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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.

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THE JOURNAL
OF THE
FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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Friends House.

Editorial

WITH deep regret we record the loss sustained by the Friends' Historical Society in the death of Irene L. Edwards on January 12th, 1957. She was for many years a member of this Society, had been a member of its Committee as well as of the Library Committee of the Meeting for Sufferings since 1930 and was President of F.H.S. in 1954. Her constant researches into Quaker records, particularly those of London Friends Meetings brought her frequently into the Library for many years. She was always ready to lend a hand in such tasks as the making of inventories in the MS. collections, relieving the staff, or giving generous help to readers or correspondents in their own researches if she had material that would help them. Her principal contributions to this *Journal* were her "History of Winchmore Hill Meeting from 1688 to 1938" (*Journal*, 1938) and her presidential address on "The Women Friends of London: the Two Weeks and Box Meetings" (*Journal*, 1955). A longer memorial article was published in *The Friend*, February 1st, 1957.

IN this issue we print a paper by Dr. W. Alan Cole on the Social origins of early Friends, based on his study of the occupational information given in the Friends' registers of marriages in certain selected areas. This is an aspect of early Quaker history which has not been studied very much, and Dr. Cole's conclusions will command respect even when a

complete survey of the registers is undertaken. Much more evidence is probably needed before a full assessment can confidently be attempted, because within each occupation group is hidden wide variation in status, but the outstanding impression received is that of the large number of Friends in the "mechanic" trades, in clothing (particularly weaving) and minor branches of commerce, and the almost complete lack of gentry at the one end and unskilled labourers at the other.

There is also a note from research by Amy Wallis, on early Durham meeting organization and on Anthony Pearson, perhaps the most prominent Friend in "Bishopric" under the Commonwealth. The third major portion of this number consists of a further selection of MSS from the A. R. Barclay collection at Friends House.

It is one of the duties of the Friends' Historical Society to provide the materials by which scholars who come to study historical problems from perhaps a new angle, with original ideas and fresh questions to answer, can reach a full and balanced view of the evidence which Friends' records provide of the life of Quakerism during the past three hundred years.

We are fortunate that the earliest Friends had a true historical sense, and appreciated the need to preserve collections of papers which still in large part survive to illustrate the early growth of the movement. It is for us to produce the evidence and make it available for wider research. However, in printing documents concerning the early history of Quakerism we should not forget that the inner life of the Society was based not on the meeting organization, and the concerns in fields like education, welfare and good discipline which are inevitably more prominent, but on the message which the early Friends received and passed on to their fellow-countrymen of seventeenth-century England, and which underlay all activities in the growing fellowship.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

(Article on *Darlington*, vol. xlviii, no. 2)

- p. 58, note, line 2, *for* Cudworthys, *read* Cudworths.
- p. 63, line 29, *for* 1766 to 1857, *read* 1760 to 1858.
- p. 65, line 36, The "Centenary" ceremony of 1948 was actually held on the 102nd anniversary of the death of Joseph Pease.
- p. 67, line 12, *for* 1853, *read* 1854.
- line 37, *for* third surviving, *read* eldest.

The Social Origins of the Early Friends¹

UNLIKE most other aspects of Quaker history, the social origins of the early Friends have received comparatively little study. It is well-known, of course, that in the eighteenth century members of the Society became steadily more prosperous. As long ago as 1869 a table was published by William Beck and T. Frederick Ball illustrating the increase between 1680 and 1780 of the proportion of London Friends drawn from the professional and commercial strata and the striking decline in the numbers of artisans and labourers.² More recently, an attempt was made by Ernest E. Taylor to ascertain the origin of the First Publishers of Truth,³ while R. S. Mortimer has tabulated the occupational data in the Quaker records relating to seventeenth century Bristol.⁴ Finally, Dr. Arthur Raistrick has summarized the conclusions to be drawn from the figures given by Beck and Ball and Taylor, and has added further information, notably the occupations of 56 Westmorland Friends who died between 1686 and 1738.⁵

This material is admittedly more extensive than that existing for other comparable movements, but it represents only a fraction of that available, and, for the purposes of a generalized study, it is subject to certain obvious limitations. Apart from the data for the northern leaders, it relates only to the two great urban centres, London and Bristol; and tells us little about the appeal of Quakerism to men in different trades and classes in the country as a whole. The object of this article, therefore, is to try to present a fuller picture of the social background from which the early Quakers sprang.

¹ This article is a slightly abbreviated version of Appendix A of the author's Ph.D. thesis, *The Quakers and Politics, 1652-1660*, which was submitted at Cambridge in June, 1955, and is now available in typescript in the Library at Friends House.

² W. Beck and T. F. Ball, *London Friends' Meetings*, p. 90.

³ Ernest Taylor, "The First Publishers of Truth", *Jnl. F.H.S.*, vol. xix, 1922, pp. 66-81. In Appendix II of his thesis on *The Early Quaker Outlook upon "the World" and Society* (typescript: Friends House Library) H. S. Barbour covered much the same ground as Taylor, though he also tabulated the data relating to 87 Bristol Friends in Isabel Grubb's *Quakerism and Industry*.

⁴ R. S. Mortimer, *Quakerism in Seventeenth Century Bristol* (typescript: Friends House Library), pp. 525-7.

⁵ A. Raistrick, *Quakers in Science and Industry*, pp. 27-32.

There is a good deal of evidence relating to this question in the pamphlet literature, monthly meeting minute books, Besse's *Sufferings*, and the Quaker registers of births, marriages and deaths. The task of collating the evidence from these different sources would be formidable, but in any case the information contained in the registers provides the obvious starting-point for a statistical enquiry. These books, which have been described as "the most complete and beautifully kept record of its kind belonging to any religious denomination throughout the world",¹ are now deposited together with other non-parochial registers at Somerset House, but alphabetical abstracts were made of their contents at the time of the transfer in 1837 and are now preserved in duplicate both at Friends House and with the records of the Quarterly Meetings. Although the originals have naturally been consulted where necessary, the existence of these readily accessible transcripts has considerably facilitated the task of research, and it is these which form the basis of the survey which follows.

On the recommendation of George Fox, the registration of births, marriages and deaths was introduced at an early date,² but the records are clearly incomplete for the earliest years. After the Restoration, the entries become much more abundant and reflect the steady increase in numbers, although there is some evidence that the decline in Quaker strength may be dated from 1680.³ The entries also become fuller with the passage of time; but occupational data is only occasionally given in the registers of deaths, and, in the case of births, information relating to the occupation of the child's father is regularly given only from the latter part of the eighteenth century. Fortunately, the information required is given much more frequently in the marriage registers,⁴ although even here it is highly irregular in occurrence and is quite inadequate in many districts. We have therefore been obliged to make two initial assumptions. Although our primary interest is in the

¹ Josiah Newman, "The Quaker Records" in *Some Special Studies in Genealogy*, p. 41.

² Cf. W. C. Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism*, p. 144.

³ In London, the largest number of marriages was recorded during the quinquennium 1675-9. Cf. the table opposite p. 90 in Beck and Ball, *op. cit.* Tabulation of the data from the other registers I have examined would probably exhibit a similar trend.

⁴ These constitute the source material for all the tables except that relating to Buckinghamshire. For the latter, see below, p. 109.

formative period of Quaker development, it has been necessary to include all the data relating to the period down to 1688 in order to secure information which is at all adequate for generalization. Hence the results can only be regarded as applicable to the Commonwealth period on the assumption that there was no radical change in the social composition of the Quaker groups before the Act of Toleration. Secondly, we have assumed that the data represents a random sample in the sense that it was a matter of chance whether occupational information was recorded or not.

To some extent it will be possible to test the validity of these assumptions in the consideration of particular areas, but it remains true that the figures given in the tables must be treated with caution.¹ Moreover, it must be remembered that many individuals pursued a subsidiary occupation or were of indeterminate social status,² facts which are clearly reflected in the numerous cases of duplicate entries in the records,³ and which further complicate the task of classification. Within these limits, however, the data may suggest the broad occupational groups from which the Quakers were drawn. It is much less reliable as a guide to the class origin of particular individuals, and here our conclusions can only be tentative in character.

It has not been possible to marshal all the evidence available in these registers, but certain key areas have been selected which are of importance in Quaker history, and for which the data happens to be relatively abundant. Friends are believed to have been numerically strongest in the north of England, notably in Westmorland, Lancashire and Yorkshire, in the south-west, and in London, Bristol and Norwich. The sources are remarkably silent concerning the occupations of Quakers in Norwich and Westmorland, and accordingly we have chosen Lancashire, Gloucestershire and Wiltshire, Bristol and London and Middlesex. Buckinghamshire has also been included, partly because it, too, is an historic centre

¹ This is especially true since the size of the sample is sometimes small. For a discussion of this point, see below, pp. 116-118.

² For example, in Lancashire, we find one man described in different entries as both "yeoman" and "husbandman". In such cases, the first entry has been taken.

³ Duplicate entries have been ignored, but in the case of re-marriages both items of information have been included.

of Quaker influence,¹ but mainly because it happens to provide us with an abundance of the information we require.²

LANCASHIRE

The Lancashire clerks were particularly assiduous in recording occupational information, and the data we need is available for the pre-Revolution period in greater proportions than for any other rural area. The occupations of bridegrooms are given in about 55 per cent. of the entries in the marriage register for the period 1652-1688, although in only four cases does the information relate to the years before the Restoration.³ A comparison of the distribution of the data by monthly meetings, however, reveals considerable variations. The sample for the area north of the Ribble represents about 40 per cent. of the total number of marriages recorded, while for the southern district the figure is as high as 70 per cent.; and these facts should be borne in mind when considering the evidence in Table I. The differences are unfortunate in that it has been argued that Quakerism was strongest in the Furness district, and relatively weak in the Presbyterian south-east and Catholic south-west of the county.⁴ But although Swarthmoor Friends emerge as the largest group, there was a second stronghold in the vicinity of Pendle Hill, and the difference in the actual number of marriages recorded in north and south is not great.

Perhaps the most striking feature of the table is the great strength of Friends in the clothing trades and the small numbers drawn from the landed classes and the professional and commercial groups. The preponderance of the clothing trades is quite as evident in the north as in the south, partly

¹ The date at which Quakerism first established a foothold in Bucks. is hard to determine, as there is no return for the county in *The First Publishers of Truth* (ed. N. Penney, 1907). There were, however, several Quaker groups there by 1655. Cf. *V.C.H. Bucks.*, I, p. 331.

² A rough indication of the relative strength of Friends in the different areas may be provided by the following estimate of the numbers of marriages recorded during the period under review: Lancashire, 325; Glos. and Wilts., 470; Bucks., 188; Bristol, 290; London and Middx., 1,200. Yorkshire was also included in the survey from which this article is taken, but has been omitted here for reasons of space. About 1,200 marriages are recorded in that county, but occupational information is given in only 10 per cent. of the entries.

³ For the later decades, occupational information is given in 39 cases in 1660-9; 58 in 1670-9; and 77 in 1680-8.

⁴ Barbour, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-100.

TABLE I—LANCASHIRE¹

Occupation	N.W.	S.E.	Total	Per cent.
GENTLEMAN		1	1	0·6
SCHOOLMASTER; CHIRURGEON ..		3	3	1·7
AGRICULTURE				
Yeoman (15 per cent.); Husbandman	12	47	59	33·1
COMMERCE, FOOD AND CONSUMPTION GOODS				
Grocer; Distiller; Maltster	1	9	10	5·6
CLOTHING TRADES				
Tailor; Mercer; Draper; Dyer; Webster or weaver (18 per cent.); Flaxman or -woman; Stapler; Felt-maker; Glover; Cordwainer or shoemaker (10 per cent.)	30	42	72	40·4
“MECHANIC” TRADES				
Ironmonger; Blacksmith; Potter; Saddler, collar-maker, tanner, currier, skinner (these five 6 per cent.); Glazier; Cooper; Pipemaker; Carpenter, mason, waller (these three 5 per cent.); Coalminer;				
Seaman	13	18	31	17·4
SERVANT		1	1	0·6
LABOURER		1	1	0·6
	56	122	178	100

no doubt due to the fact that the Furness district fell within the Kendal textile area, and partly to the relative weight of the shoemaking and tailoring element among Friends there. The relative unimportance of the agricultural group may also occasion some surprise, especially in view of the number of yeomen and husbandmen amongst the leaders from the north-west,² although this is a phenomenon which we shall find repeated elsewhere. Up to a point, however, these features may do little more than reflect the economic structure of the county. Comparative statistics are scarce, but roughly contemporary evidence for a few of the south-eastern

¹ Fuller details of the numbers in each occupation will be found in the thesis from which this article is taken. In this and the following tables the proportions in individual and closely related trades are given (in brackets) only when they constitute over 5 per cent. of the whole sample.

² These constituted 45 per cent. of the 167 men whose occupations are given by Taylor. If labourers and gentlemen are included, it seems that no less than 60 per cent. of the “publishers” gained their livelihood from the land.

textile villages¹ suggests that about 43 per cent. of the population there was mainly engaged in agriculture and about 37 per cent. in the manufacture and marketing of cloth. In view of the uncertain nature of these statistics, it cannot be maintained that the comparative figures for the Quakers of southern Lancashire² suggest any very convincing differences.

Of greater importance, perhaps, is the social status of the main occupational groups amongst the early Quakers. In agriculture, it is clear that Friends were almost exclusively drawn from the class of small independent producers, while the specifically proletarian element was insignificant. But it is interesting to note that the poorer husbandmen seem to have been more numerous than the yeomen.³ An eighteenth century writer held that "A farmer of twenty pounds a year is little better than a day-labourer".⁴ and in Lancashire many of the small landholders must have found themselves in this position. The agrarian changes of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries had there led to a multiplication of small-holdings rather than to the growth of a landless proletariat.⁵ At the same time, the subdivision of holdings which this entailed tended to depress the status of the peasantry; most of them held less than thirty acres and many less than fifteen.⁶ It has been said that in the Rossendale area two-thirds of the households occupied lands which were either very small or of inferior fertility; in 1660, only thirty households occupied lands of an annual value of more than £20, while 406 were assessed at less than £5.⁷ It is possible that in the wilder and more backward northern area, the process of subdivision was less advanced, and a century later, in 1795,

¹ Occupational data from the parochial registers for Rochdale (Marriages, 1653-7), Middleton (Marriages, 1653-7) and Radcliffe (Baptisms, 1656-9) in A. P. Wadsworth and J. de L. Mann, *The Cotton Trade and Industrial Lancashire, 1600-1780*, p. 52; and for Haslingden (1722) and Newchurch (1705) in G. H. Tupling, *The Economic History of Rossendale*, p. 178.

² 38 per cent. and 25 per cent. respectively.

³ The meaning to be ascribed to these terms has frequently been discussed. It now seems clear, however, that, despite their occupational and legal origins, they were by this time commonly used to denote a broad economic division within the ranks of the agricultural *petite bourgeoisie*. Cf. M. Campbell, *The English Yeoman*, pp. 27-32.

⁴ Quoted by E. Lipson, *The Economic History of England*, 4th ed., II, p. 382, from *Essays on Several Subjects*, 1769, p. 128.

⁵ Tupling, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

⁶ Wadsworth and Mann, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

⁷ Tupling, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

it was estimated that the average size of holding in the whole county was between twenty and fifty acres.¹ But few even of the "statesmen" or yeomen of these remote districts of the north-west could be described as prosperous, and in Cumberland, for example, they were said to occupy small properties worth as little as £5-£50 per annum.²

We are on rather surer ground in considering the position of the other important group which we find among the Lancashire Quakers. The weavers had experienced rapid changes in their status during the half-century or so which preceded the rise of Quakerism. In 1577, the clothiers of the northern counties described themselves, in an oft-quoted passage, as "poore cotagers".³ But, in subsequent years, the transition to capitalist control,⁴ and the rise of the Manchester *bourgeoisie*, typified by men like Chetham and Wrigley, transformed the situation. Under the "putting-out" system, the weaver usually owned his own instruments of production, but was paid wages for working up materials which belonged to his employer. Thus, while still partially independent, "the spinners and weavers employed under these conditions stood obviously in the position of dependent employees".⁵

At the same time, conditions were by no means uniform, and the geographical distribution of Quaker weavers may be of some interest. We hesitate to put much reliance on such scanty evidence, but it is worth noting that few Quakers were found in the industrially advanced Manchester area. There was a Quaker weaver in Oldham and a Dutch-loom weaver in Manchester itself. We also found a Quaker weaver in Rossendale; but there was a much larger group of five in Briercliffe and two more in nearby Marsden in the eastern woollen area. This district, which was an offshoot of the West Riding textile area, though doubtless affected by the acute crisis which had stricken the textile industry since the 1620's, had not yet experienced the growth of the more developed forms of capitalist organization which attended the rise of the

¹ J. Holt, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Lancaster*, 1795, p. 19.

² Cited by Lipson, *op. cit.*, II, p. 381.

³ *VCH Lancs.*, II, p. 376; Wadsworth and Mann, *op. cit.*, p. 7; H. Heaton, *The Yorkshire Woollen and Worsted Industries*, p. 121.

⁴ Cf. Wadsworth and Mann, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

⁵ Wadsworth and Mann, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

worsted manufacture in the last years of the seventeenth century.¹

Apart from the scattered group in the north, the remaining and largest group of Quaker weavers was found in the linen areas of the south-west. There were fourteen in Warrington and the surrounding villages, Orford, Great Sankey and Penketh, and in the line of townships to the north-west, Bold, Sutton, Windle and Knowsley; and three more were found at Skelmersdale, Ormskirk and Coppull. Relatively little is known about the developments in the linen weaving area, and one recent writer has even asserted that in south-west Lancashire "the only textile manufacture was the domestic production of linen for home use".² The existence of this group of Quakers who were presumably in the main dependent on the trade for their livelihood hardly bears this out. But it seems certain that the industry was less highly organized than its counterparts elsewhere, although many of the cottagers were dependent for their supplies on the middlemen dealers who handled the Irish flax imports from the growing town of Liverpool.³ The industry was, moreover, gradually suffering eclipse due to its extreme sensitivity to foreign competition; and a contemporary, commenting on the depression, boldly declared that it had collapsed and "is now in a manner expired".⁴

It seems probable, then, that Quakerism in Lancashire was strongest amongst the economically hard-pressed but still independent *petite bourgeoisie*. Well over half its adherents were husbandmen, weavers, tailors, shoemakers or leather-workers, although the group had its supporters, too, among the rather more prosperous sections. The movement had, on the other hand, made little headway amongst the numerically small and socially insignificant rural proletariat, and, although collieries were relatively numerous in Lancashire,⁵ we found only one representative of the growing mining industry.⁶

¹ Heaton, *op. cit.*, pp. 296-7.

² F. Walker, *Historical Geography of Southwest Lancashire before the Industrial Revolution*, p. 61.

³ Wadsworth and Mann, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7.

⁴ Quoted in *VCH Lancs.*, II, p. 379.

⁵ Cf. J. U. Nef, *The Rise of the British Coal Industry*, I, 61-2.

⁶ At Sutton, in the St. Helens' district.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE

We are fortunate in possessing an occupational census of Gloucestershire in 1608¹ which it would be interesting to compare with our Quaker sample. It is regrettable, therefore, that the sample given in Table II is so small and that it covers only 20 per cent. of the recorded marriages of Quakers in the area. Moreover, the data for the quarterly meeting is not co-extensive with that in the census, since it includes the greater part of Wiltshire, where, however, Friends were much less numerous than in Gloucestershire. It is probable, too, that the textile trades are over-represented in the table, since

TABLE II—GLOUCESTERSHIRE AND WILTSHIRE

Occupation	1656- 1669	1670- 1679	1680- 1688	Total	Per cent.
AGRICULTURE					
Yeoman (20 per cent.); Husbandman		11	13	24	25.5
COMMERCE, FOOD AND CONSUMPTION GOODS					
Merchant; Baker; Chandler	1	3	4	8	8.5
CLOTHING TRADES					
Mercer; Draper; Clothier; Clothworker; Fuller; Weaver (24 per cent.); Woolcomber; Cordwainer or shoemaker (6 per cent.) ..	3	11	23	37	39.4
"MECHANIC" TRADES					
Smith; Blacksmith; Saddler, Saddle-tree-maker, tanner (these three 7 per cent.); Cardmaker; Cooper; Carpenter, free-mason, mason, thatcher (these four 9 per cent.); Mariner; Carrier ..	1	14	8	23	24.5
SERVANT		2		2	2.1
	5	41	48	94	100.0

70 per cent. of the occupational information comes from Wiltshire and the Gloucestershire textile area round Nailsworth which supply only about half of the marriages recorded. Even with these reservations, it may be worth attempting a rough comparison of the composition of the Quaker group with the rest of the population.

¹ A. J. and R. H. Tawney, "An Occupational Census of the Seventeenth Century" *Economic History Review*, V, pp. 25-64.

With some regrouping of our figures, it appears that commercial and industrial pursuits were well represented among the Quakers. These claim respectively 10·6 per cent. and 61·7 per cent. of the total sample as compared with 6·4 per cent. and 36·1 per cent. in the Gloucestershire census. The preponderance of Quaker yeomen over husbandmen is exceptional and somewhat surprising in that it reverses the proportions for the population at large.

Quaker strength in the manufacturing branches of the textile trades (30·9 per cent. against 15·5 per cent.) is particularly remarkable. Most of the Quaker weavers come from Gloucestershire¹ and the records indicate a clear distinction between the broadcloth workers of the Nailsworth area and the weavers in the growing serge industry across the county boundary. The West Country industry had suffered in common with other areas during the depression which followed Cockayne's project² and the contraction of European markets; and the prosperity of the clothiers during the industrial renaissance of the Restoration period apparently brought little improvement for the dependent craftsmen.³ "Most weavers lived from hand-to-mouth upon the meagre wages of the clothier", and some did not even own their own looms; it is not surprising, therefore, that corn riots and the prevalence of sectarian propaganda gave these men a reputation for "turbulent and riotous behaviour".⁴

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

The Buckinghamshire evidence for the first generation of Quakerism is no more extensive than that for the other areas we have considered, and, indeed, occupations are recorded in only two cases before 1669. In the later decades, however, the data in the marriage registers becomes progressively more abundant, and we also possess the collateral evidence from the registers of births. Details for the southern part of the county

¹ This is due to a remarkable concentration of 15 broadweavers in the village of Horsley, near Nailsworth.

² This was a scheme to prohibit exports of undyed and undressed cloth in order to stimulate exports of the finished product. Backed by a royal proclamation in July, 1614, the project had disastrous effects on the cloth trade, and had to be abandoned three years later.

³ G. D. Ramsay, *The Wiltshire Woollen Industry in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, pp. 128-9.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

TABLE III—BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

Occupation	1658- 1688	1689- 1725	Total	Per cent.	Upperside 1680- 1725
LONDON CITIZENS	4	5	9	3·6	5·1
SURGEON		1	1	0·4	0·6
AGRICULTURE					
Yeoman (12 per cent.); Husbandman (21 per cent.); Grazier; Flower- man	34	51	85	33·9	33·3
COMMERCE, FOOD AND CON- SUMPTION GOODS					
Merchant; Shopkeeper; Salesman; Dry Salter; Grocer; Butcher; Baker; Mealman, miller, malt- ster, maltman (these four 10 per cent.); Dis- tiller; Tobacconist; Chandler; Woodmonger	17	37	54	21·5	22·4
CLOTHING TRADES					
Tailor, seamstress (5 per cent.); Mercer; Draper; Clothier; Clothworker; Weaver; Flax-dresser; Hatter; Bodice-maker; Glover; Cordwainer; Shoemaker	19	23	42	16·7	16·1
“MECHANIC” TRADES					
Pewterer; Brazier; Iron- monger; Millwright; Plough-, wheelwright, smith (these three 6 per cent.); Collar-maker; Tanner; Cooper; Hoop- shaver; Turner, carpen- ter, joiner, mason, brick- layer (these five 9 per cent.); Waggoner ..	22	27	49	19·5	17·8
LABOURER	6	5	11	4·4	4·6
	102	149	251	100·0	100·0

are particularly numerous, a fact for which we are indebted to a registering clerk of the Upperside monthly meeting, who apparently took up his duties in or about the year 1686. We accordingly decided to collate the data from both sources, and to include all the information for the period prior to

1726.¹ This gives us a 50 per cent. sample for the whole period, but for Upperside from 1680-1725 the sample of 174 individuals covers 94 per cent. of the men whose names are recorded. The latter data (in percentages) has therefore been given separately in Table III, and provides us with some check on the reliability of the samples we have used. Comparison of this column with the rest of the table does not suggest any undue bias in the scantier records of the earlier years; and, if the economic structure of the county is borne in mind, the proportions in agriculture seem relatively small and remarkably constant.

Buckinghamshire was a county which lived "more by its lands than by its hands".² but this fact is reflected less by the preponderance of Quakers in agriculture than by their strength in the crafts and trades ancillary to the art of husbandry. The county helped to supply the growing London food market,³ a fact which probably accounts for the numbers engaged in the distribution of grain and malt. In Buckinghamshire, as elsewhere, not all the men married were resident within the Quarterly meeting. This partly explains the interesting group of London citizens who appear in the records after 1680. The existence of this group illustrates the close connections between the urban classes and the rural areas from which they were drawn. The subsequent history of these individuals is seldom apparent from the registers, but it is interesting that one of their number, Daniel Wharley, a London linen draper who was married in 1686, apparently sought to establish himself in county society, as he is described as resident in Chalfont St. Giles from the turn of the century.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the table is that relating to agriculture. Buckinghamshire lies within the group of Midland counties which were widely affected by the early enclosure movement, and landless labourers were probably much more numerous there than in the economically backward areas of the North-West. Among Friends, the proportion of husbandmen seems large, and many of these must

¹ In that year there is an abrupt cessation of occupational information in the birth registers.

² Fuller's *Worthies of England*, p. 193, quoted in *VCH Bucks.*, II, p. 37.

³ F. J. Fisher, "The Development of the London Food Market, 1540-1640", *Economic History Review*, V, pp. 46-64.

have found it difficult to earn a livelihood. At least two of them followed auxiliary occupations,¹ and two more are described in other entries as labourers. The group of eleven labourers, though small, is nevertheless much larger than elsewhere. But it is possible to establish the existence of only fifteen wage-earners in the whole Quaker group,² so that even here there is no clear evidence of strong Quaker influence in the ranks of the seventeenth century proletariat.³

BRISTOL

When we turn to the urban areas, we enter a field for which we already have valuable evidence. The main interest of Table IV⁴ is, therefore, of a comparative nature. Besse⁵ gives the occupations of 93 Friends who were cited in 1683 for failure to attend national worship. R. S. Mortimer's table, mentioned earlier, rests upon a detailed study of the literary evidence, covering 200 Bristol Friends before 1702. The comparison of the proportions in these three samples in Table IVa may give some idea of the possible margins of error involved in the use of the statistical material we have assembled. It will be observed that the differences in the proportions of the various groups are sometimes considerable, especially if we compare Besse's data with the figures drawn from the registers. These differences might, of course, be due to the unrepresentative character of one or more of the samples. The relative importance of the professional group in Mortimer's table, for example, could easily be explained by the nature of his sources, and the number of "mechanics" in the list given by Besse might be due to a similar cause. Let us, however, confine our attention, for a moment, to columns (1) and (3) of Table IVa and to the figures given for the three main occupational groups. In statistical terms, there is a one in four chance of such differences as we find there between the observed and the expected figures occurring in

¹ One as a wheelwright and the other as a mealman. A third man, given first as a miller, also appears elsewhere as a husbandman.

² A miller and a maltster are also given in other entries as labourers.

³ It is possible that some of the husbandmen were really servants in husbandry (*cf.* Tawney, *loc. cit.*, p. 50, n. 1). Clearly, in fact, the group of labourers and servants does not necessarily include all the wage-workers; but its size may give some indication of the importance of wage-workers whose status is largely concealed by the occupational classification.

⁴ The sample covers about 75 per cent. of the recorded marriages.

⁵ *Sufferings*, I, p. 68.

TABLE IV—BRISTOL

Occupation	1657- 1669	1670- 1679	1680- 1688	Total	Per cent.
APOTHECARY; SURGEON ..	1	1	2	4	2·4
HUSBANDMAN			1	1	0·6
COMMERCE, FOOD AND CONSUMPTION GOODS					
Merchant (10 per cent.); Grocer; Baker; Mealman; Tobacco-cutter; Soap-maker, -boiler (7 per cent.) ..	15	15	15	45	26·8
CLOTHING TRADES					
Merchant Taylor; Tailor (10 per cent.); Mercer; Milliner; Linen draper; Clothworker; Weaver, silk-weaver (15 per cent.); Woolcomber; Stock- ing-seller, -maker; Glover; Cordwainer, shoemaker, heelmaker (these three 13 per cent.)	18	23	33	74	44·0
“MECHANIC” TRADES					
Pewterer; Millwright; Smiths; Farrier; Wiredrawer; Pin- ner; Glazier; Cooper, hooper (these two 5 per cent.); Car- penter, joiner, freemason, mason, tiler, plasterer (these six 10 per cent.); Block- maker; Mariner	17	12	14	43	25·6
SERVANT	1			1	0·6
	52	51	65	168	100·0

TABLE IVa (PERCENTAGES)

Occupational Groups	(1) Besse	(2) Mortimer	(3) Registers
Gentry	1	1	—
Professions	5	7	2
Agriculture	—	—	1
Commerce, Food and Consump- tion Goods	25	29	27
Clothing Trades	32	40	44
“Mechanic” Trades	32	21	26
Labourers and Servants ..	4	2	1

random samples of a similar size. In other words, Besse's sample is too small to give us an accurate picture of even the main economic categories into which Friends fell. This fact alone should indicate that the proportions suggested in our shorter tables must be regarded with due reserve.

On the other hand, the percentages for the main occupational groups in the two larger samples are remarkably similar, and even if we consider individual trades, Mortimer's figures show surprisingly few divergences from the data supplied by the registers.¹ Both tables suggest a higher proportion of Quaker merchants than in any other area²; Friends were also strong in the old-established soap industry³ and among the tailors⁴ and shoemakers. The textile trades again assume considerable importance, and here the Quaker weavers⁵ fall into two roughly equal groups, some being engaged in the highly capitalized silk industry,⁶ and the rest in the manufacture of cloth, which by this time was mainly located outside the city limits at Bedminster and Barton Regis.

LONDON

The amount of evidence for the London area is proportionately far greater than for any other region of Quaker influence. It is therefore possible to apply a limited check to the initial assumption that there was no radical shift in social composition before 1689. Even in London the data for the 1650's is quite inadequate for statistical purposes, so we have included the details for the first decade of Restoration persecution in order to secure a fair sample⁷ of the earliest London Friends. In Table V the proportions in this first group may be compared with those of two later, quinquennial

¹ With the exception of the shoemaking trades. For these, the figures given are: Mortimer, 8.3 per cent.; Registers, 13.1 per cent.

² Mortimer, 10.2 per cent.; Registers, 9.5 per cent.

³ Mortimer, 6.6 per cent.; Registers, 7.1 per cent.

⁴ Mortimer, 8.4 per cent.; Registers, 9.5 per cent.

⁵ Mortimer, 12.4 per cent.; Registers, 14.9 per cent.

⁶ Wadsworth and Mann, *op. cit.*, p. 106, describe the industry as "the spoilt child of mercantilism for long centuries from Justinian to Frederick the Great [in which] the influence of capital and machinery was strongly marked".

⁷ Of 151 individuals. The two later samples number 258 and 198 respectively. The information is about 75 per cent. complete for the first sample. By 1715-19, we find only one man whose occupation is not recorded.

periods, 1685-9 and 1715-19. The result lends some support to the view that Quaker strength in the different occupational groups changed little during the first thirty years. Even by the second decade of the eighteenth century, the limited evidence collected reveals no clear trend, although the slight increase in the commercial interest at the expense of the artisans¹ coincides with the general trend which became so marked in the course of the eighteenth century.

TABLE V—LONDON AND MIDDLESEX (PERCENTAGES)

Occupation	1657-69	1685-89	1715-19
GENTLEMAN			0.5
PROFESSIONS			
Minister; Apothecary; Physician; Chir- urgeon; Barber-Surgeon; Teacher; Lawyer	4.6	0.4	3.0
AGRICULTURE			
Yeoman; Farmer; Husbandman ..	2.6	3.9	5.6
COMMERCE, FOOD AND CONSUMPTION GOODS			
Grocer; Cheesemonger	6.0	5.0	5.6
Merchant; Shopkeeper; Salesman; Salter; Confectioner; Sugar Baker; Fish- monger; Butcher; Poulterer; Baker; Corn-factor, -chandler; Miller; Meal- man, -dealer; Vintner; Wine Merchant; Brewer; Distiller; Maltster; Maltman; Tobacconist; Tobacco-cutter; Chand- ler; Drugster; Perfumer; Innholder; Woodmonger; Coal-seller	13.2	15.1	16.2
	<u>19.2</u>	<u>20.2</u>	<u>21.7</u>
CLOTHING TRADES			
Tailor; Seamstress; Seamster	11.3	7.0	3.5
Drapers; Clothier; Linen-seller, -dealer ..	1.3	2.3	7.1
Weavers; Silk Throwster	4.6	7.0	5.1
Cordwainer; Patten maker; Shoemaker	9.3	10.9	3.5
Merchant Taylor; Mercer; Milliner; Cloth- worker; Dyer; Clothdrawer; Wool- comber; Silkman; Calenderer; Wool- man; Woolseller; Stapler; Haberdash- er; Hatmaker; Feltmaker; Staymaker; Button maker; Hosier; Framework- knitter; Glover; Glove-seller	8.6	13.2	15.7
	<u>35.1</u>	<u>40.3</u>	<u>34.8</u>

¹ The decline of the tailors and shoemakers and rise of the drapers, clothiers, etc., is particularly marked. The numbers of merchants and merchant taylors rose from 0.7 per cent. of the total in the first period to 6.6 per cent. in 1715-19.

"MECHANIC" TRADES	1657-69	1685-89	1715-19
Turner; Carver; Carpenter; Joiner; Sawyer; Mason; Plasterer; Bricklayer, -maker; Thatcher	10·6	6·2	8·6
Mariner; Sailsman; Fisherman	7·3	5·0	5·1
Goldsmith; Goldbeater; Pewterer; Tin- man; Cutler; Ironmonger; Blacksmith; Farrier; Girdler; Tin-plate worker; Wiredrawer; Needlemaker; Nailer; Spoonmaker; "Medle Maker"; Clock- maker, -worker; Coachmaker, -smith; Upholsterer; Printer; Basket maker; Comb-maker; Colourman; Hemp- dresser; Saddler; Lorimer; Leather- seller, -dresser, -cutter; Tanner; Cur- rier; Skinner; Fellmonger; Glazier; Glassmaker, -grinder; Cooper; Ship- wright; Blockmaker; Sailmaker; Cal- ker; Ship Carpenter; Wharfinger; Lighterman; Waterman; Porter; Car- man; Coachman; Packer	18·5	20·9	18·2
	<hr/> 36·4	<hr/> 32·2	<hr/> 31·8
LABOURERS AND SERVANTS			
Cook; Gardener; Servant; Labourer ..	2·0	3·1	2·5

The complex stratification of London society makes it impossible to generalize about the class origins of Friends in the area, and no particular occupation emerges of predominating significance. But it is clear that Quakers in the humbler industrial trades far outnumbered those from the commercial strata.¹ During the earlier years, the grocers emerge as the largest group in the latter category, while in the former most Friends are found amongst the tailors and shoemakers, the weavers, the sailors, and in the woodworking and building trades. The movement evidently commanded little support from the unskilled labourers, the street sellers and casual workers who formed the bulk of the urban proletariat. But it is more difficult to be sure of the status of workers in the classified trades. The mariners form a large group, and in the eighteenth century, sailors were classed along with porters and day labourers amongst the "insolent rabble" of the

¹ Raistrick, *op. cit.*, p. 32, has attempted to group the data given by Beck and Ball. According to this estimate, the numbers of craftsmen and labourers in 1680 outnumbered the professional, commercial and wealthier industrial groups by about 1·73:1.

working population.¹ On the other hand, we find few Friends engaged in the highly capitalized industries such as brewing and distilling, colour-making and tobacco-making, sugar refining and soap boiling, which were the chief employers of wage-labour.² Indeed, it is significant that we often find the largest groups of Quakers in precisely those old-established and heavily stratified crafts where class and sectional struggles were sharpest, and where it is most difficult to be sure of the status of any particular individual. The tailors, for example, provide us with one of the earliest examples of the journey-men associations of the eighteenth century, which were the fore-runners of the modern trade union.³ But in the tailoring trade, as in shoemaking, though we find examples of modern industrial relationships, it was also particularly easy (as it is even today) for the small man to set up as a jobbing tailor or cobbler in the meaner streets of the large towns.⁴

CONCLUSIONS

All this may point the way towards the general conclusions to be drawn from our survey. The nature of the material makes it impracticable to summarize in tabular form the data collected. On the other hand, the cumulative impression of the evidence carries more conviction than the individual tables; and if we draw together the main threads certain points may emerge more clearly.

In the first place, it is clear that although a substantial proportion of Friends in the rural areas were engaged in agriculture, they were heavily outnumbered by those in trades and handicrafts. In this respect the main body of Quakers differed from their leaders, at least half of whom were directly connected with the land. But amongst both leaders and rank and file the husbandmen were generally more numerous than the yeomen, while the number of clearly identifiable labourers was insignificant.

Secondly, we find substantial groups engaged in commercial activities in several areas, but in most districts they

¹ Quoted by M. Dorothy George, *London Life in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 156.

² George, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

³ See the preface and early documents in F. W. Galton, *The Tailoring Trade*.

⁴ G. Unwin, *Industrial Organization in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, pp. 62-4.

were clearly outnumbered by those engaged in industrial occupations.

Thirdly, Friends were particularly strong in the textile trades. In this connection, it is surely significant that the leading centres of the cloth manufacture were generally also regions of strong Quaker influence. The correlation is not complete, since Puritan elements were firmly entrenched in the more prosperous textile areas, such as Manchester and East Anglia. But it is sufficiently striking to suggest that the movement may well have been weighted in favour of these sections of the population. It may seem surprising that the large number of Quaker weavers has not attracted the attention of earlier writers, but this is presumably due to their absence from the ranks of the Quaker leaders.¹

Fourthly, there were usually strong Quaker groups among the tailors and shoemakers, workers in wood and leather, in the building trades and, in the coastal areas, among the seafaring population.²

Finally, and most important, the general consensus of evidence suggests that the early Friends were mainly drawn from the urban and rural *petite bourgeoisie*. Certainly, we have found remarkably few members of the "ruling class" among them. There is only one individual described as a "gentleman" who can be traced in the registers examined during the period prior to 1689, whereas, in the Gloucestershire census, three per cent. of the population fell into this category. At the same time, it is clear that there is very little evidence for the supposed "proletarian character" of Quakerism to which Bernstein refers.³ This should occasion little surprise. The number of wage-workers in the modern sense was in any case relatively small during the seventeenth century.⁴ Moreover, at that time the working class evinced few signs of social cohesion or of independent consciousness. The only independent movement during the Interregnum whose aims might be

¹ According to Taylor's evidence, there was only one among fifty-three of the earliest itinerant preachers. It seems likely, however, that the movement did in fact attract the support of some of the weavers in the Kendal area. Of the 56 wills examined by Raistrick, *op. cit.*, p. 30, seven refer to Quaker weavers.

² In the Yorkshire sample, omitted here, over 12 per cent. were mariners or master mariners.

³ E. Bernstein, *Cromwell and Communism*, pp. 249-50.

⁴ Cf. Sir John Clapham in *Cambridge Historical Journal*, I, p. 95; Tawney, *loc. cit.*, pp. 49-53.

supposed to be those of working class elements was that of the Diggers, and numerically speaking, it was insignificant. It is possible that as Quaker propaganda was carried to the south it attracted some of the agricultural labourers in the Home Counties into its ranks; but of this, the records—for Buckinghamshire—give barely a hint.

It remains true, of course, that we cannot be certain of the exact status of the Friends who came from the middle strata of the population. But the preponderance of Quaker husbandmen, weavers, tailors and shoemakers seems to favour the view that it was among the more hard-pressed sections of these classes that Quakerism was most influential. The historical conditions favouring the rise of a religious movement are clearly complex, and it is no part of our argument to attempt to reduce them to a single formula. But if we wish to understand the political standpoint of the early Friends—their courageous social criticism combined with comparative aloofness from practical politics¹—it is important to recognize that the movement derived its main support from precisely these sections of the population which found their economic position threatened and their political demands frustrated by the political and social upheavals of the seventeenth century.

ALAN COLE

¹ I have discussed this question elsewhere—in the thesis from which this article is taken, and in an article on "The Quakers and the English Revolution" in *Past and Present* for November, 1956.

War and its Aftermath. Letters from Dr. Hilda Clark. pp. 115. Obtainable from Friends Book Centre, London, 1956, 5s.

Most of these letters were written between 1914 and 1924, when Hilda Clark was engaged in relieving suffering in France, Austria, Poland, Greece, Serbia and Turkey. Edith Pye, her lifelong friend, and correspondent when they were not together, has furnished some inter-connecting narrative and explanatory notes. More of the latter would have increased the value of the book to the less-knowing reader. We get a vivid impression of the devotion and the personality of this indomitable Friend, so much of whose life was spent in saving the lives of children from the after-effects of war. "Pity, which softens and weakens most people, hardened her into a flaming sword which cut through difficulties as though they were non-existent."

The Establishment of a Monthly Meeting in Durham (1654) and a Note on Anthony Pearson (d. 1666)

IN connection with her address on Quakerism in Darlington, printed in our last issue, Amy E. Wallis drew attention to a paper in Swarthmore MSS. on the very early date of the organization of Friends in County Durham. It was in fact very little after the time of the large accession to Friends of the Seekers in and about Swaledale and the Preston Patrick district. The Seekers had met monthly for the general purposes of their body, and by 1653 or 1654 Friends in Cumberland and in Durham, with many ex-Seekers among them, were beginning the same practice.¹ To Amy Wallis we are also indebted for some further facts about the last part of the life of Anthony Pearson, of whom we have known little or nothing after he ceased to associate with Friends about 1659. Both the manuscript, of which he was one of the signatories, and the new information are printed below.

The name of Anthony Pearson appears with that of sixteen other Friends on the paper which proposes the setting up of a monthly meeting of men Friends in "Bishopricke". The copy which is printed below is preserved in the Swarthmore Collection of Manuscripts at Friends House (Swarthmore MSS. II. 17) and was addressed to William Bywater of Bearpark. The address and name of William Bywater have been heavily scored through as if to blot out his name. Perhaps he left Friends later on, as did Anthony Pearson and probably some of the other signatories to this paper.

The document has been printed in James Bowden's *The Society of Friends in America*, i, 209-10 (1850), and in *Epistles from the Yearly Meeting of Friends, held in London . . . 1681 to 1857, inclusive*, i, vi-vii (1858), and is discussed by William Charles Braithwaite in *The Beginnings of Quakerism* (2nd edition, 1955), 143.

"Deare Freinds in the measure of the light of Christ, wee being brought to feele & see the estate & conditions of the Church in these parts, & the danger yt many may lye in, because of the oppressors, & thereby the enemy of the soule may come to have advantage over us. Therefore in the feare

¹ See *First Publishers of Truth*, 244; Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, 143; *Journal F.H.S.*, v. (1908), 3-10.

of the Lord, being moved thereunto by the Lord, and being subiect henceforth every one to beare his burthen, the strong with the weake, that ye weake be not oppressed above his strength, but all drawing on hand in hand, that the weake & the tyred may be refreshed, and soe all may¹ become a ioint witnes to the everlasting truthe in word & conversation, our lives & minds being sett free from yt yt dayly may tempt or trouble in the particular.

Therefore deare Freinds we who are met together doe thinke it convenient yt some of every severall meeteing doe meete together, every first seventh day of every monthe, begining upon the first seventh day of the 3 moneth,² & to declare what necessityes or wants are seene in their severall meeteing[s], & there to be considered on by Freinds there mett, & as freedom & necessity is seene soe to minister.

And seeing at present there is a great need for a collection by reason of some great sums of money yt have beene laid out & more is to be laid out, we recommend it to your several meeteings to doe herein every one according to your freedoms in the present necessity, & to give notice ye next first day yt it may be collected for ye poore ye first day following & to be paid over to John Langstaffe: & a noate of the sume subscribed by some Freinds from every meeteing.

Christ: Eyon³

John Highington⁴

Christr. Richmond⁵

Peter Young⁶

Anth: Parson⁷

Robt: Selbye⁸

Rich: Wilson⁹

Will: Trew hitt¹⁰

¹ The word "may" is deleted.

² *i.e.*, 1.iii.(May). 1654.

³ Christopher Eyon, of Barnard Castle, fined for absence from the national worship, 1678; Besse, *Sufferings*, i, 184.

⁴ John Highington, of Durham, d. 1705, imprisoned for refusing the oath, 1660; Besse, i, 173. Conventicle kept at his house, 1669 (The Bishop's report at S. Nicholas in Durham, per H. E. Deacon).

⁵ Christopher Richmond, of Heighington or Durham, imprisoned 1666; Besse, i, 176.

⁶ Peter Young may just possibly have been a visitor from Luxton, Herefordshire; cf. Besse, i, 258.

⁷ For Anthony Pearson see below, and *Cambridge Journal* (1911), i, 470.

⁸ Robert Selbie, physician, of Durham, d. 1705; Besse, i, 181.

⁹ For Richard Wilson see G. F. Nuttall, *Early Quaker Letters* (1952).

¹⁰ William Trew hitt, of Bolden, suffered imprisonment and distrainments; Newcastle M.M. records; Besse, i, 175.

Willm Cotesworth ¹	Jo: Langstaff ⁵
Martin Richmond ²	Rich. Eubanke ⁶
James Whyte ³	Andrew Rawe ⁷
John Hopper ⁴	Tho: Shawe ⁸

[Address] To his Loving Friend/William Bywater⁹/at Bear Parke/this d./

Leave this Leter at/the Postmasters/house in durham.

[Endorsed by George Fox] the seting/up the menes/meeting in/bishopricke/1653."¹⁰

The fall of James Nayler, who had been instrumental in bringing so many into the Society of Friends in Durham probably was one of the causes of the lessening of numbers which seems to have occurred. Eventually Anthony Pearson, whose work in the formative years had made the influence of the Durham group of Friends felt widely in the Quaker movement, came to speak (in the words of the *London Gazette* of February, 1666) of his "former errors, and the party that first seduced him into them". At the return of Charles II, Anthony Pearson's friend Sir Henry Vane was beheaded, his former master Sir Arthur Haselrig was put in the Tower, and Anthony himself returned to official work under Bishop Cosin for a short period of two years as under sheriff.

¹ William Cotesworth (Cotsworth, Coatsworth) of South Shields, is identified in G. F. Nuttall's *Early Quaker Letters*.

² Martin Richmond, probably of Heighington, convinced by James Nayler in 1653, signed the epistle from the Skipton general meeting, 1660; *Cambridge Journal*, ii, 388; *Epistles of Yearly Meeting*, i, xxxvi; Nuttall, *op. cit.*

³ James Whyte, of Hopewell, imprisoned and fined repeatedly for attending meeting; Besse, i, 175-89.

⁴ James Hopper, unidentified, but many Hoppers occur in the registers about Dikenook and Wallnook near Durham.

⁵ John Langstaff, of Bishop Auckland, d. 1694; convinced by James Nayler, 1653; became a leading Durham Friend and signed various epistles, including that from London Y.M., 1673; *Cambridge Journal*, ii, 478; Nuttall, *op. cit.*

⁶ Richard Ewbank, of Gateshead, signed with other Friends a paper defending the common law marriage, without a priest, of Cuthbert Hunter, 1654; *Truth cleared from reproaches*, 3; Whitehead, *Christian Progress*, 126; Nuttall, *op. cit.*

⁷ Andrew Rawe, of Derwent, husbandman, signed the epistle from co. Durham Friends to the Skipton general meeting in 1659; imprisoned 1660, 1664; *Epistles of London Yearly Meeting*, i, xxxiv; Besse, i, 174-6.

⁸ Thomas Shaw, unidentified, but possibly one of the Ushaws of Norton-on-Tees.

⁹ Thomas Bywater is unidentified.

¹⁰ The date may be in another hand.

To Friends, the history of Anthony Pearson after the Restoration has always been obscure, but the *London Gazette*, no. 24 (from Thursday, Feb. 1 to Monday, Feb. 5, 1665 [1666]) carried the following paragraph:

“1665 [1666]. Durham, Jan. 27. Wednesday last [Jan. 24] was buried here Mr. Anthony Pearson, a man particularly noted in these parts for having passed heretofore through all the degrees of separation and phanaticism, in all of which he was ever observed as a principal leader; but having lived to see his error some time before his death, he himself, with his children and family, had received Episcopal confirmation, and did now at last upon his death-bed very solemnly confess his former errors, and the party that first seduced him into them, declaring that he now dyed a true son of the Church of England.”¹

The day of burial given in the *London Gazette* is borne out by the register entry (seen by A.E.W.) among the burials at Little St. Mary's, Durham: 1665[-66] “Mr Anthony Pearson was buried ye 24th of Jan. ye year abovesaid”.

William Hutchinson's *History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham* (1785), 553, says that Anthony Pearson, gent., appointed under sheriff 2 March 1663 “quamdiu se bene gesserit”, died 23 January 1665 [1666], and was buried in Little St. Mary's, Durham.

The *London Gazette* account that the whole Pearson family conformed does not square with the evidence of Friends' registers. Anthony Pearson's widow, Grace (Lamplough) Pearson, married, 26.vii.1673 at Shotton, James Hall of Monk Heselden, near Castle Eden. James and Grace Hall had a daughter Grace (born 15.viii.1676), and she married Robert Chambers of Kendal in 1703 and died there in 1762 at the age of 86 years. The account of her in *Piety Promoted*² is more “personal” than many accounts, speaking of her “considerable skill in surgery”, “administering relief in many disorders”, and “having occasionally free access to several families of distinction in her neighbourhood”. She had been a minister about 50 years.³

¹ Surtees Society, Publications, vol. 55 (1872), 316.

² *Piety Promoted*, vol. iii, pp 181-2.

³ Testimony, *Jnl. F.H.S.*, vii, 182-3.

A. R. Barclay MSS

Extracts. Continued from p. 93

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.

CXVIII

FRANCIS HOWGILL to MARGARET FELL, *Dublin*,
3.vii.1655

M F.

Everlastingly beloved sister in the infinite fountane of love which flowes forth from the bosome of eternall love. . . .

After we parted with the[e] att Swarthmore, we passed downe to Warrington that first day, and their was an exeding great metting from olmes church¹ and neare leaverpole divers but we weare presed to goe on and make noe stay & so came to Chester, & viseted the prisoners and stayd in towne all night, and on the morow Tho. Bridges² & Jam: Mires³ went towards london & cared our horses. & on the next day we came to the sea but the winde was contrary and so having made sure a shipe, we pased up into Cheshire to a metting & downe to the sea agayne. & the wind being Contrary we gotte horses and rode 15 miles on the first day wheare freinds had apoynted a metting where none had been befor, wheare freinds had been much persecuted: and so cam to the metting and so all was chayned and we passed, and on the morow the winde blew fayre. & so we cam and entered into a shipe with Eliz: Fletcher and so we passed, but few knew E.B.⁴ & I: and their was many pasengers wilde but we vinicated the quackers att a distance, & so they knew us not till we cam over. & the wind blew butt softly and so we weare two dayes & two nightes on the sea. & on the 4 day of the weeke weeke [*sic*] we came to Dublin and on the 5 day we had a metting att one Capt Riche,⁵ and on the first day att one

¹ Ormskirk?

² Thomas Briggs.

³ For James Myers see G. F. Nuttall's *Early Quaker letters*.

⁴ Edward Burrough.

⁵ Stephen Rich, see *Journal F.H.S.*, xlviij, 34.

Captan Alands¹ house and many people came, and all calme, they are loveing, the Captans, but their is not much in them and so e: b: went up to the deputies house wheare was a metting of baptistes & hath been their 3 times and spoke with Flettwood himselfe who was moderate: much like O.C. but the offecers hath bowed downe to the idoll baptisme for promotion, for it grew in great fashon a while heare but now it withers and so att the baptistes mettinges we have gone and spoken but they harden.

We have been heare about 3 weekes & we have pretty mettings on the first day but they are a carlesse desolut proud people. Yett we have been moderatt, and so they are calme to us and it grows of sum better reporte then it hath been, the treuth: this weeke E.B. & I went out of the citie 20 miles to a towne caled Tradarth²; we had a litle metting att a Justis house and stayed two nightes in the towne. & mett with some officers who was moderate and so we cam to Dublin agayne. And so E.B. went up to the Phenix³: & I stayed att the mettinge & it was pretty large and calme, and their is pretty desires in many.

But now Oh my dear hearte my beloved yockeffelow and I now must parte who hath borne the yock so longe together which was pretiouse one to the other as our one lives. The Crose is greate in so strange & barboriouse a nation, yett it is nott so greate, as if any other had parted us: my very life I have with him whose bow, sword and speare never returned emptie from the slayne of the mighty, and often we have sunge together att the deviding of the spoyle. But in the will of god is peace: I ame moved to goe a hundered miles west in the nation towards Corke, their is a service and a people that way to be gatherd and Kingsayle and Bandon Brige at the

¹ Perhaps Captain Henry Alland in Colonel Pretty's regiment, who was assigned land in Waterford. According to the *Calendars of State Papers (Ireland)*, 1660/62, p. 617 (1905): 10 Nov. 1662—Henry Aland, Captain in the late usurper's army, committed to the Serjeant-at-Arms, having been taken at a conventicle near Dublin, Sunday, 9 Nov. 1662. (Information from Olive C. Goodbody.)

² Drogheda.

³ The Phoenix was a manor house situated on Thomas Hill in Phoenix Park, where now stands the Old Magazine Fort used by the Ordnance Survey Department. It was built in 1611 by Sir Edward Fisher, who in 1618 sold it to the Government who used it as a viceregal residence. In 1654 it would have been the house of Henry Cromwell, and must be the one alluded to by Friends who went to see the Deputy about "two miles outside the city and waited till he came forth in his carriage". (Olive Goodbody.)

end of the land. & E:B: must stay heare, for this citie we canott leave yett, but I am given up to lay downe all for him who hath made me a conqueror glory unto him for evermore.

My deare heart: as thou art moved pray for us that we may be preserved from the creualty of the heathen, and in his power to treade the wine presse and as thou are fre write to me: to Dublin & it will Come to my hand, by post write to London so their comes a post to Dublin often. Salute me in the lord to all thy childeren and all the church thearaways: & as thou art fre write a word to my wife. So the everlasting arme of god preserve us in his power, that if it be his will we may se one another face: that we may reioyse together in the lord.

Thy deare Brother in the unchangable
life of god

Francis Howgill

Dublin 3 of the 7 moneth

[address] For the hands of my deare
Freind Margett Fell att
Swarthmore theese

[endorsed] From Francis Howgill to M. F.
1655 from jerland
read over

CXIX

JOHN STORY to RICHARD FARNSWORTH, GEORGE
WHITEHEAD & JOSIAH COALE.

Kendall the 5th of the 3 Month 1666

R.F. G.W. & J.C.

My deare and welbeloved Brethren in the infinite fulnes of that devine love & truth which wee have received of God I most kindly Salute you all. . . .

Deare J.C. I received thine with the kinde acceptation of thy love therin and am truely glad to hear that thou & the brethren their are well, but of being with you att the time thou speakes of in thine I see noe freedom but rether the Contrary, for which I am sorry to Louse such an opportunity in which wee might be a comefort and benifit to each other.¹ However my heart is with you in yt blessed unity of Gods Spirit and in that I can say amen to whatsoever hee shall put

¹ A meeting of ministers was convened in London and issued an epistle on the subject of discipline in the church, dated iii. 1666. (Portfolio 41.94; printed *Letters, &c., of early Friends*, 1841, pp. 318-324).

in to your hearts for the benifit & good order among his people yt the profeshom of his glorious truth may bee with [out?] blame & honorable in the sight of all men. I did likewise communicate thy letter to the brethren hear & left it to their consideration. I have had a preicious oppertunity thus fare to visit friends hear & the Lord doth inlarge the borders of his sanctuary blessed bee his name for evermore. Seveurall hear rem[ember] their love to you all which I forbear to mention in perticuler. Rem. my love very dearly to A P [Alexander Parker] or any other of the Brethren that may be their, and to G.R. [Gerrard Roberts] & his wife & to Ould & young Re. Travis¹ Rem. my love very dearly, & to Margery² att the Bull and Mouth rem. my love, & to Jo. Boulton, & to all that be faithfull in that city Love doth truely reach, & the desire of my soull to the Lord for them all is that through his arme & power [they] all may be preserved with an everlasting preservation in righteousnes to the end. I haveing litle more att presant I bid you all farwell your true bro:

Jo: Story

[address] Leave this with Garrad Roberts
 Merchant att the Sign of ye
 Flower deluce in Thomas Apostle
 London
 To be given to J.C. or
 R.F. with Care
 [endorsed] John Story's letter
 to R.F. G.W. & J.C.
 [in a later hand] 1656

CXX

THOMAS STACY to GEORGE FOX. *Sinderhill*, 23.xi
 [1654?]

My deare bro: before thy letter came to me I was gone

¹ Rebecca Travers (1609-1688), and her daughter Rebecca (Travers) Osgood, m. John Osgood, linendraper of Bartholomew Close, London, 14.ix.1667.

² Probably Margery, wife of William, Browne (d. 6.iii.1707, aged 84), of Martins le Grand (London Registers). She is mentioned in Beck & Ball: *London Friends' meetings*, p. 130. William Browne had some duties at the Bull and Mouth and is mentioned in an article by George W. Edwards on "The Bull and Mouth Meeting House, its site and environs", in *Friends' Quarterly*, 1955, p. 78.

In the MS. the "Mouth" of Bull and Mouth is represented by a pictograph mouth, thus Bulan◡.

forth & have not beene negligent since my comeinge from thee, & have not beene 3 or 4 dayes at most at home. My passages & service too large to relate but it sufficeth in that I have beene serviceable, Yorke & Tadcaster that way & burton & Denby &c. There is to bee a great meetinge the 30 instant beioynd Knasbrough & I know nothings but to be there, I am somthinge pressed in my spirit to be there. My father is not in health but lyeth in bed & cannot stirr without help soe I shall stay with him till I goe to the meetinge at Knasbrough. & he is very willinge I should goe & patient in his paine. I need not write thou art & knowest it written in all our hartes. Thy remembrance is deare. I shall as the lord makes way com to thee as shortly as I can: let thy prayers (& yet I know thou art not unmindfull of us) be for us: All our loves to freinds

from Tho: Stacy

Sinderhill 23. 11. month

Wordes cannot express my love to thee. I am satisfied in that I love thee.

[address] To the hands of him who
is called by the name of
George Fox these.

[endorsed] From Tho Stacy to G.F. 1653.
Looked over.

CXXI see CXIII

CXXII

THOMAS ALDAM to GEORGE FOX. *York Castle*, 1654
G F.

Deare Bro: in the eternall truth of god, my life is with thee, & all those liveinge stones hewen out of ye Rocke, who are founded uppon ye Rock Christ Jesus, who are with thee. . . . Now deare bro: to thee I am moved to let knowe, my condicon & how it is often with mee. I am often in spirit waiteinge; Att London att ye dores of Oliver Crombwels house without as if cloathed with sackcloath, standinge in sackcloath in bodie, & weepinge over a seede, which is in bonds in yt creature, overwhelmed with temptations. But when my spirit & my bodie appeares as in presence, then is all ye powres of darkenesse bound up, & ye seede of god ownes

mee; & is even as ashamed of those adulterous spirits yt it hath joyned with. . . . Now is ye Lord purgeinge his sanctuary; & all is to bee tryed, blessed is hee yt continues to the end faithfull. The Beast & ye false Prophet is inventinge to gett a law to cutt of ye saints of ye most Highe god. Hee yt will save his life shall lose it. . . .

I have beene moved of ye Lord 4 severall times to offer up my bodie & soule unto ye Lord, & to let ye Lord doe with this outside what hee will to declare & beare testimonie of ye truth of god in this greate sodom in ye place called Minster of Yorke. & twice the Magistrates with ther consultation of ye Preists did cause mee to bee hailed out & to prison. I was sent with one of their servants, & by command of one Toppinge¹ called a justice of Yorke, who did Imprison mee in the cittie prison once beefore for declareinge ye eternall truth of god to ye conscience of people in the streets. But I did not continue in yt prison longe but was had beefore Topinge called Justice by ye Gaoler. & . . . hee desired mee to goe away out of his house; & make noe tumults in ye cittie. . . . Another time ye same Topinge did give command to keepe mee out of ye cittie at ye Barre, & sayd I deserved to bee had on with two men on to the gallows, & hanged, or tyed downe to a stacke & burned; & another time, hee came to mee in the Minster & sayd I did neither feare god nor man; & sayd they might goe up to London to gett a law from ye Lord Protector to take a course with mee. & now I have tryed their spirits as ye Lord did command mee, & by their words, & actions they are manifest, & now theré is but one thinge wantinge which is to gett a law, & yt by this our law this man must dye, which they want to satisfie their blood thirstie mindes. They are in great rage in this cittie, & ye false prophets are goeing up to London to gett powre to bee establisht in their horrible filthy spirittuall wickednesse. & ye true prophets of ye Lord is to goe up thither, to ley open their spirittuall wickednesse . . .

My love in the eternall unitie salutes you all who love not your lifes unto death. Deare Bro: G.F: with whome is my life & all with thee, who stand stedfast in the eternall freedome, tramplinge uppon all dust & earthlie spirits whose glorieinge is in the crosse of Christ with you all is in rejoyceinge thoughe

¹ The name Toppyn (Toppinge, Toppynge) appears in the York freemen's Registers.

in outward bonds, yet free throughe ye powre of god. O Hast, Hast, yow yt are chosen of ye Lord; & abide in your callinge yt you may save your lifes, & obtaine ye eternall inheritance, ye crowne of Life, ye eternall riches leyed up for yow in the Lord Jesus Christ, & offer up your bodies & soules a liveinge sacrifice unto the Lord, & yt hee may doe his will, in disposeinge of yow all, stand single in his will out of selfe will, & goe on in the name of ye Lord, your jurney. & ye Lord god of powre bee with you, & his powre goe beefore you & I am with you, you sons & daughters of ye liveinge god. Feare not what man can doe to you: ripp up all deceite & thresh it to dust.

Tho Aldam

From Yorke Castle

Wee are in health, & my fellowe Prisoners
Brethren, & sisters salutes you all, in ye Bonds of Love

[address] To My deare Brother
G.F. where hee is
these

[endorsed by G.F.] t aldom
1654

CXXIII

THOMAS KILLAM to GEORGE FOX. *Balby*, 8.xii.1654

Deare & Tender GF. A note I received by thee written & directed by the bearer to mee, my sister Margrett¹ & brother Tho: Aldam for to come up to thee. & this I have returned to give thee an account how wee are disposed of att present. My bro: is gone to London with speed, not havinge the tyme to see thee or come to thee. & as for my sister shee is gone to Yorke & I know not when shee may returne. & as for my selfe I am to bee att Lincolne there to meete James Naylor. & as shortly after my returne as in mee lyeth I intend to come if thou write or send word to mee, & I shall acquaint my sister att her returne, of thy sendinge for her. And as for Tho: Stacyes not cominge up to thee he hath beene mucche serviceable amongst frends in severall places since his departure from thee.² & his father is very weake upon the gout, & haveinge beene much from him, hee doth intend to come up

¹ Margaret (Aldam) Killam, d. 22.xi.1672.

² cf. A.R.B. CXX.

to thee as shortly as hee can without preiudice to his father, for hee was very badly I beinge latlie there. Soe I have given thee an account of our present orderings.

Therefore as thou art moved to lett us hear from thee, who art moore to us then I can in words expresse, with our dutyes to thee as a tender & carefull father who with all diligence tendernesse & care cares for us.

From Balbie this 8th

Thine wee are

day of the 12th m.

T.K: Jonee K: my mother

(54)

& Sister Aldam¹

[endorsed]

this letter came from

John Killam to f.g.

From Balby to G.F.

1654

CXXIV

JOAN KILLAM to GEORGE FOX. *Balby*, 15.viii.1658

George

Deare heart, Great hath beene the day & is of tribulation amongst us, & a day of trouble, such as never was since the foundation of the world was laid, soe that the earth reeleth to and fro, & is often moved out of its place. My husband Thomas Killam hath his deare love remembred to thee & hath a desire that thou mayest know how it is with him, at present his trouble hath been exceedinge greate, soe that hee often cryeth out his sinne is gone over his head & his iniquitie is too heavie for him to beare. Hee refuseth the nourishment of the creatures, & saith why should hee take it in any more, soe that the outward man is very weake, & hath beene this two monthes, but it is little above three weekes since his inward trouble began. Sometimes hee saith hee hath a litle refreshment, but it tarryeth not, & then his trouble is greater, & his greife is great for the people of God least they should bee offended by him. My sister Margaret hath added much to his affliction.

¹ Thomas Killam (d. 1690) the writer; Joan (Aldam) Killam (d. 1681); Jane Killam (d. 1678)?; Mary, wife of Thomas Aldam (d. 1660).

Soe deare hearte, I have laid the thinge before thee & I desire thee (if thou findest freedome) that thou wouldst write a few lines unto him with as much speed as thou canst.

Thy Freind Joan Killam

Balbie the 15th of the 8th month (58)

[address] For the handes of
George Fox these
with care & speed

d

[endorsed by G.F.] Jone Kilam to gF.
1652 thomas aldames
suferinges at Yorke
& ingrosed

CXXV

THOMAS ALDAM to LIEUT.-GENERAL LAMBERT

To Leeue Tenant Generall Lamberd. *Yorke*, [1653 or later]

Dr Frend my love in our Lord Jesus Christ remembered to thee in the power of his truth. I am moved to write unto thee haveinge heard much of thee to bee one which doth owne the truthe as it is in Christ Jesus. I desire thou mayst prize his mercies and beware of selfe ends; & honors of the world for they blinde the eyes of the wise & prevents the words of the righteous; O bee valient for the truth uppon earth & treade uppon the deceite: O that his mercies may not bee forgott for his greate deliverance to this nation & turned into a dreame. O what hath beene promised to the libertie of the subiect, in takeinge of oppressions, the oppression in tythes, & oppression in your corrupt lawes, & divers abominable oppressions which still remaine. . . . [A long paper against the priests] they are greedie doggs, which can never have enoughe everye one lookeinge for his gaine from his quarter. They cry peace peace to them which put into their mouths, but they that doe not put into their mouths they prepare warr against them. Their example is pride, covetousness and oppression; teacheinge for filthie lucre & hire which the word forbids. . . .

O bee faithfull in the Lords worke & beware of lookeinge out after selfe ends & earthlie vaneties & seekeinge after earthlie honours, & bee valiant in the Lords worke least thou

be cast out with the sloathfull servant, the Lord will have
noe loytrers in his vineyards.

Tho: Aldam

A Prisoner of the Lord att
Yorke Castle

[endorsed by G.F.]

t aldem to
john lambard
1652 a presen
er

whoe died in the
the trouth agood
minster

Letters & papers of Tho:
Aldams & some others
Frends in Yorkeshire

london.

CXXVI

WILLIAM AMES to MARGARET FELL. *Amsterdam*,
12.vi.[1661?].¹

Dear Margaret

although I have long forborn toe write toe thee, yet it is
not because thy love and tendernes is by me forgotten. . . .

Remembre my deare and unfeined love toe all friends
about thee

thy dear brother

Wm Ames

Amsterdam 12th 6th moneth
[address] Margerett Fell
at Swarthmoor in Lanca-
shiere with speed.

CXXVII

FRANCIS HOWGILL & JOHN CAMM to GEORGE FOX.
London, 27.i.1654.²

Deare brother thy owne seed, begoten by the[e], runes
out to thee and salutes the[e] in the lord. We are in the Citie

¹ This letter is printed in William I. Hull's *The Rise of Quakerism in Amsterdam* (1938), p. 88, lines 5-16, and p. 79, lines 7-15. The opening portion of the letter appears on p. 88 and the final paragraph is printed following the marks of omission on p. 79, line 7, being there printed as if it were part of another letter.

² Compare this letter with that of equal date from Camm and Howgill to Margaret Fell (ARB MS. 20; extract printed *Journal F.H.S.*, xxviii (1931), pp. 54-55): see Braithwaite, *Beginnings*, 156.

and many dayes we wayted in exeding greate feare and under a great weight lest the gloriouse name of our god should be deshonered & least the word of the lord should be strangled in the wombe. At last we found movinges to write to him, a gentell soft letter to him.¹ A copey we have sent thee. And longe it was befor we had any admitence. We wayted eleven dayes, some time great trouble fell upon us that we weare no more burdined. Sumtime a great weight layd on our speirts, but loe, but the exeding love of god to us, for if the burdin had been great so many dayes, who could have borne it, but the presence and the love of god hath been exeding great to us, and power liftinge us up continually, all prayses to him. & on the tweulth day, or the day they call Easter Monday,² we wayted much of the day, & towards the eveninge we went up, & the lord did give us corage & bouldnesse, & wisdome, and my deare brother John Cam spoke a few soft words under him, and he replied in much of the serpents wisdome exedinly: at last I was moved to speake a few playne words in life and power, the very condition how he had beene wheare he was. & I was mad[e] to charge him by the lord to take away all those lawes by which the people of god was imbondaged, or else the same power that had broken all his enemies should breake him to peces & he should goe downe with them, to which he spoke very much. & we weare mad[e] to bear [with] him much. It [is] a cuninge suddell fox & a serpent is in him, that we could gite nothing [f]³astened upon his conscence: but he did say the light in his conscence tould him their was no such law now that any tender conscences was imbondaged by. & so [we] weare fre & tould him of Maries acte⁴: and he vinicated it much, but he would [co]ntinue all to exalt his horne. About an hore we stayed with him: and he [beg]an to grow highe, yett we bore him, and he desired that we would leave him, he [was] weary. He profered us money or any thing we would; we denied him and [bad?] him a day. He desired us to come agayne: we shall cleare our conscences to him [?whe]ther he will heare or forbear . . .

Pr[a]y for us deare Geo: that [we] may trample upon all, for now I se the lord hath given to his people the depest

¹ Oliver Cromwell.

² 27 March, 1654.

³ The edge of the letter is cut away. Missing portions of words are supplied.

⁴ 1 Mar. st. 2, cap. 3, punished malicious disturbance of church services.

[an]gwish, prayse to him for ever. Thy former Answer to Edon was in the prise already. We cam their: but a shett or tow was but printed, so we take it out & put [t]hat [which] we caried with us, and most of the papers we caried we have put in [t]he presse. & that paper consering London is in print.

This Citie, oh abominable, [abom]inable deseite & prid & filthines abounds, heare is nothing but great words, [nothing] but filthie deseite.

Salute us to our deare Bretheren. Oh deare, oh deare are [?ye] to us. The eternall god of power keep them. Our unite is with you. Farwell

on March 27th 1644: Francis Howgill: John Camme
[endorsed by G.F.] To G.F. frome

F.H. & J:A. 1644

[in a later hand] F. Howgill &/J. Camme/to/G.F./1644

CXXVIII

ROBERT BARWICK

At Yorke Assize there held the fift Month called July 18 day 1654.

Passages concerneinge Robert Barwicke, who was called to bee a jurye man at Yorke Assis there to doe service.

Account of the appearances in court before Judge Newdigate [Sir Richard Newdigate, baronet, 1602-78, *Dict. Nat. Biog.*] and before Judge Windham [Sir Hugh Wyndham, 1603-84, *Dict. Nat. Biog.*] of Robert Barwick, of Kelk (d. 28.i.1661).¹ Robert Barwick was committed to jail, 22.v, for refusing to take his hat off in court and refusing to take the oath of a jury man; released 24.v.

[endorsed] Passages concerneing a Frend Robert Barwicke returned a jury man, who was imprisoned two dayes because hee denyed sweareing & doffinge his hatt beefore the Judges But sett free out of prison now.

Concerneing Robt. Barwick 1654 Yorkshire

[endorsed by G F] abovght
the svferings
frinds in Yorke
in grosed
to gF.

1652

Yorke suff

¹ Correct the note in *Cambridge Journal*, ii, 404 accordingly. Robert Barwick was once a cornet under General John Lambert; *F.P.T.* 297 and note. See also Besse, *Sufferings*, II, 99, 100; *F.P.T.* 294. Robert's widow, Grace Barwick, married Joseph Helmsley, 31.xi.1664, at Kelk.

CXXIX¹

JOHN WHITEHEAD & MARMADUKE STORR to
GEORGE FOX. *Wellingborough*, 17.i.1655 [17 March 1654/5].

Deare brother in the eternall Light of Christ, I am with thee in my measure, and do salute thee in yt love which from my father doth flow into my soull, yt doth refresh and stay mee in his councell, in his wisdome yt doth comprehend and confound the world. Praisess, praises for ever more bee unto the liveing god.

On the 5th day of this weeke² I was at a meetinge in this towne and there came in to aprehend mee two constables with some other men who caryed mee before Thomas Pentlow called Justice, who after neare an houres examination, he tould mee yt hee did wish mee to goe home to my wife and if I would ingage to goe towards her in the morning and goe to her and stay with her I should have my liberty, which was by mee denyed. Then hee gave the constable charge of mee till further orders, who kept mee untill this day, and about the ninth houre carryed mee beefore him againe, and Marmeduke Storr beeing come up to see his brother Joseph³ and mee, and beeing with mee, hearing that they caryed mee under thee name of a vagrant, was moved to goe with mee to witnesse the contrary and was by Thomas Pentlow admitted into his house, who after hee was come in they did seek ocasion against him, but no breach of law nor pretence of a breach could they prove against him, nether could the[y] prouve any breach of law against mee; but after about 8 houres examination and consultation with two preests yt was there, Thomas Pentlow and one Browne of Ketterin who is allso called Justise, did make a mitemus in there wills to send us both to the gaole, which is entended to bee done on the second day of the next weeke in the morning . . .

¹ Reports the examination and commitment to prison of John Whitehead and Marmaduke Storr, of which a fuller account appears in *The Written Gospel-Labours of . . . John Whitehead* (1704), 29-32. The two were examined before Thomas Pentlow of Wilby, Northants, and John Browne of Kettering (see Northants Record Society, i, 252). The two priests were Thomas Andrewes and John Boddington (see H. I. Longden, *Northamptonshire and Rutland clergy from 1500*, i, 1938).

² 15 March 1655.

³ Joseph Storr, of Owstwick, buried 5.iii.1657 (Yorks. registers).

The Lord hath a presious people theare awayes, and the enemy seekes to devoure them and dishearten them; if thou find freedom to send any faithfull frend amongst them it will bee in greate servise for the stablising of them, but persecution is likely to atend them yt comes.

My deare brother pray for us, yt wee may be kept faithfull wetnesses for god to his praise and glory, who is blessed for ever

John Whitehead
Marmeduke Storr

Wellingburrow

this 17th day of

the 1 month 1655

[address] to George Foxx or Thomas

Aldam give this with care

[endorsed] From John/Whitehead and/Marmeduke Storre,
to G. F./or Tho; Aldam/1655

[endorsed by G.F.] in norhamton/sher

CXXX

EDWARD BOURNE to GEORGE FOX. *Worcester*, 23d
6 mo: 90

Deare G.F.

Whom I dearely love in the Blessed Truth; whose prayers for mee I believe the Lord hath heard, & graciously answered in preserveing mee in his dominion . . .

I tooke severall meetinge before mee when I left London to come homewards to Worcester, as Jordans, & Ammersom [Amersham] & A[d]derbury, & Shipstone [Shipston-on-Stour], where I had some friends with mee who labour in the service of Truth, as Rich: Needham¹ in Ammesom, John Thornton² of Hempstead now I think, formerly of Alesbury, who travailed with mee from Alesbury to Aderbury in Oxfordshire, & to the men & womens monthly meeting att

¹ Richard Needham, of Southwark, d. 10.v.1721, aged 73; Joseph Smith, *Descriptive Catalogue of Friends' Books*, II, 235.

² John Thornton, successively of Newport Pagnell (1681), Sherington (1681-84), Aylesbury (1686-89), and Hemel Hempstead (from 1690), hatter (1681) and salesman (1686, 1687), married Ann Hunt of Sherington, 5.iii.1681; there are records of several of their children in the Buckinghamshire registers. John Thornton wrote a testimony to Elizabeth Stirredge, printed (signature B1b-2a) in her *Strength in Weakness* (1711).

Hook Norton & to a monthly meeting in Banbury also in Oxfordshire, where wee parted. & since I came to Worcester wee have had oppertunityes att our meetings as att the meetings above mention, which were very sweet & pretious, praised bee the most High God therefore for ever. & also att Tewxbury, & Droytwich, & Grafton Flyford, I have had good oppertunityes with friends since my returne to Worcester, where I have knowne the Lord to bee with mee to my great comfort & refreshment, who is with mee & will bee with mee I trust, and bee my God for ever. Soe bee it.

Here was here & in these parts att meetings Will: Brigley [Bingley] & Will Robinson¹ of London with other friends lately. & I hope things were well in other places, even as they were here, where they have been. The yearely meeting paper was read in our monthly meeting here since I came home, to friends great satisfaction & comfort & is to bee read the next week att our quarterly meeting in Pershore.

I was willing thus far to give thee an account of things since I parted with thee here, & where I have been, & doe hope thou art well, & injoyest thy health; with my deare love & wife's unto thee & many friends more here, praying for thy welfare, with deare love to all the faithfull with thee, I take leave & remaine

Thine in the pure Truth

Edw. Bourne

[endorsed] Edward Bourne/to G.F./
Worster 23:6:mo:90.

CXXXI

WILLIAM BINGLEY to GEORGE FOX. *Whitby*, 16.v.1688
Deare G.F.

Whom I love and honour in ye Lord as one whom he hath made a father of many fathers and a worthy in Israell to whom duple honnour belongs, and many have cause with my soule to bless ye Lord on thy behalfe. Deare George it is in my hart to give thee some account how things are wheare I have beene. . . .

. . .Hempsted and ye next day Henry Belley and I mete and went to Northampton and had a meeting in ye forenoone and

¹ William Robinson is described by Joseph Smith, *op. cit.*, II, 505, as of the County of Durham, afterwards of London.

at Hempsted in ye evening, and had good meetings at both places. We had a meeting in Rutlandshire where ye Lords power brok in in a wonderful manner, many ye worlds peopel came 10 12 and 14 mills to ye meeting, and ye Lords power broke many of them mouch in meetinge; and at Silbey [Sileby], Notingham and Neare ye Lady Rhodes¹ we had good meitings and things generally weare well amonest friends in all these places.

We red [rode] from thence to York to their general meeting, and ye Lords presence was with friends, and the[y] weare presarved in peace & unity one with another, and all things weare cared [carried] on very sweetly, and ye Lords power was over yt darke spirit yt has beene at work there. We had a disstinct meeting only of ministering freinds and ye Lord was with us in it and his counsell was sweetly opened amongst us, and friends was glad of ye opertunity and was comforted one in another; and I have sence yt meeting beene down about Wakefield and yt way and Pontefract and down on ye Loweland at Sike house [Sykehouse] and neare Houlden [?Howden] where John Hog² lives (and he was at a meeting wher I was but quiete).

In many of these places things are well with freinds, and in yt meeting to which John Hog belongs and Hull meeting there are prety many tender hearted frends amongst them yt sees throw ye workings of this mistrey of Inequity, and I hope will see it more and more and will be presarved out of it, though too many are hurt with it, and some have Leters³ in sowernes and ennemety against freind[s] and ye good order of truth. I desire ye Lord may work it out, if it be his will.

Freinds in Houldernes, Bridlington, Scarbrough and Whitebey are generally well. I and another freind yet came with me from York have beene in all these places (his name is John Beard) and we doe find an opennes amongst many

¹ Lady Rodes, *née* Martha Thornton, daughter of William Thornton of Grantham, wife of Sir Francis Rodes, 3rd baronet, and mother of Sir John Rodes, 4th baronet, of Barlborough Hall.

² Probably the John Hogg of Howden, whose daughter Anne married in 1698. At this time there were Hoggs in York, at Harrogate, at Kirby-moorside and elsewhere in Yorkshire. John Hogg of Harrogate, is stated by Joseph Smith, *op. cit.*, I, 962, to have been the separatist; he married in 1664 at Pannal, Isabel Waterhouse.

³ The sense here is obscure. The meaning may be that some have received letters written in sourness, or that some have let (letten) in sourness.

peopel and aground to receive ye testimony of truth. Friends in these parts are glad of a visit, ministering friends comes not very often amongst them. A great many friends heareaway are comforted in ye Rememberance of thee, and desires there deare loves to be Remembered to thee. We are now intending god willing to cross over the mores in to ye northwest parts of Yorkshire, and so over in to some parts of Lankeshire and through som parts of Cheshire, and then whomwards, if ye Lord will.

I bless god I have had a good and comfortable journey, for though we have travelld hard yet ye Lord has beene with us and has given ability beyond our expecttation, blessed and praysed be his name for evermore.

My deare love is to G. Whitehead and A. Parker, and to friends as thou sees meete; so desiring thy prayers to ye Lord for me, I rest thy reall friend in ye truth.

John Beards love is
to thee and friends.

Wm Bingley

Whitbey ye 16th of ye 5th mo. 88.

Accounts for year 1956 and *Journal*, vol. 48, nos. 1-2

Expenditure				Receipts			
	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
<i>Journal of Friends' Historical Society</i> , vol. 48,				Balance brought forward	55	8	3
2 parts	208	9	10	Subscriptions	155	5	0
Braithwaite, "Thomas				Donations	111	16	6
Rudyard"	51	16	0	Sales	40	2	5
Stationery	9	8	2	Advertisements ..	3	12	0
Expenses, including postage	13	0	0				
Balance carried forward to 1957	83	10	2				
	<u>£366</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>		<u>£366</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>

There is a Reserve Fund in the Post Office Savings Bank of £323 14s. 11d., representing Life Membership Subscriptions, £297; interest accrued (1950-1956), £26 14s. 11d.

Examined with the books of the Society and found correct.

25. ii. 1957.

(Signed) BASIL G. BURTON.

Recent Publications

The Province of West New Jersey, 1609-1702. A history of the origins of an American colony. By John E. Pomfret. Princeton University Press, 1956. pp. xii, 298; 1 map. (*Princeton History of New Jersey series.*) Obtainable from Oxford University Press at 40s.

It is almost part of the folklore of Quakerism east of the Atlantic that the first planting of the "Seed of Truth" in the western hemisphere began when that "second *Mayflower*", the 300-ton *Welcome*, put William Penn ashore at Newcastle on the Delaware in October, 1682. That this belief is very far from the truth is revealed by a moment's thought of the history of Friends' earlier activities on the American mainland and in the West Indian islands—of the four Quaker martyrs on Boston Common, and the perilous journeys recorded by George Fox in his *Journal*, 1671-73. Nor does this view take account of Quaker experiences and ventures in early colonial settlement. Of these, the most worth while studying were in New Jersey, raising almost every conceivable difficulty which confronted colonists, governors and proprietors. The presence of strong Quaker elements in the Jersey colonies on the east bank of the Delaware, just across from Philadelphia, gave to the whole region a community of interest and aim which augured well for the rapid development of the Quaker city.

Dr. John Pomfret, Director of the Huntington Library and member of the Friends Historical Association in America, has produced a history of the Jersey colonies from 1609 until the end of the proprietary period in 1702, and deals most satisfactorily with the many and confusing problems which the evidence raises. The Dutch and Swedish occupations lasted until 1664 when the English seized New Amsterdam and the Delaware settlements. The Delaware lands were granted by the Duke of York to Sir John Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, and the province was named Nova Caesaria or New Jersey. In the following years some English settlers moved in to lands below Newcastle. In 1674 Berkeley sold his share (the western half of the colony) to the Quakers John Fenwick and Edward Byllynge; these two quarrelled and Fenwick took a separate share of the colony and made a settlement at Salem. He conveyed the rest to William Penn and two of Byllynge's creditors; these three, together with Byllynge, made an agreement in 1676 with Sir George Carteret, the other New Jersey proprietor. This "Quintite deed" recognized the 1674 grant made by Berkeley to the Quakers, and made the formal division into East and West New Jersey which lasted until the two parts were reunited as a royal colony in 1702.

William Penn served as a trustee of West New Jersey from 1675 until 1681 and during this period about 1,400 Quakers emigrated to the province—for a door was open in the New World to a settlement guaranteeing individual liberty and freedom of conscience and worship. By the end of the century Dr. Pomfret estimates that the colony numbered some 3,500 inhabitants, with the Quakers in a

majority. The towns were in effect small villages; Salem had about 500 inhabitants, Burlington 600 and Gloucester 400, the rest were scattered on the creeks draining into the Delaware.

Quakerism and the cohesive force of the organization of Friends' meetings gave to the whole province a unity which did not break up into lawlessness or indiscipline among the colonists, even at times when the government was in dispute. Dr. Pomfret devotes a separate chapter to the Quakers, and this is suitable in a volume concerned with the history of a province of which the majority of the politically alive and the solid backbone of the colony were Friends. In 1685 the Burlington-Philadelphia Yearly Meeting was established, and there is a full story of the development of Quaker discipline comparable to that in England.

"The years before 1700 were the heyday of Quakerism along the Delaware; West Jersey was as yet a solid Quaker community, and Pennsylvania with its rapidly growing metropolis betokened the success of the Holy Experiment. The spirit of fellow-worshipping was characterized by hope and zeal" (p. 224). Yet there were difficulties even then. The Keithian controversy within the Society of Friends coincided with attacks upon the Quaker position in West Jersey and Pennsylvania and a sustained drive to get rid of all proprietary colonies. It is one of the merits of this book that it illustrates the integrative social force of religion in establishing a new community.

The book is well produced and is illustrated by a map of c. 1700. The student may regret that the index is incomplete and not always in alphabetical order, but this is only a minor blemish in a masterly study of an American colony which plays a considerable part in the history of Quakerism.

R. S. MORTIMER

William Penn: a Biography. By Catherine Owens Peare. Philadelphia and New York. J. B. Lippincott Company, 1957. pp. 448, 1 plate. \$6.00.

William Penn was one of those personalities in which everyone can see something different, and this well-documented biography of the Founder of Pennsylvania, which sets the American aspects in proper perspective, will have a useful place while we are waiting for the "perfect" biography. The historian may look askance at the "intelligent reconstructions" which abound, but he will be reassured by the solid quotations from original documents, the lengthy bibliographies, and the notes of sources which reveal the substantial foundation on which Catherine Owens Peare has constructed her book. From the opening of the first chapter, when we meet the elder Penn as a young naval captain of 23, on the deck of his command *The Fellowship* going down the Thames from Deptford, "exhilarated by new hopes and mounting opportunities" and happy in the thought of the son born to his wife in their house on Tower Hill, to the quiet death of that son after "a gradual declension" in the summer of 1718, we are carried along by a narrative which has point and interest.

English readers may well pass over some early pages where the

author details aspects of English life which have little close relevance to the subject. Terminology is loose. Phrasing is slangy—hostile judges “lick their chops”; confidence in Charles II sinks to “a new low”; and there are others like these. A few absurd statements are made—“William Laud succeeded Buckingham as Bishop of London”; “English history had ground ruthlessly on in his absence”; “Penn had come from the Cavaliers”. These unnecessary faults may cause some readers to doubt the calibre of the research which has been put into the book.

The biography gains poise as documentary evidence becomes more plentiful. The Irish journeys in 1669 and 1670, the Penn-Mead trial, travels in Holland and Germany, political interludes: all these are well covered, and interest increases as soon as one turns towards America. The reader is introduced to the difficulties which faced William Penn in establishing his colony, and in securing his position against schemers on both sides of the Atlantic.

The author is unsure in some of the emphases she lays. It is probably a mistake to make too much of William Penn as “such a close associate of the Stuarts”. A more careful reading of editorial footnotes to the sources she quotes would have convinced the author of the falsity of the story about Margaret Fox being with child in 1670. No evidence is produced to support the surprising statement that Margaret Fox had “recently lost an infant of her own” in 1673. Two Robert Barclays are confused, and this confusion is repeated in the index. Spellings of **personal** and place names are inconsistent. The index is inadequate. A family tree, a chronological table, and a more liberal sprinkling of year dates would all have helped the reader, as also would a clearer differentiation, by type or indentation, between the author’s words and quotations from other sources. Some errors of fact could well be set right in a new edition: William Penn married Hannah Callowhill at the Friars Meeting House, Bristol, not in Broadmead; King Road is ten miles from Wrington. “Will Earle Poulet whom I have been unable to identify,” p.412, looks uncommonly like John, 1st Earl Poulett, First Lord of the Treasury (1710-11) and Lord Steward of the Household (1711-14).

The constant recourse which the author has had to the original sources, and the liberal quotations from papers like the unpublished Penn-Callowhill correspondence, give this book a lasting value which outweighs these faults. Catherine Owens Peare has written a readable book which will be useful for many years to come.

R. S. MORTIMER.

Notes and Queries

QUAKERS IN DURHAM DIOCESE

Archaeologia Aeliana, 4th series, vol. 34 (1956), includes an article on Episcopal visitations in the diocese of Durham, 1662-1671, by Rev. J. Rogan (pp. 92-109). The author concludes from the evidence that "Quakers were stronger and more widespread in 1662 than in 1665". Where there was a sizeable group they tended to hold their own, but the smaller groups tended to disappear. Newcastle was a great centre for dissent; here, the Trewhitt family are particularly mentioned as "being Quakers and having frequent and public meetings in the house where resort a numerous company from Northumberland and this county".

YORKSHIRE QUAKERS, 1682

M. Hope Dodds has brought to our notice a document printed in *Notes and Queries*, New series, vol. 3, no. 1, p. 17 (Jan. 1956), by R. M. Faurot of the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York. The document is from Archbishop's Visitation Book, R.VII, A.33, 1682 (York Diocesan Records), and is a letter from the curate of Middleton, near Pickering, proposing to present "Henry Marshall of Aislaby, Tho, Chapman, Henry Skelton of Whrelton [Wrelton], William Storre, all within ye parish of Midleton, and persons for diverse years presented, cited and excommunicated for denying their proportionable assessment to ye church; for not repairing to Divine Service and for not receiving ye Communion".

QUAKERS AS JURYMEN

M. Hope Dodds also notes an article on the Court Baron (*Amateur Historian*, vol. 3, no. 12, 1956, p. 375) which quotes a document of about 1706 in Kent County Archives Office, A.G.47 (60), stating that Quakers were the most prying and therefore the best men to have on juries to inquire into breaches of the customs of the manor.

RICHARD NISBET

Richard Nisbet of the Island of Nevis wrote *The Capacity of Negroes for Religious and Moral Improvement considered: with cursory hints, to proprietors and to government, for the immediate melioration of the condition of slaves in the sugar colonies; to which are subjoined short and practical discourses to negroes, on the plain and obvious principles of religioun and morality* (London: Printed by James Phillips, 1789). Nisbet's interest in the improvement of the lot of the slaves led him to undertake the religious instruction of a few domestic slaves of his own, and the talks he gave them are reprinted in the book. In the preface the author says that the book consists partly of "some observations which once made their appearance in the Gazette of the island of St. Christopher", but he was precluded "by unexpected and unforeseen impediments" from continuing to use that channel. He therefore took the opportunity of a visit to his native country (he dates the preface from London, Nov. 1789) to publish his views on the negroes more fully. The view he took was that "every prejudice

against this unfortunate people is a mere illusion”.

No other publication of Richard Nisbet's appears to survive, but there is the following letter in the Bristol Public Library, C. T. Jefferies collection of MSS. vol. 13, fol. 135, written by him to James Phillips his publisher a couple of years later, dated and addressed in Quaker style, stating that he is giving up the law. Perhaps, like John Woolman, he found that he could not draw up deeds disposing of slaves.

St. Christopher,
7th, 11 Mo. 1791.

Respected Friend,

Finding the practice of the Law, as it is follow'd here, to be incompatible with my persuasions of what is Christian Purity of Truth, I am therefore compell'd to turn my mind to commerce, with the advantage of former experience to profit by. I therefore request to know if you can befriend me so far as to recommend me for a Credit to some friends in the Linen draper, Woollen Drapery, Mercery, Hosiery, Haberdashery, Saddlery, Hats, Shoes & Boots, and Hard Ware Lines, so as that I may

import those articles of good quality & well laid in, as also some in your own way, in small & repeated assortments, making annual payments as nearly as possible, & occasionally more frequently. An Answer hereto will be acceptable to

Your affectionate friend

Rd. Nisbet

[address] James Phillips/Book-seller / George Yard / Lombard Street/London.

SHEFFIELD REFORMERS

An article by Allan W. L. Seaman in the *Transactions of the Hunter Archaeological Society*, vol. 7, part 5 (1956), pp. 215-228, deals with "Reform politics at Sheffield, 1791-97".

The Sheffield Society for Constitutional Information was established during the autumn of 1791. By early December, it was reported, that no person of consequence had come forward to join the reformers except a Quaker physician by the name of Sutcliffe. [ref. to letter Rev. W. Hunter to Earl Fitzwilliam, 12th December, 1791]. In the following months the Society developed; it was served as Secretary by Ashton, another Quaker.

"A Quaker Tercentenary for America?" an article by Henry J. Cadbury discussing the dates at which Friends came to various parts of America and founded meetings, opens the Spring 1956 number of *The Bulletin of Friends Historical Association*. Other papers include one on Mary Rotch of New Bedford (1777-1848) by Murray Gardner Hill; Levinus K. Painter writes on Quakerism in the Monongahela Valley; and Frederick Tolles prints a document of 1756 commenting on Pennsylvania contemporary politics.

The Autumn number (vol. 45, no. 2) contains the first portion of a paper on the Concept of the Church in Seventeenth-Century Quakerism (Emerson W. Shideler); "Successors of Woolman and Benezet"—the beginnings of the Philadelphia Friends Freedmen's Association, by Youra Qualls; and Bernard Shaw and the Quakers (Warren S. Smith). Both numbers have the usual useful notes and bibliographical 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.

Association of British Theological and Philosophical Libraries.

At a meeting held in London on October 25th, 1956, this association came formally into existence; its aims, as stated in its constitution, are "to promote the interests of libraries, scholars, and librarians" in the fields of theology and philosophy.

Its foundation membership ranges from large academic libraries to modest society libraries, as well as a number of individuals, and no doubt its numbers will grow as its usefulness becomes increasingly clear. It hopes to help members by the provision and interchange of information, and by undertaking, among other things, projects of bibliographical value. A bulletin will be issued three times a year, about the middle of each university term. This will be sent free to all members of the Association; non-members will be able to subscribe to it (10s. 6d. per annum).

The officers are: Chairman: Dr. Roger Thomas (Dr. Williams's Library, 14 Gordon Square, London, W.C.1); Deputy Chairman: Rev. F. Courtney, S.J. (Heythrop College, Chipping Norton, Oxon.); Hon. Secretary/Treasurer: Miss J. Ferrier (c/o Church Missionary Society Library, 6 Salisbury Square, London, E.C.4). The Editor of the Bulletin will be Mr. R. J. Hoy (School of Oriental and African Studies Library, University of London, London, W.C.1.).

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