

The Journal
of the
Friends' Historical
Society

VOLUME 52

NUMBER 3

1970

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.
Yearly 50p (\$1.75)

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THE JOURNAL

OF THE

FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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

Communications should be addressed to the Editors at
Friends House

Editorial

EDWIN BRONNER'S Presidential Address to the Society, delivered at Exeter on Saturday, August 15, 1970, under the title: "The Other Branch: relationships between London Yearly Meeting and the Hicksites in the 19th century", is published separately. The lecture was given in the Newman Building, University of Exeter, at the time of London Yearly Meeting, then being held for the first time in the city of Exeter.

The Autumn meeting was held at Friends House, London, November 6, 1970, and was addressed by Jennie Ellinor, formerly headmistress of Friends' School, Saffron Walden. The address concerned the school's forerunner, and was entitled: "Clerkenwell in the 18th century: a study in Quaker attitudes in education." We hope to publish this in a future issue.

We are pleased to print some notes by another of our transatlantic Presidents, if Henry J. Cadbury will excuse the term, when he has done so much to elucidate obscure passages in Quaker history on this side of the ocean as well as on his own. The contributions fill in gaps in our information on the First Publishers of Truth, and concern Sebastian Franck.

Andrew W. Brink, of the English department of McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, studies the connections between John Milton and Friends, basing his observations on the evidence and opinions recently made available in William Riley Parker's magisterial biography of the poet.

In the field of eighteenth-century history, we have a paper by David M. Butler, of Kendal, on the Northern Yearly Meeting, which throughout the century held meetings annually in places in the north west of England, from Longtown near Carlisle in the north to Newcastle-under-Lyme in the south, but never once in Manchester.

Following his work on the Quaker deputation to Russia just before the Crimean War, which appeared in our last number, Stephen Frick contributes a paper on his research into the *Christian Appeal* for peace, drafted and circulated by Meeting for Sufferings in London, December 1854–April 1855.

Last year's president, William H. Marwick, continues his studies on Scottish Friends with a paper on twentieth century developments.

The number also includes a brief description by Dr. J. S. Andrews of Lancaster University Library surveying the Lancaster University Quaker Collection. There are the usual features concerning Historical Research, Archives and Notes and Queries.

Volume 52 of the *Journal* will be completed in the fourth number (for 1971) which will include the volume index.

* * *

Italian Edition of

THE JOURNAL OF GEORGE FOX, 1969

Through the efforts of a special Committee of Friends residing in Italy (A. Braid, M. Comberti, G. Graziani, M. Tassoni, P. Thomforde), in co-operation with the Editing Co. "Religioni Oggi Edizioni", it has been possible to publish an Italian Edition of the *Journal of George Fox*.

The edition, numbering about 450 pages, is greatly enriched by the Introduction and notes of Prof. Giovanni Pioli, translator of the *Journal*. Giovanni Pioli is considered a great scholar, an outstanding champion of religious freedom, conscientious objection, and a pioneer for world peace.

The cost of the volume has been set at It. 4,000 lire for a single copy (about \$6.5) with a 15% discount for 5 copies; 25% for 10 copies; 30% for more than ten. The price includes shipment.

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More First Publishers of Truth

STUDENTS of Quaker beginnings have come to recognize the value of the efforts made when the movement was twenty-five to seventy years old to recover local information on the subject. The results existed in part in a packet in the possession, about 1840, of Josiah Foster of Tottenham and consulted then by Abram Rawlinson Barclay (Friends House Library, Portfolio, 31/124), who believed they were solicited about 1717 by London Yearly Meeting in the desire to assist William Sewel in his *History*. At a later date Norman Penney found some ninety papers generally of this type collected in Portfolio 7 which he edited in five parts 1905–1907 under the title *The First Publishers of Truth* (usually abbreviated as *F.P.T.*). Several of these are duplicates and others are really answers to other questionnaires of the period, on, for example, the local sufferings of Friends as No. 46 (London, pp. 153–157), Nos. 55–60 (Norwich, pp. 169–193), or the lives of local Friends who became ministers (No. 75 Westmorland, pp. 241–273), or who suffered as martyrs in the locality as Nos. 47–49 (London, pp. 157–162). On the other hand for London a more likely answer to the *F.P.T.* questionnaire is embedded in the life of Gilbert Latey edited by his nephew Richard Hawkins (see *J.F.H.S.* 36 (1939) pp. 52–58), while for Norwich the replies were recorded in the MS “Book of the Sufferings of the People of God called Quakers in the City of Norwich”, to judge from the quotations from it in A. J. Eddington’s *The First Fifty Years of Quakerism in Norwich*, 1932, pp. 2f, 22.

Additional materials were published by Norman Penney in his text and in issues of *J.F.H.S.*, summarized in *J.F.H.S.* 31 (1934) pp. 3ff, where I added further examples for Lancashire and Warwickshire. Other addenda for Staffordshire and Lancashire (Hawkshead) were published in *J.F.H.S.* 32 (1935) pp. 51f, 53. The present contribution is intended to continue the process of supplementing *F.P.T.*

IRELAND

It has commonly been supposed that the *F.P.T.* questionnaire was limited to England and Wales. Benjamin Bealing’s

lists of counties heard from and not heard from mention none outside.¹ But the evidence for a similar undertaking in Ireland is unmistakable. Its date does not coincide with any of the three periods, 1676, 1704 and 1720, when the London central meetings circulated the requests. It occurred about 1698. Its initiative can be traced back to the National Half Year's Meeting. Whether it was suggested by an English Friend or meeting does not appear. William Penn, who had some hand in it at the time of the first English questionnaire² was a respected visitor in Ireland about that time. And the terms of those early queries are reflected in the Irish formulation. I repeat them here for comparison in substance though not any uniform phrasing

Who first brought the glad tidings of Truth?
 What sufferings did they have to bear?
 What Friends received their message?
 What labourers went forth to preach the Gospel?
 What judgments have fallen upon persecutors?
 What enemies have been converted?³

The minutes of the National Half Year's Meeting held at Dublin the 9th, 10th and 11th days of 3rd Month, 1698, include the following:

It being proposed that Friends in every province take care at their respective monthly meetings to inform themselves of the rise and progress of Truth and Friends in their respective places as,

First Who, came in the beginning with Truth's testimony among them

2dly, Who received Truth first in those parts

3dly, What eminent sufferings followed for their testimony bearing

4thly, What magistrates were moderate and who were persecutors

5thly, What judgments came upon persecutors

6thly, What Friends in the particular meetings the Lord brought forth in a publique testimony, and when

7thly, Likewise what faithful men there were and good examples that had not a publique testimony that served in their generation according to Truth⁴

¹ *F.P.T.* Frontispiece.

² See *Bulletin of Friends Historical Association*, 33, 1944, pp. 67-72.

³ These appear to have been the six questions sent out in 1676. Cf. *F.P.T.* 24, 26 (Cornwall), *J.F.H.S.* 31 (1934) pp. 3-19 (Lancashire).

⁴ Copies in Book A2, Friends Historical Library, 6 Eustace Street, Dublin, p. 147.

Six months later epistles from each of the Province Meetings to the National Half Year's Meeting, show their somewhat reluctant response. Leinster province meeting, held at Mountmellick in 9th month 1698, reported they had "not been unmindful of the request, but not much had been done". They suggested that "if it be found needful work, it may again be recommended".

The Province Meeting for Munster replied on the subject:

So far as could be collected from what hath been remembered by former discourses of ancient Friends deceased and what was found in writing upon other occasion hath been noted and a small narrative thereof drawn and goes herewith. But it hath no further relation than to the county of Cork. As for the other counties of this province, it hath been recommended and lies before them to do what they can of the like nature.

The Province Meeting at Lurgan, 8 mo. 29, 1698, said:

As to that recommended to inform ourselves of the rise and progress of Truth and Friends . . . being matters something difficult to undertake and accomplish to satisfaction with safety, we have omitted doing much therein, but if it must be insisted on then we desire your more particular directions and advice to the performing thereof.¹

What lies behind these reports could doubtless be gleaned from a survey of all the actual minutes of the Provincial Meetings and of the Monthly Meetings that are preserved from this period. I shall quote a few that I was able to find in limited time and travel. The process by which the meetings aimed to secure the information is more disclosed than is the resulting information. Perhaps some of the papers referred to could be found, or are incorporated in other records.

There are the following minutes from Munster Province Meeting:²

10th of 8 mo. 1698

Whereas the last Half Year's Meeting recommended to Friends to draw up something for a record of the first Friends that came into these parts with the message of the Gospel, the progress of Truth, etc., Thomas Wight having drawn up a narrative of it and read to the meeting, it's desired that a copy of it may be

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 169, 170 and 172.

² Minutes of Munster Province Meeting, 1694-1700, Vol. "Cork 7" at 6 Eustace Street, Dublin.

sent to Dublin's Half Year's Meeting with other papers of the sort. And whereas Limerick Friends, County of Tipperary Friends, and Waterford Friends have done nothing therein, it's desired they may be put upon doing [what] they can time enough to be sent to the Half Year's Meeting. Copies whereof to be taken and one copy to be in our own meeting book and other to send to the next Province Meeting—Thos. Pearce and James Slater for Limerick—George Pa[.]ker and Jno. Fennell for the County of Tipperary—Samuel Constant, George Wright and David Hutchinson for Waterford.

21 9 mo. 1698

Memorandum: to call on the business in the last meeting's proceeding concerning the rise of Truth, etc. Waterford Friends sent in a small paper which may be produced to next meeting.

13 12 mo. 1698

Friends of the county of Tiperary gave an account that they can give no very particular and distinct account of who published Truth in those part[s] in the beginning, etc. Friends of Limerick having collected something are desired to bring it to the next Province Meeting.

27 1 mo. 1699

A paper being received from Limerick Friends of the rise of Truth in that city and read, it's desired to send to the next Half Year's Meeting.

The Dublin records show merely memoranda of postponing the matter from meeting to meeting, without any conclusion:

6 7 mo. 1698

Mind the next meeting about the rise and progress of Truth, etc. directed from Half Year's Meeting.

20 7 mo. 1698 and later

Similar memoranda.

The Three Weeks Meeting of the City of Cork includes in its minutes the following:¹

20 4 mo. 1698

Desired that Friends may inform themselves by enquiring one of another, in particular Jos. Fenn is desired to enquire of his father to be informed what ministering Friends were the first publishers of Truth in these parts, whether men or women with their names, and who were the first convinced by them, and if may be in what year.

11 5 mo. 1698

Upon enquiry who were the first Friends that publisht the blessed tydings of the Gospel of peace in this latter age, it's

¹ The Book for the Minutes of the Men's Meeting of the Citie of Cork, 1694-1708; marked "Cork 2" at Eustace Street, Dublin.

understood that about the year 1655 Eliz. Fletcher and Eliz. Smyth came into the County of Cork, and soon after Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough; and Thos. Loe and other Friends followed. The first Friends that received Truth in Cork were Eliz. Erberry and family, Phillip Dymond, Susanna Mitchell, Step [Stephen] Harris, with Richard Pike and his wife, after whose convincement and the settlement of meetings divers others came to be convinced.¹

LANCASHIRE—OLDHAM

An illustration of the unexpected presence of *F.P.T.* material is to be found in another common category of Quaker record, the list of visiting public Friends kept locally and unofficially by a member, or succession of members in one locality or family, MS. Vol. 61 at Friends, Library, London "Names of some Friends who have Visited Oldham Meeting". It is described as "copied 10th month 1838 from an old book", and includes under index YZ this entry:

The first Friends who brought the glad tidings of the Gospel of salvation to Oldham, and these parts were James Taylor, Richard Roper, John Braithwaite and Thomas Briggs. These messengers were struck and haled or forced over the wall out of the steeplehouse yard at Oldham into the street by John Tetlow, etc.

The first who entertained them were James Sykes and Joshua Ogden in 1653 or 1654.

This information is not new. It is an abbreviated form of the data on Oldham "copied from a MS book belonging to Marsden Monthly Meeting", by Norman Penney in *F.P.T.* pp. 339f. and found in Lancashire Quarterly Meeting Minute Book, 1669-1711 and published by me in *J.F.H.S.* 31 (1934), p. 17.

SOMERSET—STREET

The following narrative is entered on the first leaf of the register of Street, Somerset, containing marriages 1658-1762, births 1655-1762, burials 1656-1762, one of the registers sent to Somerset House, when such books were called in, and now transferred to the Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, London. Its number now is Non-Parochial Registers RG 6/1176, formerly 1527 (Somerset, Middle Division), or

¹ Compare the list in T. Wight, *History* (ed. J. Ruty, Dublin, 1751), p. 92.

else RG 6/1454 formerly 138, giving Street births, deaths, marriages, each beginning at the same date in the 1650s as those given above. The xerox copy which I have is wrongly(?) numbered RG 6/1545.¹ I came upon it by accident, and it illustrates my apprehension that when the vital records from these more than 1,500 Quaker registers were surrendered over a century ago, though the vital records were carefully transcribed and one copy left with the county meeting and one at Friends Library, London, other information in them was not always removed and is made now almost inaccessible and unrecorded, unless in some cases in a duplicate source. Such items might have seemed of little interest then which modern historians would prize.

This document is not a typical reply to the *F.P.T.* Questionnaire. It is, however, somewhat parallel. It is more perfect than the slightly mutilated parchment copy which was contributed on 10 mo 6, 1889, by Roger Clark, of Street, in the *Friend* (London) N.S., 21 (1889), p. 292, to which Norman Penney referred in a footnote in *F.P.T.* p. 221.

The full text, somewhat faded, may be transcribed with modern punctuation, spelling and capitalization as follows:

After a long night of apostacy wherein many had followed the blind watchmen, and such leaders who had caused them to err by their lies, and their lightness, and darkness had covered the earth, and gross darkness the people, and many who had desired and breathed after the Lord, and had long wandered on barren mountains, from one profession to another, and sought their food in desolate places, the Lord remembered his covenant with the seed of Abraham and caused the everlasting day star to appear in the Northern parts of England. And in the year one thousand six hundred and fifty five, sent several of his faithful servants and ministers from the counties of Westmoreland and Lancashire, or parts thereabout into the county of Somerset and other parts of the nation, who preached the everlasting gospel in the power and demonstration of the Spirit, Christ Jesus the light of the world, the way to the Father, and spake as they were moved of the Lord, and as the Spirit gave them utterance.

And many people in the county of Somerset and other

¹ R.G. 6/1545 = Burliscombe [Burlescombe] Meeting, Devon, registers. —Ed.

parts of the nation, received the Truth in the love of it, and were turned from the darkness to the light, and from Satan's power to the power of God. And in the year one thousand six hundred fifty and six many people in the same county of Somersett began to wait on the Lord in the silence of all flesh, and denied the world's worship, teachers, payments of tythes, maintaining of steeple-houses (the which the world and their teachers call churches), respect of persons, and several other vain customs, and gave one and the same language to high and low, to rich and poor, and refused to bow or put off the hat to any.

And divers were moved of the Lord to go to the steeple-houses and bear witness against the world's teachers and worship, and warned them to repentance, for which cause many were cruelly beaten, haled before rulers and magistrates, suffered the spoiling of their goods, and cruel bonds, and imprisonment even to death, according to what was before prophesied and declared in the scriptures of truth. And in the same year the meeting of the Lord's people whom the world then in reproach called Quakers was settled at Streat, as in several other places, and a general Monthly Meeting was settled at East Lidford in the said county of Somerset.

But the priests stirred up the rulers against them and there was great persecution against them because of the word. And many of the Lord's faithful servants were persecuted and cast into prison for the testimony of Jesus.

And in the beginning of the year one thousand six hundred fifty and nine these men called the Parliament of England, etc., and the then Protector determined (as generally reported) utterly to suppress the said people called Quakers by banishment or otherwise.

And the priests and many rude people rejoiced much in the expectation of the accomplishment thereof, but the Lord remembered the low estate of his servants and beheld the rage of his enemies and laught them to scorn, and caused that Parliament to be broken in pieces, by the army then commanded by Lieutenant General Fleetwood, who deposed Richard Cromwell the Protector, and called the Long-Parliament of England, who had conquered and put Charles Stuart the late king to death, and turned the government of the nation from monarchy to a commonwealth, which

Parliament General Oliver Cromwell through deceit and tyranny had for some years interrupted.

And in the same year one thousand six hundred fifty and nine about the fourth month the same people called Quakers who were many of them imprisoned for not payment of tythes and other matters for conscience sake were by that Long-Parliament set at liberty. This observe, that on the seventeenth day of the first month 1658/9 when the Parliament had determined to suppress, and destroy the aforesaid people called Quakers, the Lord sent one of his servants to the goal at Ivelchester to declare to the Lord's prisoners there that their deliverance was at hand, which was in a short time accomplished by the Long-Parliament as aforesaid.

And these people being redeemed out of world, and wholly separated from the world's worship and vain customs, in the year one thousand six hundred fifty and eight, provided themselves a burying place in the parish of Streat aforesaid, to lay their dead in, and a register, to record marriages, births, and deaths, and so the Truth prospered, and the Lord added to the church daily such as should be saved, who walked in the everlasting light of the Son of God, the light of the World, the way to the Father.

These things are briefly written, and left upon record by us for them that come after, that the children yet unborn may behold the wonderful works of the Lord, and declare his noble acts to their children, that his loving kindness and tender mercies to the children of men may be had in everlasting remembrance, whereof he hath made us partakers commanding his light to shine out of darkness, which hath shined in our hearts, and hath given us the knowledge of God in the face of his son Jesus Christ, of whose coming and glory we are witnesses, to whom be honour and everlasting-praises forevermore, Amen.

MARYLAND

I am indebted to Kenneth L. Carroll and his forthcoming studies of Quakerism in the Southern Colonies of America for bringing to my attention evidence that at least in one of the American colonies information was sought along the *F.P.T.* line. This evidence is found chiefly in the London

Epistles to and from Maryland. The request was made in 1700, "We desire the names and memories of such who have travelled in the word and doctrine among you may not be forgotten but a record be kept by some faithful Friends beginning with these that most early labored in your parts for turning many to righteousness", etc. The request was repeated in 1705.¹

The next year Maryland Friends reported that they were gathering material "on the early publishers and propagators of Truth" in their area and of "the first progress of Truth", and by 1708 they reported to London that they had drawn up "some short memorial of the beginning and progress of Truth and the Friends of it in this province".² Its receipt was acknowledged in London in 1710.³ But the text of the report has so far not been found on either side of the Atlantic.⁴

HENRY J. CADBURY

¹ Epistles Sent I, 348 (1700), II. 24-25 (1705).

² Epistles Received II. 20 and 57.

³ Epistles Sent II. 148.

⁴ It presumably would be more inclusive than the request for specific information about a single individual like that which London addressed in 1698 to the meetings in the American provinces to collect what they could of "the trials, travels, sufferings and writings of George Rofe, who died in these parts of the world". See my article "George Rofe in These American Parts" *B.F.H.A.* 35, 1946, 17-26.

Tracing the Influence of Sebastian Franck

THE discovery some years ago that George Fox's personal library included an English translation of a pseudonymous writing of the German mystic Sebastian Franck (1499–c.1542)¹ seemed to justify the attention Rufus Jones had called to Franck as a forerunner of Quakerism.² Franck's influence is hard to trace, but it was widely spread, not only in German speaking circles but through translations in other areas. Some indication of his influence is shown by the present day evidence of his writings and their circulation.

It is therefore a useful task to identify as far as possible, books written by him anonymously or pseudonymously. And this task is currently in progress by Irvin B. Horst, University of Amsterdam. The *Short-title catalogue* (S.T.C.) and Wing mention only the 1640 and 1642 editions of the item in Fox's list and locate only two and three copies respectively. Horst refers to a published finding list of Franck items in American libraries (twenty-two items in all), to an unpublished list of copies recorded in most libraries located in German-speaking countries, and to his own work collecting data from English, Dutch, Polish and Russian libraries. What he says about the difficulties in dealing with Franck applies to other heretical writings whether near Quaker, Quaker, or otherwise and may be worth quoting here. He says³

“The unusual problems encountered in connection with a Franck bibliography are in general those which arise in relation to an author long considered heretical. Franck's works were severely condemned in both Roman Catholic and Protestant countries. Some works are lost but likely not very many, considering the reprints of most of his works. The pseudonyms employed by Franck are now pretty well established. More difficult is the identification of anonymous works, and much speculation occurs

¹ J.F.H.S. xxviii, 8, 18. cf. xxx, 12, *The Forbidden Fruit*, Augustine Eleutherius.

² *Spiritual Reformers in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, 1914, Chapter IV and indexes to that and to *Studies in Mystical Religion*, 1909, and *Mysticism and Democracy in the English Commonwealth*, 1932.

³ American Philosophical Society, *Year Book*, 1968, p. 596.

in secondary works about Franck. Evidently he wrote and compiled many of the anonymous works which were printed on his own press at Ulm. In some of his books the imprint is suppressed, a feature of many heretical books of the sixteenth century. It appears that Franck on a number of occasions avoided the censor by having his books printed at one town—sometimes on his own press—but having them published at another.”

HENRY J. CADBURY

William Riley Parker's *Milton* and Friends

I

READERS of William Riley Parker's monumental *Milton, a Biography* (2 vols., Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1968), will notice repeated suggestions of the poet's affinity with Quakerism. To claim that Milton reached a position closer to Quakerism than any other persuasion is not new, but for the definitive biography to advance this opinion is to invite further serious consideration of it. A leading review finds in Parker's work "the solidity and ripeness of judgment which ought to be the reward of a lifetime given to Milton studies".¹ The biography cannot be turned aside as containing speculative first thoughts, yet Parker does not develop Milton's affinity with Quakerism as far as he might. His statement is that Milton, who began as a Trinitarian and Calvinist, ended as "a unique combination of semi-Arian, Arminian, Anabaptist, anti-Sabbatarian, Mortalist, semi-Quaker, 'Divorcer', and polygamist".² These views had formed before the Restoration and are therefore present in the great epics of Christian fundamentals. The confusing, perhaps contradictory, list of attributes contains the names of but two worshipping bodies of consequence. Milton had no formal attachment to either, but each claimed his serious attention in some degree. Of the Anabaptists Parker reports only that Milton said they were not heretics and deserved toleration. In fact he seems to have regarded them as fanatics along with Familists and Antinomians but, according to C. E. Whiting, "Milton doctrinally was very much in agreement with them".³ However this may be, he was more a defender of their rights to belief than an adherent of their principles: we find personal repentance and profession of faith at the heart of *Paradise Lost*, but not leading to baptism into church fellowship as an essential of religion. His doctrine of regeneration is less formal but more demand-

¹ *The Times Literary Supplement*, October 31, 1968, p. 1224.

² William Riley Parker, *Milton, a Biography* (Oxford, 1968), I, 496.

³ C. E. Whiting, *Studies in English Puritanism* (London, 1931), p. 87.

ing than that, depending for its cogency on Adam's inner transformation through knowledge and illumination.

Quakerism suggests more strongly the religious assumptions, indeed the very principle of poetic activity, found in *Paradise Lost*. To some extent Baptist and Quaker spirituality intermingled, but the more mystical strain in Quakerism has a place in *Paradise Lost* that is unmistakably distinct from Baptist teaching. It is to this that Parker draws attention. Referring to the *Christian Doctrine*, Milton's central and most co-ordinated statement of his position, he finds Biblical literalism attended by a "somewhat extreme application of Protestant individualism".¹ When seeking guidance in matters of difficulty, "Scripture is ultimately to be referred to the Spirit and the unwritten word".² This was very much the practice of early Friends, and Parker comments: "at such moments [Milton] believes, with George Fox and other Quakers, in the efficacy of the 'inner light'."³ It was his way of heralding the new era of spirit acknowledged by many Puritan separatists, by Cambridge Platonists, by certain metaphysical poets and by a variety of devotional writers. In each the aspirant was to seek the truth himself, believing that beneath circumstantial differences lies an essential unity of love. Milton proclaims as strongly as did Fox, but with less literalism than Bunyan, the obligation to seek this truth using as much scriptural guidance as experience confirmed. Liberty of prophesying was necessary because the Bible's text might be corrupt and human reason is fallible, while the spiritual man is not easily deceived when he attends to the emerging truth within. Antinomian dangers do not invalidate the method. Differences of opinion are to be tolerated until God reveals by the Holy Spirit the full truth of his love to all. Here Parker comments, "Milton's faith in 'inner light' is close to the Quaker position".⁴ He quotes with approval Francis Peck who "conjectured that 'in his latter days' Milton 'was more a Quaker than anything else'."⁵ This is surprising to hear of the Christian-Humanist

¹ Parker, I, 497.

² *Ibid.*, I, 497.

³ *Ibid.*, I, 497.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 1058.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 1091. The reference is to Francis Peck, *New Memoirs* (1740), pp. 274-275.

practitioner of the high art of epic, but there is greater substance in it than Parker's remarks disclose. We may ask how close to Quakerism Milton actually came.

Undoubtedly curiosity in matters of religious reform took Milton among the multitudes attending Francis Howgill's and Edward Burrough's 'threshing meetings' at the Bull and Mouth in Aldersgate. But it is less likely that he frequented the retired meetings kept by those who fully accepted the message of Quakerism. His vital contacts were with individual Quakers whom he knew and respected, certainly with Thomas Ellwood and his circle, both in London and in Buckinghamshire. Milton's educated fastidiousness prevented him joining a movement fed by popular enthusiasm, even if he could agree with all its tenets. He never publicly endorsed Quakerism so far as we know. In this he is like the Cambridge Platonist Henry More whose converse with Quaker leaders sprang from genuine spiritual attraction to their message but was tempered by intellectual doubts. More could respect the Cambridge educated quietist Isaac Penington but not the powerfully inspired prophet George Fox. There is no record of Milton's opinion of Fox, Nayler and other leaders, or even of such startling conversions to Quakerism as that of the Leveller John Lilburne in 1656, the year before his death. As a leading Cromwellian independent observer resident in London throughout the Commonwealth, Milton had ample opportunity to form an impression of many Quaker personalities. If at first they were peripheral to his main concern in the campaign for full reformation of religion and affairs of state, at least their growing numbers and influence would have been in evidence. As hopes of a true theocratic state slipped away, the new community of worship, separated from the corrupt world, would be looked at seriously. How could the veteran reformer resist the thrust of such prophetic religion as the first Quakers brought to London? We may argue that their teachings gave force to the religious inwardness actuating his greatest poetry. Illuminist religion entered his poetry to salvage the stricken spirit of man and renew Puritan fervour for apostolic Christianity. With the Restoration Milton's disappointed hopes in outward reformation were replaced by a doctrine of the inner light that makes for righteousness, long nurtured and first hinted at in his early writings and

made explicit in the poem *Samson Agonistes*, which Parker assigns to the period 1645-1648. This doctrine is more persuasively developed in a Christian context with Adam's consolation and redemption in *Paradise Lost*, the work begun in earnest about 1658 but not published until 1667. When Ellwood saw the manuscript in 1665, reading through "with the best attention", he would have taken satisfaction in its culmination when Michael informs Adam that there is a "paradise within thee, happier far" (XII, 587) replacing Eden lost by transgressing God's warning not to reach too high for knowledge.

The Cromwellian reformation had indeed reached too high, with many in the army, sects and parliament plucking forbidden fruit. A temperate enlightenment leading to quiet incorruptibility was needed to make good the lost promise of peace. In *Paradise Regained* Christ triumphs over Satan's wiles because illuminated within, as persecuted Quakers were triumphing in His way despite temptations to pride. Quakerism of the 1660s put before Milton a living model of inspired steadfastness in resisting official opposition, the Devil's party reinstated and suppressing God's chosen people. The ground was held without resort to Antinomian excess or bitterness. Satan's envy might thus be aroused by Quaker willingness to suffer without retaliation; here at last was a type of the religious hero integral with the national experience of revolution and reform. Milton, the discouraged pamphleteer, now vulnerable because blind and in danger of reprisal for his anti-monarchist and anti-prelatist views, could strongly identify with these heroic outcasts, though it would have been unwise to uphold them in any public statement. He in fact went into hiding, and Parker queries whether his protector was a Quaker, the "friend" who had a "concern" for his safety.¹ Quakers were not given to hiding themselves, but it is quite possible that Milton was on sufficiently good terms with some of them to be given this prudent care before the days of intimate association with Ellwood.

II

Thomas Ellwood's name is foremost in all discussions of Milton's contact with Friends, though he is unlikely to have

¹ *Ibid.*, II, 1083.

released in him the profound awareness of inner light found in *Paradise Lost*. The most literate of early Quaker autobiographers and something of a poet, Ellwood nevertheless lacked the spiritual sensitivity and fire so remarkably present in Quaker leaders of the first rank. As a loyal apostle, he was more effective in consolidating records of Quakerism than in advancing the movement itself. We should therefore not press the friendship with Milton as the poet's main access to mystical Quaker teaching as it is reflected in *Paradise Lost*. On the other hand, it is wrong to adopt the condescending attitude toward Ellwood found throughout Parker's work. Allowing that Ellwood's autobiography (1714) is a unique source of information for a full six years of Milton's mature life, Parker nevertheless slights its writer. He is unwilling to recognize the vivid realism of Ellwood's narrative in a period when full attention to human interaction in its physical setting was rare in the art. Ellwood is commended only to the extent that, were it not for *The History of the Life of Thomas Ellwood* "we would probably be forever ignorant of his residence at Chalfont St. Giles, and of the fact that *Paradise Lost* was criticized by a callow versifier in 1665".¹ "Callow versifier" unfortunately sets the tone of all Parker's comments on the association with Milton that began in March or April of 1662 and continued in various ways for several years. By citing their main activity in 1662-3 as afternoon tutoring in Latin, Parker implies that Milton gave more than he received, that Ellwood was merely a student and convenience to the sightless poet. Yet it is clear that Milton was fond of the young Quaker and stood ready to welcome him back after what some might regard as degrading imprisonment in Bridewell. Ellwood's crime had been that of worshipping according to conscience, and this Milton could only admire. In fact Ellwood was engaging in a later phase of the very religious reform that Milton had so energetically championed back in civil war days. Parker says little of how Ellwood must have sustained the disappointed Christian patriot through the tedious period when

¹ *Ibid.*, II, 1100. As J. Max Patrick points out in "The Influence of Thomas Ellwood Upon Milton's Epics" with few exceptions scholars from Milton's biographer David Masson to James Holly Hanford "have treated Ellwood with harsh, patronizing generosity". (*Essays in History and Literature Presented by Fellows of the Newberry Library to Stanley Pargellis*, ed. Heinz Bluhm, Chicago, 1965, p. 119.)

of necessity he lived apart. Thus isolated from public affairs, was there not a sympathetic and protective fellowship between them? Did not Ellwood benefit from Milton's interpretation of London's continuing religious turmoil and find understanding in his own struggle for religious self-determination? At times Milton may have been more supporting than Isaac Penington, whose persecutors kept him for long periods in prison. Like Penington, he would have been adept in situations where misunderstandings with fathers had arisen, as was Ellwood's case. That the ideal forms of fatherhood and sonship were in his mind is evident from *Paradise Lost*, an amity Milton had not enjoyed himself. The question of Ellwood's poetic talent is therefore secondary to that of companionship in adversity and the welcome similarity of outlook in matters of religious liberty. In discussions of how Truth suffered anew in an era of repression, it is likely that there came an affinity and respect of unusual quality. It is further likely that in 1665 Ellwood was more than simply instrumental in Milton's taking refuge from the London plague. That Milton's cottage at Chalfont St. Giles lay only a mile distant from the Penington's house, a Quaker gathering place, suggests freedom of religious converse that brought Milton still closer to Friends. The poet had many acquaintances in later life but with which of them is there any record of a relationship so fundamental and mutually satisfying as that with Ellwood appears to have been? Milton showed the manuscript of *Paradise Lost* to the Quaker because he recognized his literary judgment and alertness to the deepest spiritual issues. It is remarkable that someone who had been so attacked for his dissident opinions could trust completely in a declared member of that persecuted sect.

Nevertheless Ellwood's critical comment on first reading *Paradise Lost* has generated adverse opinion that radiates on the entire friendship. In our time of professional literary criticism, the words "Thou hast said much here of Paradise lost, but what hast thou to say of Paradise found?" are easily twisted to appear naive and insensitive.¹ Other remarks on Ellwood's literary standing have not helped us to accept this comment for the insight it gives. His "slow-moving pedestrian style" in *The Sacred History* and the

¹ Thomas Ellwood, *History* (London, 1906). p. 199.

suspicion of being no stylist aroused by the 1712 introduction to *Davideis*, which declared willingness to "walk in the middle way; where the safest walking is, and where I shall be sure to find virtue . . ."¹ are held against him. Ellwood's seeming timidity is easily contrasted with Milton's vow that his epic "with no middle flight intends to soar/ . . . while it persues/Things unattempted yet in Prose or Rime" (I, 14-16). But in the mid-seventeenth century, with practical religion foremost, Ellwood's criticism was not naive, nor was his own literary emphasis cause for censure. Milton could respect someone mainly concerned with the guidance of souls, and he took Ellwood seriously, stating that *Paradise Regained* had been written "owing to you: for you put it into my Head".² No other poem of his sets so positive a spiritual example. The epic of Christ withstanding Satan's temptation proves that the just man, inwardly guided by the Holy Spirit, can maintain the paradise within despite every open or subtle attack upon him. Ellwood asked *Paradise Lost* simply for the practical application of regenerate faith, as

¹ L. M. Wright, *The Literary Life of the Early Friends* (New York, 1932), pp. 115, 141.

² Ellwood, *History*, p. 200. In "The Influence of Thomas Ellwood Upon Milton's Epics", J. Max Patrick rightly argues a cordial, mutually worthwhile relationship between Milton and Ellwood in which the younger man's critical opinions are seen as "serious, sincere, and literally accurate". (123) As a didactic writer Ellwood was sure of his position and did not adulate Milton. "To the Reader" prefacing *Davideis* indicates that he might have regarded Milton's epic as too embellished and fanciful to help the ordinary reader grasp the essentials of Christian redemption. Knowing the uneducated as he did, a greater simplicity was wanted. Turning to *Paradise Regained*, Patrick observes that, however it was composed, the title "would emphasize a belief that the spiritual and mental victory of Jesus over His tempting adversary was the all-important seed which bore the ultimate fruit of the Crucifixion and the Redemption, and that this spiritual triumph was therefore, in a sense, more significant than the physical event on the Cross". (131) This suggests a practical immediacy that could be approved by Ellwood, who was going through the most intense religious testing of his life.

In "Milton and Thomas Ellwood", Elizabeth T. McLaughlin argues further that Ellwood "understood and highly valued Milton's work" (*Milton Newsletter*, Vol. I, No. 2, 1967, 17). As evidence of regard and trust she cites Ellwood's epitaph "Upon the excellently-learned John Milton" and Milton turning over to Ellwood for safekeeping Cromwell's letters of state and other matters of management. This article is answered by J. Max Patrick in "Milton and Thomas Ellwood—a Reconsideration" (*Milton Newsletter*, Vol. II, No. 1, 1968), where he doubts the story of Milton's turning over Cromwell's papers to Ellwood and points out some misconceptions about his article. Elizabeth McLaughlin responds in a further note.

any serious follower of Fox's mysticism-in-the-world would feel obliged to do. He singled out Milton's solution to the dilemma of holding to a just and loving God amidst the disillusion of a collapsed commonwealth, and he asked for poetic evidence that the inner paradise found is real, substantial, and lasting. Lacking the context of earnest religious discussion we do not know what else Ellwood said or how Milton replied, but it is certain that they considered at length how the inner light is the hope of renewed life, not merely a phantasm as apt to heat the brains of fanatics as return serious seekers to essential Christianity.

Further, Ellwood's question is perfectly acceptable in view of the misgivings Milton deliberately or inadvertently wrote into Books XI and XII, closing *Paradise Lost*. These renderings of Biblical history clearly show the disillusionment, even pessimism, felt when Cromwell's holy experiment was finally cancelled at the Restoration. For Milton, man's reasoned ability to follow the will of God toward the regeneration of society was put in doubt. Indeed the mystical turn of this poem indicates a crisis of reason in theocentric society. Now the best that could be hoped was that the living seed in individuals might find nurture in the pure baptism of spirit. This is the "Protestant individualism" about which Parker speaks.¹ Specifically, it is the well-known teaching of George Fox that people's hearts had to be stirred "before the Seed of God was raised out of the earth".² The Seed of God, the Christ within manifesting himself by slow, painful stages in history, is the theme of Milton's closing books. But the Quaker reader must have wondered whether the shaking and overturning in human affairs Michael requires Adam to behold are not almost greater than the nourished seed could overcome. "Supernal Grace contending/With sinfulness of Men" (XI, 359-60), seems a doubtful contest as Adam is overwhelmed by visions of disease, despair and death in their worst forms, of wantonness, corruption and organized violence, against which a lonely minority of "just men", the rare types of Christ, stand firm in the sight of God. Remaining steadfast as Noah did is Milton's last hope in a degenerate age:

So all shall turn degenerat, all deprav'd,
Justice and Temperance, Truth and Faith forgot;

¹ Parker, I, 497.

² George Fox, *Journal* (Cambridge, 1952), p. 22.

One Man except, the onely Son of light
 In a dark Age, against example good,
 Against allurement, custom, and a World
 Offended: fearless of reproach and scorn,
 Or violence, hee of their wicked wayes
 Shall them admonish, and before them set
 The paths of righteousness, how much more safe,
 And full of peace, denouncing wrauth to come
 On thir impenitence; and shall returne
 Of them derided, but of God observd
 The one just Man alive . . .

(XI, 806-18)

With such depressing visions past, Adam in the closing lines of Book XI joyfully perceives the new covenant upon Noah's miraculous preservation: the precious seed is carried forward and light shines out from the rainbow's "colourd streaks in Heaven" (XI, 879), "His triple-coloured Bow, whereon to look/And call to mind his Cov'nant" (XI, 897-8). But in Book XII, portraying the Seed's pilgrimage from the flood to the birth of Christ, deterrents to righteousness and true faith are again daunting. Adam receives the full impact of what his and Eve's disobedience will mean in man's historical struggle to restore right relationships through freely choosing to do the will of God. He is told of rebellion, of mass confusion, tyranny and idolatry, of the Jews' weary wanderings as generation by generation the Seed moves toward its destined fruition. The ordeal of Abraham's race is indeed painful reading as we pass "From shadowie Types to Truth, from Flesh to Spirit" (XII, 303), from restrictive law to grace and from constricting fear to freedom in Jesus. Milton's historical circumstances allowed him to feel the rigours of these centuries of spiritual combat, of hopes dashed and revived, with the Seed always guiding onward, though its human carriers falter. Ever-present Satan tempts the unwary to deviate, but Christ sacrifices himself to restore the reign of spirit "fresh as the dawning light" (XII, 423), remaining spiritually present until the last judgment. Milton describes the instructed Adam as "Replete with joy and wonder" (XII, 469) upon hearing of the atonement and just completion of history; further he is promised that "over wrauth Grace shall abound" (XII, 478), that the spirit will dwell among men in love, that strength will be found to resist Satan's attacks and that the afflicted may

expect sustaining inward consolations. But the words came hard; Milton knew the human recalcitrance against which spirit must work. Yet in writing hopefully of inward experience, he might well have had in mind Friends' unique ability to endure sufferings in witness to the Truth for few others stood the test, Nonconformist clergy notwithstanding. Here were just men living in depraved society, "oft supported so as shall amaze/Thir proudest persecuters" (XII, 496-7). The example was of inestimable value for the poet.

Having written these admiring lines, he was again reminded of all that was worst in the religious contentions then raging: there is a long passage on the decadence of religion—"grievous wolves" displacing true teachers to kill the spirit with secular power "themselves appropriating/the Spirit of God, promis'd alike and giv'n/To all Beleevers . . ." (XII, 518-20). Conscience was outraged, the spirit within forced into false conformity to requirements of the state church and true liberty of prophesying lost. It was cause for sorrow that Christians suffered this declension, but none rose above it more triumphantly than Friends in London whom Milton might have taken as a model of right guidance when he wrote:

for on Earth
 Who against Faith and Conscience can be heard
 Infallible? yet many will presume:
 Whence heavie persecution shall arise
 On all who in the worship persevere
 Of Spirit and Truth; the rest, farr greater part,
 Will deem in outward Rites and specious formes
 Religion satisfi'd; Truth shall retire
 Bestuck with slandrous darts, and works of Faith
 Rarely be found: so shall the World goe on,
 To good malignant, to bad men benigne,
 Under her own waight groaning, till the day
 Appeer of respiration to the just,
 And vengeance to the wicked, at return
 Of him so lately promis'd to thy aid
 The Womans seed . . .

(XII, 528-43)

Those who worshipped according to "Spirit and Truth" indeed suffered cruel harassment, but Truth did not altogether retire and, if anything, works of faith flourished as never before. Had Milton pictured his age too pessimistically

when in fact Christ "was come to teach people himself by his power and spirit to bring them off all the world's ways and teachers to his own free teaching . . . ?"¹ As Ellwood testified, a special people had gathered to worship as Friends in a commonwealth of the spirit. Younger and fresher than Milton, he could show that if the promised land had not been entered by all England's scattered Christians, at least a persisting few had learned with revived Adam that:

to obey is best,
 And love with feare the onely God, to walk
 As in his presence, ever to observe
 His providence, and on him sole depend,
 Merciful over all his works, with good
 Still overcoming evil, and by small
 Accomplishing great things, by things deemd weak
 Subverting worldly strong, and worldly wise
 By simply meek; that suffering for Truths sake
 Is fortitude to highest victorie,
 And to the faithful Death the Gate of Life.
(XII, 561-571)

No one knew better than Milton the sweetness of hopes near to realization, but the relative youth of most Friends would make it difficult for them to fully understand his despair when those hopes seemed lost. Hence the note of resignation uncharacteristic of them.

In their dispensation as the new Jews spiritual, Friends could bear hardships without complaint and live from inward power rather than by theocratic compulsion. Milton realized something of the kind as the best solution to the religious problems in the Puritan fold. This he clearly shows in portraying the chastened and instructed Adam; but there lingers a sense of how hard the Puritan way had been, a heavy sense of acrimony and near defeat complicating the message of *Paradise Lost*. Beginning negatively, it is as if he saw human behaviour as almost incapable of bearing out the religious promise he knew to be true but which he had found only through successive retrenchments. Having a deep knowledge of political defeat and spoliation, he needed all his spiritual resources to write as positively as he did. Ellwood, also a student of scripture, might well have wished the poetic rendering of Christian history to be more emphatic

¹ George Fox, *Journal* (Cambridge, 1952), p. 104.

about the regenerate man's entering a new life to which he was adequate. This we do not actually see in *Paradise Lost* where all is promise and potential in the seed, with Adam and Eve still too fresh in their repentance to prove its worth by their deeds. But the renewed Adam is figuratively Christ, the supreme just man whose inner strength withstands all testing, an existential proof that Ellwood had good reason to request a review of the inner experience of that redeeming man. In this way *Paradise Regained* is a fitting sequel to *Paradise Lost* whose unfinished business a Quaker would be quick to detect. Adam had his moments of rapt elevation, of mystical joy, but as Quaker leaders well knew, such evidence of grace might prove deceptive had it not stood the test of time and adverse encounter. Milton surely looked to the example of Christ's spirituality when writing of Michael's

onely add
Deeds to thy knowledge answerable, add Faith,
Add Vertue, Patience, Temperance, add Love,
By name to come call'd Charitie, the soul
Of all the rest . . .

(XII, 581-5)

This can be read as Quaker realism, the measure of living situations through which men and women must pass strengthened to meet future temptations. These words were intended to uphold such as Ellwood; but because of a felt urgency for them, the promise of *Paradise Lost* was not enough by itself. Something more definite had to be known as reassurance of a stable position to be reached when weak human nature had at last been transformed in the seed. What more convincing model of loving steadfastness could there be than Christ himself in whom all was restored? Why not offer his inner life as the dramatic paradigm of that spirituality so ardently sought by those who knew that religion must stand up in the world? Seen this way, Ellwood's question about paradise found takes on immediate practicality: Christ the perfected man among men is the one compelling presence in the confusions of Restoration Christianity. Modern literary criticism allows too little for the life-centredness of this poetic teaching. In answer to need, Milton and Ellwood went about the basic work of remodelling a religion and morality that the most critical might accept.

They laboured to make Christianity again fully relevant to the changed human situation, and no better way to renew conviction than by the moving effect of poetry. Milton's epics survey the possibilities for a godly inner peace that accorded with the facts of society in the post-rebellion era. How to unite men under Christ was the central problem; it might be that only a remnant would be capable of the arduous inner work, and that those heeding the message of revival would be few. The first Friends were not so pessimistic about numbers, though they quickly settled into the habits of a sect. Milton looked not at all for adherents but for imaginative enlightenment. No poet was better placed to perform a complex work of spiritual analysis, practical and imaginative interpretation, but he could not do it alone. Who if not Ellwood brought Milton to admit that something important had been left unsaid in *Paradise Lost* and that he could remedy the defect?

Whatever the comparative literary merit of *Paradise Regained*, it is the necessary sequel to *Paradise Lost* showing the possibility of Christian perseverance in an evil world. Brave opening lines carry a resonance to which any literate Quaker would have at once responded:

I who ere while the happy Garden sung,
By one mans disobedience lost, now sing
Recoverd Paradise to all mankind,
By one mans firm obedience fully tri'd
Through all temptation, and the Tempter foild
In all his wiles, defeated and repulst,
And Eden rais'd in the wast Wilderness.

(I, 1-7)

"Recovered Paradise to all mankind" was the Quaker promise as adapted in Milton's language, renewed inner persons entering a holy experiment to overcome darkness. The First Publishers of Truth meant what they said about raising the witness of God in the midst of a scattered nation: "Mind the light and dwell in it and it will keep you a-top of all the world" advised Fox in Epistle 203 (1661). Only a distinctive people determined to live with the essentials of faith could have any effect in a situation so confused and divided. "All men's and women's strength is in the Power of God which goes over the Power of Darkness" Fox wrote in Epistle 208 (1661). How many references there are in

Paradise Lost to the renewing power of light: the poem abounds in them from the general invocation (I, 22-3), to the moving invocation to Book III ("Hail holy Light, offspring of Heav'n first-born"), the cave of light and darkness opening Book VI, to the creation of natural light in Book VII (243f) and the gradual emergence from moral darkness by Adam and Eve's illumination after the fall (XI, 328f), together with many lesser instances. Indeed this recurrent imagery, often more concentrated than its Biblical sources, is basic to the poem; light overcoming darkness no less than carries Milton's fundamental message of renewal throughout.¹ The literary embodiment may have seemed obscure to some, but there was in fact little gap between Milton's invocation of light and language inspiring deep moments in Friends' meetings for worship, the fullest practical outcome of this line of development the seventeenth century has to show.

III

The writings of Isaac Penington, Milton's other known Quaker contact, are a possible source for his mystical doctrine of the inner light. Parker does not consider that Milton was on intimate terms with the Quaker quietist, saying only that in arranging for Ellwood to be tutored the blind scholar "mentioned his regard for Isaac Penington".² Surely Milton was acquainted with Penington's numerous tracts which began appearing in 1649 and continued in the service of Quakerism after his conversion in 1658. If not before, then in 1665, when Milton was resident at Chalfont St. Giles, he must have got on terms with the persecuted saint whose family residence, the Grange, was within easy distance. Social contacts in Buckinghamshire in that period would have been limited for someone of Milton's stamp. We may suppose that he sought serious company in the Penington circle and that his converse was valued. The malicious

¹ Patristic and Platonic origins of light imagery are studied by W. B. Hunter in "The Meaning of 'Holy Light' in *Paradise Lost* III" (*Modern Language Notes*, LXXIV, 1959, 589-92). A broader spectrum of sources, including the mystical, appears in D. C. Allen's "Milton and the Descent to Light" (*Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, LX, 1961, pp. 614-30), but light and darkness imagery in Puritan writings is yet to receive the attention it deserves.

² Parker, I, 580, II, 1092.

ejection of the Peningtons from their house in that year would have been no more surprising to him than Ellwood's imprisonment had been. Milton would have followed the fortunes of Buckinghamshire dissenting families from his time of residence at Horton (1635-38); among these no individual had become more prominent than the anti-monarchist Lord Mayor of London, Isaac Penington, who was instrumental in Milton's appointment as Latin Secretary to Cromwell's government. His Puritan son, the "long mournful and sorely distressed" Isaac Penington, laboured inwardly with questions of true reformation more subtle than the political activists of his father's generation had been able to understand. As early as 1650 he was writing in terms anticipating Quakerism; true spiritual discernment, he says, "may be a ground of silence and waiting for the light".¹ Penington's spiritual odyssey, set out in "A Brief Account of my Soul's Travel towards the Holy Land" (1668), is nothing less than a confession of paradise lost and regained. He had followed the promise of salvation through Calvinist fears of reprobation into antinomian excessive elevation of spirit; he had entered an Independent congregation (possibly learning of Milton through its minister John Goodwin) only to be broken and thwarted in all his religious hopes. The painful rebuilding brought him to the "pure seed", as Quakers expressed it. His extraordinary story was told as it unfolded, for Penington was one of those who find themselves to be enacting an allegory of religion in the age, living with special intensity what others pass through later and with less distress. Typically dwelling on the test of authenticity in religious experience and how right guidance might be attained, his life was an ongoing commentary on the varieties of Puritanism. By defining true religion as "inwardly felt and experienced in the life and power of it", he offered his pilgrimage as an example of the heights and depths through which the aspiring Christian might expect to pass.² Indeed the pilgrimage metaphor is as natural to Penington as it is to Bunyan, whose *Pilgrim's Progress* so brilliantly recalls the shared Puritan quest. More difficult and subtle for Penington, it carries him through a spiritual landscape with

¹ Isaac Penington, *A Voyce out of the thick Darkness* (London, 1650), p. 31.

² Isaac Penington, *Works* (Sherwoods, N.Y., 1863), IV, 502.

few easy landmarks: "there is nothing whereof Sion is built, but the likeness of it is in Babylon" ¹ The quest lasts through a lifetime of motions in the spirit, some giving true direction, some deceiving and weakening resolve. Whichever way, they must be interpreted to serve the divinely appointed end lying beyond: only the most acute spiritual sensibility is adequate to the task. Penington's readers must have admired the development of this acuteness in him. With truth progressive and emergent, there could be no easy resting place in this life; as Milton foresaw for Adam, experience always held challenges to be met in the strength of known truths. Not instruction alone, but inward experience of what former Christians called grace was the trustworthy guide. If Puritan introspection sometimes opened pathological dangers, at its most balanced, new strengths arose with heightened sensitivity to the life within. Thus unpromising beginnings might lead to exemplary integration of the person, and such lives were watched with hopeful attention throughout the period. The "poor, needy, depending soul" grew in strength so long as free interpretation of the Gospel was maintained. ² This is Penington's meaning of inner light, which may be imperilled by trying to fix it in a form of words. "And when I catch at any thing, or would be any thing, I lose the spring . . ." expresses the delicate adjustment of spirit to written word he sought and which Milton fully exemplifies in the illuminated passages of *Paradise Lost*. ³ Though not of so passive a temperament, Milton adjusted language and attitude toward the mystical openness Penington considered true wisdom. He did so when outward striving had reached its limit and the weight of history seemed crushingly heavy. The appeal to transcendent power working in the sensitive man is unmistakable; while Milton adheres more closely than Penington to scripture in his epic of regeneration, we cannot doubt that he had in mind living examples of the chastened and wise for his rendering of Adam and Christ. No doubt his own experience contributed, as several allusions to it indicate, but attention to those with whom God had wonderfully dealt is equally to the point. So various as they are, who could name them

¹ *Ibid.*, I, 338.

² *Ibid.*, II, 228.

³ *Ibid.*, II, 287.

all—Francis Rous, Henry Vane, Cromwell himself, Puritan preachers, New Model Army chaplains, religious poets, Quakers and other sectarians? Of each of these Milton had opinions, now mostly lost to us. It would be misleading to single out Penington as the supreme example of the “one just man” in an age of upheaval in church and state: he was not central enough to this action to be thought so. But his religious experience, was anything but peripheral, and that it reinforced the succession of spiritual passages Milton adapted from the Bible is possible. If the Biblical message of promise is carried ever forward by human agents, these embodiments must always be identified and considered as an elect. Milton’s epics accept a new spiritual meaning for the elect, and who if not Penington gave over his entire being to its emergence?

Without new historical evidence the exact relationship between Milton, Penington and the other Quakers in his orbit remains indistinct. The most we can say is that the doctrine of the holy spirit bound together several sorts of Puritan, and that Milton’s later work is most certainly associated with Penington’s in this way. There is a convergence of thought, though Milton could not follow the mystic in all particulars: he was no suffering pacifist, but the assumption that God leads those who inwardly learn his will by the spirit is identical. Milton felt elected to perform a great poetic work to edify the English nation; Penington had similarly written to his people lamenting with them and exhorting to repentance and reformation—“O England! wilt thou not be made clean? When shall it once be? Murmur not against the rods wherewith the Lord seeth good to chastise thee; but mourn over thy wickedness . . .”.¹ This he believed was to aid the “building of his New Jerusalem, which, when he hath finished and brought forth, will dazzle the eyes of the whole earth”.² But by 1659, when this was written, Penington had turned attention to the Quaker new Jerusalem, removed from politics and full-scale religious reconstruction. His commentary on the meaning and effect of revolution was thus completed; now a special godly people must gather, emptied of pride and purified to form a new worshipping community. As we have

¹ *Ibid.*, I, 352.

² *Ibid.*, I, 357.

said, its fortunes must have been of great interest to Milton, similarly withdrawn from the scene of revolutionary action. Successful Quakerism showed him that his Puritan-Humanist view of high calling could still be salvaged. By examining the inner man an explanation of his troubled quest might be found, in pride might appear the reasons for all his waywardness. *Paradise Lost* reconstructs mind and spirit as sufficient to stand though free to fall, but having fallen salvagable by instruction and inspiration that brings man to a higher spiritual awareness. Such awareness as Adam attains is "the summe/Of wisdom" (XII, 575-6), the product of grace activating his latent spiritual capacity. So it was with many who had come to rest in Quakerism after repeated disillusionments among churches and sects, Penington held that while the evils of schism and idolatry won dominion over the "pure, single, naked beginning" of true religion in his time, yet

the Lord hath visited this poor, desolate seed, and
hath been gathering it from all quarters; from amidst
all empty forms on the one hand, and all vain, high
notions on the other hand; and he will preserve it,
overturning all his new enemies, as well as his old.

To this he adds, "No way, or particular act of worship, under the New Testament, is acceptable to God, without his spirit", the spirit communicating actively to relieve feelings of separation.¹ In silent waiting Friends had found a means to corporate renewal: "The true wisdom, the true light, the true knowledge of Christ, is like the manna in the wilderness; it daily comes down from heaven, and must daily be gathered fresh."² The seed's new springing is therefore by the spirit nourishing it with free abundance of light, a metaphor we have already found to be fundamental in *Paradise Lost* disclosing Milton's view of worship. The metaphor is continued by Penington who speaks of the new garden, the paradise within, in which God raises up "the plants of his own right hand, whom he watereth with the dews of heaven, and with the showers of his everlasting mercy and loving-kindness"³ Penington's saved people

¹ *Ibid.*, I, 231.

² *Ibid.*, I, 496.

³ *Ibid.*, I, 247.

in a broken nation are very like Adam in their humble submissiveness; they wait to be taught, no longer struggling to justify acts of the self or to gain advantage over rivals. "And our religion consists neither in willing nor running, but in waiting on the Spirit" ¹ "And the unity being thus kept, all will come into one outwardly also at length, as the light grows in every one, and as every one grows into the light" ² There is no more basic adaptation to the seventeenth century crisis of faith than this, and we should not wonder that it appears in Milton's finest poem as well as in the mature teachings of Penington. But each realized the difficulty and extreme demands of what was being said; clearly only a prepared few would be able to follow the complexities of epic, as well as the sacramental way of life implied in the poem and made actual in the best of Quakerism. Milton's garden within was now the transmuted natural paradise of *Paradise Lost*, Book IV, infused by the grace of Christ and the Holy Spirit within Adam. For Penington the garden was that of the gathered meeting at his house in rural Buckinghamshire, a setting always liable to the breaking of unity by hostile incursions, as Ellwood describes them. But like Milton's Adam, Penington had reached a stage in which the restoring pattern of devotion quickly overcame hostile disruptions. This is evident from the sureness and resonance of his writings, even in the period of severest persecution. We might think of him answering his own ideal description of a Quaker in whom the flesh has been "brought down, the seed of life raised, and the soul subject to the pure, heavenly power, whose right it is to reign in the heart" ³ The persecution of worship could not change this any more than Milton was persuaded by his detractors that he had lost the gift of prophetic utterance.

In blindness he had opened the inner eye, giving a view of God's continuing revelation which alone was saving: "the issuings-forth of his fresh life", as Penington called it. ⁴ This is the epics' operative principle clearly stated in invocations and consistently followed throughout: the holy spirit

¹ *Ibid.*, I, 278.

² *Ibid.*, I, 469.

³ *Ibid.*, III, 225.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 497.

as the principal agent in writing poetry is the classical afflatus Puritanized. To open *Paradise Lost* Milton writes:

And chiefly Thou O Spirit, that dost preferr
Before all Temples th' upright heart and pure,
Instruct me . . .

(I, 17-19)

And again in *Paradise Regained*:

Thou Spirit who ledst this glorious Eremite
Into the desert, his Victorious Field
Against the Spiritual Foe, and broughtst him thence
By proof th' undoubted Son of God, inspire,
As thou art wont, my prompted Song else mute

(I, 8-12)

That he should have been more cautious than Penington in giving the Holy Spirit pre-eminence in his thinking detracts little from its place in his greatest poems. Parker quotes passages from the *Christian Doctrine* showing the Son's primacy in the scheme of salvation, as indeed appears in the epic action of both poems. Milton was careful to specify that, where scripture is silent about the Holy Spirit's origin, caution is necessary.

Discovering no warrant to consider this mysterious Being as equal to and identical with God, Milton concluded that it "was created or produced of the substance of God, not by a natural necessity, but by the free will of the Agent, probably before the foundations of the world were laid, but later than the Son, and far inferior to Him".¹

The Holy Spirit is therefore an agent of both Father and Son aiding men "in the comprehension of spiritual things, interpreting the Gospel, guiding in prayer, and directing the exercise of Christian liberty".² Detailed comparisons of Milton's formal thinking with Penington's, which also contains a developed Christology, would reveal the poet's closer adherence to Scripture. Penington was more freely prophetic, in keeping with the left wing Puritanism which he wrote to uphold and to temper. When Milton wrote, it was to display the Holy Spirit in intricately ordered poetic imagery beyond what was necessary for Quaker prophets.

¹ *Parker*, I, 485.

² *Ibid.*, I, 485.

Interpenetrations of light and darkness, the seed, the fountain breaking open and other associated images give *Paradise Lost* a richness of verbal texture incomparable in the age. Between this epic and such records as we have of the rise of Quakerism there is the difference between artistic permanence and first attempts to find words for remarkable occurrences. It is a curious possibility that the best insights of Quakerism are enshrined in the mystical passages of Milton's epics. It may be that the medium of poetry released him from reluctances felt about the contentious claims made by sects and churches. Being non-partisan enabled him to appropriate their best and raise it up by the power of poetry. Poetry had always been his calling, and its freedom invited the fullest imaginative realization of truths coming to fruition in the lives of those he knew to be the regenerate. We do not go too far in concluding that this had been his own experience; when he writes simply that "God is Light" (III, 3), praying to "Celestial Light" to "Shine inward" (III, 52-3) in aid of his art, he affirms Quaker insight by its poetic enactment. This is as deeply felt as anything in Penington's tracts, and it is more enduring. The sense of search and discovery by "experiment" is consonant with the typical Quaker way. For poet and Quaker, inner experience was the final authority when radical doubt prevailed in religious affairs. Both writers saw the necessity of returning to the very origins of belief in authentic contact with its source, and to this necessity verbal elaboration is a secondary contributor. Milton was a craftsman of genius, Penington a gifted stylist. The first consideration was to be enlivened, as Adam had been inwardly awakened in recovering lost contact with God. Penington had suffered a fall into religious melancholy ("a most dreadful and terrible hell for many years");¹ induced by women, Nayler had fallen to pride and been regenerated in the spirit; even Fox had episodes of dry desolation. Is not Milton's Adam who struggles back into life the best seventeenth-century paradigm of this shared experience?

When he devised the smitten but illuminated Adam, Milton wrote from a mind stored with reading as wide as any in his age. Among the illuminated he had ranged from Plotinus to Jacob Boehme downward to the latest Ranter

¹ Isaac Penington, *Works*, I, 478.

effusion, passing appropriate qualification on them all. Yet the presence of Penington close to Milton's immediate circle must have counted strongly, though we cannot now say precisely how. Parker's biography holds to the known facts; we have speculated beyond them. Mystic and poet each grew to full adequacy in finding a way to reunify the scattered psyche without denying past hardship and disappointment. Each honestly struggled to comprehend the whole of experience when proposing solutions to doubt and fear. That Penington's and Milton's teachings converge so closely is to say that they penetrated to the fundamentals of illuminated spirituality. We can do no more than suggest that this was no accident, that the poet took strength from Penington's writings and that both drew upon a life-giving spirituality abroad in the age. If in any measure this was so, then Quakerism can be said to have contributed, more than by Ellwood's suggestion, to two of the greatest poems in world literature. If not, then poet and mystic each show the reliability of searching by all available means for what is lastingly true.

ANDREW W. BRINK

The Circulating Yearly Meeting for the Northern Counties, 1699 to 1798

REFERENCES to the provincial Yearly Meetings appear in the journals of a number of travelling Ministers as well as in the minutes of eighteenth-century quarterly meetings and of Meeting for Sufferings. Their period neatly spanned that century and in one form or another, although they differed in purpose and in practice, they covered a good deal of the country. In no sense were they alternatives to the London, or National, Yearly Meeting, but were gathered to meet another need entirely.

A list of the places of meeting of the Circulating Yearly Meeting for the Northern Counties has been prepared from the minute books of Westmorland Quarterly Meeting, which each year recorded a report from its representatives or a formal epistle from the Meeting. The following notes are based on quotations from these minutes and from a variety of other contemporary sources, which serve to illustrate the purpose and course of the Meeting and to give some indication of its organization.

The Meeting comprised the Quarterly Meetings of Lancashire, Cheshire, Cumberland and Westmorland. The usual reference to counties became less exact as time went on. Thus meetings at Penrith were nominated by Westmorland Quarterly Meeting, and the junction of Cheshire and Staffordshire in 1784 allowed a meeting in the latter county in 1791. On the other hand the boundary of Northumberland was never crossed despite the union, "attended with many great Inconveniences", with Cumberland Quarterly Meeting in 1785.

The meeting was clearly initiated in Lancashire Quarterly Meeting:

"And whereas it was by our last meeting for Sufferings (in Kendal) signified to Friends of Lancashire our sense of compliance in settling a Yearly Meeting for some of the Northern Counties we do now understand that it was

there agreed that the first Yearly Meeting be kept at Lancaster the 1st 4th day of the 2nd month next."

Westmorland Quarterly Meeting 6.vii.1698.

"The Yearly Meeting agreed upon by Friends for some Northern Counties . . . was according to appointment held at Lancaster the day appointed to the great comfort and satisfaction of Friends there present and is further agreed that as the Lord shall make way to be continued to be kept on the 4th day before the Quarterly Meeting this time twelve month to begin at the 8th hour in the morning."

Westmorland Q.M. 7.ii.1699.

The form of meeting soon fell into a regular pattern and was described each year in a minute or epistle sent to each of the four Quarterly Meetings and, later, to Meeting for Sufferings.

"Kendal the 12th of 2 mo., 1733

The Yearly Meeting for these Northern Counties hath been held here Agreeable to Last Years Conclusion which hath been Large and Satisfactory, and According to course falling in Lancashire next Year, Its Agreed to be at Lancaster as follows viz^t The Meeting for Ministers and Elders the 2nd Third day of the 2nd Month at 2 in the Afternoon, the General Meeting for Worship on 4th Day to begin at 8 in the Morning and 2 in the Afternoon, the Meeting for Conference on 5th day morning after which its desired the Quarterly Meeting for Lancashire may be held and if possible break up in such time as may give opportunity for a parting Meeting in the Afternoon."

Westmorland Q.M., 1733.

Here are set out various aspects of the Meeting's function: the meeting for discipline which received sufferings and answers to its queries; the local Quarterly Meeting; the public meetings which gave opportunity for the established local and travelling ministers to reach a large public; the final parting meeting which was an occasion of power and virtue, speaking to a public well prepared by the earlier meetings to receive the messages.

For a more lively description of the Meeting we must look to private journals or to the rare optimism of this document from the Meeting itself:

“From our Northern Yearly Meeting held at Kendal
8th, 9th and 11th days 2 mo. 1729.

To the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings in Cumberland,
Westmorland, Lancashire, Cheshire and
Elsewhere

Dear Friends! This Meeting having been under a fervent Travail of Spirit for the Exaltation of Truth and Promulgation of the Gospel of Peace that Righteousness may be established and cover the Earth as the Waters do the Sea, Which We have reason to believe was the moving cause of instituting these our Annual and Solemn Assemblies and Through the Blessing of God have in Degree Arrived near the End Intended. . . ”

Kendal Meeting House strongroom, packet 102.

The queries which were adopted some years after 1699 appear to have remained little changed until 1790 when a lengthy new set was adopted, compounded of all the Quarterly Meeting Queries of the four Counties “with some necessary additions”. The former set, taken from a document of c.1750, were as follows:

- “1. Are Friends in the several Counties careful to keep up and attend all Meetings for Religious Worship and discipline of the Church?
2. Do Friends take care Regularly to deal with all Offenders, and Place Judgement duly on such as may be obstinate?
3. Is Love and Unity maintained amongst Friends and Particularly in the Management of Affairs relating to Discipline?
4. What care is taken to prevent any Friend from Launching into Trades and Business beyond their Stocks and Capacities, lest they should fall Short of Paying their just Debts etc.?
5. & when anything of that kind happens, are Friends careful speedily to censure the offenders?

6. What Openness in the Several Counties to hear the
Testimony of Truth and where?"

Kendal Meeting House strongroom, packet 102.

"On Fifth day Morning at 8 oClock began the Meeting of Conference . . . The Northern yearly Meeting Queries were read & answered verbally by Representatives, from each county constituting this Meeting, during which time very pertinent & weighty Remarks were made by Jno: Storer and other Friends, the Meeting Closed about one Clock."

Joseph King of Newcastle, in a letter of 29.iv.1777.¹

During the later years of the Meeting it became the practice of Meeting for Sufferings to supply a parcel of books for distribution. These were selected by a committee appointed by Meeting for Sufferings, and in 1793 consisted of these titles:

- 4 William Penn's No Cross No Crown
- 12 William Penn's Primitive Christianity
- 12 William Penn's Rise and Progress
- 2 Robert Barclay's Apology
- 12 Elizabeth Bathurst's Truth Vindicated
- 12 Robert Barclay's Catechism
- 30 Samuel Crisp's Letters
- 12 Stephen Crisp's Plain Path-way
- 6 Benjamin Holme's Serious Call
- 50 Summaries [of the History, Doctrines and Discipline of Friends]
- 12 Susanna Boone on Grace.

Copy of minute of Meeting for Sufferings,
22.iii.1793.

The Quarterly Meeting appointed a few representatives to attend, although most of the meetings were open to Friends of all sorts. Indeed the paper of 1729 quoted above goes on to complain at length that

"Some of both Sex come to these Meetings whose Deportment Dress and Imprudence in conduct in their Inns and Elsewhere have given just Occasion of Offence and Therby much Lessened the Service."

¹ *Journal F.H.S.*, Vol. 21 (1924), p. 62.

A similar thought is behind the unenviable task set by the host meeting:

“In order that care may be taken for the accommodation and well ordering at the ensuing Yearly Meeting four Friends are desired to direct Friends to accommodation and advise Friends to keep in good order and behave well at inns and all company.”

Penrith Monthly Meeting, 26.iv.1757.

Another side to the problem is shown by Thomas Story in his description of the meeting of 1733:

“I went to Kendal on the 9th of the Second Month, in order for the Yearly Meeting there; which was very large, consisting, for the most Part, of young People; as do our Society throughout the World at this Day . . . yet the Spirit himself is not fallen upon many of them, as a sensible and experimental Dispensation of Life and Power.”¹

Detailed arrangements for the management of the general public do not appear in the records of Northern Yearly Meeting so that in order to get an indication of their scope it is useful to quote from an account of the Yearly Meeting for Wales in 1731 at Ludlow:

“And notwithstanding the great Throng of People there was not any Disturbance or Disorder among them, for the Magistrates, to their just Commendation, had taken great Precautions by making Proclamation through the Town beforehand, and pasting the same up in Writing in the Market, or some public Place, that if any should molest the Meeting or give any Disturbance, such should be severely punished: And, beside this Encouragement, they appointed at least a Dozen Constables to attend the Gates, keep out Children and Rabble, and the Meetings peacable; some of whom were very servicable in the Meeting, in direct the People to convenient Seats, and placing them to the best Advantage for general Accommodation.”²

It is possible, however, to illustrate the care that was taken of some others' tender conscience at the Northern Yearly Meeting held in the “Great Tennis Court” at Chester:

“It was very large and open, that great spacious Place being crowded, with two Galleries also erected for that Purpose, as likewise a large upper Room, with Windows opening into the Court, where were Military Officers and some others who, though

¹ *Journal of the Life* (1747), p. 689.

² *Ibid.*, p. 670.

willing to hear and see, did not think it safe or proper to be in the Meeting, with regard to some Laws then in Force, which might have affected some of them. The Lord appeared with us, to the Glory of His own Name, and Comfort of His People, and to the general Satisfaction of most People there, for there were present of most sorts and Sects in the Nation . . . Things were well and Truth over all, to the general Satisfaction and the Glory of our great Lord, whose Honour, and the good of His People, and of Mankind in general, is what we aim at in all these Things.”¹

It was not usual for the Meeting to find such suitable accommodation available for its use. Where there was an adequate Meeting house it was used at least for the select and business meetings, sometimes (as at Kendal) for the whole occasion, but the provision of a temporary building figures largely in the annual preparations. Friends were appointed “to survey the Town and fix on the most likely piece of ground for erecting a shade . . . and to contract for the liberty thereof and erecting the same”, afterwards to have a care for its removal; later to make collections and to receive contributions towards the cost from the other Quarterly Meetings.

The consequences of the Meeting on local meeting houses was often not only drastic but urgent, as at Lancaster.

“In the spring of 1708 our meeting house not being capable to entertain the general meeting for the fower northern counties, it was resolved to pull it quite down, and build it nigh double to what it was.”²

A few years later at Kendal:

“By the account of the Representatives for each Monthly Meeting we understand that Friends are unanimous in their judgement that if we be favoured with the privelege of the Northern Yearly Meeting here again there will be a Necessity of Enlarging this Meeting House for the more suitable accommodation of the said Meeting therefore this Meeting appoints to Consult what way to enlarge it and not only so but to Accomplish the same as speedily as Possible.”

Westmorland Q.M. 4.xi.1716.

¹ *Journal of the Life of Thomas Story* (1747), p. 569.

² *Autobiography of William Stout*, ed. J. D. Marshall, 1967, p. 155.

“As the Yearly Meeting Hath been proposed to be at Penrith the Ensuing year; But the Principal objection was the want of proper convenience in A House—I have therefore given you a Rough Sketch of an Addition to this Present Meeting House Which I think may Hold as Great a Number as is Necessary to provide for . . . I propose . . . to take away the side Wall and set the Beams on pillars (which may be Done safely) then build an Addition of 7 yards Width the whole Length . . . then Divide the new House from the Old by Shutters . . . I compute it Will Hold 940 people without being thronged.”

Report and plans submitted to Westmorland Quarterly Meeting, 1756, in Kendal Meeting House strongroom, packet 102.

Unlike the work at Lancaster and Kendal this project was not carried out, and a temporary shade was erected instead.

Six meeting houses stood on the regular circuit of the Meeting and building work known to have been done largely or entirely in anticipation of a visit of the Yearly Meeting may conveniently be summarized:

Town	Number of Y.M.s held	Work done	Date of Work	For the Y.M. next following
Carlisle . .	7	Enlarged — —	1711	1711
Chester . .	11	Nothing ^a — —	—	—
Cockermouth	5	Enlarged . .	1740	1740
Kendal . .	19	Enlarged . .	1708	1708
		Enlarged . .	1717	1718
Lancaster .	19	Rebuilt to seat 200	1708	1709
		Large Meeting house built to seat 480 . . c.	1744	—
Whitehaven .	8	Galleries built adding 150 seats	1784	1784

^a Presumably because good alternative accommodation was available in the Great Tennis Court.

Twenty-two other towns were visited once or twice only. At most of these there was no meeting house, so that the entire occasion took place in the Booth or Shade.

“Our Northern Yearly Meeting at Kirkby Lonsdale is now over and I hope to pretty general satisfaction. The Shed made for

that purpose was not the largest, but the most comfortable of the kind I have seen, it was well filled at all the three Public Meetings but not many more than it would contain. The people behaved well and so far as one could perceive were well satisfied.¹

"We arrived at Long Town on Second day the 17th where we found very good accommodation & every way Suitable for so Large a Company . . . Parting Meeting began at 3 °Clock which was very large, so much so that the Booth altho' computed to hold 2000 People would not contain them all. The Throng was so great so that Friends were obliged to divide & hold another Meeting at same time in the yard adjacent."

Joseph King of Newcastle in a letter of 29.iv.1780.²

The place of next year's meeting was always agreed before the Yearly Meeting dispersed, and after 1722 the choice between the four Quarterly Meeting areas followed an exact rotation. By the middle of the century it became the practice frequently to appoint the ensuing year's meeting for one of the towns regularly visited, then during the intervening months, to seek a more adventurous opportunity within the county. The process involved every business meeting in the county:

"By a minute at Quarterly Meeting it is recommended to the several Monthly Meetings to Consider of the most Suitable Place to propose for holding the Northern Yearly Meeting in the County—this Meeting recommends the said Proposition to the Weighty Consideration of the several particular Meetings and to Report thereon to our next or succeeding Monthly Meeting."

Pardshaw M.M. 21.i.1783.

"This Meeting agrees to mention Whitehaven . . ."

ibid. 10.iii.1783.

The practical consideration: the administration and organization of large numbers of people, the accommodation not only in a booth but at inns as well, the books for distribution, building and clearing away the shade, transmission of collections from one meeting to another: all in the end had

¹ Letter from Isaac Wilson 23.iv.1769, from *Isaac and Rachel Wilson* by John Somervell, 1924, p. 94.

² *Journal F.H.S.*, Vol. 23 (1926), p. 35.

their effect. After 1780 the lesser towns are less frequently visited, until:

“The Quarterly Meeting having had under Consideration a Proposal for discontinuing Northern Yearly Meeting which was recommended to the several Monthly Meetings—This Meeting desires the same may remain weightily on the Minds of Friends until our next Meeting.”
Pardshaw M.M. 20.i.1784.

The conclusion at this time was to continue with the meetings. The problem was again “solidly considered” in 1787 when

“it appears safest to continue at least one year longer with the restriction of building no Booth for its accommodation and that the queries be continued as heretofore”.
Epistle from Northern Yearly Meeting of 1787.

The break was finally made at the meeting in Liverpool in 1798 after exactly one hundred meetings, and was reported thus in the epistle:

The Yearly Meeting for the Northern Counties hath been held at this place, which hath been large. The discontinuance or continuance thereof in future, having again been weightily under consideration of this Meeting, notwithstanding it has been held as heretofore to satisfaction, after solid consideration thereof, it is with much harmony concluded to discontinue the holding thereof.

The following list gives the dates and places of holding of the Northern Yearly Meeting. Italic place-names in brackets following the name of the meeting place indicate the venue originally proposed at the previous year’s meeting.

5 April 1699	Lancaster ¹	?7 April 1703	Lancaster
?3 April 1700	Lancaster	5 April 1704	Lancaster
?2 April 1701	Lancaster	?4 April 1705	Lancaster
1 April 1702	Lancaster	———— 1706	Carlisle

¹ The Yearly Meeting was at first held on the 4th day (Wednesday) before Lancaster Q.M., and later on the day before Quarterly Meetings elsewhere. The day given here, and stated in the contemporary documents until 1752, is the day of the public General Meeting. The Meeting for Ministers and Elders was held on the previous afternoon.

28 April 1707	Middlewich	6 April 1743	Chester
31 March 1708	Kendal	11 April 1744	Whitehaven
5 April 1709	Lancaster	10 April 1745	Kendal
11 April 1710	Liverpool	9 April 1746	Lancaster
10 April 1711	Carlisle		(<i>Lancashire</i>)
31 March 1712	Kendal	15 April 1747	Knutsford
6 April 1713	Middlewich		(<i>Nantwich</i>)
31 March 1714	Lancaster	13 April 1748	Whitehaven
6 April 1715	Kendal	12 April 1749	Kendal
17 April 1716	Carlisle	11 April 1750	Wigan
8 April 1717	Chester		(<i>Lancaster</i>)
	(<i>Liverpool</i>)	10 April 1751	Chester
31 March 1718	Kendal	14 April 1752	Carlisle
15 April 1719	Liverpool ¹		(<i>Whitehaven</i>) ³
13 April 1720	Cockermouth	17 April 1753	Kendal
12 April 1721	Lancaster	16 April 1754	Lancaster ⁴
10 April 1722	Kendal	15 April 1755	Nantwich
9 April 1723	Chester		(<i>Chester</i>)
14 April 1724	Carlisle	20 April 1756	Cockermouth
13 April 1725	Kendal		(<i>Carlisle</i>)
5 April 1726	Lancaster	26 April 1757	Penrith
11 April 1727	Chester	25 April 1758	Lancaster
9 April 1728	Cockermouth	24 April 1759	Stockport
8 April 1729	Kendal	15 April 1760	Whitehaven
8 April 1730	Lancaster ²	11 April 1761	Appleby
14 April 1731	Chester		(<i>Kendal</i>) ⁵
12 April 1732	Whitehaven	20 April 1762	Bolton
11 April 1733	Kendal		(<i>Lancaster</i>)
10 April 1734	Lancaster	19 April 1763	Congleton
16 April 1735	Chester		(<i>Chester</i>)
14 April 1736	Whitehaven	17 April 1764	Brampton
13 April 1737	Kendal	16 April 1765	Kendal
19 April 1738	Preston	15 April 1766	Preston
	(<i>Lancaster</i>)		(<i>Lancaster</i>)
18 April 1739	Chester	21 April 1767	Macclesfield
16 April 1740	Cockermouth	19 April 1768	Carlisle
15 April 1741	Kendal	18 April 1769	Kirkby Lons-
14 April 1742	Lancaster		dale (<i>Kendal</i>)

¹ From 1719 a system generally prevailed in the appointment of date of commencement, and the Quarterly Meeting was moved to suit. At first the meeting commenced on 3rd 3rd day (Tuesday) in 2nd month (April).

² The date of commencement was altered to 2nd 4th day (Wednesday) in 2nd month (April).

³ The date of commencement was altered to 2nd 3rd day in 4th month (April). This did not alter the programme at all, but announced the date of the Meeting for Ministers and Elders instead of the public Meeting as previously.

⁴ The date of commencement was altered to 3rd 3rd day in 4th month.

⁵ This was the only occasion on which the Yearly Meeting met at a weekend and not mid-week.

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17 April 1770	Ormskirk (<i>Lancaster</i>)	15 April 1783	Northwich (<i>Chester</i>)
16 April 1771	Chester	20 April 1784	Whitehaven
21 April 1772	Whitehaven	19 April 1785	Kendal
20 April 1773	Kendal	18 April 1786	Blackburn (<i>Lancaster</i>)
19 April 1774	Bolton (<i>Lancaster</i>)	17 April 1787	Chester
18 April 1775	Nantwich (<i>Chester</i>)	15 April 1788	Cockermouth (<i>Carlisle</i>)
16 April 1776	Keswick (<i>Carlisle</i>)	21 April 1789	Kendal
15 April 1777	Kirkby Stephen (<i>Kendal</i>)	20 April 1790	Lancaster
21 April 1778	Ulverston (<i>Lancaster</i>)	19 April 1791	Newcastle- under-Lyme
20 April 1779	Chester	17 April 1792	Whitehaven
18 April 1780	Longtown (<i>Carlisle</i>)	16 April 1793	Kendal
17 April 1781	Penrith (<i>Kendal</i>)	15 April 1794	Lancaster
16 April 1782	Rochdale (<i>Lancaster</i>)	21 April 1795	Stockport
		19 April 1796	Carlisle
		18 April 1797	Kendal
		17 April 1798	Liverpool

DAVID M. BUTLER

The *Christian Appeal* of 1855: Friends' Public Response to the Crimean War

MOST religions distinguish between good and evil. This, of course, does not mean that every religious body is zealous in pursuing the good and avoiding the evil. Even when evil is eschewed, it is possible merely to perceive the good, yet say nothing about it, or to speak of the good without putting it into practice.

That the Society of Friends in the 1850s considered peace to be good and war evil is affirmed by the Responses of the various Quarterly Meetings to what was then the Ninth Query, namely "Are Friends faithful in our testimony against bearing arms, and being in any manner concerned in the militia, in privateers, or armed vessels, or dealing in prize goods?"¹ The scrupulous phrasing of the Responses, as listed in *Yearly Meeting Papers* for 1855, indicates that these Responses were honestly thought out, and not returned to Yearly Meeting by rote. In 1855, the Ninth Query elicited the following Responses:

I Affirmation, paraphrasing the Ninth Query exactly:

- (1) Bedfordshire & Hertfordshire
- (2) Berkshire & Oxfordshire
- (3) Buckinghamshire & Northamptonshire
- (4) Cumberland & Northumberland
- (5) Derbyshire & Nottinghamshire
- (6) Devonshire
- (7) Herefordshire, Worcestershire & Wales

¹ *Rules of Discipline of the Religious Society of Friends, with Advices* (London, 1834), p. 218. Although the Queries began to be circulated by Yearly Meeting to the Monthly Meetings in 1682, it was not until 1742 that a pacifist Query appeared. In that year, the eighth of eleven Queries became "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?" (*Yearly Meeting Minutes* (1742), p. 104). This Query was revised slightly in 1744, and in 1758, the year after the first legal provision for Quaker pacifists had been enacted (see "An Act for the better ordering of the Militia Forces . . .", 30 Geo. II, cap. 25, sec. 26, in *Statutes at Large*, Vol. VIII (London, 1770), p. 86), pacifism as an article of belief was proposed in a separate Query, now twelfth of thirteen. At the time of the Crimean war, the 1833 Discipline was in force. The Ninth Men's Query, cited above in the text, continued to be proposed in this form until 1861, when the Discipline was revised.

- (8) Norfolk, Cambridgeshire & Huntingdonshire
- (9) Suffolk
- (10) Westmorland.

II "We believe Friends are faithful, etc.":

- (1) Bristol & Somerset
- (2) Cornwall
- (3) Durham
- (4) Gloucestershire & Wiltshire
- (5) Lancashire & Cheshire
- (6) Sussex & Surrey
- (7) Yorkshire
- (8) General Meeting for Scotland.

III "Friends appear faithful, etc.":

- (1) Dorset & Hampshire ("No unfaithfulness has appeared . . .")
- (2) Essex
- (3) Kent
- (4) Lincolnshire
- (5) London & Middlesex
- (6) Warwickshire, Leicestershire, Rutland & Staffordshire.

IV Ireland: "With the exception of a young man having enlisted in the army and of a friend who is a magistrate having administered a military oath, friends appear faithful, etc."¹

The question is, How active was the Quaker "testimony"? As Margaret Hirst has pointed out, the early Quakers engaged in speaking and *personal* actions against war, but stopped short of mass action. They did not "organize for peace"². After the Napoleonic wars, however, and certainly by the 1850s, the evidence is that among members of the Society of Friends mass agitation and the widespread distribution of anti-war propaganda were common. Aside from our knowledge of the activities of such Quakers as

¹ Legally, the magistrate need not have administered the oath. See 42 Geo. III, cap. 90, secs 27, 33 and 50 in *Statutes of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. I (London, 1804), pp. 451, 452 and 456, for this and other provisions for Quakers, in effect at the time of the Crimean war.

² M. E. Hirst, *Quakers in Peace and War* (London, 1923), p. 45.

Joseph Sturge and John Bright, there are many indications of the serious involvement of Friends in anti-war agitation.

An analysis of the list of delegates to the London Peace Congress of 1851 shows that of the 969 delegates attending, 207 were members of the Society of Friends.¹ According to John Stephenson Rowntree, Quakers in Great Britain numbered about 22,000 at the time.² The overall population of the British Isles, according to the census figures for 1851, was approximately 20,960,000.³ In other words, Quakers in 1851 accounted for only one-tenth of one per cent of the total population of Great Britain, but they sent twenty-two per cent of the delegates to the Peace Congress.

The Peace Society's basic series of tracts enjoyed a wide circulation in Great Britain throughout the mid-19th century. Of the eight identifiable authors of these tracts, four were Friends. They were Jonathan Dymond (1796–1828), *Observations on the Applicability of the Pacific Principles of the New Testament to the Conduct of States*; Joseph John Gurney (1788–1847), *An Essay on War and on Its Lawfulness under the Christian Dispensation*; Thomas Hancock (1783–1849), *The Principles of Peace Exemplified in the Conduct of the Society of Friends in Ireland, during the Rebellion of the Year 1798, etc.*; and Evan Rees (1790–1821), *Sketches of the Horrors of War*.⁴

But the most significant fact about Quaker pacifist involvement, is that it continued right through the Crimean war, in the face of the violent pro-war sentiments of most of the people of Great Britain. When most of the other members of the Peace Society and the Peace Congress movement fell silent, the Quakers spoke out. The Society of Friends was,

¹ See *Proceedings of the London Peace Congress*, pp. 83–104, in *Reports of the Peace Congresses* (London, 1861). The names have all been checked against the *Annual Monitor*.

² *Quakerism, Past and Present* (London, 1859), pp. 68–88.

³ *Parliamentary Papers* (1852), Vol. LXXXV, Pt. 1, p. clxvii. The exact figure for England, Wales, Scotland and the Islands in the British Seas is 20,959,477. For purposes of a better comparison with Rowntree, the figures for Ireland are not included here.

⁴ The stereotyped edition, which includes these and the other tracts in the series, was published by the Peace Society as *All War Antichristian, or the Principles of Peace as Contained in the Holy Scriptures* (London, 1840).

in fact, the only group of any size to speak out as a body against the war.¹

In 1855 appeared the pamphlet *A Christian Appeal from the Society of Friends to Their Fellow-Countrymen on the Present War*. The story of the commissioning, writing, printing and circulating of this tract serves as the best example of the Quaker pacifist position at the time of the Crimean war, and also gives us a good insight into the methods employed by the Society in its work for peace.² By consulting the Minutes of the London Meeting for Sufferings in Friends House Library, as well as the Minutes of several Monthly Meetings in the North, it has been possible to trace the progress of this quintessentially Quaker document.

After the declaration of war in March, 1854, the only immediate action taken by the London Meeting for Sufferings (which, as a permanent committee of Yearly Meeting, spoke on behalf of the Society of Friends in Great Britain) was the printing and circulating of the report on the deputation of Joseph Sturge, Henry Pease and Robert Charleton to Nicholas I.³ This was completed on April 7th.⁴ Perhaps it was symptomatic of the edginess of even the staunchest pacifists that the topic of the war was not brought before that body again until November 3rd. At that time, however, it was the leading item on the agenda and the suggestion is that a great deal of discussion outside of Meeting preceded

¹ The decline in support for the Peace Society can be seen in Henry Richard's journal, the *Herald of Peace*, where Richard deplores fair weather pacifists in such articles as "The leaking bottle; or principle with an exception", *Herald of Peace* (June, 1864), p. 61. The most costly defections were those of men like George Hadfield, Frank Crossley, Joseph Hume, John MacGregor and William A. Wilkinson, M.P.s who had, before the war, supported the Peace Society and the Peace Congress movement. For the pro-war speeches made in parliament by these men (respectively) see *Hansard*, 3rd ser., CXXX, (1854), pp. 1283, 910 and 1114; and *ibid.*, CXXXVIII (1855), pp. 1348 and 1027. Typical of the comments was that made by Crossley: "deprecating war as a great evil, still he admitted . . . that if the impending war should come, it ought to be prosecuted with vigour and rapidity" (*Ibid.*, CXXX (1854), p. 910.) Richard Cobden was in favour of peace, but did not put himself on record as did the Quaker, John Bright.

² The printed version of the *Appeal* may be found in Friends House Library, *Tracts*, Vol. G/118.

³ See Stephen Frick, "The Quaker deputation to Russia: January-February, 1854", *J.F.H.S.*, LII (1969), 78-96.

⁴ *London Meeting for Sufferings minutes*, Vol. XLVI, p. 401.

the formal discussion of the war in Meeting. "A desire has been cherished", the Minutes state, "that we may be found faithful in upholding our Christian testimony against all wars by carefully guarding in our conversation as well as in conduct against all participation in the spirit of war or in rejoicing for victory."¹

At the next meeting, on December 1st, the concern was made more explicit. In view of "the continuance of the cruel warfare in which this country is engaged and under an impression that it is our Christian duty to prepare a statement setting forth our religious feelings and sentiments upon this momentous subject", the Meeting appointed a committee of twenty to set down "the views of our religious Society upon the subject, as they see best".² It took only a week for the committee to draft the *Christian Appeal*. Presented at a Meeting on December 8th, the order was given that it be printed and circulated "in as extensive a manner as . . . expedient".³

The *Christian Appeal* did not attack the war on political grounds, but on Christian ones—"Who will venture to say that Christianity affords any authority or justification for war?"—and stressed the need to apply the lesson of Jesus Christ that one's enemies must be approached with "forgiveness, forbearance and love". It pointed to "the vast amount of physical and moral suffering inflicted on the wounded and the dying, and on innocent widows and children" and (in words similar to those being used by the Congregationalist minister, Henry Richard, in his *Herald of Peace*) to the offensive spectacle of "professing Christians of one nation engaged in deadly conflict with their fellow Christians of another nation, in the presence of the infidel".

As stated in the *Appeal*, the committee was aware that the government had its difficulties in trying to bring the war

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 442.

² *Ibid.*, p. 445. Those appointed were John Hodgkin, Josiah Forster, Samuel Fox, J. Bevan Braithwaite, Thomas Norton, Samuel Gurney, Robert Alsop, Peter Bedford, Joseph T. Price, John Candler, Grover Kemp, Thomas Hodgkin, Thomas Binns, Richard Barrett, Robert Forster, Joseph Neatby, Samuel Sturge, Samuel Cash, John Kitching, and Henry Russell.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 447-53. The final handwritten form of the *Appeal* appears in the *Minutes*. The first draft was discovered in a long-disused box of Meeting for Sufferings papers and it has been interesting to compare it with the final version. The changes made were minimal, arguing for a remarkable unanimity of opinion among a committee of twenty.

to a close, but they believed that the way to achieve the desired end (cessation of all acts of war) was to trust in God and to take "humbling views of our national sins" and to make "a temperate estimate of our own position". With what must have been seen as gross naïveté by the "realists" who were pursuing the war, the committee urged that those in both houses of parliament "remember that that which is morally or religiously wrong cannot be politically right". They were aware that these sentiments would be "unpopular at a crisis like the present", in view of the "mighty torrent of martial excitement in the public mind". Still, they pleaded that their fellow-countrymen would "examine their present position and duties calmly and temperately . . .".

The committee met with the Meeting again on December 13th, at which time a memorial was drafted to the prime minister, Aberdeen, and to the other members of the government.¹ A letter was also prepared to be sent to the Monthly Meetings, explaining the action of the London Meeting for Sufferings in drawing up the *Appeal*, and suggesting that "diligent efforts be made within the districts of the respective Monthly Meetings, for its wide distribution by Friends, both in their immediate neighbourhood, and in all other quarters to which their influence may extend". The Monthly Meetings were also warned that it was especially important that members of the Society

be careful not to seek or accept profit by any concern in the preparations so extensively making for war; for how reproachfully inconsistent would it be to refuse an active compliance with warlike measures, and, at the same time, not to hesitate to enrich ourselves by the commerce and other circumstances dependent on war.²

During the months that followed, large quantities of the *Christian Appeal* were sent to the Monthly Meetings for distribution. It is true that the different Meetings responded with varying degrees of enthusiasm. While Preston M.M. (Minutes of January 17th and February 8th, 1855) ordered and distributed 500 copies of the *Appeal*, the records of Marsden M.M. reveal no action taken to promote the

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 453-56.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 457-58.

pamphlet.¹ Warwickshire North M.M. (Minutes of January 7th and 10th and March 14th, 1855), reported that 6,450 copies had been received and circulated, 3,800 in Birmingham and 2,650 in the environs, chiefly among the middle and upper classes.² London & Middlesex Quarterly Meeting distributed the pamphlet, about 42,000 copies, on behalf of the six London Monthly Meetings. The Monthly Meetings, however, requested and distributed a further 17,500 copies.³

All told, about 125,000 copies of the *Christian Appeal* were sent from London and circulated by the Monthly Meetings. Hardshaw East and Darlington M.M.s had editions printed at their own expense, totalling, respectively, 20,000 and 5,000 copies.

By the end of April, 1855, the Society of Friends in Great Britain had circulated 210,000 copies of the *Christian Appeal*. The pamphlet was translated into French and German.⁴ It was also recorded that "great exertion appears to have been successfully made by Friends in many parts of the kingdom to obtain the insertion of the *Appeal* in the provincial newspapers".⁵

The final action taken by the Society concerning the pamphlet came with the appointment, on October 5th, 1855,⁶ and report, on January 4th, 1856⁷, of a committee set up to study the comments which the *Appeal* had elicited around the country. According to the Minutes of London Meeting for Sufferings for January 4th:

The Committee appointed in reference to the printed comments upon the *Appeal* issued by this Meeting on the

¹ Records for both the Marsden and Preston M.M.s are kept at the Lancashire County Record Office, Preston.

² Records for Warwickshire North M.M. are kept at the Society of Friends, Bull Street, Birmingham.

³ Minutes of London & Middlesex Q.M., March 27th, 1855, pp. 100-101.

⁴ *London Meeting for Sufferings minutes*, Vol. XLVI, p. 501 (French) and p. 504 (German). Neither translation is actually included in the *Minutes*, but the one in French may be found at Friends House Library in *Tracts*, G/118a. In the Meeting for Sufferings papers for 1855, there is a bill, dated October 20th, for 5,000 copies of an unnamed tract; and another, dated January 26th, 1856, also for 5,000 copies of an unnamed tract. It may reasonably be assumed that these refer to the French and German translations of the *Appeal*. This would bring the total number of copies to around 220,000, far more than the "about 50,000" mentioned in Hirst, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

⁵ *London Meeting for Sufferings minutes*, Vol. XLVI, pp. 475-76.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 508.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 517.

subject of War have presented an interesting report thereon containing an analysis of their contents which is directed to be preserved.

It would be very useful to have this particular document, but, unfortunately, a thorough search of the records at Friends House has failed to discover it, and it must, therefore, be presumed lost.

The Society of Friends drafted the *Christian Appeal* at a time when the expression of any anti-war sentiment was an extremely unpopular act. They then distributed it, via the Monthly Meetings, throughout Great Britain. Finally, the results of the operation were analyzed. At least in terms of its mechanics, the circulation of the *Christian Appeal* was the most successful pacifist propaganda effort of the Crimean war.

STEPHEN FRICK

Quakers in Early Twentieth-Century Scotland

THIS paper is intended as a sequel to that in the previous issue (Vol. 52, No. 2, pp. 67–77), on “Quakers in Victorian Scotland”. It seeks in the main to treat of the period 1901–39, though in some particulars it has seemed well to bring the story up to date. The last thirty years are, however, too near for adequate assessment. As indicated in the previous study, the Society in Scotland indeed grew numerically in the later nineteenth century—rather surprisingly, in view of few convincements and apparently more disownments. The growth seems explicable, partly by the Victorian philoprogenitiveness of some members, as records of births imply, and partly to immigration from England, probably outbalancing emigration. It is, however, in the early twentieth century that genuine growth occurred. There were more frequent admissions and Scottish Friends expanded their activities, both within the Society and in the Scottish community. The former loss through marrying out is partly compensated by “marrying in”, i.e. by those brought in contact with the Society by marrying a member, and subsequently joining it and sometimes taking a prominent part—e.g. E. A. Walton, A. E. C. White. The nominal membership indeed was virtually the same in 1902 and in 1936 (363, 362); it was not until 1970 that it reached 500. With recurrent “pruning” of the lists, and the later abolition of birthright membership, conditions for a largely fictitious increase ended. The old dynasties died out or ceased active membership; a predominating part was taken by the “convinced”.

One of the factors to be considered is the Adult School movement. Though already active for generations in England and in some areas closely associated with the Society and augmenting its membership, it was not introduced into Scotland until the first decade of the new century, and was relatively short-lived, the last School (Edinburgh) being closed in the 1960s. It was, however, intimately connected with the Society, in personnel and meeting places. Andrew White, long Treasurer of General Meeting, was mainly

responsible for its introduction, following on a conference in Glasgow in April 1906, addressed by Edwin Gilbert; he and such Friends as Crawford Thomson, A. G. Wallis, Robert Donaldson and William Boag were among its stalwarts.

Kilmarnock, with two Men's and three Women's Schools was at one time its stronghold. Other centres were Glasgow, usually held in the Meeting House; Edinburgh, at first connected with the Pleasance; latterly, until its end in 1966, at Stafford St., though with few Friends participating; Montrose (1911), Greenock and Aberdeen; the maximum number was eleven. The First War occasioned the suspension of some; a few emerged after its close. A Scottish Adult School Federation (re-named Union in 1913), was formed in 1908; for a time it issued a Newsletter (1912).

A second factor was the First World War. The Presbyterian Churches, with their military traditions, were in general violently pro-war; Tribunals were generally hostile and contemptuous; consequently many pacifists were alienated from the Church. In Glasgow, the "Study Circle" (described in an earlier issue,¹ drew many into its fellowship, and some of these joined Friends, including its founder, Robert Shanks, and its last Chairman Tom Taylor (now Lord Taylor of Gryfe).

In Edinburgh, some were attracted to St. Mark's Unitarian Church, whose minister, Raymond Holt, was leader of the anti-war movement; a few later came over to Friends. Friends generally were loyal to the Peace Testimony, and several of military age served in F.A.U. or F.W.V.R.C. Aberdeen Meeting cared for the welfare of "C.O.s" at the Dyce camp, and obtained a few members.

A third contributory factor was the foundation of a new Meeting in Edinburgh. The late eighteenth-century meeting house was in a part of the city which had degenerated almost into slumdom, and was out of the main stream of civic life. Its membership was declining. Ernest Ludlam² who had taught at Clifton College, and suffered long imprisonment during the War, came to the University in 1922 as a lecturer in chemistry; he took an active part in the life of the univer-

¹ *Journal F.H.S.*, vol. 51, no. 3, 1967, pp. 167-73.

² W. H. Marwick, *Ernest Ludlam* (Quaker biographies, Friends' Home Service Committee), 1960.

sity and of the city, being a founder of the Edinburgh Christian Council for Overseas Students, and of the Cosmopolitan Club, which long met in his home; both were concerned with the welfare of the numerous students from abroad. He felt the need of a fresh stimulus to Quakerism, and in 1924 with a few sympathizers, he started a Meeting for Worship in hired premises, where Sunday evening addresses were also given. After several changes of location, the Meeting, having acquired the status of a Preparative Meeting, obtained its own premises (1938) at 28 Stafford Street, in the "West End", best known through the presence in the same street of "Free St. George's" (now St. George's West), the most popular Presbyterian church. The two Preparative Meetings subsequently united (1944). The Meeting proved attractive to visitors, and some were drawn into contact through the Children's Meeting and the Young Friends' group, several becoming members while others preferred to remain regular Attenders. The holding of Yearly Meeting in Edinburgh in 1948 (the first time in Scotland), for which the Church of Scotland granted the use of its Assembly Hall, put Quakerism on the map in Scotland. Since then, numerous invitations to speak on the subject have come from other religious groups, ranging from the Presbytery of Inverness to Women's and Youth Church Fellowships, and from secular bodies, e.g. Toc H, a W.E.A. class and the sixth-form of the Royal High School, Edinburgh.

As regards organization, Scotland General Meeting ranked as a quarterly meeting in the hierarchy of the Society. It was entitled to send representatives to Yearly Meeting, to Meeting for Sufferings and central committees. The right seems to have been little exercised until after the First War. Since then, some representatives have attended regularly and a few have held office. When Church Government was revised (1967), and quarterly meetings were laid down, the special position of Scotland General Meeting was recognized, in its relation to the Scottish legal and administrative system, and to Scottish religious and other bodies (Sect. 777). After informal discussions (1951-52) it had been agreed that when possible a Scottish member should be included in London Yearly Meeting representatives to Ireland Yearly Meeting, with which inter-visitation had been practised. Scottish Friends have also been appointed representatives

to continental yearly meetings, in which, from historic national contacts, and from similarity as largely composed of Convinced members in a very minority position in their respective countries, they have felt a special concern. Scottish Friends have also served as Chairman and as Secretary of the European Section of Friends World Committee for Consultation.

There has been inter-visitation between Scottish Friends and those of Fritchley Meeting, among whose founders were Scots from Aberdeenshire. General Meeting has been represented on the Northern Friends' Peace Board almost from its establishment, and Stanley Farrar became its Secretary (1942-57). Scottish Friends have since 1819 had representation on Wigton School Committee.

Edinburgh Two Months Meeting included all local meetings in the south of Scotland as far north as Dundee. It was raised to the full status of a monthly meeting in 1903. Dundee was transferred in 1939 to Aberdeen 2 M.M. which comprised the rest of Scotland, but only one-fifth of members. With the introduction of direct representation of monthly meetings on central bodies in the "sixties", Scotland was divided into four monthly meetings each around one of the four main cities.

The old Edinburgh meeting house was sold when the Pleasance Meeting was laid down. Among its active members had been Robert Donaldson (1881-1936) and John Erskine, successively clerks. Edward Walton, R. S. A. (1861-1922), a distinguished artist and his wife Helen, of an old Quaker family. Their sons served in the first war in the Friends' Ambulance Unit and Friends' War Victims' Relief Service respectively; the elder, John, became Professor of Botany in Glasgow, the younger, Arthur, a Cambridge don. Among those prominent in the newer Meeting in its earlier days were Stanley Farrar (1891-1962), a Yorkshireman who had come to Edinburgh as a master at George Watson's College, Mary F. Smith, daughter of Henry Lloyd Wilson of Birmingham, whose husband Lionel was Head of Edinburgh Academy, and Edwin Catford, a Londoner, a founder of the "Considerers"¹ at the turn of the century, an official of municipal transport.

Glasgow sold the meeting house in North Portland Street

¹ W. H. Marwick, *Quaker social thought*, p. 13.

in 1921 and met in the Royal Philosophical Institution's rooms in Bath Street until 16 Newton Terrace, near Charing Cross, the modern centre of the city, was bought in 1944. Notable among its members were Arthur H. Catford (of Gray Dunn's, the Quaker biscuit firm) (1864-1935), Arthur G. Wallis, Richard Field, and George Macdonald, a master tailor (1866-1935), all of whom became clerks of M.M., the two latter of G.M. as well; and Edward Kaye, a master at Glasgow Academy, who also served as M.M. clerk. An offshoot in Paisley had a short existence as an Allowed Meeting.

Aberdeenshire, a stronghold until the later eighteenth-century, had dwindled, partly through emigration, and the last of the rural Meetings, Kinmuck, was laid down in 1944. The venerable meeting house survives as a village hall. In the city of Aberdeen a new meeting house was built in 1902. The meeting was described by Thomas Hodgkin (c.1900) as "inert and self-contained". It was much under the influence of John Duguid, a farmer of "conservative" views. It experienced more than one recovery, thanks mainly to incomers. Prominent before 1939 were Ernest Lawton, an organ-builder, whose admission was at first refused owing to his occupation; James Milne and John Mitchell, a fruiterer (1874-1956).

Dundee Meeting suffered from internal dissension early in the century, but revived under the care of Robert Allan (1845-1916), Head of the Art Department of the Harris Academy, and James A. Braithwaite (1870-1935), owner of a provision business, who was strongly Evangelical. The issue by the Meeting of a pamphlet expressing this standpoint was "regretted as inadequate" by M.M. (1930). A children's school, Band of Hope, and Mission Meetings were held.

The small meetings established through the Evangelical movement of the late nineteenth-century in Ayrshire came to an end: Maybole (1901), Ardrossan (1930), Crosshill (1932). The last survivor was Kilmarnock, closed in 1954. Latterly a new Meeting has been started, centring in Ayr. Other small and isolated meetings, largely dependent on a single individual or family, have risen and fallen; e.g. Annan, Dumfries, Helensburgh, Kirkintilloch. A Meeting at Dunfermline, carried on in his own house by John Yule (1839-1924), an ex-miner, was recognized in 1907; shortly after his death it

was revived by Alex. Hay (1878–1960), an artist and teacher of art, an Aberdonian who joined Friends in 1909 and served in Friends' work for refugees in Holland during the war. The Meeting has recently been discontinued, its place being taken for Fife Friends by one in Kirkcaldy. A group in Greenock which had gathered round Helen Blake, a widow with a business in town, was constituted a Preparative Meeting in 1916; William Boag, a cabinet maker, was long Clerk until the Meeting was laid down (1958). Colin Macleod, son-in-law to Helen Blake, was for a few years clerk of General Meeting.

The Meeting at Perth has more than once died and been resurrected. After being reduced to a single member, it was carried on from 1932 in their home by Cyril and Ethne Walmesley. The Meeting was discontinued after Cyril Walmesley's death in 1956, and the removal of Ethne Walmesley to Bristol. It was again revived a few years ago.

The early meetings in the Borders had long been discontinued: Kelso (1797), Hawick (1844). I. Gray Wallis (1877–1967), who came from Wakefield, and revived the original connexion of Quakerism with the local woollen industry as a partner in Innes Henderson (Braemar hosiery), for many years arranged occasional meetings for visiting Friends. In the 1960s regular meetings rotating in various centres, were organized.

There have been active Young Friends' groups in the cities, largely composed of students, and thus fluctuating in membership. In several cases successful Children's Meetings have been held. Adolescent groups under such names as "the Seekers" have also sprung up. Study groups have frequently been held, and a Mothers' group in Edinburgh has had a regular programme. A Scottish Young Friends' Committee was formed, and arranges conferences. It is represented on Young Friends' Central Committee.

Concern for the many isolated members has led from time to time to arrangements for visitation. An annual conference, primarily for their benefit, was commenced shortly before the second war, and has usually been held during the holiday period in guest houses at Dollarbeg and Bonskeid and has proved popular. This was also largely responsible for the institution of a Newsletter—as well perhaps as an aid to future historians. It was initiated in

1944 by Katie Ratcliffe (1871-1962) (wife of the well-known Fabian), then resident in Scotland, and has continued in varied format (printed, cyclostyled, etc.), and with varying frequency. Copies are circulated to Friend households in Scotland, to those Attenders who desire and to a number overseas or south of the Border, former members or having a Scottish connexion or interest. The Horniman Trust, "for the spread of Friends' principles in Scotland", finances "outreach" and distribution of Quaker literature. Alex. Rice of Glasgow served for some years as its Agent.

Alterations in Scottish marriage law, intended to discourage "runaway" weddings at Gretna Green, affected Friends, whose simple form had been recognized under Scots Common Law and affirmed by an Act of 1878. After negotiations, conducted chiefly by Stanley Farrar, a satisfactory provision for registering marriages of Friends and Attenders in accordance with Friends' usages was secured by legislation (1938).

The then "Seven Points of a True Social Order" were endorsed by Edinburgh M.M. in 1918. Later, General Meeting was represented on the Industrial and Social Council until it was laid down in 1957. Among concerns of Scottish Friends in the social sphere were the "Barns School" and an Allotment scheme. The latter was started for the unemployed during the period of great depression (1932) and administered by a joint committee of Friends, with Harold Sharp as chairman, and the Scottish Allotments and Gardens Society. The Barns School was established in the second war for "difficult" evacuee boys, with David Wills as Warden. It was continued as a residential school until 1953 for other boys requiring special care, with Government recognition and aid (1946) and directed by a Council on which Friends were represented.

General Meeting became affiliated to the Scottish Temperance Alliance and the Scottish Council of Social Service, and several Friends were engaged in the work of the Edinburgh Council. Agnes Macdonald (1882-1966), who had been a militant Suffragist, was for long secretary of Edinburgh Women's Citizens which promoted many civic reforms. She joined Friends and was active in many "good works" including care for refugees from Nazism, organized in 1938 and conducted from Friends House, Edinburgh.

Work for aid of refugees on a wider basis was carried on for many years, particularly in the collection and despatch of clothing, by a Quaker Overseas Relief Committee. Similar activities went on in Glasgow and elsewhere.

Several Friends extended their advocacy of the Peace Testimony by participation in the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Women's International League, and more recently, C.N.D. (the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament).

The World Missionary Conference held in Edinburgh in 1910 may be regarded as a harbinger of Ecumenism. Henry Hodgkin was among the speakers. At the Faith and Order Conference, also in Edinburgh, in 1937, Scottish Friends were represented by Ernest Ludlam. They were represented on the World Mission of the Church, an inter-denominational committee, absorbed in the Scottish Ecumenical Council after the establishment of the World Council of Churches. As this body adopted the "Amsterdam credal basis", they felt unable to affiliate. Some individuals joined the voluntary Scottish Ecumenical Association. On the substitution of the Scottish Council of Churches (1964), General Meeting was admitted to full membership without credal subscription. Friends have also participated regularly in the Women's World Day of Prayer.

Interest in Scottish Quaker history was evinced early in the century. William F. Miller (1834-1918), the last of a family long associated with Friends, contributed articles to *Journal F.H.S.* Richard Field of Glasgow and Edwin Catford of Edinburgh searched records, compiled notes and delivered talks. Church of Scotland ministers, Dr. Dugald Butler and Rev. John Torrance wrote about seventeenth-century Friends in Scotland. Dr. George Burnet compiled a thesis from the records of the Society covering its history up to the middle of the nineteenth-century. The substance of this work was published in 1952 as *The Story of Quakerism in Scotland*, with an epilogue by the present writer bringing it up to date.

(Most of the material, where not otherwise indicated, is derived from the MSS. Records of the Society and from the Scottish Friends' Newsletter.)

WILLIAM H. MARWICK

The Quaker Collection, University of Lancaster Library

THE colours chosen for the University of Lancaster, when it was founded in 1963 (the first students were admitted in October 1964), were Lancaster red and Quaker grey. Largely through the good offices of the Vice-Chancellor, Charles F. Carter, the Quaker connexion has been maintained and developed. He and the Librarian at Friends House Library have encouraged local meetings to donate books of historical interest to the University Library.

As the existence of this embryonic Quaker collection became more widely known, more books have been presented or deposited on permanent loan. Among the meetings, schools and libraries to whom we are particularly indebted are those at Birmingham (Woodbrooke), Brierfield, Eccles, Edinburgh, Manchester (Mount Street), Saffron Walden, Scarborough, Skipton, Warrington, Westhoughton, and Yealand. The Library has also received a gift of books from as far afield as the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania. This list does not include the names of individual donors, to whom the Library is none the less extremely grateful. Since the collection is not endowed, we rely heavily upon such generosity. We cannot hope to rival the resources of older established libraries, but we suggest that readers who wish to dispose of books useful for students or research workers, particularly those concerned with Lancashire or surrounding counties, should remember us.

Although the collection is still quite small, about two thousand volumes, it contains some standard works needed for research into Quaker history. There are sets, unfortunately sometimes incomplete, of the following: *The Annual Monitor* (1813-1920); *The Friend* (1914-48); *The Friend's Library* (1837-50); *Friends' Quarterly Examiner* (1908-48); *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society* (1903-24, 1932, 1965-); and *Present Day Papers* (1898-1902).

Local works present include:

Abbatt, Dilworth: *Quaker annals of Preston and the Fylde, 1653-1900*. 1931.

- Ferguson, Richard S.: *Early Cumberland and Westmorland Friends*. 1871.
 Stout, William: *Autobiography of William Stout of Lancaster*. 1851.
 Thompson, William: *Letters. With a sketch of his life*. 2nd ed. 1818.
 Webb, Maria: *The Fells of Swarthmoor Hall*. 1865.

We have a copy of the first comprehensive Quaker bibliography:

- Whiting, John: *A catalogue of Friends' books*. 1708.

Eventually we hope to publish a printed catalogue, but so far much of the collection has been only "brief-listed", that is, represented in the catalogue simply under authors.

Anyone working on Quaker history is welcome to visit the Library to see what we have. Loans from our stock are made freely through the national inter-library lending service to other libraries, although most of the material in the collection is also available at Friends House. Enquiries should be addressed in the first instance either to the University Librarian, A. Graham Mackenzie, or to myself.

JOHN S. ANDREWS

RESEARCH IN PROGRESS:

A. D. Selleck (4 Sutherland Road, Mutley, Plymouth) is preparing a thesis for London Ph.D. on William Cookworthy (1705-80), and his circle and wishes to hear of the whereabouts of any original manuscript material, particularly the originals of the letters quoted in Harrison and Compton's memoirs.

* * *

LOCKER-LAMPSON MSS.

The Historical Manuscripts Commission National Register of Archives list of Locker-Lampson MSS. gives a 300-page list of the personal correspondence and papers of the Locker and Locker-Lampson family in the possession of J. Locker-Lampson, Esq., Rowfant Cottage, nr. Crawley, Sussex.

The inventory notices letters of Edward Hawke Locker (1777-1849). He heard Elizabeth Fry lecture "very judiciously" to Newgate prisoners, 1820 (III/29(i)); in June 1821 he visited the Alston mines in the course of a tour of the Greenwich Hospital northern estates, and he was in the district in the summer of 1823 again.

The correspondence includes letters from Elizabeth Fry (1837) and from Juliet and Winifred Seebohm (1885).

HISTORICAL RESEARCH

Historical research for university degrees in the United Kingdom. List no. 31. Part II—Theses in progress 1970. (University of London Institute of Historical Research, May 1970).

1327. Historical study of the discipline of the Society of Friends, 1738–1861. D. J. Hall. (Professor W. R. Ward.) Durham M.A.

The *List of doctoral dissertations in history recently completed at colleges and universities in the United States* (pp. 155ff. of *Annual report of the American Historical Association*, 1968, vol. 1), includes the following titles:

The Quaker Family in Colonial America: A Social History of the Society of Friends. Jerry W. Frost, Wisconsin. June 1968.

Backcountry Pennsylvania, 1709–1774: The Ideals of William Penn in Practice. Russell S. Nelson, jr., Wisconsin. June 1968.

Dissertation Abstracts International. A—The humanities and social sciences (University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 48106), October 1969, vol. 30, no. 4, includes (p. 1500–A) abstracts of “North Carolina Quakers and slavery”, by Hiram Horace Hilty, Ph.D., Duke University, 1969, 381 pages, and “The Quaker influence in the novels of Charles Brockden Brown”, by R. John Ullmer, Ph.D., St. Louis University, 1969. Charles Brockden Brown (1771–1810) is usually considered America’s first novelist. He was born a Quaker and used the Quaker background. “It is the thesis of this study that Brown’s moral purpose is actually an affirmation of Quaker religious beliefs.”

Vol. 31, no. 2 (August 1970), includes an abstract of Eleanor Haven Beiswenger’s Michigan, Ph.D. dissertation, 1969 entitled “Thomas Chalkley, pious Quaker businessman” (161 pages, Microfilm \$4.00, Xerox \$7.60), and an abstract of Robert Vale Wells: “A demographic analysis of some middle colony Quaker families of the eighteenth century” (Princeton, Ph.D., 1969) (169 pages, Microfilm \$4.00, Xerox \$7.80).

Vol. 30, no. 5 (November 1969) includes (p. 1972–A) “New England Quakerism, 1656–1830”, Arthur John Worrall, Ph. D., Indiana University, 1969. (Microfilm \$3.20, Xerox \$11.25. 247 pages.)

Vol. 30, no. 8 (February 1970) includes (p. 3538–A) “William Penn and early Quakerism: a theological study”, Melvin Becker Endy, jr., Yale University, 1969, 328 pages. The abstract states: “After about 1685 Penn lost most of his hope of transforming the world into the Kingdom of God.”

Reports on Archives

The Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts *List of accessions to repositories in 1969* (Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1970), reports the following additions to the manuscript collections in various institutions which may interest workers on Quaker history.

Aberdeen University Library, King's College, Aberdeen, AB9 2UB.

Society of Friends, digest of births, marriages and burials, 1647-1878.

Bedfordshire Record Office, County Hall, Bedford.

Friends' Adult School, minute books (3) 1909-33.

Berkshire Record Office, Shire Hall, Reading, RG1 3EY.

Society of Friends (addnl.): Reading Monthly Meeting papers 1688-1819.

Birmingham University Library, P.O. Box 363, Edgbaston, Birmingham, 15.

Autograph letters: John Bright (1).

Bodleian Library, Oxford (Department of Western Manuscripts), Oxford, OX1 3BG.

Philip Henry, 4th Earl Stanhope, 28 letters to John Burt, about temperance, 1839-40. (MS. Eng. lett. d. 270.)

Autograph album kept by detainee in Wakefield and Dartmoor work centres for conscientious objectors, 1918, containing accounts of some experiences of fellow-detainees, 1916-18. (MS. Eng. hist. g. 21.)

Rhodes House Library, Oxford.

Miss H. M. J. Neatby: notebook on school visits, 1944-47, as Asst. Director of Education, Uganda; notes and corres. incl. memorandum on education of women and girls 1953.

E. D. Cleaver: Kenya constitutional conference, London: reception held at C.M.S. House, 1960 [Xerox].

W. Martin: Friends Service Council: Friends' visit to Jomo Kenyatta at Matalal, Kenya [Xerox].

Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, St. Anthony's Hall, York, YO1 2PW.

Tuke of York: corres. mainly from late 18th-century, and of related families of Scott, Favill and Copsie; genealogical material; printed books and pamphlets, incl. Samuel Tuke's description of *The Retreat* (1813); broadsheets, maps and plans of York interest; 18-19 c.

Bristol Archives Office, Council House, Bristol, BS1 5TR.

Family, estate and personal: Harford, 18-19c.

British Library of Political and Economic Science, London School of Economics, Houghton Street, London, W.C.2.

Fellowship of Reconciliation, minutes and corres., 1915-62.

British Transport Historical Records, 66 Porchester Road, London, W.2.

Stockton and Darlington Railway: letters 1850-67.

Cambridgeshire and Isle of Ely Record Office, Shire Hall, Castle Hill, Cambridge, CB3 0AP.

Society of Friends (addnl.): Cambridge United Preparative Meeting, minutes 1891-1952, a/cs. 1949-66; Cambridge University Friends Soc. (Cambridge Young Friends Soc.), minutes 1933-50; Peace Pledge Union, Cambridge group, minutes 1938-51; list of members in quarterly meeting area, 1950-62; Library Committee minutes 1937-50; etc.

Gloucestershire Records Office, Shire Hall, Gloucester, GL1 2TG.

Copies and notes from Quaker registers (many Gl. parishes) (41 vols.).

Lambeth Palace Library, London, S.E.1.

Francis Bugg, former Quaker, letter to Archbishop Sancroft [1680] (MS. 1834, f.25).

Manchester Public Libraries Archives Department, Central Library, Manchester, M2 5PD.

Friends: Hardshaw East and Hardshaw West Monthly Meetings, registers, sufferings and minutes, 17-20 c., incl. Manchester, Ashton on Mersey, Eccles, Pendleton, Alexandra Park and Westhoughton Preparative Meetings.

Norfolk and Norwich Record Office, Central Library, Norwich, NOR 57E.

Society of Friends: Nf., Ca. and Hu. Quarterly Meeting (addnl.), minutes 1948-56, a/cs. 1918-48; Norwich Monthly Meeting (addnl.), list of members 19-20 c.

Pembrokeshire Record Office, County Offices, Haverfordwest.

Copy articles re Pemb. Quakers.

Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, Law Courts Building, May Street, Belfast, BT1 3JJ.

Lease of premises incl. Quaker Meeting House 1744.

Correspondence of Richardson family of Moyallon and Bessbrook (addnl.).

Warley Public Libraries, High Street, Smethwick, Warley, Worcestershire.

Humphrey Repton, Red Book for Warley, nr. Birmingham, a seat of Samuel Galton, 1795.

Worcestershire County Record Office, Shirehall, Worcester.

Book concerning Berwick, Lechmere & Co., bankers, and executors of Joseph Beesley, late of Worcester, Quaker, 1800-17.

York City Library, Museum Street, York.

York Friends' Sabbath and Adult Schools, 1848-1948.

Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts: *Report of the Secretary to the Commissioners, 1968-1969* (London, H.M. Stationery Office, 1969. 75p).

The following items are noted:

INSPECTIONS AND LISTING

(Page 23)

Allen & Hanbury Ltd., Mfg. Chemists. "The firm and family archives include ledgers, letter books, order and waste books for the late 18th- and 19th-centuries."

(Page 31)

J. E. Thorold Rogers papers. "Includes 50 letters from Richard Cobden and c.80 from John Bright."

DEPOSITS

(Page 36)

Toynbee Hall. [Founded 1884. Records now, in the main, deposited in the Greater London Record Office, London records.]

SUMMARIES OF REPORTS

(Page 68)

Society of Friends' Library, Friends' House, Euston Road, N.W.1.

J. S. Rowntree: Corresp., etc., affairs and administration of Society of Friends, 19c. (Index of correspondents.) 7629

Harvey: Papers of prominent early Friends, 1655-1843. Traveling minutes c.1693-1709 of members of Settle Monthly meeting liberated for the ministry. 8135

(Page 77)

Gloucestershire Records Office, Shire Hall, Gloucester, GL1 2TG.
Broad Campden Meeting house: Deeds, 17-19c. 8383

(Page 99)

East Sussex Record Office, Pelham House, Lewes.

Sussex, Surrey and Hants. Quarterly Meeting (including Monthly Meetings of Lewes, Arundel, Brighton, Chichester, E. Sussex, and Horsham). Minute books, accounts, etc., 1668-1900.

LIST OF REPORTS ADDED TO THE NATIONAL REGISTER OF ARCHIVES BETWEEN NOVEMBER 1966 AND DECEMBER 1968

10954	Settle Monthly Meeting, Soc. of Friends	Clerk, Settle S. of F.
10955	Pontefract Monthly Meeting, Soc. of Friends	Ackworth School
11421	Silvanus P. Thompson papers	Imperial College
11692	Guide to Irish Quaker Records, 1654-1860. (Published by the Irish Manuscripts Commission.)	
12281	Hodgkin Papers	Durham R.O.
12282	Banbury: Soc. of Friends	Oxon. R.O.
12385	Northants. Soc. of Friends: Quarterly Meeting	Northants R.O.

Notes and Queries

BAKER PERKINS LTD.

The History of Baker Perkins, by Augustus Muir (Cambridge, Heffer, 1968, 35s.) tells the story of the industrial activities of the firm in which the Baker family has been active since Joseph Baker came from Canada in 1876.

DAVID BARCLAY

A chapter on "The Plague, the Fire and the Rebuilding" in Hermione Hobhouse's *The Ward of Cheap in the City of London* (published in 1965 to mark the centenary of the Ward of Cheap Club) has brief mention (p. 90) of No. 108 Cheapside, built for Sir Edward Waldo, "which belonged in the eighteenth century to the famous Quaker, David Barclay, and from which six generations of reigning monarchs from Charles II to George III are said to have watched the Lord Mayor's procession".

HANNAH BARNARD

A discussion of the unitarian leanings of Hannah Barnard and of her meeting with Theophilus Lindsey one of the foremost Unitarian ministers, appears in "A Quaker-Unitarian encounter in 1801", by E. M. Ditchfield in *Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society*, vol. 14, no. 4 (October 1970), pp. 209-217.

GEORGE BENSON, OF KENDAL
George Benson, grocer, of Kendal, writes in Friendly plain language selling goods to Abraham Dent of Kirkby Stephen, 1767-71. (T. S. Willan, *An Eighteenth-*

Century shopkeeper. Manchester University Press, 1970, p. 32.)

GERVASE BENSON

C. B. Phillips of the University of Manchester, writing on "County committees and local government in Cumberland and Westmorland, 1642-1660" (*Northern History*, vol. 5 (1970), pp. 34-66), notes that Gervase Benson had a prolonged dispute with the Kendal corporation for neglect of his aldermanic functions. The aldermen voted for him to be expelled, but it is not known whether this was done. (Kendal Corporation MSS. H.M.C. Bdle 1/12.)

Reference for Gervase Benson is also made to S.P. 18/203/33 in the Public Record Office. He was off the county bench by May 1659, and died a yeoman.

JOHN BRIGHT

A story about John Bright at Chatsworth relates that he was "talking to Lord Northbrook on their way to bed, and abusing all the Governors and Viceroyes of India. L. N. got cross, and said 'good-night' suddenly, and left Bright alone in the labyrinth without a clue. He slept—or did not sleep—at last upon a sofa in the billiard-room". This appears in a letter from John Addington Symonds who heard it from the Earl of Carlisle at Castle Howard, August 1892. (*The Letters of John Addington Symonds*. Edited by H. M. Schueller and Robert L. Peters. 3 vols. Detroit, Wayne State University Press, 1967-69. Vol. 3, p. 727.)

Among Symonds's correspondents were Daniel Hack Tuke and Henry Scott Tuke. Robert Spence Watson stayed with Symonds at Davos, Jan. 1885 (vol. 3, pp. 29, 30, correct the index entry). John Scandrett Harford (1785-1866, indexed as Hartford) is mentioned. More than once the admiration which Symonds's friend T. H. Green had for John Bright is remarked upon.

CLARKS OF STREET

"Labour supply and innovation 1800-1860; the boot and shoe industry", an article by R. A. Church of the University of Birmingham (*Business History*, vol. 12, no. 1, Jan. 1970, pp. 25-45) includes some information on the Clark enterprises at Street (extracted from the firm's history, edited by W. H. Barker and published in 1942).

In the 1850s William Clark "invented the first simple machinery for building up heels and attaching them to the sole". In either 1855 or 1856 James Clark took delivery of three machines from the Singer Sewing Machine Company, and in 1858 a treadle machine for cutting sole leather and for stamping soles was brought from America.

OLIVER CROMWELL

God's Englishman: Oliver Cromwell and the English Revolution, by Christopher Hill (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1970. £2.50) has some references to George Fox and other Friends on the tithe question (pp. 125, 145), and on foreign policy (pp. 155), as well as to the constitutional aspects of the Nayler case (pp. 184-187). The author notes that "Baxter, the Quaker John Camm and the

Rumper Slingsby Bethel all suggested that Oliver deliberately maintained divisions among the religious sects in order to play one off against another" and mentions evidence to support this.

FOTHERGILL MEDAL

"A noted Yorkshire physician and Quaker, Dr. John Fothergill (1712-1780) founder of Ackworth School, is commemorated by a fine bronze medal bearing his portrait on the obverse, and on the reverse a view of the School, 'Founded 1779'." There is an illustration of the obverse of the medal in a plate accompanying the "Medallic history of Yorkshire", by H. J. Armstrong (*Transactions of the Yorkshire Numismatic Society*, 2nd series, vol. 2, pt. 4, 1970, pp. 18-22).

GOLDNEY FAMILY

The family history of the Goldney family (Bristol) is briefly covered in a pamphlet by Miss P. K. Stembridge, warden of Clifton Hill House hall of residence in the University of Bristol.

Goldney House is now used as an annexe to Clifton Hill House and Miss Stembridge covers the highlights of the history of the house and the Goldney family (Quakers, merchants and ship-owners), whose residence it was. Magnificently situated, with panoramic views across to the Somerset countryside, and high above the River Avon where the shipping and trade on which the family fortunes were founded went on, the illustrations in this pamphlet readily bring to mind the Goldney enterprises, like that of the *Duke* and *Duchess* which rescued Alexander Selkirk from his desert island.

EDWARD HAISTWELL, F.R.S.
 "Edward Haistwell, F.R.S." by T. L. Underdown, associate professor of history, University of Minnesota, Morris (*Notes and records of the Royal Society of London*, vol. 25, no. 2, Dec. 1970, pp. 179-187), gives cogent reasons for identifying Edward Haistwell the amanuensis of George Fox and (later) merchant of London, with the man who was elected F.R.S. in 1698. A reading of the Bristol registers would confirm to the author (*see* p. 182), that Rachel (Marsh) Haistwell was born in 1670.

CHARLES HALL

Richard Coulton, rector of St. Mary, Castlegate, York, wrote on the end flyleaf of his parish register the following entry:

"Apr 2d 1694. Just as I was going to bed at ten a clock this night a dreadfull fire broke out in high OwseGate which began by the carelessness of one Charles Hall a *Quaker* & Hempdresser, & consumed many houses & next morning stopt about the Pavement Cross"

(Printed in the Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Parish Register Section, Publications 134, p. 159. 1970.)

HANBURY FAMILY

The Hanbury family, and John Hanbury (1664-1734) and Pontypool Japan, receive a brief mention (pp. 155ff) in the course of an article on "Todding-ton and the Tracys" by the Lord Sudeley, in the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society's *Transactions*, vol. 88 (1969), pp. 127-172.

THOMAS EDMUND HARVEY
 Christopher J. James in *M.P.*

for Dewsbury: one hundred years of parliamentary representation (the Author, 115 Rastrick Common, Brighouse, Yorks., 1970) gives good coverage to the electoral history of the borough from the Reform of 1867 to 1966. Early chapters deal with the part which Dewsbury played in Yorkshire elections before the enfranchisement of the borough. Rarely did the constituency depart from its successive Liberal Gladstonian Liberal and (since 1924) Labour allegiance. The seat was won by men who made their contribution in the national sphere.

There is a brief biography of T. E. Harvey, who fought the seat in three elections between 1922 and 1924, winning it for the Liberals in 1923.

HODGKIN AND PEASE

The Hodgkin and Pease family papers in the Durham County Record Office are mentioned in a footnote to an article in *Durham University Journal*, Dec. 1970, p. 37, by D. J. Ratcliffe, entitled "The British and North America: illustrative materials at Durham." The papers contain letters on visits to America, the impact of the American Civil War on Britain, and relations with American Friends. The papers were acquired too recently to find a place in the standard *Guide* by B. R. Crick and M. Alman (Oxford, 1961).

HOLLOWAY OF BRIDGWATER

John Strachey the 18th-century cartographer of Somerset received advice about the house of one Holloway "a Quaker of Bridgwater formerly a joyner, now a Master Builder . . . of 3 little Rooms on the Floor and

2 Stories high which . . . He calls a Pavilion and would place it amongst Gentlemen's Seats . . . methinks is of little consequence and not worthy a place in your Map". (Quoted in J. B. Harley, "County maps", *The local historian*, vol. 8, no. 5, 1969, p. 179.)

WILLIAM HOLME, TAILOR

The great diurnal of Nicholas Blundell, of Little Crosby, Lancashire, vol. 2, 1712-1719 (Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire. 112, 1970), includes the following entries:

"13 May 1712 [Ormskirk]
I bought a Hat of Quaker Holme."

"28 Aug. 1714 Liverpool
I was at the Funerall of one Walls a Quacker School Mistress & heard Robert Hadock Preach."

Other entries concerning Friends appear under 2 July, 3 Nov., 1712, 29 Oct. 1713, and 28 Aug., 1714.

ALDOUS HUXLEY

Letters of Aldous Huxley. Edited by Grover Smith (Chatto & Windus, 1969) has references to Friends in the letters.

It includes the following extract from a letter to Julian Huxley: "One sees, in the light of history, how enormously wise George Fox was, when he absolutely refused to be drawn into Cromwell's orbit—would not even dine at the Protector's table, for fear of being in any way compromised. If he had accepted Cromwell's offer and entered official life in any capacity with the purpose and in the hope of improving the quality of government, there would have been no Quakers." (pp. 464-465.)

THOMAS LURTING

In *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire for the year 1952*, vol. 104, pp. 117ff, there is a paper on Sefton parish. In the course of a notice of members of the Lurtin family, there is mention (p. 137) that, "In 1684 Thomas Lurting of Great Crosby, with several other persons from that township, refused to pay the church ley, in his case 1s. 5½d., consequent upon a dispute which had arisen between the churchwardens and the then William Blundell of Little Crosby, as to the liability of the parish in general for the constructional costs of a new road leading to the lord's mill at Sefton."

WILLIAM MEADE

William Meade, merchant taylor, of Fenchurch Street, London, appeared as petitioner in a case before the Fire Court (19 Nov., 1668). The case is noticed (pp. 311-313) in the second volume of the calendar to the judgments and decrees of the Court of Judicature appointed to determine differences between landlords and tenants as to rebuilding after the Great Fire. (Edited by Philip E. Jones. Printed by order of the Corporation of London under the direction of the Library Committee. 1970.)

ISRAEL PEMBERTON

An Address to the Inhabitants of Pennsylvania, by Those Freeman, of the City of Philadelphia, who are confined in the Mason's Lodge, by virtue of A General Warrant. Philadelphia, Printed by Robert Bell, 1777.

A full bibliographical description of this pamphlet by Israel Pemberton and others, is given

by Edwin Wolf 2nd, in "Evidence indicating the need for some bibliographical analysis of American-printed historical works" in *The papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, vol. 63, 4th quarter, 1969, pp. 268-275.

The author describes the printing of this work as "so bibliographically wild that I cannot make complete sense out of much of it". He ends: "Perhaps, the approach of the British Army toward Philadelphia and the unpopularity of the Quakers' views may have caused Bell to abandon regular printing practices."

WILLIAM PENN

The anecdote in *Anecdotes from History* compiled by Grant Uden (Basil Blackwell, 1968. £2.50), which concerns William Penn is from *The Percy Anecdotes*, in which Charles II is reported as rebuking Penn, when the sturdy Quaker kept on his hat on being presented to him.

"Friend Penn", said the king, 'it is the custom of this court for only one person to be covered at a time'; and then his majesty took off his own hat."

WILLIAM PHILLIPS

In the course of "The progress of British geology during the early part of the nineteenth-century" a bibliographical article by John Challinor of the Department of Geology, University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, in *Annals of science*, vol. 26, no. 3 (Sept., 1970), there is a page of description of the work and discoveries of William Phillips (1773-1828), the pioneer geologist and sometime publisher of Friends' books.

ANTHONY PURVER

"An eighteenth-century N.E.B."

by H. A. Guy (*The expository times*, Feb. 1970, vol. 81, no. 5, pp. 148-50) is a brief article on Anthony Purver's *New and literal translation* of the Bible, published in 1764. There is a column of examples of Purver's translations.

ARTHUR RAISTRICK

A list of the Raistrick MSS. prepared in February 1969 for the owner, Dr. A. Raistrick, Linton, Skipton, Yorks, has been issued by the National Register of Archives, West Riding (Northern Section) committee. There are more than 900 items, including a substantial collection of Yorkshire deeds—mainly of parishes in the Dales, notably Airtion (48 deeds), Kettlewell (76 deeds) and Malham (42 deeds).

SIR JAMES RECKITT

"The James Reckitt Public Library, Kingston upon Hull", by John F. Hooton of the University of Hull Institute of Education (*Library history*, vol. 1, no. 6, Autumn 1969, pp. 184-191) deals with the establishment of the first Hull public library. Thanks mainly to the vision and practical assistance from James Reckitt, the Quaker Liberal industrialist, a popular vote in 1888 against adopting the Public Library Acts for the town was turned in 1891 into a majority in favour. In the interim James Reckitt had loaned £5,000 for a building and books, and subscribed £500 a year (estimated at the equivalent of the penny rate for East Hull) for librarian's salary, running expenses and purchase of new books. The object lesson succeeded, and the library was handed over to the corporation. "The James Reckitt Library still functions, now renamed the

James Reckitt Branch of the Kingston upon Hull City Libraries."

JOHN REYNELL

"John Reynell, Quaker merchant of colonial Philadelphia", by Carl Leroy Romanek, Ph.D., thesis at the Pennsylvania State University, 1969. Thesis abstracted in *Dissertation abstracts international*, vol. 30, no. 11: A, p. 4924-A (223 pages, Microfilm \$3.00; Xerox \$10.15). John Reynell was born in Exeter in 1708. In 1728 he moved to Philadelphia, where he established himself, and played an active part in trading and in Quaker concerns until his death in 1784.

FARLEY RUTTER

J. F. Rutter's *1890: Jubilee of the Mere Temperance Society*, is quoted in Brian Harrison's paper on Liberalism and the English temperance press, 1830-1872, for an account of his teetotal tours in 1840 with publisher John Cassell. Farley Rutter enjoyed Cassell's company, "On our way he was constantly singing, shouting, or cracking jokes, of which he had a boundless store." (*Victorian studies*, vol. 13, no. 2, Dec. 1969, p. 149).

JONAS STANSFIELD

"Jonas Stansfield, born 23 September 1683, fifth son of James Stansfield of Mankinholes in Langfield, parish of Halifax. A Quaker, who lived and practised at Shore in Stansfield township, as a scrivener, circa 1722-1751. Died 10 April, 1758; buried at Shore."

(Item in "Halifax attorneys", by C. D. Webster, *Transactions*

of the Halifax Antiquarian Society, 1969, p. 118.)

SIR HENRY VANE

Violet Rowe's *Sir Henry Vane the Younger* (Athlone Press, 1970, £3.75) includes one or two mentions of Friends, and also has references to George Bishop, Edward Burrough, George Fox, John Fry, and William Penn.

GEORGE WALKER

George Walker, "conspicuous for wordly wealth and a Quaker conscience", pilot on James River in 1697, "gunman and store-keeper at Point Comfort" in 1723, refused the post of Naval Officer for lower James River for "that one silly scruple of the word Swear".

George Walker's grandchild married into the Norton family, whose records are now reprinted in *John Norton & Sons, merchants of London and Virginia*, being the papers from their counting house for the years 1750 to 1795. Edited by Frances Norton Mason. (David & Charles, Newton Abbot, 1968, from the 1937 American edition.)

The firm was largely concerned in the shipment of tobacco, and the quotations at the head of this note come from the biographical appendix to the book.

ACKWORTH SCHOOL

"Yorkshire newspapers 1740-1800 as a source of art history", by Alexandra Frances Artley (Leeds M.Phil. thesis, 1970. Typescript) includes an illustration of Ackworth School and an extract from G. F. Linney's *History of Ackworth School*, 1853 (entry under Orphans Hospital, with reference to the *York Courant* Feb. 22, 1774). Other illustrations

include one of Coley Hall, near Halifax (see also *York Courant*, Dec. 29, 1772). There is also reference to Hardcastle Garth, Hartwith, near Ripley (*Leeds Mercury*, June 7, 1791), and to Swarthmore Hall in "Lancaster" (*Leeds Mercury*, Jan. 2, 1750).

AMERICAN INDIANS

Letters (including letters from Philip E. Thomas, Baltimore Yearly Meeting) concerning Friends' work among American Indians—schools, agricultural implements and equipment, temperance teaching—appear in the recent volume of *The Papers of John C. Calhoun*. vol. 4, 1819–1820. Edited by W. Edwin Hemphill (Columbia, S.C., University of South Carolina Press, 1969. \$15). As secretary for war in President Monroe's cabinet, Calhoun was responsible for relations with the Indians and began administering federal funds for civilizing the tribes adjoining the frontier settlements.

BRISTOL BURIALS

Diocese of Bristol: a catalogue of the records of the Bishop and Archdeacons and of the Dean and Chapter, compiled by Isabel M. Kirby (Bristol Corporation, 1970, £2.50), includes (p. 157) a list of burial records for the following Friends' burial grounds between 1865 and 1897: Redcliff Pit, Friars, New Street, Kingsweston, Hazle (par. Olveston), and Frenchay.

BRITISH MUSEUM MANUSCRIPTS

The British Museum *Catalogue of additions to the manuscripts*, 1936–1945 (2 vols., 1970) includes notices of the Scattergood collections (Addl. 44950 etc.), the

Dale genealogical collections (Addl. 44974 etc.), biographical notes concerning Henry Christy (1810–65) (Addl. 45159), letters from Joseph Albert Pease (1st baron Gainford) in the Viscount Gladstone Papers (Addl. 46022), and list with extracts of early letters of Priscilla (Lloyd) Wordsworth to her father Charles Lloyd, banker, of Birmingham, 1792–1804, before her marriage to Christopher Wordsworth (1774–1846) (Wordsworth Papers vol. 3, Addl. 36138).

BURNLEY

The Churchwarden's Accounts of the parish of Burnley. Edited by W. Bennett. Published by the Burnley Historical Society, 1969.

This work includes some reports prepared for the visitations of the Bishops of Chester.

One 1728 record states "There are none that refuse to pay their Easter offering or to contribute to the rates legally made for the repair of our Chapel etc., only some Quakers who have been compelled by the Justices of the Peace in Sessions as the law directs" (p. 71).

In 1719 there were stated to be "60 Dissenters, 50 Quakers and 4 Independents in the Parish" (p. 74).

In 1747, "We have some Papists and some Quakers." (p. 75.)

CHEADLE, CHESHIRE

A new impression of *A history of the old parish of Cheadle in Cheshire* (E. J. Morten (Publishers), Didsbury, Manchester, 1970. £2.50), by Fletcher Moss (first published in 1894) includes a number of entertaining (apocryphal?) accounts of old times. A paragraph (p. 183) concerns

the Friends at Lindow where they "enclosed and cultivated parts of the boggy land".

"The parsons followed them up for the tithes, if for nothing else, although the distance to go for them was great, and although they knew the Quakers were very averse to parting with anything, particularly with their tithes, for which they got nothing in return. One old Friend, whose descendants still exist in the neighbourhood, sent his parson word that on a certain day he should gather apples; the parson therefore sent on the appointed day a man with a horse for his share of the crop; the old Friend only gathered ten, and gave the man one of them saying he must be content with that for the present, he would gather ten more the next day."

A second story is of the same Friend taking his tenth swarm of bees and shaking them out inside the rectory house.

CLARENDON STATE PAPERS

Calendar of the Clarendon State Papers, vol. 5, 1660-1726, with index to volumes 4 and 5 (Clarendon Press, 1970. £12), completes the work and provides a key to the Bodleian Library documents calendared in vol. 4 (which appeared in 1932).

Documents in vol. 4 concern the events in the troubled years 1657-1660. On June 3, 1659, there is a report of an address from "an odd sort of people called Quakers tending to liberty of conscience" (p. 221). August 13, 1659 (p. 323), Commissioners for the Militia of Bristol to President of the Council of State recommend the raising of one regiment of eight companies under Col. John Haggatt.

Volume 5 includes references

to a "Conventicle of 500 Quakers and Sectaries at 'the Grange', only a mile from Dublin" (Nov. 12, 1662, o. 281); Dec. 23 [1662?], Burford, from Ed. Allen to 'Mr. Downes, cooke of Brasenose Colledge', "Ah deare freind beg hard for the resurrection of that precious cause" A note to the document records a letter to the same purpose is sent to [Chipping] Norton from one Daysbury (p. 286).

March 27, 1664 (p. 386): list of Quakers who assembled in the house of Thomas Curtis in Reading (40 persons committed to gaol), endorsed by Clarendon "List of Will. Armorer's prisoners". There is a letter from Sir William to Clarendon (April 12, 1664, p. 391) explaining that he did not merely imprison the heads of the Sectaries as he had done this before without any effect, so he planned to indict all Quakers, Anabaptists, and Fifth Monarchy men. [See Besse, *Sufferings*, i. 14.]

Jan. 2, 1667 (p. 578), has entry for a paper of 14 queries by Thomas Curtis (?) on behalf of the Quaker prisoners at Reading (no entry under Curtis in the index).

Towards the end of the volume there is a good deal of American material. This includes a grant from the Duke of York to William Penn "of the town of Newcastle *alias* Delaware" and surroundings (Aug. 24, 1682, p. 649), and (p. 696, dated 1700/1) an attack on the record of the Quaker government in Pennsylvania during the years from 1694.

COALBROOKDALE COMPANY

"The construction of the floating harbour in Bristol: 1804-1809",

by R. A. Buchanan (*Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society for 1969*, vol. 88, pp. 184–204), is firmly based on the minutes of the Bristol Dock Company. The author notices the accident to Bath Bridge (the iron road bridge sometimes known as Hill's Bridge), which destroyed much of the ironwork during construction, 1806. The Coalbrookdale Company supervisor in Bristol had expressed previously dissatisfaction with some aspect of the work, but the Dock Company firmly refused to accept responsibility for the mishap, and the bridge was finally built on the original plan. It survived intact until it was destroyed when a barge collided with it in 1855. The sister bridge connecting Redcliffe and Bedminster (Harford's Bridge) was not replaced until 1884.

CONGLETON

One section on the Society of Friends occurs (pp. 235–241), in the *History of Congleton*, published to celebrate the 700th anniversary of the granting of the charter to the town and edited by W. B. Stephens for the Congleton History Society (Manchester University Press, 1970).

Three prominent Quaker families in the 18th century were those of Hall, Welch (or Welsh), and Stretch. Richard Hubbertorne came in 1653, William Caton in 1655. The meeting house was pulled down at the beginning of the nineteenth-century. From that time, until meetings were held at the homes of Friends in the town in the second World War, the history has little else to say.

DEMOGRAPHY

Historical Demography, by T. H. Hollingsworth (1969, Hodder & Stoughton. £3.15), includes a reference to studies of records of English Friends by J. J. Fox, "On the Vital Statistics of the Society of Friends" (*Journal of the Statistical Society*, 22 (1850), pp. 208–231 and pp. 481–483), to articles by M. Beeton and others which use Quaker data (*Proceedings of the Royal Society*, 67, 1900, pp. 159–179; and *Biometrika*, 1, 1902, pp. 50–89). The work of D. E. C. Eversley in this field is also mentioned.

DISSENT

The Agricultural History Review, vol. 18, 1970, supplement is entitled "Land, church, and people; essays presented to H. P. R. Finberg". Edited by Joan Thirsk (published by the British Agricultural History Society). It includes a perceptive article by Alan Everitt on "Non-conformity in country parishes". Old ideas are critically reassessed and evidence is produced which may lead to a better appreciation of the strength of the "Old Dissent" in the country before the explosion of dissent from the time of the Methodist revival until the end of the 19th-century (or, as the author chooses, up to the 1914 war).

The main anchor of the paper is the mass of statistics provided once for all by the 1851 Census figures for religious worship. These show a marked change from the conditions in the 17th-century, where the Compton Census of 1676 show that the Old Dissent comprised only a small minority of the population, centred mainly in large scattered parishes and in settlements on

parish borders far from the parish church. Friends will recognise immediately that this bears out the view which W. C. Braithwaite took in *The Second Period of Quakerism*, p. 463 note.

DONCASTER SCHOOLS

Private schools in Doncaster in the nineteenth century, by John Anthony Harrison (Doncaster Museum publications, 1958–1969), includes brief notes on the boarding school of Elizabeth Armstrong (c. 1806), who was formerly a teacher at Ackworth and an assistant at Esther Tuke's school in York, and on the school for girls (day) established in 1810 by Mary Camm, *née* Ecroyd, and her daughters Mary and Sarah Routh.

Joseph Clark's sons went as day boys to John Rogerson's school in the town before going as boarders to Ackworth. (References are from H. E. Clark, *The life of Joseph Clark*, 1870.)

Rachel Harrison, a Friend, opened a day school for young girls in Cartwright Street, Doncaster on the 7th of 1st month 1828, and it continued at least until 1840.

From 1878 to 1921 William Toase Jackson (1845–1940) had a school in the town, having previously been a master at Bootham.

DURHAM COLLEGE

John Kearney, in *Scholars and Gentlemen: universities and society in pre-industrial Britain, 1500–1700* (London, Faber, 1970) notices (pp. 121–122) George Fox's visit to Durham in 1657 when he met the "man come doune from London to sett upp a Colledge there to make ministers of Christ as they saide". The

initiative for setting up the college, the author thinks, came from the local gentry, who were worried at the spread of sectaries in the district. He also mentions the possibility that the college might by the government have been designed to play the same role in the royalist north as Trinity College, Dublin, was to serve in Elizabethan Ireland, and (although he does not mention this) as the abortive plans for a university in the north at Ripon (1590–1604) were meant to establish a seat of reformed learning in the middle of a still largely unreformed countryside.

George Fox "saw the colleges as a deplorable instrument of orthodoxy in which knowledge of the liberal arts was to be the substitute for godliness".

FLOUNDERS

I shall welcome any 'information' relative to the successive stages in the history of the house, Flounders, at Ackworth.

This building was completed in 1848, when it was known as "The Flounders Institute", or "Ben Flounders" by the students who resided therein. It owes its origin to the munificence of Benjamin Flounders of Yarm, who endowed it with £40,000 to provide a course of training for young male Friends, who were desirous of becoming teachers or tutors. Isaac Brown was the first Principal; he was followed in 1870 by William Scarnell Lean, who occupied the position of Principal until 1899, and so was concerned with the removal of the Institute to Leeds in 1894.

After 1894 it appears that Flounders remained unoccupied for some years, except for the presence of a caretaker.

The next occupants leased the house as a home for inebriate women, when it was known as the North Midlands Inebriates' Reformatory. Evidence of their occupation is visible today.

During the 1914-1918 war, Miss Neilson of Hundhill Hall converted the house, at her own expense, into a hospital for wounded soldiers. Many of the convalescents were Canadians.

After the cessation of hostilities, parts of the house were used as private residences: the Town Clerk of Pontefract occupied the centre portion. Later, members of staff of Ackworth School lived in the ground floor quarters, which in 1940 were turned into a Junior House for Boys. This arrangement continued until 1946; also plans were executed for the conversion of the upper floor, and later the ground floor, into self-contained flats for members of staff. The house has remained in this service until the present time.

In addition to information, I shall welcome the gift or loan of old prints, photographs or objects connected with the house, as we hope to record its history, before the building passes out of the School's control.

BRIAN ARUNDEL,
Ackworth School, Pontefract.

THE FOUR-LEGG'D QUAKER

In P. W. Thomas, *Sir John Berkenhead, 1617-1679: a royalist career in politics and polemics* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1969. £2.75). Sir John Birkenhead or Berkenhead, author of *Mercurius Aulicus* the royalist weekly journal issued at Oxford, 1642-1645, pamphleteer and satirist and after the Restoration for

many years M.P. for Wilton, has found an able biographer.

The author mentions the 1659 broadside ballad *The Four-Legg'd Quaker. To the Tune of the Dog and Elder's Maid*. This was included in later collections, being reprinted as late as 1731. "It is a typical Cavalier ballad of the coarse kind The obvious and vulgar ribaldry is a natural corollary of the extravagant assumption that Quakers were promiscuous and politically menacing."

GILLINGHAM, DORSET

"The Quaker community in Gillingham was founded on the rock of the Hannam family. Holding the copyhold of the Town Mills, Stephen Hannam realised the possibilities of silk throwing as well as corn grinding and so handed a thriving concern to his son Josiah." The above extract comes from p. 181 of *Bound to the soil: a social history of Dorset, 1750-1918*, by Barbara Kerr (John Baker, 1969. 75s.). Gillingham Friends were active in the Gillingham Sunday school, established in 1816 on Lancastrian principles. The author notes that George and Josiah Hannam's exercise books are in Gillingham Museum.

For the Quakers, "pacifism did not prevent their tilting at the Establishment". "During the eighteenth-century members of the Society of Friends had been too prosperous . . . to arouse much clerical opposition." (p. 180.)

The book contains many delightful photographs of rural life before the world wars. The Rutter and the Gundry families are mentioned.

GLASGOW

The Register of the Privy Council

of Scotland, *preserved in the Scottish Record Office*. 3rd series. vol. 16, A.D. 1691 (Edinburgh, H.M. Stationery Office, 1970. £17). This volume includes (p. 659), a representation by "the people called the Quakers in and about the citie of Glasgow" of ill usage, notably that on 12 November 1691 they were hailed out of their (hired) meeting house and some of them were imprisoned for 12 days. The meeting house was plundered and the seating forms taken away. The Lords of the Council asked the magistrates of Glasgow to restore any forms etc. taken out of the house to the true owners.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE

The Buildings of England volumes on Gloucestershire (edited by David Verey, Penguin, £2.10 and £2 respectively, 1970) include notices of Broad Campden, Cirencester, Nailsworth and Painswick meeting houses in the Cotswold volume. Quakers Row, Coates and the house of John Roberts at Siddington are also mentioned.

In the Vale volume are Frenchay and Gloucester meeting houses, the Champion Golden Valley Mill and House at Bitton and Warmley House (now council offices), the "Quaker Chapel" at Thornbury (with date-stone, 1794), and many striking farms and houses with historic associations like those at Hambrook (under Winterbourne) and in the Almondsbury and Alveston districts.

Local Government in Gloucestershire, 1775-1800, a study of the Justices of the Peace, by Esther Moir (Publications of the Bristol

and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, Records section, vol. 8, 1969. 35s.), is based on the author's Cambridge Ph.D. thesis.

The author finds that 190 places of worship for dissenters licensed between 1689 and 1800 included 54 Quaker meeting houses (the largest group) (p. 27). She notices the closely-knit character of the Quaker groups in various places, and the work of William Champion in planning his works village at Warmley (p. 28). Another building venture was that of the Harfords at Blaise Castle (p. 51). The civic and political work of the Harfords at the end of the eighteenth-century is mentioned (pp. 52, 69, 165).

GODLY RULE

Godly Rule, politics and religion, 1603-60, by William M. Lamont, of the University of Sussex (Macmillan, 1969. £1.75), mentions Friends in the final chapter.

"In the retreat from 'Godly Rule' the Quakers play a doubly significant role. First, they offered the doctrinal challenge to Calvinism that Laud had evaded. They denied the rigid Calvinist doctrine of election; by attention to the preaching of the inner light the individual could save himself. This had its dangers, as when Naylor, the Quaker, believed that he was the Messiah."

The author mentions the support which Penn gave to Algernon Sidney in the 1681 election—"a disaster that discouraged repetition".

"The second achievement of the Quakers was their stout-heartedness in the face of persecution. There were some Quakers, such as Wilkinson and Story,

who were so attached to the ideas of personal responsibility and so suspicious of corporate discipline that they defended the practice of fleeing in times of persecution, because the custom not to flee had hardened into an unwritten law." (p. 167.)

GUILDHALL BROADSIDES

A serious call to the Quakers, inviting them to return to Christianity. [London], Haws, 1706. 4 p.

The ancient testimony and principles of the people called Quakers . . . with respect to the King and government; and touching the commotions now prevailing in . . . America. [Philadelphia? 1776.] 4 p. Signed: John Pember-ton, clerk.

These two items are included in "A handlist of some of the 18th-century broadsides in Guildhall Library" (*The Guildhall miscellany*, vol. 3, no. 2, April 1970, pp. 147-156).

HUGUENOTS

"The Bristol Huguenots, 1681-1791", by Ronald Mayo, author of a Lille doctoral thesis presented in 1966 under title "Les Huguenots à Bristol, 1681-1791", an article in the *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society* of London, vol. 21, no. 4, 1970, pp. 437-454, mentions a list of French Protestants in distress in Bristol, in the Friends' archives in the Bristol Archives Office.

An article by Professor E. R. Briggs on Noël Aubert de Versé in the same number (pp. 455-463), includes some notices of Aubert's views on the Quakers, from his *Protestant pacifique* (1684). He pleaded publicly for tolerance of Quakers and Socinians.

INSANITY

Edward Long Fox of Brislington House (of which there is the reproduction of an illustration of 1804), the Tukes of York, and The Retreat, are mentioned in chapters of the section on "Georgian psychiatry" in *George III and the mad-business*, by Ida Macalpine and Richard Hunter (Allen Lane, the Penguin Press, 1969. £3.50). The chapter on "The poor and mad" gives a graphic account of measures taken by the Tukes and others concerned to secure reform in the management of the York county asylum in 1813-14.

IRELAND

Documents mainly from the Greer MSS. provide some significant items in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland publication entitled: *Aspects of Irish Social History, 1750-1800*, edited by W. H. Crawford and B. Trainor, with an introduction by J. C. Beckett (Belfast, H.M. Stationery Office, 1969. 12s. 6d.).

No. 13 in the section on "Resentment against tithes", is a letter from Thomas Greer, 19 March 1798. The lure of emigration is illustrated by a letter from Thomas Wright in Pennsylvania, to Thomas Greer in Dungannon, 14 June 1774 (No. 24). Documents in the section on trade and industry include the will of Thomas Christy of Moyallen, co. Down, linendraper, 19 January 1780 (No. 32: Richardson MSS. T. 1976/1).

Archives from the same collections have been used to effect by H. D. Gribbon in his *The history of water power in Ulster* (David & Charles, 1969), a publication of the Institute of Irish Studies, Queen's University, Belfast. This

volume includes an admirable bibliography.

Harriet (Edgeworth) Butler wrote to Michael Pakenham Butler, her brother, of a visit from Father Mathew to Edgeworthstown in 1841. She asked the visitor, "What first made you think of giving the pledge?" "It was the Quakers in Cork who were always asking me to do something about the people and temperance societies, and one day Mr. Oldham, a member of the Established Church too . . . said to me, 'You are the man, Father Mathew—if you'll undertake it, it will succeed.' And then I thought of making them pledge by promise. Before that they used only to write down their names". (Edgeworth Papers.) The above passage comes from a note on p. 113 of Michael Hurst's *Maria Edgeworth and the public scene* (Macmillan, 1969. £2.50.)

The author also quotes (from the *Memoir of Maria Edgeworth*, by Mrs. R. L. Edgeworth, 1867, 4 vols.) details concerning the assistance received from "the Quaker Association in Dublin" and the local committee on which Maria served in trying to mitigate hardships during the Famine early in 1847.

IRISH HOME RULE

An article in the Winter 1969–1970 issue of the *Dalhousie Review*, pp. 526–539, by John W. Boyle, entitled "Irish Protestant nationalism in the nineteenth-century". The author notes that, although the majority of the founding members of Isaac Butt's Home Government Association in 1870 were Protestants, the body made

little headway in enrolling landlords and Protestant gentry. In 1871 "Alfred Webb, a Quaker, advised a Catholic member (W. J. O'Neill Daunt) to abandon hope of attracting any large number of our protestant fellow countrymen".

"Irish Protestant Nationalism ceases to be of importance after 1914." In fact, the fear that Home rule would mean Rome rule drove many into the Unionist camp.

KNARESBOROUGH

A history of Harrogate & Knaresborough, written by the Harrogate W.E.A. Local History Group, edited by Bernard Jennings (Huddersfield, Advertiser Press Limited, 1970. £3), includes a couple of pages on Friends in the district. Material comes from Braithwaite, Besse, *The first Publishers of Truth* and local sources.

Hardcastle Garth, Hartwith, became a centre of local Quaker activity. The Pannal constable's accounts record charges for taking 28 Quakers before Sir William Ingleby, and 6 to York Castle "two daies travell".

Knaresborough Meeting House was built in 1701. The meeting there "faded out" in the early nineteenth century, but meetings were held in Harrogate during the "season". The Friends' Meeting House, Chapel Street, Harrogate, was built in 1854.

LAKE DISTRICT

The industrial archaeology of the Lake Counties, by J. D. Marshall and M. Davies-Shiel (Newton Abbot, David & Charles, 1969. £2.50), is first class. It has a good bibliography of the subject.

The authors pay tribute to the

pioneer work of the late E. Mitford Abraham in his photographic record of corn mills in Lakeland. Among industries mentioned are the activities of the London (Quaker) Lead Company on Alston Moor and elsewhere; the engineering firm of Gilbert Gilkes & Gordon of Kendal; Gawith, Hoggarth's snuff works in the same town; the Waithman flax mills at Holme, near Milnthorpe; Carrs of Carlisle (and the original biscuit-cutting machine designed by Jonathan Dodgson Carr in 1849).

LANCASTER

The industrial archaeology of Lancashire, by Owen Ashmore (David & Charles, 1969), covers much ground. It includes mention (p. 211) of Sunderland Point and Robert Lawson's warehouses built early in the 18th century at the western entrance to the Lune estuary.

LAW REFORM

The popular movement for law reform, 1640-1660, by Donald Veall (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1970) deals with various aspects of the demands for reform in the period. The book mentions George Fox (on the death penalty and other matters), John Lilburne (largely during his pre-Quaker period), the Naylor (spelled Naylor) trial, and Gerard Winstanley the Digger.

LEEDS

Documents concerning the Arthington and Elam families are preserved in the Wilson of Seacroft records (Archives Department, Sheepscar Library, Chapeltown Road, Leeds, 7), of which an inventory was prepared

in December 1968. See in particular items 37, 38, 129-131.

Politics in Leeds, 1830-1852, by Derek Fraser, a Leeds University Ph.D. thesis (1969), includes some brief notices of Friends' involvement in local as well as national affairs during the period surveyed.

Joseph Sturge was an unsuccessful candidate for one of the borough seats in parliament in 1847. The author finds that seven Friends on the town council voted against a resolution welcoming state intervention in education (1847), an issue which split the Liberals at the time (and probably accounted for Joseph Sturge's electoral defeat). This is the period of the Anti-Corn Law League, and Bright and Cobden appear briefly on the stage. Cobden was M.P. for the West Riding. Among Friends mentioned are Thomas Benson Pease (1782-1846), Robert Arthington, William West and members of the Birchall, Tatham and Wilson families. Persons who at one time had been Friends included William Aldam (1813-1890), elected M.P. for the borough in 1841, son of William Aldam formerly Pease (1779-1855), and John Jowitt (1811-1888).

LISBURN FRIENDS' SCHOOL

"Writings on Irish history, 1968" in *Irish Historical Studies*, vol. 16, no. 64 (Sept., 1969), p. 485 includes a note of an article by Neville H. Newhouse entitled "The founding of Friends' School, Lisburn" in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol. 98, pp. 47-55.

On page 528 a review of a book about Pollbooks (by J. R. Vincent, Cambridge University

Press, 1967) reveals that Cardinal Cullen voted in 1865 for the single (Quaker) liberal standing at the Dublin election.

LIVERPOOL

"The old Quaker meeting house in Hackins Hey, Liverpool", by James Murphy, a paper read before the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 18 February 1954, was printed on pages 79 to 98 of the Society's *Transactions* for that year, vol. 106. The paper gives an account not only of Liverpool Friends, but some details of the meetings round about, from the beginnings until the 1850s.

LONDON

Under the caption "History from Quaker records", *The local historian*, vol. 8, no. 7 (1969), pp. 258-62, reprints portions of the article "Quakers South of the Bridge" by George W. Edwards, in *The Friends' quarterly*, July 1967, to give readers an idea of some of the aspects of local, social history which Quaker records illuminate.

LONDON MEETING-HOUSES

"Places of worship in London about 1738", by E. S. de Beer, in the volume of essays written to honour Mr. P. E. Jones, deputy keeper of the Corporation of London Records, on his retirement (*Studies in London History*. Edited by A. E. J. Hollaender and William Kellaway. Hodder and Stoughton, 1969. £6.30), is based on the list of places of worship first appearing in William Maitland's *The History of London* (1739).

The author states that his principal purpose has been to show the geographical distribu-

tion of the buildings. There were twelve Friends' meeting houses.

"The Quakers had two meeting-houses in the City; one in the eastern Liberties; in the Middlesex Out-parishes, three in the east, and two in the north. In Westminster there were one in the Strand and one in Little Almonry. There were two in Southwark." (p. 396.)

Among the other valuable studies in this handsome volume is one by Professor D. V. Glass entitled "Socio-economic status and occupations in the city of London at the end of the seventeenth century".

MONMOUTH

"Lay influences on religious life in Monmouth since the reformation", by K. E. Kissack (*Journal of the Historical Society of the Church in Wales*, vol. 19, 1969, pp. 52-78), reveals that "there were Quakers meeting in Llanfihangel Ystern-Llewern by 1660." (p. 63.)

MOUNTMELICK MS.

There has recently turned up among some family papers a small manuscript book of 43 leaves, measuring 7½ in. by 5½ in. It contains the Minutes of the Mountmellick Women's Monthly Meeting comprising the Preparative Meetings of Mountmellick, Mountrath, Ballycarrol, Knockballymagher, Kilconnelmore (or Kilconnenmore), Birr, Roscrea, and Ballinakill, the first minute being dated 16 2mo 1755 and the last 11th of the 1mo 1761. The last 3 leaves contain "Rules agreed upon by the National Men's Meeting the 12th 5mo 1757 for the Directions of Women's Meetings in the Conducting of Discipline", but certainly one

page is wanting and perhaps more. The meetings were generally held at Mountrath and Mountmellick alternately, with an occasional change to Kilconnelmore (4 times) and Ballinakill (twice). The names of the representatives from the eight constituent Preparative Meetings are given at every meeting, but it is noticeable how often many of the Meetings were not represented. A large number of presentations of Intentions of Marriage are recorded; also Removal Certificates received and given.

The book has now been deposited in Friends' Historical Library, Eustace Street, Dublin.

J. R. H. GREEVES.

11th gmo 1970.

NOTTINGHAM

Old Nottingham by Malcolm I. Thomis (David & Charles, Newton Abbot. 1968. 45s.), includes a note that "the Quakers had their own burial ground in Walnut Tree Lane near St. Nicholas Church and then in Friar Lane, once Park Street, opposite Spaniel Row. Later it became situated in Clarendon Street in a site later occupied in part by their new meeting-house". (p. 98.)

OATHS

"Quakers and the state: the controversy over oaths in the colony of New York", by Kenneth B. West of the University of Michigan Flint College (*Michigan Academician*, vol. 2, no. 4 (Spring 1970), pp. 95-105), is sub-titled: An eposide in the story of religious freedom. It deals with developments in the campaign to secure to Friends the right to affirm in places

where oaths were required. Victory was largely achieved by 1734.

The author has used manuscript sources at 15th Street Meeting House, New York City.

Joseph H. Smith, professor of law at the Columbia Law School, in his essay "Administrative control of the courts of the American Plantations", gives an interesting account of the difficulties which faced Friends in Pennsylvania in securing the acceptance of the affirmation during the generation following the first British Affirmation Act of 1696. (*Essays in the history of early American law*. Edited with an introduction by David H. Flaherty. Chapel Hill, 1969).

OVENDEN, YORKS.

"Ovenden" by the late W. B. Trigg, a paper delivered to the Halifax Antiquarian Society (*Transactions*, 1969, p. 111), includes a note on Friends in the parish. Quakers had a place of worship at Illingworth. This was noted in Archbishop Sheldon's Returns in 1669 (among the 46 Yorkshire Quaker conventicles there recorded).

PHILADELPHIA

"Rattlesnakes and Hummingbirds: Philadelphia's resources for the history of science", by Whitfield J. Bell, Jr., in *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, vol. 64 (1970), pp. 13-27, mentions many libraries and institutions in and about the city which in course of time and through good husbandry have become possessed of valuable collections in a field which is coming to have a more significant place in educational development. The Library Company of

Philadelphia, and the collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania are known all over the world, but the author notices less-known collections, like the Charles Roberts autograph collection at Haverford College—some 15,000 items, from such widely separated figures as Sir Joseph Banks, Edmond Halley, and John Tyndall. One would like to know more of Minshall Painter, the Quaker farmer who planted an arboretum and devised a phonetic language.

POOLE, DORSET

The architecture of the former Friends' Meeting House at Poole, on the north side of Prosperous Street, is noticed in the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments *Inventory* volume on Dorset, vol. 2, pt. 2, pp. 201–202 (H.M. Stationery Office). In the same volume (p. 253) we find Pennsylvania Castle, Portland, built for John Penn in 1800 (p. 253), and Weymouth Friends' Burial Ground, 1719, on the east side of Barrack Road (p. 336).

POTTERY

Staffordshire Blue by W. L. Little (Batsford, 1969. £2.50), includes useful brief notices of pottery firms and their history, like the Bristol Pottery (Ring, then Pountney), the Cambrian Pottery (Dillwyn).

Some useful plates illustrate the work of the potteries.

PRINTERS

Warwickshire printers' notices, 1799–1866. Edited by Paul Morgan. (Dugdale Society, 1970.) The volume includes notices of the following printers who are known to have worked for Friends at one time or another:

(BIRMINGHAM) Beilby & Knott,

Joseph Butterworth, Thomas Chapman, Richard Davies, Benjamin Hudson, Knott & Lloyd, Thomas Aris Pearson, Richard Peart, John Whitehouse Showell, Myles Swinney. (COLESHILL) William Tite. (LEAMINGTON) John Hewett. (WARWICK) Ebenezer Heathcote.

QUAKER LEAD COMPANY

"The London (Quaker) Lead Company and the Prestatyn mines scandal", by J. N. Rhodes (Flintshire Historical Society Publications, *Journal*, 1967–1968, vol. 23, pp. 42–53), tells the story, from papers at the Public Record Office in London, of a period towards the end of the eighteenth-century before the Lead Company abandoned its Welsh projects and concentrated on the development of its interests in the north of England.

The activities of the London (Quaker) Lead Company in Derbyshire are mentioned in *The Industrial Archaeology of Derbyshire*, by Frank Nixon (David & Charles. Newton Abbott, 1969).

RANTERS

"The Ranters—the 'underground' in the England of 1650", by Professor Norman Cohn (*Encounter*, April 1970, vol. 34, no. 4, pp. 15–25), quotes accounts of George Fox's encounters with the Ranters, in prison at Coventry, at Swannington and elsewhere.

RAWDON

In *The railways of Wharfedale* (Newton Abbot, David & Charles, 1969. £3), Peter E. Baughan quotes (in chap. 9,

"The Yeadon branch", p. 151) from Norman L. Winfield "Last train to Yeadon", MS. in possession of Aireborough Public Library, on the Guiseley, Yeadon and Rawdon Railway:

"The route passed over the old Quaker Burial Ground near Nunroyd Beck, and the Midland Railway arranged for the remaining gravestones to be removed to the Friends Meeting House in Quakers Lane, Rawdon. On the site of the burial ground a small stone plinth was erected at the foot of the embankment with the inscription 'Burial Ground 1669'."

REETH SCHOOL

A history of the Reeth Friends' School in Swaledale, Yorkshire, by Edmund Cooper, of Well Close, Muker, Richmond, Yorkshire, gives in 24 pages a clear description of the Quaker-sponsored primary school which served the needs of the dale until it was taken over by the North Riding County Council in 1939. The Raws' Charity continues to use its funds for educational purposes in the district.

RELIEF WORK

Black Country conditions in the 1930s are described in "An interview with Wesley Perrins", the doyen of the labour movement in the west midlands in Bulletin no. 21 (Autumn 1970) of the Society for the Study of Labour History. Among other things, Wesley Perrins said:

"I can still see the queues, all along the street, waiting for a 5/- grocery ticket to tide them over Christmas. The Society of Friends did a great deal of good work during these years. There was an old disused

nail warehouse near here, and the Friends fitted it with a stove, and provided tools so that the unemployed could go and repair their shoes. They never used leather—just bits of old tyres or sacking, anything they could find. The Friends also owned an area of land which they turned into an allotment, and provided cheap tools and seeds for the unemployed men to grow a few vegetables. But I suppose the most abiding memory is how it was the poor who helped the poor." (p. 21.)

SCOTCH-IRISH

Essays in Scotch-Irish History, edited by E. R. R. Green (Ulster-Scot Historical Series, 2. Routledge, 1969, £1.50), includes a paper by the editor on Ulster emigrants' letters—a type of original material by its very nature difficult to track down. The author mentions (p. 91) Pennsylvania letters from Robert Parke (1735, to his sister in Co. Carlow), and from William Pim (1732, to his uncles in Queen's County), both printed by Albert Cook Myers in his *Immigration of the Irish Quakers*, 1902. A letter from John McDonnell, Wilmington, N.C., to Thomas Greer, 1771, gives an account of the Regulator rising in North Carolina—the leader Herman Husband having formerly been a Friend (p. 101) [Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, D.1044/294].

Esmond Wright, on "Education in the American colonies: the impact of Scotland", mentions James Logan (p. 36). He says the Scotch-Irish took over the Quaker "party" in Pennsylvania and made it by 1776

the dominant (and radical) group in the state (p. 26). "There can, I think, be no question that the most enterprising of the colonies in the educational sphere was Pennsylvania for Quaker as well as Scottish reasons." (p. 35.)

E. Estyn Evans, in "The Scotch-Irish: their cultural adaptation and heritage in the American Old West", says (pp. 75-76): "From 1724 onwards Philadelphia and the other Delaware ports took the bulk of the Ulster-Scots Even the tolerant Quakers of Philadelphia found the Ulstermen uncouth and subversive, 'a pernicious and pugnacious people', but as pacifists the Quakers were willing to find room for fighters on the unsettled Indian frontier."

SLAVERY

The records of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society (now at Rhodes House, Oxford) are used to good effect by C. Duncan Rice of Yale University in an article entitled: "'Humanity sold for sugar!' The British abolitionist response to free trade in slave-grown sugar", in *The Historical Journal*, vol. 13, pt. 3 (1970), pp. 402-418.

The same issue includes an article by Edward David of the University of Bristol, on the impact of the first world war conditions on the Liberal Party. The author mentions (p. 523) Edmund Harvey and Arnold Rowntree on the pacific wing of the divided party.

SOCIOLOGY

The Sociological Interpretation of Religion, by Roland Robertson, associate professor of Sociology, University of Pittsburgh (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1970. 36s.)

includes one or two references to Quakers.

In Chap. 5 "Religious Collectivities", discussing sects, the author says "in the case of the Quakers, a religious doctrine which emphasizes above all the 'free' availability of 'the spirit' is very congruent with a participatory-democratic mode of organisation. But this is one of a relatively few cases where a mode of organisation follows almost logically from a mode of doctrine". (p. 130.)

In the chapter on "Religious Culture" the author touches on the economic side, and also remarks in a note (p. 188), "There is a sense in which urban areas which are not great cultural centres also have populations who appear to feel relatively deprived, or 'culturally retarded'. This may in small part help to explain some of the cases where religious fecundity has been notable in 'non-mainstream' cities". He goes on to mention Leicestershire in this connection. More work would need to be done to test the validity of this suggestion in any particular locality.

Werner Stark, *The sociology of religion 4: Types of religious man* (Routledge) says:

"'Quaker minister' is almost a contradiction in terms. In any case, if there is such a person, he is merely a Quaker and no more." (p. 297.)

"The Quakers . . . rejected the very principle of the division of labour." (p. 18.)

"Friends can be acknowledged as Christians only if the meaning of the word is greatly stretched, or even strained" (p. 20.)

"The Quakers set out to be merely 'a society of friends', i.e. a group bound together by the feeling of brotherliness, and not bound together by anything else." (p. 168.)

"... Every Quaker is a pope unto himself" (p. 274.)

TEMPERANCE

In "Some questions for the local historian" (*The local historian*, vol. 8, no. 5, 1969. pp. 180-186), Brian Harrison, fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, notes, from his study of the 19th-century temperance movement in various places, the part played by the "respectable dissenters—especially Quakers" who, in the 1840s and later took control of the temperance societies and tied them "to the local dissenting community". By the 1870s some aristocratic or Anglican patronage may betoken increasing respectability in the temperance movement, and "increasing remoteness from the realities of working class life". (p. 181.)

TITHES

"Tithing customs and disputes: the evidence of glebe terriers, 1698-1850", by E. J. Evans (*The Agricultural History Review*, vol. 18, pt. 1, pp. 17-35), has a brief mention of the Quakers Tithe Bill of 1736, mentioned in his article in the 1969 issue of *Journal F.H.S.*, vol. 52, pp. 106-121. There is also a quotation from the Wednesbury terrier of 1730, concerning Friends owning a mine which rendered land useless (and therefore not paying tithe).

TOLERATION

Although the majority of colonists in North America believed in

religious uniformity, the presence of some who thought otherwise provided opportunity for proving that government without the support of a state church was possible. "The voluntary principle in religion in America" by Robert T. Handy, an essay in *Voluntary Associations: a study of groups in free societies*. Essays in honour of James Luther Adams. Edited by D. B. Robertson (John Knox Press, Richmond, Va., 1966. \$9.75), brings this point out in connection with Mennonite, Baptist and Quaker influence in Rhode Island, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware. "These experiments in freedom proved that it was possible to have peaceful civil states without establishment of religion, and possible to maintain churches by persuasion only." (p. 131.)

A later essay in the same volume (by Donovan E. Smucker on Rauschenbusch's view of the Church) includes some quotations from Emile de Laveleye's *Protestantism and Catholicism in their bearing on the liberty and prosperity of nations* (London, John Murray, 1875). In one of these, de Laveleye said that "For the foundation of a State, the Christianity of Penn and of Washington is a better cement than the philosophy of Vergniaud of Robespierre, and of Mirabeau". (p. 167.)

TORTOLA

Tortola, a Quaker Experiment of Long Ago in the Tropics, by Charles F. Jenkins (Friends' Historical Society, 1923, and still in print), is among the collection of Caribbean materials purchased from H. Lee Platt, of St. Croix, and now placed in the

Ralph M. Palewonsky Library at the College of the Virgin Islands (Ernest Wagner, librarian).

WALES

Welsh ironmaking and steel and tinplate manufacture in which Friends were concerned provide a proportion of the evidence produced in the National Museum of Wales publication, *Mines, mills and furnaces: an introduction to industrial archaeology in Wales*, by D. Morgan Rees (H.M. Stationery Office, 1969. 30s.). The ironmaking activities of the Hanbury family (Llanelly, Pontypool), and the Neath Abbey Works are particularly noticed.

WESTMORLAND ELECTION, 1818

"The Quakers, who have votes are about sixteen in number, all with the exception of 3 or 4, against us." (William Wordsworth to Lord Lonsdale, Kendal, 29 Jan., 1818. (p. 417.) In *The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth*, arranged and edited by the late Ernest de Selincourt. 2nd edition. III. The Middle Years. Part 2, 1812-1820. Revised by Mary Moorman and Alan G. Hill. Oxford, 1970. £5.75).

Thomas Clarkson was working in the county for Brougham in the anti-slavery interest. Wordsworth to Lord Lonsdale, 11 March, 1818, from Rydal Mount, says: "Mr. C. cannot have exerted himself much, or he would not hold the opinion which I am told he does, that the Quakers will not vote. This at least does not appear to be the opinion in Kendal, with respect to the greatest part of them." (p. 437). In the event Brougham did not win the county seat.

YORKSHIRE

No. 130 in the collection DD 149 at the Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Claremont, Clarendon Road, Leeds (the Parrington deposit of Slingsby letters, received from Major W. F. Parrington of Kirby Sigston Manor, 25th Nov., 1968), is described as follows:

Copy letter, Deputy Lieutenant of the West Riding in answer to a letter from the Privy Council describing the mobilisation of the militia and the measures he proposed to take against disaffected persons and Quakers [undated, but sorted as 1684], 30 Aug.

The text reads (in part):

"discontented ministers and lecturers are of most dangerous consequence . . . The practice of those whom they call Quakers wee conceive not less dangerous, who still continue there meetings in greate numbers, to which wee hope the passing of that Bill already dispatched in the house of Commons will bring a seasonable remedy. And wee shall be carefull to put the knowne Lawes against both in execution."

Among the grants recorded in the 39th annual report of the Pilgrim Trust, 1969, are the two following:

Ryedale Folk Museum, Hutton-le-Hole, Yorkshire (£1,000). Arising from the idea of the late R. W. Crosland, who used to exhibit his small collection of antiquities in the building now used as a museum.

Swarthmore Educational Centre, Leeds (£5,000 towards the total estimated cost of £25,000 for the development programme).

Supplements to the Journal of Friends' Historical Society

7. THOMAS POLE, M.D. (1753-1829). By E. T. Wedmore. 1908. 53 pp.
- 8-11. EXTRACTS FROM STATE PAPERS relating to Friends, 1654-1672. Ed. N. Penney. 1910-13. 4 parts. 365 pp.
12. ELIZABETH HOOTON, First Quaker woman preacher (1600-1672). By Emily Manners. 1914. 95 pp.
13. TORTOLA. By C. F. Jenkins. 1923. 106 pp.
14. Record of the SUFFERINGS OF FRIENDS IN CORNWALL, 1655-1686. 1928. 152 pp.
15. QUAKER LANGUAGE. F.H.S. Presidential address by T. Edmund Harvey. 1928. 30 pp.
- 16-17. PEN PICTURES OF LONDON YEARLY MEETING 1789-1833. Ed. Norman Penney. 1930. 227 pp.
21. AN ORATOR'S LIBRARY. John Bright's books. Presidential address 1936 by J. Travis Mills. 1946. 24 pp.
22. LETTERS TO WILLIAM DEWSBURY AND OTHERS. Edited by Henry J. Cadbury. 1948. 68 pp.
23. SLAVERY AND "THE WOMAN QUESTION." Lucretia Mott's Diary. 1840. By F. B. Tolles. 1952.
24. THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY OF THE EARLY FRIENDS. Presidential address by Frederick B. Tolles, 1952.

Prices for the above obtainable on request.

26. JAMES NAYLER, A FRESH APPROACH. By Geoffrey F. Nuttall, D.D. 1954. 15p, post 3p.
27. THOMAS RUDYARD, EARLY FRIENDS' "ORACLE OF LAW". By Alfred W. Braithwaite. 1956. 15p, post 3p.
28. PATTERNS OF INFLUENCE IN ANGLO-AMERICAN QUAKERISM. By Thomas E. Drake. 1958. 10p, post 3p.
29. SOME QUAKER PORTRAITS, CERTAIN AND UNCERTAIN. By John Nickalls. 1958. Illustrated. 25p, post 3p.
30. "INWARD AND OUTWARD." A study of Early Quaker Language. By Maurice A. Creasey. 1962. 20p, post 3p.
31. GEORGE FOX AND THE PUREFEYS. By T. Joseph Pickvance. 1970. 30p, post 3p.

Journals and Supplements Wanted

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