave rise to the rapid spread of Quakerism in the north of England, that the earliest Friends travelling in the ministry made their way to Ireland. They, too, like George Fox, had a vision of "a great people to be gathered." Once they had embarked on their mission to Ireland, nothing could turn them back—whether it be storm, shipwreck, robbery, imprisonment, persecution, banishment, or whatever else might come their way. Among these very early "First Publishers of Truth" in Ireland were John Tiffin, Miles Bateman, Miles Halhead, James Lancaster, Alice Birkett, Thomas Hill, and Richard Millner. Very little is known about the missionary work of these individuals in Ireland and even less about their contacts with and convictions among soldiers in Ireland. Yet most of them must have had some "service" among the soldiers and visited some of the garrisons, so that Quakerism continued a slow but steady growth in that bastion of Puritanism. Another of these Friends, Richard Clayton, wrote to Margaret Fell that he went into the garrison at Carrickfergus (near Belfast), going "Amongst the soulders and read A paper Amongst them & spoke some words Amongst them as the Lord gave utterance & they were all silent & said that they would Lett their fellow soulders see it, the paper which I left with them."<sup>10</sup>

It was the religious labor of Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill in 1655 which suddenly gave great impetus to the growth of Quakerism in the Cromwellian Army.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28. All three of these convictions appear to have taken place in 1655.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31. He was discharged from his command. See Firth & Davies, ii.659.

<sup>10</sup> Friends House Library, Swarthmore MSS., I, 27 [Tr. I, 554], dated "about 1654."

Both Burrough and Howgill, in June 1655, had received separate "commands" to go to Ireland.<sup>11</sup> By early August they were already on their way there, spending two days and two nights on shipboard before arriving in Dublin toward the middle of the month.<sup>12</sup> Their work among the Baptists and officers began quite early, for Howgill's report of their first three weeks of labor notes that,

They are loveing the Captans but their is not much in them and so E. B. went up to the deputies house wheare [there] was a meeting of baptistes & [he] hath been their 3 times and spoke with Fleetwood himself who was moderate: much like O[liver] C[romwell] but the officers hath bowed downe to the idell baptisme for promotion, for it grew in great fashon a while heare but now it withers and so att the baptistes meetings we have gone and spoken but they harden . . .<sup>13</sup>

Howgill also reports that during this short period he and Burrough had also been at Tradarth [Drogheda], about twenty miles from Dublin, where they "had a little meeting att a Justis house and stayed two nights in the towne & mett some officers who was moderate and so we cam[e] to Dublin again."<sup>14</sup>

About that very time, when he had been in the Dublin area only three weeks, Howgill suddenly received a "call" to go west (somewhat like the way that Paul at Troas saw the Macedonian beckoning him into Europe). He later wrote "To all the Brethren in and about Kendal" that

a Colonell of the Protectors Army came to Dublyn and was Exceeding Loveing a pretty man & desired any of us to goe with him into the County of Corke, then I saw a doare opened and consulted not but went with him Immediately after a day or two & hee was to goe out of the way where the Troope lay about—40 miles. I went along with him into the heart of the Nation about 50 miles from Dublyn through deserts woods and Boggs & desolated places . . . without anie inhabitants Except a few Irish Cabins here & there who are Robbers & murtherers that lives in holes & boggs where none can passe. Att last we came to a Towne called Burrye where the Troope

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, VI, 14 [Tr. VII, 483]. Cf. Tr. VII, 467.

<sup>12</sup> Friends House Library, A. R. Barclay MSS., CXVIII, from Francis Howgill to Margaret Fell, and dated 3rd of 7th Month, 1655, reports that they have been in Dublin three weeks. Howgill reports that they had arrived in Dublin on the fourth day of the week, held a meeting at Captain Rich's house on the fifth day, and on the first day "at one Captan Alands house and many people came."

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, CXVIII.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, CXVIII.

was & a Garrison of foote was in a Castle & the Col. & I lay in the Castle at a souldiers house his wife was a Baptist but Loveing & [was] Convinced while I stayed there which was about 5 or 6 days & as I walked in the field the Col. brought many [soldiers] with him to mee, some met everie afternoone, sometimes more sometimes lesse in the field on the first day of the weeke, there was one Priest att the Towne & another Baptist priest came & preached in the Castle, so I went amonge them . . .<sup>15</sup>

After the priest had spoken, Francis Howgill also spoke to the few "sottish" soldiers there. The Governor of the castle then ordered Howgill out of the town. This development so grieved the Colonel, who had persuaded the Quaker to accompany him from Dublin, that he

went into the Towne & caused the Trumpet to sound in the afternoone when they belt the drumm for the priests, & the Governour & the priests greivinge that all the Troope would come with mee they sent the souldiers to fetch me out of the Castle before they began & turned me out & shut the Barrakados although I had moaveing to go to a meetinge in the Town so I went to the Towne where most of the Troupe came to mee & some other [people] & had a fine meeting & the souldiers wife who was a Baptist went & opposed the Priest & came to the meeting, after [which] I went to a little Garrison & stayed the night and cleared my Conscience.<sup>16</sup>

From here Howgill and an unknown companion (or companions) had a very difficult journey of twenty miles to rejoin the Colonel, experiencing a "Temptestious day & a dessolate place woodes & boggs, & no way wee could finde nor no guide could wee gett." Finally, with seven miles left to cover, they found an Irishman who brought them to the meeting point at midnight. The Colonel and Howgill then arrived, on Saturday, at Bandon "a greate Towne . . . twelve myles belowe Corke neare the sea" where the Colonel lived "at a gallant habitation" outside the town itself. On Sunday Howgill, accompanied by the Colonel, went into their "synagogue".<sup>17</sup> Howgill tried to speak when "an old Dreamer had ended his Dreams," but there was such a row that nothing could be accomplished. The Colonel then announced that, since the Quaker had no liberty to speak there, all were invited to meet at the

<sup>15</sup> Friends House Library, Caton MSS., II, 92-93.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 93.

<sup>17</sup> The term "synagogue" is often used to describe a Baptist meeting house or some other Protestant church.

Colonel's house that afternoon where the "gates would be open to all." Howgill reported that "there came a prettie deale [of people] & so have appointed another meeting on the weekday & the next first day there came many, & in the week day some, but they are a dark people the offscoureing of the Inglishes." He then wrote "Papers & Queries" and sent them "up and down the Towne & all was on fire" with religious excitement and debate.<sup>18</sup>

From Bandon Howgill on Saturday went on to Cork, accompanied by Colonel Cooke [his protagonist?] and his wife ("two prettie hearts, their people hearing of me"). In Cork he put down a Ranter, and then went to the "great steeplehouse" where "one Lambert & one Coleman (Fathers of the Baptist people)" were preaching. When Lambert was through Howgill spoke "about an hour after & the soldiers was there in the Garrison & manie came out of the Towne out of their houses & other steeplehouses & all was calm & the Governour sent some souldiers to see that none harmed mee."

After some debates with Lambert and other Baptists, Howgill and the Cookes returned to Bandon for a weekly meeting and then went on to "a great Harbor Towne" called Kinsale. Here in Kinsale, Howgill reported,

The Governour one Hoddyn a Captain received me with his wife gladlie & there is a greate fortress upon the sea Coast & he sent to some of his acquaintance in the Towne & on the first day caused the Drumm to be beat & called all his souldiers together & there came some people out of the Towne, soe there was a great meeting & on the morrow some desired me to come into the Towne, & they had acquainted manie, & I passed over in a Barke & the owner & some others & had a very pretty meeting, so I returned back to Bandon again, the Governour [of Kinsale?] was desirous I should stay or come againe shortlie, but I must needs returne to Corke but the people everie where are a darke people except it be some few in whom there is Desires.<sup>19</sup>

All of the above activity appears to have taken place in the autumn of 1655. Howgill's pace and the resulting success did not lessen, so that Howgill is able to report on the 18th of the 11th Month 1655 (O.S.) that there were now meetings at Bandon Bridge, Kinsale, and Cork. He

<sup>18</sup> Caton MSS., II, 93-94.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 95. For Captain (Major) Richard Hodden see Firth & Davies, *op. cit.*, ii.444, 656.

also writes that Colonel Robert Phaire, the Governour of Cork, "is a moderate man and his family is pretty, many Captains and majors & officers hath heard and doth dayly."<sup>20</sup> At Kinsale "the Governer [Major Richard Hodden] is loveing & Divers there is Convinced and sum soulders, I have had many meetings in the garison and the priests are all on a rage."<sup>21</sup> In still another letter, written slightly later it would seem, Howgill states that at Kinsale "the governor of the forte is loveing . . . *all of his soulders* and some of the towne will heare."<sup>22</sup>

Just before Howgill wrote the above letters Major Richard Hodden, Governor of Kinsale, wrote to Henry Cromwell [Oliver's son] in Dublin where he was serving as Commander in Chief of the Army. Here Hodden defended the Quakers, and especially those in his forces whom he had already known for a long time before they became convinced Friends:

I entreate leave humbly to offer these few words with the Inclosed Concerning the p[er]sons Called Quakers etc. Many of them were persecuted in the daies of the Late Bishopps, by the name of Puritans (though unblameable in their Conversations) and since have faithfully Served this Commonwealth even in the worst of Times, and the god of glorie therin Supported them through Evil Reporte and good Reporte and other names of Derision too many here to Mention, while bloody minded, Evill men, and Seducers have Waxed worse and worse, deceiving and being Deceived . . . These are private lynes to your Lordshippe out of a deep sense of my Duetie, and in Sinceritie of hearts as in the Sight of God, wherein (its like) few will be free and plaine with you—which I the Rather am for that I have (through the Tender Mercie of God) had full knowledge of Divers of the before Mentioned persons in England and here.<sup>23</sup>

At the turn of the year, about January 1655/6, Howgill noted that at Bandon were to be found "one Cornett Cooke and his wife [who have] the most emminent house in the towne and they are of the treue seed." Concerning Lucretia

<sup>20</sup> A. R. Barclay MSS., LXI. This letter is from Howgill to George Fox. Phaire's name also appears as Phair, and Phayre; for him see *D.N.B.*; Firth & Davies, *op. cit.*, ii.656.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, LXI.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, LXV, undated letter from Howgill to Margaret Fell. Italics added.

<sup>23</sup> British Library, London, Lansdowne MSS., MS. 821, folio 68. This letter from Hodden to Henry Cromwell is dated Kinsale, January 4, 1655/6. Hodden had not yet adopted numbers for days and months or the plain "thee" or "thou."

Cooke, who soon became one of the outstanding "Irish" Quaker leaders, he wrote:

she was a baptiste & they cast her out for heresy as the[y] say, a nouble woman she is, she declared agaynst the pr[i]est in publicke and was moved to declare agayne the baptistes and one day the market day toke a load of Bookes of the highest priests In the nation and burned them in the streett.<sup>24</sup>

By this time, January 1655/6, Howgill had been joined in his work here in the West by Elizabeth Fletcher and Elizabeth Smith, who had come from Youghal. William Simpson had also been active in the area. Edward Burrough was still at Waterford, but Howgill had written to him asking him to come to Cork so that together Howgill and Burrough could "storm" the one great city that remained unvisited in Munster—Limerick.<sup>25</sup> Meanwhile another onslaught of Quaker activity in Ireland had already begun, for James Lancaster, Elizabeth Morgan, Rebecca Ward, and Richard Hiccocke were already in Dublin.<sup>26</sup>

Henry Cromwell, who came to view the Baptists as a political threat, in *late* 1656 moved to crush their power by withdrawing "official favour" from them and forced many of their leading officers to resign their commissions.<sup>27</sup> Even earlier he saw the Quakers as perhaps even more of a threat, so that as early as December 17, 1655, Cromwell ordered "that all Quakers be apprehended."<sup>28</sup> It would appear that this was the start of the widespread persecution which Quakers met in Ireland. Shortly after this order on February 6, 1655/6, Cromwell wrote to Secretary Thurloe, that,

Our most considerable enemy nowe in our view are the quakers, whoe begin to growe in some reputation in the county of Corke, their meetings being attended frequently by col. Phaier, major Wallis, and moste of the chief officers thereabouts. Some of our

<sup>24</sup> A. R. Barclay MSS., LXV. For Lucretia Cook (Cooke) see G. F. Nuttall, *Early Quaker letters* (London, 1952); Cornet Edward Cook likewise, and also Firth & Davies, *op. cit.*, ii.659.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, LXI, LXV.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, LXI.

<sup>27</sup> Barnard, *op. cit.*, pp. 107–108; Cf. St. John Seymour, *The Puritans in Ireland, 1647–1661* (Oxford, 1921), pp. 126–129.

<sup>28</sup> Robert Dunlop (ed.), *Ireland Under the Commonwealth: Being a Selection of Documents Relating to the Government of Ireland from 1651 to 1659* (Manchester, 1913), ii, 557.

souldiers have bin perverted by them, and amongst the rest his highness's cornet to his owne troop [Edward Cooke] is a professed quaker, and hathe writte to me in their stile. Major Hodden, the governor of Kinsale is, I feare, goeing that way; he keepes one of them to preach to the souldiers. I thinke their principles and practises are not verry consistent with civil government, much less with the discipline of an army. Some thinke them to have noe designe, but I am not of that opinion. Their counterfeited simplicitie renders them to me the more dangerous.<sup>29</sup>

In this passage it is made clear that the Quaker practice of rejecting oaths and refusing to use titles and flattering speech (part of their testimony on equality and simplicity) troubled Henry Cromwell, for he felt that these struck at some of the things necessary for the survival of "civil government" and the "discipline of the army." In the back of his mind there appears to have been still another worry—the possibility of a military or political uprising by the Quakers. This fear should not surprise us, for the peace testimony had not yet arisen among Friends (thus, the great missionary activity directed towards soldiers by Howgill and the tremendous response on their part in County Cork). It was at this very time, in 1655/6, that Oliver Cromwell himself twice asked for and obtained George Fox's promise that "he would not take up carnall sword or weapon against the Lord protector or the government as it now is."<sup>30</sup> The first public statement of Friends' peace testimony did not appear until 1660/1.

The sword of persecution was hanging in readiness at the end of 1655. Howgill says that "the priests are all in a rage and postes up and down with lies and Informers against the officers who have receaved us: and all Is on fire and they rode 100 mile and gott an order from the Counsall at Dublin the eleventh month [January] to examine me and send me bound to Dublin."<sup>31</sup> The order was sent on to Cork rather than Kinsale. Shortly thereafter

<sup>29</sup> *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe* (London, 1742), IV, 508. Cf. IV, 530, where Thurloe in England responds on February 12 that this is the first mention of Quakers in Ireland which he has received from Henry Cromwell, and also notes that they "are much growen heere in numbers." For Major Peter Wallis see *Jnl. F.H.S.*, 54 (1976), 12-14; Firth & Davies, *op. cit.*, ii.591, 592.

<sup>30</sup> Friends House Library, London, Portfolio 33, folios 157-158. Cf. George Fox, ed. J. L. Nickalls, *Journal*, (Cambridge, 1952), pp. 191-195, 197-198.

<sup>31</sup> A. R. Barclay MSS., LXI.

Major Hodden was turned out as Commissioner of Peace and as Governor because of his opposition to this order to send Howgill to Dublin.<sup>32</sup> Howgill himself was afraid that Colonel Phaire might likewise be removed, for "he is nouble and sayth more [good] is done by the Quakers than all the prests in the County hath done [in] a 100 years."<sup>33</sup>

Persecution waxed heavy in Kinsale. Not only was Hodden removed from office, but his wife was put in prison "for speaking to a Priest in the Steeple-house" there.<sup>34</sup> Lieutenant Mason, Deputy-Governor of Kinsale, had also shown "moderation" towards Friends and for this reason "he was complained of, and put out of his Employment in the Army."<sup>35</sup> Edward Braifield, "a Souldier in the Deputies Troops," was sent to prison for six months and whipped at "the house of Correction in Bandon-bridge" for speaking to people in the "Steeple-house" at Kinsale after the "Teacher" had finished.<sup>36</sup> Daniel Massey, "a Souldier," was imprisoned for the same reason, as were Evan Davis of Bandon and Philip Dymond of Cork.<sup>37</sup> Ananias Kelloe and John Moor, "Souldiers of Major Hoddens Company," were turned "out of the Army, for Owing the Truth, and for setting up a paper against Drunkenness, and refusing to go to the Steeple-house."<sup>38</sup> Two unnamed soldiers belonging to Kinsale Fort were put in a hog-stie for "speaking to a Priest."<sup>39</sup> Lucretia Cooke of Bandon was twice imprisoned at Kinsale, once "for speaking a few words to the Priest and people" and another time for "desiring to speak to the chief Magistrate there about Prisoners."<sup>40</sup> Her husband Edward was arrested in the street at Kinsale

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, LXV.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, LXV.

<sup>34</sup> *To the Parliament of England, Who are in place to do Justice, and to break the Bonds of the Oppressed. A Narrative of the Cruel, and Unjust Sufferings of the People of God in the Nation of Ireland, called Quakers* (London, 1659), p. 5.

<sup>35</sup> A. Fuller and T. Holmes, *A Compendious View of Some Extraordinary Sufferings of the People call'd Quakers, Both in Person and Substance, in the Kingdom of Ireland, From the Year 1655 to the End of the Reign of George the First* (Dublin, 1731), p. 125.

<sup>36</sup> *To the Parliament of England*, p. 1.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1, 2, 3.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2; see also Besse, *Sufferings*, ii.460. For John Moor see G. F. Nuttall, *op. cit.*; Fox, *Camb. jnl.*, (Cambridge, 1911) ii.386.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1.

and was sent to prison with no cause given.<sup>41</sup> John Butler was put in prison for visiting prisoners in Kinsale.<sup>42</sup>

The same sort of treatment was meted out in Bandon. Edward Cooke, "Cornet to the Protectors own Troop, was put out of the armie for Owing the Truth." He had brass and pewter, worth about thirty shillings, taken from him for not "paying to the Repair of the Steeple-house" in Bandon. Because the "servants of the Lord Meet together every First day" at his Bandon house, Cooke also "hath his windowes broken by the people of that Town, and great stones thrown in thereat; and had one of his Children wounded, so that he and his Family are in danger of their lives."<sup>43</sup> James Atteridge was imprisoned for "speaking a few words in the Steeple-house at Bandon," was twice whipped (receiving a total of eighty stripes), and "when he was let out of the whipping stocks, he kneeled down and prayed, and the Goaler [gaoler] whipt him till he arose from prayers; and for asking the Priest a question (with his Bible in his hand) was put into the house of Correction two Moneths and there whipped."<sup>44</sup> Thomas Shaw, one of the early "First Publishers" who arrived shortly after the persecution broke out, was arrested for propounding two questions to a priest at Bandon and received sixteen weeks of imprisonment and thirty lashes.<sup>45</sup> William Morris, once a Captain and one of the earliest convincements in the North, had been "put out of the Army" by Henry Cromwell for "owning Truth." He was put in Bridewell for "appearing in the Court at Bandon (being warned thither) with his hat on his head."<sup>46</sup> John Butler was imprisoned for speaking a few words in the Bandon graveyard.<sup>47</sup>

Cork also produced its share of persecution of Quakers. Thomas Michell, "late a Lt. in the Army," was kicked and abused for speaking to the mayor of Cork, and he was also kept in jail five weeks for speaking a few words in the "Steeple-house." Susanna Michell was likewise imprisoned

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2. For James Attridge see G. F. Nuttall, *op. cit.*

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3. Cf. Friends' Historical Library, Dublin, volume A.11: National Sufferings (1655-1693), p. 3.

<sup>47</sup> *To the Parliament of England*, p. 2.

by the mayor for speaking to the priest in the "Steeple-house."<sup>48</sup> For a similar offence prison became the lot of Jane Tadpoole, Francis Bostocke, Mary Gregory, and Philip Dymond.<sup>49</sup> John Connor was "committed to the Guard" simply for "passing the Street in Corke towards a meeting."<sup>50</sup> Steven Harris was imprisoned by the mayor of Cork for speaking to him and had the "biggest Iron bolts" put on him.<sup>51</sup> Robert Malin, a soldier, was imprisoned in Cork for speaking to the priest and people.<sup>52</sup>

The persecution soon spread to other areas such as Youghal, Wexford, and Waterford. John Browne, a Master Gunner in Youghal, was "put out of his place" for being a Quaker and was later imprisoned for speaking "a few words in the Steeple-house,"<sup>53</sup> Meetings there were broken up and worshippers were imprisoned, as well as there being the usual number of arrests for "speaking in the steeple-house."<sup>54</sup> Richard Poole was "put out of the Army for his love to the Truth" and was imprisoned twice, for speaking to people at Wexford and at Waterford.<sup>55</sup> Charles Collins, "late a Lieutenant in the Armie," for not swearing or taking off his hat, was fined £20.<sup>56</sup> Thomas Holme, "late a Captain in the Army" suffered greatly when a meeting he was attending in Wexford was broken up.<sup>57</sup>

In addition to the cashiering of Quaker officers and soldiers from the Army (and the accompanying persecution of Quakers, both civilian and military), there was another very important development which stemmed from Henry Cromwell's fear of the Quakers as his "most considerable enemy nowe". This was the banishment from Ireland of "Publishers of Truth." Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough, after some months of labour in Waterford and Kilkenny, were apprehended by the Sheriff at Cork by the order of the Council in Dublin, and

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1. He was also placed in the stocks at Bandon for the same reason. See also G. F. Nuttall, *op. cit.* (Malins).

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

from thence (by Guards of Sould[iers]) carryed from Garrison to Garrison, unto Dublin, and there committed to the Sergeant at Armes, and afterwards in a violent manner forced into a ship, and banished the Nation; and all of this onely for being called Quakers.<sup>58</sup>

During the examination which was held before Henry Cromwell and his Council,

no manner of Evill [was] charged upon them; though they were committed to the Sergeant at Armes, and kept prisoners for many dayes, and unjustly sent away contrary to all law and equity; and without any manner of reason shewne to them for such proceedings; who could not be convinced of the breach of any law, nor any other thing charged against them saving that they were the servants of God, and thus for the name of Jesus they were persecuted by unrighteous men; contrary to the law of God of of these nations.<sup>59</sup>

The Council also banished Ann Gold [Gould] and Juliana Browne (who had been labouring in the North of Ireland), James Lancaster, and several other "public Friends."<sup>60</sup> This led to banishment of visiting Quaker missionaries from still other ports—such as Frances Smith from Kinsale, and Barbara Blagdon and Sarah Bennett from Cork.<sup>61</sup>

It was the hope of Henry Cromwell (and of the "priests" who encouraged him in his attack on Quakers) that these measures would end the threat of Quakerism. They really underestimated the strength of the new movement, for in their few brief months of activity Howgill, Burrough, and other "First Publishers" had raised up a number of local leaders—both from within the Army and outside. These included ex-officers such as Charles Collins, Edward Cooke, Richard Hodden, Thomas Holme, Stephen Rich, and James Sicklemore, and ex-soldiers such as William Ames, William Blanch, Ananias Kelloe, Robert Malin, Daniel Massey, and Richard Poole. Also to be found in the growing list of Irish "Publishers of Truth" were Lucretia Cooke, John Luffe, Mary Malin, and John Perrot. In addition to these "home-grown" Quaker "Publishers" there continued

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 2, 6-7. Cf. Dunlop, *op. cit.*, II, 563, where we find that it was "Ordered that the Quakers in Dublin be sent to Chester. Quakers at Waterford to be shipped to Bristol. 21 and 30 Jan." [1656].

to be a stream of Friends from England carrying the new message to Ireland: Thomas Shaw, William Shaw, Hunphrey Norton, John Stubbs, Mary Howgill, and others.

Shortly after the banishment of Burrough and Howgill from Munster (and Ireland) there finally began the Quaker "assault" on Limerick, the last large town and garrison in Munster (and the last major one in all the west except for Galway). Both "Irish" and English Quakers participated in this attempt to bring the Quaker message to Limerick. Colonel Henry Ingoldsby, who served as Governor of Limerick, was apparently waiting for them and was determined to use the full weight and power of his office to keep travelling Friends out—whether they might be "public" or "private," "Irish" or English. Colonel Ingoldsby "set forth a Proclamation in Limerick, . . . that no Inhabitant of that City should receive any Quaker into their house, upon Penalty of being turned out of that Town."<sup>62</sup>

One of the first cases which arose under this proclamation centered around John Browne of Youghal, who had come to Limerick to receive £50 due him from a merchant there. Browne himself was arrested, sent "from Constable to Constable to Youghal, without being brought before him [Ingoldsby] or any other Magistrate to be examined, and so would not suffer him to do his said business." Richard Pierce of Limerick, an apothecary and formerly a soldier, who had entertained his friend John Browne, had £5 in goods taken from him for having shown hospitality to this Quaker who had come on lawful business.<sup>63</sup>

James Sicklemore ("late a Capt. in the Armie") and John Perrot, both of whom had been convinced by Edward Burrough during his labour at Waterford,<sup>64</sup> were both arrested on April 1, 1656, less than half an hour after their arrival in Limerick "because they were met [with the inhabitants of Limerick] at the house of one Capt. Wilkinson." They were imprisoned for some days, and Ingoldsby allowed no

<sup>62</sup> *To the Parliament of England*, p. 5. For Sir Henry Ingoldsby (1622–1701), twice created a baronet, 1658 and 1660, see *D.N.B.*; Firth & Davies, *op. cit.*

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 5–6.

<sup>64</sup> Friends House Library, Markey MS., 104, contains a letter from Edward Burrough (dated Waterford, 21st of 11th Month, 1655) in which he notes that "one Capt. Sicclemore" and John Perrot "hath been with me about a week writing notes & papers." He says that Perrot "was Emminent in the Nation & is a pretty Man, & servicable to me for writing."

more than three or four people at a time to come hear them. Ingoldsby had them taken to the "synagogue" to listen to the priest. When Perrot asked for permission to "prophesie"<sup>65</sup> at the end of the sermon, he was attacked, carried out of the church, and banished from the city.<sup>66</sup>

Ten days after being banished Perrot returned to Limerick, attending a meeting for worship at Captain Wilkinson's house on First Day. This meeting was interrupted by a guard of soldiers, and Perrot was carried to prison where he was shut up "close" with no one allowed to visit him. That night a "council" of justices and priests met and had Perrot brought before them for examination, trying to "catch" him so that they would have grounds to send him to Dublin. Perrot was indicted and then sent on to Dublin where he was kept a prisoner for a considerable period of time.<sup>67</sup>

William Ames, formerly of the Army and later to become the great "apostle" of Quakerism in Holland, was arrested for attending a meeting for worship in Limerick. He was again arrested for being at a "Steeple-house" there and was imprisoned a second time. For having written to Colonel Ingoldsby, he was brought out of prison "into the Main-Guard, and there with his own hand [Ingoldsby] did beat and strick him to the ground, and kicked him, and caused him to be tied neck and heels in the street, the bloud running down from him as he lay tyed."<sup>68</sup> At the same time Ingoldsby beat William Blanch (also a former

<sup>65</sup> In many churches at this time there was an open period for "prophesying" (interpreting the scriptures) after the sermon.

<sup>66</sup> Lansdowne MSS., 821, f. 127, letter from John Perrot to Henry Cromwell, from the Marshalls of the Court of Dublin, dated 1st of 3rd Month (May), 1656. Concerning John Perrot, cf. Kenneth L. Carroll, *John Perrot (Jnl. F.H.S., Supp. no. 33, London, 1970)*.

<sup>67</sup> Lansdowne MSS., 821, f. 127. Perrot tells Henry Cromwell that he looks upon all his suffering, persecution, beatings, imprisonment, etc., as "being for the lords sake, & for his everlasting truthes sake I beare with Content: it being the yoake of my lord and saviour & the taking up of his Crowne of Thorns." Cf. *To the Parliament of England*, p. 6, where this second imprisonment in Limerick is said to have lasted "many days" before he was sent on to Dublin. We know that he was beaten at Waterford, but do not have record of his other beatings.

<sup>68</sup> *To the Parliament of England*, p. 7. Cf. Fuller and Holmes, *op. cit.*, p. 105, where we are told that Ames was left tied in this manner "in the Street in the Night-time, and cold Winter-season." Ames, who was born near Bristol, served in the Army in Ireland where he became a Baptist. He and William Caton became the "founders" of Dutch Quakerism. Ames died in Holland in 1662. See also *D.N.B.*; G. F. Nuttall, *op. cit.*

soldier) and put him in prison for several days for visiting his fellow Quakers in prison.<sup>69</sup>

Barbara Blagdon, one of the many English Friends who travelled to Ireland in 1655–1656, was arrested by Ingoldsby's soldiers while walking along the streets of Limerick and was imprisoned and then banished from the city. John Luffe (an "Irish" Friend, who may have visited New England in 1656 before accompanying John Perrot on his visit to the Mediterranean area, where Luffe died in a Roman Prison in 1658) attempted to speak to Ingoldsby about Barbara Blagdon before she was banished, but "the said Col. being then at Bowles (as his usual manner was) did kick and beat him, and said, 'This rogue hath bewitched my Bowls.'"<sup>70</sup> Sarah Bennett, who travelled with Barbara Blagdon, was taken from a meeting for worship in Limerick, "put into prison, and there ill used." Ingoldsby ordered that no one should "visit her in the Prison, nor have necessary supply of food and bedding brought to her by her friends, nor yet pen ink and paper to make known her want, or the want of any other friend then in bonds with her." Then the two women were sent "towards Corke (as Vagabonds) from Constable to Constable, to be banished the land."<sup>71</sup>

In addition to trying to silence the "Publishers of Truth," Ingoldsby broke up Friends' meetings for worship, imprisoned the worshippers, and even physically abused some of them.<sup>72</sup> He also had a guard of soldiers break open the doors and plunder the houses of Thomas Phelps, Richard Pierce, and Thomas Holme, taking away "what books and papers they pleased."<sup>73</sup>

Ingoldsby himself wrote to Henry Cromwell in 1656

<sup>69</sup> *To the Parliament of England*, p. 7. For William Blanch of Waterford see G. F. Nuttall, *op. cit.*

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 6–7.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6. Cf. Barbara Blagdon, *An Account of the Travels . . . of Barbara Blaugdone* (London, 1691), pp. 22–28, where she notes that she arrived in Dublin the very day that Howgill and Burrough were banished; she then visited Henry Cromwell, went to Cork, "had a Prison almost where-ever I came," and "was in Jeopardy of my Life several times." On a return trip to Ireland she was imprisoned in Dublin, where she was visited in prison by Sir William King, Colonel Fare [Phaire] and the Lady Browne, who said they "had knowne me from a Child" and succeeded in obtaining her release (pp. 28–34).

<sup>73</sup> *To the Parliament of England*, p. 7.

to explain and defend his treatment of Quakers in Limerick, having learned that "Capt. Holmes a discontented Quaker" of Limerick had petitioned "My Lord" against Ingoldsby.<sup>74</sup> He notes that, among other things, he has acted in a number of ways: (1) "A Sarjeant that was chaseird [cashiered] the army about Waterford for abusing the country, gave me such base Language in a Letter, being a Quaker, that I was forc'd to beate him into better Manners, another fellow I serv[e]d soe that brought me base Letters, w[hi]ch has given mee freedom from that trouble ever since."<sup>75</sup> (2) He had discovered a Quaker meeting at Captain Holmes' [Holme?] house one Sunday, with a "great Number of Strandgers and discontented persons together." He had, therefore, sent a guard there to capture any "strange" [non-local] Quakers. The guard, which broke down the door of the house, was resisted by a Lieutenant Waller, "who was amongst the Company that resisted the guard and thow hee pleaded his Excuse yett I thought it convenient to suspend him his Employment for a while, to make him sensible of his folly."<sup>76</sup> (3) He allowed no "strange" Quakers to meet in his garrison and fined Richard Pierce's wife (in the absence of her husband) twenty shillings for entertaining a "strange" Quaker without giving notice as required by Ingoldsby's proclamation. (4) "Those Souldiers that were Quakers I chasheired them by a court martiall out of the Army." This was not "barely for [their] being Quakers, but for their disobedience to theire officers, & things off that nature." This stern action, he believed, has "cur'd *more than a hundred*<sup>77</sup> off that Aguish distemper they weare Inclineinge to."

Ingoldsby's letter, when viewed in the light of early Quaker accounts of suffering at his hands, shows several significant things about Quakerism and the Cromwellian

<sup>74</sup> Lansdowne MSS., 822, f. 117. Cf. transcription of this letter in *Jnl. F.H.S.*, 7 (1910), 56-58.

<sup>75</sup> Was this ex-serjeant William Ames, William Blanch, John Luffe, or John Perrot? The first two are known to have been in the Army and to have been beaten, while we do not know about the background of Luffe and Perrot.

<sup>76</sup> This was about three months before Ingoldsby wrote his letter. Ingoldsby thought that Capt. Holme's complaint must have been about this episode. Thomas Holme lived in Wexford after coming out of the Army.

<sup>77</sup> Italics added.

Army in the microcosm of Limerick: (1) A number of officers here, just as in Bandon, Cork, and Kinsale, had been attracted to Quakerism—especially Captain Thomas Holmes, Captain Robert Wilkinson, and Lieutenant Waller. (2) In a few brief months, in spite of Ingoldsby's opposition, *more than a hundred soldiers* in the Limerick garrison had been attracted to the new movement. (3) Ingoldsby was so adamant in his opposition, that he employed physical abuse, imprisonment, banishment, and even cashiering people out of the Army to counteract Quakerism.

This same appeal of Quakerism to soldiers in the Cromwellian Army in Ireland, which has been seen in Bandon, Cork, Kinsale, and Limerick, is also met in Galway, the major city and garrison in Connaught. Very little information about Quakerism in Galway is extant today, but there does exist one very interesting 1657 letter from the Reverend Reuben Easthorp to Henry Cromwell, in which Easthorp gives Cromwell a summary of the religious situation in Galway—speaking of the Anabaptists, Fifth Monarchists, and other groups which were very active there. He notes, in passing, that “Our quakers do gett [gain] ground, & *a hundred soldiers* & others meet together at a tyme at their assemblies.”<sup>78</sup>

Our sources show that Quakerism experienced great growth in the Cromwellian Army in Ireland in 1655–1656 (and even down into 1657, as seen in the Galway area). Yet there existed a number of forces which guaranteed that this was but a temporary development which could not last. First of all, there was the opposition of Henry Cromwell himself—which was motivated by a largely unfounded fear of Quakers as a military/political threat to the Protectorate.<sup>79</sup> Second, there was Cromwell's decision to reduce the size of the Army (which both saved money and reduced the “threat” from Quakers and Baptists). The Cromwellian Army in Ireland, which had once numbered 34,000 men, was reduced to about 14,000 or 15,000 by

<sup>78</sup> Lansdowne MSS., 822, f. 246. This letter is dated June 11, 1657. Italics added. Cf. *Ibid.*, 822, f. 77, where there is found mention of Robert Whitesone (“drummer to Major Hoddens late Company”), who is a soldier and the first Quaker to create a disturbance at Ross (May 26, 1657, letter from Lt. Col. John Nelson).

<sup>79</sup> Cf. Thurloe, *State Papers*, IV, 757 (London, May 12, 1656 [N.S.]), for rumours of an uprising caused by Quakers in Colonel Phair's regiment.

1658.<sup>80</sup> Still a third important factor was the opposition of many of the higher officers in the Army. The antagonism of Colonel Ingoldsby has already been noted. His activity must not have constituted the only effort to cashier Quakers out of the Army. The ruling powers had a special concern to keep travelling Friends out of the garrisons, so that they would not have access to soldiers. In 1656 a letter encouraged Colonel Ingoldsby (the last official needing such encouragement!) to see that ministering Friends, whether from England or other parts of Ireland, be "excluded [from] the garrison and not permitted to return or reside there."<sup>81</sup> William Morris and James Atteridge, in 1658, were both put in the stocks and then imprisoned for "speaking a few words in love and meekness to the people & souldiers who were met together in the guardhouse."<sup>82</sup> Other officers (often Baptist or Presbyterian) also used their authority to stop travelling Quakers from reaching appointed meetings. Major Daniel Redman, for example, wrote to Henry Cromwell that he and Captain Franks were at Waterford where about one hundred Quakers had already gathered together. Redman and Franks turned back a number of Quakers, thus keeping the group from reaching two hundred in number. He also reported that Justice Cooke, Colonel Leigh, and several others spent several hours trying to convince the Quakers (who had gathered in a great barn) of their folly but had little effect. Redman advised Colonel Leigh not to allow any more Quaker gatherings in Waterford.<sup>83</sup>

Some Quakers were still in the Cromwellian Army in 1657-1658 in spite of the above developments. Still another factor, however, would soon bring about their complete disappearance from such a setting: the developing *peace testimony* which was independently arising throughout Quakerism, in Britain, the West Indies, and the American mainland colonies such as Maryland. Even in Ireland this

<sup>80</sup> Firth, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

<sup>81</sup> Dunlop, *op. cit.*, II, 637-38.

<sup>82</sup> Mountmellick Monthly Meeting Register of Sufferings (G. 17), p. 9. This volume is to be found in Friends' Historical Library, Dublin.

<sup>83</sup> Lansdowne MSS., 821, f. 344. This letter is dated Kilkenny, 15 March 1656 [1657]. Daniel Redman was knighted after the Restoration; see Firth & Davies, *op. cit.* For Col. William Leigh, governor of Waterford, see Firth & Davies, *op. cit.*

same development was already under way at the end of 1656. Robert Evans, describing himself as a "prisoner for truth's sake," wrote to Henry Cromwell and Sir Hadrin Waller from Bridewell in Dublin on the 3rd of 11th Month [January], 1656 [1657], asking for his back pay as a soldier and for a discharge from the Army. Evans no longer felt able to serve as a soldier, but he was willing to serve the Commonwealth in some other capacity. Evans, in this letter, does not specifically describe himself as a Quaker, but the language and dates are quite clearly Quaker, as is the absence of flattering titles.<sup>84</sup> Shortly thereafter Robert Evans is listed among Friends.<sup>85</sup> This last factor, the rise of the "peace testimony," was the "clincher" which brought about the disappearance of Quakerism in the Cromwellian Army in Ireland even before the end of the Commonwealth and the Protectorate.

KENNETH L. CARROLL

<sup>84</sup> Lansdowne MSS., 821, f. 260.

<sup>85</sup> Robert Pentland Mahaffy (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1669-1670, Addenda 1625-1670* (London, 1910), pp. 373-377, contains an abstract of "Copy of a Brief Roll presented to the King of England" in 1661 and signed (p. 377) by fifty-five "Irish" Friends including Robert Evans, Richard Hodden, John Browne, Edward Cooke and others mentioned earlier in this article.

## Reports on Archives

The Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts *Accessions to repositories and Reports added to the National Register of Archives, 1977* (London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1978. £2.50), reports the following additions to the manuscript collections in various institutions which may interest workers on Quaker history:

Hull University Brynmor Jones Library, The University, Hull HU6 7BX.

Katherine Bruce Glasier, socialist and pacifist: letters to Frank and Myfanwy Westrope 1929–50.

Liverpool University University Library, Sydney Jones Library, P.O. Box 123, Liverpool L69 3DA.

John Bruce Glasier (1859–1920), socialist, and Katharine Glasier: correspondence, notebooks, diaries etc. c. 1879–1976, including papers relating to the early history of the Independent Labour Party.

Cumbria Record Office, County Offices, Kendal LA9 4RQ.

Crewdson of Kendal: further correspondence and family papers 1825–1917, midwife's journal 1665–75.

Wilson family of Kendal: further deeds and papers 17th–19th century, including correspondence of Quaker interest.

Norfolk Record Office, Central Library, Norwich NR2 1NJ.

Wells, Holt, King's Lynn and other Quaker meetings: records 1758–1880.

Staffordshire County Record Office, Eastgate Street, Stafford ST16 2LZ.

Society of Friends: Staffordshire Monthly Meeting records 17th–20th century.

Leeds Archives Department, Chapeltown Road, Sheepscar, Leeds LS7 3AP.

Northern Friends Peace Board records from 1913.

Among the Reports listed are:

- 20575 J. W. Harvey, philosopher: miscellaneous correspondence and papers, 1 p., *Birmingham University Library*.
- 20662 Tatham family, Burton in Lonsdale: deeds and papers, 5 pp., *Leeds Archives Department*.
- 20755 Dorset Society of Friends, 17 pp., *Dorset RO*.
- 20906 Abbatt family of Preston: correspondence and papers, 3 pp., *Lancs RO*.
- 20919 Clare: Quaker Meeting House deeds and miscellaneous papers, 4 pp., *Suffolk RO, Bury St. Edmunds*
- 20992 Ransomes, Sims & Jefferies Ltd., engineers, ironfounders and agricultural implement manufacturers, Ipswich. 64 pp., *Institute of Agricultural History, Reading University; Ransomes of Ipswich* (Institute of Agricultural History, 1975).

- 21052 Richard Davis Webb, printer, Dublin, and Alfred John Webb, Irish politician: correspondence, 4 pp., *Trinity College Dublin Library*.
- 21065 Marshall-Fowler Ltd., agricultural implement manufacturers, Leeds, 225 pp., *Institute of Agricultural History, Reading University*.

\* \* \*

The Lancashire Record Office *Handlist of genealogical sources*, 4th edition, 1978, £1, lists the following Friends registers (originals or copies in various forms) in the section on Nonconformist registers: Colthouse (1658-1910); Crawshawbooth (burials 1663-1849); Fylde (1699-1794); Hardshaw (1649-1816; East 1816-1837; West 1816-1838); Height (1865-1890); Lancashire Q.M. (1646-1837); Lancaster M.M. (1644-1837); Marsden (1654-1967); Oldham (1865-1911); Preston (1651-1837); Rochdale (1865-1906); Rossendale (burials 1663-1849); Sawley (1879-1894); Swarthmoor (1646-1837); Toxteth Park, Smithdown Friends burials, 1864-97; Ulverston (Swarthmoor burials 1865-73).

\* \* \*

Purchased for Suffolk Record Office (for £576 with the aid of £100 from the Friends of the National Libraries [see their *Annual Report* for 1978, pp. 11-12]) is an extensive collection of archives of the Society of Friends in Suffolk, and correspondence and personalia deriving from the May family. The collection includes Suffolk Quarterly Meeting minutes 1862-81, and a volume of minutes of meetings of ministers and elders of Woodbridge Monthly Meeting 1835-85. The papers include extensive 19th century correspondence with the Sims and Alexander families.

## HISTORICAL RESEARCH

*Historical research for university degrees in the United Kingdom.*

List no. 39. Part II. Theses in progress 1978. (University of London, Institute of Historical Research. May 1978. £1.25.)

*Included in the list are the following items, not noted previously:*

- Quakerism in Lancashire and Cheshire, 1650-1750. J. H. Hodson.  
(Professor G. S. Holmes.) Lancaster Ph.D. 1405
- Early Quaker activity and reactions to it, 1652-64. B. G. Reay.  
(Dr. J. E. C. Hill.) Oxford D.Phil. 1406
- The Quakers and the Press, 1653-89. T. P. O'Malley. (Mr. D. F.  
Allen.) Birmingham Ph.D. 1407
- The Quaker and the Establishment, 1660-1730. N. J. Morgan.  
(Mr. M. Mullett.) Lancaster M. Litt. 1443
- The social position and role of women within the Quaker  
communities of Cumbria and Lancaster, c. 1675-1760. Mrs. Beatrice  
M. E. Carré. (Mr. M. Mullett.) Lancaster M. Litt. 1458
- The Quakers and the Church of England, 1675-1718: a study  
in intellectual and ecclesiastical history. R. I. Clark. (Mr. Mullett.)  
Lancaster M. Litt. 1459
- The parent-child relationship in Quaker families, 1689-1779.  
W. D. Yuhasz. (Mr. N. McKendrick.) Cambridge Ph.D. 1488
- English and Irish Quakers and the Irish Question, 1868-86.  
H. F. Gregg. (Professor D. Read.) Kent M.A./M.Phil. 2008

\* \* \*

*The following are also noted:*

- Thomas Greer of Dungannon, 1724-1803: quaker linen-merchant.  
By J. W. McConaghy. For Ph.D./Queen's University, Belfast.  
(Professor D. W. Harkness) [*Irish historical studies*, March 1977].
- Ambiguities and contradictions in Quaker belief and organization.  
Mrs. D. B. Godlee. Cambridge University M.Sc.

*Thesis completed:* John Leslie Baily: Thomas Rickman, architect  
and Quaker: the early years to 1818. (Leeds University Ph.D.  
thesis, Department of Fine Art, 1977).

## Notes and Queries

### HENRY ECROYD'S WATCH

For many years I have had in my possession a copy of a humorous letter about a watch needing repair, said to have been written by my great great grandfather in 1816.

The writer, Henry Ecroyd of Edgend (1765-1843), began his letter to Henry Spencer, Watchmaker, Burnley, as follows:

"Friend, I have sent thee my pocket companion which greatly stands in need of thy kind care and correction. The last time he was at thy school he was no ways benefitted by thy discipline—nor in the least reformed thereby . . ."

The letter ends with:

"Do thou regulate his conduct for the time to come by the motion of the luminary that rules over the day, and let him learn of that unerring guide the true calculation of his table and the equation of time, and when thou finds him converted from the error of his ways and conformable to the above mentioned rules, do thou send him with a true bill of charge drawn in the spirit of moderation, and it shall be faithfully remitted to thee by thy true friend, on the second day of the week commonly called Monday . . ."

I would be pleased to hear of the existence of similar letters. The following different versions have come to my notice up to now:

1. Tobias Gowell, 1883. "I send thee once more my erroneous watch . . . (for which) thou demandest the fourth part of a pound sterling." The watchmaker was clearly British, but the letter appeared in print in the *American Farm Implements Magazine*, 1883. Subsequent publications: *American Heritage Magazine* [c. 1961]; *American Horologist and Watchmaker* of Denver, Colorado, May 1975; *British Jeweller and Watch Buyer*, May 1976; and *The Friend*, 10 Sept. 1976, p. 1068.

2. [Unsigned.] "I herewith send thee my pocket clock . . ." Printed in Richard Pike, *Quaker anecdotes*, 1880, pp. 54-55.

3. John H. Giles, Leman Street, Goodman Fields, [London], to Ezra Enoch, watchmaker, London, [c. 1827-32]. "Friend Enoch: I have sent thee my erroneous watch . . ." [Information from George Edwards.]

4. P. H. Little Dale, 19 ix 1759, to "Friend Joseph, I desired Christopher Hopkins, who sells the dead letter, and gains much by trading in such books, to bring to thee an erroneous movement, called a watch . . ." From *The Lady's Magazine* for May 1796.

HENRY ECROYD, 2 Benhurst Gardens, South Croydon, Surrey CR2 8NS.

### RICHARD CLARIDGE

A 17th-century volume of Francis Bacon, with flyleaf inscribed: "Ex Libris Richardi Claridge", in Isaac Norris's library, is recorded in Marie

Elena Korey's catalogue of *The books of Isaac Norris (1701-1766) at Dickinson College* (Carlisle, Pennsylvania, 1976). The editor suggests that the owner concerned may possibly be Richard Claridge the Quaker schoolmaster (1649-1723) who was educated at Oxford and figures prominently as an author in Joseph Smith's *Descriptive catalogue of Friends' books* (1867).

#### FOTHERGILLIANA

Can any reader inform me of:

(i) The present whereabouts of Dr. John Fothergill's hat-box, bearing his initials in brass studs on the lid (sold by John Brigham, Darlington bookseller, perhaps to an American purchaser)?

(ii) Any details of the origins and history of the Richardson-Currer-Roundell Collection, which included Dr. Fothergill's watch and strap?

BRIAN ARUNDEL, Ackworth School, Pontefract WF7 7LT.

#### T. B. MACAULAY

For one who established the Whig view of history as respectable, Macaulay has not had a good Quaker press—overtly because his obstinate misreading of sources did not allow him to correct demonstrated inaccuracies in his account of William Penn.

In *Macaulay and the Whig tradition* (University of Chicago Press, 1976) Joseph Hamburger draws attention to Macaulay's distrust of religious fervour, and how the historian observed a connection between religious extremism and civil conflict—"Bunyan and Fox and many others he described as being

bizarre and sometimes dangerous" (p. 14).

The author poses the question whether Macaulay's attitude may have been a reaction from his upbringing—his father, Zachary Macaulay, was an active and prominent member of the evangelical Clapham sect who had married Selina Mills, a Quaker.

A footnote quotes Macaulay's letter to his brother Henry (May 26th 1824) when the latter was in Liverpool working in James Cropper's counting house, and apparently considering whether to turn Quaker:

"the drab will become you. And you have already the demure look—the sharp eye to the main-chance, and the coolness—aye Hal, and, if I remember right, the obstinacy too" (see *Letters of T.B.M.*, ed. Pinney, 1974, i. 197).

#### WILLIAM PENN

We are grateful to Frank M. Wright, 16 Rosedene Avenue, Croydon CRO 3DN, for bringing to our notice references to William Penn and Warminghurst which appeared in the *Pharmaceutical Journal*, 1976, vol. 217, no. 5876, p. 3, under title "An Onlooker's Notebook. Sussex and the New World".

Penn moved to Warminghurst in 1677 where he had considerable land. In 1684 the Sheriff of Sussex was given a direction to apprehend him as "a factious and seditious person . . . [who] doth frequently entertaine and keepe unlawfull Assemblies and Conventicles in his dwelling house at Worminghurst [*sic*] to the terror of the Kings leige people".

## FRANCIS RICHARDSON (d. 1688)

"Up from the bottom in Franklin's Philadelphia", by Gary B. Nash of the University of California, Los Angeles (*Past and Present*, no. 77, November 1977, pp. 57-83) opens with a reference to Francis Richardson (d. 1688) an emigrant from County Durham in 1681, whose family rose to affluence in the mercantile society of pre-revolution Pennsylvania, which this paper studies.

## BARTON HILL, BRISTOL

*University & community: essays to mark the centenary of the founding of University College, Bristol*, edited by J. G. Macqueen and S. W. Taylor (University of Bristol, 1976) includes an article by T. K. Ewer entitled "The University Settlement", which outlines some of the social and educational work carried on at Barton Hill by, among others, Hilda Cashmore (the first warden), Lettice Jowitt, Marian Fry Pease and Mabel Tothill.

Elsewhere in the volume the active part played by the Fry family in the foundation of the College is noted, and the involvement of Marian Fry Pease (first Mistress of Method in the Bristol Day Training College, 1892) also went right back to the first day the College opened, "when on a September morning in 1876, [she] walked across Durdham Down, took a horse tram down Blackboy Hill and presented herself at the doors of 32 Park Row . . . to compete, successfully, for one of the three scholarships offered for women" (p. 41).

## CHESHIRE SUFFERINGS

A chapter by T. C. Curtis entitled "Quarter Sessions appearances and their background: a seventeenth-century regional study", gives a few pages (pp. 143-52) to Cheshire Friends' concerns with the law during the persecutions at the end of the reign of Charles II in the volume edited by J. S. Cockburn, *Crime in England, 1550-1800* (Methuen, 1977. £10.50).

## CUMBRIAN IRON

"The Cumbrian iron industry" by C. B. Phillips (University of Manchester) is the first essay in *Trade and transport: essays in economic history in honour of T. S. Willan* (Manchester University Press, 1977). It includes details about the Rawlinson and Fell forges, an alphabetical list of sites referred to, and a useful battery of references.

## MADAGASCAR

*Quaker History*, vol. 66, no. 2 (Autumn 1977) includes (pp. 87-97) a brief survey by Bonar A. Gow of "The Quaker contribution to education in Madagascar, 1867-1895". He shows how Friends led by Joseph S. Sewell cooperated at first in the running of Congregational schools under the London Missionary Society until after a few years it was agreed that Friends should set up a completely separate Quaker mission establishment, with its own schools and churches. The high quality of the education given in the F.F.M.A. schools was recognized as giving the students a passport to a job in the administration; and the

educational work of the Friends' mission also fostered the growth of reading and an indigenous literature. Though Quaker influence began to decline after the French invasion in 1895, the early start given to Malagasy education by the Quakers & the Congregationalists had great impact on the island, and in the area of literacy Friends helped to transform Madagascar into one of the most advanced of all the pre-colonial African states.

#### NORTHERN FRIENDS

DONALD ROOKSBY, 7 Park Street, Millans Park, Ambleside, is collating an index system listing references to meeting houses, burial grounds, houses and other sites of historical interest, biographical notes on Friends of all periods, and other material relevant to Quaker history in Cumbria, North Lancashire, the Yorkshire Dales, the northern Pennines and the Border Country.

The loan of press cuttings, unpublished material, personal observations &c., would be particularly appreciated. It is hoped, at some stage, to make this research generally available.

#### THE ROYAL SOCIETY

T. L. Underdown finds two Friends only (William Penn, Edward Haistwell) members of the Royal Society in the 17th century ("Quakers and the Royal Society of London in the seventeenth century", *Notes and records of the Royal Society of London*, vol. 31, no. 1, July 1976, pp. 133-150).

In the course of his article Professor Underdown removes

the names of Sir John Finch, Anthony Lowther and Richard Lower from the list of Quaker Fellows or those of Quaker descent—Richard Lower, F.R.S. (1631-91) being ineligible because he was already grown up when Humphrey Lower his father became a Friend.

According to the list of elected members (p. 111 of the same issue of *Notes and records*), William Penn, elected 9 Nov. 1681, was inactive (never admitted, no payments of subscriptions, name never appeared in membership lists).

#### EARLY QUAKERISM

"Overcoming the world: the early Quaker programme", by Geoffrey F. Nuttall, the presidential address delivered to the Ecclesiastical History Society is published in *Studies in church history* (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1973) vol. 10, pp. 145-164.

#### QUAKERS YARD

Handlist of manuscripts in the National Library of Wales, part 31 (The National Library of Wales journal, supplement, Series 2, no. 31), p. 451, MS 13152A (Llanover C. 85) Miscellanea. [Volume includes:] "a copy of the inscription on the tomb of Lydia Phell, ob. 1699, in the Quakers' Yard near Newbridge, co. Glamorgan, with a description of the said Yard and a note on its connection with the Quakers (344, 354)".

#### SLAVE EMANCIPATION

An article on "Daniel O'Connell and American anti-slavery" by Douglas C. Riach (*Irish historical studies*, vol. 20, no. 77, March 1976, pp. 3-25) has a

footnote based on a letter from John Grubb to Joseph Grubb, 16 June 1826, in the Grubb letters, S.G.D.a, folder 10, no. 256 at Friends' Historical Library, Eustace Street, Dublin, which notes that some London Friends were objecting to the use of the word "emancipation" in reference to the anti-slavery cause because it smacked too much of Roman Catholic emancipation, then actively under discussion.

#### SLAVERY

Friends' activities in the anti-slavery movement in the United States in the 19th century are studied briefly in *The abolitionists: the growth of a dissenting minority*, by Merton Lynn Dillon (De Kalb, Northern Illinois University Press, 1974). The author notes that "Except for Quakers, religiously oriented abolitionists ordinarily found in religious doctrine no insurmountable obstacle in the way of accepting" violent means to aid their cause.

#### SLAVERY

*To wash an Aethiop white: British ideas about Black African educability, 1530-1960* (Teachers College Press, 1975) by Charles H. Lyons includes brief notes on some Friends' concern in improving the lot of the negro. There are the famous names from Anthony Benezet to James Cowles Prichard and Wilson Armistead (and his *Tribute to the Negro*, 1848). The study ranges from the modern students of scientific methods of studying intelligence and varying human capacities, back to the careers of Olaudah Equiano and Benjamin

Banneker, negroes who were able to prove their capacities to doubters nearly a couple of centuries ago.

#### SOCIAL HISTORY

*The Quaker family in colonial America: a portrait of the Society of Friends*, by J. William Frost (New York, St. Martin's Press, 1973) is a valuable internal social survey of Friends in America in the colonial period. Examples and quotations are from American sources, but the studies (in chapters like, "Childhood: as the twig is bent", "Quaker school life", "Quaker marriage customs") have relevance for conditions among English 18th-century Friends. J. William Frost is chairman of Friends Historical Association Historical research committee.

#### SLAVE TRADE

Roger Anstey's *The Atlantic Slave Trade and British Abolition, 1760-1810* (Macmillan, 1975) inevitably contains a great deal of interest to Friends. In addition to a very extensive range of printed sources he has drawn upon manuscript material at Haverford and Friends House for the Quaker aspects of his account, one of the main aims of which is to examine the question: "how far can the groups which loom so importantly in traditional accounts of the abolition, Quakers and Evangelicals, be regarded as the actual dynamic of reform?" Professor Anstey demonstrates clearly, with detailed accounts of the beliefs of Woolman and Anthony Benezet, how Friends provided much of the impetus for the beginning of anti-slavery agitation in this

country. He shows, too, that English Friends initially were subjected to some pressure from their American counterparts to work up enthusiasm in the matter. In the end he seems to see the importance of Friends in the agitation being taken over by the more politically aware Evangelicals, outside as well as, quite obviously, inside Parliament. But this is all part of a much wider based account of the trade and its abolition, with sections devoted to the economic history of the trade, and to the changing intellectual climate with regard to slavery in the eighteenth century.

DAVID J. HALL

#### SOCIAL STATUS

"Dissent and catholicism in English society: a study of Warwickshire, 1660-1720", by Judith J. Hurwich (*Journal of British studies*, vol. 16, no. 1, Fall 1976, pp. 24-58) closes with the sentence: "Dissent by the early eighteenth century was on its way to becoming little more than one facet of an urban middle-class subculture."

In this study, the author quotes from Ernest Taylor, Alan Cole, Richard Vann and Hugh Barbour, and covers not only Warwickshire evidence, but also such general material as has become available in recent years concerning the social status of Friends.

#### STAFFORDSHIRE MEETING HOUSES

*The buildings of England: Staffordshire* by Nikolaus Pevsner (Penguin Books, 1974) mentions Friends' meeting houses at Leek, Stafford and Uttoxeter. The Leek

house dates from 1697, although few of the original features survive. The Uttoxeter M.H. in Carter Street is "a plain brick cottage of the early 18th century".

Stafford meeting house, Foregate Street, dates from 1730, and is an oblong brick house, with original panelling inside (pp. 170, 246, 290).

#### STAFFORDSHIRE

*A history of the county of Stafford*. Edited by M. W. Greenslade, vol. 17. (Victoria History. Oxford University Press, 1976.)

Friends were reported in visitation records in West Bromwich (1665, 1773) and in Walsall (1773). The development of the Walsall Meeting since 1932 is noticed.

#### SUSSEX

The table of returns of numbers of dissenting places of worship in Sussex, 1810-1851, in *The journal of the United Reformed Church History Society*, vol. 1, no. 7 (April 1976), p. 201, shows that Friends' places of worship never reached double figures during that period.

#### SYDNEY FRIENDS

Gwyneth M. Dow's *Samuel Terry, the Botany Bay Rothschild* (Sydney University Press, 1974) includes a few references to John Tawell, druggist and sometime Quaker, who built for Friends "a commodious meeting house" on Macquarie Street, Sydney. Samuel Terry himself (d. 1838), though not a Friend, sat on the committee of the Quaker Australian School Society.

## TASMANIA

*The Quaker collection of the Morris Miller library, University of Tasmania.* A preliminary checklist, compiled by F. M. Dunn (Hobart, 1973) lists some 1,000 items, including older works on Quakerism presented to the library in 1971 by Hobart Meeting.

## TEESSIDE

*Teesside's economic heritage* by G. A. North (County Council of Cleveland, 1975) includes much statistical material on commercial, industrial and communications development in the district. Of particular interest to Friends will be the sections on the rise of the engineering and other industries up to 1914. This study illustrates the wide spread of Quaker involvement in industry and railways during the 19th century. The Stockton and Darlington Railway is the enterprise which comes to mind immediately, but there were activities as diverse as sugar and textiles, quite outside the engineering and heavy industrial field.

## TITHE BILL, 1736

*The Quaker's Reply to the Country Parson's Plea* (1736) which was Lord Hervey's answer from the government point of view to the Bishop of Salisbury's *The Country Parson's Plea Against the Quaker's Bill for Tythes* is noted in the course of Robert Halsband's *Lord Hervey, eighteenth-century courtier* (Clarendon Press, 1973), pp. 193-195. In the final debate on the Bill in the House of Lords Hervey spoke in its support, but to no avail;

the Bill was defeated, although it had passed the Commons.

Joseph Smith's *Descriptive Catalogue of Friends' Books*, ii, 460-461, does not assign an author to the first edition of the pamphlet, but gives the name "LordHarvey" against *An Answer to the Country Parson's Plea*, 2nd edition, 1736.

## TRAVEL IN ITALY

R. S. Pine Coffin's *Bibliography of British and American Travel in Italy to 1860* (Firenze, Olschki, 1974. Lire 14,000), includes an entry for *A Narrative of some of the Sufferings of J. P. [Perrot] in the City of Rome*, 1661. Perrot set out for the Mediterranean in 1657 and visited Leghorn, Venice and Rome. "In 1658 he was committed to a madhouse, by order of the Holy Office, for preaching against the Catholic faith, but was released and returned to England in 1661." The second part of the *Narrative* contains the account by Charles Bayly of the journey from Calais to Rome and the imprisonment of Perrot.

The bibliography does not mention the accounts of the voyage of Sarah Cheevers and Katharine Evans and their imprisonment in Malta, or George Robinson, and the others who visited Italy in the course of their missions to the eastern Mediterranean.

## WELSH LITERATURE

"Quaker and anti-Quaker literature in Welsh from the Restoration to Methodism", by Geraint H. Jenkins (Aberystwyth), an article in *The Welsh history review*, vol. 7, no. 4 (December 1975), pp. 403-

426, uses material in Friends House Library, including the Kelsall diaries.

#### WESTHOUGHTON MINUTE BOOKS

Hardshaw East Monthly Meeting newsletter, April 1977, reported the receipt by Monthly Meeting of two Westhoughton Preparative Meeting minute books, 1827-47 and 1847-55, and a Women's Meeting minute book, 1827-74. It was decided to pass these over to the Archives Department of Manchester Central Library which already holds similar minute books.

#### WESTMORLAND HERALDRY

*An armorial for Westmorland and Lonsdale*, by R. S. Boumphrey, C. Roy Hudleston and J. Hughes (Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, Extra series, vol. 21, 1975), gives coats of arms and useful notes on the armigerous families of the county, now merged in Cumbria.

Under *ASKEW*, of *Marsh Grange* is the following: "The most famous member of the family was Margaret Askew (1614-1702), wife first of Judge Fell [q.v.] and then of George Fox. *Arms*. Argent a fess Gules between three asses passant Sable."

Also mentioned are the following families: Abraham of Swarthmoor, Backhouse, Braithwaite of Kendal, Bateman of Tranthwaite (Underbarrow), Beaufoy (allied to the London brewers), Collinson of Hugill (Peter Collinson, F.R.S.), Crewdson of Helme Lodge, Cropper of Ellergreen and Tolson Hall, Ecroyd, Fallowfield of

Great Strickland, Farrer, Fell of Swarthmoor, Ford of Ellel Hall, Fry, Halhead of Heversham and Natland, Gough, Hubbersty of Underbarrow, Lawson, Lloyd of Old Brathay, Rawlinson (various branches), Satterthwaite, Sessions of Kendal, Simpson, Stout of Lancaster, Wakefield, Whitehead of Raisbeck, Whitwell, and Wilson (of High Wray, and of Kendal).

#### WILTSHIRE

Swanborough hundred and the borough of Devizes are covered in vol. 10 of the *Victoria History: Wiltshire* (Oxford University Press, 1975. £27).

References are given to Friends and Friends' meetings in the parishes of All Cannings, Great and Little Cheverell, Market Lavington (a couple of paragraphs), Marden, Stert, Upavon, Urchfont and Wilcot, and in Devizes. Friends do not appear to have been strong in the area, although until 1775 Lavington gave its name to a monthly meeting.

#### WRAMPLINGHAM

"The graveyard that never has a visitor" is the title of an article in the *Eastern daily press*, 14 October 1974, concerning the old burial ground at Wramplingham, and Friends of the district. The author gives an informed account and quotes from the recollections of Anthony Eddington (clerk of Norwich Meeting).

#### WYCOMBE FRIENDS

In his article "Martin Llewellyn and 'Wickham Wakened, / or, / The Quakers Madrigall, / in Rime Dogrell'" (*Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*,

vol. 76, no. 3, pp. 448-456, 1975), John P. Cutts discusses the authorship of the anti-Quaker ballad of 1672, lampooning Friends in High Wycombe.

One example of the verse may suffice:

The Quaker and his Brats,  
Are born with their Hats,  
Which a point with two Taggs,  
Ty's fast to their Craggs

#### YEALAND CONYERS

A note entitled "Under-registration in the Warton (Lancs.) registers" by R. Speake (*Local population studies*, no. 15, Autumn 1975, pp. 45-46) produces figures from the Yealand registers to give Quaker "baptisms", burials and marriages in the parish. The statistics are given by decades from the 1650s to 1812.

#### YORK

*An inventory of the historical monuments of the city of York.* vol. 4—Outside the city walls east of the Ouse (Royal Commis-

sion on Historical Monuments—England), Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1975.

This volume includes brief notes and references to The Retreat, and an illustration (View by H. Brown, early 19th century). There are notices of the fine 18th-century houses in Bootham, and a plan and elevation of the house (nos. 29, 31 Lawrence Street) which Samuel Tuke bought in 1822 and extended.

#### YORKSHIRE

*A history of the county of York, East Riding*, vol. 3. Edited by K. J. Allison. (Victoria History. Oxford University Press, 1976.)

This volume mentions Friends in Harthill wapentake (where William Dewsbury was born in 1621 at Allerthorpe) at Barmby (1702 meeting house registration); and in Ouse & Derwent wapentake, at Skipwith and at Dunnington, Fulford, Hemingbrough, Stillingfleet and Thorganby (these last mainly from Archbishop Herring's 1743 visitation).





### Supplements to the Journal of Friends' Historical Society

- 1, 3, 5. FIRST PUBLISHERS OF TRUTH. Ed. N. Penney. 1907. Copies of these three parts only available, at £2 each part.
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, 1654-1762. Ed. by 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., £3.00.
- 16-17. PEN PICTURES OF LONDON YEARLY MEETING, 1789-1833. Ed. Norman Penney. 1930. 227 pp., £7.00.
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., 50p.
22. LETTERS TO WILLIAM DEWSBURY AND OTHERS. Edited by Henry J. Cadbury. 1948. 68 pp., £3.00.
23. SLAVERY AND "THE WOMAN QUESTION". Lucretia Mott's Diary. 1840. By F. B. Tolles. 1952. £2.00, cloth £3.00.
24. THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY OF THE EARLY FRIENDS. Presidential address by Frederick B. Tolles, 1952. £1.00.
27. THOMAS RUDYARD, EARLY FRIENDS' "ORACLE OF LAW". By Alfred W. Braithwaite. 1956. £1.00.
28. PATTERNS OF INFLUENCE IN ANGLO-AMERICAN QUAKERISM. By Thomas E. Drake. 1958. £1.00.
29. SOME QUAKER PORTRAITS, CERTAIN AND UNCERTAIN. By John Nickalls. 1958. Illustrated. £1.00.
32. JOHN WOOLMAN IN ENGLAND, 1772. By Henry J. Cadbury. 1971. £2.00.
33. JOHN PERROT. By Kenneth L. Carroll. 1971. £2.00.
34. "THE OTHER BRANCH": LONDON Y.M. AND THE HICKSITES, 1827-1912. By Edwin B. Bronner. 1975. £1.25.
35. ALEXANDER COWAN WILSON, 1866-1955. By Stephen Wilson. 1974. £1.00.

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