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Journals and Supplements Wanted

F.H.S. would be glad to receive, and in some cases to buy unwanted copies of the following. Address to F.H.S., The Library, Friends House, London, N.W.1.

Journal: Vol. 37 (1940); Vol. 46, No. 1 (1954).

The London (Quaker) Lead Co. By Arthur Raistrick. 1938.

Psychical Experiences of Quaker Ministers. By John W. Graham. 1933.

Appeal to Members

During the last two or three years the Committee has made repeated efforts to gain new members for the Friends' Historical Society. The Society needs also the help of members in getting new subscribers.

You are invited to do one of these things:

- (1) Encourage someone who does not wish to subscribe to give a donation.
- (2) Increase your own subscription above the minimum 10s. per annum.
- (3) Send an annual subscription as a gift to someone else.
- (4) Remind your Monthly or Preparative Meeting that it may become an Institutional Member for 10s. a year.

THE JOURNAL
OF THE
FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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Communications should be addressed to the Editor at
Friends House.

Editorial

IN this issue we print Amy E. Wallis's address on Darlington Friends which was given at our meeting on March 1st. Russell Mortimer follows up the Irish interest of our Spring number with an account of connections between Irish Friends and Bristol; Geoffrey Nuttall provides notes on Richard Farnworth; and there is a further instalment of the A. R. Barclay manuscripts.

By generous assistance we have been enabled to distribute with the present issue Alfred Braithwaite's stimulating presidential address on *Thomas Rudyard, Early Friends' Oracle of Law*, the 27th Supplement to this *Journal*. This was delivered at our meeting held on October 4th at Friends House.

Printing costs have continued to rise, and as a small measure of economy in printing title-pages and indexes, we propose to let the volumes of the *Journal* run over two years. The 1957 issues will therefore be the 3rd and 4th in the present volume, and the Autumn number 1957 will contain the title-page, contents and index to Vol. 48.

In the last five years, prices of learned periodicals have risen on an average by 25 per cent. in response to increased costs of production. The Friends' Historical Society has not increased its subscription rates, and the only way for this Society to absorb increases of this order is by securing additional subscribers. A larger membership is the only firm remedy which will enable the Society to continue unimpaired its work in publication of Quaker historical material. Full particulars and a specimen copy of the *Journal* will gladly be supplied to anyone interested, on application to Muriel A. Hicks, The Library, Friends House.

In our companion society across the Atlantic, the Friends Historical Association, Thomas E. Drake has succeeded Henry J. Cadbury as President. Thomas Drake is professor of American History at Haverford College, Pennsylvania, and curator of the Quaker Collection there. *Quakers and Slavery in America*, which he published in 1950 was reviewed in Vol. 43 of this *Journal*. Henry J. Cadbury is spending the autumn term at Woodbrooke.

William Haseldine Pepys, 1775-1856

A hundred years ago on 17th August, 1856, there died at the ripe age of 81 years an old Friend who was well known in his time as a man of many parts but who is scarcely even a name to thousands of people who benefited from his scientific discoveries, his work as a scientific instrument maker, an administrator, and a successful man of business.

He was born three years before Sir Humphry Davy and survived him by nearly 30 years and like him was an ardent fisherman. Davy quickly realized the value of Pepys' laboratory gas-holder (an appliance now seldom seen except in some museums, but formerly largely used in various schools and colleges as well as in some private laboratories. It was by means of this device that Pepys and William Allen, F.R.S., were able to store and eventually establish the composition of carbon dioxide and to undertake their skilful and accurate work on respiration in which they used other new and accurate apparatus devised and made by Pepys. These classical experiments included those in which they showed that the volume of carbon dioxide expired in a given time was almost exactly equal to that of the oxygen removed from the inspired air. Pepys made numerous scientific discoveries, some chemical, some physical and others of a botanical nature (including some good work on manures) and in connection therewith he devised numerous pieces of scientific apparatus still in use today though his connection with it is almost unknown to those of the present generation who use them.

Pepys, with Allen and others in 1796 formed the Askesian Society from which sprang the British Geological and Mineralogical Societies and the London Institution; he was honorary secretary of the last-named and spent much time in making the large galvanic batteries there which were used by Davy in his great work on electromagnetism.

What vigorous and sturdy men were those eighteenth century scientists, what wide interests many of them had—so different from the narrow specialization now so common today!

Pepys appears in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, but his name is not mentioned in Raistrick's *Quakers in Science and Industry*. Some particulars about him will be found in Silvanus P. Thompson's *Michael Faraday, His Life and Work*, and in Faraday's book on *Chemical Manipulation*. Other details are also published in "Chemistry and Industry", No. 31 (August 11th, 1956).

A. B. SEARLE

Darlington: the English Philadelphia

An address (somewhat abridged) given by Amy E. Wallis at a meeting of the Society held at Friends House on March 1st, 1956.

SUCH was the title given by our local Quaker historian, the late John William Steel, to one of his newspaper articles, written in the '70s of last century, describing the large and prosperous meeting of Darlington and its membership, of whom some were nationally known and whose influence was paramount in town and neighbourhood, in political and civic life, in business and philanthropy. Says John William Steel:

Till the followers of Fox and Penn settled on Skerneside Darlington was a humdrum country town. Since the opening of the first public railway, it has extended its ancient mills, formed engineering works the most complete between Glasgow and Doncaster and is yearly adding to the branches of its iron industries. Of all this activity Quakers have been the motive power and naturally they have increased in number. They form, however, but a small portion, not a tenth, of the 34,000 persons dwelling in Darlington but they still largely constitute the purse and the governing bodies of the town. And thus have the people delighted to honour the followers of Fox. Since the enfranchisement of South Durham, nearly one half of the members chosen as representatives have been Darlington Quakers: and naturally enough the representative for the borough itself has also been of the like faith. Darlington became a municipal borough some ten years ago and out of nine mayors seven have been Friends. One half of the aldermanic bench is of this way of religious thought; a third of the school board members are of the "meeting house" persuasion; and when a short time ago, a new scheme nominated several members, by virtue of their offices, it was found that these all were Friends".¹

So is the simile illustrated between the growth and government of an English town (whose football team even today is known as "The Quakers"!) and the city Penn founded, though the one was built in undeveloped country and the other's roots go back into the beginning of history, to the days of Cuthbert and Saxon King, Norman Bishop and Plantagenet wars with Scots, and in less stirring times a market and posting town on the main road from London to Newcastle.

¹ Printed, with some changes, in "*Friendly*" *Sketches: Essays illustrative of Quakerism*, by J. W. Steel. Darlington: Harrison Penney, Priestgate 1876.

Tradition has it that "Governor Penn" addressed a large gathering of several thousands in Darlington, in the open ground, thought to have been a burial ground, behind an inn, not far from the later meeting house site. This may have been while visiting his sister, Margaret ("Peg Penn" of Pepys' Diary) who married Anthony Lowther and lived at Marske Hall, near Saltburn, on the coast only twenty miles away.

A testimony to the similarity of atmosphere between the Quaker town of Darlington and the "City of Brotherly Love" is given by Hannah Chapman Backhouse (*née* Gurney) during her journey in America in 1830-1835 when she writes in her journal, on coming to Philadelphia, of "being more at home here than at any place in the world that is not really so" and later "This is probably the last Yearly Meeting I shall ever attend in this interesting city, which, if my lot were to be cast in any other part of the world than where it has been, I should prefer for a residence." Some of us who have been welcomed in Philadelphia can echo this out of our own experience a hundred years later, and, as members of London Yearly Meeting, marvel that within only fifty miles radius of Philadelphia there are yet nearly as many Friends as in our whole Yearly Meeting, while Pennsylvania Friends are amazed at British Friends coming up monthly to London from north and south, east and west involving lengthy journeys—some "all through the night".

While this may be said of many other Friendly centres, of Kendal, so closely linked by intermarriage with Darlington families, and Norwich, of Newcastle and Birmingham, yet these were already large cities or centuries-old county towns; while in contrast with some other cities having a strong Quaker history, at the turn of the century in 1800 Darlington's population was only 4,000, and thus the influence was more marked.

The social life of the meeting was increased by the gathering in many Quaker homes in turn of the Essay Meeting and the Philosophical Society. The former was begun in 1830 at the home of Jonathan and Hannah Chapman Backhouse at Polam, and in 1930 the centenary meeting was held there, by invitation of Oswald and Helen Baynes.¹ Descendants came in their ancestors' actual clothes, silk bonnets and

¹ The then Heads of Polam Hall School, first established under the Misses Proctor in the 1850s.

shawls, beaver hats (bought in Philadelphia by Jonathan Backhouse), or coat, fancy waistcoat and carrying a "carpet bag" as in E. Lloyd Pease's case. Original minutes were read and papers describing the growth of the Society, and changes in meeting and town chronicled.

The Darlington Friends Philosophical Society, on the proposal made at an Essay Meeting in 1846, was formed for "the encouragement of scientific research and the mutual improvement of its members in the various branches of science and natural history". In the report at the jubilee meeting in 1896, after a list of many scientific subjects considered, comes the following:

Other matters which were considered in these early years were, the use and proper placing of lightning rods; the erection of paragres, in the South of France, for warding off hailstorms, so destructive to the grapes; the passage of Solomon's ships to Ezion-Geber; and the site of the Garden of Eden.

The subjects of the essays were equally serious, discussing all things in heaven and earth, natural, metaphysical, geological, with forecasts of future development. But the essayist allowed himself at times a lighter touch, such as in this version of the Advices, in the '70s:

THE ADVICES

1
Let thy accounts be kept with care,
See that there be no errors there,
Do not defer till thou art ill,
The due completion of thy will.

2
Also throughout thy time of health,
Beware accumulating wealth,
Thy surplus thousands, give away,
To those who lack the means to
pay.

3
By acting thus thou wilt ensure
The heart-felt blessings of the poor,
And thou thyself wilt evermore
Be blest in basket and in store.

4
Be strictly honest in thy dealings,
Discouraging all greedy feelings,
And do not speculation choose
Or thou wilt very likely lose.

5
So, therefore, without more pre-
amble,
We recommend thee not to gamble,
Or thou may'st wish when all is
spent,
Thou'dst rested safe with 3 per
cent.

6
We trust that thou wilt do thy best
That games of chance may be sup-
press'd,
Nor would the meeting feel annoyed
If Billiard Tables were destroyed.

7
All places of diversion shun
Except the tea and modest bun,
Also avoid inflicting pain
By sports denominated vain.

8

On furniture and dress expend
No more than may become a Friend,
In all thy actions lay aside
Whatever tends to worldly pride.

9

See after friends of modest worth,
Rather than great ones of the
earth,
And (if allowed to by thy wife)
Aim ever at the simple life.

Composed by the late James I'Anson, of Darlington

10

Let living plain and thinking high
Be the good rule thou livest by,
And, if thou shouldst prepare a
feast,
Ask not the greatest but the least.

11

So, when thy earthly course is run,
And all thy work below is done,
By living thus thou yet may'st end
A "tolerably consistent Friend".

There may be some hidden comment here on the development of Victorian Quakerism, the entry into public life, the leaving off of distinguishing speech and clothing, the taking of titles, till another wrote a poem with the refrain:

"What would George Fox have said
Two hundred years ago?"

In the Darlington meeting of the writer's childhood conditions were much as pictured here. Large numbers gathered, Sunday by Sunday, in happy family groups,¹ the ministers' gallery had seven men and seven women Friends "facing", and "under the gallery" also was filled. The centre was occupied by Polam scholars. There was no children's class, we sat through the hour and twenty minutes of the meeting for worship; only occasionally a special meeting was arranged for younger members. We stayed for Preparative Meeting, attended Thursday morning meeting, and Monthly Meetings when held at Darlington. We observed the order and practice of these meetings—the clerk, who, as was said, "fought for his minutes"—another who looked round for direction being less familiar with our usages, and one of our amusements as children was to "play" at Preparative Meeting. As all became clerks and secretaries to this and that, possibly it was a good grounding!

And with what expectation, awe and reverence did we look forward to Quarterly Meeting! The preceding Monthly Meeting, though with overnight visitors for the Monthly Meeting on Ministry and Oversight, paled before the preparations for this great occasion. The best spare rooms were to be made ready, the sheets, reserved for that occasion, to be aired—of noble size, 130 ins. in length by 108 in width, and larger

¹ Family groups included in the '90s, Peases, Hodgkins and Frys, Backhouses and Mounseys, Kitchings and Cudworthys, I'Ansons and Penneys, and many more.

were known, and of pure linen and fine weave. Biscuit boxes were to be freshly filled for possible "night hunger," while in the kitchens the best shank-end of the home cured ham was to be boiled, the chickens, as large as small turkeys, to be ordered to be ready from the poultry-yard; the creation of rich custard tarts, lemon solid (scalded cream poured from a china teapot from the height of a stance on the kitchen table into the dish on the floor prepared with lemon juice and sugar and left to set), ginger cream, moulds of lemon sponge, and other delicacies, went forward.

The solemn gathering of the Quarterly Meeting on Ministry and Oversight was followed by an evening of interchange of family news among guests from different centres, or matters of import in "our beloved Society", interspersed with songs from a cousin who accompanied herself on the piano. Dawned the day, and, after a "morning reading" of more than usual impressiveness, an energetic uncle, in "top hat" and frock coat, walked in to town for meeting at 10.30 a.m. taking me with him. (One usually drove with the parents in the brougham.)

In the meeting house was a mounting number of "Friends from a distance" until, as one watched by the door, came the well-known figure into view, slowly mounting the steps—the broad-brimmed silk hat, worn a little towards the back of the head, the thick navy blue cloth overcoat, the white comforter crossed at the neck (it was October), the benignant features of Bevan Braithwaite, with his daughters Rachel and Catherine Braithwaite either side of him in modified "Friends' bonnets" and neat plain costume.

This distinguished presence, year by year, was granted us as it was the time of holding the meeting of Thomas Richardson's Trust¹ on the previous day, of which J. Bevan

¹ Thomas Richardson was a cousin of Edward Pease (his father and E.P.'s mother being brother and sister) and the three sons of Edward Pease, John, Joseph and Henry Pease, were appointed Trustees with their heirs and descendants. Also Durham Quarterly Meeting, Yorkshire and London and Middlesex Quarterly Meetings have representatives on the Trust, and the list of former holders has many familiar names. J. Bevan Braithwaite succeeded Robert Forster in 1868 and held the appointment for nearly 40 years, as did his successor, Charles Lawson Smith. The Trust has been largely used for educational bursaries because Thomas Richardson was the founder of Grove House, Tottenham; Brookfield, Wigton; Friends' School, Great Ayton; and interested in the York schools, Ackworth and many others.

Braithwaite was the representative from London and Middlesex Quarterly Meeting for forty years. He sat as "shake hands Friend" on the men's side in the gallery and gave us of his wisdom in characteristic speech.

A hundred and fifty Friends thus met, from Tyneside, Wearside, Teeside and North Yorkshire, from the dales—Wensleydale and Swaledale, Teesdale, the Aucklands and Derwentside—and responsible Friends, even Thomas Pumphrey from Newcastle, modestly took seats in the body of the meeting. Isaac Sharp, the much travelled, who kept his membership in Darlington Monthly Meeting from early life there (and whose testimony in the Quarterly Meeting minute book at a later date occupies over forty manuscript pages) might be in the gallery. Thomas Hodgkin, whose beautiful voice, figure and language remain livingly in memory, was another. Ralph Dixon and his bright-eyed, rosy-cheeked wife, for many years "heads of the family" at Ayton School, were others, as well as many relatives, Jonathan Backhouse and Mary Anna Hodgkin, Elizabeth Barclay Backhouse, Katharine Backhouse, Lucy E. Mounsey, and Thomas William Backhouse (the astronomer and philanthropist) from Sunderland, as well as our parents Edward Backhouse and Rachel Ann (Fryer) Mounsey. An interesting figure in large felt "wide-awake" hat was Thomas Bradley from his beautiful home of Bear Park, near Aysgarth, who used to say he thought he had spent three years of his life on Northallerton station waiting for the main line trains in order to attend these gatherings.

Following the meeting for worship, the men and women sitting separately, business was taken in joint session. Then adjournment to a "sit down" dinner in the big schoolroom upstairs, butlers, footmen and maids from Quaker households helping in waiting. Still further business was taken on return to the meeting house till a certain point was reached, when the shutters descended and men Friends pursued the intricacies of Trust and other matters and women Friends held their own session, often with a speaker to introduce some subject after a little formal business.

At 3.30 or 4.0 were to be seen before the meeting house carriages and many cabs to take guests up to tea at the different homes, some competition taking place to secure this or that Friend. In our home photograph-books and curios had

been put out for the interest of Friends, and then at about 5.0 the festive meal took place at the extended table, with smaller ones to the side to take the overflow, and the plentifully supplied viands were enjoyed. Some anecdotes from Isaac Sharp might follow in the drawing-room before Friends had to leave and the family party could discuss the events of the day.

As one visiting Friend said to me after attending Durham Quarterly Meeting at Darlington of more recent days, "What jolly times these Quarterly Meetings are!" and so we find A. Neave Brayshaw quoting Rufus M. Jones on their function in the Society:¹

"The reader who has imagination will easily see the social importance of these gatherings. Friends from widely sundered regions, persons of different social standing, of all stages of education and spiritual experience, thus came together . . . were entertained at the homes in the locality where the meeting was held, interchanged ideas, and formed, almost without knowing it, a 'group consciousness' which played a powerful role in the life of the Society."

and A.N.B. comments:

There was . . . a *camaraderie*, a "free-masonry" it might be called, born of a common tradition deep rooted in the past and of associations formed by many and complicated relationships.

With regard to the last, a junior has said that rather than be known as the "Society of Friends" it should have been the "Society of Cousins"! We may be glad, nowadays, for many who have come to join us and make the actual name a living reality.

Many conferences have been held in Darlington, one of the largest being the *Friends First-Day School Conference in August 1874*, immortalized in *The Friends in Council*.² In the second edition of this is the opening rhyme, entitled "The Charge of the Drab Brigade," picturing their entry, from which the following verses are taken:

Broad brimmed their helmets were,
Linen was marked with care,
Collarless coats they wear,
Noble Eight Hundred.
Matrons and maidens there
Some dark and others fair,
Caps worn to keep back hair
Somewhat in subjection. . . .

Sessional Committees too
Guarded this chosen crew,
Apprehending that some few
Might frequent taverns.
Theirs not to reason why,
Useless it were to fly,
From the keen piercing eye
Of the Committee.

¹ A. N. Brayshaw, *The Quakers: Their Story and Message*, p. 216.

² *The Friends in Council*, S. T. Richardson, (oblong folio, lithographed), Newcastle, n.d.; 2nd edition, Darlington, 1875, revised and redrawn.

Committees to right of them,
 Committees to left of them,
 Committees behind them,
 Friends' houses thundered.
 Elm Ridge took ninety-two,
 And Pierremont not a few,
 Into Beechwood they flew
 Till the world wondered. . . .

With milk and honey blest,
 And in fine linen dressed,
 Friends always have the best
 Of this world's faring.
 Carriages at command,
 Servants a goodly band,
 Footstools on every hand,
 This the cross bearing. . . .

The programme is outlined:

8th mo. 1st. Arrival of Friends from all parts . . .

8th mo. 2nd. Meetings in the newly painted Meeting House. Dinner at the Central Hall and at most Friends' Houses, also at the houses of other denominations if way opens. Tea under an oak tree five miles west of Darlington: ministering Friends will lodge in the branches, for whom hen ladders will be provided.

8th mo. 3rd. Conference, subject "Our Society on its last legs and how to undermine the Established Church."

8th mo. 4th. Conference. "How long will the last legs last?" etc.

A map of Darlington sites many of the hospitable homes and places of interest, including Harrison Penney's. A man of business and wide humanitarian interests, his son, Norman Penney, became the first librarian at Devonshire House, to whom we owe so much as the builder-up of the Library, now in these beautiful rooms at Friends House.

Many cartoons illustrate various phases of the Conference, real or imaginary, all from the pen again of Samuel Tuke Richardson, including arrival at the Meeting House, with the banner out, "Hast thou good accounts from home?" to curious sleeping accommodation owing to numbers, and the Picnic to Rokeby where "some Friends sat under mutual umbrellas."¹

But, as quoted at the opening, the Quaker influence remained strong throughout the 19th century, and the development of industrial concerns, now large companies, had Quaker origin or encouragement. Outstanding is the opening of the Stockton and Darlington Railway. A long considered scheme for a canal from the collieries in West Durham to the ports on the Tees was at last laid aside in favour of a railway. In first expectation this was to make possible, as in collieries near Coalbrookdale and elsewhere, the drawing of a larger number of coal wagons by one horse.

¹ The organiser of this Conference was Jonathan Backhouse Hodgkin, grandson of Jonathan and Hannah C. Backhouse, whose son, the late J. Edward Hodgkin, continued his father's vision of new central buildings for the Society and carried it out in leading the creation of Friends House.

An early share certificate shows an engraving by the noted Quaker engraver, William Miller of Edinburgh, of the town as it was in 1820, with mills on the River Skerne, and a horse drawing three wagons on the railway in the foreground. This certificate is of interest too, as it is in favour of Edward Backhouse of Sunderland, Banker, having moved from Darlington to preside over the Bank there, Robert Barclay of Lombard Street in the City of London, Banker, and Joseph John Gurney of the City of Norwich, Banker, who were all original subscribers to the project. Well known is the incident of George Stephenson and Nicholas Wood arriving at Edward Pease's home—the last house in Northgate at the time, with a garden stretching down to the Skerne, complete with hot houses, and a view across to the Cleveland Hills—as Edward Pease was busy writing. In reply to the message that two men wished to speak to him he said he was too busy to see them, then, left alone, he laid down his pen, felt he should see them, and descended to the kitchen, when George Stephenson announced, "Heard you wants a rail made and I be come to do it." And sitting on the dresser, because as he said afterwards, "There was such an honest sensible look about George Stephenson and he seemed so modest and unpretending and he spoke in the strong Northumberland dialect," Edward Pease realized the importance of the interview and was finally won over to the advantage of the steam engine. The following year he and Thomas Richardson visited Killingworth Colliery and saw Stephenson's engine there at work and were made to mount and try its paces. Edward Pease was at this time over fifty years of age. His span of life was from 1766 to 1857, covering as will be seen momentous years in national and international life, and it says much for his forward-looking mind that he supported this new venture. "He had inserted in the amended Stockton and Darlington Railway Act of 1823 a clause empowering them to work the railway by means of locomotive engines and to employ them to haul passengers as well as merchandise."¹

The day of the opening, 27th September, 1825, brought a great concourse to the town, and people lined the railway itself all the way. A letter from John Church Backhouse, aged thirteen, to his sisters at school in London, has a careful

¹ *Diaries of Edward Pease*. A. E. Pease, p. 87.

drawing across the top of the sheet, of engine, wagons, the "coach," more wagons and flags, and a description of the event. He begins:

Perhaps you may not understand what that drawing at the top means, it is meant to represent the opening of the Stockton and Darlington Railway which took place on the 27th of September 1825. . . . I have only drawn 21 wagons but there were 17 more making in all 38. It was a very grand sight to see such a mass of people moving; on the road from D[arlington] to S[tockton] 600 people were said to be in, on and about the wagons and coaches! and the engine drew not less than 90 tons!!!! There was an excellent dinner prepared at Stockton for the Railway party, etc. I could tell you a great many more particulars but suppose that you are tired of it by this time!¹

"Locomotive No. 1," also named "Locomotion," still stands on Darlington Station, Bank Top—the original station in North Road, at the other end of the town, is now only used for goods—and was shown to the Duke of Edinburgh on his recent visit to the town. What is not so well known, perhaps, is that at first *horse-drawn* passenger coaches plied between Darlington and Stockton, as private ventures, on the railway, the fare 1s. Six or seven different owners operated these, linking other towns also, till 1833, when the railway company took control, and soon had 1st class coaches (fare 2s. inside and 1s. outside), 2nd class (the former ones renovated) and 3rd class (unglazed, unlined), and also undertook the carriage of minerals, merchandize and passengers.

Many enterprises sprang from this beginning, Stephenson's works and engine-building and allied industries, whose founders were Kitchings, I'Ansons and Fry and others.

The Backhouses Bank was behind all this industrial progress, surviving the failures of others after the Napoleonic wars, and in due course spread all over the north east. Not without incident, however, as when in 1819 a "run" was expected on the Bank, Jonathan Backhouse² posted up to London and obtained a large amount of gold. While returning, a wheel of the chaise came off near Croft Bridge. Piling up his bags in the opposite corner, it is said he was driven the remaining distance on three wheels into Darlington and the "run" was prevented. In confirmation of this an entry "To

¹ MS. letter in possession of the author.

² His son, Edmund Backhouse, was the first member of Parliament for *Darlington* from 1868-1885. He was still the leading partner in the Bank when in 1896 it was amalgamated with Barclay's, London. He gave a life-time to the interests of the town.

wheel demolished £2.3.0." appeared in the current Bank day-book. Samuel Tuke Richardson, himself a descendant of the Backhouse family, wrote a Ballad with lively illustrations which has achieved notoriety and was used by Barclay's Bank in Canada for a Christmas greeting to their customers some years ago.

Quakers in Darlington took the lead in the establishment of the first "Dispensary," in subscriptions towards the provision of public baths, the foundation of the Peace Society (both national and local). The Temperance Society placed several fountains about the town, one from the Fothergill family, and even organized a "coffee-cart", a van with opening sides which moved to various positions in the town as needed, the traffic problem being then non-existent. The "Mechanics' Institute," schools on the "Lancastrian system," the "Ragged School," the Training College of the British and Foreign School Society, the Bible Society, the Darlington Town Mission, all were promoted and encouraged, and many others.

A Friends' School for boys was under the care of Joseph Sams and later Henry Frederick Smith, and continued from 1810 to 1831 when the York schools had begun. The Diary of Thomas Whitwell of Kendal, when at school there, is printed in part in an early number of the *Journal* of the Friends' Historical Society (Vol. XXIV, pp. 21-30) and is of interest in the persons mentioned and their activities, including going to Stockton in one of the "passenger coaches" to attend Monthly Meeting. He chronicles the appearance of their magazine, "The Phoenix," "every member of the debating society sending a piece—it comes out once a month—the members take it in turn to write it—my piece was on 'Slavery.'" I have the actual copy, very neatly handwritten, with very mature contributions and poems on many subjects.

The *brother* of Edward Pease, Joseph Pease, promoted the "Friends of India," a gesture of interest in the Indian population after the exploitation by the East India Company, and on the centenary of his death, in 1948, a ceremony was held around his grave in the meeting house grave-yard, when a representative of the Indian Government laid there a floral tribute in the shape of the national flag of Free India, in remembrance of his work, in the presence of descendants of the Pease family and others.

Joseph Pease, the son of Edward Pease, was a remarkable

man. At 20 he drew up the Act to be presented to Parliament for the Stockton and Darlington Railway. There is also a diary of his first attendance at Yearly Meeting at about the same age, written in the style of one much older with comment here and there of a more youthful sort. He was the first Quaker to become a member of Parliament, standing for South Durham (and elected several times in following contests) in 1832 in the Liberal interest, and was allowed to affirm, after much research by the Clerks of the House, to the amusement of Francis Mewburn, chief Bailiff of Darlington and legal adviser to the Peases, who accompanied Joseph Pease and was fully aware of the privileges of Quakers in affirmation.

In Darlington Joseph Pease and his brother Henry had spoken in favour of the Reform Bill at a large meeting, supporting a petition to the House of Commons for the withholding of Supplies till reform was granted. On the passing of the Bill an immense celebration was held in the town, with bands, and parties walking in groups according to their trades, carrying banners and symbols of their calling, and a great feast for all. Joseph Pease and his son Joseph Whitwell Pease and other members of the family were responsible for the establishment and growth of Middlesbrough from one farmhouse to a hive of industry and a great commercial town. Many younger men Friends were drawn to Darlington, Stockton and Middlesbrough for training in engineering, and it is interesting to find that, among others, several were relatives of our late Friend Elizabeth Cadbury, including her father and uncle, John and Joseph Taylor, who later went to London. Elizabeth Cadbury speaks in her book of her mother's letters entitled "A Dear Memory," of staying in Great Ayton with relations still in the north, and of the beauty of the Cleveland Hills and coast.

Joseph Pease was chairman of the British and Foreign School Society, coming to London for their annual meeting when advanced in years, and was a supporter of all the movements of the day. On his death in 1871, the procession at his funeral stretched from the gates of his home to the meeting house, and the meeting was entirely in the grave-yard, so large was the gathering.

Henry Pease, younger son of Edward Pease, J.P. and M.P. for South Durham, 1857-1865, was a very active

director of the Stockton and Darlington Railway and developed the engineering side, and also the coal companies in which the family had interests. He was head of the firm of Henry Pease & Co. which managed the woollen mills, the original business of the Peases in Darlington, and had many responsibilities besides, as mayor and an alderman of the town. He saw the possibilities of Saltburn as a northern Brighton, and developed the little seaside village with skill; many of the directors of works on Teeside built homes there and it still has a quiet air while its neighbour Redcar has been greatly increased.

In 1853 on the verge of the outbreak of the Crimean War Henry Pease joined Joseph Sturge of Birmingham in a visit to Russia to see the Czar, and though *Punch* had a cartoon at the time with the verse

Joseph Sturge
Went to urge
Peace on the Emperor Nicholas,
Henry Pease
Crossed the seas
On the same errand ridiculous.

they were kindly welcomed by the Czar and were introduced to his family and court. The Czar indicated *his* wish to avoid war, though over-ruled, and almost as they left the country the war broke out.

Henry Pease organized a remarkable celebration for the Railway Jubilee in 1875: a tent was specially erected for the banquet, a statue in memory of Joseph Pease, his brother, was unveiled by public request and subscription, and an exhibition of locomotives and other early railway stock arranged. It became a national and indeed world-wide event as members of the Cabinet and government were invited, and chairmen of all railway companies in the world. Harrison Penney displayed over his business premises, strategically placed near the site of the occasion, the banner "Righteousness exalteth a Nation."

John Pease, the third surviving son of Edward Pease, was a noted minister amongst Friends, and spoken of as "The Silver Trumpet of the North". He visited far and wide in gospel ministry and in America. He retired early from business in order to fulfil this vocation.

Descendants of these pioneers have carried on much of the

business life of Darlington and entered Parliament, and though few now remain in the Quaker fold it is a notable record.

Many clerkships were carried by these Friends also. James Backhouse, the first of the name to settle in Darlington as a "flaxdresser," came from Lancashire with a pass from the Mayor of Kendal in 1745 as "a person well affected to His Majesty."¹ He was clerk of Durham Quarterly Meeting from 1753 to 1779 and had fair copies made of the first minutes to our great convenience, in five volumes. He also, for the use of those travelling in the ministry, had a map printed of the North of England showing where meetings were held, and on what day in mid-week, the market days, and distances from one town to another. For still greater convenience this was also printed on a silk handkerchief, of large size, for the minister's pocket. Many descendants have "held the pen" after him, some became Clerks of Yearly Meeting, the last to do so being our late clerk Redford Crosfield Harris.

These Friends were also Trustees of the meeting house property through many generations, and by the occupations given in the deeds the development into "Bankers" and "Merchants" can be traced. The Meeting House stands on land purchased in 1678, after meetings had been held in private houses, for "£35 of lawful money of England in hand paid." In connection with the collection ordered by Durham Quarterly Meeting towards the purchase and alterations occurs this minute in the Monthly Meeting some five years after:

11.4.1683. "Whereas John Shaw, lately professing truth, during this so professing did contribute with friends of Darlington towards ye building of a meeting house and is now appostate, demanding ye money back he before contributed—Its thought and felt by this meeting that the money be returned so that Friends may be clear, as well of what he calls *his*, as of himself."

But another minute records, 10.5.1683:

"Friends of Darlington returned account that they did collect ye money and proffered ye same to John Shaw, but upon his refusal to sign a Release, they retained ye money until further consideration."

In 1745, when a national collection was called for from London, to help those who suffered from occupation by troops, Darlington Friends are excused "on account of the expense they were put to," for on hearing of the Duke of Cumberland's army going up into Scotland, in wintry weather, it is said

¹ No doubt made advisable by the disturbed state of the north-country on account of the rebellion.

10,000 waistcoats of red flannel were made in a few days and were ready when the men reached Darlington.

The tradition of "travelling with minute" was strong from early days, as well as hospitality shown to those from overseas visiting Britain. In the early nineteenth century Jonathan and Hannah Chapman Backhouse (*née* Gurney) undertook a five-year visit to the States,¹ as well as many in England, Scotland and locally in other years, while James Backhouse (3rd) born in Darlington though in business in York, devoted ten years to a visitation of "Van Diemen's Land" (now Tasmania), South Australia, Mauritius and South Africa,² making adventurous journeys in the interior by "Cape Cart" there, and noting conditions of missionary work of all denominations, schools, native problems and government, the state of the prisons, as well as the flora and fauna of all countries visited.

Such devotion is inspiring and has had succession in our day from Darlington in the work abroad of Henry T. Hodgkin and H. Olaf Hodgkin, great-grandchildren of Jonathan and Hannah C. Backhouse, and of John and Sophia (Jowitt) Pease, of Edith M. Backhouse in India, and the late Basil H. Backhouse and others.

Though the large family circles we knew formerly are gone, and across the chasms of two world wars we look sometimes with surprise at the "freedom" Friends of the nineteenth century had in their way of life, yet their faith was simple and strong; they led the way in many social problems of their day, in philanthropy and religious circles as well as business and in Quaker organization.

May we follow them in these and hear the voice of the "Brethren of the North" once more from their paper of 1653,³ "everyone to bear his burden, the strong with the weak that the weak be not oppressed above his strength, but all drawing on, hand in hand, that the weak and the tired may be refreshed and so all become a joint witness to the everlasting Truth."

¹ *Journal and Letters of H. C. Backhouse*, 1863.

² *Narrative of a visit to S. Australia, etc. and S. Africa*. 1844; incorporating earlier *Journal*, 2 vols. published seriatim during his years abroad.

³ Swarthmore Manuscripts, Friends House, ii. 17. From a group of local leaders in "Bishopricke" (Durham) met to establish a men's Monthly Meeting. MS. docketed in George Fox's own hand:

"The Seting up the menes Meeting in
Bishopricke 1653."

Early Irish Friends in the Records of Bristol Meeting

IN the records of meetings up and down the country one can find many references to activities connecting them with places and people hundreds of miles away; bringing perhaps a small country group of English Friends into contact with a meeting in London, a West Indian island or a pioneering settlement on the American continent. These references are rarely significant or numerous enough to give any picture of events or conditions in the distant place. On occasions however one may, among a mass of records, come across sufficient detail, which (taken together) may provide a useful supplement and throw an interesting sidelight on the course of history on the foreign soil.

Trading activity between Ireland and Bristol was considerable, but there is scant evidence of it in the Bristol meeting records. One merchant, Richard Gotley,¹ was due to appear at the Bristol Men's Meeting, 14.ii.1673, but "being now on a voydge to Ireland, the shipe being to sayle tomorrow, could not well attend the meeting." He came to the meeting on 7.v.1673 "upon his retorne from Ireland." In 1701 the management committee of Friends' Workhouse in Bristol "shewing that som times it might be advantageous to buy their yarne in Ireland," received authority to do so and a promise of indemnity in the risks involved.²

Geographical situation and commercial interest account for the fact that ties were strongest between Munster (and Cork in particular) and Bristol. In the Bristol Two Weeks' Men's Meeting minutes between 1667 and 1703 there are over a score of references to Cork, as against seven to Dublin, and none to any place in the north of Ireland.

In the normal run of local Friends' documents there are few records of travellers, and one has to rely on diaries, journals and printed accounts to trace the movements of

¹ Richard Gotley (d. 1705). See *Jnl. F.H.S.*, xlv (1953), 85-86.

² Men's Meeting minutes, 1.x.1701 (vol. 2, p. 221). References throughout this article are to the first two volumes of the minutes of Bristol Men's Two-week Meeting, preserved in Bristol and Frenchay Monthly Meeting (formerly at the Friars Meeting House, Rosemary Street, Bristol). C. 1842, A 1 and A 2.

Friends. Thus, there is no Bristol Friends' account telling of the 1682 visit of Joseph Pike and Samuel Randall from Cork. They were taken up at a meeting and put in prison by John Knight, sheriff, to join the large company of Bristol Friends then in jail.¹ Travellers do come into the picture however, when they were for any reason in need of assistance. For instance, 10s. from Bristol meeting's stock was granted to "John Camm a poore freinde of Corke being in need of assistance in his passage homewards," and a fortnight later another grant was made, "10 or 20 shillings, the most if he stay long windbound."²

DISTRESS AND ITS RELIEF

The unsettled political state of the two countries during the later Stuart period and the commercial disruption and distress which wars and evictions caused in Ireland lend particular point to the instances which come to light of the mutual assistance between Friends on both sides of the Irish Sea. Bristol evidence gives a picture of both meeting-directed and private assistance to poor travellers.

William James, Joseph Kippon, Erasmus Dole, William Dawson & James Cole or some of them are desired to Receive £5 out of publick stock & Ride downe to the Pill tomorrow there to vissitt the passingers bound for Ireland & that hath Related to us their destress & desired our Assistance, and if they find their present destress moves them to a present Releife & Assistance they are desired to dispose any part thereof or all as they shall see meete to their Releife.³

A similar minute appears four years later, in 1677:

William Smith & Lydia his wife, streingers in this Citty, being poore & intending to travell to Ireland, desireing som releife, Friends doth Allow that Charles Harford shall disburst 20s. out of our publick stock. viz. 10s. towards their present suply & towards their provision, and other ten shillings to pay their passage when they shall be ready sayle. Friends also doth Allow that 10s. formerly disburst by Rich. Sneed towards their releife shalbee also reimburst out of publick stock.⁴

John Workeman was given 50s. "towards his cleareing & charges, in his retorne for Ireland" in October 1690,⁵ and there were other grants in 1699.⁶

¹ Joseph Pike, *Some account*, 1837, p. 45-46.

² Men's Meeting minutes, 14 & 28.vii.1696 (vol. 2, pp. 120, 121).

³ *Ibid.*, 13.viii.1673 (vol. 1, p. 44a).

⁴ *Ibid.*, 3.x.1677 (vol. 1, p. 67).

⁵ *Ibid.*, 20.viii.1690 (vol. 2, p. 39).

⁶ *Ibid.*, 11.vii.1699 (vol. 2, p. 174). Grants to Anne Cooke and child, travelling to Dublin; and to Andrew Perry, wife and child, from Dublin, travelling to Salisbury.

Friends from Ireland in Bristol during King William's war were offered immediate assistance. On April 7, 1690, the Men's Meeting recorded:

Wheras tis probable that som of our friends from Ireland that have late resided here may be in som want, especially before the publick moneys may be distributed: Charles Harford, Charles Jones & Ch. Jones Jnr. are desired to have inspection into their conditions & if they find need to assist them out of our publick stock.

Ch. Harford & Ch. Jones reports 21th of 2d mo. that enquiry have been made, and there apeares to be noe present occation, but a gratefull acknowledgiment of the kindnes of Friends, but as occation may require will make use of ye kindnes.¹

It is doubtful whether Irish Friends brought with them their own meeting organization, but Bristol Meeting did obtain a certificate of clearance for marriage when a proposal was under consideration "from some friends that were neybouring to Sarah [sc. Sarah Abbott, daughter of Samuell Abbott late of Mallow, co. Cork] whilst in Ireland, now in this citty."²

Of course, not all Irish Friends came to Bristol—one of the best known cases is that of Patrick Logan "a friend late of Ireland & now at London," as the minute of 30.iv.1690 goes, "a good scholler & an apt schoolemaster to instruct youth in latten &c." Logan came to Bristol to open the Friends' school which appears to have been in abeyance since the death of Lawrence Steel in 1684, and in the person of his son James, provided William Penn with a Secretary to go with him to Pennsylvania.

In 1692 Bristol Friends had an opportunity to share in a more general relief collection for Ireland, and to make some return for the £30 which Bristol Friends received from the Irish Friends' grant for English sufferers in the persecution eight years before.³ The appeal circulated by the Meeting for Sufferings in London draws a distressing picture of conditions in Ireland at the time.

We have received divers sad accounts of the great distresses and deplorable condition many Friends are in at their returne out of England &c. finding upon their estates neither house, corn nor cow, or any thing for their present relief; and some that during the warr retired into cities and great towns from the fury of the armies, were relieved by other Friends that had some thing left, now since the wars are over there, are gone out to visit their former habitations, and finds

¹ Men's Meeting minutes, 7.ii.1690 (vol. 2, p. 34).

² *Ibid.*, 11.vi.1690 (vol. 2, p. 37).

³ *Ibid.*, 24.ix. & 8.x.1684 (vol. 1, p. 102a).

great waste and ruin, so that till they are put in a way to raise something for their subsistence their condition seemes to be more miserable now than in the time of war, though more hopeful in a year or two to be recovered if by some speedy assistance in this their time of great straight they be but helped with some relief to put them in the way of improvement.¹

On receiving this appeal, Bristol Men's Meeting set on foot a general subscription and appointed six Friends to collect it.² A fortnight later the Meeting appointed several Friends to stand at the doors of Bristol Meeting on a First-day afternoon to collect from Friends as they left, with four weighty Friends to "speake to it . . . at the end of the meeting to stirr Friends up to contribute liberally thereunto."³ The subscription collection amounted to £145, and in addition, nearly £17 was collected at the meeting house doors, and £162 was remitted to London "for the service of Friends in Ireland."⁴

Substantial assistance given to a Friend from Ireland is recorded in the following minute:

Ch. Jones & Jno. Love are desired to disburst £4 11s. 10d. out of our publick stock to releife Enoch Core in his destress, who hath been disabled to releive himselfe this 9 monethes by an infermity called the Kings evell & haveing been assisted by some acquaintances of his & our friends from Ireland with the sune of £5 10s. the said sum. above is thought meet by this meeting to be added thereunto to compleate the sune of £10 1s. 10d. which doth defray the charge of the said Enoch Core is in score for the time past as aforesaid.⁵

Sometimes however the grants were not, perhaps, so willingly made, and towards the end of the century a new note seems to come in, presaging the rule of settlement made general in 1737 whereby Friends who moved were deemed members of the meeting from which they came until they produced a certificate of removal. The protracted case of Rebecca Russell in 1697 illustrates this. Joseph Russell, millwright, Rebecca his wife, and their children appear to have moved to Dublin without approval or certificate from Bristol

¹ Meeting for Sufferings minutes, 12.vi.1692 (spelling modernized). In advance of the result of the collections, £1,000 was sent to Friends in Ireland by the Meeting for Sufferings. English Friends subscribed £3,200. See the article by Isabel Grubb, "Irish Friends' experiences of war, 1689-92", *Friends' quarterly examiner*, iv. 1916, no. 198, pp. 169-87. Total Irish Friends' losses are estimated at £100,000.

² Men's Meeting minutes, 5.vii.1692 (vol. 2, p. 66).

³ *Ibid.*, 19.vii.1692 (vol. 2, p. 66).

⁴ *Ibid.*, 17.viii.1692 (vol. 2, p. 68).

⁵ *Ibid.*, 3.ix.1679 (vol. 1, p. 82a).

Friends. Husband and wife fell out, and after an application from Rebecca £5 (probably a trading debt due to Joseph Russell) was sent to Amos Strettell in Dublin to be paid to the couple if living together, or to Rebecca if in distress with her children.¹ A fortnight later however, Rebecca presented herself in Bristol Men's Meeting, where Friends reproved her for deserting her children and urged her to return to the duties of caring for her family in Dublin; if she did so, Friends would be ready "to assist them as the case may require."² In the following autumn the Bristol treasurer paid out "21 shillings & one peney" to assist her in travelling to Ireland, and probably hoped to have heard the last of the case.³ But alas, six weeks afterwards Dublin Friends represented that they had by then paid out over £30 in assistance to this Bristol family and wanted to know how much of it Bristol Friends would reimburse them. Bristol Men's Meeting remembered their former relief of "friends both of Ireland & other places that have been in distress here," and that the family's "first going into Ireland was not by the consent or aprobacon of friends," appointed two Friends to consider what their obligations were and to prepare a reply.⁴ But there is no further minute on the matter, so Bristol records give no clue of the answer sent to Dublin, or of Dublin's reaction to it. One can hope that in their reply Bristol Friends did not claim credit for anything they had done to assist citizens of Ireland struggling up out of the ruin of war.

FRIENDS' DISCIPLINE

The case of Rebecca Russell brought into play some of the disciplinary functions of the Men's Meeting in Bristol, and the majority of the references to Irish Friends in the minutes of the meeting stem from disciplinary activities—certificates of removal, of clearance for marriage, and of consent to marriage.

A certificate of removal was granted to William Penn, coupled with a letter from Bristol meeting to Dublin Half-year meeting, when Penn was going to Ireland in 1698. The Men's Meeting minute reads:

¹ Men's Meeting minutes, 10.iii.1697 (vol. 2, p. 132).

² *Ibid.*, 24.iii.1697 (vol. 2, p. 133).

³ *Ibid.*, 11.viii.1697 (vol. 2, p. 140).

⁴ *Ibid.*, 22.ix.1697 (vol. 2, p. 144).

Wm. Penn, haveing signified to this meeting his intend shortly to goe for Ireland, desires according to the good order amongst friends, to have certeficate; Richard Snead, Charles Harford, Thomas Callowhill, Benj. Coole & Charles Harford Juner, or any two or 3 of them are desired to draw & signe it, togeather with an Epistell from this meeting to the halfe yearly meeting at Dubline.¹

Most notices of removal to or from Ireland come from the last decade of the century. This is probably due as well to the closer organization of the discipline in Friends' meetings as to a letter from Ireland which was recorded in Bristol meeting in April 1694:

This meeting received advice generall from the late halfe yearely meeting in Ireland, dated Dublin, 5th of the first mo. 1693/94, that severall friends and famelys have of late come over to them, som without certeficates & som without subsistance, which latter have become a burthen & charge upon them, desires for the future care be taken that certeficates be given, and also such helps and assistance as may be meet & nessesary to suport such as we shall countenance their goeing over.²

Certificates of removal often contained a clause stating that the person removing was "clear of all others in relation to marriage" as well as being "of sober conversation"; but if no certificate had been received by the meeting to which removal had been made, then, anyone proposing to marry had to secure a certificate of clearance from his or her former meeting before the marriage could be approved.

In 1677 Edward Perrin and Mary Robinson were proposing to get married in Bristol, and produced a certificate of clearance from Friends at Youghal.

Edward Perin and Mary Robinson did this day lay their intentions of mariage before this meeting desireing that they might have liberty to have the same caried on and accomplished in the way, & order of friends; the father & mother of said Mary being present; did signify their consent: and produced a Certificate from ye friends of Youghall in Ireland where she hath formerly been resident, to ye friends of this meeting of her deportment there in ye truth, with her being cleare from all other persons on ye account of mariage, so far as they know.³

A request on like occasion for certificate of clearance was received in Bristol from Dublin (19.v.1675) enquiring about

¹ Men's Meeting minutes, 25.ii.1698 (vol. 2, p. 154). Other removal certificates were granted to Abigale Smith (19.viii.1691), Samuel Combe and Elizabeth his wife (26.viii.1696), Philip Popleston (28.xii.1697), Mary England (12.vii.1698), James Bulgin (10.viii.1698), Richard Champion (10.i.1698/99), Gidian Noble (15.ix.1703).

² *Ibid.*, 2.ii.1694 (vol. 2, p. 89).

³ *Ibid.*, 24.vii.1677 (vol. 1, p. 66).

One Grace Whiteing whether she may be found engaged or entangled to any person here in relation to marriage. Severall friends here present giveing a hopefull account of the said Grace Whilest she lived with Christopher Birkhead &c. Whereupon Richard Sneed, William Ford and Charles Jones are desired to make enquiry amongst friends that were her acquaintance and as they find it to Certifie the same to the mens meeting in Dublin.¹

The troubled times in Ireland after the Revolution of 1688 resulted in the appearance before Bristol Friends of Irish members temporarily in the city who wished to be married in Friends' way. For instance, in May 1689 Samuel Dennis of Cork and Elizabeth Cooke of Capoquin came to the Men's Meeting:

Samuell Dennis, late of Corke, and Elizabeth Cooke, daughter of Peter Cooke of Caperqueen signified their intent of marriage & desire to accomplish the same in the way & manner of Friends in this Citty. Peter Cooke & Elizabeth his wife, father & mother of ye foresaid Elizabeth, is present testefieing their concent & aprobacon. The said Peter Cooke & also Thomas Harrisson Unkle of Samuell testefieth that George Harrisson & Bridget Father & mother of said Samuell doth concent & approve of their Joyning together in Marriage. This Meeting expects somthing of testemoney from his Neybouring friends, of what they know or understand of his ingadment or cleareness from other persons in the nature of marriage.²

A fortnight later Samuel produced "a Certeficate under severall hands of his neighbouring friends of his cleareness" and the marriage went forward.³

Again, in 1691, Ebenezer Pike, and Mary Rogers, daughter of Francis Rogers (all of Cork) "signified their intention of marriage, & desire to accomplish the same in the way & manner of friends in this Citty."⁴ The meeting received a certificate of the consent of Francis Rogers and "two certeficates from the friends of Corke in relation to the cleareness of them both from others."⁵

A marriage which illustrates the ramifications of the correspondence among Friends to secure certificates of clearance from Friends' meetings and consent of parents or guardians, is that of Benjamin Bainton of Bristol and Mary Pennock, daughter of Christopher Pennock of Cork.

¹ Men's Meeting minutes, 19.v.1675 (vol. 1, p. 55a).

² *Ibid.*, 6.iii.1689 (vol. 2, p. 27).

³ *Ibid.*, 20.iii.1689 (vol. 2, p. 27).

⁴ *Ibid.*, 4.iii.1691 (vol. 2, p. 44).

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1.iv.1691 (vol. 2, p. 45). Another Cork marriage passing Bristol meeting during this time was that of John Hammon and Elizabeth Mitchell, 8 & 22.vi, 5.vii.1692 (vol. 2, pp. 64, 65).

Benjamin hath noe parent liveing, but Charles Harford, one of the parties as Gardian to the said Benjamin is present testefieing his concent. They produce to this meeting a certificate from her mother & grandfather shewing their concent (her father is remote in America, soe yt for divers late yeares he left her education to the grandfather & mother) also a certificate from the Monethly Meeting at Knockgraffon in the province of Munster, being the meeting to which the said Mary did belong when under the tuition of her grandfather, certefieing her cleareness from other persons there.

Richard Snead & Charles Jones are desired to make inquiry of their cleareness.¹

(Nothing obstructing, the marriage was published 27.v.1694.)

After conditions in Ireland allowed Friends to return thither, it happened that Irish meetings sometimes required certificates from Bristol. Thus, at Bristol Men's Meeting, 12.iv.1693:

This day was read a paper from Cork in Ireland, dated 22d 3d month, 1693, directed to this meeting, which desires our certificate as to the cleares of Mary End as to mariage, who in the tyme of Irelands late troubles had some considerable residence here. And inquiry being made & nothing found contrary, a certificate was granted accordingly.²

Other certificates were granted to Cork for Thomas Knight (who left Bristol owing his landlady £5.17s.) in 1693.³ Thomas Mumford in 1694,⁴ Ann Sellwood in 1696,⁵ and Caleb Sinderby "sometyme apprentice in this citty" in 1703.⁶

But there is another side to the story which is perhaps not quite so admirable, but which (to present a true picture) cannot be wholly ignored. Bristol Meeting was much concerned during the 1670s with the activities of one Charles Woodward—a Friend who they evidently viewed as a plausible rogue. Woodward had travelled in Ireland and elsewhere as a minister. In 1673 Bristol Meeting issued a paper condemning Woodward's actions and asked Francis Rogers to send copies

to the friends of the mens meeting of the province of Munster & desire them to disperse copies of them through the Nation of Ireland.⁷

¹ Men's Meeting minutes, 9.v.1694 (vol. 2, p. 94).

² *Ibid.*, 12.iv.1693 (vol. 2, p. 80).

³ *Ibid.*, 2 & 16 viii.1693 (vol. 2, pp. 82, 83).

⁴ *Ibid.*, 2.ii.1694 (vol. 2, p. 89).

⁵ *Ibid.*, 15.xii.1696 (vol. 2, p. 128).

⁶ *Ibid.*, 12.v.1703 (vol. 2, p. 253).

⁷ *Ibid.*, 7.v.1673 (vol. 1, p. 42a).

In 1678 after further dealing Woodward came to the Meeting

shewing himselfe now penitent & submitting himselfe to the advice of the meeting. The meeting advised him to settle here close to his labour & labour dilligent therein that thereby he might become more capable to discharge those debts he had contracted, & not to travell abroad knowing his heart was deceitfull & his pretences fayre, that might doe hurt & deceive people that knew him not.¹

Unfortunately, four weeks later, the Meeting had to record:

This meeting being informed . . . that Charles Woodward is gone hence intending for Ireland. This meeting therefore desires Tho. Gouldney, Wm. Rogers, C. H. & Th. Callowhill, Rich. Sneed or any three of them to write a short paper & signe per order of this meeting directed to Friends in Ireland & elcewhere to caution them to beware of him.²

Lastly we may remember an earlier Bristol Quaker visitor to Ireland, before the days of minutes, Barbara Blaugdone the school-teacher, who appeared before Deputy Henry Cromwell in Dublin in 1656 to plead for the Irish sufferers,³ and the later ministering journeys of other Friends like Francis Rogers, Benjamin Coole and Mary Young through Ireland.⁴

The writer has sought to show that Bristol Friends records have material in them which has an interest for the Irish historian, of no great moment, but illustrating the relations between one meeting and another in the seventeenth century, and quite numerous because of the trading interests which had long joined southern Ireland and the west of England. Friends have reason to be thankful for the ties which bound the two kingdoms together, and the efforts which west country Friends put forward to spread the truth as they saw it and to assist such Friends as might be in trouble from time to time.

R. S. MORTIMER

¹ Men's Meeting minutes, 15.iii.1678 (vol. 1, p. 70a).

² *Ibid.*, 12.iv.1678 (vol. 1, p. 70a).

³ W. C. Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, 217-8.

⁴ For a "Record of Friends travelling in Ireland, 1656-1765", printed from a manuscript presented to Cork M.M. in 1900, see *Journal, F.H.S.*, x (1913), 157-180, 212-262.

Notes on Richard Farnworth

ONE of the curiosities of early Quakerism is the paucity of record concerning Richard Farnworth, or Farnsworth as his name is commonly spelt by modern writers. "Farnsworth became, next to Fox, the chief leader in the North of the new movement,"¹ writes William Charles Braithwaite; and in the index to Braithwaite's *Beginnings of Quakerism* the references to Farnworth occupy eighteen lines, more than is taken by any other of the First Publishers save Burrough, Howgill, Nayler and Fox himself. He was the author, in whole or in part, of over forty pieces, several of which were reprinted; yet, as Joseph Smith remarks, "his Works have never been collected."² After his death in 1666 the only testimony borne to him seems to be the "brief Testimony" by Josiah Coale prefixed to Farnworth's posthumous *Last Testimony* (1667) and reprinted soon afterwards in Coale's own posthumous collected *Works* (1671). For Farnworth's "early spiritual experiences"³ Braithwaite refers to his tract, *The Heart Opened by Christ* (1654), and in a few lines gives an excellent summary of the relevant pages; but of his antecedents we learn no more than that "he came from Tickhill, and was a man of good education."⁴ Norman Penney is no more informative in his note on Farnworth in his edition of Fox's *Journal*⁵; nor is A. C. Bickley in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, where Josiah Coale's name is printed Wale. Nor, apart from a few pages in my own *Studies in Christian Enthusiasm* (Pendle Hill, 1948) does Farnworth appear to be the subject of any recent research. It may thus be useful to bring together a few notes concerning his background and marriage.

* * *

Among those with whom Farnworth entered into controversy was John Stalham, the vicar of Terling, Essex, and pastor of the Congregational church there.⁶ While absent on

¹ W. C. Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism*, p. 59.

² Joseph Smith, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Friends' Books*, I, 593.

³ *B.Q.*, p. 60, n.2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

⁵ George Fox, *Journal* (Cambridge edition, ed. Penney), I, 398.

⁶ For Stalham, see *Dictionary of National Biography; Calamy Revised*, ed. A. G. Matthews (1934); my forthcoming *Visible Saints*.

service in Scotland, Stalham published at Edinburgh a piece entitled *Contradictions of the Quakers (so called) to the Scriptures* (1655); and to Farnworth's reply, *The Scriptures Vindication* (1655), Stalham retorted with *The Reviler Rebuked* (1657). In the epistle "To all Honest . . . Readers" prefixed to this last work, Stalham printed the following "Certificate," as received by him "by the hands of two worthy Gentlemen, from a Minister in Yorkshire of note and esteem for piety, and pains in his place":

These may certifie, That Richard Farnworth was born at Tickhil in Yorkshire, where he hath Lands of five pounds *per annum* after his mothers decease. He lived about seven years with Mr. Lord of Bramton, carrying very fairly, till at length reading some parts of Mr. Saltmarsh he turned Antinomian and Perfectionist, pretended to internal Teachings, and immediate Revelations, renouncing all outward publique Gospel-administrations, and refusing to joyn in Family-worship; whereupon his Master cashiered him; since that I do not hear he hath had any place of setled abode, save onely one year, that he served Coronet Heathcoat in husbandry: The last five years he ha's gone about deceiving and being deceived, leavening all that possibly he could with Familism and Quakerism: He hath committed to the Press some books of higher account, then the Sacred Scriptures amongst those deluded wretches; two of them I have seen, wherein he expresth malice more then humane against al Christs Institutions and Ambassadors; they are indeed full fraught with nothing else but prodigious railings, asperst with abhorred blasphemies. About two years since he attempted the seduction of Mr. Lord himself; he told him he was sent to him of God, and he would not receive him: upon his inquiry what he was? he said, He was more then a prophet; what art thou then? said he, Art thou Christ? he replied, I am. Hereupon with holy indignation he expelled him; and where he hath been since I hear not, nor that he ever resided at Balby, though he much frequented and impoisoned those silly souls. This I declare this November 26.-55. S.K.

The writer of this "certificate" may be identified with some assurance as Samuel Kendall, the vicar of Warmsworth with Edlington (a parish close to Farnworth's birthplace and the home of Thomas Aldam),¹ who had been present at a dispute held by Farnworth at Twycross, Leicestershire, in October, 1654.² His allegations do no more than bear out, from the point of view of an opponent and in the language usual at the time, the religious development described in *The*

¹ For Kendall, see *Calamy Revised; Northants. and Rutland Clergy*, ed. H. I. Longden.

² For an account of this dispute, see R. Farnworth (mispr. Hornworth), *A Character* (1654).

Heart Opened by Farnworth himself, who there omits mention of Saltmarsh¹ (as he does also of Fox). "Coronet Heathcoat" I have not identified; but "Mr. Lord of Bramton," with whom Farnworth "lived about seven years," was Thomas Lord (1593-1660), of Brampton-en-le-Morthen, in the parish of Treeton, a few miles south-west of Tickhill. The interest of this is that Thomas Lord's sister Margaret was Thomas Aldam's mother, and that Aldam was a legatee in Lord's will; as appears from a genealogical source which appears to have been overlooked by Quaker historians despite its many references to Friends, the work edited in 1894-6 by Joseph Hunter for the Harleian Society and entitled *Familiae Minorum Gentium*.²

* * *

This work also provides the name and parentage of Farnworth's wife; for it records his wedding on 13th July, 1658, at "Hansworth," to Mary Stacey.³ "The Staceys," writes Norman Penney, "were an influential and ancient family of Ballifield Hall and Cinder Hill (now Handsworth Grange), on the border of Yorkshire and Derbyshire"⁴; and "Thomas Stacey, of Cinderhill Green," William Charles Braithwaite plausibly infers, "was probably convinced," along with Nayler and William Dewsbury, at the meeting in about November 1651 at "Lieutenant Roper's house, at Stanley, a few miles North of Wakefield," to which Fox had gone on, directly after the conviction at Balby of Farnworth, the Aldams and the Killams, and "no doubt at the instance of this Balby group."⁵ Farnworth's marriage in 1658 to Mary Stacey thus linked still more closely the important pair of groups convinced at this time. The Aldams and Killams were already intermarried, the brothers John and Thomas Killam having married, respectively, two sisters of Thomas Aldam,

¹ For John Saltmarsh as a precursor of Quakerism, see T. Sippell, *Werdendes Quäkertum; my Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience*.

² pp. 1089f., 1094. There were also Heathcotes at Brampton: cf. p. 473. Many, but not all, of the statements in this paper based on *F.M.G.* might be based, equally, on Henry Ecroyd Smith, *Annals of Smith of Cantley* (1878).

³ p. 1209.

⁴ *Cambridge Journal*, I, 423.

⁵ *B.Q.*, p. 60, with n.2. This Thomas Stacey, who became one of the "First Publishers", was Mary Stacey's brother. See *Familiae Minorum Gentium*, pp. 1209f., for other brothers and sisters; some of them also joined Friends.

and Thomas Aldam in turn having married a sister of theirs. Later both families intermarried with the Staceys; for in 1671 Thomas Aldam's son Thomas married Ann Stacey, and in 1672 John Killam's son John married Mary Stacey. These sisters, Ann and Mary Stacey, were nieces of Farnworth's widow.¹ She, before her marriage to Farnworth, was herself a traveller in truth's service: in 1656 she is mentioned in a MS. letter as at St. Austell in Cornwall.² After Farnworth's death she appears to have returned to the Stacey family home; for her will, dated 3 November 1679, in which she mentions "Thomas, John and Mary, children of Thomas Aldam of Warmsworth," together with some of the Killam family, was made at Ballifield.³ She died on 20.8.(Oct.).1680 and was buried at Balby two days later.⁴

* * *

A lengthy passage in Fox's *Journal* left largely unannotated by Norman Penney describes Fox's return "to Dreyton in Leistersheere" "to visitt my relations" and the disputes which followed, first with Nathaniel Stephens, the Vicar of Fenny Drayton, and "another preist," and later with Stephens and "7 or 8 preists."⁵ "Wee went Into a great hall," Fox writes, "& there was Rich: ffarnsworth with mee." In Farnworth's tract, *The Spirituall Man Iudgeth All Things* (1655), there is a contemporary description of the proceedings, in the main by Farnworth but in part by Fox, which confirms, corrects and supplements the account provided by Fox's memory when he dictated his *Journal* twenty years later.

According to Farnworth's share in this piece, the first dispute was "On the twelf day of the eleventh Month by the world called Ianuary, and according to their accompt 1654" (*i.e.*, 1655, new style); and the second was "on the 17. day of

¹ *Familiae Minorum Gentium*, pp. 1089f.; Yorks Q.M. Marriage Register.

² Swarthmore MSS., I. 360: in my *Early Quaker Letters*, no. 258.

³ *Familiae Minorum Gentium*, p. 1209. Both Ballowfield, as it is spelt in Fox's *Short Journal*, p. 228, and Synderhill, as it is sometimes spelt, are in the parish of Handsworth, in which Farnworth and Mary Stacey were married: this is the next parish to Treeton, in which Farnworth had worked for "Mr. Lord". According to the *British Friend* (1897), p. 43, "Ballyfield Hall" was the family residence, and "Cinder Hill", where it is thought meetings for worship were held, was on the estate, three hundred yards away. The meeting became known as Handsworth Woodhouse and is now Sheffield: Woodhouse.

⁴ Yorks. Q.M. Burial Register.

⁵ *Cambridge Journal*, I, 152-159.

the same Month," which in his *Journal* Fox inexactly terms "yt day sevensight." On the first occasion they went "into a great house like a Hall,¹ and the dwellers thereof came and said they should be welcome and have the command of the house, and none should barre them, &c."; and the second priest is named as "Iohn Chester," "Priest at Witherley," a parish close to Fenny Drayton.² Among those who took part on the second occasion were "Priest Hill," "Priest Mousall," "Priest Whetstone" and "Priest Swayne." Of these the first was almost certainly Thomas Hill, the vicar of Orton-on-the-Hill, Leicestershire, the next parish to Twycross, with whom Farnworth held the dispute there mentioned above³; and the last was probably William Swaine, the vicar of Withybrook, Warwickshire, since in 1651 he had contributed to Nathaniel Stephens' *Precept for Baptisme of Infants* and was thus evidently acquainted with him.⁴ "Priest Mousall" may have been Richard Mansell, the vicar of Burton Dassett, Warwickshire, but I know of no evidence to support the conjecture;⁵ "Priest Whetstone" I have not identified.⁶

In Fox's contribution to Farnworth's tract, in which Fox writes of himself in the third person, he mentions his father Christopher Fox by name and calls him "the old man." To the complaint that Nathaniel Stephens "could not endure the cold" out of doors, where Fox wished the dispute to be held, Fox says that he retorted that "a Minister of Christ could endure hardship, hunger, nakedness or cold." This sounds less egotistical, if not less exasperating, than his retort as he remembered it twenty years later, that "hee might beare it as well as mee." Stephens' striking remark, as found in the *Journal*, that "George ffox Is come to ye light of ye sun: & now hee thinkes to putt out my starr light," with Fox's reply that "I woulde not Quench ye least measure of God in any much lesse putt out his starr light," is recorded thus at the time: "the priest said, George being come to the light of the

¹ Thomas Hodgkin, *George Fox*, p. 103, identifies this (from Fox's mention of it in his *Journal*) as "doubtless the old manor-house of the Purefoys".

² For Chester, the rector of Witherley, see *Calamy Revised*, with a quotation from a letter by him in which he mentions Nathaniel Stephens.

³ For Hill, see *D.N.B.*; *Calamy Revised*; and Farnworth's *Character*.

⁴ For Swaine, see *Calamy Revised*.

⁵ For Mansell, see *Calamy Revised*.

⁶ "Whetstone" is referred to in Farnworth's *Character* as Hill's "partner" in the dispute at Twycross.

Sun, sought to destroy and tread upon his Star light, but that was false for the least measure of light he doth not destroy, but the Darkness that he calls light, George doth deny." This version has a twofold interest. It suggests that the words "much lesse putt out his starr light" were a little harmless embroidery provided by Fox's memory twenty years later, fully in character but an addition to what he actually said. It also confirms, what might perhaps be guessed *a priori*, that the still more elaborate phrase which appears in Ellwood's edition of the *Journal* (whence it duly reappears in the 1952 edition), "much less put out his star-light, if it were true star-light—light from the morning star," consists of Fox's own embroidery with a further gloss which has no authority beyond Ellwood's piety. The extent to which contemporary accounts, such as this tract by Farnworth, whether or not they include a contribution by Fox as this piece does, may be used to date, confirm, correct or supplement Fox's narrative of events, as this is found in his *Journal*, is perhaps greater than has yet been realized. A critical presentation of such accounts would make a lively subject for a research student; and John Nickalls' careful collation of the various versions of the *Journal* in the 1952 edition positively invites someone to undertake it.

GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL

A. R. Barclay MSS

Extracts. Continued from vol. xlvii, p. 87

Notes are not supplied to Friends respecting whom notes appear in "The Journal of George Fox," Cambridge edition, 1911, or "The Short and Itinerary Journals," 1925. The use of capital letters has been reduced and the punctuation and paragraphing adapted where necessary in the interest of clarity. The A.R.B. MSS. are in the Library at Friends House, and also available on microfilm.

CXIII & CXXI¹

THOMAS ALDAM to GEORGE FOX. *York*, v.1654.

This was ye order which came from London to Bowles of Yorke concerning Busines & order ye notes of ye rest as nere as I can.

Beeinge present at my Lord Protecktors when the Master of Requests was deliveringe petitions, there was one paper presented which had an [?un]usuall direcktion yet his highnes was pleased to passe by that formallitie & take notice of the paper. It did concerne one Tho. Aldam prisoner in Yorke Castle. It seemes hee was committed first of all uppon A pretence of disturbinge a Minister in the Church; afterwards hee was fined forty pounds by Judge Parker² for not puttinge of his hatt, for non payment of which fine hee hath allreadye endured about two yeares imprisonment as it is informed. & as to his charge concerneing the Minister; it is moved on his beehalfe yt hee have a fare tryall.

His highnes was pleased to enferre uppon the petitioner's sufferings, & commanded mee to send you this enclosed paper, with his desire yt you would speake with some of ye Justices, as allsoe ye Judges at the next Assizes, yt hee bee brought unto & have a fare & legall tryall for yt offence for which hee was committed, without the standinge uppon the fine, which his highnesse expressed on purpose to remitt. & allsoe hee desired yt you would give him an account of the proceedinge of ye whole business with your opinion uppon the same paper.

¹ These two MSS. are parts of a single paper, CXXI coming before CXIII.

² John Parker; *Dict. Nat. Biog.* There is a letter from Thomas Aldam to him, 23.i.1655, Swarthmore MSS. I, 90.

From London

July 13th 1654 This is a Coppie of the order which came from ye Lord Protector soe called sent to Edward Bowles¹ of Yorke Highe Preist & sent from Edward Bowles of Yorke to mee.
July: 24: 1654

[a line is drawn across the page at this point]

Tho Aldam

Edward Bowles Highe Preist of Yorke did keepe this order close & did not lett mee heare of it till towarde ye end of the Assize. But I had notice of it & at ye beegining of the Assize, by meanes as was procured from London, which came to my hand yt what was done at London was knowne to mee as much as in this order to Bowles doth expresse. My sister Joan Killam beeing moved to come over to Yorke; wee did condesend to send backe to Warmesworth for some wittnesses that ye lyeinge Preist might have beene leyd open, expectinge to have had a tryall & heareinge beefore the contry. But my adversaries did not come in. Soe my sister Joan went to the men called Judges with a letter from mee; & shee spoke to the Judges yt I might have my tryall & they told her that for ye first ofence I was quitt. But shee said there was an order which was comed from the Lord Protecktor which did give order that I should have a legall tryall, yt it might bee knowne whether the Preist or I ware ye first breakers of the peace. Soe towards ye end of the Assize my Bro: William Aldam & my sister Joan went to the Highe Preist Bowles of Yorke; it was uppon the 22th day of the fift month now present & they told him yt they did heare yt there was an order comed to London for my haveinge a tryall at this Assize, concerneinge my first Imprisonment, & about takeinge of the fine which Judge Parker leyd uppon mee.

Soe ye 23 day in the morneinge Edward Bowles came to the Assizes & did geve the paper or order to ye Judges & then hee came downe to the Gaoler & sent one [to desire me to] [*the MS. is defective at this point*] come to speake to him at the dore in the garth. Soe to the Highe Preist I went, & my sister Joan Killam, & some words was given mee to speake to ye Light of Christ in his conscience. . . . But hee sayd Frend

¹ Edward Bowles, d. 1662; preacher at York cathedral, 1646-60; A. G. Mathews: *Calamy Revised*, 1934, pp. 67-68.

wee shall not despute here, & away hee would have beene gone. But hee did promisse much, & sayd hee would speake to the Judges & Justices to quit mee for ye prisoninge by ye Preist & to see the fine taken of[f]. Now sayd I "Frend dost thou owne such a law as is now practised uppon mee who have beene two yeares & two months in prison & never come to a tryall; & now I have wittnesses here, to wittnesse the truth, & here is an order yt I should have a legall tryall, & is this an equall thinge yt I must bee putt out with a pap[er] & not have my accusers brought face to face, & my wittnesses heard, yt ye deceite may bee known where it is standinge." [But Bowles s]ayd "The law is open, if hee have falsely imprisoned thee thou mayst take a course with him at law. The law is, if any transgresse ye law of ye Commonwealth ye plantiffe against thee may give over when hee will, hee hath noe more to doe with it, Thou mayst aske this lawyer if it bee not soe." "Frend art thou a minister of Christ & ownes this law to be equall & accordinge to that is the conscience to cast one in prison above two yeares & when ye time is past, to put ye man out of prison without haveinge any tryall beefore ye contry?" But he sayd hee was not to pleade the law. But away hee went from me, & some words I spoke to his practise to the Light in his conscience, & then hee fledd.

I was returned of a jury, & a baliffe came & gave mee notice, & told mee if I did not serve I should bee fined, soe to the Gaoler I went & told them yt I was commanded by authoritie from ye powres of ye nation to doe service of a Jurye if not of more causes then one & I was returned foreman as they sayd, & I desired beeinge free in my spirit to god throughe them to doe service. But their answere was they would not suffer mee. Soe I writt to the Judge yt I might receive Justice from him in this thinge, beeinge in outward bonds & nighe them yt hee would give order to the Gaoler to let mee come to serve, or free mee from issues. But his answere was: If I would petition in their forme hee would, but to that I had written hee would not. Hee stumbled much at the word Frend which was the first word & hee did often repeate it; thy brother writes the first word Frend is this to bee spoken to a Judge, goe thy way. Uppon the 22th day I was called & it was soe yt the prisens dore was open & they was cryeing my name at the Crosse in the Castle garth, & soe I stepped to the jurye, & cryde & made my appearance

& went to the Gaoler declareing I might goe on with the jurye & I should take a souldier with mee. It was granted, & comeinge to the Bench I spoke to the Judge:

¹ Frend I require justice of thee. I am here returned of a jury & am free to doe service, either suffer mee to goe on in service or quitt mee from issues. But his mouth was stopped yt I did not heare him speake. But the baliffes cryed, take of[f] his hatt, & take him away cryed others, & soe they tooke my hat of[f] with one of their staves, others layd hands of mee. But the Judge Newdigate² did not gainsay yt I heard, soe I did stepp up as nighe as I could gett to ye place where ye Judge satt, & spoke to the under sherriffe³; hee beeinge frendly owneinge ye truth in the judgement in many thinges I sayd Frend, what was ye Judge answere didst thou heare him speake; hee sayd yes the Judge sayd hee could fine ye Gaoler for lettinge mee come out of prison & justices should proceede against mee. Then I came away. & after [*torn*] did write to him againe to ley open to him ye abuse of ye courts & to lett him know I had made my appearance. But his answere was justices should proceed agaynst mee. But at the end of the Assize they caused proclamation yt noe justice should proceede against any which appeared. Soe as farre as it is knowne to mee ye frends are freed; & these other two frends, my deare hearts, who stand valiant with mee in the life & poure of truth, to wittnesse against the doctrine of Anti Christ which leades into sweareinge which causes the land to mo[u]rne because of their oath[es]. But noe tryall nor examination of wittnesses of my part concerneing ye abomination of the Priest would bee heard; but denyed, soe as they came they left me; in bonds with seaven other my fellowe prisoners. My Bro: John Killam is brought to prison for speakeing to the Preist of doncaster, in his preachinge as they call it, & is with mee, & there is five in prison at Owse Bridge in the cittie; Bosswell Middleton,⁴ Hen Fowler,⁵ Agnes Wilkin-

¹ A.R.B. CXIII begins here.

² Sir Richard Newdigate, 1st bart (1602-78), *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

³ Probably George Mancklin, skinner; mayor of York in 1666; d. 27 Dec., 1683, aged 74.

⁴ There is an account of his examination at York assizes in Portfolio 4, 20, at Friends House.

⁵ Henry Fowler, of York, buried 7.viii.1681.

son, Annas Nichelson¹ & another yonge woeman imprisoned for speakinge to the people in the streets in Yorke. Another they cast into prison for throwinge bookes into their coatches; but he is turned out again.

The heathen is in greate rage, but shame & confusion is coveringe their faces. There was none sett free out of the Cittie Prison, but here was three sent forth here, but never called beefore them, but cryed in the court, to see if any could wittnesse any thing against them, but none appeared. My Bro: Will: Dewsburrie, Mary Fisher & John Snowden are gone forth of prison & Mary Fisher, & Mary Howgill are gone up towards London as farre as I knowe; they did say had moveings to goe thither the Lord guide them in his wisdome.

Deare Bro: Geor. Fox, my love & life is with thee. Salute mee to my deare sister Margeret Fell with all ye familie who are of ye houshold of faith, & all Friends who love not their lifes unto death. My deare Bro: John Killam hath his deare love remembred to thee & to Margeret Fell & that houshold; my love salutes thee in the eternall unitie. Let Margeret see these passages.

Frend[s] growe verye bold & valiant & ye liveinge growes in the heate of persecution. Our Friends at London are well. I heard latly from them, but they have greate encounteringe there. Many are convinced of the truth, but fewe owne the Crosse. My fellowe prisoners salutes you, & ye Lord god of powre bee with you all, my dearly beeloved brethren & sisters in the Lord with whome is my life

Tho. Aldam

[address]

For G: F: this to to bee delivered
 Passages concerneing Tho: Aldam who am still in
 out ward bonds but free in the Lord, praises bee unto
 his Name for ever. Looke not out my longe
 continuance of imprisonment, for it is the will of
 god to suffer it soe to bee. The devill was
 permitted to cast mee into prison, & ever
 since hee cryes & roares yt I am come to torment
 him beefore the time. But lift up your heades
 & bee valiant for ye Eternall truth of god;

¹ There is an account of Anna Nicholson and Agnes Wilkinson in York jail in Friends House MS. (Box P), "A Booke of Letters which were sent to G.F. from John Audland and John Camm", pp. 1-2, dated 1653.

& by his wisdome bee you guided; & bow not to ye
Beast. to receive his marke least you be defiled.

[endorsed by G.F.] thomas aldam
 suferinges to
 g F

[A.R.B. CXXI endorsed by G.F.] olyfr Cromell

CXIV

FRANCIS HOWGILL & JOHN AUDLAND to EDWARD
BURROUGH. *Bristol, 2.vi.1656.*

E b:

our deare & wellbeloved Brother, in the Covenante of god,
unto thee our soule is knitte, & united in the bond of pure
love & true unity: dearly doe wee in the bowells of love &
tendernesse, sallute thee. . . .

Deare bro: thinges heare are pretty well as could be
expected at presentte: friends are still & Quiette, & turnes
Inward to search & try as in themselves. Wee write by the last
post: of those people passeing out of the towne: as it apeared
they would have gone unknowne: but did not: some friends
followed: & the other in hasting lost one an other: soe they
weare parted in three, the two men was together & the other
each alone: & the two men was found next day & went to a
Inne: & soe yesterday N.J. [James Nayler] went towards
F: g: [George Fox] west[wards] & Jo: Bo: [John Bowron?] &
Nic. Gan: [Nich. Ganncliffe] with him: & Stringer said he
would come for london. Han: [Stringer] came to us 5 day &
had lost all the reste; & said she would goe to g: & she paste
that way, but Martha [Simmonds] wee have not heard on
since: a mighty thinge was in it that they should be soe
parted: even by noething, as to the outward; & they were
disappointed, what ever they intended. Wee went with n J.
yesterday aboute 15: mille hee said little to us but hee did one
whilles weepe exceedingly soe wee returned, & they rode one.¹
Wee weare glad that hee wente.

Our love dearely to all friends there as thou art free,
blesed & happy are they that endure to the end, & stands
single in the day of tryall, & all friends waiteing in their
owne, nether turneing to the right hand nor to the lefte:
there is ther safty: in the Lord alone. Thyne wee did recave

¹ *i.e.* on.

& deare harte with thee wee are bound up & in the lord is our peace. & pretious it is to dwell in that which turnes rownd & keeps the wicked out.

For F.H: its like after first day hee may bee at some meeteings & passe as the lord orders & see thee. T. Burden[†] is now returened from gF: he tould him passeiges (for Joen. d: was turned backe before by the waches which tooke them & carryed them to ofesicers) the substance of his answer was that they should come to him & be gott to him by any meanes. g: writ to N.J: & Tho: b. meeteing him gave it to him: but g. wrote noething to us: he made not much of it: & bad that noe friends should bee discourshed [discouraged]. Hee said the wrong in them was got above & N.J. had lost his doeminion, but there was something in it. This is the substance of what we can gather.

Soe deare brother fare well (g said it was well that some went to London) wee are they deare bretheren

F: H. J.A.

Brestoll 2d of the 6th mo. 56

My dear bro: keep it out and dwell above and bid freinds be quiate, and lett it cease & die In the power of the lord we have dominion over it. the power of the lord preserve the

[the last in another hand]

[address] For the hands of	[endorsed] F h & J. A
Girratte Robertts at th[e]	to E.B.
Flower deluce Thomas	1656
apostles for E: b:	
These dd	
in London	

CXV

MARY HOWGILL to GEORGE FOX, 1656

Der & eternall beloved my life is to thee & my soule breaths after thee. The tyme shall come when noe bonds shall keepe deliverance I see comeing & I know I shall see thy face with ioy. One day when I was wayting upon the Lord the word of the lord came unto mee, 3 dayes & thou shall meete with him whome thou had seeked fourteene yeares, & at the 3 dayes end I entred into the land of rest where pleasant melodie was h[e]ard & met with my beloved & dranke

[†] Thomas Burden, nephew of Anne Burden, is identified in G. F. Nuttall's *Early Quaker Letters*.

abondantly of the water of life & about a day afterwards
goeing to John Lawsons shopp when I saw him my life was
sore opressed & a burden came upon mee, & I wayted that
day & upon the evening the words came to mee, goe & write
& upon obedience to the lord soe I did, & I send thee a coppie
of the lynes yt I gave to him¹ & as thou sees thou may write
a line or 2 to mee

Mary Howgill

Margret Cleaton & Ann Cleaton remember their love to thee
[address] For g: F. these [endorsed] From Mary
to be delivered. Howgill to

G: Fox 1656

CXVI

JOHN AUDLAND to EDWARD BURROUGH. *Olveston,*
26.ii.1656

E.B.

My deare & eternally beloved brother in the pure unitey of
the Spirit & in the bond of love, doe I dearely sallutt thee, &
my deare brother F: h: [Francis Howgill] unto whom my
soule is knitte: & by you I remaine to be read in the record
of life which god hath given us of the sonn.

My deare bro: I recaved thy letter datted London the 22th
& as touchinge the maids I have waited and Enquired for
places: & I know little yett. I have lookte for milles² Comeinge
this way out of Cornewell: which made mee stay a little, as
touching writteinge, but this I Judge at present to be beste,
let them be sente for, one or both: & heare are friends enough
to recave them for presente: and when they are heare, it will be
seene what places they are fitt for & soe they may be provided
for, now I leave it to thee to send if thou know of a place for
one of them there thou may, or let them both come hither
first. & when thou writts remember my deare love to them:
for truely Care lies on mee for them, & I doe not forgitt them.

Deare harte tell F.H. that hee may send mee a relation of
the womon which lives at or aboute tauton [Taunton?]: how
one may enquire her out: he knows the bisenes. I have beene
in Walles, and had some genereall meeteings there, but a
dampe is over, the sarvise is hurte. Friends this ways are well.
I am now at Oulstone, the truth spreads & prospers & in the

¹ A copy endorsed by George Fox is to be found in Swarthmore MSS.,
iii, 107.

² Probably Miles Bateman.

worke of the lord I am refreshed. My deare love to all faithfull frinds & bretheren: to deare J.N: [James Nayler] & to all the tender babs of your fould. I am one with thee in the life niver dyeing, J.A.

I have heard that R.F. & A.A.¹ is let out of bonds at Banbury: but passeiges I cannot relatte. Faithfull & true, let mee heare from thee as thou art free: & how thou sends for those maids that I may provide accordingly if I should not bee this way.

Deare bro: Inclose mee this to Kendalle by the nexte poste to some one that will deliver it, as its derected.

oulstone the 26 of 2d month 56

[address] For my deare brother [endorsement] e bora
Edward Burrough 1656
These with care dd.
in London.

CXVII

FRANCIS HOWGILL to GEORGE FOX, 1655²

Dearely Beloved one in whome my soule del[i]ghtes . . .

The fame & renowne of the lord is great over all the regons wheare we pase as our beloved J.P.³ will acquent the: Deare & welbeloved it weare life to se the one hore [hour] face to face but in the will of god I stand over all out of time whear is my Joy. At thy comaund we have Cast our nettes in to the sea & have catched fish our nett is like to breake. Glory for evermor, I am melted I amelted with thy love It is not lawfull to uter, pray for me thy deare son begoten to an inheratance incoruptable: that I may with power & bouldnesse be led to declare his trueth to the finishing of my testemony. Farwell for evermor my well beloved one

F. H.

[address] To him who is invisable
out of time

[endorsed] From Francis How
gill to G.F.
1655

¹ For an account of the imprisonment of Richard Farnworth and Anne Audland at Banbury, see W. C. Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, 199-200.

² If the endorsement date can be accepted, this letter was probably written in Ireland at the end of 1655.

³ John Perrot?

Notes and Queries

WILLIAM EDMONDSON

The genealogists' magazine, vol. 12, no. 4 (December, 1955), contains at pp. 120-122: *The New England Visit of William Edmondson, the Quaker*, by G. Andrews Moriarty, A.M., LL.B., F.S.A., F.S.G., F.A.S.G., particularly dealing with William Edmondson's dispute with Roger Williams—of which Williams' account survives.

SAMUEL BOWNAS, QUAKER

A copy of the Holy Bible, 1647, 12 mo, which is in the writer's collection, once belonged to Samuel Bownas the Quaker minister. It is the actual Bible that Bownas carried with him on his second visit to America in 1726, and has his bookplate, *Samuel Bownas, His Book*, 1703, pasted on the inside back cover. On the inside of the front cover is written: *Samuel Bownas's Book*, 1701, and on a fly leaf is the following note in his holograph: I left my house ye 22nd Xth 1726. Landed in Verginia ye 2nd Mo 1727. Travelled through all ye provinces following North Carolina, Verginia, Maryland, East and Western Shoars Pensilevainia, East and West Jerseys, Longe Island, Cannetecoate, Road Island, Boston and Plymouth Govermt, ye province of Maine all which I travelled beeing ridy to saile ye 15 of ye 5th mo 1728 and in that time I travelled 5022 miles as pr account of my jurnell setting Saile the 29-5th mo from Hampton and Was. On the bookplate is written in Bownas's hand: Borne

ye 20th 11th mo 1676; and in an 18thc hand: Died in 1753. J. STEVENS COX, of Beaminster, Dorset, in the columns of *The Literary Repository*, No. 1, 1956, a quarterly devoted to, and a catalogue of, rare books and MSS, etc. The volume described is not for disposal.

BRADFORD (YORKS) BURIAL GROUND

The Bradford antiquary, new series, part 38, February 1956, pp. 149-159, contains an article entitled "Jeremy Bower, a seventeenth century Bradford clothier" by William E. Preston, which includes a notice of Bower's relations with Matthew Wright his brother-in-law and his partner or successor in business as Bradford clothier. Matthew Wright became a Quaker and gave Friends a piece of land in Goodman's End, Bradford, for a burial ground; his will was drawn up by Joshua Dawson, Quaker, and comes into the Chancery action which Bower subsequently brought, the documents of which provide the basis for the narrative.

HACKINS HEY, LIVERPOOL

The old Quaker Meeting House in Hackins Hey, Liverpool, a paper by James Murphy, read to the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 18th February, 1954, is printed in the society's *Transactions*, vol. 106, pp. 79-98. The author has used Friends' records at Liverpool and Manchester.

GOSFORTH, CUMBERLAND
 W. M. Williams in his *The sociology of an English village: Gosforth* (London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1956. International library of sociology and social reconstruction) has a chapter dealing with Religion. Most of the parishioners belong to the Church of England, but there are a few others: Wesleyan Methodists 10, Roman Catholics 18, Quakers 5, Christian Scientists 2, Presbyterians 1. Writing of the Quakers, the author states (p. 199):

“The two Quaker families in the parish also attend the Methodist services, a practice common in South Cumberland where the members of this sect are too

scattered to make regular meetings convenient. Quite a number of people spoke of these families in a very hostile way and accused them of using their religious beliefs to avoid conscription during the last war. Among their critics were farmers and villagers who were not themselves conscripted and who did not in general appear to be zealously patriotic. It seems very probable that the hostility towards the Quaker families results not from any concern about national affairs but rather from the fact that their religious beliefs set them apart from their neighbours and emphasize their status as strangers.”

Reports on Archives

The Lincolnshire Archivist's report for 1954-55 lists records of Lincolnshire Monthly Meeting which have been deposited in the care of the county archivist with approval of the meeting. In April, 1954, the meeting agreed to deposit records not required for current business, with the condition that records less than a century old should only be available for study with the approval of the clerk for the time being.

The Hertfordshire County Archivist's report (January, 1955) mentions a large collection of letters relating to Quaker activities in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, deposited by Mr. Derick Seebohm of Hitchin.

A Descriptive Report on the Quarter Sessions, other official and ecclesiastical records in the custody of the County Councils of East and West Sussex (Sussex Record Publication no. 2), 1954, includes notes on the records of Quaker declarations in place of oaths, register of dissenting places of worship and certificates of places for worship.

The *Bulletin of the National Register of Archives*, no. 7 (Winter, 1955) includes two summaries of reports on Friends' archives; Southampton Friends' Meeting House and Sudbury Friends' Meeting House.

Recent Publications

Laurels and Rosemary: the life of William and Mary Howitt. By Amice Lee. Oxford University Press, 1955. pp. (xii), 350; 9 plates. 30s.

This book by Mrs. R. W. Lee, great-niece of the Howitts, is based on surviving letters from Mary Howitt to Anne (Botham) Harrison, 1797-1882, and other autobiographical material still in the family. Brought up as Quakers in the Midlands, the Howitts married in 1821. William had a druggist's shop in Nottingham from 1822 to 1836, in which year the family moved nearer London to support themselves solely by their pens, in which they succeeded, without achieving lasting fame.

The Howitts left the Society of Friends in 1847 (although this does not appear in the book), took to spiritualism, and after William's death in Rome Mary became a Roman Catholic. The interest for Friends lies in the early period of the writers' lives to about 1840 and their expressed dissatisfaction with the Quakerism of the time. The index and proof-reading is erratic and one could dispense with half the plates to knock something off the price.

The Bulletin of Friends Historical Association, vol. 44, no. 1, spring number, 1955, opens with Geoffrey F. Nuttall's article on "Early Quakerism in the Netherlands," summarizing information contained in C. B. Hylkema's *Reformateurs* (2 vols. 1900-02). Helen Pennock South, Assistant Professor of English at New York University, contributes a discussion on "Dr. Johnson and the Quakers," giving parallel versions of the discussion between Johnson and Mrs. Mary Knowles on Quakerism.

The autumn number, 1955, opens with an illustrated article on "The Centre Square Meetinghouse and the other meetinghouses of early Philadelphia." (Edwin B. Bronner). It includes also a useful outline account of English Friends' activities and the abolition of the Slave Trade (Alan M. Rees); "Hannah Kilham, Friend of the Free" (Elwood Cronk); "Cultural resources of Quaker pioneers in Ohio" (Opal Thornburg); and the usual features.

Supplements to the Journal of Friends' Historical Society

- 1-7. FIRST PUBLISHERS OF TRUTH. Ed. Norman Penney. 1907. 410 pp. with binding case, unbound. 15s., post 1s. 5d.
14. Record of the SUFFERINGS OF FRIENDS IN CORNWALL, 1655-1686. 1928. 152 pp., 7s. 6d., post 5d.
15. QUAKER LANGUAGE. F.H.S. Presidential address by T. Edmund Harvey, 1928. 30 pp., 1s. 6d., post 2d.
- 16-17. PEN PICTURES OF LONDON YEARLY MEETING, 1789-1833. Ed. Norman Penney. 1930. 227 pp., 10s., post 10d.
21. AN ORATOR'S LIBRARY. John Bright's books. Presidential address 1936 by J. Travis Mills. 1946. 24 pp., 2s., post 2d.
22. LETTERS TO WILLIAM DEWSBURY AND OTHERS. Edited by Henry J. Cadbury. 1948. 68 pp., 5s., post 3d.
23. SLAVERY AND "THE WOMAN QUESTION." Lucretia Mott's Diary, 1840. By F. B. Tolles. 1952. 5s., cloth 7s. 6d., post 3d.
24. THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY OF THE EARLY FRIENDS. Presidential address by Frederick B. Tolles, 1952. 2s. 6d., post 2d.
25. JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER, The Quaker. By C. Marshall Taylor. 1954. 2s. 6d. post 2d.
26. JAMES NAYLER, A FRESH APPROACH. By Geoffrey F. Nuttall, D.D. 1954. 1s. 6d., post 2d.
27. THOMAS RUDYARD, EARLY FRIENDS' "ORACLE OF LAW." By Alfred W. Braithwaite. 1956. 1s. 6d., post 2d.
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