

The Journal
of the
Friends' Historical
Society

VOLUME 49

NUMBER 4

SPRING 1961

FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FRIENDS HOUSE • EUSTON ROAD • LONDON N.W.1

also obtainable at Friends Book Store :

302 Arch Street, Philadelphia 6, Pa., U.S.A.

Price 5s. Yearly 10s.

Contents

	PAGE
Editorial	185
Accounts	186
Irish History and the Earliest Irish Friends. <i>Olive C. Goodbody</i>	187
Macaulay Rejects a Slur on William Penn. <i>Henry J. Cadbury</i>	205
Friends' Queries and General Advices. 1682-1860. <i>Richard E. Stagg</i>	209
Microfilms in Friends House Library	236
Notes and Queries	239

Friends' Historical Society

President: 1960—Olive C. Goodbody

1961—Maurice A. Creasey

Chairman: Geoffrey F. Nuttall

Secretary: Edward H. Milligan

Joint Alfred W. Braithwaite and

Editors: Russell S. Mortimer

THE JOURNAL
OF THE
FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Publishing Office: Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

Communications should be addressed to the Editor at
Friends House.

Editorial

THIS number of the *Journal* contains the Presidential address for 1960, delivered by Olive C. Goodbody, of Dublin, on 6th October last at Friends House, London. The lecture was illustrated with slides and concerns the history of early Friends in Ireland, and among other things brings to light Irish Friends' connections with two particular Parliamentarians—Captain Stephen Rich of Lazy Hill, Dublin, and Nicholas Kempston of County Cavan.

At a time when the future of the Advices and Queries as part of the established discipline in London Yearly Meeting is under consideration, following the issue of the revised *Christian faith and practice*, we are glad to be able to print a detailed historical survey of the development of Friends' Advices and Queries, from the beginning up to the middle of last century by Richard E. Stagg. Full details of the alterations made by successive sessions of London Yearly Meeting are given in appendixes at the end of the article, and we hope to continue the study down to the 1928 revision in the Autumn issue.

In the light of a letter from Macaulay now at Haverford, Henry J. Cadbury considers the historian's charges against William Penn, which caused a little storm when they first appeared in his *History of England*, and of which faint echoes are still sometimes heard.

Among other items, we also include a list of Microfilms in Friends House Library, supplementing the list appearing in the *Journal* in 1951.

Accounts for the year 1959 and *Journal*, vol. 49, No. 1

EXPENDITURE				INCOME			
	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
<i>Journal of Friends' Historical Society</i> , vol. 49, No. 1	149	3	7	Balance carried forward from 1958	87	2	10
Stationery	13	12	9	Subscriptions	145	10	8
Expenses including postage	10	4	2	Donations	101	16	0
Balance carried forward to 1960	202	5	0	Sales	39	0	0
				Advertisement	1	16	0
	<u>£375</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>				
					<u>£375</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>

The Reserve Fund amounts to £453 16s. 1d. (£400 invested in the Hastings and Thanet Building Society, and £53 16s. 1d. in the Post Office Savings Bank.)

Examined with the books of the Society and found correct.
15.xi.60. BASIL G. BURTON.

Accounts for the year 1960 and *Journal*, vol. 49, Nos. 2 and 3

EXPENDITURE				INCOME			
	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
<i>Journal of Friends' Historical Society</i> , vol. 49, Nos. 2 & 3	240	13	9	Balance carried forward from 1959	202	5	0
Stationery	8	4	0	Subscriptions: in arrears 1960	103	10	0
Expenses including postage	20	5	1	in advance	57	4	0
Duplicating List of members	2	14	8	Life	10	0	0
Transfer to Post Office Savings Bank in respect of Life Subscriptions	20	0	0	Donations	111	14	6
Balance carried forward to 1961	230	3	5	Sales	10	0	7
	<u>£522</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>11</u>				
					<u>£522</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>11</u>

The Reserve Fund amounts to £475 2s. 7d. (£400 invested in Hastings and Thanet Building Society, and £75 2s. 7d. in the Post Office Savings Bank.)

Examined with books of the Society and found correct.
31.i.61. BASIL G. BURTON.

Irish History and the Earliest Irish Friends

Presidential Address to the Friends' Historical Society, 1960

By OLIVE C. GOODBODY

THERE was no soil in which the Reformation, in its religious aspect, could take root and grow in Ireland. For centuries the monasteries had been not only centres of culture, piety and learning, but had provided refuge for the people in time of war and in time of sickness. Their abbots were the natural protectors of the ordinary folk, who turned to them when in trouble and who shared with them their times of festival and rejoicing. The dissolution of the monasteries, and the passing of monastic property into secular hands was to the Irish peasantry not only a desecration of their Church but an uprooting of their very way of living. There had never, in Ireland, been manor houses as in England. Towns and villages were widely scattered. Community life was centred in the hamlets and cottages around the great monastic centres. Religion was traditionally ingrained in the simple people, and though the Mass was said or sung in Latin it brought to their unquestioning minds a sense of harmony, beauty, and holiness in vivid contrast to the squalor of their daily lives.

Bewilderment at the novel and unacceptable idea of a secular head of the Church in the person of Henry VIII was succeeded by dismay at the gradual recession of civilization, the extinction of the great house of Kildare (virtual Kings of Ireland and beloved by the people), the conferring of the title of King of Ireland on Henry and the gradual confiscation of lands of the nobility who did not conform to the new order. Thus were sown the seeds which germinated one hundred years later in the tremendous rising of the Catholic gentry and people of Ireland in 1641, which was later to embarrass England at a crucial period of the Civil War. The seed bore its fruit in animosity and frustration which lasted for nearly 300 years. The pity and desolation of the times is conveyed in Frank O'Connor's beautiful lament for one of the great houses of Ireland whose people were friends to the countryside:

What shall we do for timber?
 The last of the woods is down,
 Kilcash and the house of its glory
 And the bell of the house are gone,
 The spot where her lady waited
 Who shamed all women for grace,
 When earls came sailing to greet her,
 And Mass was said in that place. . . .
 No sound of duck or geese there,
 Hawk's cry or eagle's call,
 No humming of the bees there,
 That brought honey and wax for all,
 Nor even the song of the birds there
 When the sun has gone down in the west
 Nor a cuckoo atop of the boughs there,
 Singing the world to rest.¹

Risings, rebellions and petty wars between chieftains marked the whole Elizabethan period in Ireland and precluded both the scientific advancement and the critical approach to religion and learning which were growing in England. Puritan ideology scarcely touched Ireland from within, though indeed the foundation of Trinity College, Dublin, in 1592 may have had a Puritan angle.

The flight in 1607 of ninety-nine of Ireland's leading men, headed by two great earls, led to the plantation by Scots and English settlers of Ulster, in the reign of James I. Their descendants are there to this day, and they are the stock from which many Friends in Northern Ireland have sprung. In the South a sort of quasi-toleration took place, interspersed with penalties and fines for recusancy. Priests and friars who had been sent abroad for education crept silently back, sheltered and aided by rich and poor alike. The letters passing to and fro from Rome, Louvain and other Continental towns reflect the fierce zeal which neither threat nor fine nor imprisonment could quench. The English government showed a degree of tolerance, but the Council in Dublin was adamant in enforcing orders against "Popish" practices. A letter written in 1629 tells of the Mayor, Protestant Archbishop, Recorder, Alderman and soldiers who came to a chapel in Dublin, and broke open the doors, pulled down pictures and pulpit, seized vestments and chalices and arrested the priests.

¹ F. O'Connor, *The fountain of magic*, 1939, the poem entitled "Kilcash," pp. 65-66.

Thus, in Ireland, there arose that cry, later to become so very familiar to Friends—Liberty of Conscience, liberty to worship God according to the dictates of the heart, not fettered by man-made ordinance. By 1641 the land was aflame, the Catholic gentry and countrymen had risen in arms in a crusade for the defence of this liberty, for causes so very far removed from the Puritan plea for tolerance in England. A letter¹ from Hugh Bourke, Commissary of the Friars Minor in Germany to Luke Wadding in 1642 states: "The war is merely for liberty of conscience and the defence of the royal prerogative against the Puritans." Thus is all too briefly defined the policy which was to disrupt the country for years to come and plant in Cromwell's supporters the hatred which devastated the land.

The complex situation, with a Protestant King to whose Catholic consort the Irish Confederation freely appealed for help, in reality formed part of the great European struggle for power, and its political aspect has been amply portrayed by historians. It first touches Quaker history when money was appealed for to subdue Ireland. Among those who adventured their wealth in this cause, known later as the Adventurers whose claims were to be satisfied by lands in Ireland, were many men who later became followers of George Fox and his testimony of peace. Not the least singular amongst the names which thus appear is that of Gulielma Springett, who became the wife of William Penn, and that of Isaac Penington.²

Politicians, soldiers, sailors, men of rank and wealth and humble yeomen and husbandmen alike claimed their share. The soldiers and sailors were paid their arrears in land on which they settled, or (in many cases) sold their shares to others. Among the lists of those so satisfied one finds names which are familiar to us in Irish Quaker history. Some were men who, before 1649, had fought for the King. Most were Parliamentarians. A very few, as William Barcroft, refused their title to land on the grounds that it was the spoils of

¹ Hugh Bourke to Luke Wadding, Brussels, January 29th, 1642: *Report on Franciscan manuscripts* (Historical MSS. Commission, 65. Dublin, H.M.S.O., 1906. Cd.2867), p. 121.

² Probably Alderman Penington. 15th Report, Record Commissioners, Ireland, 1824-25, pp. 233, 424.

warfare. John Gay,¹ the friend of Penn, became entitled to some of the rich land of Meath, as well as property in Dublin. Robert Cuppaige and his friend, Thomas Holme, settled in Wexford and later became surrounded by a group who made the large early settlement of Quakers in that county. Holme was in Barbados when the lot was drawn in his name by a man, Charles Collins, in trust for him. On this land, at Corlickan, was to be the first Quaker burial ground in Wexford. In an assessment for Poll tax made in 1660 we find the name Corlickan and its chief tenant, Charles Collins. One could enumerate many who thus took up their land and remained in possession for many years as peace-loving Friends.

STEPHEN RICH (d.1667)

I have, however, for the purpose of this paper, chosen two men who became only slightly connected with Friends, in order to illustrate what manner of men our earlier Quaker settlers mixed with, and to help to unravel some of the mystery surrounding these two names in our earliest writings and records. The first is Captain Stephen Rich, at whose house we are told by Wight and Ruddy² (the Irish Quaker historians), by Sewel, and by Besse, the earliest Friends coming to Ireland were wont to meet and to lodge, and who appears to have had easy access to the house of Henry Cromwell, then Lord Deputy in Ireland. The second is Nicholas Kempston, on whose land a group of Friends took farms in 1655 in order to make a living testimony to their belief that payment of tithes was wrong.

Stephen Rich lived at Lazy Hill in the eastern suburbs of Dublin, on the point of the elevated ridge known as Lazy or Lazer's Hill where his wife, Rebecca, was apparently in the habit of providing lodging for weary travellers, whose journey from Chester or Holyhead may have taken up to five days, though with following winds it was accomplished in a matter of hours. Ships disembarked their passengers at Ringsend at the point of the narrow neck of land running out to sea, and the alternative to a circuitous and uncertain

¹ For John Gay, see Penn's *My Irish Journal* (ed. Isabel Grubb), 1952, p. 68.

² Thomas Wight, *A history of the rise and progress of the people called Quakers in Ireland*. Now revised and enlarged by John Ruddy, 1751, p. 116.

journey by an inland route was to hire a primitive vehicle known as a Ringsend car which, with two passengers precariously perched on the rear seat and a driver sitting well to the front, travelled rapidly and uncomfortably over the intervening track of muddy slob land to the nearest point at Lazy Hill. Early in the eighteenth century this slobland was reclaimed and no trace of Lazy Hill remains, its site now being the flat street known as Townsend Street.

It is fairly certain that this method of arrival in Dublin was that of our earliest Friends, and glad indeed they must have been to find welcoming hospitality at the house (probably, I think, the first one on Lazy Hill) of Rebecca Rich. It is a pity that there is no record at all about Rebecca, except that in 1660 she was imprisoned for frequenting Meeting.¹ Of the activities of her husband, Stephen, there is a great deal to be found and it is interesting that a man of his character and calling should be one of those influenced by our early Quaker preachers.

His name first appears after the reduction of Chester by Parliamentary forces in the Spring of 1646 (an important feat for it was the last remaining port by which Irish aid might have been brought to the King's forces). The Wynn Papers in the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, record other events until he appeared off Beaumaris by the 8th June, 1646. Negotiations for a peaceful surrender of the town were going on, but Rich landed arms and ammunition at dead of night and threatened the townspeople. Some of his officers "abused a gentlewoman of very good quality." Rich, in letters from aboard his frigate, *Rebecca*, spiritedly denied any hostile intentions and offered his apologies. He suggested that the gentlewoman who had suffered abuse should come aboard and identify the man who had insulted her.² By August of that year Rich, after the seige of Conway, engaged to take the captured Irish and "set them swimming whence they came."³ This has a sinister sound when one remembers that the Parliamentary captains of the era were said to tie their prisoners back to back and heave them overboard. A few months later the Parliamentary forces in Ireland,

¹ Besse, *Sufferings*, 1753, II, 466.

² Calendar of Wynn (of Gwydir) Papers, 1515-1690, in the National Library of Wales and elsewhere, 1926, nos. 1771, 1776, 1783-88, 1796.

³ *The Tanner letters*, ed. Charles McNeill (Irish MSS. Commission), 1943, p. 226.

marching hungry and weary to Dublin, were met with the news that Captain Rich's boat had arrived with £1,500 aboard, which was "something in the present distresse, and is to be valued as an earnest of the Lord's care of his people."¹ This was possibly the ship ordered on 19th November, 1647, to be ready to take money from Chester to Ireland.²

For the next eight years he was employed by the state in service around the coast of Ireland and across the Irish Sea. It is in these years that names familiar to us as Friends begin to appear in the State papers as Adventurers and soldiers. It well may be that some of them were transported by Rich and discussed with him their doubts and the difficulties confronting them. His recorded activities were far removed from the religious sphere. He transported guns and ammunition from Carrickfergus to Strangford³, cruised off the coast in his frigate *Jacob* to protect trading vessels, pressed seamen for service, took charge of the repair of ships at Wexford, and sailed between there and Dublin. It was probably during this time in Wexford that he found the property afterwards consigned to him, and to which he later retired. This was a small slate-roofed house, with a yard and a quay, part of a large lot in the tenure of a man called Hooper and his wife, formerly the Lady Colville.⁴ While there, he had charge of fitting the frigate *Fleetwood* for sea, and was worried by the fact that her masts, rigging and sails were all stolen.⁵ He transported salt to the Isle of Man and searched for spies in vessels coming from Scotland. In short, he was indispensable. During 1648 and 1649 he was in charge of the Irish packet boat and got into serious trouble for not transporting State packets.⁶ This was at the instigation of Evan Vaughan, former Irish postmaster, and spurred Stephen Rich to his only known literary effort which has now come to light in a rare pamphlet in the library of Christ Church, Oxford.⁷

¹ C. P. Meehan, *The Confederation of Kilkenny*, New edition, 1882, 314.

² *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1647-1660* (1903), 766.

³ *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1633-1647* (1901), 571.

⁴ P. H. Hore, *History of the town and county of Wexford*, vol. 5, 1906, index under Rich.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ J. W. Hyde, *The early history of the post in grant and farm*, 1894, 198.

⁷ *The Answer of Stephen Rich*, [n.p., 1649], 4to. See W. G. Hiscock, *The Christ Church supplement to Wing's Short-title catalogue, 1641-1700*, R 1365+.

It deals with Rich's period as postmaster and has little bearing on this paper. It does, however, emphasize his personality as one of vigour and resolution not prone to take injustice calmly, nor yet to counter-attack an adversary. Vaughan had accused him on seven counts of mis-handling important State documents, even accusing him of opening one to his own advantage.

To the first charge, Rich replied that as he had not been appointed postmaster at the time mentioned he could hardly be held responsible. This was a quibble, as the letters complained of had been carried on his barque. All the charges related to the period in which he was engaged between Holyhead, Chester and Dublin. In his support are letters from Colonel Michael Jones, Colonel Waller, and a group of Chester and Wirral men who warmly commend the valuable part he played in the capture of Chester by the Parliamentary forces, fitting and making serviceable an old hulk at his own expense and even maintaining a bridge of boats across the river. But all this was before his earliest connection with Friends.

We know from Ruddy's *Rise and Progress* that by 1655 Rich was already receiving Friends in his house at Lazy Hill, where sometimes meetings were held. In that year Barbara Blaugdone landed in Dublin, being blown in after an effort to reach Cork. She lodged at Rich's house, and after she had visited the Deputy Henry Cromwell, Stephen came home and said that "the Deputy was so sad and melancholy, after she had been with him, that he could not go to Bowls, or to any other Pastime."¹ How, we wonder, had this bluff sea captain such easy access to the house of the reputedly austere Deputy? In 1657 Thomas Loe preached through the Dublin streets from St. James's Gate to Stephen Rich's house,² that is, from the extreme west of the city to the extreme east. Was it his magnetic personality (also felt by William Penn), which brought Rich into sympathy with the little band of early Irish Friends? In the same year Francis Howgill wrote from Ireland to Margaret Fell: "We had a meeting at Capt. Rich's house and another at

¹ W. Sewel, *History*, 1722, p. 111.

² T. Wight, *History*, 1751, p. 116.

Capt. Aland's. They are loving the captains but not much in them."¹

That Rich was still active in the service of the government is clear from the Commonwealth State Accounts, for he was paid £100 in 1657 for his extraordinary service in commanding the frigate *Lambay Catch*, and for his part in repairing and refitting it at Lazy Hill.² Here his connection with the state ceases, as far as I can find, but he was still at Lazy Hill in 1660 and appears there in an assessment for Poll tax in the "Census of Ireland."³ Rich actually sold his Dublin property in 1655, for there is in the Registry of Deeds, Dublin, a recitation back to that year saying that he had done so, the purchaser being one Robert Robbins.⁴

Stephen Rich's death appears in Quaker records for Wexford as taking place in 1667, and his wife died in the same year. His will is in the Irish Genealogical Office. He left his property to his only son, Job, failing whom to Wexford Quakers. Among the legatees was Solomon Richards, former Mayor of Wexford (or perhaps his son of the same name), Robert Phair, Commonwealth Governor of Cork, and friend of William Penn, reputed to have attended Friends' Meetings, and John Nicholls, his neighbour at Lazy Hill, whom I think more research would prove to have a connection with Friends. Also named are brother, Richard, whose daughter was Mary.

Who was Stephen Rich? I have been quite unable to trace his antecedents. I found, however, in the Genealogical Office in Dublin his application for a coat of arms in 1647, which was granted. He claimed it

as a reward for the service he rendered at the capture of Chester in 1646 when he was Commander of a ship of war, the

¹ A. R. Barclay MSS, CXVIII (Friends House Library); see *Journal F.H.S.*, xlvi, 123-4; in modern English. Aland was a soldier who had received land at Passage, co. Waterford, and a house in Dublin; see 15th Report, Record Commissioners, Ireland, p. 403.

² *Analecta Hibernica*, no. 15: (Irish MSS. Commission), 1944, p. 292.

³ *Census of Ireland*, c.1659. Ed. S. Pender. (Irish MSS. Commission), 1939.

⁴ It is of interest to note in Hore's *History of Wexford*, that the owners of the Wexford land (Hooper and Colville) had considerable difficulty in gaining actual possession. The grant had been made in 1655, but the government was responsible for repairs and these were not done and the transfer did not take place until 1659. I suppose Robbins just had to wait, or perhaps he came to live with Rich.

Rebecca, of 300 tons and during the siege of Chester commanded certain frigates and therewith maintained the waterguard, also commanding a squadron of twelve ships for the reducing of the Isle of Anglesey, now resident in this kingdom [of Ireland].

His arms, which most closely resemble those of the Earl of Warwick, were confirmed in respect of the fact that he was descended from an ancient family of that surname in Essex. Was he then a kinsman of the Earl of Warwick,¹ the Royalist turned Parliamentarian, who was in 1642 given command of the Parliamentary Navy, and whose family name was Rich, of Essex? I think this must be so (though such a flight of fancy is one of the pitfalls of the amateur historian). It would explain Stephen's easy entry to the court of Henry Cromwell, whose sister a few months later married the Earl's grandson. Nepotism was a common trait of the age, and Warwick was not above it. Here we leave Stephen Rich, a warrior influenced by the growing peaceable beliefs of Friends.

NICHOLAS KEMPSTON (d. 1676)

Our narrative next takes us to the neglected and sparsely documented county of Cavan, in Ulster province, now one of the 26 counties of Eire. In 1656 William Edmondson, the pioneer of Irish Quakerism, left shopkeeping followed by him since his arrival three years previously in Ireland. He had by this time established the first Irish meeting in Lurgan, Co. Armagh, where he lived. He was a man of integrity and courage, who had been a soldier under Cromwell. He felt that a living testimony was needed to witness against the corrupt practice of tithe mongering, and with his brother, John, and the brothers, Richard and Anthony Jackson, and others, leased farm lands in a remote part of Cavan, from a certain Colonel Nicholas Kempston.² Edmondson's *Journal*, the basis of much Irish Quaker history, tells something of this little community and their hard life—oft-times lying on straw, with little comfort and much persecution and imprisonment. He states, however, that "Truth was much spread, and Meetings settled in several Places, many being convinc'd and brought to the knowledge of God."³ For over three years

¹ Robert Rich, 2nd Earl of Warwick (1587-1658), *D.N.B.*

² W. Edmondson, *Journal* (Dublin, 1715), pp. 25-26.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

they lived thus, Edmondson travelling much through the countryside and meeting with rebuffs, fines and imprisonment, once being put in the stocks at Belturbet, the neighbouring market town.

No hint of the location of these farms nor of the reason for their choice, is given in the *Journal* nor in any subsequent history; it remained a secret until two years ago when a "who dun it spirit" persuaded me to unravel the mystery. The landlord, Col. Nicholas Kempston, "who was convinced of Truth, though did not join with Friends", is described by Edmondson as a hard man, who only by friendly persuasion was induced to let his land to this adventurous band. The experiment was terminated in 1659 when he refused to confirm Friends' leases,¹ and a number of them, including William Edmondson and Richard Jackson, drove their cattle a distance of some 80 miles to Rosenallis near Mountmellick where they farmed. Anthony Jackson remained and subsequently moved a short distance to Oldcastle. The names of William Edmondson, Richard Jackson and another well-known Friend, William Barcroft, occur next year in the Poll tax return as principal landholders in the townland of Rosenallis, which we know was thenceforward Edmondson's home.

The sources for Irish local history are limited owing to the destruction of much material in 1922, and the source materials for seventeenth-century land tenure are sparse. Copies of the unique maps made by Sir William Petty between the years 1654-7 remain. This was the first large-scale map in the world to be surveyed *on* the land, and was designed to record the confiscations of the Cromwellian period. Coupled with these there are the books of Survey and Distribution of the period which show the proprietors of land in 1641 and the names of those to whom it went by the Act of Settlement, 1666—but not, of course, sub-lettings. The manuscript book for Cavan is in the Public Record Office, Dublin; there is a certified contemporary copy (which I used) in the Royal Irish Academy. The XVth report of the Irish Record Commission contains abstracts of some of the property grants, as well as a numbered list of Adventurers and Soldiers which corresponds with the numbered list of lands granted. This forms a tedious but profitable research. The Registry of

¹ W. Edmondson, *Journal* (Dublin, 1715), pp. 32, 35.

Deeds, Dublin only dates from 1709 but is often found to contain recitations back which reveal the ownership of land at earlier dates. The State Papers for Ireland are in London but a microfilm is in the National Library, Dublin, and an adequate calendar was made in the last century. These are my main sources.

The first clue came from the State Papers of 1660 where there is "a humble petition" of Luke Dillon¹ for the restoration of his land. The Book of Survey and Distribution for Cavan shows that Luke Dillon, a Catholic, was the owner of several lots of land in that county, including Trinity Island, Drumurry, the two Derries, Clonlasken and Manory, all of which except the last went to the Earl of Anglesey in 1666. All lay in the diocese and parish of Kilmore.

Trinity Island, which had a long and interesting ecclesiastical history and on which was housed the last Catholic bishop of the era,² held out as a last stronghold of the Irish Army until March 1653 when it was finally captured by Colonel Robert Barrow.³ The land must have been left to the disposition of Ralph Fenwick, a Justice of the Peace in the neighbouring town of Belturbet, as Dillon states in his petition that Fenwick had given it to Nicholas Kempston for £60, whereas it was worth £300. It seemed obvious that this was the land on which our Friends settled, but the final proof was missing. At last, in the Registry of Deeds, I found a recitation back of a deed in 1717 of John Kempston, son of Col. Nicholas, stating that the Earl of Anglesey had leased to his father the lands of Trinity Island, the two Derries, Clonlasken, Dromore, Blenacup and the rest—all of which were named in Dillon's confiscation in the Book of Survey.

My husband and I went to Cavan where we gleaned more information of Dillon and of Trinity Island, but no one could tell us where it lay. Finally, we were recommended to ask a certain publican-cum-historian, Mr. Gough, in the town. (Fortunately, it was in the off hours.) To my surprise he produced a copy of Petty's Down Survey map of the barony of Loughtee, and to his surprise I quoted to him various names from Edmondson's Journal, which he said were still

¹ Calendar of the State Papers, Ireland, 1660-1662. Ed. R. P. Mahaffy, 1905, p. 55; dated about 20th October, 1660.

² Philip O'Connell, *The diocese of Kilmore*, 1937.

³ Robert Dunlop, *Ireland under the Commonwealth*, 1913, ii.323.

extant in the district today. The man who lived on the closest piece of land to Trinity Island was Mr. Jackson! He may still prove to be a descendant of Anthony, but this is the object of another search. Anthony had three sons one of whom, Isaac, was progenitor of the great Jackson clan in America. The other two are unrecorded in our registers. We made a friend of Mr. Jackson and it was a curious sensation to arrive at the remote and very beautiful spot by the lake and stand looking across its waters to the island, feeling sure we were at the spot where those early Quaker pioneers had made their homes. The intense quiet of the place, broken only by the shrill cries of seabirds, so far from the coast, made us feel as if there had been a continuity in the peace and quiet which pervaded all, as if our early Friends had left a sense of harmony to continue through the ages. On a later visit we were taken by the kindness of Mr. Gerald Latham to the Island and he pointed out to us all the lands I have mentioned surrounding the lake in calm silent beauty.

On the island are the ruins of an abbey which was founded by the French Premonstratensian community in 1237, being an off-shoot of a similar one on Lough Ce in Roscommon. In 1570 their lands (which, being surveyed, included all the land I have already listed) were conveyed to Hugh O'Reilly chief of the kingdom of the Brennye (i.e. Cavan) who appears to have hoped he might eventually restore them to the Canons. This did not come about, and by the fiat rolls of Elizabeth in 1586 the lands were leased to one Lucas Dillon, whose family retained them until 1653.¹

¹ All this property lies in the Diocese of Kilmore whose Protestant bishop at the beginning of the Catholic Confederate War was the very famous Bishop William Bedell. Of his saintlike qualities you may read in the two contemporary lives written by his son and son-in-law. He was loved in the neighbourhood by Catholic and Protestant alike, was the translator of the Old Testament into Irish—"for", he said "these people have souls which ought not to be neglected until they can learn English—" and was noted for the quiet unostentation of his way of life. Though a staunch unwavering Protestant he stated "wheresoever saving truth in an outward assembly and profession calls men to God there I account is a visible Church." He befriended all in the few months of his life after the outbreak of the rebellion, and his funeral was attended by members of both parties and religions, one being heard to say "May my soul be with Bedell's." Among his friends was Luke Dillon who offered him asylum when the Bishop's house was taken by the rebels. Surely this man must also have left an aura of good which did not easily die out in the quiet district even in those terrible times.

Nicholas Kempston comes into prominence first in 1647 at which time he was a Lt. Col. of Robert Lilburne's regiment of foot, playing a part in the rising of officers against Cromwell, by which he lost his commission but retrieved a command by raising a force of men to serve in Ireland. His home was later at Drumurry, close to Trinity Island.

In the year 1655 he was in trouble. His first wife was the sister of Major General Edmund Ludlow, the regicide whose memoirs are a fruitful source for the history of the period. Ludlow (whose forfeited lands all went later to the Earl of Anglesey) used his brother-in-law as agent and in various other capacities, and it may well be that the Cavan land was Ludlow's, but held in Kempston's name. Both men were stout republicans, strongly opposed to the return of the Stuarts or to government by any single person. In 1655 General Ludlow fell into disgrace by reason of his strong criticism of the assumption of power by Oliver Cromwell. He was refused permission to leave Ireland where he held the post of Lt. General of horse but, evading this order, set sail from Dublin in October. Nicholas Kempston, by now suspect because of his relationship with Ludlow, was amongst the large number who accompanied him to the place of embarkation and was promptly arrested and imprisoned.¹ Ludlow writes: "Colonel Henry Cromwell having notice that Col. Kempston who married my sister had assisted me . . . committed him to prison where he was used with equal severity as myself." On the 19th October the imprisonment was ordered to be continued² (no place of confinement being given), but there is no date for his release though in the following March a pass was issued for him with two servants and one horse. This was in England. It was probably early in 1656 that William Edmondson and his brother interviewed Kempston in his house in Cavan and in view of his difficulties he must have been glad to find tenants. In the Journal he is described as a hard man who only accepted their terms with protest after walking awhile in his orchard to consider them.

Of the trials of the next few years we have only Edmondson's short account. In our manuscript records there is but one brief mention of the time. John Douglas found it in a

¹ The Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow (ed. C. H. Firth, 1894), i.428-9.

² Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 19th October, 1659.

list known as "An Account of those who have backslidden from the truth out of the Meeting of Cavan." It was written in 1682, six years after Kempston's death:

Nycholas Kempston who had an estate in the County was convinced of the Lord's truth, did invite several Friends to live upon his lands, and received several meetings at his house at Drumurry, and afterwards broke covenant of their bargains and declined from truth, who before his death his speech was taken from him, and many times the plainest words he spoke was oaths.¹

No explanation has ever been given for the so-called breaking of covenant. A consideration of the chaotic conditions in Ireland as well as in England in the months after the death of Oliver Cromwell, coupled with General Ludlow's part in this period puts a new light on the incident. The Army, to which Ludlow belonged, revolted against the policies of Parliament of which he was a member. The position in Ireland was highly confused and Ludlow who was re-instated as Commander in Chief in Ireland in 1659 found himself with duties in England interfering with the obvious need for attention to duties in Ireland. His brother-in-law was again given command of a regiment, but was also entrusted with Ludlow's private affairs. By 1658 Mrs. Kempston had already begun to get anxious. This was small wonder, for no Act had been passed confirming the validity of Irish leases. In June she wrote to her brother:

how long it may contenuu in it we know not, for there is dayly changes in it . . . & many delays and put offs are mad . . . desiere that you and we may prepar for the worst & labour after resinged up hearts to the will of our wise & loveing father. . . . Land is grown very cheap now: the reason is thought to be becaus of soe many clams that are granted; men begen to grow weary of the trouble of it & many great taxces upon it though they can mak nothing . . . My husband is willing to let Will Coll have the graseing of his stock whill he have any land in his own hands, which I fear will be too long.²

Again, in October she writes to Ludlow: "If there are any forest lands to be sold, get a convenient place if you can for my husband and me to live in when we come to England."³

¹ MS. Great Book of Tithes (Society of Friends, Dublin), p. 246.

² June 9th, 1658; printed in Ludlow, *Memoirs*, 1894, ii.444-5; see Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1658-9 (ed. M. A. E. Green, 1885), p. 56.

³ Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1647-1660, p. 673.

So the break of 1659 was anticipated, and the men living on Kempston's land can hardly have failed, even in so remote a spot, to be aware of the tumultuous happenings of this pre-Restoration year. It is possible that Edmondson and Richard Jackson with the help of their friend, William Barcroft, had already acquired the property near Mountmellick to which they finally went. They were realists and remembered the battle of Worcester in which some of them, including Edmondson, had participated.

On 13th December, 1659, Kempston made the mistake of allowing himself to become involved in the plot of a small group of Army officers to seize Dublin Castle. Considering the fact that at the time he was occupying General Ludlow's rooms in the Castle during the latter's absence in England, and that he well knew the difficult position of his brother-in-law, it seems almost incredible that he weakly fell in with the wishes of the officers concerned and put his name to a declaration which, on his own admission, he hardly understood and with which he was not satisfied.¹ The repercussions of this plot belong to England's political history. By the following March, Mrs. Kempston had gone to England, but not to the forest land she wanted. Her husband was employed by his brother-in-law to try to tidy up his personal estates and affairs, a thankless task for by 23rd May, 1660, all Ludlow's estates were sequestered. We only know for certain that Kempston's fortunes were at a low ebb; the tenure of Irish land still lacked legal security and the imminent restoration of the King left men uncertain of the future.

So the history of Irish Friends was affected by the history of the times. Mountmellick became one of the most important centres of the Society in William Edmondson's life time. One curious fact emerged from this research. Anthony Jackson (who may well have been the Royalist of that name captured and imprisoned after the battle of Worcester and released in 1655) was persecuted by a clergyman, Ambrose Barcroft, whose services for the Commonwealth had been rewarded by the gift of the church and tithes of Urney and Annaghcliffe in the parish of Kilmore² four miles from Trinity Island. His brother, William Barcroft

¹ Ludlow, *Memoirs* (1894), ii.185-88.

² 15th Report, Record Commissioners, Ireland, 1824-25, pp. 404, 520.

of Mountmellick, was ancestor of one of the best known Quaker families of Northern Ireland.

Of the tithes which our Friends were expected to pay, some information may be gleaned from a document owned by Lady Nugent of Mount Nugent, Co. Cavan, and now published by the Irish Manuscripts Commission.¹ In 1737 the tithes of Kilmore parish were the subject of a legal action, and witnesses called were asked to carry their memories as far back as possible. There emerged details such as:

For every milch cow 9d., for every cow not having calved that year 4½d., for every married person 4d., and for unmarried 2d., every merchant or seller of small ware 2/6d. per annum. For lambs, kids and pigs, if more than 7, one in kind to be paid; for every hen 2 eggs, and for every cock 3 eggs. The 10th measure of corn to be paid for every mill, wind or water, and for a horse mill 2/6d. per annum. For a garden for private use 1d. and if the produce is sold one tenth is to be paid in kind.

These tithes were "as they were paid from time immemorial," and included Trinity Island and the adjoining land. It seems a burdensome tax and one which must have been difficult to pay in the years after the war.

The first mention of tithes in Cavan in Besse's *Sufferings* is in the year 1660, but the manuscript "Great Book of Tithes" in Dublin supplies us with earlier data. In 1657 William and John Edmondson because, for conscience sake, they could not pay £1 10s. demanded for two years' tithes, had goods worth about £18 taken from them by Andrew Weare, Robert Snookes and Henry Waldrum, tithemongers, and the said William for the same tithes was committed to Cavan gaol and put in a stinking dungeon for 14 weeks. Richard Jackson had a cow, a bull and horse, bridle and saddle, in all worth £7, taken from him. From William Parker a brass pan worth £1 was taken by Jacob Knowles, tithemonger. In 1659 William Parker was sued by Jacob Knowles at the Sheriff's court for 9/- demanded for tithes. George Spicer, the judge of that court, gave an order to the bailiffs (before the jury gave their verdict), and they took from the said William one mare, bridle and saddle worth £4 10s. In 1659 William Parker faced a demand for 2/-, and lost his riding coat worth 10/- to one Dun, tithemonger.

¹ *Analecta Hibernica*, no. 20. (Irish MSS. Commission), 1958.

The first date given would point to the fact that it must have been very early in 1656 if not at the end of 1655 that Friends took up their land. This would agree with the date of Kempston's imprisonment in October, 1655.

After the Restoration the troubles of Irish Friends did not diminish, but things did begin to assume a more settled form.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, let us turn for a moment to 1669, a notable year for Irish Friends. George Fox arrived in Dublin, presumably on a Ringsend car. He searched for five hours before he could find Friends, going four times through the Customs and thinking the city smelled of corruption. He wrote a letter, a copy of which is preserved at Friends House which differs slightly from the account in his Journal.¹

In the course of the voyage, the cook fell overboard and was drowned:

the cook in the ship fell overboard & was lost through carelessness, but his spirit came to me about an hour afterwards, & I saw he was well—they drew him about the ship with a rope . . . & the rope slipped, and a careless man went to take hold upon him, & he took hold upon his foot, & he let the rope go, so he was lost, it being about the 12th hour in the night. And I was so that I could not eat nor sleep for two nights . . .

There were customs posts at every gate to the city of Dublin, which explains the four times passing them. I think that Fox and his companions must have got lost by walking via the quay (where, may I be so bold as to suggest it, part of the smell was real, being caused by the tide being out—even to this day we occasionally recognize this smell). Fox and his companions probably turned off the quays and came through the western entry to the city at Wormwood Gate, and turned down High Street at Newgate to come out of the city proper at Dames Gate. They were lost. Had they but known, many Friends lived on the south side of the walls about Bride Street and Bride's Lane, close to the Polegate, where that same year was built Dublin's first meeting house, to which in that year also came William Penn. The deed of this Meeting House turned up not long ago wrapped round an old minute

¹ Dublin, 11.iii.1669; Friends House Library, Portfolio 15.138.

book and a little research proved that it was built on the site of the garden of an old castellated house with a courtyard and base court. This property was in the possession of a widow, Elizabeth Mayne,¹ who married John Burnyeat in 1683, and it was here at Baron's Inn (for so the house and garden were called) that Jonathan Burnyeat was born in 1686. After the year 1669 Meetings were settled in Dublin and throughout Ireland on the usual plan and our first minute books, which I hope you will come and see, date from the year 1670.

¹ For John Burnyeat (1631-1690) and Elizabeth Burnyeat (d. 1688), *née* Mason, see *Cambridge Journal*, ii.418.

When a study of Jacob Boehme's influence in seventeenth-century England appears, those interested in Quaker history are led to hope that it will offer some clarification of the part Boehme's teaching played in forming early Quaker ideas. From this point of view Serge Hutin's *Les Disciples Anglais de Jacob Boehme aux XVII^e et XVIII^e Siècles* (Paris: Éditions Denoël, 1960) is disappointing. Hutin gives little space to the Quakers and his comments on their possible debt to Boehme derive from earlier studies, notably those of R. Barclay, R. M. Jones and W. Struck, rather than from fresh investigations. This treatment is characteristic of the book which, instead of closely analysing such problems of influence, offers a general introduction to the cross-currents in spiritual religion connecting Boehme's thought with Isaac Newton, Jane Lead, William Law, William Blake and others.

ANDREW BRINK

Macaulay Rejects a Slur on William Penn

IT is said to be news when a man bites a dog. By the same token an instance when Macaulay defended Penn from slander is newsworthy, because it also is unexpected. This is recorded in an autograph letter acquired in December, 1960, by the Quaker Collection at Haverford College. The addressee is not known, but the handwriting and signature are those of the well known historian Thomas B. Macaulay. The letter, quoted with permission, reads as follows:-

Sir,

Dec. 23. 1850

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter which has followed me to the country. Your address I hope to find on my table when I return to London. I have not the smallest doubt that every person who takes the trouble to examine the original evidence will, unless he be blinded by prejudice, admit that I have dealt very leniently with the fame of William Penn. As to the outcry of the Quakers I was of course prepared for it; and I laugh at it.

I cannot but distrust the correctness of the anecdote which you mention. I have not at this moment books to consult. But I am quite confident that Penn had declared himself a Quaker long before Monmouth was of an age to have mistresses. Indeed Penn made a high religious profession before he left college.

I am much obliged to you for directing my attention to the Westover MSS. I have little doubt that I shall be able to find a copy in the British Museum.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your faithful Servant, T. B. Macaulay

The letter deals with two points, the first vindicating the writer, the second vindicating William Penn. Macaulay had published in December, 1848, the first two volumes of his *History of England*, in the former of which he made the serious criticisms of phases of the conduct of William Penn that have since become famous. When he wrote this letter, he had already heard some Quaker reactions to this feature of his work. On 5th February, 1849, he was waited upon by

five Quakers and he describes the occasion in his diary as ending in their total rout.¹ There is evidence that the Quakers, of whom J. Bevan Braithwaite was one, felt differently about the interview. The last named apparently in 1885 transmitted his impressions to Allen C. Thomas, who in turn includes them in an article on "William Penn, Macaulay and Punch."²

Printed objections to the treatment of Penn were not wanting. A non-Quaker journal, *The Tablet*, called attention to the charges against Penn in its issue of 10th March, 1849. The Quaker periodicals on both sides of the Atlantic were not behind. Their references or refutations began in the *Friend* (London), vii.23 (February, 1849); the *British Friend*, (Glasgow), vii.42 (Feb. 26, 1849); *Friend* (Philadelphia), xxii, pp. 213f. (Mar. 24, 1849 and six weekly continuations). William E. Forster's more elaborate and influential answer was published in 1849 (reprinted, Philadelphia, 1850). He was still a member of the Society of Friends. W. Hepworth Dixon's biography of Penn with an extra chapter on the Macaulay charges was issued in London and in Philadelphia in 1851. It has been followed by several other non-Quaker refutations up to recent times.

In the second half of the letter Macaulay expressed his disbelief in an anecdote about Penn referred to by his unknown correspondent. It had to do with mistresses of the Duke of Monmouth. The reference to the Westover MSS. enables us to find the clue. These are the writings of William Byrd of Westover, Virginia, "written from 1728 to 1736 and now first published" according to the edition of E. and J. C. Ruffin, Petersburg, 1841. In his classic narrative, *The History of the Dividing Line betwixt Virginia and North Carolina*, dealing with a survey made in 1728 but not finished as manuscript for nearly a decade, he begins by discussing the other British Colonies on the mainland as carved out of Virginia. It is in connection with New Jersey and Pennsylvania that one finds the episode evidently intended by Macaulay's correspondent. Byrd himself is not too friendly to Quakers in general, as can be seen by

¹ G. O. Trevelyan, *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, 1876, ii.220. No trace was found in his papers that he changed his mind on this matter.

² *Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society*, vii (1916), 91-96, *Punch* published on February 17th, 1849, a caricature of the interview with verses, strongly anti-Quaker in tendency.

his casual references to them here and elsewhere. Since the passage is apparently not familiar to Quaker historians it may well be cited in full.¹ The work has been republished in 1866 and 1901. In 1929 it was published again together with a more racy parallel manuscript called *The Secret History of the Dividing Line*, by William K. Boyd (Raleigh, N.C.); but the latter has nothing parallel to the following excerpt from pages 8-10 of this edition (first edition, pages 6, 7).

The Proprietors of New Jersey, finding more Trouble than Profit in their new Dominions, made over their Right to several other Persons, who obtained a fresh Grant from his Royal Highness, dated March 14th, 1682.

Several of the Grantees, being Quakers and Anabaptists, faild not to encourage many of their own Perswasion to remove to this Peaceful Region. Amongst them were a Swarm of Scots Quakers, who were not tolerated to exercise the Gifts of the Spirit in their own Country.

Besides the hopes of being Safe from Persecution in this Retreat, the New Proprietors inveigled many over by this tempting Account of the Country: that it was a place free from those 3 great Scourges of Mankind, Priests, Lawyers, and Physicians. Nor did they tell a Word of a Lye, for the People were yet too poor to maintain these Learned Gentlemen, who, every where, love to be paid well for what they do; and, like the Jews, cant breathe in a Climate where nothing is to be got.

The Jerseys continued under the Government of these Proprietors till the Year 1702, when they made a formal Surrender of the Dominion to the Queen, reserving however the Property of the Soil to themselves. So soon as the Bounds of New Jersey came to be distinctly laid off, it appeared that there was still a Narrow Slipe of Land, lying betwixt that Colony and Maryland. Of this, William Penn, a Man of much Worldly Wisdom, and some Eminence among the Quakers, got early Notice, and, by the Credit he had with the Duke of York, obtained a Patent for it, Dated March the 4th, 1680.

It was a little Surprising to some People how a Quaker should be so much in the good Graces of a Popish Prince; tho, after all, it may be pretty well Accounted for. This Ingenious Person had not been bred a Quaker; but, in his Earlier days, had been a man of Pleasure about the Town. He had a beautiful form and very taking Address, which made him Successful with the Ladies, and Particularly with a Mistress of the Duke of Monmouth. By this Gentlewoman he had a Daughter, who had Beauty enough to raise her to be a Dutchess, and continued to be a Toast full 30 Years.

¹ The *Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society*, iii (1909), pp. 15-17 quotes the section but omits precisely the piece of secret history in the fifth and sixth paragraphs.

But this Amour had like to have brought our Fine Gentleman in Danger of a Duell, had he not discreetly shelterd himself under this peaceable Perswasion. Besides, his Father having been a Flag-Officer in the Navy, while the Duke of York was Lord High Admiral, might recommend the Son to his Favour. This piece of secret History I thought proper to mention, to wipe off the Suspicion of his having been Popishly inclin'd.

The Gentleman's first Grant confin'd Him within pretty Narrow Bounds, giving him only that Portion of Land which contains Buckingham, Philadelphia and Chester Counties. But to get these Bounds a little extended, He pusht His Interest still further with His Royal Highness, and obtained a fresh Grant of the three Lower Counties, called New-Castle, Kent and Sussex, which still remained within the New York Patent, and had been luckily left out of the Grant of New Jersey.

The Six Counties being thus incorporated, the Proprietor dignifyd the whole with the Name of Pensilvania.

The Quakers flockt over to this Country in Shoals, being averse to go to Heaven the same way with the Bishops. Amongst them were not a few of good Substance, who went Vigorously upon every kind of Improvement; and thus much I may truly say in their Praise, that by Diligence and Frugality, For which this Harmless Sect is remarkable, and by haveing no Vices but such as are Private, they have in a few Years made Pensilvania a very fine Country.

The Truth is, they have observed exact Justice with all the Natives that border upon them; they have purchased all their Lands from the Indians; and tho they paid but a Trifle for them, it has procur'd them the Credit of being more righteous than their Neighbours. They have likewise had the Prudence to treat them kindly upon all Occasions, which has saved them from many Wars and Massacres wherein the other Colonies have been indiscreetly involved. The Truth of it is, a People whose Principles forbid them to draw the Carnal Sword, were in the Right to give no Provocation.

Macaulay's argument against the story of Penn and a mistress of the Duke of Monmouth is apparently purely chronological. The Duke was four and a half years younger than Penn. Penn's early acceptance of religion or Quakerism made their rivalry for the same mistress unlikely, Macaulay evidently assumed that after he became a Quaker Penn could be believed to be innocent of such amours. Penn himself had asserted to Sir John Robinson in 1671 his freedom since childhood from even lesser vices. But the historian may not have read or remembered the incident (recorded in the anonymous life prefixed to Penn's *Works*, 1726, pp. 38-39).

HENRY J. CADBURY

Friends' Queries and General Advices

A Survey of their Development in London Yearly Meeting, 1682-1860

By RICHARD E. STAGG

1. "What friends in the Ministry, in their respective Counties, departed this Life since the last Yearly Meeting?"
2. "What friends Imprisoned for their Testimony have dyed in Prison since the last Yearly Meeting?"
3. "How the Truth has prospered amongst them since the last Yearly Meeting, and how friends are in Peace and Unity?"¹

When Yearly Meeting in 1682 decided to ask the representatives from each Quarterly Meeting to answer these three questions orally, Yearly Meeting itself had only been meeting consecutively for the previous four years. Fox's Gospel Order in the establishment of Quarterly and Monthly Meetings throughout the country had recently been completed, not without strenuous opposition from those who regarded systematic organization as a challenge to belief in the "inward light." The "heroic" period of the Society's history had by no means come to an end: Friends still believed and preached that they were in a unique sense the apostles of truth, with a duty laid upon them to lead the nation back to a true Christianity, and they were still being bitterly persecuted.

It is against this background that we must look at the first three "questions" that were asked by Yearly Meeting. They were all questions of fact, to which Yearly Meeting needed answers so that Friends could see the progress of the Society in the various counties in the country and what were the needs of the Society, so that the necessary assistance could be given.

The Declarations of Indulgence of 1687 and 1688, followed by the Toleration Act of 1689, removed the worst forms of persecution to which Friends had been subjected. Friends were now being released from prison in substantial numbers

¹ Yearly Meeting minutes, vol. 1, p. 115.

and it became possible to buy or lease land for the erection of meeting houses. In the answers to the questions from 1688, representatives in dealing with the question "How the Truth has prospered" often referred to the erection of meeting houses, but it became clear that with changing conditions the old three questions needed to be added to and expanded. In 1694, accordingly, Yearly Meeting settled the following six questions which were still entirely concerned with matters of fact to be answered annually:—

1. An Account what present Prisoners there are
2. How many Discharged since last Year and when and how
3. How many Dyed Prisoners
4. How many Publick Friends Dyed
5. How many Meeting Houses Built and what Meetings New Settled
6. How Truth Prospers and Friends in Unity.¹

In the Yearly Meeting minute book for the year 1696, in the clerk's handwriting, there is a list of what appears to be 8 questions², in not quite the same form as the 6 settled in 1694 and containing in addition "What sufferings are brought" and "And what Signall Judgements have come upon persecutors." It seems clear that this should not be treated as a new list of questions settled by Yearly Meeting but rather as an agenda for the clerk's use. The custom had grown up to start Yearly Meeting with an account of sufferings of Friends and it should be noted that in the Yearly Meeting Epistle of 1694 Friends were reminded "to keep a true Record of Manifest Judgments upon Persecutors, and send up an Account thereof, with your sufferings yearly."³ These two additions should not be regarded as formal questions. In 1700 however the Recording Clerk, Benjamin Bealing, was required to add "to the six Questions what Signal Judgements have come upon Persecutors"⁴ which thus formed a 7th question. This was however dropped by Yearly Meeting in the following year, 1701, "Seeing through the good Providence of God and favour of the Government we have our Liberties . . . only if any Remarkable Example

¹ Yearly Meeting minutes, vol. 2, p. 1. Additional wording to Question 6, and the text of Question 7 were added to this list in 1700 (see vol. 2, pp. 294, 308).

² Yearly Meeting minutes, vol. 2, p. 127.

³ *Epistles* (1858), vol. 1, p. 78.

⁴ Yearly Meeting minutes, vol. 2, p. 308.

falls on any person it be minded and brought."¹ It can be seen therefore that the principal reason why the question was dropped was the ending of the worst persecution of Friends, but in the changing climate of view Friends from the various Quarterly Meetings probably tended not to bring forward examples of "signal judgments."

The first alteration to the six questions settled in 1694 was in 1700 when the following enquiry was added to the sixth question:—"and former advice of this meeting Relateing to their Godly care for the Good Education of their Children in the Way of Truth and plainness of Habitt and Speech is Practiced."² We can see in this addition the concern of Friends for the education of their children, and also the growing tendency of Friends to become more rigid in their manner of dress and speech.³

The number of questions was again brought up to seven by the addition of a new one in 1703 "How hath the severall Advices of this meeting been put in practice,"⁴ but no further alterations were made until 1720. Meanwhile written answers were increasingly substituted for the oral replies from Quarterly Meeting representatives. It can easily be seen how much time must have been spent at Yearly Meeting by Quarterly Meeting representatives all over the country answering the questions orally and an attempt had already been made in 1700, probably inspired by the clerk, to remedy the position:—"It's Advised that Friends bring Brief and direct Answers to the 7 Questions drawn up at the Quarterly Meeting and brought in Writting to the Yearly Meeting."⁵ This attempt seems to have been successful in inducing written replies to be given to the first five questions, to which it was easy to draw up brief replies, but not so

¹ Yearly Meeting minutes, vol. 2, p. 340.

² Yearly Meeting minutes, vol. 2, p. 294.

³ The 6th question appears in the following form in the Yearly Meeting minute book beginning in 1702:—"How Truth Prospers? And how Friends in unity? And how former Advice of this meeting is observed and Practiced relating to their Godly care for the Good Education of their Children in the way of Truth, Sobriety and all Godly Conversation; That therein they may be kept to Truth in Plainness of Habit and Speech?" This is a slight alteration to the revised form of the 6th question adopted by Yearly Meeting in 1700, but does not appear to result from a Yearly Meeting decision. At this date however the exact wording of the question does not seem to have been regarded as of importance. (See Y.M. minutes, vol. 3, p. 1.)

⁴ Yearly Meeting minutes, vol. 3, p. 72.

⁵ Yearly Meeting minutes, vol. 3, p. 308.

successful in the case of the last two, where longer answers were required. Yearly Meeting therefore in 1706 had to be more firm in insisting on written replies:—"This meeting agrees that for the more Ease thereof and dispatch of Business, it be Recommended to the Severall Countyes in Writting for friends to send up Answers to the two last Questions in Writting from the Quarterly Meetings in each County preceeding the Yearly Meeting and that it be sent up by faithfull and understanding Friends, yet not to limitt any from giving a lively verbal account."¹ The insistence on written replies was a most important step as it enabled without difficulty further questions to be added to meet the fresh needs that were later perceived. As yet the questions were still regarded largely as a means by which Yearly Meeting obtained the necessary factual information about the spreading of the Society's message and they had no additional significance.

Striking changes were however made to the questions in the 1720's. Firstly, in 1720, an eighth question was added, on the recommendation of London Quarterly Meeting, "How are the Poor Friends among you taken care of?"² Secondly, in 1721, a clause was added to the seventh question "How have the several other advices of this meeting been put into practice *and particularly that against Receiving or Paying Tythes.*"³ Thirdly, in 1723, a 9th question was added, "Do your Quarterly and Monthly Meetings take care to see that none under our Profession Defraud the King of any of his Customs, Duties or Excise, or in any Wise Incurage the Runing of Goods, by Buying or Vending such Goods, and do they severely Reprehend and Testifie against all such offenders, and their unwarrantable, Clandestine, and unlawfull actions?"⁴; from this question stems our present-day query "Are you careful not to defraud the public revenue?" Fourthly, in 1725, a significant change is made in the sixth question, which no longer reads "How truth prospers" but is altered to "How doe Friends Prosper in the Truth, and doth any Convincement appear since last year?"⁵

¹ Yearly Meeting minutes, vol. 3, p. 248.

² Yearly Meeting minutes, vol. 5, p. 423; *Epistles* (1858), vol. 1, p. 157.

³ Yearly Meeting minutes, vol. 6, p. 43.

⁴ Yearly Meeting minutes, vol. 6, p. 159.

⁵ Yearly Meeting minutes, vol. 6, p. 309.

Around the end of the 17th century there was a note of confidence in replies to the sixth question "How truth prospers" which becomes less and less evident in the early 18th century. Friends increasingly ceased to believe that the whole nation would realize the truths that they had been preaching and were becoming more concerned to preserve a "precious remnant" devoted to the cause of truth. Replies to the sixth question such as "we hope that truth doth prosper in general among us" were more and more used and the alteration made to the form of the question in 1725 was really a recognition of the changing purpose of the Society. In their attempt to preserve a "precious remnant" Friends tended to be more introspective and to look at evils present in their own Society. The questions settled in 1721 and 1723 respectively with regard to receiving or paying tithes and to taking part in smuggling show a striking change from the original purpose of obtaining factual answers to one of using the questions to try to ensure greater consistency of conduct among Friends. The place of such questions as an essential and permanent feature of the life of the Society is illustrated by the use for the first time in 1723 of the term "query"¹ in the Yearly Meeting question relating to smuggling and the insistence by Yearly Meeting in their epistle of 1725 on distinct answers being given to each query rather than the general answers that had previously been common.²

The next alterations to take place in the queries, though comparatively small, illustrate the prevailing concerns of Yearly Meeting. In 1735 an addition was made to the 8th query "How are the Poor amongst you provided for?"³ by adding "and what care is taken for the Education of their Offspring."⁴ In 1737, the year when the Society made its first regulations regarding membership, a clause was added to the 7th query, "and do you keep a particular Record of all the Sufferings and Prosecutions that Happen in your County, in your Monthly and Quarterly Meeting Books."⁵

By 1742 a number of alterations and additions had been

¹ This term seems to have been in use locally in some areas prior to 1723. e.g. Albans M.M. in 1712 refers to replies being given "to the usual queries."

² *Epistles* (1858), vol. 1, p. 171.

³ A very slight variation itself from the form adopted in 1720.

⁴ Yearly Meeting minutes, vol. 8, p. 161.

⁵ Yearly Meeting minutes, vol. 8, p. 327.

made piecemeal to the questions settled in 1694, but no complete overhaul had been made. By direction of Yearly Meeting in that year, the existing queries were revised and expanded, being officially called "Yearly Meeting Queries." In addition to the first five of the former list, which were re-adopted¹, six more were added.²

Perhaps the most significant alterations were the form of the new 6th query (which showed the desire of the Yearly Meeting to obtain more exact information as to the state of each Quarterly Meeting), the emphasis placed in the new 7th query on training children in reading the Bible, the first reference to Friends' peace testimony by the injunction in the 8th query against bearing arms (though this was subsidiary to the testimony against receiving or paying tithes, which was one that affected Friends much more closely).

After the 1742 revision of the queries, small alterations were made to the 8th query, by adding in 1744 to the injunction against tithes "Priests Demands and those called Church Rates" and to the injunction against bearing arms, "Paying Trophy money."³ These two alterations are however significant in themselves as showing the rather legalistic attitude in which 18th-century Friends tended to regard the queries and the failure of some Friends to live up to the spirit of them. The only other alteration of importance that should be noted prior to 1755 was the addition of a rather general twelfth query in 1753:—"How are the Several Advices of this Meeting made known and put in Practice?"⁴

While Yearly Meeting had been asking the Quarterly Meetings to reply to a list of queries, some Quarterly Meetings had in turn been requiring their constituent Monthly and Particular Meetings to reply to queries which they themselves had settled. There was however no uniformity of practice—some Quarterly Meetings having no queries of their own and those which did possess them having widely differing lists. In 1755, in an effort to secure uniformity Yearly Meeting instituted eight "Quarterly Meeting Queries" which were required to be answered four times a year by

¹ The order of the 4th and 5th queries was switched.

² See Appendix I. This list is in Yearly Meeting minutes, vol. 9, pp. 103-4.

³ Yearly Meeting minutes, vol. 9, p. 223.

⁴ Yearly Meeting minutes, vol. 10, p. 460.

each Monthly Meeting.¹ These were mainly queries which had already been in use in a number of Quarterly Meetings and to some extent were on similar lines to the Yearly Meeting queries, answered at the Spring Quarterly Meeting. They also included other subject matter, of which interesting examples were the enquiry in the second query "and do you discourage all tale-bearing and detraction," the 5th query "Are Friends careful . . . to avoid all unnecessary frequenting of ale houses or taverns, excess in drinking and intemperance of every kind," and the increasingly important enquiry in the seventh query "Is early care taken to advise and deal with such as appear inclinable to marry contrary to the rules of our Society."

Yearly Meeting had also agreed "that the Several Quarterly Meetings ought to have Liberty to add such further Queries, as they believe the state of their Meetings may require."² The attempt to rationalize a confused situation was not markedly successful, and Oxfordshire Quarterly Meeting in 1758 openly stated "Your Monthly and Quarterly Meeting Queries give some of us great uneasiness"³ and there was a wide variance in the way in which Monthly Meetings replied to them. It must be remembered that Quarterly Meetings were originally meetings of record of marriages, births, burials and sufferings and often found it difficult to enforce their authority on their Monthly Meetings. We find for example Peel Monthly Meeting refusing to abide by decisions of London Quarterly Meeting at various times as to who were members of the Society in their area.

There must have been an undercurrent of feeling among Friends in the years after 1755 that stronger measures would be required in the interests of the Society. A number of alterations took place in the queries and we can see in some of them a sterner attitude beginning to prevail. In 1757 Yearly Meeting

observing with concern in reading the Answers to the Queries from the several Counties a Manifest defection in Parents Training up their Children agreeable to the Tenour of the Seventh Query, it is now agreed that for the future the said Quere shall stand as follows:—

¹ For text see Appendix II.

² Yearly Meeting minutes, vol. II, p. 76.

³ Yearly Meeting minutes, vol. II, p. 339.

Do Freinds by Example and Precept Endeavour to Train up their Children, Servants, and those under their Care, in all godly Conversation and in the frequent Reading of the Holy Scriptures, as also in plainness of Speech Behaviour and Apparell; and are Freinds faithfull in admonishing such as are Remiss therein?¹

We should note in particular the disciplinary sanctions that have been added at the end of the query. In 1758, during the Seven Years War, Yearly Meeting considered that it was not adequate that the testimony against "arms bearing" should be subsidiary to the query against "receiving or paying tithes" and instituted a new twelfth query² in the following terms:—

Do you bear a faithful Testimony against bearing Arms and paying Trophy money or being in any manner Concern'd in Privateers, Letters of Marque or in dealing in Prize goods as such?³

In 1759, in a desire to ensure the keeping of fuller records, a sentence was added to the 11th query:— "and is due care taken to Register all Marriages, Births and Burials?"⁴ This addition was obviously brought about by the failure of a number of meetings to keep the records which Friends had been advised to keep from the earliest days of the Society.

The alterations that were made were a sign of weakness in the Society, and an even clearer evidence of this perhaps was the unsatisfactory answers that were given to the queries, which showed only too clearly a falling off in the attendance at meetings for worship and many lapses from the observance of the distinctive principles of the Society. The undercurrent of feeling in the Society came to a head in the Yearly Meeting of 1760 and John Griffith vividly records how in that meeting a Friend declared that

it now behoved the meeting deeply and weightily to consider what remained to be done for the help and recovery of the Society to its ancient purity and comely order.⁵

¹ Yearly Meeting minutes, vol. 11, pp. 260-1.

² The query "How are the several Advices of this meeting made known and put in practice" becoming the 13th.

³ Yearly Meeting minutes, vol. 11, p. 369.

⁴ Yearly Meeting minutes, vol. 11, p. 482.

⁵ John Griffith, *Journal* (1779), p. 294.

This led Joseph White of Pennsylvania to propose the appointment of a committee of "solid weighty judicious Friends" to visit all the Meetings in the country, for the "promotion and revival of wholesome discipline." His concern gripped the meeting and a very large committee was appointed and entered upon its work with zeal and thoroughness. In its visits it used the queries as a means of cross-examination, and it is of some significance that at the same Yearly Meeting of 1760 a "written epistle" was sent to Quarterly and Monthly Meetings as well as the more general "printed epistle," and that it included these words:

Let all our Answers to this Meeting's and other Queries be plain and explicit: let a due sense of the state of the Church prevail on your Minds rather than an unwillingness to appear defective among your Brethren.¹

Yearly Meeting in the following year, 1761, followed this up with another directive which left no doubt as to how the queries were to be answered:—

its desired that the Quarterly Meetings be particularly careful to advise the Subordinate Meetings to give their Answers in writing and that they be full and explicit, comprising therein the substance of every part of each Query, in order that this Meeting being rightly informed of the State of the Church in general, the needful Advice and Assistance may be duly administered.²

It is significant that Yearly Meeting should emphasize the word "subordinate," and one of the tasks of the Committee on Discipline was to make it clear that Monthly Meetings were subordinate to the Quarterly Meetings.

The Committee on Discipline did its work thoroughly in visiting meetings throughout the country and as a result there was a great improvement in the organization of the Society. Part of the improved organization can be seen in a more systematic reading and answering of the queries in Monthly and Quarterly Meetings than had been the case, and this took up a large part of the business of these meetings. This practice had much to commend it. The queries became thoroughly well known to all members of the Society and were no doubt an important contributory factor in raising the standard of conduct among Friends. The consideration of the answers to the queries also gave an opportunity for

¹ Yearly Meeting minutes, vol. 12, p. 107.

² Yearly Meeting minutes, vol. 12, pp. 226-7.

detailed discussion of the state of the various meetings submitting them and of more general subjects. The disadvantages of the practice are more obvious. Members of the Society were sometimes apt to forget that these traditional testimonies of Friends which were embodied in the queries were only part of the greater principle of witnessing to the indwelling spirit of Christ in the whole of living. There was an increasing tendency for Friends to believe that, provided they complied with the queries in a legalistic sense, they were doing sufficient and that it was not necessary to see that they were complying with them in spirit. It should not, for example, have been necessary for Yearly Meeting to have extended the query against arms bearing to include in 1761 an enquiry as to whether Friends were in any way concerned in the militia and in 1777 as to whether Friends were concerned in armed vessels. The original spirit of Quakerism, the deep personal conviction of the inner light shown forth in dedicated lives, was by no means dead, but for many Friends a static goodness seemed adequate.

When the answers to the queries revealed any striking weakness, Friends found it difficult to suggest any solution other than an organizational one. In 1766, for instance, Cornwall Q.M., which was then very weak, admitted, in replying to the 9th query as to "Defrauding the King of his Customs, Duties or Excise or in dealing in Goods suspected to be run," that

tho' some few are free from dealing in Goods suspected to be run for Family consumption, yet we believe the greatest part are not so tho' Frequently and Earnestly advised against such practices by this Meeting.¹

Yearly Meeting in reply sent a strong epistle to Cornwall Q.M. (and a similar one to Kent Q.M. which had also replied unsatisfactorily) strongly condemning these practices, which they required to be read in the various Cornish Meetings. Yearly Meeting did not seem able to enter sympathetically into the particular difficulties of Friends in a sea-coast county, where smuggling was an everyday occupation and it might be almost impossible not to buy smuggled goods. From the reply of Cornwall Q.M. the following year it did not seem that the epistle had had the desired effect:—

¹ Yearly Meeting minutes, vol. 13, pp. 131-2.

We wish we could say that your Epistle particularly addressed to this County last Year had had a better effect on this disagreeable Traffick.¹

Yearly Meeting followed up this reply by yet another epistle in 1768 but it seems very doubtful whether it achieved any greater effect. The result of this lack of understanding in dealing with difficulties faced by local Friends can only have been to have made the replies to the queries increasingly non-committal and uninformative.

During the period from 1760 to 1791, when so much of the Society's effort was engaged in strengthening the discipline, the actual changes made in the text of the queries were few.²

In 1783 we should note the printing of the first Book of Discipline (or *Book of Extracts* as it was generally called) in which were recorded the Yearly and Quarterly Meeting queries that were then in existence. The printing of the first Book of Discipline and the circulation of copies among the rank and file members of the Society, which was agreed to by Yearly Meeting in the following year, may have helped to make the queries even more well known to Friends, and to have made the difficulties of having two sets of queries clearer. We can see that the existence of two sets of queries, to some extent overlapping in content, was bound eventually to cause difficulty and it is not surprising to find London and Middlesex Q.M. in 1788 passing the following minute to Yearly Meeting:—

This Meeting being informed by Friends present who have visited most of the Quarterly Meetings in this Nation that there is a diversity amongst them in the Mode of answering the Queries, and some friends apprehending that this Quarterly Meeting doth not fully comply with the requisition of the Yearly Meeting on this head, the said Meeting is requested to take this matter under their Notice, and give such directions thereon as they may see proper, in order that all the Quarterly Meetings may come up alike in compliance with what is judged salutary by the body.³

Yearly Meeting did indeed "take this matter under their notice" and required Quarterly Meetings to send up copies of all the queries used by them and an account of how often

¹ Yearly Meeting minutes, vol. 13, p. 249.

² For details see Appendix I.

³ Yearly Meeting minutes, vol. 18, p. 373.

they were answered, but it was not until 1791 that it decided that, for the sake of convenience, there should in future be one set of fifteen queries for use in Yearly and Quarterly Meetings.¹

As the committee that revised the queries stated in their report to Yearly Meeting in 1791, "some alterations are made in the expression and in the arrangement": this was inevitable in amalgamating the two lists of Yearly and Quarterly Meeting queries, but the substantial alterations that had been made were few.² The principal alteration that had been made to the form of the queries was the more general use of the impersonal introduction "Do friends . . ." and "Are friends . . ." rather than the more personal form in general adopted in the Yearly Meeting queries of 1742. The 9th query, for example, now read "Are friends clear of defrauding the King of his Customs, duties and excise . . ." instead of "Do you stand clear of defrauding the King of his customs, duties and excise." It is not however surprising that the more impersonal beginning was generally adopted, as the main purpose of the queries was understood to be the obtaining of information as to the state of the Society and to aid in the enforcement of the discipline. It was apparent that the Committee responsible for revising the queries, faced with the knowledge that "various practices respecting the queries prevail and that some of them are variously understood" felt it their duty to make this purpose clear in re-drafting them and the more impersonal form was obviously preferable in carrying out this aim. We can be sorry nevertheless that the alteration was made to the form of the queries, as it tended to make Friends look for faults among their fellow-members, rather than to try and live up to the spirit of them themselves.

By the regulations that were adopted in 1791, the first

¹ See Appendix III.

² The 5th Yearly Meeting query of 1742 "How many publick Friends died" now disappeared, it was thought that the information could be more conveniently supplied by separate written accounts. The first three queries that had been settled in 1694 were now combined into one query, the 12th; these old queries had become practically obsolete, as the number of Friends imprisoned for their testimonies was very small, although there were still occasional examples of Friends imprisoned for declining to pay tithes or serve in the militia. The 11th query "Have any meetings been settled, discontinued or united since last year?" was a sad commentary on the decline in the Society's strength.

12 queries had to be answered in writing by Monthly Meetings to Quarterly Meetings in the spring and the answers then had to be summarized for submission to Yearly Meeting: no summary of answers to the last three queries was presented.¹ It must be noted that while only the first twelve queries had to be answered to Yearly Meeting, the amount of information that Quarterly Meetings had to provide about their membership had definitely increased. In particular we should notice the detailed information that Quarterly Meetings had to provide in answer to the first query as to attendance at meetings for worship and discipline and that for the first time replies to the subjects of the fifth and sixth queries ("Are friends just in their dealings . . ." and "Are friends careful to avoid all vain sports . . .") had to be supplied to Yearly Meeting.

The most important step taken by Yearly Meeting in 1791 (although this may not have been apparent at the time) was not the adoption of a single set of queries or a tightening up of the regulations in replying to them, but the issuing of the first General Advices. One of the principal reasons why the Committee revising the queries recommended their issue may have been the desire to find a satisfactory substitute for the additional Quarterly Meeting queries, which Quarterly Meetings had been previously allowed to add to the recognized list, but which under the new regulations were no longer permitted. It is noticeable, for example, that the care of apprentices previously formed the subject of an additional query in London and Middlesex Q.M. and the making of wills in time of health in Beds. & Herts. Q.M., both of which subjects found a place in the General Advices. The committee in their recommendation to Yearly Meeting simply stated:—

And we think there are some other subjects which it may be useful to revive frequently in the Memory of Friends. We propose that the yearly Meeting should consider the expediency of issuing some short though full advices on the following subjects.²

and they then set out the text which they recommended and Yearly Meeting with minor alteration approved:—

¹ Queries 1, 3, 10 and 14 had to be answered to Quarterly Meetings in the summer and winter meetings and queries 1, 3, 10, 13, 14 and 15 to Quarterly Meetings in the autumn.

² Yearly Meeting minutes, vol. 19, p. 51.

Friends are advised

To make their wills, and settle their outward affairs, in time of health.

To observe due moderation in the furniture of their houses, and to avoid superfluity in their manner of living.

To attend to the limitations of truth in the pursuit after wealth.

To be careful to place out children, of all degrees, amongst those Friends whose care and example will be most likely to conduce to their safety; and not to demand exorbitant apprentice-fees, lest they frustrate the care of Friends in this respect; and to prefer such servants and apprentices as are members of our Society.

To endeavour to make way for their servants to attend meetings, and to encourage them therein.

To guard carefully against the introduction of pernicious books into their families.

To refrain from being concerned in lotteries, which this meeting considers as a species of gaming.

Finally, it is recommended that all friends watch over one another for good; that when occasions of uneasiness first appear in any, they may be treated with in privacy and tenderness before the matter be communicated to another. Thus the hands of those concerned in the further exercise of the discipline will not be weakened by a consciousness of their having themselves departed from the true order of the Gospel. And Friends everywhere are advised to endeavour to maintain the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.¹

The "General Advices" seem rather parochial in content and largely concerned that Friends should maintain a simple life, guarded from contamination, so far as possible, from the outside world. They were regarded as being of subsidiary importance to the queries, but to most Friends they had a similar object—of being an aid in maintaining the discipline of the Society, and Quarterly and Monthly Meetings were required to read them once in the year. On the other hand, due to their very nature, no replies were required to the General Advices and this was bound to strengthen the hands of those who saw that there could be a deeper purpose for both the queries and the General Advices—of arousing Friends to examine themselves as to how far they came up to the standard of Christian living that was required of them. As early as 1787, Yearly Meeting was pointing out that the purpose of requiring queries to be answered

¹ Yearly Meeting minutes, vol. 19, pp. 59-60.

relative to the Conduct of Individuals in the several branches of our Christian Testimony, is not only to be informed of the state thereof, but also to impress on their minds a profitable examination of themselves, how far they act consistently with their religious profession.¹

It is true that Yearly Meeting went on to state that the purpose of requiring answers was also "to stir up Elders and Overseers and other concerned friends to the faithful discharge of their duty," but the seed of the idea that the queries should be used for self-examination had already been sown and was to bear fruit in the nineteenth century.

One of the results of the "revival of the discipline" in the period after 1760 was the more general establishment of Preparative Meetings in connection with each particular meeting. This development had not progressed sufficiently for it to be recognized in the *Book of Extracts* in 1783, but by 1794 Preparative Meetings had become fairly universal and in that year Yearly Meeting considered what should be their functions. It was decided that "their proper business" was to include the reading and consideration of the Queries and to conclude on answers to the Monthly Meeting on the first ten of them and the latter half of the thirteenth.

Yearly Meeting in 1796 settled an additional query, which was to be for the use of Quarterly Meetings only:—

Are you careful to give to your Monthly Meetings such assistance as your place in the body and their state require?²

This query had to be read every quarter and answered to Yearly Meeting once in the spring each year. It can be seen that a reminder to Quarterly Meetings of the assistance that should be given to Monthly Meetings was of value, but it would seem hardly necessary to have insisted on the query being read at each Quarterly Meeting, as well as replied to once every year. The decision however that the query should be read three times in the year, without a reply being required, is really the first step in the direction of dispensing with replies altogether.

The feeling that had been growing among some Friends that too great a burden was being imposed by the constant necessity of having to reply to the queries came to a head

¹ Yearly Meeting minutes, vol. 18, pp. 260-1.

² Yearly Meeting minutes, vol. 19, p. 315.

when London & Middlesex Quarterly Meeting passed the following minute to Yearly Meeting in 1798:—

This Meeting proposes to the Yearly Meeting whether it may not be expedient to direct that the Queries shall be answered less frequently than is at present the practice; which practice this Meeting apprehends to be a multiplication of business without an adequate advantage and that the time of Monthly Meetings might be more profitably employed in considering how to remedy such defects as may be complained of.¹

After much consideration Yearly Meeting agreed, in 1799, that Monthly Meetings should omit replies to Quarterly Meetings in the summer "in order to give the summer Quarterly Meetings more time to attend to such complaints as may be made in them."² At the same time Yearly Meeting was anxious to ensure there was no slackness in the replies that were supplied by the Quarterly Meetings and in 1798 it sent a written epistle to Quarterly and Monthly Meetings, in the postscript to which it expressed the desire that "in those queries which consist of several particulars, the answers, if there be any deficiency may point in what particular it consists; also that friends be careful to keep to the words of the Query."³

Yearly Meeting revised the Book of Extracts in 1802 but made very few alterations to the Queries and General Advices.⁴ Slight alterations were made to the regulations for replying to the queries. It has already been noted that prior to 1791 replies to the subjects contained in the fifth and sixth queries did not have to be given at Yearly Meeting, and this position was now restored in the new *Book of*

¹ Yearly Meeting minutes, vol. 19, p. 390.

² Yearly Meeting minutes, vol. 19, p. 447.

³ London and Middlesex Q.M. minutes, vol. 13, pp. 26-27. The Written Epistle of 1798 does not appear in the Y.M. minute book.

⁴ The phrases "and are the remiss duly admonished" in the 4th query and "and are the unfaithful duly admonished" in the 7th query were deleted and instead the advice was given "when deficiency is acknowledged that it is mentioned in the answer to the query to which such deficiency relates, whether due admonition and care have been extended." The words "intemperance of every kind" in the 6th query were altered to "other intemperance." Slight alterations were also made to the general advices. The advice "to attend to the limitations of truth in the pursuit after wealth" was altered to "to attend to the limitations of truth in their trade and other outward concerns." Not surprisingly the advice "to make their wills, and settle their outward affairs, in time of health" was no longer placed first and its place was taken by the advice "to observe due moderation in the furniture of their houses."

Extracts. Replies to those two queries had now to be given only to Quarterly Meetings in the autumn.¹ In no other case was there a reduction in the requirements of replying to the queries. As far as the General Advices were concerned, Preparative Meetings were now also required to read them during the year, in addition to the queries.

During the period from 1802 to 1833 no changes took place in the text of the queries and general advices, although there were a few minor changes in the regulations in replying to the queries. This was however a most important period in the history of the Society of Friends. In 1802 the Society was still in the main quietist in atmosphere, believing fervently in the importance of the direct influence of the Holy Spirit in every activity of life, distrusting the use of the mind and the study of the Bible, and largely concerned in preserving its own internal organization. By 1833 the Society was becoming predominantly evangelical in outlook.

Many Friends were now far more fervent in placing Christ in the forefront of their faith; preaching the atoning sacrifice of Christ on the Cross and the redemption that could be obtained by a personal faith that Christ had by his death taken the sins of mankind on his shoulders. They placed great importance on the reading of the Bible, which was in its entirety "the word of God" and literally to be obeyed. It was not surprising that in view of these strong beliefs, the revision of the *Book of Extracts* in 1833 should take a strongly evangelical form and we should expect to find substantial alterations in the queries and general advices that were revised together with the rest of the book.

It is noteworthy however that the alterations that were made to the queries were comparatively few. The most important alteration was that the reading of the Bible was no longer a subsidiary item in the 4th query but was now considered important enough to justify a separate one devoted to this subject. We should notice also particularly that there is less insistence on discipline. The statement in the 1787 minute of Yearly Meeting that one of the purposes of drawing up answers to the queries was "to stir up Elders,

¹ Yearly Meeting however decided in 1815 that the 5th had to be answered to Quarterly Meetings in the spring and thence to Yearly Meeting, thus restoring the position existing in 1791. In addition, Yearly Meeting in 1817 required the first part of the fifth query to be answered to Quarterly Meetings in the autumn.

Overseers and other concerned friends to the faithful discharge of their duty''¹ was now deleted. The first part of the 1787 minute, stating that one of the purposes of replying to the queries was to arouse self-examination was altered slightly and was emphasized by the addition of the following sentence:—

We would therefore earnestly recommend to every one of our members, more especially when the answers are drawn up, to examine whether he himself is coming up in that life of self-denial and devotedness unto God, which so highly becomes all who make profession of the name of Christ.

While evangelical influences may not be very evident in the alterations made to the queries, it is quite clear in the alterations to the General Advices. Although some parts of the previous edition of the General Advices were included in the new version now adopted, they were in substance completely re-written and much expanded. As Daniel Pickard recognized in his *Expostulation*,² the whole purpose of the General Advices had completely changed as a result of the 1833 revision. Previously they had been regarded as quite subsidiary to the queries, but having the same purpose as an aid in carrying out the discipline of the Society. After the 1833 revision, the General Advices were of much greater importance and their purpose was no longer primarily a disciplinary one. They were now intended mainly to exhort Friends to lead Christian lives according to evangelical principles, and to encourage them to self-examination. The edition then adopted was to remain (with amendments) the basis of the General Advices in use until 1928,³ and was in the following form:—

Take heed, dear Friends, we intreat you, to the convictions of the Holy Spirit, who leads, through unfeigned repentance and living faith in the Son of God, to reconciliation with our Heavenly Father, and to the blessed hope of eternal life, purchased for us by the one offering of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Be earnestly concerned in religious meetings reverently to present yourselves before the Lord, and seek, by the help of the Holy Spirit, to worship God through Jesus Christ.

Be in the frequent practice of waiting upon God in private retirement, with prayer and supplication, honestly examining

¹ Yearly Meeting minutes, vol. 18, p. 261.

² Daniel Pickard, *An expostulation on behalf of the Truth*, 1864.

³ Amendments were made in 1860, 1861, 1873, 1875, 1883, 1906 and 1910.

yourselves as to your growth in grace, and your preparation for the life to come.

Be careful to make a profitable and religious use of those portions of time on the first day of the week, which are not occupied by our meetings for worship.

Live in love as Christian brethren, ready to be helpful one to another and to sympathize with each other in the trials and afflictions of life.

Follow peace with all men, desiring the true happiness of all; and be liberal to the poor, endeavouring to promote their temporal, moral and religious well-being.

With a tender conscience, and in accordance with the precepts of the Gospel, take heed to the limitations of the Spirit of Truth, in the pursuit of the things of this life.

Maintain strict integrity in all your transactions in trade, and in your other outward concerns, remembering that you will have to account for the mode of acquiring, and the manner of using your possessions.

Watch, with Christian tenderness, over the opening minds of your offspring; enure them to the habits of self-restraint and filial obedience; carefully instruct them in the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and seek for ability to imbue their minds with the love of their Heavenly Father, their Redeemer and their Sanctifier.

Observe simplicity and moderation in the furniture of your houses, and in the supply of your tables, as well as in your personal attire, and that of your families.

Be diligent in the private and daily family reading of the Holy Scriptures; and guard carefully against the introduction of improper books into your families.

Be careful to place out children, of all degrees, with those Friends whose care and example will be most likely to conduce to their preservation from evil; prefer such assistants, servants and apprentices, as are members of our religious society; not demanding exorbitant apprentice fees, lest you frustrate the care of Friends in these respects.

Encourage your apprentices and servants of all descriptions to attend public worship, making way for them herein: and exercise a watchful care for their moral and religious improvement.

Be careful to make your wills and settle your outward affairs in the time of health; and when you accept the office of guardian, executor, or trustee be faithful and diligent in the fulfilment of your trust.

Finally, dear Friends, let your conversation be such as becometh the Gospel. Exercise yourselves to have always a conscience void of offence towards God and towards man. Watch over one another for good; and when occasions of uneasiness first appear in any, let them be treated with privacy and tenderness, before the matter be communicated to another: and Friends, everywhere, are advised to maintain "the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace."

As laid down in the 1802 edition of the *Book of Extracts*, the General Advices were to be read during the year in Preparative, Monthly and Quarterly Meetings, and it can easily be seen that Friends, becoming more accustomed to their use for self-examination, would question more and more the drawing up of formal replies to the queries. The regulations for answering the queries were nearly as stringent as they were in the 1802 edition—Preparative Meetings were required to read and consider them and to reply to the first ten queries, the 12th and part of the 13th query during the year¹; Monthly Meetings had to answer the first twelve queries to Quarterly Meetings in the spring, to answer eight in the autumn and two in the winter; Quarterly Meetings had to re-read the queries, digest the replies from Monthly Meetings to the first twelve in the spring and send the summary to Yearly Meeting, where the answers from every Quarterly Meeting were read in full. It is not surprising that the system of formal replies was becoming increasingly wearisome, particularly when it is remembered that the words of the query had to be adhered to in the answers, which were apt to be in very vague and general terms such as “Nothing appears but that Friends are just in their dealings . . .” or “We believe that Friends are faithful in our testimony against bearing arms.”

There were some slight alterations made to the queries in 1845.² No other alterations to the queries took place between 1845 and 1860, but during this period Friends were entering to a greater extent into public life and social activities and were beginning to question many of the traditional practices of the Society, formerly taken for

¹ The 15th query was added in 1835.

² As a result of recent legislation many tithes had been converted to rent-charges on land and the query in respect of tithes was extended to cover “rent charge in lieu of tithes.” Public registration of births, marriages and deaths had come into existence as a result of an 1837 Act of Parliament and an amendment was made to the 17th query to make it clear that Monthly Meetings were still required to keep full records: the phrase “is due care taken to register all marriages, births and burials” was now amended to “is due care taken to register all marriages and to record on the minutes of the Monthly Meeting all Births and Burials.” There was some slight rearrangement of the queries—some of the subjects of the 17th query now forming a new 18th query. The only other addition was made to the 15th query “and also to make their wills and settle their outward affairs in time of health” which may have been in part inspired by the changes in law resulting from the Wills Act 1837.

granted. When the Census was taken in 1851 it showed a far smaller number of Friends than was believed to be the case, and this helped to arouse comment and discussion as to why the decline had taken place, particularly in the two periodicals *The Friend* and *The British Friend*. The most important piece of constructive thinking, which helped to bring the discussion to a head, was John Stephenson Rowntree's prize essay, published in 1859:—*Quakerism, past and present; being an Inquiry into the Causes of its decline in Great Britain and Ireland*. In the essay he set out what he regarded as the weaknesses in the Society—the tendency to make a “form” of silence in meetings for worship, and the lack of vocal ministry; the narrow education of Friends; their discouragement of the fine arts; their artificial peculiarities of dress, speech and manner and the severe discipline of the Society, particularly disownment for “marrying out,” which had been one of the principal reasons for the decline in numbers in the Society. As a result of the new attitude of many Friends the Society was now in a mood to make drastic changes and these took place between 1859 and 1861. In 1859, disownment for “marrying out” was abolished after brave attempts had been made for four years in succession by Yorkshire Q.M. to obtain this reform. In 1860 there was a radical revision of the Queries and the General Advices. In 1861 the *Book of discipline* was revised in a substantially different form from the previous edition, including one part especially devoted to doctrine, and Yearly Meeting was opened to the general membership of the Society.

A further article, carrying the survey from 1860 to 1928, will appear in our next issue.

APPENDIX

LIST OF ALTERATIONS TO THE TEXT OF THE QUERIES

I. Yearly Meeting Queries, 1742-1790¹

- 1 (1742-90). What present prisoners?
cf Query 12 (1791)
- 2 (1742-90). How many discharged since last year, when and how?
cf 1791 Query 12
- 3 (1742-90). How many died prisoners?
cf 1791 Query 12

¹ Queries and alterations before 1742 are fully dealt with in the main body of the text (see pp. 209-14 above).

- 4 (1742-90). How many meeting houses built, and what meetings new settled?
cf 1791 Query 11
- 5 (1742-90). How many publick friends died and when?
Query discontinued 1791
- 6 (1742-90). What is the state of your meeting? Is there any Growth in the Truth? And doth any Convincement appear since last year? And is Love and Unity preserved amongst you?
cf 1791 Queries 2, 3
- 7 (1742-90). Is it your Care, by Example and Precept, to Train up children in all Godly Conversation, and in the frequent reading of the Holy Scriptures as also in Plainness of Speech, Behaviour and Apparel?
1757: Do Friends by Example and Precept Endeavour to Train up their Children, servants and those under their care in all godly . . . Apparell; and are Friends faithfull in admonishing such as are Remiss therein?
cf 1791 Query 4
- 8 (1742-90). Do you bear a faithful and Christian testimony against the Receiving or Paying tithes? and against Bearing of Arms? and do you admonish such as are unfaithful therein?
1744: . . . Paying Tithes, Priests Demands and those called Church Rates? Bearing of Arms, or Paying Trophy money? . . . (Y.M. minutes, vol. 9, p. 233)
1758: omit and against bearing . . . Trophy money? [see Query 12]
cf 1791 Query 7
- 9 (1742-90). Do you stand clear in our Testimony against De-frauding the King of his Customs, Duties or Excise, or in Dealing in Goods Suspected to be Run?
cf 1791 Query 9
- 10 (1742-90). How are the Poor among you provided for? and what care is taken of the education of their offspring?
cf 1791 Query 10
- 11 (1742-61). Do you keep a record in your Quarterly and Monthly Meetings, of the Prosecutions and Sufferings of your Respective members? and have you a Record for your Meeting houses, Burial grounds, etc.?
1759: add: and is due care taken to Register all Marriages, Births and Burials?
1762: Query transferred to Quarterly Meeting Query 9 [see Appendix II]
- 11 (1762-90). [*see under 1758 Query 12*]
- 12 (1753-57). How are the Several Advices of this Meeting made known and put in practice?
1758: Re-numbered 13
1762: Query discontinued (See Y.M. minutes, vol. 12, p. 400)

- 12 (1758-61). [From 1742 Query 8] Do you bear a faithful Testimony against bearing Arms and paying Trophy money or being in any manner concerned in Privateers, Letters of Marque or in dealing in Prize Goods as such? ¹
 1761: . . . concerned in the militia, in privateers . . .
 1762: *renumbered 11*
 1777: . . . letters of marque, or armed vessels, or dealing in . . .
cf 1791 Query 8
- 13 (1758-61). [*see under 1753 Query 12*]

II. Quarterly Meeting Queries, 1755-1790²

1. Are Meetings for Worship and Discipline duly attended; and do Friends avoid all unbecoming Behaviour therein?
cf 1791 Query 1
2. Are Love and Unity preserved amongst you, and do you discourage all Talebearing and Detraction?
cf 1791 Query 3
3. Is it your Care by Example and Precept to train up your Children in a Godly Conversation, and in frequent Reading the holy Scriptures, as also in plainness of Speech, Behaviour and Apparel?
cf 1791 Query 4
4. Do you bear a faithful and Christian Testimony against the Receiving or Paying Tithes, Priests Demands, or those called Church Rates?
cf 1791 Query 7
5. Are Friends Careful to avoid vain Sports, Places of Diversion, Gaming and all unnecessary frequenting of Alehouses or Taverns, Excess in Drinking and Intemperance of every kind?
cf 1791 Query 6
6. Are Friends Just in their Dealings, and punctual in fulfilling their Engagements?
 1783. *Add:* and are they advised carefully to inspect the state of their affairs once in the year?
cf 1791 Query 5
7. Is early Care taken to Advise and Deal with Such as appear inclinable to Marry contrary to the Rules of our Society? and do no friends Remove from or into your Monthly or Two Weeks Meeting without Certificates?
cf 1791 Query 13

¹ Y. M. 1768 decided that it was unnecessary to answer during time of peace the three particulars relating to privateers, letters of marque or dealing in prize goods. In 1788, however, being informed that "the Practice of Arming Ships prevails in some Trades in time of peace" it was agreed that the whole of the query should be answered.

² Yearly Meeting minutes, vol. 11, pp. 75-76.

8. Have you Two or more Faithful Friends deputed in Each particular Meeting, to have the Oversight thereof; and is Care taken when anything appears amiss, that the Rules of our Discipline be put in Practice?

cf 1791 Query 14

Added in 1762

9. Do you keep a record in your Monthly Meetings of the Prosecutions and Sufferings of your respective members? and have you a record of your Meeting Houses and Burial Grounds etc. and is due care taken to register all Marriages, Births and Burials?

Transferred from Y.M. Query 13, omitting "Quarterly and"

Revised 1773 to read:

9. Do you keep a Record in your Monthly Meetings of the Prosecutions and Sufferings of your respective Members? Is due care taken to register all Marriages, Births and Burials? And are there any since last year? Are the Titles of your Meeting Houses, Burial Grounds, etc. duly preserved and recorded? And have you any new Transfers since last year? And are all Legacies and Donations properly secured, carefully recorded, and duly applied? And have you had any new ones since last year?¹

cf 1791 Query 15

III. Yearly Meeting Queries, 1791-1859

- 1 (1791-1859). Are Meetings for Worship and Discipline kept up, and do Friends attend them duly, and at the time appointed; and do they avoid all unbecoming behaviour therein?

[From 1790 Q.M. Query 1] *cf 1860 Query 1, 7*

- 2 (1791-1859). Is there among you any growth in the Truth; and hath any convincement appeared since last year?

1833. omit: and hath . . . last year [see 1833 Query 12]

[From 1790 Query 6] *cf 1860 Unanswered Query A*

- 3 (1791-1859). Are Friends preserved in love towards each other; if differences arise, is due care taken speedily to end them; and are Friends careful to avoid and discourage tale-bearing and detraction?

1833: . . . love one towards another; . . .

[From 1790 Query 6, Q.M. Query 2] *cf 1790 Query 2*

¹ A Committee of Yearly Meeting was at this time considering the proper keeping of records and the extension of the query was one of the signs of the concern of the Society on this question. In the following year 1774, the words "And are there any since last year?" "And have you any new transfers since last year" and "And have you had any new ones since last year" were deleted by Yearly Meeting from the revised query.

The enquiry "and have you a record of your Meeting Houses and Burial Grounds, etc." which was part of the query up to 1773 is shown in the Somerset Quarterly Meeting minute book as being included in the query as settled in 1774 and also shown as included in the Book of Extracts published in 1783. It seems quite possible that this enquiry was omitted by mistake in the Yearly Meeting minutes of 1773.

- 4 (1791-1859). Do Friends endeavour, by example and precept, to train up their children, servants and others under their care, in a religious life and conversation consistent with our Christian profession; in the frequent reading of the Holy Scriptures, and in plainness of speech, behaviour and apparel; and are the remiss duly admonished?
1802. Omit: and are the remiss duly admonished¹
1833. Omit: in the frequent reading of the Holy Scriptures.
 [see 1833 Query 5]
 [From 1790 Query 7, Q.M. Query 3] *cf 1860 Query 4*
- 5 (1791-1832). Are Friends just in their dealings and punctual in fulfilling their engagements; and are they annually advised carefully to inspect the state of their affairs once in the year?
1833. renumbered 6. omit: and are they . . . the year [see 1833 Query 15]
 [From 1790 Q.M. Query 6] *cf 1860 Query 8*
- 5 (1833-59). Is it the care of all friends to be frequent in reading the Holy Scriptures; and do those who have children, servants, and others under their care, train them up in the practice of this religious duty?
 [From 1832 Query 4] *cf 1860 Query 3*
- 6 (1791-1832). Are friends careful to avoid all vain sports and places of diversion, gaming, all unnecessary frequenting of taverns and other public-houses, excess in drinking and intemperance of every kind?
1802: . . . drinking and other intemperance?
1833. renumbered 7. Do friends avoid all vain . . .
 [From 1790 Q.M. Query 5] *1860. Query discontinued, being replaced by paragraph in General Advices*
- 6 (1833-59). [see under 1791 Query 5]
- 7 (1791-1832). Do friends bear a faithful and Christian testimony against receiving and paying tithes, priests demands, and those called church rates; and are the unfaithful duly admonished?
1802. Omit: and are the unfaithful duly admonished²
1833. renumbered 8. Are friends faithful in bearing our Christian . . .
1845. . . . tithes, rent charge in lieu of tithes, priests . . .
 [From 1790 Query 8, Q.M. Query 4] *cf 1860 Query 5*
- 7 (1833-59). [see under 1791 Query 6]
- 8 (1791-1832). Are friends faithful in our testimony against bearing arms, and being in any manner concerned in the militia, in privateers, letters of marque or armed vessels, or dealing in prize goods?
1833. renumbered 9. omit: letters of marque
 [From 1790 Query 11] *cf 1860 Query 6*

¹ In 1802 a sentence was added to the Rules, viz.: "When deficiency is acknowledged, that it is mentioned in the answer to the query to which such deficiency relates, whether due admonition and care have been extended."

² see note to Query 4.

- 8 (1833-59). [*see under 1791 Query 7*]
- 9 (1791-1832). Are friends clear of defrauding the King of his customs, duties and excise, and of using or dealing in goods suspected to be run?
1833. renumbered 16, not thereafter being answered to Y.M.
1837. . . . the Queen of her customs . . .
 [From 1790 Query 9] *cf 1860 Query 8*
- 9 (1833-59). [*see under 1791 Query 8*]
- 10 (1791-1859). Are the necessities of the Poor among you properly inspected and remedied; and is good care taken of the education of their offspring?
 [From 1790 Query 10] *cf 1860 Query 9*
- 11 (1791-1832). Have any meetings been settled, discontinued or united since last year?
 [From 1790 Query 4] *1833. Query discontinued, the following instruction being included in Discipline: The several quarterly meetings are to transmit annually in the Spring to the meeting for sufferings, information of any meetings which may have been settled, discontinued or united in the course of the year, in order that such information may be duly communicated to this meeting. see 1834 ed. p. 129; 1861 4to ed. p. 155; 1861 8vo. ed. pp. 172-3; 1883 ed. p. 189.*
- 11 (1833-59). Is due care taken, when any thing appears to require it, that the rules of our discipline be timely and impartially put in practice?
 [From 1832 Query 14] *cf 1860 Query 7*
- 12 (1791-1832). Are there any friends prisoners for our testimonies; and if any one hath died a prisoner, or been discharged since last year; when and how?
 [From 1790 Queries 1-3] *1833. Query discontinued as obsolete*
- 12 (1833-59). Is there any appearance of convincement among you, and have any been joined to our society on that ground since last year?
 [From 1832 Query 2] *1860. Query discontinued, being replaced by tabular statement.*
- 13 (1791-1859). Is early care taken to admonish such as appear inclinable to marry in a manner contrary to the rules of our Society; and to deal with such as persist in refusing to take counsel?
Not answered to Y.M.
1833. Is care taken early to . . . appear inclined to . . . society; and in due time to deal . . .
1860. Query discontinued, being replaced by paragraph in General Advices.
- 14 (1791-1859). Have you two or more faithful friends, appointed by the Monthly Meeting as Overseers in each particular meeting? Are the rules respecting removals duly observed?; And is due

care taken when anything appears amiss, that the rules of our discipline be timely and impartially put in practice?

1833. . . . observed; and are the general advices read as directed; and are the lists of your members revised and corrected once in the year? *Omit*: And is due care . . . practice. [see 1833 Query 11]

1845. *Omit*: and are the lists of your members revised and corrected once in the year. *Transferred to Query 17*. [See under 1791 Query 15]

Not answered to Y.M. The part of this query which was detached in 1833 to form Query 11 thereby became answerable.

[From 1790 Q.M. Query 8] *cf* 1860 Query 10

- 15 (1791-1832). Do you keep a record of the Prosecutions and Sufferings of your members? is due care taken to register all Marriages, Births and Burials? Are the titles of your Meeting Houses, Burial Grounds etc. duly preserved and recorded? and are all Legacies and Donations properly secured and recorded, and duly applied?

1833. *renumbered 17*

1845: . . . marriages and to record on the minutes of the Monthly Meeting all Births and Burials; and are the lists of your members revised and corrected once in the year. [“and are the lists . . . in the year” was transferred from 1833 Query 14]

Omit: Are the titles . . . duly applied *transferred to 1845 Query 18*

Not answered to Y.M.

[From 1790 Q.M. Query 9] *cf* 1860 Query 10

- 15 (1833-59). Are friends annually advised to keep clear and correct accounts, and carefully to inspect the state of their affairs once in the year?

1845: . . . year, and also to make their wills and settle their outward affairs in the time of health?

Not answered to Y.M.

[From 1832 Query 5] *cf* 1860 Query 10

- 16 (1833-59). [see under 1791 Query 9]

- 17 (1833-59). [see under 1791 Query 15]

- 18 (1845-59). Are the titles of your Meeting Houses, Burial Grounds etc., duly preserved and recorded; are the rules respecting trust property observed; and are all Legacies and Donations properly secured and recorded, and duly applied?

[see under 1791 Query 15]

- 1796 Query for Q.M's. Are you careful to give to your Monthly Meetings such assistance as your place in the body and their state require?

cf 1860 Query 7

Microfilms in Friends House Library

IN the *Journal*, vol. 43 (1951), pp. 79-80, a list was given of 59 rolls of microfilm then in the Library at Friends House. This supplementary list gives brief descriptions of most of the films of MSS. added since that time: a few items are omitted where it is hoped later to complete a series.

Microfilms of printed books and typescript theses are not included.

BEDFORDSHIRE RECORDS

Bedfordshire Q.M. (1668-1785)

Men's minutes 1709-1785; Sufferings book 1691-1785 (incl. Ampthill M.M. Sufferings 1789-1793).

Pulloxhill, afterwards Ampthill M.M. (1667-1798)

Men's minutes 1734-1791; Women's minutes 1712-1782; Ministers and elders' minutes 1759-1797; File of birth and burial notes; Trust property book; Miscellaneous papers.

Markyate afterwards Dunstable afterwards Luton M.M. (1667-1786)

Men's minutes 1699-1786; Men's minutes (rough) 1755-1786; Women's minutes 1762-1786; Trust property book.

Stotfold and Clifton afterwards Langford M.M. (1667-1748)

Men's minutes 1718-1746.

Albans M.M. (1703-1865)

Men's minutes 1703-1865; Women's minutes 1703-1865 (1771-1786 wanting); Sufferings book 1793-1850. (N.B.—The following are not filmed: Ministers and elders minutes 1831-1865; file of summary returns of distraints 1851-1860; Trust property book 1853.)

Hogsty End M.M. (1668-1784); Hogsty End and Sherrington M.M. (1784-1822); Leighton M.M. (1822-1857); Upperside and Leighton M.M. (1857-1865)

Men's minutes 1742-1865 (1804-1811 wanting); Women's minutes 1852-1865 (including Luton and Leighton M.M. Women's minutes 1865-1879); Miscellaneous book 1673, 1761-1789. (N.B. The following are not filmed: Women's minutes 1761-1852; Ministers and elders minutes 1808-1835; Sufferings books 1795-1865; Removal certificates book 1803-1814; Marriage register 1840-1857; Lists of members 1837-1854, 1857-1865.)

With the exceptions noted, this film (4 rolls) comprises all the extant records of the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings concerned. The originals are partly at Friends House, partly at Barclays Bank Watford. A copy of the film is at the County Record Office, Bedford.

ULSTER RECORDS

Ulster Province Meeting

Men's minutes 1694-1770; copies of marriage certificates 1731-1786.

Lurgan Men's Meeting

Minutes 1675-1779; Record book (Marriage certificates etc.) 1670-1715; Marriage certificates 1715-1811.

Lisburn Men's Meeting

Minutes 1675-1782.

Ballyhagen Men's Meeting

Minutes 1705-1734; Marriage certificates 1692-1789.

Grange Men's Meeting

Minutes 1726-1779.

This film (4 rolls) contains also the "Book of wills and inventories 1720-1731." The original documents are at Friends Meeting House Lisburn. A copy of the film is at Swarthmore College, Pa.

GURNEY AND FRY DOCUMENTS

Elizabeth Fry Journals: forty-eight volumes of the Journals of Elizabeth Fry (1780-1845) covering the years 1797-1833, 1837-1845, were given to Friends House Library by her great-granddaughter, Miss Mary P. Fry, in 1950. The series covers also the Journal of Joseph Fry (1777-1861) for the years 1833-1855. The Elizabeth Fry Journals are not complete and it was not known in 1950 in whose hands any remaining extant volumes were.

J. J. Gurney Private Journal: The Private Journal of Joseph John Gurney (1788-1847) covers the years 1808-1847 and occupies 15 volumes; it is in the possession of Mr. Quintin E. Gurney of Bawdeswell Hall, Norfolk. A carefully checked transcript of it was made apparently in 1851 for Samuel Gurney of Ham House (1786-1856) and was used by J. Bevan Braithwaite (1818-1905) in writing his *Memoirs of Joseph John Gurney* (1854). This transcript in 5 volumes (including the Literary Journal) was given to Friends House Library in 1958 as part of the Catherine L. Braithwaite collection. Volume 13 of the Private Journal covering the American visit of 1837-1840 is the only one at present available on film: the copy used is the original, not the transcript.

Gurney MSS.: In 1931 Mr. Quintin E. Gurney deposited with Friends House Library some 425 letters to and from members of the Gurney family and its connections, including 56 letters of Elizabeth Fry, 84 letters of Amelia Opie, 22 of Joseph Gurney Bevan, 9 of William Wilberforce, 2 of Joseph Sturge and 31 of the Buxton family containing many references to the Anti-slavery campaign. In 1932 a further 512 items were deposited. A third group comprising over 900 letters of J. J. Gurney was subsequently deposited. In 1933 Mr. Christopher R. Gurney of Northrepps Hall deposited with the Library a collection of 50 letters, including one letter by J. G. Whittier, some early letters by John H. Gurney and two letters of Peregrine Tyzack. A synopsis of the whole collection of some 1,900 letters, prepared by Arthur J. Eddington, is available in typescript in Friends House Library. An index of all personal names in the synopsis, also prepared by Arthur Eddington but incomplete at his death, will shortly be available. A short description of the collection, with a few selected letters, was printed in *Journal F.H.S.* vol. 29 (1932), pp. 31-40. The 130 letters of J. J. Gurney describing his American visit of 1837-1840 are available on microfilm.

EARNSHAW (OR ECROYD) MS.

A 17th-century leather-bound volume measuring 6½ in. × 3¾ in. comprising about 200 pages and containing various journal passages of George Fox, mostly closely in line with the text printed in *Camb. Jnl.* It also includes an epistle attributed to John Stubbs and dated Barbados, 5th 9th mo., 1671: this is printed in *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, vol. 14 (1917) pp. 81-4, where the whole MS. is described. The original MS. is in the possession of L. Brindley Marten of Kingston-on-Thames, Surrey.

WILLIAM DILLWYN JOURNAL

The Journal of William Dillwyn (1743-1824) of Philadelphia begins with his voyage to Bristol in 1774 and continues until 1790, a period during which he was an active London Friend and particularly concerned in the abolition of the slave trade. The film comprises also "Genealogical memoranda of the ancestors of William and Sarah Dillwyn and their families. Compiled in 1809." The original MSS. are in the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.

LINDSEY MSS.

Robert Lindsey (1801-1863) was a noted 19th-century minister who visited America in 1846-1851 accompanied by Benjamin Seebohm (1798-1871). In 1852 he set sail for Australasia, Frederick McKie (1812-1893) being his companion: he returned to England early in 1856. The Journal of Robert Lindsey for 1846-1856 is contained in volumes 5-10 of his *Memorandum Journal*. Volume 10 is a condensed account of the journey to the southern hemisphere, the fuller journal being contained in the *Australasian Letters*. Robert Lindsey again visited America and Australasia in 1857-1861 accompanied by his wife, Sarah (Crosland) Lindsey (1804-1876). Her journal letters home appear to have been copied by her daughter Mary, and perhaps other members of the family, into four notebooks referred to as *American Memorandums*: vol. 2 (covering 5.iv.1858 to 27.ix.1859) is wanting. It appears that Sarah Lindsey subsequently began a revision of the American Memorandums as a *Select Journal*: this was taken up to 28.ix.1859, but was never completed. It does, however, cover the ground of the missing volume of American Memorandums. The whereabouts of Robert Lindsey's *Memorandum Journal*, vol. 11-14, covering the period June, 1856, to November, 1859, is at present unknown, but volumes 15 and 16 contain entries from 5.xii.1859 until his death. The *Australasian Letters* are not yet available on microfilm.

Notes and Queries

QUAKERS AND BAPTISTS

"The Baptist Western Association, 1653-1658," by Geoffrey F. Nuttall, an article in *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 11, no. 2 (Oct. 1960), pp. 213-18, uses tracts at Bristol Baptist College and Friends House Library to trace the early history of the Western Association of Baptist churches in Somerset and surrounding counties. Dr. Nuttall notes that Thomas Budd of Martock is mentioned in the Baptist Association (1656), within a year before he became a Quaker, and enumerates tracts by Salthouse, Westfield and other Friends in controversy with the Baptists in the West of England.

THE SAVOY MEETING IN LONDON

In his admirable history of *The Savoy - Manor: Hospital: Chapel*, 1960, Mr. Robert Somerville acknowledges the help of George W. Edwards in recounting the story of the Savoy Meeting. He has used MSS. in the Duchy of Lancaster Office and the Public Record Office to supplement the minutes of the Meeting and of Six Weeks Meeting, in a way which was not open to William Beck and Frederick Ball in their *London Friends' meetings*, 1869.

As so often in Quaker history, it was women who took the initiative. After the death in 1670-1 of William Woodcock, it was his widow, Jane Woodcock, who "erected on her property a large room for a meeting house, and another Quaker, Martha Fisher," who "joined with her

by spending £330 on constructing the vaults under the room and some chambers above it."

"The Quakers were given notice to quit in 1781 and the building came down in the following year." (pp. 83-84.)

G.F.N.

BENJAMIN LAY AND TEA-DRINKING, 1742

Friends may remember the Cork Men's Meeting testimony of 27.v.1724 (printed in *Journal F.H.S.*, xiii (1916), p. 19) that "the custome of Tea in ye "present use of it in ye Familys "of some Friends by invitations "and vissitations, is too much a "Worldly custome. . . Not but yt "the creature in it selfe may be "usefull to some weake people. . ."

That this is not an isolated protest is revealed by the startling testimony by Benjamin Lay, as recorded in *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin* (ed. Leonard W. Labarre. Yale University Press), vol. 2, 1960, pp. 357-8, quoting from the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of 25th March, 1742:

"On Monday about Noon, "being in the Time of the Gen- "eral Meeting of Friends, Ben- "jamin Lay, the Pythagorean- "cynical-christian Philosopher, "bore a publick Testimony "against the Vanity of Tea- "drinking, by devoting to De- "struction in the Market-place, "a large Parcel of valuable China, "&c. belonging to his deceased "Wife. He mounted a Stall on "which he had placed the Box "of Ware; and when the People "were gather'd round him, began "to break it peacemeal with a

"Hammer; but was interrupted
 "by the Populace, who overthrew
 "him and his Box, to the Ground,
 "and scrambling for the Sac-
 "rifice, carry'd off as much of
 "it whole as they could get.
 "Several would have purchas'd
 "the China of him before he
 "attempted to destroy it, but
 "he refused to take any Price
 "for it."

This incident is not mentioned in C.B. Rowntree's paper on Benjamin Lay (*Journal F.H.S.*, xxxiii (1936), pp. 3-19), or in Roberts Vaux's *Memoirs of Lay and Sandiford*, although Roberts Vaux does say in a footnote that "Sarah Lay was an intelligent and pious woman, an approved minister of the gospel in the Society of Friends; she cordially united with her husband, in his disapprobation of slavery, and contributed all in her power to the support of his mind under the trials which it suffered, in his exertions to promote a change in public sentiment, respecting the inhumanity and injustice of the custom." What she would have thought of Benjamin smashing her valuable china is left to the imagination.

Extracts from the *Pennsylvania Gazette* includes an advertisement for William Bradford, junior, newly established in a printing office in Second Street, where he sold some Friends' works (1742), and the baptism of eight adult persons, formerly Quakers (1741). Other material printed in this volume of Franklin's Papers includes correspondence with James Logan, and reference to John Bartram (1699-1777), Samuel Chew (1693-1744), and the establishment of the Library Company of Philadelphia.

IRISH FRIENDS AND FREE TRADE IN LAND

R. D. Collison Black, in his book *Economic thought and the Irish Question, 1817-1870* (Cambridge University Press, 1960), mentions Friends and their views in connection with "Thought and policy on the Land question, 1845-1852," on pages 33 and 34.

The doctrine of "Free trade in land" he traces back to the Manchester men. It was an idea espoused by Cobden and Bright (although Bright's visit to Ireland in 1849 served to convince him "of the need to combine a measure for securing tenants' compensation for improvements with legislation for facilitating transfer of ownership"). In Ireland the chief advocates of the idea "were prosperous Quaker merchants like Jonathan Pim and Joseph Bewley, whose success had come through the channels of trade." A footnote states that "The Central Relief Committee of the Society of Friends, formed during the Famine, declared itself in favour of free trade in land: see p. 128 of its *Transactions* (Dublin, 1852)."

The author quotes from Jonathan Pim's *Condition and prospects of Ireland* (1848), and notes that he especially favoured "the creation of a class of small proprietors, or yeomanry," a view to which Bright, in his later years, came more and more to view "as the ultimate basis for a solution of the problem."

SCOTTISH FRIENDS' RECORDS

William H. Marwick has written a paper on Scottish Friends' records, published in the *Scottish Genealogist*, vii, 3, August 1960, pp. 1-10.

Supplements to the Journal of Friends' Historical Society

7. THOMAS POLE, M.D. (1753-1829). By E. T. Wedmore. 1908. 53 pp., 2s. 3d., post 9d.
- 8-11. EXTRACTS FROM STATE PAPERS relating to Friends, 1654-1672. Ed. N. Penney. 1910-13. 4 parts. 365 pp., 7s. 6d., post 1s. 6d.
12. ELIZABETH HOOTON, First Quaker woman preacher (1600-1672). By Emily Manners. 1914. 95 pp., 2s. 3d., post 9d.
13. TORTOLA. By C. F. Jenkins. 1923. 106 pp., 5s., post 9d.
14. Record of the SUFFERINGS OF FRIENDS IN CORNWALL, 1655-1686. 1928. 152 pp., 7s. 6d., post 9d.
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 1s.
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.
28. PATTERNS OF INFLUENCE IN ANGLO-AMERICAN QUAKERISM. By Thomas E. Drake. 1958. 1s. 6d., post 2d.
29. SOME QUAKER PORTRAITS, CERTAIN AND UNCERTAIN. By John Nickalls, 1958. Illustrated. 3s. 6d., post 4d.

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.

CAREERS IN INSURANCE

In this modern age no prudent individual or business organization can afford to ignore the consequences of misfortune or disaster. The whole world has become increasingly conscious of the need for the protection which Insurance provides, and this large and prosperous industry is expanding rapidly.

OPPORTUNITY FOR A CAREER: High in the ranks of the leading Offices stands the FRIENDS' PROVIDENT & CENTURY INSURANCE OFFICES who, in recent years, have met an increasing share of this growing demand for Insurance. The organization continues to develop throughout the world, and there is ample opportunity for ambitious young men to find profitable and worth-while careers on the Staff of the Offices, at home and overseas.

TRAINING: Adequate training facilities are provided to assist in ultimate qualification for the most senior positions. Each man on entry is placed with regard to his particular ability and inclinations, and individual training is given either in London or at Branches in the main provincial cities.

EDUCATIONAL REQUIREMENTS: The minimum standard is at least four passes in G.C.E. (O) (English Language, Mathematics and two other subjects), and trainees are recruited from men up to the age of 25 from Grammar and Public Schools and Universities.

PROSPECTS: There are many fine opportunities for advancement with the Offices, and those who make satisfactory progress can look forward to earning substantial salaries in responsible positions while still comparatively young.

Full details can be obtained from:

The Personnel Officer
THE FRIENDS' PROVIDENT & CENTURY INSURANCE
OFFICES

Pixham End, Dorking, Surrey