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1903-1953

THE Friends' Historical Society was founded fifty years ago, and for half a century now it has provided an outlet for publication of some of the research into Quaker history which has been carried on by many workers, both in the numerous local collections of records, and also notably in the Library of the Society of Friends in London. In the library at Friends House, books and documents are placed at the disposal of students working in the many fields of national and international life in which Friends play or have played a part. The fruits of these researches are many, and have appeared in many forms, but it is the privilege of the Friends' Historical Society to have published in its *Journal* and the Supplements much valuable and original work which might otherwise never have been made public. It is on this basis that Friends' Historical Society publications over the past fifty years must be judged, as contributions to scholarship.

The Historical Society has throughout its existence fulfilled a useful function in providing a medium for the sharing of historical interests between the comparatively few who pursue historical enquiries and the many Friends in every walk of life who are interested to read the results. In these days fewer Friends have imbibed the spirit of Quaker life in childhood, or grown up in its traditions. There is therefore an added value in reading of the past expression of convictions and the development of attitudes and practices which have gone to the making of the Society of Friends.

The commemorative features in this issue will be continued in our next with an article on the fifty years' work of the Friends' Historical Society. The next number will also include an article by Beatrice Saxon Snell on " Early Friends and the use of the Bible" and a notice of the Bible exhibition planned by the library at Friends House to commemorate the sesquicentenary of the British and Foreign Bible Society, founded 1804.

Letter of Greeting from Friends Historical Association

7th April, 1953.

DEAR FRIENDS,

Learning that the Friends' Historical Society was about to celebrate its fiftieth birthday, I sat down to write a word of filial greeting and congratulation as from a younger society across the Atlantic devoted to the common end of promoting scholarship and interest in Quaker history. But upon a moment's reflection I realised that, for once, the shoe was on the other foot, that, our Friends Historical Association being now in its eightieth year, I must assume a different, a less familiar rôle, and administer, as it were, a grandfatherly pat on the head. This—though the rôle ill becomes me—I do with the greatest pleasure, wishing your Society long life and continued usefulness to the community of scholars and laymen interested in the history of Friends.

To us who labor in the common vineyard on this side of the Atlantic, the forty-four volumes of your *Journal* are an indispensable source of documentary materials and a model of historical and editorial craftsmanship. To me especially, who had the great honor last year to be your President—mostly *in absentia*—there is a peculiar pleasure in sending good wishes and congratulations on this fiftieth anniversary.

Sincerely your friend,

FREDERICK B. TOLLES, *Editor*.

582 Castano Avenue,
Pasadena 8, California.

Looking Back

By T. EDMUND HARVEY

IT is a good thing at times for a community as well as for individuals to look back across the years and note the changes they have witnessed, whether with regret for what belongs now to a vanished world, or with thankfulness both for the guiding of an unseen hand and for the evidence of signs of life and of new creative activity not foreseen in those earlier days. We must try to bear this in mind in considering the contrast between the life of the Society of Friends today and that of a couple of generations or more ago, which older Friends recall in memory.

Change there must be, if there is life and growth. Any community which remains static, content to reproduce the experience of the past, is in danger of atrophy and of torpor which is near to death. But change is not necessarily good in itself, unless it be truly the outcome of life.

Old folk who look back tend to see the earlier years in the mellow golden light of autumn and to forget the shadows. On the other hand they may not call attention to what was of great importance to their life and growth, just because they assume that it was there all the while.

There is no doubt that two generations ago both meetings for worship and meetings for church affairs took a far larger share of the time, and in many cases also of the thought, of Friends generally than they do today. There were two meetings to attend each First day, the morning meeting lasting usually for an hour and a half or longer: the evening meeting was shorter and often it included the reading of a previously selected passage of Scripture, which might or might not be followed by an exposition. Then there was the mid-week meeting at which the attendance was smaller, but it was regularly attended by a number of Friends, some of whom left their shops or places of business to be present. Monthly Meetings were valued occasions and Quarterly Meetings were important social events, as well as religious opportunities, extending always for two whole days; hospitality

on a wide and bountiful scale was provided in the homes of Friends, whose children looked forward (and later backward) with pleasure to the custards and jellies and other good food which abounded then, but in some families would not be seen in such abundance on any other occasion. There was a long interval after these Quarterly Meeting dinners, before the next session, so that older Friends might retire to bedrooms and rest, while young ones might go for walks together. There was great interest in meeting Friends from distant parts of the Quarterly Meeting, some of whom were only seen on these occasions: the personality of notable ministering Friends, men and women, is thus still bright after sixty years; but these meetings were also welcomed as occasions at which younger Friends from a distance could meet each other, and old cousinships were kept up and new friendships formed, which often led to a more intimate relationship.

It must not be forgotten that a large number of well-concerned Friends, mostly of maturer years, were members of meetings for ministry and oversight, to which all recorded ministers, elders and overseers belonged, and to which ultimately a few others could be invited; they may have sometimes taken too much time, but they gave the opportunity for the unhurried consideration of great spiritual issues, and this was perhaps especially the case with the Yearly Meeting on Ministry and Oversight which immediately preceded the Yearly Meeting itself and might be the means of greatly influencing its course. The disappearance of such a meeting before the opening of Yearly Meeting has I believe been a loss to the Society as a whole.

It must be recalled that the large attendance at meetings for discipline was encouraged by the fact that it was still rare for younger Friends, or their elders, to go to a theatre or even a concert or oratorio. The performance of a conjurer was however, not frowned upon, and fortunate Quaker children were sometimes able to visit the famous conjurers' entertainment of Maskelyne and Cooke, which often included something suspiciously like a tiny piece of drama: the dramatic instinct too found a delightful outlet in watching performances of Punch and Judy, especially during a seaside holiday. The travelling circus was looked at askance, but the occasional visit of a menagerie was a cause of great pleasure

to Quaker children. Otherwise, there were only occasional lectures, sometimes, but rarely, illustrated by lantern slides, to act as counter-attractions to Friends' gatherings. A whole day was devoted usually to the attendance of Monthly Meetings and these often provided opportunity for a short country walk or a visit to some place of interest, like the ebbing and flowing well, near Settle. Nor were the business meetings without interest to younger members and any one with a strong sense of humour might often find some incident to recall with a chuckle of satisfaction, as when at one country Monthly Meeting the clerk told us that he had to report to the meeting a burial in the burial ground not after the manner of Friends. A good woman not in any way connected with the Society had written to him to confess how, in order to secure her brother's peace of mind, she had secretly buried by night his amputated leg in the Quaker burial ground, his clergyman having previously refused to allow it to be buried in the Churchyard. Her action had brought peace in mind and body to the poor man in hospital, who had been worrying as to what might happen to him at the Resurrection.

Sometimes our thoughts were carried with interest back to spiritual adventures of the past, as when I remember old William Gundry reporting to Friends at Leeds on the almost obsolescent Guide Fund of which he was Treasurer, and explaining how it was originally started to pay the expenses of a younger Friend who would be assigned to guide and accompany a Friend travelling in the ministry on the last stages of his journey to our town and to the next place he felt called to visit. It might be a fruitful companionship and we may recall how the young Henry Tuke was deeply impressed by thus accompanying John Woolman on the last stage of his journey to York where he was shortly to die in active service. Some of the phrases the children heard at these business meetings were not always explained as this one was: there may be many children who hearing reports from different meetings of the amount raised during the year by collections for the national stock, thought of this, not as for the Yearly Meeting Fund, but as a patriotic if somewhat inadequate effort by Friends to lessen the burden of the National Debt. Others, hearing of a Friend "retiring this year by rotation" from a committee, looked forward in vain to seeing

that Friend gyrating slowly until the door of the committee room was reached.

But what of the deeper influence of the meetings for worship? At Quarterly Meeting there faced us in triple ranks in the ministers' gallery a great array of weighty Friends, some of them esteemed and well-known ministers who thus became more than familiar names to us; a smaller but a like weighty array were to be seen at Ackworth General Meeting, while week by week in all the larger meetings the silent effect of the presence of the familiar figures we were wont to see in the gallery was a lasting one, quite apart from any spoken message. A child got to know the lines on the face, the shape of the mouth, the look in the eyes, until the personality of a Friend with whom he had never spoken became familiar to him and might even retain an affectionate place in his memory after many years.

In all cases, of course, men and women Friends occupied different sides of the meeting house, this division continuing in the ministers' gallery after it had begun to disappear in the body of the meeting. Early in the present century I recall that one beloved minister who sat at the head of the meeting, when first confronted with the suggestion that ministers and elders in the gallery should sit without separation of the sexes, gravely observed "I don't think I could feel easy in meeting with a woman Friend on *both* sides of me". He had already been sitting for years with his dear wife on the one side of him. In the gallery the central place on the top row was occupied by the recorded ministers, next to whom sat the elders; overseers usually sitting on the seat below. Meeting for Worship on First day morning lasted usually for an hour-and-a-half or longer: ministers often, but by no means always, spoke at greater length than today, and would generally introduce their message by a quotation from the Scripture. One woman minister had a gift of arresting attention by choosing for this obscure and scarcely known Biblical passages such as " At Parbar westward, four at the causeway, and two at Parbar".[1]

In the large morning Meeting it was difficult for a young or inexperienced speaker to venture on the serious task of taking part for the first time in ministry: there was danger in looking too much to the ministers' gallery, and in the

[1] 1 Chron. xxvi. 18.

ministers themselves unconsciously hindering service from others. While the content of the ministry was predominantly evangelical in doctrine, there had remained throughout the nineteenth century ministry of a more mystical character. One instance of this stands out in my memory. Daniel Pickard was speaking in Leeds Meeting: "The beauty of the lily, the fragrance of the rose, they were not put on from without, they were wrought from within". He then went on to point us to the "Inward Teacher ever present" to whom he would have us turn. That must have been some fifty years ago; his words so impressed me that I wrote them down shortly afterwards.

Sermons were perhaps often too long, but they also gave opportunity for the thoughtful consideration of great themes, as well as for casting light on notable passages from the Bible, and practical counsels on the personal problems of conduct. Beneath the quiet surface there was a ferment of active religious and social life at work in the life of the Society of Friends of which men like Edward Grubb and Edward Worsdell were harbingers, Rendel Harris, Thomas Hodgkin and John William Graham each in different ways pioneers, but in which a unique seminal influence was exercised by John Wilhelm Rowntree.

The Meeting for Worship of those days gave him a rich opportunity for prophetic service: Yearly Meeting with its greater elasticity than is afforded by the crowded agenda of today, provided ample field for him to bring his message home, and Friends were deeply moved by the fire of that message. In those days there was no place for prearranged speakers to open a subject, or speak in the discussions: the clerk decided on the course of the deliberations of the meeting, subject to the overruling authority of the meeting itself. There was no printed,[1] or written agenda, but it was known that the consideration of the state of the Society would occupy several sessions, often following on the triennial reports from different groups of Quarterly Meetings, which themselves afforded the opportunity for insight into our weakness and deficiencies as well as encouragement in the evidence of life.

Men and women Friends met separately both in Yearly

[1] The first printed Agenda, indicating "*probable* course of business", dated from 1899.

Meeting and all the subordinate meetings, but occasionally communicated messages to each other on matters of joint concern, while sometimes a minister, always accompanied by two elders, after bringing his concern before the meeting would seek through the appointed messengers the concurrence of the Women's Meeting to his appearing before it. In the same way a woman Friend might appear before the Yearly Meeting. I believe that the last occasion on which a man Friend thus addressed the Women's Yearly Meeting was when a minister who was himself a widower appeared, accompanied by two other widowers, and spoke from the words " Thou gavest me no kiss".

A gradual transition to the present method of joint sessions came through joint sessions being held, occasionally at first, and then for an increasing number of sessions. Fifty years ago much of the important themes with which Yearly Meeting is concerned were outside the scope of its deliberations. The Friends' Foreign Mission Association, the Friends' Home Mission Committee and several other committees were then independent bodies, though reporting by permission to Yearly Meeting.[1] Thus the sessions of Yearly Meeting were not overcrowded and it was customary to adjourn in time to allow in the evening the holding of the annual or other special meetings concerned with these specific services, among them as well as those already mentioned, being the very important Friends' First-Day School Association, comprising both the children's schools and the great number of Friends' Adult Schools in which a large proportion of the members of the Society were actively engaged.

These large associations and committees had a small number of concerned Friends working for them as a salaried staff, usually in inadequate and overcrowded quarters and at very small salaries, but there were hardly any Friends employed in its service by the Society itself. Indeed I remember Edward Little recalling Thomas Pumphrey of Ackworth saying to him, about 70 years ago: "There are only two paid officials in the Society of Friends, the Recording Clerk of London Yearly Meeting and the Transcribing Clerk of

[1] The F.F.M.A. first was permitted to present a brief report to Y.M. in 1882; and the Friends' Home Mission Committee in 1883, but for some years this did not involve their discussion by Y.M.

Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting". (The transcribing clerk of course only received a modest honorarium.)[1]

We have gained greatly since then in the efficiency with which many of the concerns of the Society have been carried out, but has it been wholly gain? Two or three generations ago, it is true, there were more Friends with leisure to undertake the unpaid work of the Society, and by no means all of them well-to-do Friends, for they included some with very small incomes; today it is natural to look to the able and devoted company of the large and energetic staff of workers attached to Friends House and the various central committees of the Society, when appointments have to be made; sometimes in consequence the latent gifts of less known members are perhaps not as much made use of as the general well being of the Society might call for. The following up of the concern of the Society's committees, when they depended entirely on unpaid voluntary workers, was thrown back upon the membership of the Society as a whole. A concern brought by a Friend before a meeting might lead to an *ad hoc* committee being appointed, but also might result in the encouraging of that Friend himself to go forward with his concern, and his liberation by minute for the purpose.

I believe much has been lost by the too general rarity in recent years of religious concerns being brought by individual Friends before their Monthly Meetings. Even though the collective wisdom of standing committees and of their experienced staff is often of great value, it cannot take the place of the sharing of a concern by the meeting as a whole, and the help which this may bring to the Friend on whom the concern is laid.

If there has been some real loss in this respect there has been given us as a Society the possibility of a great enrichment of life in other ways, though one far too little appreciated and made use of, in the opportunity for religious study and for making the contribution which Friends should give to Christian thought and to the quest for truth. Way had been opened for this by the Summer School movement and

[1] For long the Library itself had no room of its own, but was kept in bookcases in the old Meeting for Sufferings room. It was not until 1901 that Norman Penney was appointed by Meeting for Sufferings as its first full time Librarian, while only in xii mo. 1902 did the Meeting decide to allow the room to be called "The Library" and to be used regularly for Library purposes.

by its extension and continuation committee, leading up to the founding of Woodbrooke, not by any formal committee of the Society, but largely owing to the devotion and insight of a very small group of two or three deeply concerned Friends. Up till then the Society of Friends had been largely dependent for the intellectual development of its religious life, apart from one or two scholar bankers like Frederic Seebohm and Thomas Hodgkin, upon its educationists, schoolmasters, schoolmistresses and teachers, with some help from members of the medical profession, and from members, like Rendel Harris, who came to Friends in adult life and owed their scholastic education to others. It is indeed marvellous that in spite of this restriction on religious life and thought there should have developed such a hunger for the food of the spirit which met the need of mind and heart, as was evinced by the first Scarborough Summer School in 1897, and by its successors. Yet though Woodbrooke has done much, and its Extension committee has had a wide service in giving guidance and stimulus to religious study, even yet they have not been utilised as fully as they should have been.

We are glad to make use today of the contributions to Christian life and thought which have been made by Free Churchmen, Anglicans and Roman Catholics, as well as by foreign scholars; but we have still hardly given an adequate return of the product of Quaker scholarship, apart from the the great work of William Charles Braithwaite and that of Rufus M. Jones in America with its world-wide influence. But have we yet, either as individuals or as a Society come to realise the implications of the great commandment: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy *mind*"?

It would be well if the changed outlook in the Society of Friends on social, industrial, racial and international problems could be made the subject of detailed studies, for in the last fifty or sixty years doors and windows have been opened both in our minds and in opportunities for service. Yet all the while one can trace the influence of the life and love of God at work through human lives, continuously renewed and reproduced in our Quaker experience by the work and the teaching and the central personality of Jesus, and transmitted to us by countless humble disciples, amongst whom we must increasingly recognise the wonderful inspiring

and encouraging influence of John Woolman, the study of whose life and the full text of whose writings are now available to us as to no previous generation. Yet through the years that are gone they have borne their silent witness and challenged the conscience of many a reader.

Thus, as we compare conditions today with those of two generations ago, while we may regret much that has been lost, and wish that we might share the uncrowded lives, the absence of rush and hurry of an earlier day, yet we must be thankful for the living heritage which has been handed on to us, which cannot be preserved except as something living and subject to change, a heritage which calls upon each succeeding generation to make its own sacrifice that the work of the Kingdom of God may go forward.[1]

[1] I am indebted to the editor for much of the substance of the footnotes on pp. 55, 56 and 57.

Accounts for the year 1952 and *Journal*, vol. xliv

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Journal of Friends' Historical Society, vol. xliv, parts 1 and 2	214	15	4	Balance brought forward	201	6	0
Stationery	35	18	2	Anonymous donations, 1951 and 1952 ..	200	0	0
Expenses, including postage ..	31	13	11	Subscriptions ..	199	2	2
Equipment for storage of stock of *Journals* ..	21	14	2	Sales	26	2	11
700 copies of Tolles' *Atlantic Community of Early Friends* ..	72	12	4	Interest on Post Office Savings Account ..	2	16	0
Donation towards Rowntree's *History of Guildford Meeting* ..	10	0	0				
Balance carried forward to 1953 ..	242	13	2				
	£629	7	1		£629	7	1

Examined with the books of the Society and found correct.

(Signed) BASIL G. BURTON.

16.vii.1953.

Joshua Sprigge on the Continent

By HENRY J. CADBURY

AS soon as communication was possible after World War II, Dr. Theodor Sippell of Marburg reported to his friends in England and America what was for him a thrilling discovery. For many years he had shared with Rufus Jones and Geoffrey Nuttall an interest in the antecedents of Quakerism, but when in 1945 after his house was bombed and later much of his library destroyed, he was forced to spend four months in rural loneliness, he had with him only a single book, a volume of rare tracts of the year 1649, which he had put aside for further study. They were written by the English chaplain, Joshua Sprigge (1618-84) and published that year. Dr. Sippell prepared the manuscript of an English book (still unpublished) entitled *Joshua Sprigge: A help to a better understanding of early Quakerism.* Some brief comments and some quotations from Sprigge himself were supplied by him and published in the *Journal of Friends' Historical Society*, vol. 38, 1946, pp. 24-8, where is reported also Dr. Sippell's gift of the rare volume of Sprigge's tracts to the Library at Friends House. While further thought convinced Dr. Sippell of the contrasts as well as the likenesses between Sprigge and Fox, the contrasts between a speculative theologian and a practical layman, he brought to attention a significant pre-Quaker English radical thinker.[1]

Now appreciation on the Continent for Sprigge can be traced back into his own time. Sippell was anticipated in his interest by a certain Pierre Serrurier, more often known by his Latin name, Petrus Serrarius or Serarius. Born in Flanders he came to Holland perhaps near the middle of the seventeenth century, living at Amsterdam until he died in 1669. He had varied religious and philosophical interests as his writings show, but at one stage evidently Joshua Sprigge interested him; for he translated seventeen of his sermons into Dutch, using the title of Sprigge's *A Testimony to an approaching Glory*, thus

[1] Letter to Rufus M. Jones, 21.iii.1947, referring to one two years earlier (probably lost) and letter to Elizabeth B. Jones, 22.xii.1948.

De getuygenisse eener aanstaande heerlykheid voorgedragen in xvii geestryke sermoenem door Josua Sprigge, overgeset door P. Serarius. Amsterdam, 1654.

The first seven sermons agree with those in *A Testimony to an approaching Glory* (London, G. Calvert, 1648; second edition, 1649). The rest of the Dutch collection includes, though not in quite the same order, the nine sermons in *A Further Testimony to the Glory that is near* (London, G. Calvert, 1649) and one sermon on the hiddenness of Christ of which I do not find an English original. I have consulted by microfilm the copy at Leyden of the second edition in Dutch, dated 1716.

"The Translator to the Christian Reader" is an eight page preface (also in Dutch) signed "12 Sept. 1654 P. Serarius". It states that the translator had previously presented six of the sermons of this author and was now increasing them to seventeen. This earlier collection, if published, is not mentioned in the available Dutch bibliographies, nor is the reprinting of 1668. Serarius gives among the reasons why he was concerned to publish these pieces that their author (1) distinguishes clearly between Christ according to the flesh and Christ according to the spirit, (2) distinguishes between a dying and a living Christian, (3) describes the dispensations of God to us, and (4) speaks of the revelation of God's glory as in men's hearts and not in the Church.

Two years later, in 1656, another English pamphlet, also from the press of Giles Calvert, was translated into Dutch and published (without name of place or printer). It was by William Dewsbury and was I think the first of the many translations of Quaker pamphlets into Dutch. In English it was first printed in 1654 and had several reprintings. I have noted no Quaker translation into Dutch that bears as early a date as 1654 for the English or as 1656 for the Dutch. Its English title begins:

The Discovery of Man's Returne to his first Estate by the Operation of the Power of God in the great Work of Regeneration.

This is translated on the Dutch title page with the author's name spelled William Deusbury and followed by the statement: "Uyt het Engels, tot Londen voor Giles Calvert gedruckt; in't Neerlandtsch getrouwelijck overgeset ende allen Godt-soeckende Herten tot een proeve voorgestelt door P.S."

I think it probable that this was the work of Petrus Serarius, though the bibliographies do not identify the translator.[1]

Serarius was not destined to throw in his lot with Friends. The dozen other works that he published show him in controversy with William Ames and John Higgins, English Friends living in Holland,[2] and also with the better known non-Friends, Descartes, Comenius and Amyraut.[3] He was something of a millenialist and astrologer, and one of his books got published in England, *Awakening Warning to the Wofull World*, 1662.

As was to be expected Benjamin Furly, the Quaker bibliophile of Rotterdam, was acquainted with the books of both Sprigge and Serarius, as the catalogue of his library shows. Indeed both writers are associated there with Friends. One book contained, bound together, various tracts of W. Ames, W. Caton, J. Higgins and P. Serarius.[4] Elsewhere in the catalogue under the heading of Quaker Books occur three entries:

J. Sprigge's Works. Lond., 1647.
——— News of a New World. Lond. 1676.
——— Invitation of a Seeker to all that desire to find the Lord. Lond. 1670.[5]

The last item does not belong to Sprigge at all. The author is indicated by I.S., but this is explained as "Indefatigable Seeker". The full list and some locations of Sprigge's English works are to be found in Wing's *Short Title Catalogue*, vol. 3, 1952. But the *Anglia Rediviva* was denied his authorship by Clement Walker.[6] On the other hand the anonymous plea for freedom of conscience, *The Ancient Bounds*, 1645, is said to be his work.

Benjamin Furly died in 1714. Two years later the second edition of Serarius's Dutch translation of Joshua Sprigge was issued. Thus for one half a century we can trace his influence in the receptive religious atmosphere in Holland.

[1] See Joseph Smith, *Descriptive Catalogue of Friends Books*, 1869, i, 523. W. I. Hull, *The Rise of Quakerism in Amsterdam, 1655-65*, 1938, p. 214 and note 438. A copy of this pamphlet is the first of sixty-five such pieces in Dutch bound in one volume, now at Haverford College, but for many years before 1929 in the Friends Library in Philadelphia.

[2] W. I. Hull, *op. cit.*, pp. 233-5.

[3] *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, 1937, x, col. 911-13.

[4] *Bibliotheca Furliana*, Rotterdam, 1714, p. 46, no. 1099.

[5] *Bibliotheca Furliana*, Rotterdam, 1714, p. 162, nos. 1067, 1068, 1069.

[6] See edition of 1854, Oxford, and D.N.B. s.v. Sprigg.

Meanwhile for England itself we have almost no evidence of any contact between Sprigge and Quakerism. There is one exception, and that to his credit; for in a petition to the Protector for clemency on behalf of James Naylor the name of Joshua Sprigge appears among some 87 subscribers from London and Westminster, and he is said to have led a delegation to Parliament to the same end. A few years earlier six Presbyterian booksellers in their pamphlets, *A Beacon Set on Fire*, 1652, and *A Second Beacon Fired*, 1654, had bracketed as among "divers popish and blasphemous books, printed and published in England", Joshua Sprigge's *Testimony*, and books by Richard Farnsworth and other Friends.

The congeniality of Joshua Sprigge's writings to early English Friends is indicated by the quotations from his *A Testimony to an Approaching Glory*, Preface and pp. 55, 79, 80, 81, 83-89, 96, 107, 142-4, 147 and 148, in William Penn's *Invalidity of John Faldo's Vindication*, 1673, Part 1, Chap. VIII, and Part 2, Chap. I, VIII, IX and X (*Works*, 1726, ii, 357f., 382f., 413f., 420f., 429). Linking Sprigge with Christopher Goad, Penn calls them "University-Men, and such as were reputed famous thirty years ago." He notes that "Joseph Caryl, that famous and ancient Independent pastor licensed J. Sprigg's book, Anno 1647", and that for Goad "J. Sprigg performed the friendly office of publisher after his decease".

It is true that one reason Penn cites these Independents in this treatise is that he is answering Faldo, of that sect. He associates Sprigge not only with Goad in his quotations, but also with Dr. Everard and T. Collier, while in a footnote he lists as supporters of Quaker doctrine, "J. Sprig, C. Goad, W. Dell, J. Saltmarsh", and others. This list reminds us of the list (*Works*, ii, 371) of "books forerunning Friends appearance" which Penn recommended twenty years later to Sir John Rodes. Though the latter does not mention Sprigge it has much the same kind of company, including Saltmarsh, Dell and Goad (*Bulletin F.H.A.*, iv, 1911, p. 35, and S. F. Locker-Lampson, *A Quaker Post-Bag*, p. 4). For other lists by Friends putting Sprigge in similar company, see Robert Rich, *Love without Dissimulation*, pp. 6f., and A. R., *A Tender Exhortation to Friends at Bristol*, 1700, p. 13, as noted by G. F. Nuttall in *The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience*, 1946, pp. 13, 184.

Quaker Education in Northeast England

IN J. G. A. Pocock's *Survey of the materials available on the history of education in the north east of England, 1500-1800* (University of Durham. Typescript. 1952. 85 pp.) are the following items concerning Friends.

Schedule of information in the archives of the Society

for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, S.P.C.K. House, London.

2. "Abstract of letters, 1699-1701."

39—Booth at Durham, Oct. 8, 1700. Desires an answer to his last letter (re unqualified persons presuming to teach school), some papists and quakers that teach school heaving set him at defiance. Cf. Mickleton MS. 91, ff.41 et seq. (p. 50).

4. " Abstract of letters, 1708-1711."

2542—Vincent Edwards at Embleton, 17 March, 1710-11. . . . Thinks it would encourage benefactions to charity schools if they were secured to posterity by act of parliament and that Quakers were incapacitated from teaching school where a church school is erected, as in the case at Embleton at present (p. 52).

5. "Abstract of letters, June 1711-September 1712."

2999—Vincent Edwards at Embleton, 23 February, 1711-12. Has expended about £100 in building and fitting a house for a free school, but all his charge like to be lost through a Quaker's means who has engrossed the greatest part of the scholars (p. 52).

Schedule of relevant information found in the Raine MSS., Durham Chapter Library.

MS. 30. f. 18. Letter from Robert Pigot, curate of St. Nicholas's Church, Durham, dated August 10th, 1732 and addressed "My Lord"; seems to be in reply to the kind of questions that would be asked in a visitation (account of dissenters, charities, etc.).

"There are some other Schools in the Parish. . . There is likewise one John Glenn a Quaker, who has a great many Scholars, how many I know not, but he has several others besides those of his own persuasion. He teaches Latin, as well as to read English and I think pretends to Greek. What Principles he instructs them in, I know not, but from the Sect he is of, your Lordship will easily judge that he is not very sollicitous to ground them in those of the Church of England, and for the same reason, that he does not much trouble himself about their coming to Church" (p. 70).

Education outside the Church of England.

1. There is matter on the proceedings against Quakers and recusants among the Durham Chancery material—see *P.R.O. Lists and Indexes. XL* (p. 80).

6. The Society of Friends. Through the kindness of Mr. Donald Smeltzer, Clerk of Monthly Meeting, the Meeting itself, and Mrs. Bernard Harrison, I was shown the archives available at Friends [Meeting] House, Pilgrim Street, Newcastle. These consist of the minutes of Monthly Meetings and of Preparatory Meetings from the very earliest days of the Society; the records of Quarterly Meetings are in the charge of the Clerk of Quarterly Meeting, Friends Meeting House, Darlington. It is a curious fact that the methodical Friends have preserved their records in much more detail than other more centralised and less persecuted bodies.

Some Early Quaker Autobiographies

By OWEN WATKINS

THE first Quaker evangelists began writing tracts and pamphlets in 1652, and from the very beginning their publications included narratives in which the writer related the history of his own spiritual experience. It is the purpose of this article to offer a brief survey of some of the pioneer writings of this kind—writings which in many ways set the pattern for similar narratives included in the journals of 30 or 40 years later. Clumsy and extravagant in expression though they often are, they give us unique insight into the inner life of the early Friends and bring us very close to the authentic fire of the Spirit which burned within them.

Similar testimonies were already very popular among the Baptists and Independents, and it was the recognized practice of the gathered churches at this time to require of those who wished to enter into communion with them some kind of evidence that they were soundly converted and in sympathy with the main body of believers. Thus John Rogers, an Independent minister in Dublin, tells us when introducing a collection of testimonies published in 1653: "Every one to be *admitted*, gives out some *experimental* Evidences of the work of *grace* upon his *soul* (for the *Church* to judge of) whereby he (or she) is *convinced* that he is *regenerate*, and *received* of God".[1] The aims in publishing such confessions were to encourage those in distress by showing how God had brought others through similar ordeals, to shame slothful Christians into action, and to challenge the unconverted.

In the case of the Friends, however, the purpose was more decidedly evangelistic, for all who wrote an account of their experience did so for a single reason: a desire to convert their readers to Quakerism by offering their own lives as experimental proof of the doctrine of the Inner Light. By this means they could bring their readers to the heart of their message by giving them a first-hand report of the workings

[1] *Ohel or Bethshemesh. A Tabernacle for the Sun*, 1653, p. 354.

of God in a narrative free from complicated arguments and "windy doctrine". They spoke of nothing but what they knew, and could direct others into the way of peace because they had found it themselves. Thus Isaac Penington says of his own brief memoir: "what I have seen and known I testifie for the relief of others",[1] and George Whitehead claims to write "for the simple ones sake, who are groping in the dark, whether in forms, or out of forms".[2] These works, then, were born out of the common desire of their authors to testify to an experience which all had shared, and which they wanted others to share because it was too important to ignore.

Perhaps the most noticeable feature of their stories is the resemblance of incident, which extends even to the outward lives of the writers. They are all concerned in the search for peace of heart, and one and all testify that neither a pious upbringing, nor fervent prayer, nor powerful preaching heard with reverence and attention did anything but make them more restless and frustrated. They lost faith in "formal" religion, for in spite of believing all the articles of faith required of them they could not really understand how outward baptism, outward observances, and a Christ who died at Jerusalem 1,600 years earlier could free them from the bondage of an inward corruption. No one could tell them where God was to be found; all whom they asked either confessed their ignorance or else repeated the empty words of the priests, who were "physicians of no value", "blind guides", and "daubers with untempered mortar". Consequently they either abandoned themselves to the pursuit of pleasure or vainly tried to find the way to God by associating in turn with the Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists and other less reputable sects. But at last, when they heard the Quaker message, the perplexed seekers understood that by thinking of God as being "at a distance" they had been following a false trail. They then submitted themselves to the seed of God within and waited for this to manifest itself in its own time. And as this seed grew it revealed the indwelling principle of evil more and more clearly until all that was of the flesh stood utterly condemned by it. We then learn how by surrendering his whole life to the

[1] *Babylon the Great Discovered*, 1659. Sig. A4v.
[2] *Jacob Found in a Desert Land*, 1656, p. 10.

dreadful judgment of God the seeker was cleansed from sin and the root of evil in him was utterly destroyed.

This seed of God later came to be known as the Inner Light, because if waited on and obeyed it would lead a man into all truth. In the early days the Friends referred to "the witness of God in me" or "the righteous principle" or simply to "something within me", but whatever it was called it was identified with "the true Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world" and the Quaker missionary activity everywhere was based on an appeal to this universal seed of God in man: the seed of the woman that bruises the serpent's head. And the burden of their preaching was that if this Light were accepted as the means of communication between God and man it also revealed itself as the power of God against evil. As soon as a man submitted himself to it for guidance all that was evil in him would be destroyed and a life entirely free from sin became possible. Anything short of this was a "miserable salvation", a "feeding on husks", with nothing but "brain frothy knowledge" of the things of God.

But although the First Publishers of Truth were united in their witness and had practically the same story to tell, each man had to speak honestly of his own experience; and since no two lives are exactly alike in all respects, every memoir shows an awareness of individual problems which is not entirely obscured by the similarity of outward scheme. In almost every case the progress of the spiritual life is related to some particular issue, and this may provide a kind of inner framework for the narrative. Such a centre of interest may for instance be revealed by the nature of the first religious crisis recorded. Thus Edward Burrough, one of the first to publish his testimony, says that when he was seventeen he often heard a voice in his prayers saying, "Thou art ignorant of God, thou knowest not where he is, nor what he is; to what purpose is thy Prayer".[1] And this conviction of his ignorance of true faith forms an undercurrent to his short memoir, for the thing he wishes most to emphasize is the contrast between the knowledge of the head, which is of little value, and the knowledge of the heart. He therefore relates how for many years he thought the first was sufficient

[1] *A Warning from the Lord to the Inhabitants of Underbarrow*, 1654, p. 32.

for salvation: "I lived pleasantlie, for I had the true God, and the true Truth in my comprehension, which by my wisdom in the light I had comprehended, and I had the world in my heart, Pride, Covetousness, and the earthly spirit ruled."[1] He was brought to the living faith when George Fox taught him the second and higher sort of knowledge, which leads to separation from the world. In a similar way Richard Hubberthorn tells us that he was a minister of the letter and his "form of godliness" was "all without" until his conscience was awakened by the light of God.[2]

An experience that William Dewsbury had at the age of eight has an important effect on the way he tells his story: "the word of the Lord came unto me; I created thee for my glory an account thou must give to me for all thy words and actions done in the body".[3] He saw his subsequent search for peace as a direct outcome of the conviction of separation from God that these words inspired. Similar narratives are those of George Whitehead and George Rofe, whose testimonies appeared in 1656. They represent their lives as a search for dominion over the beast within while living in terror of punishment for sin.[4]

A different approach is found in *The Heart Opened by Christ*, by Richard Farnsworth, which was written in May, 1654. Towards the end he says of the Puritan "priests": "So I have cleared my conscience, in declaring part of my experience of them, and not by report nor opinion of others".[5] And this is a summary of what he has been trying to do in the preceding pages, for he shows how his religious faculties were developed as a reaction against what he considered to be the deceits of the clergy, with a gradual separation from the church in which he was brought up. He describes his interview by the local minister before his first communion and his failure to find assurance of salvation at that time; he recounts the stages by which he came to reject infant baptism and formal worship, and speaks of the attempts made by his friends and neighbours to restore him to their community and make him go to church with them on Sundays.

[1] *A Warning from the Lord to the Inhabitants of Underbarrow*, 1654, p. 33.
[2] *The Immediate Call to the Ministery of the Gospel*, 1654, pp. 1-2.
[3] *The Discovery of the Great Enmity of the Serpent*, 1655, pp. 12-13.
[4] Whitehead: *Jacob Found in a Desert Land.*
Rofe: *The Righteousness of God to Man.*
[5] *The Heart opened by Christ*, p. 13.

Eventually he was led to deny all outward ordinances and wait upon God alone, so that before long he found "the righteous law of the spirit of life set up within".[1] Thus his whole story is centred on the changing relationship between himself and the representatives of the orthodox faith, and he saw in this the fulfilment of a biblical prophecy:

> . . . the pure was stirred up in me, and wounded the Serpent time after time, yet not meeting with any true shepherd that could direct to walk by the footsteps of the flock, to come where the fold was, I wandred to and fro, from mountain to mountain, in cloudes and thick darkness, and the hireling shepherds instead of seeking a poor lost sheep that wandred, and wanted life and refreshment, they drove me off, and set their dogs on me, and chaced me away from them, and so fulfilled the Prophecie of *Ezekiel*, the 34 Chapter.[2]

As might be expected, biblical imagery is used extensively to explain and clarify the writers' experiences. The conception of salvation as a calling out of the bondage to sin in Egypt and a journey to the Promised Land has been popular throughout Christendom since Apostolic times and was widely used by preachers of all denominations in the seventeenth century. Francis Howgill tells us how at a critical moment he stood with the Red Sea in front of him and Pharaoh behind, but the Lord opened a way through the deep waters and drowned the adversary. And Thomas Forster, in the preface to *A Guide to the Blind Pointed To*, refers to his spiritual development almost entirely in these terms. He says:

> the Lord God . . . mercifully brought me out of *Egypt*, and delivered me from those cruel *Taskmasters & Builders* of Confusion, and set me at liberty to travel towards the *Holy Land*: for in all the Land of *Egipt* I found no outward Guide to lead me out of my *Egiptian* darkness, . . .
>
> . . . being delivered out of *Egypt*, and journying towards *Canaan*, I met with divers sorts of *Travellers*, with whom I had converse & acquaintance:
> (here he discusses the Independents, the Baptists, and "those called Notionists")
>
> . . . and being now come to the red Sea, I had a lingering and secret longing to the *Garlick and Onions of Egypt* again, yet the Lord kept me from going back into *Egypt* (where was no *light* at all) but I walked in the *Wilderness* to and again for many yeers together, filling my head with Notions, and comprehending of Mysteries, which were very pleasant and delightful unto me.
>
> . . . and though the Spirit of innocency often cryed in me Return,

[1] *The Heart opened by Christ*, p. 12.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

return, and come into the narrow-way which leads to life; yet I flattered my self that I had been there already, and that now I was come to the Borders of Canaan.[1]

But the way leading to Canaan was the way of "a foolish people in the Worlds esteem", and it was only when he found them that his restless wanderings came to an end.

Some Quaker testimonies were addressed to a particular kind of reader, and of these the most interesting is Humphry Smith's tract, *To All Parents of Children upon the Face of the Whole Earth*. In this he gives an account of his childhood in order to warn parents against misleading their children with "devised fables, and evil examples".[2] He tells among other things how he himself was despised by his parents because of his abnormally tender conscience and frequent tears. The Light within led him to see the abominations of the priests' practices long before he heard anyone speak against such things, "and [I] did speak against their way of sprinkling Infants, and said I should never stand as a Godfather for any (nor never did) whereat a man swore at me, and said, it was a pitty any one did it for me".[3] But the light became darkened when others taught him prayers out of books and urged him to be guided by the priests and their sermons; this, he says, begot in him "abundance of the Serpents subtilty".[4] With these and other examples from his early life he urges parents not to stifle the "meek and harmless principle" in their children, and to let God alone be their teacher. Smith writes of his later convincement in *Man Driven out of the Earth and Darkness, by the Light, Life, and Mighty Hand of God*, a narrative that appears to have been intended in the first place as a reply to criticism that he left his outward employment after becoming a Quaker. He shows that a long period of inner turmoil was due to his persistent refusal to face the ridicule and suffering that membership of the Society of Friends would entail. Perhaps what he has already said of his childhood throws some light on this.

Every seventeenth-century Christian thought of his life as a constant war against the devil, and all the writers with whom we are concerned refer to their progress

[1] *A Guide to the Blind Pointed To*, 1659. Preface, sigs. A5-A6.
[2] *To All Parents of Children*, 1667. p. 3. (First edition, 1660.)
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 10.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 22.

towards the light as an inward battle between the forces of good and evil. Thomas Symonds, for instance, in *The Voice of the Just Uttered,* relates how he was distracted by conflicting motives in his soul and attempted to find relief by enlisting as a soldier in the Civil War: "I entred into the war without me, thinking thereby to be beloved of God for my forwardness in that work, and the war within me did somewhat cease but not wholly".[1]

It is however William Ames, the missionary to Holland, who uses this imagery to the greatest effect in his testimony. He begins by saying that he had from his youth been aware of something within which enabled him to distinguish right from wrong and which condemned him when he did wrong. "But as I grew in years, I grew in *wickedness*, and the *wicked one* grew *stronger and stronger* in me, and the *just* grew *weaker* and *weaker*. So that I came to delight more & more in sin, and that, which before reproved me, I found to be *dead*".[2] The strategy of the enemy was always to direct his attention outside himself to rules, Scriptural promises, or the fact that Christ had already died for his sins at Jerusalem:

> . . . and always, when the *witnes of God convinced me of Sin in my Conscience,* the *deceit* drew out my mind from it, to looke upon a *Christ without me:* and to mind the *Scripture* to be my *rule.*
>
> . . . there was not any promise in the Scripture, which was to *beleevers*, but I could apply them unto my selfe, because I did beleev *that Christ died at Jerusalem and was buried, and the third day rose again* etc.[3]

Thus his religion was only an outward profession, and his soul was occupied by an enemy who blinded his eyes to the truth by turning his attention outwards:

> Then, as I grew *higher* in my *wisdom,* I began the *more to conform to the Letter of the Scripture.* For the Scripture declared against *anger,* then I began to abstain from it *outwardly,* and from uncleanness, filthyness, and deceit *outwardly,* and from pride *outwardly,* and so many of the *branches* of Sin were cropt off. But the *Root* and *ground* from whence it proceeded, was not removed.[4]

Ames found his enemy defeated when he identified the light in his conscience which convicted him of sin with the power of the living Christ; his attention was thereby directed

[1] *The Voice of the Just Uttered,* 1656, p. 2.
[2] *A Declaration of the Witnes of God, Manifested in the Inward Parts,* 1681, p.4. (First edition, 1656.)
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 5 and 7.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

inwards to where the enemy also was, and the arm of God was then able to destroy the corruption at the root of the soul.

. . . one, who was sent by the Lord, . . . declared *that that, which Convinced man of Sin, was the light of Christ, with which he had enlightened every man, that Commeth into the world.* And this Doctrin pierced through me. Yea it peirced through the *earth*, and never ceased untill it reached the *witness*, which lay in the *grave*, under *death*, and was covered with earth. This heard the voice, and knew the voice, & owned the voice, and did arise out of the *grave*, then that, which had kept it in bondage . . . would have fled from the presence of the *Light*.

But I turning my mind *to within to the Light*, saw my selfe poluted, a *den of Theevs*, a *Cage of unclean Birds*, a *habitation for Dragons*, and the *Sinagog of Satan*. Then did the Just arise in fury, and indignation. Then was the Sword drawn, and made ready for the slaughter, and the everlasting arm was stretched out against the heathen, to cut down and to destroy, and to make desolate that great City Babilon, which had laid Gods heritage waste; then did he arise in his power, and did slay on the right hand, and destroy on the left. Then did her young Men fall in the Streets, and her Men of War were Cut off, and her strong ones did faint, and her mighty ones were dismayed before the presence of the Lamb.[1]

Very few of the first Quaker apologists fail to interpret the final crisis of conversion as the fall of Spiritual Babylon in the heart: the scenes of cosmic destruction, the raising of the witnesses, the judgement of the harlot and the plague of the beast were all used by them to describe the period of turmoil that followed the acceptance of Quaker preaching and eventually led to lasting inner peace, the peace of the New Creation. The fact that this was the language used by Ranters and Muggletonians could have done little to reassure the many people who already saw little to choose between the Friends and these other enthusiasts, and this kind of extravagance was in fact soon repudiated and discouraged by the Society. Nevertheless the very violence of such prophetic utterance reinforced the assertions of the early Friends that it was possible for a man to attain freedom from sin in this life, and that the power of God was a power that changed man's nature and utterly destroyed the inner root of evil. And we must remember that the Friends were proclaiming a revolutionary doctrine by means of the familiar language of the Bible. So that whereas the Baptist or Independent preacher relied on the reader bringing his own associations to biblical passages referred to, the Quaker had to break

[1] *A Declaration of the Witnes of God, Manifested in the Inward Parts*, 1681, p. 12.

through the barrier of familiarity and force his doctrine home by more violent expressions and an individual use of scriptural imagery. What he was saying in effect was that in his case the orthodox Puritan's lifelong struggle to achieve perfect holiness had been compressed into the brief time when he submitted the rebellious will to judgment; consequently the cleansing of the corrupt nature was correspondingly more violent. Moreover, the identification of the Babylon of the Apocalypse with a man's inner self and the taking place within him of the Day of Judgment were but two examples of the whole Quaker practice of finding the true importance of all things by their spiritual interpretation through the inward man. They exaggerated the orthodox distinction between intellectual knowledge of the faith and heartfelt personal knowledge of Christ as redeemer. All the historical events of the Bible—the fall of man, the rule of sin and death until Moses, the giving of the Law, the hope of a redeemer given by the prophets, the preparation by John the Baptist who washed with water, the death and resurrection of our Lord, the spread of the knowledge of the gospel and the final cleansing of all things—all these events found their truest significance as they happened in turn to the individual believer. In a most interesting passage William Dewsbury actually gives the dates on which these events were manifested within him;[1] unfortunately this is much too long for quotation, but the following paragraph by John Whitehouse employs many resources of biblical imagery in his attempt to make the reader understand the power and wonder of the work which God has done for his soul.

> Yea, the Lord hath made the *parched*, to be as a *pool*, and the *dry-land*, *springs of water*; and hath visited poor *Lazarus* with mercy and love, but the rich Glutton hath he fed with Judgement; and *Esau* the wild hunter, the first birth, hath he brought down, to serve *Jacob* the younger, who hath obtained the Blessing; and hard-hearted *Pharaoh* hath he plagued, but *Israel* the Seed hath he blessed, whom he hath led by the pillar of fire, which was a light unto him, by which he walked out of the darkness of *Egypt*, from under the bondage of *Pharaoh*, whom he hath destroyed in the bottom of the Sea; Therefore doth the Seed rejoyce and sing, with high praises to its King, who by the power of his strong hand hath broken the snare and band, . . .[2]

[1] See *The Discovery of the Great Enmity of the Serpent*, 1655, pp. 17-19.
[2] *The Doctrine of Perfection Vindicated*, 1663, p. 38.

Other writers claim that events in their lives were fulfilments of prophecies by Ezekiel, Obadiah or Haggai, while Edward Burrough recalls the death of Abel when he says, "the blood of that which I had slain cried continually". Instances of the direct application of biblical events to the facts of an individual's life can be found on almost every page of a Quaker testimony, and they are apparent also in their titles: *Jacob Found in a Desert Land, The Discovery of the Great Enmity of the Serpent against the Seed of the Woman,* and *The Captives Returne,* to name only a few. But the crowded scenes and exuberant imagery of the Apocalypse naturally made it the most popular source of language with which to interpret the spiritual life.

The social and political upheavals of the Commonwealth were symptomatic of the vast spiritual restlessness that the Renaissance left in its wake, and it is perhaps significant that the extreme subjectivism of the Quaker teaching met with such a powerful response at a time when the human consciousness was no longer finding within the old instinctive awareness of a spiritual world. The Friends, as we have seen, could find no essential connection between the objective Christ of history and their own inner life; so they rejected all outward and historical testimony and abandoned the attempt still being made to bridge the chasm by the intellectual system of Puritanism: they confined their attention, as it were, to the hither side of the gulf and rearranged their lives around the manifestation of God within. By rejecting the Bible as the final authority in matters of belief and practice they were driven in on themselves to find that authority in personal experience. Hence the spiritual testimony became an important weapon of evangelism, and was to Quaker life what the weekly prophecyings were to the early Puritans, pointing of course not now to the Bible, but to the new authority of the Inner Light, which was identified with the very Spirit that inspired the Scriptures. And in this withdrawal inwards the Bible itself touched reality only in so far as it was an expression of a condition of soul. Thus while not denying the historical truth of the Scriptures the Friends were able to interpret their own lives as an actual re-living of the Bible, and so found in its pages the language for their written confessions.

The Settlement of Church Discipline among Irish Friends

With special reference to George Fox's visit, 1669.

By ISABEL GRUBB

IN 1698 the National Meeting of Friends in Ireland asked some Friends to prepare an account of the rise and progress of the Truth in Ireland. Three MS. copies of this history still exist and I quote from one marked as having been checked and altered by William Edmondson and ten other Friends at the request of the National Meeting. Edmondson's handwriting can be recognised in the corrections.

Under the date 1668 this book records:

> In this year it came into the hearts of some faithful friends, who were concerned for the welfare and prosperity of truth to appoint and set up general meetings for each province, once in every six weeks, as well for the edification and mutual comfort one of another, and knowing how friends were in their testimonies, as for regulating some things needful in the church; as in the case of the poor, to relieve them in their necessities, the decent and orderly proceedings in marriage, that all things might be clear, just and equal before the accomplishment, with other things of like tendency; the weight of which concerns much rested upon that faithful elder in the truth William Edmondson; whom the Lord hath been pleased to make instrumental not only in begetting many to the truth in this nation but that they might be preserved in faithfulness to it. and might walk answerable to the holy profession thereof, accordingly such provincial six weeks meetings were concluded of and settled among Friends in the said provinces of Ulster, Leinster and Munster, which so remains to this day. . . .

These meetings were variously known as General, or Province or Six Weeks meetings. At first much time seems to have been spent in exhortation and worship. In the eighteenth century probably the business part of the meeting was taken over by Quarterly Meetings and the Six Weeks Meetings became more like conferences, ceasing before the end of that century. The Dublin Men's meeting met every three weeks, and acted as executive committee for the whole of Ireland. The Leinster Six Weeks Meetings seem to have been held in country places and not in Dublin.

In 1669, George Fox came to Ireland apparently with the object of setting up local meetings for discipline. The account from which I have already quoted, says with reference to his visit,

> For by this time many Friends' children were growing up, that came no nearer to truth than the outward form and profession of it, which they had by education and not by inward sense and experience; and some others . . . did live too much in the world's liberty and became loose in their conversations . . . wherefore it seemed good in the wisdom of God to this elder [George Fox] that men's and women's meetings (apart) should be kept once a month or otherwise, for good order and discipline in the church; the men to take care in what more immediately concerned them, and the women in things most proper to their sex. . . . Likewise in those meetings there was to be a care over the poor, the fatherless and the widows to help them in their necessities. . . .

Further on the same account says,

> It was also considered it might be of a general service to truth and friends to have a National meeting of some friends out of every province; not only on those accounts [the collection of accounts of sufferings] but for friends mutual comfort and consolation in the truth . . . also to understand the prosperity of truth and welfare of friends in every quarter. . . . And it being concluded so to do Dublin was judged the most fittest place for it; and as now there wanted a larger accommodation for such an assembly, it was thought meet that friends of each province should contribute by a free and voluntary subscription to build such a meeting house; accordingly a meeting-house was built for that general service, backward of Bride Street,[1] but at the same time friends of Dublin had a meetingplace in Bride Alley, which as it was most suitable to their number they made use of for some years after especially on weekdays. And as to the settlement of those general meetings it was concluded to be half-yearly; the first appears to have been on the 5th 9th mo. [Nov.] 1669,[2] and the next on the 5th of the 3rd mo. [May] following; and in some time after for reasons offered to the meeting, it was concluded they should commence the 8th days of the said months, which settlement remains to this day; as also it is and has been the constant practice of friends, upon the beginning of every such meeting, first to hold a solemn assembly for the worship and service due to Almighty God, and to celebrate His name with praises and thanksgivings, for His providential hand by which they were come to together from many places of the nation and though many had long and wearisome journeys some had undertaken to come thither. . . .

In Dr. John Rutty's *History* published in 1751 and also in the notebook which he and his collaborators used in

[1] This National Meeting House was succeeded in 1686 by one in Meath Street, which was sold by Friends in 1952.

[2] Copies of the minutes of this meeting are still extant.

preparing the *History*, the dates are wrongly given and the first National meeting is attributed to 1670. Even those who checked the earlier account seem not to have remembered the national meeting in August, 1669, which Fox mentions in his Journal.[1]

From these extracts it will be seen that an organisation was set up in Ireland in 1668 not altogether similar to that which Fox started in England, and Fox's visit in 1669 seems to have been rather for the purpose of tightening up the discipline than of setting up business meetings. It is obvious from his Journal that his visit was not primarily for the the purpose of spreading his message among the unconvinced, and considering his earlier courageous defiance of authority he seems while in Ireland to have been peculiarly anxious to avoid notice. His sensitiveness to wrong had probably been stimulated by grossly biassed accounts (such as that of Sir John Temple) about the war between the Irish people and the English invaders, and from the first he was not happy in Ireland. He says "When we came on shore the earth and the very air smelt with the corruption of the nation and gave another smell than England to me, with the corruption and the blood and the massacres and the foulness that ascended".[2]

As he only mentions the names of seven places visited during his three months in the country it is very difficult to follow his itinerary and my suggestions are only tentative.

Arriving in Dublin in May, 1669 he and his four friends (Robert Lodge, James Lancaster, Thomas Briggs, and John Stubbs) wandered about Dublin for some hours before finding any Friends, which seems surprising as some were well-known citizens. After attending a mid-week meeting they went on to a Province meeting, probably that for Leinster, held at the home of William Edmondson at Rosenallis, near Mountmellick. It would be natural for the two leaders to meet as soon as possible and Edmondson in his Journal says he travelled with Fox from place to place in the several provinces. From Rosenallis the party went to a meeting 24 miles away, which might be that at Peter Peisley's near Baltinglass, Co. Wicklow. They then went to New

[1] See also *Journal F.H.S.*, vol. 38, 1946, p. 19.
[2] Extracts from Fox's Journal are from the 1952 edition (ed. John Nickalls), pp. 536-49.

Garden, Co. Carlow, and from thence their route would probably be through southern Leinster (Co. Wexford) and east Munster (Waterford and County Tipperary).

The next place Fox mentions is Bandonbridge, south-west of Cork, which was an extremely Protestant town, in which Catholics were not allowed to reside. The Provost of the town was afraid that Fox's visit, if known, would bring discredit on him, especially as his wife had been "convinced". Fox did not stay there long but went to the Land's End; this may mean he went to the extreme southwest, possibly to the home of John Hull, near Skibbereen, or that he visited a small place said to be near Kinsale called the Land's End. I incline to think the former suggestion more likely, as there is no known Quaker connection with the place near Kinsale.

One of the most remarkable incidents in his visit occurred when against the advice of Friends he and Paul Morris rode through Cork seen and recognised by many, but escaping those who were searching for him, warrants being out for his arrest. When he came near the prison, the prisoners (Friends) saw him and knew him and trembled for fear he should be taken. He did not stay in Cork but went on to Limerick, probably through Mallow and Charleville, where there were a few Friends. In Limerick, he seems to have stayed with Richard Abell. He attended a Munster Province meeting in that city and a Men's Meeting in which the power of the Lord was so great that Friends "broke out into singing, many together with an audible voice, making melody in their hearts". The party next attended a General Meeting and a Men's Meeting in another province. This would be the Leinster Province Meeting at Abraham Fuller's at Lehinch, near Clara. Fox refers later to being at James Hutchinson's at Knockballymagher in North Tipperary and this visit would probably have been after the Leinster Province meeting. From thence the mileage Fox gives would bring them northeast to Oldcastle in County Meath, where there were some Friends.

It is impossible to trace accurately the itinerary in Ulster; alternative suggestions may be made for almost all his references.[1] There were about a dozen meetings in that province in 1669, some in Co. Tyrone, like Grange (Upper Grange)

[1] George Chapman, of Richhill, Co. Armagh, has kindly given me advice about the Ulster itinerary.

and some as far east as Co. Antrim, where there were meetings at Low Grange and other places. In the present meetinghouse at Richhill, Co. Armagh, there is a very old oak seat eight or nine feet long, and three inches thick which seems to have been brought from Ballyhagen meetinghouse when the meeting was removed to Richhill about 1793. Local tradition is strong that Fox sat on that seat when he visited Ballyhagen in 1669.

On his way from Oldcastle to Ballyhagen Fox would probably visit meetings at Cavan and Belturbet and from thence would go to Upper Grange (now Grange) and Charlemount and Dungannon before he went to Ballyhagen. It may have been here that the bailiff failed to arrest Fox who, as he stood in the garden thought he saw three shades of trees, but at last he perceived they were three black coats who were peeping, whilst three other "priests" were on top of a hill a quarter of a mile away. Fox next says he passed over the river where so many were drowned in the massacre. This was probably the Bann at Portadown, where there were a number of murders during the 1641 rising. Sir John Temple gives a greatly exaggerated account of the incident of the drownings.

Roger Webb lived between Lurgan and Portadown, possibly at a place still known to old people as Webbstown and the Ulster Province meeting was held at his house, in rotation with other places, for many years. Reckoning backward from the earliest meeting recorded in the Ulster Province meeting book the meeting in July, 1669 would be at his house. After this Province Meeting and a Men's Meeting, the party came to a market town which may have been Lurgan or Lisburn, but more probably the latter, as Roger Webb's was so near Lurgan. Lisburn, then known as Lisnagarvey, was the home of George Gregson, who built a meetinghouse for Friends there. Fox may then have passed into Co. Down or Co. Antrim. He speaks of a meeting "where the Scots raged" which points to Antrim because it had been largely settled by Scotch. The only place he mentions is Grange, which would be Low Grange at the extreme northwest corner of Lough Neagh. Some Friends came a distance to tell him that the Justice-priest had got a Judge's warrant against him which reached almost as far as Drogheda. He hastened his return towards the south, and mentions passing

through the bishop's town, which would probably be Armagh, where the Archbishop of Armagh lived. When he had reached Drogheda and crossed the Boyne he felt safer. After another visit, perhaps to Ardee, he came to Dublin and stayed at Lazy Hill, near the place of embarkation. He attended various meetings in and around Dublin, including what he calls "the National Meeting about the sufferings, where some might see more into things than others, there being some out of every meeting".

He also went into the country for a week to find time to answer papers and writings from "monks, friars, and protestant priests". After the "great meeting" (the National Meeting) he knew the wind would turn, so he sent James Lancaster to take shipping. They got their horses and things aboard and sailed the next day. A number of Friends followed them for some miles in small boats. John Stubbs remained behind for further service, but two from Ireland joined Fox's party and went with them to Liverpool. The passage was difficult owing to a "mighty storm".

So far as I know the only contemporary record Friends have in Ireland relating to Fox's visit is in an account book of Moate Meeting. In it there is an item,

1669-7-28. Paid 30s. as it was concluded at the man's meeting at Lehinshie ye 20th instant in part of £5 disbursed for freight of horses, and otherwise when George Fox went for England. £1 10s. 0d.

In spite of his sensitiveness to bad spirits in Ireland, Fox seems to have been satisfied with Friends, he says "A good weighty people there is, and true, and tender and sensible of the power of the Lord God, and his truth in that nation, worthy to be visited; and very good order they have in their meetings, and stand up for righteousness and holiness that dams up the way of wickedness". He says that the only opposition he had (among Friends apparently) was from "Robert Cook and another foolish lad with him at Cork". Robert Cook, who only associated with Friends for a time, would have found much in common with Fox had they known each other better, but Cook was an individualist and probably did not approve of Fox's disciplinary meetings.

Bristol Quaker Merchants

Some New Seventeenth Century Evidence

THE latest volume in the series of publications of the Bristol Record Society, entitled *Records relating to the Society of Merchant Venturers of the City of Bristol in the Seventeenth Century*[1], is edited by Patrick McGrath of the University of Bristol, and brings to light new evidence concerning the activities of some of the more eminent Bristol Friends who were members of the Merchants' Society. An examination of this evidence and illustration how it fits in with information already obtained from other sources, has an interest outside that of purely local history, and may provide a picture which, in broad outline but with significant local variation, may be repeated for all the communities of Friends in seaport towns.

Among Bristol Friends the number of merchants was probably small, but they were among the most prominent members and took active parts in the meetings for business. From a study of the Friends' records it appears that about 10 per cent of heads of families describe themselves as merchants, compared with percentages of 6 in the learned professions (legal, educational, medical), 20 in other branches of commerce and consumption goods (7 grocers), 20 in the mechanic trades (shipwrights, masons, smiths, coopers and the like), and nearly 40 per cent in the weaving, clothing and allied trades. It was in this last group that unemployment was heaviest at the end of the century, and many were the weavers who left Bristol to seek a new life across the Atlantic when the way to Pennsylvania opened.

In such a community and in the second port of the kingdom, it was natural for merchants to play a leading role, and it is always interesting to come across Friends, known from one aspect of their activity, in a new sphere. George Bishop, Charles Jones, William Rogers, Thomas Speed and William Yeamans are among the Merchant Venturers who can be established as Friends, and there are others, like John

[1] Bristol Record Society. Publications, vol. xvii. For 1951. (Pp. lvi, 276. 27s. 6d. to non-members.)

Haggatt, Peter Hiley, Francis Rogers and John Speed, who at one time or other were closely connected, who make their appearance in the list of members printed in this new volume from the Book of Charters.[1]

Thomas Speed was admitted member of the Society, 23 October, 1647

for Five Poundes Fine. Wherevpon the said Thomas Speed is admitted a Burgesse of this Society for Five powndes Fine. And for that hee married the late wife of Mr. Roberte Yeamans deceased, being in his life tyme a Burgesse of this Society, And for that his being a free Burgesse of this Society will and is like to tende to the good and benefit of the children of the said Robert Yeamans deceased.[2]

Five years later, 20 January, 1651, George Bishop was admitted,

the Master and Company takeing into consideracion the many favours and curtesies done vnto this Company by Mr. George Bishoppe at London, Did admitt the said Mr. George Bishoppe a free Burgesse of this Society, Provided that he shall not at any tyme hereafter be priviledged to make any sonne or servante of his a free Burgesse of this Society, by vertue of this his admission otherwise then according to the Books of Orders formerly made by this Society.[3]

Bishop's marriage into the Cann family and the opportunities which his official position at Whitehall in the early republican government gave him to protect the interests of his neighbours in Bristol, doubtless earned him the gratitude of the Merchant Venturers, however much his political outlook differed from their mainly royalist sympathies.

Overseas Trade

It was natural that Bristol Friends should be closely concerned in overseas trade. Bristol merchants were particularly active in the triangular trade with the West Indies and the plantations on the American mainland. A contemporary witness records of Bristol

that all men that are dealers, even in shop trades, launch into adventures by sea, chiefly to the West India plantations and Spain. A poor

[1] Bristol Record Society, xvii, 29-31. Notes are not provided for Friends who are named in *The Journal of George Fox*, Cambridge edition, 1911, or *The Short and Itinerary Journals*, 1925. Peter Hiley (d. 1675), of Broad Weir, a councillor. His wife, Joan, *née* Yeamans (d. 1687) was an active woman Friend. John Speed (d. 1675), m. Bathsheba (Bethshua, Berthna) Yeamans in 1657; sufferer under Conventicle Act persecution (1664).

[2] Bristol Record Society, xvii 44 (Hall Book I, 105).

[3] Bristol Record Society, xvii 46 (Hall Book I, 187). The entry is signed, Geo: Bishope.

shopkeeper that sells candles will have a bale of stockings, or a piece of stuff, for Nevis, or Virginia, &c.[1]

Exeter Friends were probably correct when they wrote in 1700 to the effect that in most ships going to Pennsylvania "(if not [in] all) one Friend or other of Bristoll is Concerned".[2]

Although it is usual for our thoughts in this connection to turn westward, it should not be forgotten that Bristol had many trading connections in south-west Europe and the Mediterranean, inherited from the slowly expanding trade of the later Middle Ages when the King of England still had continental possessions. Entries taken at random for the new Bristol Record Society volume from the Wharfage Books on a typical day in 1654, show Charles Jones importing pipes of oil from Lisbon in the *Golden Lion*, and Thomas Speed "1 Chest 1 fetch of suger" in the same ship.[3]

Constant mention of Irish trade in Bristol annals shows how close the connections were between the Severn seaboard ports and the south of Ireland. In 1698 James Logan, for a time schoolmaster in his father's room at the Friars Meeting House, had begun trading with Dublin, but he gave it all up to go with William Penn to America. Friends travelling in the ministry to Ireland, and Friends from the south of Ireland coming over to London Yearly Meeting disembarked at Bristol from Cork and Waterford. Poor Friends too, travelling to Ireland, were helped on occasion by Bristol meeting.

In 1696, "John Camm a poore freinde of Corke, being in need of assistance in his passage homewards" was granted aid, and a fortnight later 10s. or 20s. was put aside for him "the most if he stay long windbound".[4]

As example of the activity of Bristol Friends in trans-Atlantic trade it must be sufficient to mention one or two instances. John Whiting records that George Coale, one of the Coales of Winterbourne in Gloucestershire,

travelled much beyond Sea into America . . . particularly Jamaica, where he mostly Resided as a Factor to some Bristol Merchants at first, but afterwards a Merchant himself, and had pretty much Substance there.[5]

[1] *The Lives of the Norths*. Ed. Jessopp. Bohn edition, I, 156.
[2] Exeter Friends' letter to Bristol, 23.ii.1700. Friars MSS. (C. 1842. C. 17-139.) "Illustrations of Discipline", p. 171.
[3] Bristol Record Society, xvii, 173.
[4] Bristol Men's Meeting minutes 14 & 28.vii.1696.
[5] *Persecution Expos'd* (1715), p. 81.

Thomas Speed was a member of the Corporation of New England,[1] and was member of the Merchant Venturers' committee appointed in 1654 to

ioyne with the Westcountry merchants in their peticions touching the Dutch trading at Barbadoes and other Cariba Islands and Virginia.[2]

Charles Jones, forty years later, was appointed to a similar committee to consider proposals for the benefit of trade.[3]

Convoys and Embargoes

Difficulties which beset other traders also beset Friends, and their names recur in passages in the records relating to trade restrictions at home and dangers on the high seas. One or two examples alone can be given. During the Dutch wars English command of the narrow seas was very uncertain. Dutch privateers were active, and on one occasion strong complaint was made to the government that they were operating in the English Channel and had plundered the

Industry of Bristol of soap and canvas, embarked at St. Malo on account of Richard March of Bristol.[4]

Convoys in time of war were a source of annoyance to Bristol traders, particularly those who owned the faster vessels. On the voyage out to the plantations, the Bristol ships had to sacrifice their advantage of westerly position and patiently wait the English Channel convoy of the London ships. The speed of the convoy was that of the slowest ship. In April, 1693 Bristol traders petitioned the Privy Council

that no Embargo may be laid on their ships in Virginia, but that they be permitted to saile home as soon as they are ready, more especially the ships *Bengall* and *Bristoll Merchant*.[5]

This petition most probably arose from the efforts of a strong committee of the Society of Merchant Venturers

[1] *Acts of the Privy Council. Colonial Series*, I, 308-9; 17th May, 1661.
[2] Bristol Record Society, xvii, 243 (Hall Book I, 256-57); 7th December, 1654.
[3] Bristol Record Society, xvii, 257 (Hall Book III, 59); 14th January, 1696.
[4] *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1676-77, 292 (cf. 323). For Richard March (Marsh) (*c.* 1630-1703/4), merchant, see *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, 1907, 477-490; *Journal F.H.S.* xxii, 90-92; accused in 1672 of smuggling wine, *Calendar of Treasury Books*, 1669-1672, iii, 1,078, 1,233.
[5] *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial Series* ii, 222; 27th April, 1693.

appointed the previous November, of which Charles Jones was a member, directed

> to inspect the greivances occasioned by the long imbargoes and other delays in our trade and . . . to seeke redresse therein.[1]

These general embargoes on sailings, for fear of pirates or for blockade purposes, were sometimes little short of disastrous, and merchants made great efforts to mitigate their effects. In October, 1690, Edward Martindale petitioned the Privy Council and secured the inclusion of his *Constant Love* (140 tons) in the list of ships to sail to Virginia "as laden with perishable commodities and entered at the Customs before notice was given of the general embargo".[2] At the same time Michael Pope and Richard Gotley petitioned for the inclusion of the *Virginia Merchant,* then loading in the Thames, in the Bristol list of Virginia sailings, as six of their ships had been in use as transports for the army in Ireland and had been released from that service too late for refit in time to sail for America that year.[3] In the following season Richard Gotley was in trouble for sending his ship the *Richard and John* out to Virginia in defiance of the embargo, but he bought his liberty by promising to raise 50 seamen for the King.[4]

As we have seen, Richard Gotley had been concerned in shipping soldiers to Ireland. He had not been paid, and in 1694 he petitioned to be allowed to set off money out of the transport account against the demands of the Customs commissioners. This was granted, and the Treasury ordered the commissioners.

> to forbear prosecuting Richard Gotley of Bristol, merchant, for the £855 10s. od. due from him on tobacco bonds . . . it appearing that

[1] 10th November, 1693; Bristol Record Society, xvii, 198 (Hall Book II, 511).

[2] *Acts of the Privy Council. Colonial Series*, ii, 160; 30th October, 1690. Edward Martindale (d.1703), merchant, married Margaret Yeamans (the sister of William Yeamans who married Isabel Fell).

[3] *Calendar of Treasury Books, 1689-92*, ix, 840, 868; 3rd October, 1690; *Calendar of Treasury Papers, 1556/7-1696*, 137-8.

Michael Pope was not a Friend; he signed a certificate concerning the unhealthy state of Newgate prison when Friends were in prison in 1682 (*Distressed Case*, 30-31); see *Journal F.H.S.*, viii, 99.

Richard Gotley (d. 1705) was a sufferer under the Conventicle Act persecution (1664), but his later activities must have caused Friends some trouble. See *Journal F.H.S.*, x, 42-3.

[4] *Acts of the Privy Council. Colonial Series*, ii, 169; 1st, 24th March, 1692, 14th April, 1692. He raised 47 men in Bristol.

there is upwards of £3,000 due to him for the service of transport ships in the reducing of Ireland.[1]

Apprenticeship to the Sea

In one of the earliest minutes of Bristol Men's Meeting, there is mention of two lads "sayd to be now goeing to sea".[2] Boys were frequently fitted out with clothes, like one in 1693 about to join a ship "for one voiage to the West Indias".[3] A year later 30s. more was given for his clothes and necessaries, he "now goeing prentice to Thomas Tandy, Master of the shipp *Warcesters delight*."[4] These minutes concern the poorer sort of Friends, and it seems probable that seamanship was only chosen as a career in the last resort. Thus, one poor widow appealed to the Men's Meeting on behalf of her son

a Lad of about 14 yeares, she being unable to place him out, desires our Assistants [assistance] to furnish him with Nessesarys he being now to be bound aprentice to the Owners of the shipp *Leopheard*.[5]

Samuel Parsons, son of Thomas Parsons of Portishead and apprenticed at the expense of Bristol Friends, had proved an unruly apprentice and was sent to sea. At the end of one voyage, Friends made arrangements for him to sail again in the *Bristol Merchant* for the next voyage.[6]

That the sea was an asylum for some wilder spirits may have been an advantage for Bristolians wishing to be rid of high-spirited or disorderly youths, but for ship-passengers the case was not so satisfactory. New Jersey Friends wrote to England, asking Friends to warn travellers

yt they be carefull & circomspect in theire passage, for it is well knowne to some of you yt such yt are Imployed in sea affares are commonly men of ye wildest sort, and many of them use great dilligence to betray the simple ones.[7]

Conditions on shipboard in the seventeenth century left much to be desired, and Meeting for Sufferings wrote in 1700 to Friends about

great Numbers of Friends crowding together on Ship Board in order to Transport themselves into Foreign parts which, its believed, hath

[1] *Calendar of Treasury Books, 1693-96*, x, 621 (cf. 579); 16th May, 1694.
[2] Bristol Men's Meeting minutes, 9.vii.1667.
[3] Bristol Men's Meeting minutes, 4.vii.1693.
[4] Bristol Men's Meeting minutes, 21.xi.1694 (21st January, 1695).
[5] Bristol Men's Meeting minutes, 13.ix.1693.
[6] Bristol Men's Meeting minutes, 2.v. and 27.vi.1677.
[7] Burlington M.M. letter to London Yearly Meeting, 17.vii.1680; copy in (Friends House) Bristol MSS. i, 33.

occasioned great Sickness & Mortality to many of them in their Voyages . . .
and that such that are Merchants, Masters of Ships, Owners & Undertakers may prevent as much as in them lyes, the Endangering the healths & lives of passengers by not Suffering their Ships to be soe crowded but that they may be well & conveniently accommodated.[1]

The Lancaster case is well-known,[2] but there is no hint of this sort of trouble in the Bristol records.

Emigration

One aspect of Bristol overseas trade, however, which has received some attention from historians, and which does not reflect credit on the merchants of the time, is connected with transport of persons to the colonies. It has been calculated that between 1654 and 1685 10,000 indentured servants were sent overseas from Bristol, most of them for the American colonies. Much of this was honest traffic and well-conducted, but towards the end of the century the supply began to fail, and kidnapping became common. The danger was present long before Judge Jeffreys set Bristol magistrates by the ears when he charged the mayor and his associates as men-stealers. In 1662 the mayor had petitioned the Privy Council for powers to examine owners and passengers, and to keep records, to prevent desertion, children being spirited away, or apprentices and rogues escaping from the country.[3]

The fault may not have been all on the side of the Old Country, for, in 1700, Bristol Friends felt it necessary

to write to Friends in Pensilvania . . . to Caution them not to use any Indirect ways or means to Induce people to goe over as servants or passages.[4]

As soon as this was drafted, Bristol Friends had occasion to look to their own good name

There being an odious rumor about this Citty about Kidnapping people to goe beyond the seas, and that one professing truth is much damd in that respect.[5]

John Fallowfield was named in the next Men's Meeting.

[1] Meeting for Sufferings letter, 5.xi.1699 (5th January, 1700); copy in Friars MSS. (C. 1842, F.3-22), "Yearly Meeting minutes and epistles", p. 40.

[2] See W. Giles Howson, *Lancaster Friends and North America* (1952), pp. [5-6]. Half the passengers died on the voyage, 1699.

[3] *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1661-2*, 441; 16th July, 1662.

[4] Bristol Men's Meeting minutes, 8.ii.1700.

[5] Bristol Monthly Meeting minutes, 24.ii.1700.

A complaint was brought into this meeting that the reputation of truth Suffers in this city and elsewhere by means of John Fallowfield, who at this time follows an employment of transporting persons to Pensilvania, which is not as he doth manage it reputable:

This meeting therefore desires Richard Sneed, Thomas Callowhill, Charles Jones & Thomas Dickson to go and discourse him from this meeting upon this Subject and to advise him as they shall find cause.[1]

In happier vein, we find that in one of the earliest minutes of the Bristol Men's Meeting, assistance was given to Wenlock Christison when he was waiting to sail to America.[2]

For the Friends who had gone to the New World there was no thought of cutting themselves off from the growing family of Quakerism in the Old World, and ties with Friends on this side of the Atlantic were well maintained. Travelling Friends brought back news across the ocean, and frequent letters told the rest—good and bad.

Trouble in America

Virginia Friends wrote in 1674 to Bristol to report the "miscarriages" of Edward Beare, who went over in the *Katheren* of Bristol. Trading as a factor, Beare defrauded English merchants and New England Friends. He experienced a sick-bed repentance, and finally committed suicide. Virginia Friends wrote that his actions gave

as good a testymony for truth as Judas did when he brought backe the mony & sayd he had betrayd Jnnocent blood.[3]

Bristol Friends had heard similar reports before, and inquired into the facts, but they were often hampered by want of information, for

not haveing full & perfect evidence to prove many things reported & yet haveing a sence yt ye name of the Lord was by many factors (reputed friends) dishonoured, we are concerned to give this [general admonition] forth as a publick testimony

and warning against such practices.[4]

This trouble recurred throughout the colonial period. At the end of the seventeenth century, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting wrote of young men arriving there in charge of cargoes, who

[1] Bristol Men's Meeting minutes, 6.iii.1700.

[2] Bristol Men's Meeting minutes, 20.iii., 3, 17.iv.1667.

[3] Letter, dated Nansemond, 25.iv.1674, in Bristol MSS., v, 110; printed *Journal F.H.S.*, xi, 28-31.

[4] 28.x.1669: copy of Bristol letter to Friends in Virginia and Maryland in Friars MSS. (C. 1842, C. 6-105, p. xlv).

doe often take Extravagant Courses, Spending their money & Debauching themselves, by Reason of which a Reproach is brought upon ye Truth & ye Friends of it.[1]

From the English side, Exeter Friends complained that debtors "go away privately and transport themselves to Pensilvania".

Bristoll being ye meane place from where ships goes to Pensilvania causes many yt are minded to transport themselves to repaire thither.

Exeter Friends asked Bristol meeting if something could not be done to stop such emigrants from slipping out of the country.[2] Nothing seems to have come out of this, although the suggestion was made that a simple procedure for recovering debts in Pennsylvania would be a good thing.

The bar of the oath to taking up the freedom of the city[3] and restrictions on shipping in time of war were not the only difficulties which Friends had to face. In the troubled times soon after the Restoration of Charles II, when dissenters were looked on as potential rebels, the magistrates in Bristol searched the premises of Henry Row, a Quaker ironmonger[4] and confiscated 18 barrels of gunpowder, returning only 3 barrels for his immediate trade. About six months after this, in October, 1661 when the Fifth Monarchy scare had died down, restrictions on Row's trading were eased. Secretary Nicholas wrote to the mayor that though Henry Row's purchases of powder and shot

be in ye way of his calling, wherein his Majesty doth not meane to disturbe or hinder him, yet considering the Opinions he is of & ye quantityes he is discovered to provide is justly to be suspected; his Majesty thinks fitt you take weekly an account of him of what Powder or Ammunition he takes in or sells out.[5]

[1] Letter of 1699, quoted in Meeting for Sufferings letter, 5.xi.1699 (5th January, 1700); copy in Friars MSS. (C. 1842, F.3-22). "Yearly Meeting minutes and epistles", p. 39.

[2] 23.ii.1700; Exeter letter in Friars MSS. (C. 1842, C. 17-139). "Letters of discipline", p. 171. See also Bristol Yearly Meeting minute, 30.ii.1700 (C. 1842, E.1-24), p. 49.

[3] See *Journal F.H.S.*, xliii, 72-7.

[4] Henry Rowe, ironmonger (d. 1698); married Judith Popley (d. 1691); councillor (1653-5); commissioner for militia 26th July, 1659; imprisoned for opening his shop on Christmas Day, 1661; under Friends' censure for miscarriages (1669).

[5] Secretary Nicholas to Mayor of Bristol, 5th October, 1661; S.P.D., xliii, 25-6; *Extracts from State Papers* (*F.H.S.*), 135; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1661-2*, 107. For the earlier proceedings, see letter from John Dashfield to Nicholas, 18th April, 1661 (S.P.D., xxxiv, 68; *Extracts from State Papers*, 130).

In another way, industrial enterprise had some risks. The Warden of the London Mint made enquiries of the mayor of Bristol, writing that

> there is one Whittwood a Quaker & a pewterrer of Bristoll that hath an engine not unlike that which his Majestie hath for the Coyning of his Mony.

The Warden asked for information to be secured secretly about the machine, to what use it had been put, and how long Whittwood had had it.[1]

Conclusion

The information given in the Merchant Venturers' records printed by the Bristol Record Society, and the other material in this essay, underline the point that the early converts to Quakerism did not come solely from the poorer classes, but included traders of the like of Dennis Hollister, Thomas Goldney, Charles Harford and Edward Pyott. The latter, when he was arrested with George Fox at St. Ives in 1656, offered to buy a thousand pounds worth of goods from Peter Ceely or to sell him a thousand pounds worth, in order to prove that they were no common vagrants.[2] There is no denying, however, that increased prosperity among Friends was becoming noticeable with the coming of toleration. One Friend wrote:

> The Lord has given Riches, and made up your Losses both in London and Bristol (especially Bristol) I mean what you have lost by suffering for Truth.[3]

Friends were never content to have their members idle. When work was not available they established their own Workhouse and set the unemployed weavers to work there. When a man had work he could do, they advised him "to betake himselfe to his trade . . . with dilligence.[4]" William Prynne may have made his ill-conceived charge that the Quaker ministers did "perswade people to desert their lawful calling and imployments, and to embrace an idle monking lasie life"[5] on the basis of Friends' week-day meetings, or on the activities of the travelling ministers; but before the

[1] Letter of 30th November, 1686, in Bristol City Archives, 04447(2).
[2] *West Answering the North* (1657), p. 3.
[3] A.R., *Tender exhortation* (1700), p. 7-8.
[4] Bristol Men's Meeting minutes, 21.vi.1693.
[5] George Whitehead, *Truth tryumphing in a suffering time* (1664), pp. 17-18.

century was out the whole nation knew he was wrong. Rather, the reverse was the case, and concerned Friends were pleading for a little less attendance on the things of this world and more attention to the things of the next.[1]

But industry was bringing a reward, and as an example of the "new rich" among Friends who were to make their mark in the eighteenth century we may take Benjamin Coole, a lad from Wiltshire, who married and settled in Bristol in 1689. He was an active Friend and a quick controversialist. His success in trading with America laid the foundation of a good fortune which he used for industrial enterprises at Baptist Mills and elsewhere. George Keith brought this rapid rise to affluence against him in the course of a controversy, but Coole replied

> That Reflection on me as if it was, *but Lately I left the Loom, being a poor Lad, but am now worth Hundreds* shews how hard he . . . is put to it—for were it not that things are at a very low Ebb with him; he would not, surely have wounded me with that Weapon, what Ere he had done; it being so common to Oyster Women, Water-men, and Porters.[2]

In the fruits of Benjamin Coole's success in commerce applied to the development of industry at Baptist Mills and later in Coalbrookdale, we see the opening of that period of industrial expansion in the succeeding century, for which some Friends were well placed and qualified to act as leaders.

RUSSELL S. MORTIMER

The William and Mary Quarterly for July, 1953 (vol. 10, Third series, no. 3, pp. 403-21) includes *"Ye Scheme to Bagge Penne": a forged letter smears Cotton Mather*, by Richard Dean Hathaway—a critical examination of a letter first published in 1870, purporting to come from a collection deposited in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The letter, dated 15th September, 1682 and signed Cotton Mather, reported a "plot" by the Massachusetts authorities to capture the *Welcome* as it approached the American shore, bearing William Penn and his party to Pennsylvania, and to sell the shipload as slaves in the West Indies for rum and sugar. Suitably elaborated, this story was seized upon by newspaper editors to have a malicious laugh at the New Englanders. There seems no doubt that the whole story was a hoax, but the continuing tradition of New England persecutions of religious dissidents, and the attraction of a story against the Puritans, gave it just that salt at the time, and an interest today which can support a 20-page article.

[1] See particularly Richard Vickris, *A salutation of love* (1697).
[2] *Honest the truest policy* (1700), 88-9.

A Frenchman looks at Rhode Island Quakers, 1801

Louis Ange Pitou, a Frenchman exiled to Cayenne under the revolutionary régime, was returning home to France in the spring of 1801. With a small party of his compatriots, Pitou reached Newport, R.I., 23rd June, 1801. Knowing no English, they were forced to make their wants known by sign language, until a shopkeeper took them to a Quaker, "M. William Eins, qui parle toutes les langues ". During a five-day stay at Newport before going to New York, the Frenchman took note of William "Eins" (Haines?) and the Quakers, and his observations are recorded in the book he published after his return to France, and from which the following translation is taken.[1]

M. Pitou and his fellow-travellers were much impressed by the kind reception they received at Newport, and his final remark on leaving America is one of gratitude for having found "dans les Américains, et sur-tout dans les Quakers, des amis généreux qui ont partagé gratuitement avec eux leurs fortunes, leur table et leurs maisons"..

M. WILLIAM EINS gave us refreshment and asked us many questions about Cayenne and our perilous journey thither. When we asked him to drink a health with us, he replied with a smile that we were in the house of a Quaker, and that that childish ceremony was forbidden to them by their law; that all men were brothers, and friendship neither increased nor diminished by the chinking of glasses.

These thoughtful moralists exaggerate only in the simplicity of their manners, clothes and conduct; imposingly phlegmatic, but not austere, their life passes in contemplation of the good which they do. They pride themselves on having no pride. The more one gets to know them, the more one admires them, without wishing to copy them; not because they are hypocrites—for no one is more honest than a Quaker who is truly faithful to the creed of Howard—but for the reason that they do not surround the palace of virtue with anything but cypress and weeping willow; they adorn it only with gloomy garments, and believe that it is disfigured when it is adorned with flowers and surrounded by beauty.

[1] *Voyage à Cayenne, dans les deux Amériques, et chez les Antropophages. Ouvrage . . . contenant . . . la vie et les causes de l'exil de l'auteur; des notions particulières . . . sur la religion, . . . des Créoles et des Quakers.* (Paris, An XIII, 1805). See pp. 347-51, 363 of Tome 2.

They never laugh, sing or dance, and do not use any form of salutation. They always keep their heads covered in church, as well as at public meetings and at court. They will not take an oath at law, and they are not required to do so; they say *Yea* or *Nay*. They fulfil to the letter the precept of the wisest of lawgivers, ordaining that one should not assert anything except by Yes or No. They say *Thee* and *Thou* to everyone; but this grammatical peculiarity in no way diminishes the respect which they have for offices and persons.

They are their own ministers and interpreters in matters of faith. Their churches are simple rooms, unadorned, ill-lit, and open to all, where each one betakes himself on Sunday to meditate in silence on the Bible and the New Testament. Often, they depart as they come without a word having been spoken, because the spirit has not moved any of the faithful. Another time a girl or a child, having meditated on a certain portion of scripture, mounts the pulpit and holds forth for any length of time. And that is the service and the worship. Such a preacher calls himself a Quaker or inspired trembler, but his inspiration is not acceptable to God unless his utterance comes without previous preparation; he must be like the Apostles, suddenly filled with the Holy Spirit. This religion, detached from obedience to the Pope, unites all its members in a love as sweet as that of the early Christians who peacefully enjoyed all things in common, and who did not allow any of their fellowship to beg.

Quakers' coats are buttonless and drab; they have straight hair and round or high hats without hooks or buttons. Quakeresses, like our widows, wear half-mourning; their bonnets are little caps adorned with unpleated lawn, tied under the chin.

All the Quakers, of every state (*de chaque état*), gather twice a year for solemn meetings in the towns, where they make a collection for poor members of the Society (*de la famille*). None of them stop at the inn, they all lodge with Quakers in town. As the members of this body are the most numerous, and were the earliest colonists of North America, known today as the United States, they have drawn up rules which have the authority of law. Thus, Sunday is given over entirely to meditation, to quiet pleasures or to riding through the streets or into the country.

Quakers have a horror of bloodshed and never make war; they pay for substitutes, and never go themselves unless they are forced. This last practice kept them from being involved when the colonists joined together in 1777 against the rule of the King of England, breaking away from their obedience and declaring themselves independent.

For the rest, all religions and all sects are tolerated and protected; each man may worship God in his own way, and may say, publish and advertise all that he thinks about the government and his rulers.

Laughter in Quaker Grey. By William H. Sessions. Wm. Sessions Ltd. 7s. 6d. 1952.

William H. Sessions' collection of anecdotes is a book for lighter moments, containing plenty of good Quaker stories. Some of them are calculated to amuse and even to produce peals of laughter whilst others reveal idiosyncrasies and peculiarities characteristic of the Society. One example must suffice, in the North Riding Dales (Yorkshire) folks say: "Quakers is queer folks; they marries theirsens, and they buries theresens."

One or two errors should be corrected in any future edition: p. 47, John Stephenson (*not* Stevenson) Rowntree; p. 54, the title of the book should read "The Friends, who (*not* what) they are, & what they have done." ROBERT DAVIS.

In the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 77, no. 3 (July, 1953), pp. 251-93, an article by John E. Pomfret on "The Proprietors of the Province of East New Jersey, 1682-1702" gives an account of each of the early proprietors, his interest in the colony, and the trend of the colony's development from 1682 when it was bought from the executors of Sir George Carteret, until the proprietory government was abolished by Queen Anne in 1702.

The author points out that, along with West New Jersey and the lands on the west of the lower Delaware, East New Jersey was initially regarded by leading Friends in Britain as territory to be included with Pennsylvania in a great experiment in religious freedom and good government. Of twenty-four proprietors twenty were Friends; William Penn and Robert Barclay the Apologist were among them, many were Londoners. Two were Irish and there were six Scots. Two of these last were Scottish peers, relatives of Robert Barclay, and all three enjoyed the friendship and favour of the Duke of York, soon to be James II. Barclay was appointed governor.

Under Penn's leadership, Pennsylvania was receiving most of the colonising effort of English Friends; there were few Friends in Scotland. Therefore Barclay, as absentee governor, with the goodwill of the other proprietors, successfully developed East Jersey as a considerable outlet for Scottish emigrants. For the Quaker proprietors it soon ceased to be part of the " Holy Experiment" and as a business interest became increasingly Scottish.

Thomas and Ann Story:

An Unrecorded Correspondence, 1702-1709

A COLLECTION of thirty letters which passed between Thomas and Ann Story in the years 1702-05 and 1707-09, belonging to Mrs. H. M. Bardsley, of Buckhurst Hill, Essex, was recently lent to the Library at Friends House for examination. The Rev. John Bardsley of Bedfont, the owner's son who brought the letters to our notice, writes that the collection descended to Mrs. Bardsley (*née* Wilson, a descendent of Isaac, b. 1714, died 1785, and Rachel Wilson of Kendal) from her family. The main interest of the letters is that they come from a period for which the Library possesses no first-hand information; and the printed *Journal* (1747), full as it is, does not mention Thomas Story's marriage to Ann Shippen, the recipient of his letters, in 1706.

The letters are in two groups. The first eight are modern copies of letters from Thomas Story to Ann Shippen, written in the years 1702-05 before their marriage. The series ends (no. 8, dated 5.x.1705) with a most interesting letter in which Thomas Story reminds Ann Shippen of his long standing affection for her, and desires to know her decision whether or not to accept him as her husband.

Letter no. 1 Thomas Story to Ann Shippen. Dated Flushing 1.vi.1702.
2 T.S. to A.S. New York. 24.vi.1702.
3 T.S. to A.S. Boston. 1.iii.1704.
4 T.S. to A.S. Boston. 19.iv.1704.
5 T.S. to A.S. Newport. 5.vi.1704.
6 T.S. to A.S. West River. 25.ii.1705.
7 T.S. to A.S. Samuel Chews, Herring Creek. 1.iii.1705.
8 T.S. to A.S. Philadelphia. 5.x.1705.

The remaining twenty-two letters (1707-09) are all autograph. Thomas Story writes mostly of his travels, but with little detail, and Ann tells of the home affairs. They both report on the state of their health, which does not appear to have been very robust in either case. The last two letters (no. 29 and no. 30, dated 23 and 24.ix.1709) tell of the capture of the ship in which he was travelling by a French privateer; a full account of this and other incidents in the West Indian journey is given in the printed *Journal* (1747).

Letter no. 9 Thomas Story to Ann Story. Dated Elcenburgh. 6.viii.1707.

10 T.S. to A.S. Choptank Meeting House. 14.viii.1707.

11 T.S. to A.S. Newcastle. 18.xi.1708/9.

12 T.S. to A.S. At Anchor a little above Bunby-hook. 22.xi.1708/9.

13 T.S. to A.S. Bridgetown, Barbados. 11.xii.1708/9.

14 A.S. to T.S. Philadelphia. 22.xii.1708/9.
Is sending 1 ton of flour to Jamaica for T.S.

15 A.S. to T.S. Philadelphia. 5.i.1708/9.

16 T.S. to A.S. Barbados. 12.i.1708/9.

17 A.S. to T.S. Philadelphia. 25.i.1709.

18 T.S. to A.S. Barbados. 26.i.1709.
Is trading with flour and oil.

19 T.S. to A.S. Bridgetown, Barbados. 5.ii.1709.

20 T.S. to A.S. Bridgetown, Barbados. 11.ii.1709.

21 T.S. to A.S. Bridgetown, Barbados. 2.iii.1709.
Ill health; prospect of visit to Antigua; visit to the Governor of Barbados, and to General Codrington, "respectfully" entertained by other (un-named) persons of note.

22 A.S. to T.S. Philadelphia. 5.iii.1709.
Letters received and sent; sent six half barrels of flour; chest of linen to the value of £80 sterling sent for T.S. from Whitehaven.

23 T.S. to A.S. Barbados. 9.iii.1709.
Expenses of the journey.

24 T.S. to A.S. Barbados. 9.iii.1709.
Departure for Antigua and Jamaica.

25 T.S. to A.S. Antigua. 14.iii.1709.
Spent three months in Barbados and received much kindness; sending home a gift for his wife in case he is taken by the "Enemy of our Nations" (the French).

26 T.S. to A.S. Antigua. 24.iii.1709.
Two weeks in Antigua; going to Jamaica and hopes to return home from there.

27 A.S. to T.S. Philadelphia. 27.iii.1709.
French privateers on the Delaware as far as Chester; fears her husband may meet the French on his return voyage; Richard Snead of Bristol has written about his land in Pennsylvania.

28 T.S. to A.S. Nevis. 29.iii.1709.
Landed at Nevis the previous day accompanied by James Boyden; finance; going on to St. Christophers, then to Jamaica and to return home.

29 T.S. to A.S. Antigua. 23.ix.1709.
Left Nevis; went to Jamaica and stayed nearly two weeks; with J. Dickinson to Long Island in the Bahamas; captured by a French privateer; ship taken to Port a Pie (Port de Paix, Haiti) and condemned; stayed two weeks there and was entertained by the governor of the port.

30 T.S. to A.S. Antigua. 24.ix.1709.
Much the same as the previous letter.

M.A.H.

Recent Publications

Woodbrooke 1903-1953, a Brief History of a Quaker Experiment in Religious Education. Edited by Robert Davis. London, Bannisdale Press, 1953. pp. 191. 10s. 6d.

Woodbrooke Settlement in Birmingham was opened as a permanent centre of religious and social study in 1903, primarily to meet needs in the Society of Friends for the strengthening of the quality of ministry in the society's meetings for worship.

Fourteen chapters by twelve writers form this brief history. They deal with the origin, purpose and growth of Woodbrooke, and with its international and interdenominational developments. Many passages testify how valuable Woodbrooke has been to the thousands of men and women from half the countries of the world who have studied there. It has been and continues to be a means of fruitful collaboration and mutual understanding among people belonging to many churches and to none. Its success in its original purpose is less clear.

There are eight illustrations, which do not appear to be listed in the book.

Dynasty of iron founders: the Darbys and Coalbrookdale. By Arthur Raistrick. pp. xvi, 308; 10 plates. London, Longmans, Green and Co. 1953. 30s.

This book surveys the historical development of the Coalbrookdale firm for a century and a half from the time when, in 1699, Abraham Darby established an iron works in Bristol, and transferred his activities to Coalbrookdale eight years later until the Great Exhibition of 1851, in the same year as the Darby family ceased to take direct managerial responsibility in the firm.

Arthur Raistrick has used the Norris MSS., the Kelsall diaries, and Darby journals and letters at Friends House, and the company papers still in possession of the company and at Shrewsbury Public Library, as well as various smaller collections—some in private hands, and has produced a readable and well-documented contribution to British industrial history.

Many Friends besides the Darbys, the Thomases and Richard Reynolds make their appearance in the pages of this book, and it is interesting to learn how the company carried Quaker conviction into commercial practice.

The life and times of George Fox: The Man in Leather Breeches. By Vernon Noble. London and New York, Elek Books, 1953. pp. 298, illus. 21s.

In 150 years there have been few lives of George Fox; not only

did he leave a full account of himself, but Friends have in the main been content with presenting him as the founder of the Society of Friends. A biography, and one by a writer who is not a member of the Society, is therefore welcome.

The author has studied with some care both Fox and the time in which he lived, and he has a deep respect for his subject. An experienced journalist and broadcaster, Vernon Noble has written most readably the story of Fox's life, with some emphasis on the adventurous and dramatic, and on the colour and flavour of the life of the time. And he provides some enlightening comments. Fox's relationships with Cromwell and James Nayler receive due attention. William Penn, besides many references, has a chapter to himself. Several episodes are related by quoting passages with good effect verbatim from source documents.

Into the spiritual experience of Fox and its meaning the author would not claim to have gone deeply, though he has shown him as the leader of a revolutionary spiritual movement not without difficulties of its own, and as a man evoking either deep devotion or fierce hostility. Fox's virtues are brought out, nor are his faults evaded. Source references are given for the more important statements, and the publishers have produced a book pleasant to handle and easy to read, though not free from a number of misprints. It should be widely read and enjoyed.

Walter C. Woodward. By Elizabeth H. Emerson. Richmond, Indiana, U.S.A., Offices of *The American Friend*.

Elizabeth H. Emerson has given a delightful picture of one of the most significant Friends of this generation on the other side of the Atlantic. She provides us with a fascinating story. Here is drawn for us the portrait of a man who possessed elements of greatness set in the framework of western American Quakerism. This book enables the reader to follow the formation and development of the Five Years' Meeting and to feel the forces at work which led to the shaping of Quaker thought and activity throughout a large part of the American continent.

Broadminded and statesmanlike, courageous and large-hearted, with a delightful sense of humour, Walter Woodward became guide, philosopher and friend to countless members of the Society, both young and old, and brought vision and inspiration and organising ability to his service as Secretary of the Five Years' Meeting and editor of *The American Friend*.

ROBERT DAVIS.

The Quakers of Leicestershire, 1600-1714. By R. H. Evans. Leicestershire Archaeological Society, Guildhall, Leicester. 1953. 4s. 6d. (Reprinted from *Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological Society*, vol. 28, 1952, pp. 63-83.)

Local history and the Society of Friends are the gainers by this study of the rise, organised establishment and endurance under

persecutions of early Friends in Leicestershire, and the distribution of meetings in the county.

The work is a good example of the benefit that may come from Monthly Meetings depositing old records in a public record repository in their own region. They can then be safely cared for, and made accessible in a way which can rarely occur while they are kept in a meeting safe.

The author is lecturer in history at University College, Leicester, and he has made use not only of the original records now in the Leicester Museum Muniment Room, but also of Besse's *Sufferings*, Braithwaite's histories, our own *Journal* and other authoritative sources.

The article is most competently produced, references are clear, and the accompanying line-map is valuable—even if the boundary-lines assigned to the monthly meetings may never in fact have attained the precision which a line on a map gives them.

Of particular interest are the alternative methods used to arrive at a figure for the strength of Quakerism in Leicestershire:

(i) W. C. Braithwaite's method of taking the marriage rate of 15 per 1,000 persons and applying it to Friends' marriages;

(ii) clergy returns of the number of Quaker families in their parishes, and estimating the average household at 4.2 persons; and

(iii) counting the number of Quaker surnames in each parish, and assuming that each surname represents one family, adding these together and multiplying by the same figure of 4.2. The three methods produce figures of 693, 577 and 991 respectively, out of a total county population of perhaps 80-100,000 persons.

The author's statistical studies have provided him with evidence of the comparative strength of Quakerism in the country districts, and its weakness in the towns (with the exception of Leicester itself)—and the concentration of Friends in the valley of the Soar and the Vale of Belvoir, where Fox found his earliest following. No explanation is attempted of this phenomenon, but it may be that conditions in Leicestershire were rather similar to those in Wiltshire, where Quakerism flourished in the richer river valleys and among the rural industries, but did not find strength in the waste of upland and forest. As more county districts receive equally competent historical treatment, perhaps a satisfactory answer may gradually be revealed.

Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, vol. 28, part 8, December, 1952 includes (at pp. 149-150) the third of the Headingley Papers dealing with John Cennick and Kingswood School. In it the Rev. Frank Baker quotes a letter from John Cennick to John Wesley, dated 16th August, 1740, in which he says "Yesterday, Mr. Morgan and wife (as he said) moved by ye Almighty went into ye Quakers Meeting dress'd as off [sic] that Society, and preached twice." Mr. Baker says that the clergyman, Rev. William Morgan, had preceded the Methodists in open-air preaching in Bristol, and became a Quaker (if Charles Wesley's letter of 1st September, 1740 is evidence): "he turned Quaker, & is now a celebrated Preacher among them".

The issue also includes a paper (pp. 159-163) by Susan C. Brooke, M.A., on "The Journal of Isabella Mackiver" of Scarborough (b. 1761, married John Tindall, d. 1836), who had close connections with Yorkshire Methodists and Friends, sent her daughters to the York Friends' school to receive "a guarded education", and was a member of the Society of Friends for the last thirty years of her life. She never lost her respect for Methodism which had been a formative influence in her life.

Early Quaker Letters from the Swarthmore MSS. to 1660. Calendared, indexed and annotated by Geoffrey F. Nuttall. London: The Library, Friends House, Euston Road, N.W.1. 1952. Pp. 412. [*Not published.* Typewriter script.]

This volume is the fruit of many months of Dr. Geoffrey Nuttall's labour, and is of prime importance wherever the Swarthmore Manuscripts are studied. For the first time, workers in the field of early Quaker history have, for the first nine years of the movement, a reliable key to the largest extant collection of Quaker letters of the period. They were originally among the manuscripts collected at Swarthmoor Hall, and are now preserved in seven bound volumes in the care of the Library at Friends House, London.

Quaker historians have in the past had access to these letters, witness the use made of them in Bowden's *Society of Friends in America*, the standard Quaker History series, in Norman Penney's works, and in many works of more restricted scope, but, short of reading them through, no one could be sure whether material relevant to his purpose was (or was not) included in this collection of some 1,400 items, nearly all of which were written in the seventeenth century. Dr. Nuttall came on this difficulty in his own researches into seventeenth-century religious history, and it is to his determination, resource and tireless attention to detail, as well as to the generosity of the Woodbrooke Readership Committee, that all future workers will owe a great debt.

This volume includes a calendar of and indexes to the personal letters written before 1661 in Swarthmore Manuscripts, volumes 1, 3 and 4, in which volumes the main collection of personal letters is to be found. Undateable letters have been ignored, and we are left with 563 letters by over 140 different authors, ranging from 1652 to 1660. More than half of the letters are dated firmly or tentatively in the years 1655 to 1657, when the missions from the North, launched in 1654, were at full strength. The numbers of letters assigned to each year provide a key to the comparative strength and weaknesses in the collection:

1652	—	19	1655	—	107	1658	—	42
1653	—	27	1656	—	133	1659	—	37
1654	—	67	1657	—	72	1660	—	59

In a full introduction, Dr. Nuttall describes his methods, and the

sources he has used to establish dates, identity of writers and recipients, and the like. The Calendar occupies half the book. In it, the editor has aimed to give *in extenso* passages throwing light on religious and social conditions and on Friends themselves, that is, the sort of passage which might have gone into William Charles Braithwaite's *Beginnings of Quakerism* but which did not. References are provided to other printings, and to relevant documents. These, together with notes and identifications, are given in square brackets. If no précis of any letter is given, it has appeared to the editor to have insufficient interest. This may seem a little hard—poor Esther Biddle, her only letter is passed by without a word of description—but we can rest assured that all is gathered in the indexes. For, after providing the Calendar, Dr. Nuttall has set out (and herein lies the most general and permanent value of this work) to provide comprehensive indexes of persons and places mentioned in the letters, and a table of identifications of persons, giving bibliographical references to the vast majority of the people mentioned, whose identity he has been able to establish. In a separate alphabet, short notes are given on each correspondent, with references to available printed material. In both person and place indexes reference is made to the number assigned to the letter in the Calendar. In addition, the Index of Persons provides the year date and (usually) a brief indication of the nature of the entry. In this way the entries for a Friend, as they appear together, often form a guide to his movements and give information not available in any biography.

There is a 12-page Bibliography, and a cross-reference table giving the numbers of the Swarthmore Manuscripts in volumes 1, 3 and 4, and the numbers assigned to the same manuscripts as chronologically arranged in the Calendar. If the manuscripts are not included in the Calendar, the date of the letter if after 1660 is given—or other indication of the reason for omission (e.g. *Undateable*, or *Not a personal letter*).

The Index of Places is followed by a Gazetteer, in which places are grouped under counties (foreign ones under country and then under appropriate division), and buildings named are assigned to their places. There is a short Subject Index, which is mainly confined to the three headings, Baptists, Independents and Ranters.

The editor writes: "A volume such as this, containing materials for construction but little or nothing erected with them, signposts rather than discoveries, is bound to appear dull, even forbidding, to the ordinary reader." Signposts are needed on every road when you want to get somewhere. If more of the great collections of manuscripts at Friends House and elsewhere can receive this same competent and painstaking treatment, Quaker historians will have cause to thank Dr. Geoffrey Nuttall for his work and inspiration to others to do likewise.

Copies of the Calendar and Index have been presented by the Woodbrooke Quaker Readership Committee and placed in five of the copyright libraries, and at Friends House, at Woodbrooke, and at Leeds University Library, in three libraries on the continent of Europe and in nine libraries in the United States.

Notes and Queries

Martha Jackson's Inventory

Commenting on two of the items in Martha Jackson's inventory in our last issue (p. 14), R. Wilfred Crosland writes from Hutton le Hole, Yorkshire, that "wintrhedge", which is not to be found in the Oxford English Dictionary, is still in common use in Yorkshire and probably through the north of England generally, with the meaning of "clothes-horse". Our Friend says that in the north it is a word of two syllables as the spelling in the inventory indicates, though in Dorset it has three.

R. Wilfred Crosland says that the "rowling pin and battledore", though not now used are still quite commonly preserved thereabouts as mementos of old times. The contrivance was a precursor of the modern roller-wringer, but the "bat" was not used to *beat* the clothes; they were wrapped while still wet about the roller, and the water was squeezed out by pressing the bat on them with a rolling motion, over a draining board.

"Sir Daniel Fleming's Advice"

The author of "Byways in Quaker Research", printed in our vol. 43, no. 2, pp. 43-56, thanks William Sloane of Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, for the following comment regarding Sir Daniel Fleming's "Advice to his son", which we are glad to print.

"In Fleming's *Memoirs* there is printed a short work entitled his 'Advice to his son', which Mrs. Ross quotes at some length. But this work was not composed by Fleming at all. Fleming merely made an almost literal transcript of the advice which the first Lord Burghley addressed to his son at some time before 1598. Burghley's advice was first published in 1616 as *Certaine precepts or directions for the well ordering of a man's own life*. It was very often reprinted in the seventeenth century under varying titles, and it was often copied and imitated.

"The slight verbal differences between Burghley's advice and the advice incorrectly ascribed to Fleming are discussed in a note of mine, 'Sir Daniel Fleming's Plagiarism of Lord Burghley', which was published in the *Philological Quarterly* [U.S.A.], vol. xiii (1934), pp. 302-4. The similarity will also be pointed out in my forthcoming study of English and American children's books of the seventeenth century".

Samuel Fisher

Geoffrey F. Nuttall has noted that in *Northampton and Rutland Clergy from 1500*, by H. I. Longden, 1940, vol. 5, p. 47, the birth of Samuel Fisher is shown to have been in 1604 not 1605 as given by the *Dictionary of National Biography*. He was christened 9th December, 1604. He was ordained a deacon 1st January, 1627-8 by the Bishop of Peterborough.

There is a letter from Samuel Fisher to William Lenthall, 1659, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Tanner MSS., 51.112).

WILLIAM PENN, PROPAGANDIST

SAMUEL KLIGER in *The Goths in England* (Harvard University Press. 1952. pp. 80-83) notes that William Penn's ingenuity, in his writings for toleration, lay in adapting ideas first used against Rome in the Reformation to the struggle for freedom for dissenters within the Protestant body.

It is perhaps a pity that the author speaks of "*Sir* William Penn, the great Quaker", and does not make it quite clear that Penn was advocating a complete toleration.

LINDLEY MURRAY

Lindley Murray, Grammarian is the title of a thesis presented for the degree of M.A. in the University of Leeds, Department of English Language, 1953, by Colin Eaton West. The author has used the Library at Friends House, and the thesis includes photostat reproductions from some of Murray's works in that collection. The first hundred pages include a survey of the life and writings of the grammarian, but the major portion of the work is devoted to a study of the *English Grammar* from the points of view of orthography, the parts of speech, syntax and prosody. There is a 30-page list of editions and adaptations of Murray's works.

THOMAS MARTIN RANDALL

ALFRED B. SEARLE has drawn our attention to a notice of Thomas Martin Randall (d. 23.viii.1859, aged 73) which appeared in Compton Mackenzie's *House of Coalport* (London: Collins. 1951), a semi-official history of Coalport china issued as a memorial of the bicentenary of the firm, and much the best history of this pottery yet published.

Thomas Randall and an enameller (named Robins) started a business in Spa Fields, Islington, where they decorated Nantgarw white china in the style of Sèvres so successfully that today public and private collections contain many specimens which are thought to be Sèvres but which can be attributed to Randall, who refused to copy the Sèvres mark.

The book contains a lengthy account of Thomas Randall and his nephew (pp. 53ff), together with an unusually good account of William Cookworthy's discovery and use of China clay for china ware (p. 62).

At Friends House there is an autograph note by Thomas Randall expressing objections against the prescription of singing, or standing, as formal usages in worship. An unidentified newspaper cutting of 1859 says he was born at Broseley, and relates briefly his achievements as a potter, his integrity and his devotion to the cause of temperance.

A SUSSEX "QUAQER" BURIAL

The following entry comes from Berwick, near Lewes, parish register, and provides information not to be found in the Registers at Friends House:

1661 Feb. 26: buried by the parents without notice given to me, a maiden child, the parents of the child are quaqers, the father's name John Elphicke, commonly called of Arlington. Memorandum that about 20 weeks ago, William Marquicke of Milton Street brought into the Churchyard of Berwick and buried there after the quaqers' way a man child. Geo. Hall, rector.

N.B.—The aforesaid John Elphick, as of Milton Street, was buried at Arlington, 16th April, 1669; the entry reading "a good housekeeper who got a good estate", age 52.

He married at Alfriston 1643, Ann Alchorne (Alchin), and at Alciston in 1663 Susanna Chatfield.

Long Clawson Meeting House

John Wilson, of Stratford, Victoria, Australia, has sent a sketch and descriptions of the old Meeting House at Long Clawson in the Vale of Belvoir which was demolished sometime during last century. The sketch is made from descriptions of the old meeting house by inhabitants who knew it, including his own grandfather.

The unpretentious thatched building had two rooms and two lofts in the thatch. It was of a domestic character and severely plain. It was whitewashed inside and out, and unpolished wooden benches stood on the flagstone floor. A caretaker occupied a room and one loft, while the other loft was fitted up to accommodate travelling Friends. The house was built in 1690 and local tradition had it that it was erected on the site of an old ruined barn. The meeting appears to have lost ground rapidly in the nineteenth century when Baptists and Methodists came into the parish, but the house was still being used as late as 1850.

George Fox mentions the village in his *Journal*, and he is reported to have preached in the "God Speed" inn, now a farmhouse. The inn was erected in 1635 and bore the sign:

> "God speed the plough and like wise the harrow,
> Pay to-day and trust to-morrow."

John Wilson's sketch and descriptions have been filed in the Library.

Worplesdon Burial Ground

Herbert Rowntree's *Early Quakerism in Guildford* was noticed in our spring issue (p. 45); he has sent a sheet of further information which has been inserted in the library copy of the pamphlet. This revises his previous conclusion as to the site of the ancient Friends burial ground at Worplesdon, and gives some ground for identifying Stephen Smith's house, where George Fox stayed more than once and held meetings.

The principal documentary evidence is a tithe map of 1838 in the County Record Office at Guildford, which shows the Quaker burial ground to be on Fairlands farm, across the road from the farm house. Friends held the ground on a long lease, which they disposed of in 1852. The older part of the house is old enough to have been occupied by Stephen Smith. He and others of his family were buried in the burial plot opposite, now no longer distinguishable from its surroundings.

Hertford Meeting House

The Pilgrim Trust's 22nd annual report (for 1952) contains a half-page illustration of the interior of Hertford meeting house which has just been restored. The Pilgrim Trust made a grant of £1,000 towards the cost, "in view of the great historical interest of this ancient building and its pleasant architectural features", and the report includes

a description (p. 27) of the building and the work involved in reconstruction by Hubert Lidbetter, the architect in charge of the repairs. Built in 1670, fifteen years after George Fox first visited Hertford, it is the oldest Friends Meeting house in the country, and has been in continuous use ever since its erection.

The Eayre Family

An article in *Northamptonshire past and present*, vol. 1, no. 5, pp. 10-23 (1952), by the Northamptonshire Archivist, Mr. P. I. King, entitled "Thomas Eayre of Kettering and other members of his family," incorporates information from Friends House registers concerning the Quaker members of this family. Members of the family were Friends until the second quarter of the eighteenth century—but Quakerism and bellfounding seem not to have mixed well together, and as the business grew the Quakerism declined.

Friends and the Doctrine of the Trinity

Earl Morse Wilbur in his new *History of Unitarianism in Transylvania, England and America* (Harvard University Press, 1952) mentions Friends in connection with the controversy with Henry Hedworth in 1672 and 1673 which had been preceded by Penn's early tracts which gave some colour to the claim that he was a unitarian, and the views of Richard Claridge, Fox and Barclay on the doctrine of the Trinity.

Reform Politics at York

Professor Norman Gash in his *Politics in the Age of Peel: a study in the technique of Parliamentary Representation, 1830-1860* (London, Longmans, 1953), throws an interesting sidelight on the Quaker position at York in the 1835 election (pp. 111-12). Three candidates had put up, Lowther and Dundas the Tory and the Whig, and a newcomer, Barkly the Liberal—the latter having some assistance from the Dissenters. The vice-chairman of his committee was a Quaker, and it seems likely that Friends supported Barkly in an attempt to stop the bribery which had been rife in York at the 1832 contest. Quakers were traditionally Whigs. "The vice-chairman of Barkly's committee stated that he had voted for both Dundas and Barkly, 'for the one on the ground of purity of election, and the other because he was a whig'." Joseph Rowntree, on the other hand, voted for Dundas alone. "He did not vote for Barkly because 'my acquaintance with his qualifications was not such as in my opinion justified me in giving a vote, inasmuch as he was comparatively a stranger in York'. It was true, he acknowledged, that Barkly came down with a letter from that distinguished member of the Society of Friends, William Allen; yet 'we are accustomed to think for ourselves'." With dissenters divided the old Anglicans could still rule.

Friends and German Missions

William Richey Hogg in *Ecumenical Foundations*, a history of the International Missionary Council and its background (New York, Harper, 1952), mentions Friends' appeal to the British delegates to the Paris Peace Conference, 1919, to deal with the

German overseas missions separately from the general peace settlement, and to call in the advice and assistance of independent neutral experts in the missionary field before taking irrevocable decisions. The book also mentions Rufus M. Jones and Henry T. Hodgkin.

Coleridge on Quakers

Samuel Taylor Coleridge's *Lay Sermon . . . on the existing distresses and discontents* (1817) is reprinted in a recent volume of *Political tracts of Wordsworth, Coleridge and Shelley*, edited by R. J. White (Cambridge University Press, 1953). Coleridge treats of Quakerism under the heading "Religion and capitalism" and a marginal note reads "Religion reduced to ethics, or prudential motives, consorts well with commercialism". Coleridge writes "Of all denominations of Christians, there is not one in existence or on record whose whole scheme of faith and worship was so expressly framed for the one purpose of spiritualizing the mind and of abstracting it from the vanities of the world, as the Society of Friends!" He then proceeds to use the instance of wealthy Quakers to prove that Christianity has not put up effective resistance "to the cupidity of a trading people."

It is interesting to note that Coleridge says "though the Quakers are in general remarkably shrewd and intelligent in all worldly concerns, yet learning, and more particularly theological learning, is more rare among them in proportion to their wealth and rank in life, and held in less value, than among any other known sect of Christians". This he attributes primarily to the lack of provision for a trained ministry or a class of learned schoolmasters among Friends.

Research in Progress

W. Alan Cole, 4 North Terrace, Cambridge, is preparing a study entitled *The Development of Quaker Political and Social Ideas, 1647-1660* to be presented as thesis for the degree of Ph.D., at Cambridge University, 1954. The author will attempt to reconstruct the Quaker attitude to the seventeenth century revolutionary movement, and discuss relations with the Levellers and the Fifth Monarchists.

PERIODICALS EXCHANGED

Receipt of the following periodicals is gratefully acknowledged:

Bulletin of the Friends Historical Association (Philadelphia).
Institute of Historical Research, *Bulletin*.
Mennonite Quarterly Review (U.S.A.)
Presbyterian Historical Journal (U.S.A.)
Presbyterian Historical Society, *Proceedings*.
Unitarian Historical Society, *Transactions*.
Wesley Historical Society, *Proceedings*.

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23. SLAVERY AND "THE WOMAN QUESTION." Lucretia Mott's Diary, 1840. By F. B. Tolles. 5s., cloth 7s. 6d.

24. THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY OF THE EARLY FRIENDS. Presidential address by Frederick B. Tolles, 1952. 2s. 6d.

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Any unwanted copies of *Journal* F.H.S., vol. 37 (1940) will be welcome at The Library, Friends House, London, N.W.1, as it is out of stock.

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