

*The
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Friends' Historical
Society*

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THE JOURNAL OF THE FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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EDITORIAL

With this issue (the 1987 number appearing in 1987) we have been able to bring the *Journal* up to date. In the editorial to volume 54, number 7 it was stated that publication of the *Journal* 'four times a year' has never been in sight for many years (p.300). That judgement is still valid: limitation of funds and restriction of other resources continue to make a quarterly issue out of sight for the foreseeable future. Although it is impossible to give guarantees on future policy on publications, we intend to publish, at least, one 64 to 96 page issue a year in the early autumn. Volume 55, number 6 should therefore appear in October 1988.

The Historical Society continues active. A successful one-day conference was held at Reading on 11 July 1987 at which some 30 attended. T. Adrian Davies spoke on 'Early Friends and "the World's People"' and demonstrated that Friends were not as cut off from their neighbours as is sometimes imagined. Most of those present took part in a lively discussion.

Within the next four years the tercentenary of the Toleration Act (1689), of Robert Barclay's death (1690) and of George Fox's (1691) and the centenary of John Bright's death (1889) occur. The executive committee of the Historical Society has given and continues to give consideration to the part the Society may play in any commemoration of these events.

HUMPHREY NORTON'S 1656 VISIT TO IRELAND

In his *The Beginnings of Quakerism* W.C. Braithwaite devotes a number of pages to the origins of Irish Quakerism – describing the work of James Lancaster, Miles Halhead, Miles Bateman, John Tifflin, and Richard Clayton in 1654 and the visits of Edward Burrough, Francis Howgill, Thomas Loe, Richard Hickock, Elizabeth Morgan, James Lancaster, Rebecca Ward and Barbara Blaughdone in 1655–1656.¹ There is, however, no mention of Humphrey Norton's 1656 labours in Ireland. The same thing is true of both Isabel Grubb's *Quakers in Ireland, 1654–1900*² and Besse's *Sufferings*³ (although Wight does mention Norton in one place).⁴

Norton's 1656 visit to Ireland was really called forth by the earlier activities of the people mentioned above – especially by the labours of Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill. Some of the activities of these early 'Publishers of Truth' had been in Ulster, while others had toiled in the Dublin area. With the coming of Howgill and Burrough, however, the Quaker missionary activity spread rapidly into the south and southwest. Howgill, at the instigation of an officer in the Cromwellian Army, moved southwestward from Dublin towards Cork, Bandon Bridge, and other towns in that direction.⁵ Edward Burrough, upon completing his labours in Dublin, travelled southward to the Waterford area where he had great success.⁶ Among his more significant convincements were William Ames (who soon became the Quaker 'apostle' to Holland),⁷ John Perrot (who was to become a famous Quaker schismatic),⁸ and Samuel Buckley. While still at work in Waterford, Burrough received a letter from his old yoke-fellow Howgill, requesting that Burrough join him in Cork "with speed".⁹ Not long after Burrough's arrival in Cork, Howgill and Burrough were arrested, taken to Dublin, and finally banished from Ireland about the beginning of March 1656.¹⁰

Samuel Buckley, who may have been from Brownsford, County Kilkenny (and probably related to the John Buckley who travelled to Turkey with Mary Fisher, John Perrot and three other Friends in 1657), was the catalyst who helped bring about Humphrey Norton's visit to Ireland. Towards the end of March ('the seventh day of the 4th week in the first month') 1656 Samuel Buckley was on the road from

Brownsford to Waterford early in the morning, only two miles away from his home, when he had some sort of religious experience which he recorded as follows:

I was moved powerfully, and tears gushed from me apace, I stood still, and the Word of the Lord came unto me saying, goe into England – goe into England, and there be faithfull in this message, and this shalt thou say: E[dward] B[urrough] to thee I am Sent, whom I witnesse a Seale of thy ministry wrought, and thou hast turned many from Darknesse to Light, Thou art heerby Required to Come in thy Selfe, or labour the sending away Speedily a faithfull messenger to declare the word of god in Waterford, unto a people who are tender and young, w[hi]ch people are as sheepe without a sheeheard, scattered on the Mountaine, and in a lost Condition, if not speedily relieved; therefore haste, haste, by Command from the powerfull god thou are not to fayle, Witnessed by him who is sent not of his owne will, but in obedience to the Command. A little while after this word Came unto me (about a Quarter of an houre or neere about that time as I Judged) William Aymes (who is bound for Holland) met me up on the Way, going towards my house, who saw me draw neere to him towards my Journey to Waterford, He demanded of me where I was going, I answered to Waterford. He said, thou art the Man, that is appointed to goe with me for England. At that word I wonderfully considered, and Said unto him, a Command came unto me, goe, Upon his word to me, I bid him read what I had Writt upon the Way, shewing him what came to me not long before, w[hi]ch word of his to me, Confirmed my first Command, who am appointed to goe, this paper to deliver.”¹¹

It is not known just when Buckley and Ames arrived in England or when Buckley made known to Edward Burrough this summons to go to Ireland. Burrough felt unable to make the journey himself, but he had found some other ‘Publisher of Truth’ who had been ‘called’ by God to this task. This was Humphrey Norton ‘my deare Brother, and faithful companion in the Kingdom of God’¹² Edward Burrough wrote to Friends in Ireland, on the 19th of 3rd Month [May], 1656, of his decision to send Norton.¹³ Francis Howgill also wrote a brief note to accompany Burrough’s letter, calling upon Irish Friends to

Receive Humphrey Norton in the Lord, w[ho]m the Lord hath moved to come unto you, who is a brother, faithful in the Lord’s work, and be subject [to] him in the Lord, all unto him; for I much desired that he might come unto you, & so the Lord hath ordered it, & as you receive him you receive me.¹⁴

Norton, who had been active in Essex and London earlier,¹⁵ appears to have gone to Ireland almost immediately, for late in the third month [May] Edward Burrough wrote to Thomas Willan that Humphrey Norton ‘is going for Ireland’.¹⁶ A short time later, perhaps at the very end of May or early June, Francis Howgill wrote to Margaret Fell that

Humphrey Norton, with some others, had gone to Ireland and that Truth 'prosper' there.¹⁷ In all probability the 'others' who went over with Norton included William Shaw and John Stubbs (and perhaps Thomas Shaw, William's brother).

Just where Humphrey Norton began his work in Ireland is unknown. It would seem likely that Dublin or Cork would have been among his first stops,¹⁸ but there is no extant material that locates him in either of those places during the late spring and early summer of 1656. By August, however, Norton was at work in Limerick, where on the 9th of the 6th Month he wrote a paper directed 'To all priests, people professors in the world who are not come to know the true light'. In this address he insisted that

[you] who are not come to know the true light, which lighteth every one which cometh unto the world, you are not come to know the first principles of the oracles of God, you must all cease from teaching others untill you know the first principle to teach you, & by it to be taught to deny yourselves, & the world, & all the customes, & fashions & vanities of it, which are vain, & learn to put of[f] the old wisdom, nature, & its lusts, & so through the crosse to your wills, to put on the new, for he came to take away the first that he might establish the second, for those that are [away] from the light, can not see what is to be put of[f], & taken away, for the light makes manifest all priests & professors, who walk in darkness, & are preachers for the prince of darkness, such lives in sin & saith that people cannot be free from sin while they are upon earth, & such pleads for the kingdome of sin, and that is not the Kingdom of Christ, neither can any lives in sin bring any to Christ's Kingdome in which is noe sin, neither can any covetous person, & swearer, lyar, or drunkard, convert or turne any from these things before mentioned for such were never sent of God, mark, & the devill never sent any to turne people from himselfe, that of God in all your consciences is my witness.¹⁹

It seems quite clear that, in this paper, Norton was proclaiming the same message that he preached throughout Ireland. In the above passage he called people to open themselves to the Light – to let God speak to them before they then began to speak to others. He then reminded his readers that God, over the ages, 'sent holy men, & they spoke as they were moved by the holy ghost, & they preached to the holy thing, & brought people to know the holy call, which calls to holyness in all manner of conversation'. Moses, Ezekiel, John of Patmos and Paul had freely given what the Lord had freely made known to them. But their example has not been followed by the 'priests' and 'professors' who are 'swearers, lyars, and drunkards' who do not live in accordance with scripture but walk contrary to it:

herein the world is found walking contrary to that which they call their rule, &

soe are unruly, neither knowing the scriptures, nor the power of God, for Christ Jesus is the light & power unto Salvation, all Comeing to learn of him, & following him, he will show them the stranger, hireling & theife, which steals Moses & the prophets words, & that which was written to the churches and sells them, not regarding the Lords charge to his [servants], that what they receive freely they should freely give, but the teachers of the world doth not soe, shewing themselves to be none of his, & the people of the world who buyes them & goeth day after day & heareth them, they also walk contrary to the scriptures as before mentioned, in pride, in covetousness, & excesse of riot, as does their leaders, & herein is the Scriptures fulfilled, the leaders of this people causeth them to erre, & they that are led of them are destroyed Isa 9.16 & 3.12; Jer 23.32.

A new situation has come into being, however, as God has poured out his spirit once more, calling forth the 'Publishers of Truth':

holy men hath he now sent forth, who preaches & offers holy things to the people freely, as they receive freely from the Lord, as Moses did;... therefore as you love your soules take warning, & follow them [the evil ones] noe longer, but minde the light to stand in awe & sin not, & to know the teachings of God who is a Spirit, & the worship of God which is in spirit, & the minde & will of God which is knowne in Spirit, & for this one end hath he chosen us & sent us forth to direct the minds to Christ Jesus the true light, that you shall need noe longer saying know the Lord, but with us who are by the world scornfully called Quakers chosen us [sic], as we have received we declare freely.²⁰

Norton also visited Galway, in the west of Ireland, probably just before or just after his work in Limerick. Both he and William Shaw, along with some others, were 'in a peaceable meeting' at Samuel Newton's house in Galway, when the meeting was broken up by a 'guard of souldiers' who (by the order of Colonel Sadler, the governor) violently dragged them out of the meeting, 'turned them out of the city, and would not suffer them to go in for their horses'.²¹ Norton and Shaw must have been among the very first Publishers of Truth to reach Galway, where a sizable meeting developed, often having 100 soldiers or more in attendance in 1657.²²

We also have some information concerning Humphrey Norton's work in Wexford in the southeast, so that we know that he was active there at the beginning of Autumn. On the 22nd of the 7th Month [September] Norton, who had been deeply troubled by two tragic events of 1656 – the prison death of young James Parnell in April and James Nayler's 'fall' which began in the late summer and culminated in his 'messianic' entrance into Bristol in October²³ – had the 'word of the Lord' come to him about the fourth or fifth hour in the morning:

[The Lord said] I suffered James Parnell & enabled him by the power of my spirit

to seal my testimony in faithfulness unto you all for an example: & now have I suffered Satan to lay his hand upon my Servant J[ames] N[aylor] to touch him for all the examples, who are in the least measure ministers of my Spirit, that you abuse not the liberty & freedome which I have brought you into, having plenty beware of lust, having liberty beware of lightness and looseness in behaviour, but all be convinced [?] that your lives & Conversations be coupled with the power of holiness, that a chast[e], a modest, a grave, & comely conversation be by you all preached forth, & this cloud (under which some have been ready with him to cry out "my God, my God look upon me; why has thou forsaken me") shall be removed & eye opened shall see & confesse him to be the son of God. I warne you that this Epistle be read & spread among the servants of God, and that not any abide longer in a place than their testimony is finished, when the Lord calls away.²⁴

While in Wexford Humphrey Norton (along with William Shaw) became engaged in a dispute with Thomas Larkham, a minister. Out of this debate came a publication *To All People that Speakes of An Outward Baptism*, with pages 1–8 written by Norton and Shaw while pages 9–16 are by Norton alone.²⁵ The primary purpose of this work seems to have been to turn others – especially Baptists – to Quaker positions on baptism, an unpaid ministry, etc. This contest between Norton and Shaw on one hand and Larkham on the other was undoubtedly the reason why Norton and Shaw were taken from a 'peaceable meeting' at Wexford 'by a Lieutenant and a guard of Souldiers... and by force brought into the Steeple-house, and thence committed to gaol by Lieutenant Col. Bret until the next Assizes.'²⁶

There are no specific references to Norton's work in Waterford, Youghal, Cork, Kinsale, Kilkenny, Bandon and Dublin, even though he must have been active in each of these areas. Not only did Edward Burrough address his letter (announcing the coming of Norton) to Friends in those places, but Norton himself also wrote letters to Quakers in those towns after his departure from Ireland.²⁷ Also, shortly after their return to England, Norton and Shaw (along with John Perrot who had recently left Waterford for London) wrote to William and Margaret Blanch, mainstays of the Waterford Meeting.²⁸ In 11th Month 1656 [January 1657] Samuel Buckley wrote to Margaret Fell that 'Humphrey Norton a true servant of the Lord is very servisable heare, whose testymony with the rest is received in many places where he goes.'²⁹

Sometime after Norton's arrival in Ireland, he received a very sharpe rebuke from Margaret Fell in a letter addressed to him 'in Ireland'. In April 1656 Humphrey Norton had written to George Fox (and James Nayler) that he had recently been at Swarthmore where the meeting was marked by 'many speakers & prayers & singinge as the like I have not

heard & likewise a leightness amongst them which I saw & did beare & it lay upon me to lay it before the[e] and J[ames] N[ayler]'.³⁰ Margaret now wrote to Norton that she had learned of his information to Fox and Nayler the previous day. She said that Norton could have saved himself the trouble, for Fox and Nayler 'doe know us and see us and feele us in that which thou wanted to judge them'. Since that meeting Margaret had received several letters from Nayler and Fox and they did not mention the matter. Norton's charge that he saw a certain 'lightness' at Swarthmore she knows to be false. Therefore she called him 'one of the false brethren' who strengthens the enemy: 'thou was not satisfied here, but would have rendered us odious in there [their] eyes who knows us better than thou doth, for thou puts us and them of Kendall together.'³¹ Her advice to Norton was that next time he was tempted to be judgmental he should be certain of the ground of what he speaks or else should remain silent. The next time that he writes to her she would like to know the basis or ground of the word 'lightness' and 'Who it was that thou saw it in'.³²

Norton, who was still labouring in Ireland in the winter of 1656–1657, returned to England by early spring, for he was in London (along with William Shaw and John Perrot) by the 10th of 2nd Month [April], 1657. At that time they warned the Blanches and other Irish Friends of the ongoing consequences of Nayler's 'fall':

The Agents of J: N: would come creeping on their Bellys to be owned, yea: Martha [Simmonds]³³ their Miserable Mother, this day hath bin [at?] us, & all her witchery & filthy Enchantment is set at Naught, they are left for Miserable Examples, unto all that feare god; Pride & Vaine glory & fleshly liberty was their overthrow.³⁴

Sometime later that spring, as Humphrey Norton was preparing to travel to New England on the 'Woodhouse'³⁵ he wrote a letter to Irish Friends which clearly expresses his deep sense of attachement to them:

What could I say of you, if I should speake, verily you are as deare to me, as my owne life, parte of it I left amongst you, and parte I Reserved, & when these two meet together, my Joy is full, to see you all meeting at the treasury. Every one offering according as god hath blest you, Oh how I rejoyce to see the poore bringing in all that they have liveing, and the Rich in grace bringing in all their abundance.³⁶

Sometime later, when Norton and his companions were just off the coast of America (and he had yet to face the whippings, banishment and branding that were to be his lot) he wrote to Irish Friends once more, on

the 27th of 5th Month [July], 1657, again demonstrating the deep feeling which he possessed for these people.

I was with you in labour, & travells, in Sufferings, in patience & afflictions & bonds, in freedoms & liberty, in Joy and peace, and with an Harmony in my heart have I rejoyced to see that stately seed which started up amongst you, nor would not, nor could not stoope to that Beastly Image which Sinfull man hath set up in his heart, I bear you record, that you are of the ancient Stock, your seed is of Abraham, your Valour & Courage from the head of Sampson [sic], your Sobriety Modesty and chastity from milde Moses, your uprightness & Integrity from the Loynes of David, your settled, Sollid & Serious life from & upon the Rock of Abel, your fruites & Beauty Strength & Moystyre from the fatt & noble Vine into which you are engrafted, Blessed are yee, yea & happy if yee abide and abound therein, friends unto god & to the Lambe, you are the first fruits in that Nation, you are the first Ripe, & first gathered,... Verily I can say it, You in that Nation which abide in gods counsell are deare unto me, Which of you can be weake & I suffer not, Which of you are in trouble, and I am not opprest, Which of you are in Anguish, and I feel not your paines?³⁷

In this, Norton's last extant letter to Irish Friends, he cannot resist the impulse to admonish them one more time so that they might remain strong in the new life which had been opened to them:

Beware of the Love of the World, & thinges of the World, which comes to nought, but in that dwell & abide which gives victory over it, & will lead you, and Establish you in another, if you give up yourselves to be led & guided by the power of his spirit which is the absolute true teacher, & None besides it. Keepe to it, and it will keepe you out of all divisions & strife, which Eates Even as a Canker where it comes; the liveing god give you a Sight of it, & Strength & Wisdome to resist it, that in the meek & quiet Spirit you may be preserved in peace & love, & unity, to lye downe with him, unto whom you are as deare as his owne Right hand.³⁸

Kenneth L. Carroll

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- ¹ William C. Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism*, second edition revised by Henry J. Cadbury (Cambridge, 1955), 210–223.
- ² Isabel Grubb, *Quakers in Ireland, 1654–1900* (London, 1927).
- ³ Joseph Besse, *A Collection of the Sufferings of the People Called Quakers* (London, 1753).
- ⁴ Thomas Wight, *A History of the Rise and Progress of the People called Quakers in Ireland, 1653–1700...* [with] *A Continuation... to 1751* by John Ruty (Dublin, 1751).
- ⁵ Kenneth L. Carroll, 'Quakerism and the Cromwellian Army in Ireland,' *Journal of the Friends Historical Society*, LIV (1976–1982), 135–154.
- ⁶ Braithwaite, *Beginnings*, 212–214.
- ⁷ *Ibid.*, 218.
- ⁸ Kenneth L. Carroll, *John Perrot, Early Quaker Schismatic* (London, 1971), issued as Supplement 33 to *The Journal of the Friends Historical Society*.
- ⁹ A.R. Barclay MSS LXV (Friends House Library, London).
- ¹⁰ Braithwaite, *Beginnings*, 217
- ¹¹ Swarthmore MSS VI, 33 (Tr. VII, 541).
- ¹² *Ibid.*, VI, 34 (Tr. VII, 543).
- ¹³ *Ibid.*, VI, 34 (Tr. VII, 543). This letter is addressed to Friends in Cork, Kinsale, Bandon, Youghal, Waterford, Kilkenny and Dublin, places where Burrough and Howgill had laboured earlier.
- ¹⁴ Manuscripts, Portfolio 33, item 126 (Friends House Library, London). This is another copy of Burrough's letter already cited in the preceding note, but it carries at the end Howgill's addition (which is missing in the Swarthmore MSS copy).
- ¹⁵ Swarthmore MSS I, 350 (Tr. II, 589); Norman Penny, *The First Publishers of Truth* (London, 1907), 97.
- ¹⁶ Swarthmore MSS I, 274 (Tr. III, 695).
- ¹⁷ Caton MSS III, 71 (Friends House Library, London).
- ¹⁸ Is there some significance to the order of meetings listed in note 13?
- ¹⁹ Manuscripts, Portfolio 33, item 69.
- ²⁰ Manuscripts, Portfolio 33, item 69.
- ²¹ *To the Parliament of England, Who are in place to do Justice, & 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), 7; *National Sufferings*, I, (1655–1693), 7. This manuscript volume is found in Friends Historical Library, Dublin.
- ²² Lansdowne MSS 822, f. 246 (British Library, London), Shaw and John Stubbs were in Galway at the very end of 1656 also [Cf. *National Sufferings*, I, 10; Swarthmore MSS I, 392 (Tr. I, 177)].
- ²³ Braithwaite, *Beginnings*, 188–193; 244–273.
- ²⁴ Manuscripts, Portfolio 33, item 113.
- ²⁵ Humphrey Norton, *To All People that Speaks of An Outward Baptism; Dippers, Sprinklers and Others* (n.p., n.d.).
- ²⁶ *To the Parliament of England, Who are in place to do Justice*, 8.
- ²⁷ Swarthmore MSS VI, 34 (Tr. VII, 543); VI, 22 (Tr. VII, 509).
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, V. 25 (Tr. VII, 125).
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 392 (Tr. I, 277). Buckley, who reports that John Stubbs and William Shaw are 'in outward bonds at Gallyway [Galway], the people some of them are tender over them', wrote to Margaret Fell that "the work heare is great" and that more labourers "in this wild wilderness" would be gladly received, for "the work of the lord heare doth prosper" .

- ³⁰ George Fox (Norman Penny, ed.), *The Journal of George Fox* (Cambridge, 1911), I, 246. Concerning singing in meeting, cf. Kenneth L. Carroll, 'Singing in the Spirit in Early Quakerism'. *Quaker History*, LXXIII (1984), 1-13.
- ³¹ Spence MSS III, 41 (Friends House Library, London). Concerning the developments at Kendal, cf. Braithwaite, *Beginnings*, 237.
- ³² Spence MSS III, 41. She adds that, if Norton happens to be in Waterford, he should tell Friends there that she has recently heard from William Ames in Holland and 'he is well and truth prospers there.'
- ³³ Cf. Kenneth L. Carroll, 'Martha Simmonds, a Quaker Enigma,' *Journal of Friends Historical Society*, LIII (1972-1975), 31-52.
- ³⁴ Swarthmore MSS V, 25 (Tr. VII, 125).
- ³⁵ Rufus M. Jones, *Quakers in the American Colonies* (London, 1923), 45-51.
- ³⁶ Swarthmore MSS VI, 22 (Tr. VII, 509).
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*, VI, 41 (Tr. VII, 573).
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*, VI, 41 (Tr. VII, 573).

A NEARLY FORGOTTEN CHAPTER IN BRITISH PEACE ACTIVITY – 1915

When the war of 1914 broke out, Henry Hodgkin was 37 years old, at the height of his powers. (He was, at that time Secretary of the Friends Foreign Mission Association.) During the first months of the war he was actively concerned for Friends to take a positive stand and also to see what could be done among Christian pacifists. The latter had involved bringing together a number of Christian pacifists at Cambridge, and this in turn led to the formation of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. The former led to the formation of a special War Sub-Committee of the Peace Committee of London Yearly Meeting. This sub-committee was quite active for about a year, but its work was then carried on by the main Peace Committee. Its active year's work has been largely ignored or forgotten by those who have written about Friends' peace activities during the First World War, and more needs to be recorded.¹

It is perhaps still useful to give the names of some 15 Friends who apparently accepted membership on the sub-committee at the beginning,² but no document can be found that indicates the ground Henry Hodgkin hoped would be covered. The first meeting lasted for most of the day on January 2, 1915 at the home of Edith and Percy Bigland in Chelsea, including an hour or more for lunch and general conversation. This method of bringing people together was used a good deal by Henry Hodgkin, who at the same time, as mentioned above, was bringing together the leaders of what became the F.O.R. My recollection even suggests that we met like this for a whole day more than once, but surviving records do not support this. Anyhow, it certainly had the effect of giving us a strong sense of unity which almost certainly would not have been achieved without the informal session.

As far as I know, Henry was mainly responsible for the selection of the fifteen. Several individuals were invited because they were known to have close relationships with important people. Thus, Francis Fox was in close touch with leading Jews and pressed our committee to support their claim to a territory in Palestine. Arthur Stanley Eddington

was a close friend of leading German physicists. Among the original members there were some strange omissions. Edward Grubb, editor of the monthly *British Friend*, had just published a pamphlet called 'The True Way of Life' which was a vigorous reply to J. St. Loe Strachey, editor of *The Spectator*, who had published a book entitled '*A New Way of Life*' advocating compulsory military training. It may well be that Edward Grubb was asked to join the committee, but refused on grounds that he was already giving all he could to the No Conscription Fellowship (N.C.F.) which was busy organizing young men to resist conscription. This, indeed, may be helpful in understanding the early demise of the sub-committee, for by the end of 1915 it was very clear that conscription was coming and many of the most active young pacifists were working to prevent it. Thus, A. Barratt Brown, who was of the fifteen, was a close friend of Clifford Allen, Chairman of the N.C.F., and as far as I remember, Barratt Brown gave the War Sub-Committee little active support because he was working for the N.C.F.

The documents still extant hardly mention Robert J. Long, who was the full time secretary of the recently formed Northern Friends' Peace Board, and so he was the only British Friend whose job was to work full time for the cause of Peace. Thus, when our War Sub-Committee took any action it could be sure that the Northern Friends' Meetings would know about it. Robert Long, as far as I remember, was a full member of our committee and a very active one.

Some of our members saw our main function as trying to bring the war to an end, so a good deal of our time in the first several meetings was given to this possibility, and indeed the last thing that the sub-committee worked on was really a petition, but for technical reasons referred to in the sub-committee's Minutes as a 'Memorial', to the Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary.

We have already noted that John William Graham had been asked, presumably by Henry Hodgkin, to be Chairman of the sub-committee. To my surprise, the committee asked me to become Secretary. I had thought Ernest Unwin of Leighton Park might be the secretary as he took a useful part in drafting the pamphlet which was published under the title: 'Looking Toward Peace'. The publication and distribution of this quite long pamphlet looks to us now as the chief achievement of the sub-committee, but their sense of proportion in early 1915 was very different from ours in 1986, and it is perhaps useful to quote what J.W. Graham or I wrote at the time as the main exercise of the Committee at its first meeting.³

Although many possible topical questions were discussed, with a view to further consideration in writing by various committee members, in fact none of these was ever written up.⁴ The main pamphlet, 'Looking Toward Peace' covers much ground, and correspondence on this kept the secretary busy through the early months of 1915. Several special meetings were held up and down the country, and from my central position I heard a good deal about this from those who undertook speaking engagements. I think, for instance, of Leonard Doncaster (who may now be identified as Hugh Doncaster's father and whose early death was a grievous loss to Friends, especially in East Anglia). J.W. Graham had many speaking engagements in many parts of the country, and in one of his letters to the Secretary which is preserved, he spoke of things getting more and more difficult which presumably means that the public only wanted to hear about military victory and did not readily turn to problems of peace making.

Records of attendance show that the sub-committee was not getting full and enthusiastic support from all of its members during the latter part of the year. A letter to the Secretary from A. Stanley Eddington, which has been preserved and which was really his letter of resignation, illustrates this attitude and shows why the sub-committee, by the end of 1915, was absorbed into the main Yearly Meeting Peace Committee.⁵

I became secretary of the Friends' Peace Committee, as it was called, and effort was made to get this appointment approved by the Central Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors, but that Government body would not agree to this. They insisted on my becoming a teacher, so Edward Backhouse took over the secretarial work of the Peace Committee. He also found time and energy to run for Parliament on the basis of peace by negotiation, but his service to Friends was tragically cut short by a fatal Alpine accident in 1922. After his death and also following the sudden death of Thomas P. Newman, Chairman of the Peace Committee, John W. Graham became its chairman. Bertram Pickard succeeded Edward Backhouse and his long and effective work for Friends, first in London, then in Geneva, may fairly be said to have continued the work that the War Sub-Committee had started. Thus, while the War Sub-Committee had a life of its own for hardly a year, it nevertheless planted seeds which were to bear fruits for many, many years to come.

Horace G. Alexander

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- ¹ But see: Ormorod Greenwood, *Quaker Encounters*, (Vol. 3, 1978), 190.
- ² From page one of the Minute Book of the War Sub-Committee:
 Horace G. Alexander, 3 Mayfield Rd., Tunbridge Wells.
 Edith H.A. Bigland, 29 Tite St., Chelsea, SW.
 A. Barratt Brown, Woodbrooke, Selly Oak, Birmingham.
 Arthur S(tanley) Eddington, The Observatory, Cambridge.
 Marian E. Ellis, Wrea Head, Scalby, Scarborough.
 Francis W. Fox, 80 Lansdowne Rd., London, W.
 Joan M. Fry, Durbins, Guildford.
 John W. Graham, Dalton Hall, Manchester.
 (J. St G. Heath, Toynbee Hall, Commercial St., Whitechapel, London, E.)
 Henry T. Hodgkin, 15 Devonshire St., Bishopgate, London, EC.
 Thomas P. Newman, Hazelhurst, Haslemere, Surrey.
 Joseph Sturge, 318 Hagley Rd., Edgbaston, Birmingham.
 Francis Thompson, Rowantree, Rose Mount, Birkenhead.
 Ernest E. Unwin, Grove House, Leighton Park, Reading.
 William Whiting, Elberton, West Park, Leeds.
 - with power to add to their number.
- ³ The Minutes of the first meeting of the War Sub-Committee read as follows:
 ‘... Much general conversation took place on our functions and policy – on our possible service in interpreting the requirements of an ideal morality in the light of the actual situation – in working for the settlement of the war either immediately or at the earliest psychological moment – in considering whether all the influences for peace should be utilized by us, or only the highest motives – in recognising the many links between war among nations and war among classes, and yet the separableness in practice of the two reforms.
 ‘It was decided to name ourselves “The War Sub-Committee”’: also to
 (1) Organize Peace Propaganda throughout the Society on the Christian argument.
 (2) Prepare public opinion for a permanently peaceful settlement.
 (3) Face and discuss the many theoretical problems presented by the war.
 To carry out (1) a circular was drafted to Preparative Meetings: – (to be fixed on here)
 Towards (2) proposals were read from Francis W. Fox – from Horace G. Alexander – and from some German Socialists whom Henrietta B. Thomas had met or heard from (NOTE: Henrietta Braithwaite Thomas, whose mother was English, was a young American Quaker doctor who gave all her time and effort to bring the warring European nations together – HGA, 1986)
 ‘It was decided to endeavour to prepare for our next meeting a draft proposal for terms of peace on Christian lines, to be prepared separately by northern and southern groups and combined by the Chairman and Secretary. We decided to meet at Birmingham on Thursday, February 11th at 11 o’clock.
 ‘Towards (3) the following 20 problems were written down to be considered before next time; by those whose initials are appended to each, or by others. No decision as to the use to be made of such contributions was reached.
 ‘It was decided that the five northern Quarterly Meetings should send their replies to R.J. Long, Secretary of the Northern Peace Board.’

John W. Graham, Chairman

⁴ The 20 problems:

1. Reasons for not enlisting even in a 'just' war. J.W.G., J.St G.H., E.E.U.
2. Limits of the right of the state over the individual. J.W.G., A.B.B.
3. Limits to the use of force. J.W.G., A.B.B.
4. Relativity of moral obligation. J.W.G.
5. Question of an international force. H.G.A.
6. Possibility of immediate peace. J. St G.H., H.G.A.
7. The soldier's conscience, or the limits of military discipline. W.W.
8. Nationality and federal ideas as opposed to imperialism, in Europe. H.G.A.
9. The same throughout the world. H.G.A.
10. Can war be civilised? H.G.A.
11. What is the meaning, in war-time of loving our enemies? H.T.H., E.E.U.
12. War as a moral tonic. J.M.F.
13. Why is a moral tonic needed? J.M.F.
14. Can peace be a moral equivalent for the tonic of war (heroism, romance, self-sacrifice)? J.M.F.
15. The meaning of national 'honour'. H.T.H.
16. National magnanimity. J.M.F., M.E.E., H.T.H.
17. The possibilities of an unarmed state. J. St G.H.
18. International morality. W.W., A.B.B.
19. Disarmament as a practical policy (connect with 17). H.G.A.
20. Offensive and defensive warfare. J.W.G.

⁵ Arthur Stanley Eddington's letter:

Observatory
Cambridge
1915 Sept. 27

Dear Alexander

I am sorry I shall not be able to come up for the Committee on Friday.

I think it is probable that the Committee has a useful service in organizing work among Meetings and arranging for speakers, etc. But that is not the part of the work for which I joined and I do not think I am likely to come to the committees in this connection.

With regard to the other part, the thinking out of the attitude, which we ought to take up on the various problems of war and peace, and giving, perhaps, a lead to the Society; I think the main purpose of the committee is over. At the time we started, pacifism seemed to be in a bad way and the testimony of Friends against war was very shaky. Now the movement is much stronger. Whether the work of the committee contributed much to this (apart from the private activities of members of it) is very doubtful; but I think we must have derived benefit from our discussions. Certainly I do not regret the time spent on those earlier meetings. But, though much remains to be done on the intellectual side of the peace question, it has now got beyond the scope of a committee, I think.

I think probably I shall resign from the committee, but will wait and see what is the outcome of the consideration of its future activities.

Yours sincerely,

A.S. Eddington

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Seeking the Light: essays in Quaker history in honour of Edwin B. Bronner. Edited by J. William Frost and John M. Moore. Pendle Hill Publications and Friends Historical Association 1986. Pp. viii + 214 including index. £14.50.

In his introduction to these essays John M. Moore quotes Frederick B. Tolles concerning attitudes to Quaker history and the nature of Quaker research. Although Quakers themselves may not see their history as merely 'the chronicles of a minor sect', and I doubt whether our historians regard their task as limited to 'digging out new facts', he rightly emphasises the need for further understanding of the ideas and conditions which led to the formation and survival of the Society of Friends if Quakerism is to be more generally recognised as an integral part of Western European culture.

Edwin Bronner's notable contribution in this respect is manifest in the biographical sketch by Barbara Curtis and the selected bibliography of his publications; and the ten documented essays which follow in tribute to him reveal the resilience, adaptability and steadfastness of Friends, not only in external adversity but also in the face of internal confusion and human frailty.

Craig Horle and Roger Wilson have each held a magnifying glass to the details of a canvas we thought we knew well before. Craig Horle shows how Friends up and down the country between 1673 and 1675 were falling over themselves in well-intentioned, cross-purposed concern to secure the freedom of the Friend in Worcester jail who had no intention of being released if it meant having to accept pardon. But out of the muddle came a new attitude to legal defence, and the establishment of the Meeting for Sufferings. Roger Wilson's essay describes the committee work, meeting by meeting, over more than 300 years later, which preceded the 1895 Manchester Conference. He has enabled us to see for ourselves how, by means of careful, caring but purposeful handling, the subject matter of the Conference became totally different from what had been in the minds of those who had originally proposed the gathering and how, consequently, instead of theological stagnation in the Society there emerged a flashing stream.

Three essays concern relationships between Quaker minorities and non-Quaker majorities in Colonial America. Arthur Worrall describes how, while most of the Quakers in Plymouth Colony in the late seventeenth century were not enjoying the religious liberty of their Puritan authorities, those in Sandwich managed, inch by inch, with changes of style in petition and the judicious use of telling argument, to win freedom to express their testimonies and enfranchisement as townsmen before toleration became the Colony's official policy, and 30 years before it did so in neighbouring Massachusetts. In Pennsylvania on the other hand, the Quaker rulers found their own liberal immigration policy resulting in a minority position for themselves and their own kind with, as we see in Jack Marietta's essay, the consequent growth of political self-consciousness, the devising of appealing policies and useful alliances. J. William Frost makes it clear that, just because of the separation of Church from State there, and the strength of voluntary, permitted religious allegiances, early secularisation, resulting from the liberal immigration policy, did not in fact, persist to threaten the overall religious character of the State.

Several topics in the essays span both the centuries and the Atlantic in their relevance

to our own concerns: the question, in Jack Marietta's essay, of the payment of taxes for war and defence; the part played by early women Friends, described by Hugh Barbour, in both prophecy and the organisation of relief; the work of the Women's Aid Committee – revealed in a document edited by Alfred Skerpan – for liberated slaves caught up in the Civil War behind the advancing Northern lines; and, presented by Margaret Hope Bacon, the costly defence of academic freedom by Henry Cadbury during the First World War.

Although my appreciation of the essays was occasionally impeded by my own ignorance, I found them rewarding. I feel the book deserves a title more precisely indicative of its contents and purpose, and more in keeping with Quaker theology.

The scholarship underlying the essays does not obscure the personalities in them; they are real people with real expressions on their faces, caught for a moment in the particular circumstances under scrutiny. We can see Henry Cadbury's dismay and George Fox's exasperation. There, too, is the apprehension on the face of Thomas Kelly in the self-revealing, previously unpublished letter he wrote from Berlin in 1938; and, on the face of the dying Thomas Loe, in a definitive biographical portrait by Kenneth Carroll, 'a sweet readiness to be gone'.

Hope Hewison

James Nayler 1618–1660, The Quaker Indicted by Parliament. By William G. Bittle. William Sessions, York, in association with Friends United Press, Richmond, Indiana. 1986. £9.90

William Bittle's book is based on his Ph.D. thesis of 1978. It reflects the advantages and disadvantages inherent in writing up a thesis for publication, the areas of particular interest and relevance to the thesis being well researched and detailed in their argument but areas outside the main thrust of the thesis being only briefly mentioned or ignored altogether. So we have in this book, the first study of any length of Nayler for 50 years, not so much a biography as a study, placing particular emphasis on his trial before Parliament. Bittle discusses this period in two very interesting chapters supported by 33 tables in the appendix. He examines the proposition that the Members of Parliament who were most against Cromwell being made king used Nayler's trial in two ways to sabotage this design. He suggests that first, by making the trial take up so much of the session, they left little opportunity for other business and secondly, by their stratagems during the trial, they made the Instrument of Government unworkable, thus undermining Cromwell's authority. While he finds the proposition unproven his examination brings out many points of interest.

While Nayler's life before the trial is covered in reasonable detail, a major drawback to this book's usefulness is that the period between Nayler's punishment in London in December 1656 and his death in 1660 is covered in an epilogue of just over seven pages. This is not nearly long enough to give any real idea of the considerable significance of this period of Nayler's life. Bittle, in fact, dismisses Nayler's importance as an individual at the beginning of his discussion of the trial (p.113).

Although Bittle recognises that Nayler was a major early Quaker author, his coverage of Nayler's writings is much briefer than is desirable. The second chapter is devoted to Nayler's earliest writings and, apart from the error mentioned below, is quite informative. The writings from Nayler's most active period in the ministry are barely mentioned, apart from some controversial works, and his later writings are dismissed as

'markedly quietest in tone and addressed to his fellow Quakers'. Many would feel this to be a serious error of judgement.

There are several unfortunate errors in the book. Amongst them, for example, in Chapter 2, 'Pamphlet War: the Quaker thought of James Nayler', Bittle attributes to Nayler and quotes extensively from 'A discovery of faith' which was in fact written by Richard Farnsworth: Isabel Grubb's 1937 article 'Irish Quaker records' in Volume 34 of this *Journal* and the latest edition of Wing's catalogue make this clear. In chapter 3 he describes Nayler's dispute with John Billingsly in Chesterfield, without apparently taking note of Immanuel Bourne's 'A defence of the Scriptures' which gives details of the dispute from the other side. On page 77 he states that Christopher Atkinson committed adultery, when he was in fact guilty of fornication (Swarthmore MSS 1/239). On page 59 he suggests that Agnes Veyere and John Spooner may possibly have married: they did, and Swarthmore MSS 1/214 gives details of the unease some Friends felt as a result.

To sum up this book does add, somewhat, to our knowledge of Nayler's life. If more time and care had been put into preparing the book and investigating those areas only briefly mentioned, we would have had a very welcome addition to the literature on Nayler.

Christopher Denman

Apocalypse of the Word. By Douglas Gwyn. Friends United Press, Richmond, Indiana. 1987. Pp.xxii + 241. £9.25

Douglas Gwyn's "stunning" book – Canby Jones's adjective is apt – is the most substantial, single publication on George Fox's Christian message that has yet appeared, and the most comprehensive and penetrating. Although well-based upon work done for a doctoral thesis, the book is not academic in tone. The author is deeply concerned about the renewal of the Quaker Christian faith; and the practical implications of his conclusions are as important as the theological ones. It must be said that the later chapters make great demands on the reader – a fact recognised by the publishers who are producing a study-outline on them. But the difficulty is caused as much by the newness of Douglas Gwyn's insights and the implications of what amounts to a re-thinking of fundamental aspects of Fox's teaching, as it is by the facility with which he handles difficult or unfamiliar biblical concepts.

The word 'apocalypse' is forbidding to British readers, who will immediately associate it with four horsemen, unless their reading is more specialised. The word 'judgement', which occurs frequently, will also be misleading. This will be unfortunate because Fox's unspeculative mind has scarcely anything to offer on the notional subject of a final judgement at the end of time. I doubt whether he really believed in it.

What Douglas Gwyn's book works out are the implications of Fox's experience when he heard the word of God, "There is One, even Christ Jesus, who can speak to thy condition". In the Light Fox was brought to judgement: he saw his life as it was without God. Judgement for him was inward and now; not outward, before a terminal assize and a Christ in person. The apocalypse was revelatory in character; Christ had come, now. Fox's old life had been brought to an end, and a new life in Christ had begun. The new age had dawned.

Douglas Gwyn has his finger here, I believe, on the secret of Fox's power to confront his hearers with a dramatic life-changing message. Over the years, largely through Lewis

Benson's labours, many details of that teaching have become clear. Now they are presented to us in a larger perspective. To indicate the difference this new interpretation makes, turn to the Nickalls edition of the *Journal*, p.31, 'I saw also how people read the Scriptures without a right sense of them... Then they are read and understood with profit and great delight' (p.32). This passage of condensed indigestible teaching, which Nickalls, doubtless mindful of tender readers, reduced to small print, and which beginners are well-advised to skip, draws this comment from the author: 'This statement bears careful reading to appreciate its immense implications'. Clearly a radical re-thinking is being called for here.

Apocalypse of the Word is a major work which follows in the line of Geoffrey Nuttall's *Holy Spirit in Puritan Experience* and Hugh Barbour's *Quakers in Puritan England* and in my opinion supersedes them as interpretations of seventeenth-century Quakerism. Anyone giving serious thought to the character of the original Quaker movement will find this essential reading; for historians it helps to explain among other things why the rebellion of the Fifth Monarchy Men, who sought to hasten the apocalyptic reign of Christ, could be quickly snuffed out, whereas the Quakers for whom the new age had already come survived persecution.

Joseph Pickvance

William Penn's Published Writings, 1660-1726: an Interpretive Bibliography. Eds. Edwin B. Bronner, David Fraser. (*The Papers of William Penn* Vol.5, pp.xxvi + 536 + index 537-46). Philadelphia, Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1986. \$40

'No one has ever written a completely satisfactory biography of William Penn, and it is likely that no one ever will.' These are among the concluding words (p.43) of Edwin B. Bronner's part of the introduction to this 'Interpretative Bibliography' of 'William Penn's Published Writings 1660-1726' which he and David Fraser have edited as Volume Five of the Penn Papers Project. A clue to the mountainous labour of the enterprise may be found in the 70 footnotes to Bronner's part of the introduction (pp.25-45) or the stunning 151 notes to David Fraser's part, 'William Penn and the Underground Press' (pp. 49-86) with its fascinating account of seventeenth-century printing practice and the printers' protracted struggle against censorship. In this women were, as usual, prominently involved; Andrew Sowle, (for instance) chief printer to the infant Society and a fascinatingly ambiguous character had been apprenticed as early as 1646 to a woman printer, Ruth Raworth; and after his death his daughter and widow continued the business.

One of the most valuable features of this work is the headnotes, which clearly describe the circumstances and the nature of each item; hence its title. These are fascinating, and the volume is far from a dry-as-dust catalogue. Only once did I feel thwarted in reading them. When I came to the account of the *Rise and Progress*, better known as the Preface by Penn to George Fox's *Journal* (1694), I wanted to know more of the circumstances of its first issue. It was omitted from many (most?) copies of the *Journal* (mine among them) and yet published separately in the same year. How could such a splendid, incandescent piece of work be turned down? It glows with the warmth of the first days, and its portrait of Fox is incomparable. Here we get no fresh information and are merely referred to William Charles Braithwaite's account in *The Second Period of Quakerism*, pp.172-6, where 'some Friends concerned about WPs recent troubles and his

continued personal regard for James II objected...' We are fishing in muddy waters; what does emerge elsewhere is the long-standing distance between Penn and the Fell family (including Margaret herself) and one suspects that the Great Lady of the Movement and the Admiral's son found it hard to co-exist. Penn never mentions Margaret's part, or her marriage to Fox.

Which brings us to the enigma of William Penn, and the failure of his biographers to encompass it. Part of the difficulty lies in his personality – for some he was a great charmer, but down the years many, from Pepys and Macaulay to some modern biographers, have found it easy to resist his charm. How could the ethereal beauty of his first wife Gulielma give place within a twelvemonth of her death to Hannah Callowhill's homely dumpiness? Who would want James Duke of York (James II) for a friend if there was any other human being in sight? How badly Penn's judgement of men – in the Holy Experiment, for instance – compares with Fox's peasant shrewdness! There is also the reserve which Friends have for the art of compromise essential to those who take part in public affairs; on the whole we prefer the 'Prophets' to the 'Reconcilers'. Penn had great personal and spiritual courage and spent periods in gaol, like the rest of the leaders and so many of the rank-and-file, but his public career involved day-to-day adjustment. Though Bronner and Fraser deny him original thought, Penn was surely a great 'ideas' man, a disseminator of seminal ideas in practical form, with wider horizons and better education than the rest, and a background that took in England, Ireland, France, the Netherlands and Germany as well as his colony in far America. He deserves Braithwaite's generous tribute, quoted from the *Second Period of Quakerism in Christian Faith and Practice* (37) 'Rapt in great designs and careless of self, he was often buffeted and baffled, deceived or mistaken, but his courage was never defeated, nor the fineness of his temper married...' Here, we have a new tool towards understanding him, and if ever a completely satisfactory biography of him is written, the biographer will have Bronner and Fraser at his elbow. All of us who want to know will need it.

Ormerod Greenwood

Shore in Stansfield. A Pennine weaving community 1660–1750. Cornholme Branch of W.E.A. 1986. £1.50 + 30p p. and p.

Shore is a hamlet perched on the hillside to the north side of the Yorkshire Calder valley (which is connected by a low pass to the Lancashire Calder valley), near Todmorden and at the extreme western edge of Yorkshire, about 15 miles from Halifax and formerly within the enormous ancient parish of that name. Isolated, but nearby was an ancient packhorse route between the two counties. The majority of families combined farming with spinning and handloom weaving. Typical, though somewhat better-off than most neighbours, was Nicholas Fielden of Green End, who 'owned two pairs of looms, spinning wheels, cards and other textile equipment. He also possessed a few cows and four sheep. But he was also an arable farmer with a plough, harrow and corn (presumably oats) ready to harvest' when he died in 1698.

The approximately 30 properties in Shore are analysed according to type of occupancy/ownership and by decade 1700–1750. The inheritance practices of local landowners, especially the Fieldens and Stansfields (many of whom were Quakers) are intensively investigated; tenants with surnames Ashworth, Clegg, Heape and Kendall are also briefly described. Especially interesting are the financial provisions for women

– wives, widows, daughters; and the consequences of these provisions, as well as of the practice of ‘partible inheritance’ to male heirs, for family fortunes and continuity. Accelerating debt was a frequent fate.

A few pages focus on the communal life of Friends in the area. A connection with the ‘Grindletonian’ sect (Grindleton being only 15 miles from Shore) is postulated, and briefly investigated. Another of those marathon tithe cases*, with faint echoes of Trollope’s *The Warden*, the Metham case, is recounted in detail. It went on from 1707, when curate Edward Metham began to harry Friends, to 1715 when the Lord Chancellor ruled in his favour; though Metham did not actually get his money till 1718.

This is an extremely creditable study by a local W.E.A. Group and points the way to yet deeper studies both at Shore and in other Pennine communities.

* See the reviewer’s *Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting, 1665–1966* published by author (1979) for three such tithe cases, 1703–1707 (pp. 335–37); 1740–1744 (pp.339–340); 1791–1797 (pp.340–342).

Pearson Thistlethwaite

Early Friends in Dent. By David Boulton. Dales historical monographs, Hobsons Farm Dent. 1986.

In one of his papers on the social origins of early Quakers, Professor R.T. Vann comments on how little is really known of their social composition. Here David Boulton has assembled material from his statistical and other enquiries into the lives of the earliest Quakers of Dentdale, with an enthusiasm which disguises the labour. His work has been in a district strong in the study of local history, though one not remarkable for its early Quaker strength.

The early chapters discuss the setting into which Quakerism was introduced, with particular reference to the local history of tithe revolt. The ‘Coming of Truth’ to the dale, the early tentative days and later growth in numbers of Friends, are dealt with in turn. Later chapters carry the story forward to the Act of Toleration, and briefly to the present day. The heart of the book, however, is the chapter on the *Social Profile of Dent Meeting*. Here the author gives a numerical and tabulated account of all the Dent Quakers up to 1681; not only their occupation and social standing but for example their literacy, and age at their convincement to Quakerism.

One may perhaps feel some hesitation over general statements which do not inspire the same confidence as do the details. The map might be in question for quite the contrary reason: it is taken from a survey of 1772 which has character and atmosphere without being particularly legible and without indicating enough of the place-names. So factual a book would benefit from a map of corresponding precision.

One must conclude that this very local study is of much more than local interest, and be glad of the opportunity to compare its conclusions with similar studies elsewhere in the country.

David Butler

Joseph Sturge and the Moral Radical Party in Early Victorian Britain. By Alex Tyrrell. Christopher Helm, London. 1987. £22.95

When 'history' comes to be re-written, with the emphasis on the heroes of peace, not war, Joseph Sturge will probably be reckoned one of the great men of his time. Important movements in the modern world, parliamentary reform, the search for international peace, the Anti-Slavery Society, the education of the working class – to say nothing of Pitman's shorthand – all owe much to this generous-minded Quaker. His courage was shown not only in his 'peace mission' to the Czar in 1854, in the midst of a Russian winter, but in an earlier visit to the States, when he anticipated the modern civil rights campaign by travelling in a coach for 'negroes' on a segregated train. Joseph Sturge had political judgment too, as shown when he vigorously denounced the 1839 Opium War, by which Britain forced the sale of East India Company opium on the Chinese people. Thanks to Alex Tyrrell we now have a comprehensive, lucid and on the whole judicious account of this man of many interests.

One must however make a few qualifications. The biographer is not a Quaker, and this had both advantages and disadvantages. It obviously makes for objectivity. But a Quaker might have been more tolerant of Joseph Sturge's ineradicable tendency to be in a minority (p.100). Is history always on the side of the big battalions? To accept Thomas Fowell Buxton's criticism that Sturge's instinct was always to take a stand on abstract justice regardless of the consequences, when the very next page deals with Sturge's work in securing public baths for Birmingham, public parks, a Reform school for delinquents, Adult School classes and shorter working hours for employees, is to invite misunderstanding and credit is not always given to Sturge's achievements. To lose the parliamentary seat for Nottingham by only 84 votes, when Sturge would use neither flags, banners, brass bands and one suspects free beer also, was a remarkable feat. Moreover, Sturge was a marvellous organiser.

Reading the book one has the feeling every now and again that the world has stood still. When the 1839 Police Act established police forces armed with cutlasses and officered by military men, Sturge wanted to see 'elected local governments controlling unarmed professionals who were closely identified with the communities they served'. During the struggle for the vote, when the Government was unyielding, Sturge was hoping the people would 'simply resolve not to obey.. they would withhold all taxes'. Sturge excluded all goods produced by slave labour from his household; anti-apartheid campaigners will see the parallel.

In writing this book the author had an advantage for which many biographers will envy him; he had access to hundreds of letters and other documents in the Sturge family's papers, and this adds much interest to the book. But Alex Tyrrell's sources range far beyond family archives; this is an impressive and meticulous work of research in both manuscript and printed sources, and the fruit of prodigious reading. The author's interests are wide – he sees the importance of women, and he tells us where Sturge's money came from, both aspects which many biographers ignore. For students of urban and Quaker history in the nineteenth century this book will be indispensable.

Violet A. Rowe

Let This Life Speak: the Legacy of Henry Joel Cadbury. By Margaret Hope Bacon. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987. Pp. xvi + 253. £27.50

See; not a hair is, not an eyelash, not the least lash lost
(Gerard Manley Hopkins)

Not The Least Lash (from *The Leaden Echo and the Golden Echo*) might be a punning title for this book, the evocation of a Friend who never insisted or demanded but delighted in all creation and sought to ensure that nothing was *lost*. Henry Cadbury had a gift for working with fragments – whether someone for whom things were going to pieces, a world tearing itself apart, a fragmented Yearly Meeting, or a manuscript with waste places to be restored. In the New Testament he tended to concentrate on the bits and pieces, and on ambiguities. From a horror of going beyond Truth, or the evidence for it, he would commonly not declare himself. One could feel impatience that he would not come down one side or the other.

I cannot say that I think this a good biography. Henry Cadbury's interests and spheres of influence were so many and various that a coherent and well proportioned account of his life was clearly difficult, especially for a single author; a biographical symposium is often unsatisfactory but might in this case have been more effective. Margaret Hope Bacon interviewed or corresponded with biblical scholars, Quaker historians, and representatives of Harvard, Haverford, Bryn Mawr, Pendle Hill and many other institutions to which Henry Cadbury gave devoted service, as well as with several of the Cadbury family; but in the book she keeps to a straightforward chronological narrative, eschewing thematic considerations. The unfortunate effect is not only repetitiveness and a fair amount of the banal but an absence of appreciation in any depth of her subject's contributions to scholarship.

'Peace', Margaret Hope Bacon writes, was 'always Henry Cadbury's favorite topic', 'the issue closest to his heart'. Perhaps so; as 'a senior staff member of the American Friends Service Committee' she writes most tellingly of his work for A.F.S.C. and conscientious objection. But among students of the New Testament and of church history there are many, and will continue to be, to whom H.J.C. means much, who have not so much as heard of A.F.S.C. What is lacking is any competent survey of his writings, complete or sectional, any attempt to set his contributions in their context. To say of volumes IV and V of *The Beginnings of Christianity* (1933) that it is 'known to theological students everywhere as "Lake and Cadbury" '; to crack a couple of family jokes over his part in the *Revised Standard Version* (1946); to record of George Fox's '*Book of Miracles*' (1948) that Rufus Jones wrote 'This will rank as a magnum opus'; or of the encyclopaedic Additional Notes to the second edition of *The Beginnings* (1955) and of *The Second Period of Quakerism* (1961) to say only that the present reviewer 'wrote... to encourage him' is woefully inadequate.

One can also feel a more profound uneasiness. This book is not simply a tribute of affection; from its title the subject is put before us as in some sense a pattern or model. Now, while one may try to imitate his faithfulness, no one without his gifts can emulate Henry Cadbury in the multifariousness of his activities and concerns. One expects that at least part of his legacy will be in the convincing philosophy of life, or personal beliefs, that held them together, and in the serene assurance, or faith grounded in experience, that held *him* together. Yet these are notably missing: the former he consistently refused to state, or, if he did speak occasionally on 'My Personal Religion', it was in negatives; the latter was shattered inwardly by recurrent anxiety, self-pity and depression. Though commendably honest in recording these aspects of Henry Cadbury's personality, the writer seems not to see how acutely they affect what she presents as (in her own words) 'the religious basis of life'. Surely Henry Cadbury was not just a bundle of bits and

pieces himself, a man of conscience and with chameleon sympathies but unwilling to state his own beliefs and periodically breaking down, because he had none? In her conclusion Margaret Hope Bacon writes 'You learned to recognize the iron core of courage and integrity within this apparently simple, friendly man'; the ambiguities present in his persistent irony are not resolved.

Geoffrey F. Nuttall

One Man's Education. By Allan Bradley. Pp. 260. Ebor Press. £6.50

This is a reflective, analytical account of Allen Bradley's educational experience over the 70 years from 1914 to 1985. Starting in the twentieth-century equivalent of a dame school, he passed on through Stramongate, Dover College and Bootham. After graduating in modern languages at Cambridge he taught at Leighton Park. Feeling the need for experience in the public sector he moved to King Edward the Seventh School at Sheffield until a knife edge decision about the nature of his pacifism carried him into naval radio expertise and its unexpected educational ramifications. In 1946 he became head of a co-educational country grammar school at Street and thence to a post-1947, reconstituted urban Lancashire grammar school. In 1955 Allen and his wife, Mary, and the family responded to the urgent need of the Friends Service Council to find a principal of what was to be the first Quaker secondary school within the rapidly expanding public education system of the still colonial Kenya, emerging from its Mau Mau stage into independence. The account of the next ten years occupies the major part of the book, and the Kenya experience of relatively unconstrained initiative in school management has an important bearing in what happened over the next 20 years work in an English county.

In 1965, after a brief but miserable time in stop-gap jobs at home, Bradley was appointed head of a new co-educational grammar school at Corby in Northamptonshire. Four years later it moved into a remarkably interesting phase of development as a comprehensive school, from which he took slightly early retirement so that a new head could have time to prepare for a further stage of planned development. A little later the school, Kingswood, was chosen by the BBC for a TV series on a public sector Comprehensive School, parallel with a series on Radley, a Public School.

'With retirement imminent I was free to contemplate new activities. Having experienced the lack of understanding of educational issues amongst many members of the County Council I thought that somebody with educational experience might have a useful contribution to make', writes Bradley.

So he stood as a Labour candidate in the County Council elections, defeated the sitting Tory, and for the next 11 years was whole-heartedly and almost whole-time engaged in the educational policy-making and school structure of its Education Committee, serving for some years as Deputy Chairman. At the same time he was associated with others, both professionally and nationally, in elucidating the principles and practice of curriculum formulation, both overt and 'hidden'.

The book is not a literary autobiography. If it were we should enjoy hearing a lot more about Mary and family life. What it is, is a lucid, systematic account of the issues which a Quaker educator, working in the front line of public provision, has had to face and answer through five decades of rapid and perplexing change, both at home and in Kenya, where the complexities were compounded by the different perceptions of British and mid-Western Quakers both educational and ecclesiastical.

For the historian the book has two particular virtues. It is a first class source book for the identification of the coal-face issues of public secondary education in the middle years of the twentieth century, both in this country and in ex-colonial settings. And it is illuminating on the extent to which an energetic, imaginative, competent Quaker professional can find or make room for effective initiative within public bureaucracies.

A sidelight is on the room there is for initiative in the public service because somebody knows somebody somewhere, but not in any sense of backscratching. In a small, compact country like ours, gifted professionals discover one another. Long may it continue with integrity:

Roger Wilson

NOTES & QUERIES

SHROPSHIRE FRIENDS

Victoria County History: Shropshire, ed. G.C. Baugh, Oxford U.P., 1985.

Article on Madeley includes the Coalbrookdale Meeting.

Also, the Darby family, Richard Reynolds, Ironbridge Ragged School in the 1840s, Telford Meeting from the 1960s and Friends in Lilleshall and Wellington.

ALYS PEARSALL SMITH

In 'Alys Pearsall Smith and Bertrand Russell' in *Russell: the Journal of the Bertrand Russell Archives* (n.s. vol.3 no.2, Winter 1983-84).

Sheila Turcon provides a detailed account of a curious combination of an aristocratic and Quaker wedding between Alys Pearsall Smith and Bertrand Russell. Those attending included Bevan and W.C. Braithwaite and Rendel Harris.

WEST CHALLOW

Many of the villages in the Vale of the White Horse had a Quaker following in the seventeenth century – places like Faringdon, Uffington, Childrey and West Challow. The Vale of White Horse MM was united with Oxford in 1791, and become Witney MM.

Faringdon had a meeting House which is still in use; that at Uffington is now a private house; meetings at Childrey were in a private house which can be identified today. At West Challow the Meeting House also became a private house and, much altered, is believed to be Box Cottage.

Mrs Violet M. Howse of Stanford-in-the-Vale has produced an admirable book (95pp., maps and illus.) on the parish history of W. Challow. She made use of the Vale of White Horse MM Minutebooks in the Oxfordshire Record Office and chapter 3 is devoted to the Quakers.

She quotes from the minutes between 1684 and 1712 and cites tables of collections and payments to poor members; e.g. on 24 1st mo. 1679 'To ye prisoners at Gloucester 10s.', and 'for paving ye meeting house at chawlow 16s. 6d.' On 27 2nd mo. 1699 we find 'to ye Girle for sweeping ye meeting house at Farrington 1s. 6d.'

Mrs. Howse has sent a copy of her book which will be placed with other MM records.

Arthur Bissell
Custodian Witney MM Records

Bristol, Africa and the eighteenth-century slave trade to America. Edited by David Richardson. vol.I – The years of expansion, 1698-1729. (Bristol Record Society's publications. vol.38. 1986.)

This volume throws light on the mercantile activities of some Bristol Quaker merchants, shopkeepers and tradesmen in the generation before Friends' Meeting in Bristol became active in discouraging members from engaging in trading overseas in armed vessels, and half a century before Friends generally took up the anti-slave trade cause.

The notes which follow cannot claim to be exhaustive as regards items of Quaker interest, since more work is needed to identify people.

One of the earliest records in the book is of one 'Nathaniel Kile', owner of the *Beginning*, which sailed from Bristol for Guinea and Jamaica in November 1699, and returned to Bristol, 5 February 1701. He is probably NATHANIEL KILL (see Bristol Record Society, xxvi, 250).

The brothers WILLIAM and JOHN REEVE, merchants (see BRS, xxx, 258) appear as owners or part owners of vessels trading to Africa, and delivering slaves to Virginia. The *Susanna* (50 tons, 2 guns) went to Africa in 1724 and delivered 83 slaves to Nevis in the West Indies. They were joint owners also of the *Serelion* (70 tons, 2 guns) which delivered 158 slaves to Nevis from Guinea, 1727-28.

FRANCIS ROGERS, merchant, of Castle Precincts, Bristol (probably, 1670-1715? son of William Rogers the supporter of Wilkinson and Story) was concerned in ten voyages as owner (or part owner) of the *Dispatch*, *Expectation*, *Colston Gally*, *William*, *Fame Sloop*, *Peterborough Frigate* (120 tons, 14 guns) and *Jason Gally* (120 tons, 16 guns). These substantially-armed last two ships had letters of marque, and delivered more than 300 slaves each at Barbados and Nevis, 1711-13. In its last voyage, 1715, the *Fame Sloop* had on board 84 slaves. It was castaway in the road at Barbados.

The SCANDRETT family, grocers (CHARLES born 1691; married Mary Lloyd, 1724; CHRISTOPHER, 1705-39; and JOHN (see BRS, xxx, 260)) were active in Africa trade in the 1720s. Some ships brought back unsold goods as well as the bulk cargoes of ivory and redwood. The *Sherley Gally* (80 tons) for instance, between 1722 and 1729 made five voyages, taking on average more than 200 slaves to the West Indies or to Virginia each time. In 1728 the ship carried 5 guns; armament was not mentioned before.

The records on which this volume is based are incomplete. For instance, PETER BUSH, who married Margaret Herring in Bristol Meeting, 17 October 1715, was master on board the *Roachdale Gally* cleared outward from Bristol for Madeira and Barbados on 9 November following. There is no overt reference to a slave element in the trading mission, but this can be assumed, since the vessel (under a previous master) delivered 96 slaves in Barbados two years before.

The same lack of evidence of slave trading is seen in the voyage record of the *Diamond*, 'Richyt Cole & Co.' owners, which left port in December 1716, also for Madeira and Barbados. Richyt Cole is probably RICHYATE, son of Benjamin & Joan (Yates) COOLE, born 14 September 1690, who married Abigail Vigor in Bristol Meeting, 16 August 1711.

CHRISTOPHER DEVONSHEIR, owner of the *Anne and Dorothy*, sailing to Guinea, and then to Jamaica with 126 slaves, 1710-11, was probably connected with Minehead and the south of Ireland. Other names have a familiar ring, but identities are not established easily.

For instance, there is JOHN FRY, part owner of the *Whetstone Gally* (130 tons, 16 guns) 1708, which was taken when outward bound for Jamaica;

JOSEPH GOTLEY, part owner of the *Joseph Gally* (130 tons, 10 guns) with letters of marque, 12 January 1708; delivered 280 slaves in Jamaica;

RICHARD GOTLEY, part owner of the *Victory* (150 tons, 10 guns), on voyage outwards to Angola, 1699. For Richard Gotley see BRS, xxvi, 201;

RICHARD HAWKSWORTH, part owner of the *Peterborough Frigate* (armed vessel) 1711, and of the *Oldbury*, 1720 and 1728 (80 tons, 4 guns in 1728), voyages to Montserrat (209 slaves delivered) and Barbados. Richard Hawksworth, Castle Precincts, Bristol, buried 28 August 1752;

WALTER HAWKSWORTH, senior owner of the *Africa Brigantine* (50 tons) 1718–19, on a voyage to Guinea and Virginia (84 slaves delivered). Walter Hawksworth married Elizabeth Coysgarne, 8 xi 1716 in Bristol;

HENRY PARKER, senior owner of the *Westbury* (80 tons) which sailed for Guinea in August 1720 and was reported taken by a Spanish sloop off Hispaniola, 21 March 1721, when bound for Jamaica with 177 slaves on board. Henry Parker, merchant, married Sarah Hackett, 7 June 1708, in Bristol Meeting;

THOMAS SMITH, part owner (with Joseph Gotley and others) of the *Joseph Gally* (mentioned above), may be Thomas (born 1682) son of Paul Smith glazier (see BRS, xxx, 261);

The Vigor & Co., in part ownership of the *Hector Gally* (90 tons) may indicate involvement by FRANCIS VIGOR (1699–1726) son of Joseph and Abigail Vigor. The ship delivered 210 slaves at St Kitts in 1725.

SUSSEX

The Victoria History of the Counties of England. A history of the County of Sussex. Edited by T.P. Hudson. Vol.6, part 2: Bramber rape (north-western part), including Horsham. (Oxford University Press, 1986.)

This volume includes notes of Friends in Itchingfield, Thakeham (including the Blue Idol), Warminghurst (William Penn's ownership of the property between 1676 and 1707), Ashurst, Shipley and Horsham (centre for monthly meetings from 1668). It is interesting to note that Penn was selling substantial amounts of timber from his estate (perhaps to help finance his enterprise across the Atlantic), and that his name was adopted for a school at Coolham founded in the 1890s.

Victoria History volumes are useful not only for the detailed coverage they essay, but also for the source references which provide pointers to further sources of information.

ADVICE TO TRAVELLERS

Settle Montly Meeting, 4 i 1701/2, Minute 2 records a request from a Settle Friend for an expression of the meeting's unity with his concern to visit Friends in Wales and some counties in the West of England. The Monthly Meeting responded:

... this Meeting haveing weighed & considered thereof finds nothing against it. But advises him to be carefull to behave himselfe in his travel upon all accounts as becomes those who are concerned in so weighty a work, but more particularly that he be carefull not to be

more free in his discourse or intimacy with unmarried women than with those that are married, and give account at his return how he hath answered the advice of this Meeting.

How the ministering journey went is not recorded in Settle minutes. [Charlton Hill archives, deposited at the Brotherton Library, Leeds, volume H2, page 22.]

Russell S. Mortimer

SAMUEL ALEXANDER

Goldrood, Suffolk, the house on the outskirts of Ipswich belonging to Samuel Alexander, Friend and banker, was depicted in a series of more than fifty watercolours by his daughter Mary Ann between 1840 and 50. In *Country Life* (6 November 1986) John Cornforth publishes thirteen of these watercolours (eleven in colour) with an accompanying text. They provide a fascinating and rare insight into the life-style of prosperous English Friends in the mid-nineteenth century as well as examples of interior decoration at the time.

David J. Hall

YORKSHIRE SURVEYORS

The following names are identified as those of Quakers in Jan Crowther's *Enclosure commissioners and surveyors of the East Riding* (East Yorkshire Local History Society, 1986); John (1701–78), Joseph (1746–1823) and Samuel Dickinson; James Farthing; John Flintoff; Isaac Leatham (?–1815; author of *General view of the agriculture of the East Riding*, 1794); Isaac and Samuel Milbourn; Richard Allen (1812–75), Robert (1740–1813) and William (1764–1848) Stickney; Daniel (1784–1832) and John (1759–1841) Tuke.

The pamphlet includes an informative survey of the work of the enclosure commissioners. The author concludes that 'The chief beneficiaries of enclosure were undoubtedly the larger proprietors' (p.36); and adds 'Perhaps it is fortunate that Quaker commissioners were so active in the East Riding, as their commitment to egalitarianism and philanthropy ensured that the smaller proprietors were treated as justly as the system would allow.' (p.37)

Jean Mortimer

ILKLEY FRIENDS

David Carpenter's *Ilkley, the Victorian era* (Smith Settle, Otley 1986) includes a brief notice of Friends in the town and a reproduction of an old photograph of the meeting house on Queens Road, opened in 1869. The author mentions also Walter J. Kaye and Ilkley College. It will be noted that Walter Kaye (1843–1919) is later found in Harrogate as a private school proprietor (see Pearson Thistlethwaite's *Quaker meetings of Knaresborough and Harrogate*, 1984). It may also be mentioned that books of Ilkley Preparative Meeting minutes do not survive before 1891.

Jean Mortimer

QUAKERS AND THE LAW

Eric Stockdale: 'Sir John Kelyng, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, 1665–1671' (*Publications of the Bedfordshire Historical Record Society*, vol.59, 1980, pp.43–53) recalls

that Kelyng (who was accused of bullying juries to change their verdicts) when presiding at an Old Bailey trial of Quakers, thus addressed the Jury:

‘I shall say something concerning them and their Principles, that they might not be thought worthy of pity, as suffering more than they deserve: for they are a Stubborn Sect, and the King hath been very merciful with them. It was hoped that the Purity of the Church of England would ere this have convinced them, but they will not be reclaimed.’

‘Their end is Rebellion and Blood.’

The quotations come from William Smith’s *The innocency and conscientiousness of the Quakers asserted and cleared from the evil surmises... of Judge Keeling* (1664), pp. 5 and 7.

Jean Mortimer

LABOUR WOMEN

Isabella Ford, and Katharine Bruce Glasier (‘a poor plain sparrow’) appear in Sandra Stanley Holton: *Feminism and democracy: women’s suffrage and reform politics in Britain, 1900–1918*. (Cambridge University Press, 1986.) The book is fully researched and the author has made good use of sources available in such collections as the Fawcett Library.

Gordon Rupp’s *Religion in England, 1688–1791* (Oxford history of the Christian Church. Clarendon Press, 1986) has a sixteen-page chapter on Quakers, not restricted to the post-Revolution period.

WETHERBY, YORKSHIRE

Robert Unwin: *Wetherby, the history of a Yorkshire market town*. (Wetherby Historical Trust, 1986). This volume mentions Friends’ presence in the town in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The main supporter of the Friends’ Meeting seems to have been Thomas Mason (d.1690) who had a milling business. In 1689 his house was licensed for public worship. Monthly Meeting was held in the town in 1677. In 1736 the author states that a meeting house was provided at nearby Clifford. In the later eighteenth century the meeting was centred there. The author has used York Monthly Meeting records and Pearson Thistlethwaite’s *History of Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting* (1979).

FRIENDS AND ABOLITION

James Walvin: *England, slaves and freedom, 1776–1838*. (Macmillan, 1986) This volume treats of the influence of Friends on the abolition movement. ‘Friends – and their abundant theological outpourings – criss-crossed and the Atlantic, always sure of a bed and a sympathetic hearing in the expansive network of Friends’ (p.101).

WILLIAM BARTRAM

In *Journal of the History of Ideas* (vol. xlvi no.4 1985, pp 435–448) Larry R. Clarke writes about 'The Quaker background of William Bartram's view of nature'. He discusses the theological background to Quaker views of natural knowledge, Fox's interest in hermetic philosophy and the specific opinions of William Bartram and his father John.

Christianity in the West 1400–1700 by John Bossy (Oxford 1985) is partly concerned with pre-Reformation Christianity but it also provides useful introductory material and interesting parallels for the origins of Quakerism. There is a brief discussion of Friends and contemporary movements in our earliest period.

The Lake Counties and Christianity The Religious History of Cumbria 1780–1920 by John Burgess is published by the author and based upon his Sheffield University doctoral thesis. The brief chapter on Friends stresses their influence and that of former Friend families throughout the nineteenth century in Kendal, the Beacon controversy and the contribution of Friends to the beginning of the Brethren in Cumbria. The chapter on the Brethren develops the story of the 1860s division among Friends in Carlisle.

Madness, Morality and Medicine: A Study of the York Retreat 1796–1916 by Anne Digby incorporates much detailed study of records of admissions, costs and medical progress. Her account shows how the early strong Quaker influence was gradually weakened and how influential the institution was, partly due to the publication of Samuel Tuke's *Description of the Retreat* in 1813.

MYLES BIRKET FOSTER (1825–1899)

Jan Reynolds in her book *Birket Foster* (London, 1984) has produced a substantial and well-illustrated large format work about the distinguished water-colour painter who began life as a Friend though he apparently resigned his membership in 1849.

BRONNER & FRASER'S BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WILLIAM PENN

The appearance of this major bibliography of the printed works of William Penn provides a welcome opportunity for librarians to check their holdings and update the information provided more than a century ago in Joseph Smith's *Descriptive catalogue of Friends' books*, 2 vols., 1867.

The Birkbeck Library, now deposited in the Brotherton Library, University of Leeds, together with other items in the collections of Friends' books there, includes over 40 percent of the items listed in this volume (which forms volume 5 of the University of Pennsylvania Press edition of *The Papers of William Penn*, 1986). The total holdings top the 50 percent mark when microform reproductions are taken into account. From that base one is able to add a few first notes in a process of expansion and illustration which will doubtless continue through the long life of this splendid work of reference.

First (but not in the Birkbeck Library): *The Truth of God* (114A) can be dated more closely than 'before 27 mar. 1699'. Note may be taken of the manuscript corrections which were made to the edition printed by William Bonny (see Bristol Men's Meeting minutes of 11 February 1698/99: Bristol Record Society's publications, xxx. 146). The title-page of this early Bristol printing is dated 1699: the practice of dating books issued towards the end of a year with the following year's date has a long pedigree, although William Penn and Benjamin Coole were not looking to the Christmas trade.

The Three Norfolk Clergy Mens Brief discovery... modestly observed, 1699 (116) is present in the Birkbeck Library in a copy which is both unsigned and without imprint. The price appears to have been one halfpenny.

Bulstrode Whitelock's *Quench not the Spirit*, 2nd ed., 1715 (132B) is present in the Birkbeck Library in copies which have the "Bulstrode" spelling on the title-page, together with corrected page numbers.

Among other items where different states and variants appear are: *No cross*, 1694 (65F) where the Birkbeck copy has no mention of the Crooked-Billet in the imprint.

A Perswasive to moderation (72B or 72C) is present in a copy where the title-page reads "Charls", but the page number 16 is correct.

The Christian-Quaker, 1699 (22C) differs in title-page after line 7, in the chapter number on p.27, and in that it includes the one-page Postscript at the end.

To the Churches of Jesus, 1677 (44A) has the text "My Companions..." on page 13.

In *The Concurrence & unanimity*, 1694 (99A) the page numbers 18 and 98 are correct.

A Birkbeck copy (volume 80.9) of *The Peoples ancient and just liberties asserted*, 1670, cannot be pinned down to any of the items 10B to 10E in the bibliography (the contents lists for these items appear to be incomplete – perhaps a fault in mechanical typesetting).

The colophon in the Penn item issued in the *Journal of George Fox*, 1694 (97A) includes the hyphen between the words "Holly-well".

The Birkbeck Library copy of *A defence of a paper entituled, Gospel-truths*, 1698 (113) has the imprint of 113A and the last line on page 4 as in 113B.

Russell S. Mortimer

Gordon D. Brisay, 16 Summerton House, 369 Banbury Road, Oxford OX2 7RA or c/o The Library, Lincoln College, Oxford wishes to contact anyone interested in Seventeenth-century Scottish Friends (especially in Aberdeen) or those with interests in Barclay and Keith.

Supplements to the Journal of Friends' Historical Society

12. ELIZABETH HOOTON, First Quaker woman preacher (1600–1672). By Emily Manners. 1914. 95pp., £3.00.
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. 24pp., 50p.
22. LETTERS TO WILLIAM DEWSBURY AND OTHERS. Edited by Henry J. Cadbury. 1948. 68pp., £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 EARLY FRIENDS. Presidential address by Frederick B. Tolles, 1952. £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.

Back issues of the *Journal* may be obtained: price £2.00 each issue.

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