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Editorial

THE Society's Presidential Address for 1974 was delivered by Mary Hoxie Jones on the evening of 19 August at the University of York, during London Yearly Meeting. About 300 members and Friends were present and the chair was taken by Stephen Wilson, last year's President. The address, entitled "Friends and poetry", embraced a good wide survey of the subject, and was delivered with characteristic clarity and good humour. Those of us whose minds can go back to the visits to this country paid by Rufus Jones a generation ago felt we had been privileged to attend another happy transatlantic occasion.

The Spring meeting (5 July 1974) heard an address by Pamela Oliver on "The problems of authority, discipline and tradition in the first century of English Quakerism". It is anticipated that both these addresses will substantially be published elsewhere.

Among the research students who have been using Friends House Library recently has been Craig Horle, of the University of Maryland, who is working on a doctoral thesis: "Judicial attitudes towards the prosecution of religious dissenters, 1660–1688". An important part of the thesis will relate to Friends, and on 1 November Craig Horle gave the Historical Society an address on the subject entitled "Judicial encounters with Quakers, 1660–1688". The talk was much appreciated. Craig Horle was able to refer the 40

members present to contemporary material that was not generally known. We hope to print this in a future issue.

The meeting on 1 November followed a meeting for worship held in thankfulness for the life of Henry J. Cadbury, of Haverford, Pennsylvania. An obituary note appears following this Editorial, and we are privileged to print two of his articles, one on the editing of the Ellwood edition of George Fox's Journal, 1694, the other on the imprisonment of Katharine Evans and Sarah Cheevers in Malta in 1658. These papers were the latest received by us before Henry Cadbury's death, and we regret that he was not able to see them set up in type.

Kenneth L. Carroll presents evidence concerning early Friends missions in Norway under the title "The First Publishers of Truth in Norway". In "Holland's Welfare" Alfred Braithwaite studies Friends' persistence in ensuring the return to innocent sufferers of money acquired indirectly by a member as the result of an act of war—a concern which took decades to work out, in the face of many obstacles.

Joseph Sturge's mission to Russia in 1854 failed to halt the Crimean War. Stephen Frick of Earlham College, U.S.A., continues his survey of Joseph Sturge's career and traces the avenues through which he sought to influence British attitudes to seek more peaceful policies, at a time when war fever was running high. Briefer articles include a note on the founding of the George Fox School, Lancaster, *c.* 1690, by Michael Mullett of the University of Lancaster; an eighteenth century newspaper report of the drowning of a Bristol merchant, Samuel Lloyd, in the Bristol Channel in the summer of 1736; and a list of Leeds Friends who helped to organize relief in the Lancashire cotton famine districts in the time of the American Civil War.

Pressure on space has forced us to hold over features on Archives and Historical research until next year, but we include the usual notices of Recent Publications and Notes and Queries.

* * *

It is with deep regret that we have to announce the death of Alfred W. Braithwaite on 19 March 1975, when this issue was passing through the press. Alfred Braithwaite has served the Historical Society as editor since 1959. An appreciation will appear in our next number.

Henry Joel Cadbury (1883-1974)

HENRY J. CADBURY, son of Joel and Anna Kaighn (Lowry) Cadbury, died on 7th October, 1974, and with his death there passes from the scene one whose contribution to New Testament scholarship, as well as to Quaker historical studies, to the work of the Society of Friends in America and the world at large, has been substantial, long-sustained and immensely useful. His work has continuing value, both in what he himself was able to achieve and through the example and encouragement which his life has been the means of spreading to other workers in the same fields.

For an informed account of Henry J. Cadbury's multifarious activities we refer to Mary Hoxie Jones's biographical sketch of him which appeared in the Festschrift *Then and Now*, edited by Anna Brinton, issued on the occasion of his completion of twenty-two years as chairman of the American Friends Service Committee in 1960. We recall that there has been little slackening since that time in the amount of material prepared for publication coming from Henry's pen. A list of his offices, degrees and honours appears in *Who's Who*, and in *Who's Who in America*.

Henry J. Cadbury was closely engaged over many years in teaching at Harvard (where he held the Hollis chair of divinity for twenty years) and at Haverford College. Something of his devotion to scholarship, and his publishing record can be judged from the fact that entries for his works occupy six columns in the massive *National Union Catalog Pre-1956 Imprints*, not to mention the score of additional entries recorded in the Library of Congress *National Union Catalog* since that date.

A published bibliography is a desideratum for the man who wrote *The Making of Luke-Acts* (1927), *The Peril of Modernizing Jesus* (1935), *Annual Catalogue of George Fox's Papers* (1939), *George Fox's Book of Miracles* (1948), *Narrative Papers of George Fox* (1972), the collection of papers in *Friendly Heritage* (1972) and a host of articles in general learned and in Quaker journals over the past half-century and

more. His presidential address to Friends' Historical Society in 1947, entitled "Answering that of God", was printed in this *Journal*, vol. 39, pp. 3–14.

Many tributes will be paid to the life and work of a great man before this appears in print. We salute the memory of Henry Joel Cadbury, educator, and this Historical Society is thankful that his recreations included (as well as camping) Quaker history. In his myriad concerns and activities he did not lose sight of his highest goals.

R.S.M.

Janet Payne Whitney (1889-1974)

JANET WHITNEY died in America 19 December 1974, and with her passing we lost one who made Quakerism known in her writings far beyond the confines of the Society of Friends. Her outstanding biography *Elizabeth Fry, Quaker heroine* (1936) puts the penal reformers' legend of the formidable matron in Quaker grey within a human setting, and sheds on her career a more roseate and engaging light. Janet Whitney's other biographies, *John Woolman, Geraldine S. Cadbury*, and *Abigail Adams*, were matched by half a dozen historical novels with Quaker interest, and contributions to the *Atlantic Monthly*, the *Ladies Home Journal*, as well as to Quaker journals.

Janet E. L. Payne was born at Chesham and educated at the Mount School, York, and Bedford College, London. She married George Gillett Whitney, art master at Westtown School, Pennsylvania. Her Presidential Address to the Historical Society was delivered on 30 September 1965, and printed in the *Journal* that year, vol. 51, pp. 3–20, under the title "The apprenticeship of George Fox".

The Society of Friends, and the Historical Society in particular, counts itself fortunate that its members are concerned and willing to use their talents of investigation and interpretation in the service of Quakerism. It is with affection that we remember Janet Whitney and salute her memory.

The *Editio Princeps* of Fox's Journal

THERE is a good deal of information already collected and printed about the process by which Fox's Journal was edited and published less than four years after his death. He himself had planned an even larger collection of his writings, he had made reference to the location of manuscript copies of them, had named thirteen Friends to attend to their publication, and had instructed that after other legacies had been paid his residuary estate should be used to finance the publication, and so far as possible, the free distribution of this material.[1]

The Journal with many inserted papers was the first instalment of this plan. As issued in 1694 it carried on the title page the caption "The First Volume". In an Advertisement (p. xvii) it mentions other testimonies for Fox, omitted in the Journal but "reserved for further consideration, to be disposed of, as a future service may be seen in the wisdom of God for them, when way is made for his Epistles, or any of his other works to be published". Already the collecting of further materials had begun, which resulted, first, in the enormous manuscript Annual Catalogue of George Fox's papers and, then, in two large additional printed folio volumes, the *Epistles* in 1698, and the Doctrinal Works (*Gospel Truth Demonstrated*) in 1706.

Evidently the transcribing and editing of the Journal was early delegated primarily to Thomas Ellwood, one of the thirteen Friends named. To him the principal source materials were entrusted.[2] He worked at his home in Buckinghamshire whence he sent reports of his progress to the Morning Meeting at London. By April 1692 he had transcribed the journal up to 1666, about 200 sheets, which he later delivered to William Meade in London. By April 1693 he was working on the year 1684.[3]

[1] See the three papers printed in *Camb. Jnl.*, ii, 347-351, the first dated June 27, 1685, the third in October, 1688.

[2] See *Narrative Papers of George Fox*, ed. by H. J. Cadbury, 1972, pp. 49–51.

[3] Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, 531–2.

When Ellwood had completed this task his manuscript was brought to London and was read over in instalments by members of the Morning Meeting. They met by adjournments in the last half of 1693. The minutes record the meetings of those engaged in this review, but tell nothing of their detailed action. My impression is that they made few changes in Ellwood's transcript. It is most likely that they simply omitted certain further passages. The more detailed editorial process apparently had been already done by Thomas Ellwood himself. Writing in April 1692 to the Morning Meeting he explains his delay. He had "spent more time in perusal and comparing than writing".

The Spence Manuscript

Though neither Ellwood nor any later writer seems to have described in detail the additions or alterations which he introduced,[1] the material for such a description is available at least for the earlier and major section of the Journal. The Spence MSS., Vols. 1 and 2 contain what is obviously the direct narrative source used by Ellwood not only to 1666, but, except for Fox's Irish and American travels, up to 1676. This was printed verbatim and literatim in 1911 in the *Cambridge Journal*, and edited by Norman Penney, and thus provides, though not without a good deal of patient study, the basis for a minute comparison. In 1893 Charles J. Spence, who was then owner of the Spence MSS., wrote one of the fullest descriptions of the differences.[2]

A systematic collation of the manuscript with the edition of 1694 is in progress. It has not proceeded very far, and the work is necessarily slow. The constant transposition of paragraphs makes it impossible to decide at once whether a passage has been cut out or whether it may reappear, grouped in a later page, for clearness sake, with incidents to which it is more nearly related. Alterations in spelling, wording, and construction are of constant occurrence and there are few cases in which these amendments do not take something from the freshness of the original narrative.

[1] Ellwood's testimony to Fox printed with the Journal does not suggest that he had any part in editing it. His own autobiography ends in 1683, too early to contain reference to this labour. When that was printed in 1714, Joseph Wyeth wrote an appendix in which Ellwood's work of transcribing Fox's Journal and fitting it for the press is mentioned briefly.

[2] Published in *The Essayist and Friends Review*, pp. 5–8, cf. p. 12 for authorship and facsimile opposite. The quotation is from p. 6.

This is all well said, but no record of the "systematic collation" has been found that might have anticipated what is offered here. The omissions from the original have received a good deal of attention,[1] but in more than sixty years since the *Cambridge Journal* was published the additions and other changes made in the printed edition have not been the subject of much study. T. E. Harvey's introductory account in that 1911 edition runs:

> In comparing, as we are now able to do, the largest section of the original MS. with the first printed edition, it is possible for us to realise how difficult and responsible the task was that fell to Ellwood's pen. Compression and abbreviation were a necessary part of that task, and on the whole well carried out: the portrait which the manuscript *Journal* gives us is essentially the same as that of the printed edition, yet, in comparing the two, one is sensible that here and there the cautious care of the editor has removed some rough vigorous touch: the whole is quieter, a shade less naif, a shade nearer the conventional. Sometimes some picturesque detail which Fox had recorded disappears as unnecessary, sometimes some incident or saying which contemporaries might misunderstand is omitted: occasionally some obvious slip is corrected, and in other cases fear of political or theological misunderstanding has led to longer passages being omitted.[2]

The Spence MS. here used as evidence of Ellwood's editing is a continuous narrative nearly all in the hand of Thomas Lower, and much of it paged continuously. There were many other unnumbered sheets in the same hand, often with a devotional ending. There were a good many separate documents written in various other hands. The place for insertion of both these kinds of papers was often indicated. Most of these are bound with the MS. Others are referred to in it but lost. A few have turned up elsewhere. Also now lost are the first sixteen numbered pages and any unnumbered pages that belonged with them. Comparison can therefore

[1] They were conveniently indicated by square brackets in *Camb. Jnl.* They were classified by N. Penney, *ibid.* vol. i, pp. xl, xli, and analyzed by T. Edmund Harvey, vol. i, pp. xv–xx. See also T. E. Harvey, *The Journals of George Fox* (a paper read before the London Society for the Study of Religion, 5 Dec. 1911 and privately printed), and more briefly John L. Nickalls, "The Journal of George Fox", *Friends' Quarterly*, 6, 1952, pp. 144–151, who suggests (p. 146), that the Great Journal marks a stage between the Cambridge Journal and Ellwood's edition. I cannot confirm this. See *Narrative Papers*, pp. 65 ff.

[2] T. E. Harvey, introduction to *Camb. Jnl.*, vol. i, pp. xv–xvi.

begin only with page 17 of the Spence MS. and the bottom of page 30 in the printed Journal.[1]

Ellwood's Editorial Additions

A major problem in preparing the manuscript copy for the press was the insertion into the continuous narrative of the separate documents,[2] largely epistles by Fox, which the editor decided to include. Where he did include them he usually wrote a sentence or two of explanation. These are among the more extensive of his editorial additions.[3]

In the later part of the Journal such introductions, often deduced simply from the contents and date line of the document, represent, in the absence of any biographical narrative source, Ellwood's free invention of all the narrative given.

Another common element of editorial revision is in the transition of the narrative from place to place or scene to scene. The simple monotonous connective "and" of the original is often omitted or replaced by other conjunctions or adverbs or by a resumptive clause. Several times Ellwood has a phrase beginning "when I had cleared my self" (Ellwood 65, 135, etc.), "having cleared my self" (56, cf. 96, 169,), "After I had cleared my self in the market" (81, cf. 166). For change of scene Lower, presumably following Fox's dictation, used the verb "passed". Ellwood sometimes varies this to "travelled", "went". In connection with arrival at or near Swarthmoor, the original naturally used "came". One notes that this is sometimes changed by Ellwood to "went" (76, 77, 105, 216[Ddd2b], 226[Eee3b], etc.). This may be additional evidence that the Spence MS. was written or dictated at Swarthmoor.

[1] In what follows page reference for minor differences is usually given only to the 1694 edition (referred to as "Ellwood" where confusion might occur). Ellwood page numbers between 188 and 288 (anni 1656–1664) are followed by the signatures [running between Bb2 and Nnn2]; in this part of the volume signatures are in regular sequence, pagination is irregular. The corresponding passage in later editions like the Bi-centenary of 1891, or in the Spence MSS. as printed in the *Cambridge Journal* can be usually found because the order remains the same, and proper names can be used by help of the indexes to locate corresponding passages.

[2] The last index or "fourth table" in the *editio princeps* lists these in the printed order, over 350 of them. Before the indexes, on pp. 617–632, the text of four letters by Fox in 1677 is added, and their titles are inserted in the "fourth table".

[3] An early and lengthy instance is on p. 207 [Ccc2a] describing the custom of robbing shipwrecks on the Cornish coast.

A major set of changes in the printed text is due to an extensive and intelligent rearrangement of clauses, sentences and paragraphs. Thus the editor has put into chronological order episodes recorded as afterthoughts, and has brought together or in better sequence what pertains to the same person or occasion. This required no little skill and was done with a maximum retention of the original wording. When the original order was satisfactory one finds page after page where the transcription follows in essentially the same wording as well as order.

Of the minor differences between the printed first edition and the Spence MS. as printed in the *Cambridge Journal* there must be a few that are accidental. Copyists and printers are not infallible and obscurities in what one is copying leads to some error. There were at least two steps of transfer, from Spence MS. to the copy that Ellwood prepared for the press[1] and from the latter to the printed page.[2] One can only conjecture the presence of such accidental errors.

Ellwood's Editorial Style

Certain changes in word forms are pretty regular in Ellwood's editing. The frequent seventeenth century use of the singular verb with a plural subject is avoided, e.g. "many was" becomes "many were". (260[Iii4b] and *passim*.) Ellwood often used the pluperfect tense with "had" quite

[1] Ellwood, as reported above, mentions such a transcript. I do not know on what authority or evidence. Elisha Bates, *An Appeal to the Society of Friends*, London, 1836, p. 3 says: "I understand that the MS from which this edition was printed, is still in being."

[2] A frequent deviation between the two texts is between singular and plural. This is possibly sometimes due to the obscurity in handwriting of words ending in s and e. Other instances that look like misreading are "I was commanded by the Lord to pull off my shoes" (Ellwood 53) for "to putt off my shoes" (*Camb. Jnl.*, i. 15); "I felt the power of the Lord" (Ellwood 170) for "I sett the power of the Lord" (*Camb. Jnl.* i. 199); "Spirit and Truth" (Ellwood 173) for "Spirit and Faith" *Camb. Jnl.* i, 203), and "the power of the Word" (Ellwood 253* [Kk3a]), for "the power of the Lord" (*Camb. Jnl.* i, 277). Again when we read in the *Camb. Jnl.* (i, 256) "and the scriptures were largely opened to them [and they turned to the spirit of God in themselves that would lead them into all truth and open the Scriptures to them] and the traditions and rudiments and ways and doctrines of men were opened to the people", Ellwood, p. 221*–222* [Ff3], who is otherwise following pretty closely, omits the words bracketed above. They are not bracketed in *Camb. Jnl.* The accidental omission of words that follow and end with the same phrase is well known to palaeographers (called homoiarchton, homoioteleuton).

idiomatically, in cases where his source used the past.[1] Strangely enough from our perspective he often substitutes for the present "has" the more archaic looking "hath". A favourite form of simplification of the original abundant paratactic sentences is Ellwood's use of the participle, including the nominative absolute. Ellwood also affects the use of "his" in place of an apostrophe and "s" for the genitive of proper names both in the text and in the running title: "George Fox his Journal". But also this form of possessive of proper names, characteristic of the period, is sometimes in both the MS. and printed form, as in the oft quoted reference to the Epistle of St. James: "I knew, from whence all wars did arise, even from the lust, according to James his doctrine" (46). The exceptional (but Shakespearean) use of she (objective): to she and her family was of course changed to "to her and her family" (78).

The editor often inverted a pair of words from the order in his source. Sometimes this has been done for no obvious reason. A few examples of such inversion are: the Lord's Spirit and Power (53), rain and snow (57), civil and loving (80), envious and devillish (84), the Spirit and the letter (89), glorious and heavenly (120), the most and the best (120), thou and thee (121, 179), crost and vext (135), shake and shatter (139), principles and practices (139), wicked and devilish (186), dog nor cat (222[Eee1b]).

Many times the changes by Ellwood suggest a mere difference of literary taste. Twice Ellwood has avoided the apparently idiomatic "might have killed him with a crabb", substituting "he had little strength left him" (Ellwood 37; *Camb. Jnl.* i, 9), or "his spirit was ready to fail" (74). Some of the expressions he changed we also would avoid as archaic, but others which he retained seem to us equally so. And even with the same term his practice was not uniform. I think he usually replaced "mazed" with "amazed" (86), and "stunn'd" (87). Even "amazed" was replaced by "struck" (173), but Ellwood kept the noun "maze" (68). I think he regularly substituted the preposition "over" or "upon" for Fox's picturesque "a top of" (87, 259*[L12a], 278*[Nn3b]), although, exceptionally, one finds "God would bring that a top of them, which they had been a top of" (199[Bbb2a]). Other

[1] e.g. 54 "had had in the inn", 131 "had known from a child", cf. 186.

prepositions replace Fox's "a matter of" followed by a number (124, 136, 225*[Gg1a]).

Ellwood's Editorial Caution

A mark of caution is to be found perhaps in Ellwood's frequent addition in parentheses of phrases like "as I was told", "as he said", "as he was accused" in connection with statements by Fox that were evidently hearsay. For "a Conjurer" Ellwood wrote "reputed a Conjurer" (48), and for "had killed" "had been accused of killing" (128, 129). So are added "we were informed" and "I understood that" on page 187 and "as I was credibly informed" (327). The definite numbers given in Spence MSS. are sometimes retained but sometimes made general, as "many leagues" for "100 miles" (58), "about half a dozen" for six (89), "above sixty Ministers" (the Valiant Sixty) for "a matter of seventy" (124). In the last change Ellwood may be suspected of avoiding the obvious parallel between Fox's seventy and the seventy appointed by Jesus. This kind of motive evidently led Ellwood to omit the words early inserted in his source "for the word of the Lord came to me I must go and sit down upon the rock in the mountain as Christ had done before" (74, at Firbank Fell; *Camb. Jnl.* i, 43).

On the other hand, when Fox echoes Bible language, Ellwood often alters the wording to that of the Authorised Version. Thus he writes (180) of the "three children" in the fiery furnace in Daniel 3:21 "coats, hose(n), hats" instead of "cloaks, hose, hats" of his source. He assimilates (247[Hhh2a]) the description of the beast in Daniel 2:32–33 to the Authorised Version reading. Ellwood wrote "Christ the true and living way" (79) for "Christ their way" and "Christ, the new and living way to God" (280*[Nn4b], cf. Hebrews 10:20) where his source simply had "Christ their way to God". I think his addition of the phrase "in their inward parts" (56) to the Spirit of God, and elsewhere, is another Biblical reminiscence. At page 270*[Mm3b] Ellwood expanded the Scripture quotation and supplied references (*Camb. Jnl.* i, 294).

One cannot count on the consistency of Ellwood's changes, or generalize on his presumed motives. T. Edmund Harvey suggested for example that "possibly some thought of avoiding misunderstanding led the good editor also to

omit the reference to Margaret Fell and her daughters joining Fox on his journey for a short time in 1663 (ii. 34), and her daughters Sarah and Susanna meeting him on another journey in 1669 (ii. 135)".[1] We may add that Ellwood (129) omitted previously the words "where two of Judge Fell's daughters met me" (*Camb. Jnl.* i, 150; Derbyshire, 1654). On the other hand, he had not omitted at Reading in 1655 the words "thither came two of Judge Fell's daughters to me" (152), nor at two other points in his travels in 1663: "At Topsham we met with Margaret Fell, and two of her Daughters, Sarah and Mary" (262[Kkk1b]), and at Bristol "we met Margaret Fell and her Daughters again" (266 [Kkk3b]).

Similarly, if one suspects theological reasons for the additions and omissions of Ellwood one would find it difficult to explain why he omits the second of the two verbs applied to Christ "that has bought them and purchased them" (267[Kkk4a]; *Camb. Jnl.* ii, 33). Elsewhere Ellwood shows no aversion to the phrase.

There are many occasions when what Fox said he had done, in the revision is attributed to God by the use of the passive of the verb. For example, "his understanding was opened" (45), "so was the power of the Lord brought" (47, cf. 66), or "was" (94), or "was set" (109), "Friends, who were turned to the Lord, and established by his Power upon Christ" (120). In these cases "I" has disappeared. In others, where the Lord's power is said to have given dominion, the indirect object "me" has been omitted (92, 130). I have indicated elsewhere that in repeating accounts of cures Ellwood has made similar changes.[2]

Twice after "Truth" Ellwood omitted the phrase "as it is in Jesus" (70, 79 cf. Ephesians 4:21), but at page 286 he has added it. Where the source reads both "the truth" and "the word of life" Ellwood retained the latter alone (65 *bis*, 76).

[1] *Camb. Jnl.* i, p. xx.

[2] *George Fox's Book of Miracles*, pp. 41 f. Cf. *Camb. Jnl.* i, 420–1, note 1 to p. 140: "Where Fox mentions these cures, he is careful to acknowledge the accompanying Divine power", but the passage there quoted (27–28, Mansfield Woodhouse, 1649) is not extant in manuscript and may have been rewritten by Ellwood.

Fox's terminology for his service and message was evidently mostly unobjectionable to his editor, who sometimes patches with cloth of the same kind. When George Fox says that he turned people to Christ their teacher, Ellwood often, but not always, replaces the verb by "directed" (174, 223*[Ff4a], 251*[Kk2a], 258*[Ll1b], 223[Eee2a]), and at least in the early part of the Journal adds "in them" (45), "within" (39, 71), "inward" (35), "in their own hearts" (39), "in their inward parts" (56), to make sure that the reader understands that no outward teacher is meant. Fox like other Friends used Truth of Quakerism; Ellwood often adds an article, "the truth". The favourite early Quaker phrase "received the Truth in the love of it" is retained by Ellwood where it occurs (79, 173), and is sometimes added or substituted for the simpler "received the truth" (151, where both forms occur). So "spoke to his (their) condition" is added (12, 139) as well as retained. "Holy Scriptures" in Ellwood is sometimes retained from the source and sometimes used for its simple "scriptures" (70). "Eminently manifested" is sometimes Ellwood's substitute for "came over all" (152). "Divine mysteries" are his words with the verb 'opened' (74, 107) or "reveal" (257*[Ll1a]).

A recurrent feature of the original manuscript is the reference to a convert or a group of converts as remaining steadfast "to this day". Obviously for a book to be published in the 1690's what was true in the 1670's needed to be checked. It could remain unchanged if confirmed (257*[Ll1a], 281*[Oo1a]), could be omitted if not confirmed, or could be corrected if known to be no longer true. Frequently the most one could say is that those convinced remained so "long after". In place of the dated "to this day" Ellwood occasionally prefers to say "ever since" (225*[Gg1a], 244*[Ii2b]) or "continued faithful" (123, John ap John, d. 1695), or "came to be a serviceable man in Truth" (171, Thomas Moore), or "stood faithful ever after" (177), or "remained a very good Friend" (220*[Ff2b]). Several individuals of whom was used the phrase "to this day" were known to have died before 1693. Thus Ellwood writes for "stands to this day", "stood so to the end of his days" (90, Thomas Briggs, d. 1685), "continued so to his death" (185, Humphrey Lower, d. 1672), or omits "remains to this day" (212*[Ee2b] Loveday Hambly,

d. 1682).[1] A more substantial and elaborate explanation about the meeting at Swarthmoor occurs in Ellwood 80–91. Fox himself had said that in spite of opposition Judge Fell allowed it to be held at the Hall, and it "has remained above 20 yeeres to this day" (*Camb. Jnl.* i, 52). Ellwood wrote that it "hath continued there near Forty Years, until the Year 1690. that a New Meeting-house was erected near it". Obviously in other instances the perspective of changed date has been most easily cared for by simply omitting an original dated allusion, as where George Fox had said in an inserted document, "about 1676", "I . . . have continued in it [*i.e.* this ministry] this 27 yeere" (*Camb. Jnl.* i, 250; Ellwood 228*[Gg2b]).

Naming of Persons

In the naming of persons there is some difference between Ellwood and his sources, apart from the simple matter of spelling. He omits the names of some Friends who had become renegades[2], like Humphrey Norton, who once had offered to take Fox's place in Doomsdale (214*[Ee3b]), John Story who with John Wilkinson had first become good Friends and then leaders in a secession (*Camb. Jnl.* i, 44, ii, 312), Hannah Stringer,[3] one of the two ardent admirers of James Nayler (*Camb. Jnl.* ii, 169), and Rose Atkins (*Camb. Jnl.* ii, 124). William Salt is mentioned five times in *Camb. Jnl.* but not once in Ellwood. Sometimes Ellwood substitutes "a Friend", "another woman Friend", or "two Friends houses" (118). But not all such omissions are to be so explained. Indeed several names omitted at one place occur elsewhere in

[1] Similarly see passages concerning Captain Davenport (279*[Nn4a]), and unnamed converts in Birmingham (167), Warwick (169), Podimore, etc. (221*[Ff3a]), Marlborough (223*[Ff4a]), Crowland (225*[Gg1a]), Pontamile (247*[Ii4a]), and in Scotland (281*[Oo1a]). Norman Penney referred to six omissions (see *Camb. Jnl.* i, 428, note 2 to p. 180 in the text) when he noted, "This is a striking instance among others of a too hasty assertion of the convincement of various persons mentioned, or at least of a statement which was not accurate at the time when the *Journal* was prepared for the printer". He could have added others at *Camb. Jnl.* i, 242, 243, 271, 308, and ii, 28 (first line).

[2] A collected list of some of these was available elsewhere in the Spence MS. (see *Camb. Jnl.*, ii, 314–5).

[3] Perhaps Ellwood did not know that Hannah (from 1666, Hannah Salter, wife of Henry Salter of London) had repented of her actions and gave to Bristol Friends in 1669 a paper of contrition (see *Camb. Jnl.*, ii, 422; Bristol Record Society's publications, vol. 26, p. 25n) [Ed.].

Ellwood or are of people not known ever to have "run out" or defected. Thus Major Beard, as already changed to Nicholas Beard, is retained at 151 but is merely "a Friend" at 230.[1]

Ellwood or the revision committee were able to identify certain persons left anonymous in the original manuscript, as T. Bushel (59), the leader of all the ranters, Robert Craven (140), frequently mentioned in the source as the sheriff of Lincoln, and Grace Billing, sister of Thomas Lower's Aunt [Loveday] Hambly. One would think Lower himself could have supplied the name when he took the passage from Fox's dictation. At 171 Ellwood supplied the Christian name Thomas to the Quaker martyr Patching, while both he and his source had both names at 231[Fff2a]. At 268*–269*[Mm2b–Mm3a] he has Col. William Osborn for Col. Osborn. At 239[Ggg2a] he supplies the Christian name Robert for the Quaker prophet "one Huntington". Ellwood is apparently at a loss for the first name of Esquire Marsh (Richard Marche) and even of Priest (William) Lampitt of Ulverston and when not using those titles leaves a blank. For the varied terms used in the sources for Cromwell—Oliver, O. P., O. C., O. Cromwell, etc.—Ellwood uses generally the Protector. Once also (46) he writes out "Charles Steward" for "the King". When his sources used "officers" of persons in civil office, Ellwood substitutes "magistrates", "justices", and once at least "aldermen" (210[Ccc3b]). He substitutes "persons of note" for "persons of quality" (124, 153) and prefers "the chief" for the "heads" of a town.

Language

It is tempting to try to find a motive or conscious nuance in every change but to do so is probably ill advised. At this remove even the literary implication of seventeenth century English is not readily gauged. Often Ellwood seems as quaint and vernacular as the original, when he retains it and also when he does not. I may set down a few examples taken at random:

[1] As will be seen by a study of the passages listed in *Camb. Jnl.*, vol. i, p. xl. The footnotes of this edition indicate some cases of the next phenomenon discussed, the addition in Ellwood editions of the names of various persons.

ELLWOOD	SPENCE MSS. (*Camb. Jnl.*)
47 up in the airy Mind	uppe in ye ayre (i. 11)
48 Rebuke him	thresh him (i. 10)
54 without my Shoos	in my stockinges (i. 16)
56 hastned away	packt away (i. 19) [but retained by Ellwood at 135]
57 all shattered to pieces	all scattered to peices (i. 21)
60 this high-flown Priest	this high preist (i. 24)
77 an high Notionist	a ranter in his minde (i. 47)
178 in their Dumps, being pitifully blankt, and down	& was pitifully blankt & doune (i. 209)
222*[Ff3b] put down	denyed (i. 256)
224*[Ff4b] slunk away	fled away (i. 260)
246*[Ii3b] writ	after I had given foorth (i. 272)
257*[Lli1a] very dark	as darke as darke coulde bee (i. 283)
269*[Mm3a] frighted	frightned (i. 293)
274*[Nn1b] by that day Sevennight	by tuesday next (i. 300)
278*[Nn3b] so much the better	best of all (i. 305)
228 [Ee4b] yes, with a good will	with all my hearte (i. 366)

From our point of view Ellwood is plainly more modern in using "sought" for "seekt", "toil" for "broil", "rose" or "arisen" for "risse", "spied" for "espied", "frightened" for "frighted", "quencht" for "squencht", "snatched up" for "snitched up", "struck" for "thwacked".

Idiomatic expressions are lost when Ellwood (174) writes of deaf Elizabeth Trelawney that she "gave testimony" to "the Lord's power", instead of she "came & saide: 'George is over all' with a loud voice".

Attention here given to slight changes must not be allowed to overshadow the essential identity of the two versions. Ellwood has edited with some freedom but also with great fidelity not only to the thought but to the wording. There are many extended passages that run almost verbatim paragraph after paragraph. Possibly some of the more sensitive passages were more thoughtfully revised by the editor than the simpler flowing narrative of Fox's rather monotonous visits to one part of England after another. I think Ellwood was more careful in dealing with passages where Fox's lack of vindictiveness is shown, or where, as already mentioned, cures are claimed, and wherever else Fox's attitude could be criticized. Any suggestion that the printed edition radically or consistently misrepresents what Fox actually wrote (or rather, dictated) is quite unjustified.

The bulk of the *editio princeps* of Fox's Journal may be

accounted for by assuming that the editor used the Spence MSS. including the interlined additions on the numbered sheets and the unnumbered sheets bound with them and sundry loose papers, largely of George Fox's authorship but not in his handwriting.[1] Reference has been made to his many omissions long and short and his short editorial changes and additions.

Other Sources

There remain, however, a series of passages which appear to rest on other written sources than the continuous narrative extant in the Spence MSS. It may be worthwhile to indicate what these are and to speculate on the possible original basis for them. I limit myself to the period up to 1663.

1. The account of Fox's childhood and early religious experiences (Ellwood 1–30; *Bicent.* i, 1–49), until page 17 of the Spence MS. begins to be followed. There is every reason to suppose the lost 16 first pages were used in much the same way as were pages 17 and following, and included unnumbered pages.[2] Since this section is one of the most important and interesting parts, those who wish to distinguish Ellwood's editing from the original manuscript are here frustrated. Nothing here specially resembles any of the recurrent changes by Ellwood. On the other hand, though the subject matter here is a little different from much of the later journal dealing with his maturer life, the manner of expression is consistent. Favourite expressions occur, as when he says that the tolling of the steeple house bell "struck at my life" (25; *Bicent.* i, 41). Several episodes can be confirmed by Fox's own independent accounts in the *Short Journal*[3], pp. 2, 3, 12–15; in Port. 36.172, in Port. 10.41, and by the cross references in the later pages of the Spence MSS. to material contained in this period.

2. At the examination preceding his commitment to prison as a blasphemer at Derby in 1650 (Ellwood, 31; *Bicent.* i, 50 f.) Ellwood editions contain several further questions and answers, including the oft quoted words, 'We are nothing: Christ is all.' The *Annual Catalogue*[4] 1, 27A attests the former existence of an independent account of this examination. Perhaps it was available to the editor of the Journal.

[1] The few and slight holograph passages in the Spence MSS. are listed in *Camb. Jnl.*, vol. i, p. xxxvii.

[2] See *Camb. Jnl.*, vol. i, pp. xxxii ff.

[3] Printed edition: *The Short Journal and Itinerary Journals of George Fox*. Edited by Norman Penney, 1925.

[4] *Annual catalogue of George Fox's papers*. Edited by H. J. Cadbury, 1939.

3. There are two accounts in Ellwood of pressure put on Fox while imprisoned at Derby to become a soldier. One (Ellwood, 45 f; *Bicent.* i, 68 f) closely follows the Spence MS. and is very familiar. The second (Elwood 48–49; *Bicent.* i, 72 f.) though it begins as the Spence MS. does has no real parallel there. It may be an alternative version from a different source. Though it also mentions the commissioners, it associates the events with Justice Bennett and Sergeant Holes. Its text is as follows:

> Now the Time of Worcester-Fight coming on, Justice Bennet sent the Constables to press me for a Souldier, seeing I would not voluntarily accept of a Command: And I told them, That I was brought off from outward Wars. They came down again to give me Press-Money; but I would take none. Then I was brought up to Sergeant Holes, and kept there a while; and then I was taken down again. Then, after a while, the Constable fetched me up again, and then I was brought before the Commissioners; and they said I should go for a Souldier: But I told them, I was dead to it. They said, I was Alive: I told them, where Envy and Hatred is, there is Confusion. They proffered me Money twice; but I would not take it. Then they were Wroth, and I was Committed Close Prisoner, without Bail or Mainprize.

4. A vision during his imprisonment at Derby of his near release and of the conflict with opponents to follow (Ellwood 52; *Bicent.* i, 76 f.). The dating may be derived from the Lamentation on Derby, a separate paper which precedes. The vision may have been in a separate source. This was a category of Fox's writing which was susceptible to independent circulation.

5. A summary of the terror struck into people by Fox's message with a reference to the dreadful report, "The Man in Leathern Breeches is come" (Ellwood 60; *Bicent.* i, 89). An insertion marked ☛ in an account of Fox's travels in 1651 in Yorkshire. The context follows closely the account in Spence MS. but that does not include this passage, though it has two other references to his leather breeches which Ellwood omits (*Camb. Jnl.* i, 52, 170).

6. An "opening" concerning the refusal of Fox to use Steeple-houses, received while he was in Derby prison and reported by Ellwood at his later visit to Malton in 1651 (Ellwood 61; *Bicent.* i, 90 f.) but not in Spence MS. which is quoted continuously in the context.

7. The summary of Fox's preaching at an unnamed town in Yorkshire (63) is partly based on the parallels in Spence (*Camb. Jnl.* i, 27 and 28) but has a good deal of expansion, and ends with the Ellwood doxology, "Blessed be the Lord" (Ellwood 62 f.; *Bicent.* i, 93 f.).

8. In describing how Fox on Walney Island was attacked by a group of men and James Lancaster's wife while James himself was lying on top of Fox to protect him. Ellwood editions (87; *Bicent.* i, 135) add "For the People had persuaded James Lancaster's Wife that I had bewitched her Husband; and had promised her, That if she would let them know, when I came thither, they would be my death," etc. Cf. *Camb. Jnl.* i, 60, and note.

9. In his account of Fox's visit to Bootle, Ellwood gives details of Fox's argument with the local priest exceeding those which he quotes from Spence MSS. (105; *Bicent.* i, 161; Cf. *Camb. Jnl.* i, 416, note 1 to p. 109.)

10. Ellwood (108; *Bicent.* i, 165 f.), following Spence MSS., relates a series of passages in which Fox identified three women, one at an unnamed village as a witch, the second at Swarthmoor also as a witch, a third as an harlot, but he adds also an earlier episode in which Fox discerned some women in a field to be witches. This last apparently is not in the Spence MSS.

11. To the account of Fox's meeting with the Protector in 1654 when he had been sent up as a prisoner, Ellwood (138; *Bicent.* i, 211) appends a statement that Cromwell had invited Fox to dine in the great hall with his "gentlemen", but Fox had declined. Fox's words were: "Let the Protector know, I would not eat a bit of his Bread, nor drink a sup of his Drink." Part of the Protector's subsequent comment is found in *Camb. Jnl.* i, 342, but not in this setting. Cf. *Camb. Jnl.* i, 427, note 1 to p. 168.

12. At Doomsdale in Launceston *Camb. Journal* concludes an account of Fox's preservation from hostile persons with the words: "I saw, it was the Lord alone, that did preserve me out of and over their bloody Hands: for the Devil had a great Enmity to me." Ellwood (189 [Bb3a]; *Bicent.* i, 287) continues " . . . and stirred up his Instruments to seek my hurt. But the Lord prevented them; and my Heart was filled with Thanksgivings and Praises unto him". Perhaps this was a characteristic conclusion by the editor.

13. In 1656 Ellwood (211*[Ee2a]; *Bicent.* i, 314) notes that the Fifth Monarchy Men and Baptists expected Christ to come that year and reign a thousand years.[1] The answer of Fox to this view is also given. But all this is not apparently derived from the Spence MSS.

14. In 1657 in the account of Fox's travels from Swarthmoor through Westmorland to Strickland Head Ellwood (267*[Mm2a]; *Bicent.* i, 392) inserts an account of Fox's narrow escape while passing through Kendal where the constables had a warrant for his arrest but failed to fetch it in time to use it.

15. In the account of Fox's visit to Scotland Ellwood (271* [Mm4a]; *Bicent.* i, 397 f.) inserts an episode of a pastor of the Independents at an unspecified place in Scotland who was so hostile to Friends that he cursed the Light from the pulpit, and at once fell down and became distracted and unable to preach. This was not a direct experience of Fox's visit but was told to him by Andrew Robinson, a Friend who had formerly been a parishioner of the pastor. This episode of judgment was also doubtless included in the Book of Examples[2], but it is not part of the Spence MSS.

16. Following the account taken from Spence MSS. of Fox's interview with the man intending to set up a college at Durham

[1] For the expectation of a millennium to begin in 1656, see Braithwaite, *Second Period*, 2nd ed., 1961, p. 650.

[2] *Narrative Papers of George Fox*, 1972, pp. 228 f.

Ellwood has nearly eight folio pages before he resumes the narrative.[1] This tells of travels until he arrives in 1658 at a Yearly Meeting at John Crook's, and follows with a full summary of what he said at the general meeting and a transcript of what he said especially to the Quaker ministers there. But just here two numbered leaves of the Spence MS. are missing and may have included (with attached unnumbered leaves?) all this material. What Fox said to the ministers "was taken down in writing by one that was present" and copies were extant in collections of Fox's papers. See manuscript *Annual Catalogue* 3, 78D; 3, 91D.

17. In connection with Fox's visit to Somerset Ellwood inserts (206–7[Ccc1b–Ccc2a]; *Bicent.* i, 457 f.) an incident reported to him of the retributive injury by a bull to a man who had ridiculed Friends. This is not autobiographical and is printed throughout within quotation marks and is designated twice in the margin "Example". It belongs plainly in that category and may have been available to Ellwood from a narrative parallel to other known versions.[2]

18. Ellwood (222[Eeelb]; *Bicent.* i, 479 f.) gives a much fuller account than any of those in Spence MSS. of the technical difficulties encountered by Ann Curtis and Margaret Fell in 1660 in putting in effect the king's promise to bring Fox up from Lancaster to London.

19. One of the most important and baffling additions to the Spence MSS. is the account in Ellwood (241–243[Ggg3a–Ggg4a]) of the intervention in 1660 of Friends in England with Charles II to stop the execution of Friends by the New England government. The source begins:

> And about this time wee had sevrall freinds in prison in New Englande under ye sentence of death: & some was putt to death. And when they was putt to death as I was in prison att Lancaster I had a perfect sense of it: as though it had beene myselfe & as though ye halter had beene putt about my necke: butt wee did procure an order from ye Kinge . . . (*Cambr. Jnl.* ii, 5).

Now Ellwood retains the second sentence above, but otherwise gives a much fuller account of the proceedings. He tells of Edward Burrough's interviews with the king, with the arrangement of Friends to secure a vessel of Ralph Goldsmith and to have Samuel Shattock carry the mandamus, of the reception in Boston of the ship and its messengers, and of the submission of the authorities to the king's command. I am not aware of any printed or manuscript source that Ellwood could have used for most of his information.[3] George Bishop's *New England Judged*, Second Part, 1666 had published some of the information, including the text of the royal mandamus. The Spence MSS. refers to a book by William Coddington (*Camb. Jnl.* ii, 5), as well as to the text of the king's order, and in

[1] Ellwood, beginning on the page following 281*[Oora]; *Bicent.*, i, 415–427.

[2] *Narrative Papers of George Fox*, 1972, p. 220.

[3] There is nothing in Sewel's *History* or Besse's *Sufferings* that is not derived from Ellwood's Journal of Fox.

another connection: "as the books ot Friends sufferings in New England will largely show," to which Ellwood adds (244[Ggg4b]), "particularly a Book written by Geo. Bishop of Bristol, entituled, *New-England judged*. (In two parts)." The postscript of the second part (1667, pp. 145–9 omitted in later reprinting) has an account of the interviews with Simon Bradstreet in the third person, parallel to what Ellwood tells in the first person. This postscript may have been written by Fox. It is unsigned and could have been re-written by Ellwood for part of his additional material. But for the vivid account he gives of the "King's Missive" the nearest to an extant source is a letter from Samuel Shattuck first printed in the Aspinwall Papers II (*Collections of the Massachussetts Historical Society*, Fourth Series, Vol. IX (1871), pp. 160 ff).

20. In connection with the remarkable polyglot publication called the *Battledoor* Ellwood inserts the sentence "John Stubbs and Benjamin Furly took great Pains in the Compiling of it, which I put them upon; and some things I added to it". This seems to be an editorial defence of Fox's claim to a share in the work, on which there had been before Ellwood's Journal "considerable discussion in print" (*Camb. Jnl.* ii, 379, note 4 to p. 7; see Ellwood 245; *Bicent.* i, 513).

21. The sufferings that Friends had to meet from without and from within referred to in Spence MSS. are elucidated in Ellwood, the latter by adding to John Perrot and his company "who giving heed to a Spirit of Delusion, sought to introduce and set up among Friends that evil and uncomely Practice of keeping on the Hat in time of publick Prayers (248–9 [Hhh2b–Hhh3a]; *Bicent.* i, 519), the former by an account of the Nottingham case in 1661, by which the legality of a Quaker marriage was established (Ellwood 249; *Bicent.* i, 520).

This precedent was widely circulated in MS. and would be accessible to Ellwood if not in his main source. The explanation of the hat controversy is alluded to at an earlier point where the Spence MS. (*Camb. Jnl.* i, 244) not Ellwood (though not bracketed by Penney) makes the comment that James Nayler and some of his company "kept on there hatts when I prayde: & they was ye first yt gave yt bad example amongst freindes".

22. Fox's experience in 1663 at Tenterden in Kent is more fully told in Ellwood (260[Iii4b]; *Bicent.* ii, 2 f.) than in Spence MSS. Ellwood's account is probably based on a lost page or pages indicated by marks of reference on the extant pages (*Camb. Jnl.* ii, 24 footnote).

23. George Fox's narrow escape soon after at Ringwood in Hampshire is also told more fully in Ellwood (261–2[Kkk1]; *Bicent.* ii, 3 f.) than in his source. Evidently this episode became the subject of controversy, some Friends accusing Fox of having deliberately evaded arrest. Ellwood's fuller account is apologetic in purpose. An alternate account of the occasion occurred in the *Book of Miracles* and/or the *Book of Examples*. (See George Fox's *Book of Miracles*, 1948, p. 145 f.)

The preceding analysis of changes, and of shorter and longer additions in Ellwood is based upon the longest and closest of the known sources for Ellwood's edition of the Journal, and only on the earlier years. Even before the Spence MS. concludes in 1676 the editorial problem became complicated. The sources were some of them not dictated continuously, but the editor had older records, some in the third person, some only in the form of letters written by others. The records of Fox's visit to Ireland in 1669, and of that to America in 1671–3 were of this sort. A multiplicity of sources complicated the telling of the story of long legal delays which marked Fox's imprisonment between his return from America to his release and arrival at Swarthmoor in 1675, when the Spence MS. ends.

For the remaining years of his life the major narrative sources were diaries kept for him. Those now extant were published in the latter part of the *Short Journal and Itinerary Journals of George Fox*, 1925. These are the Haistwell Diary (March 26 1677 to June 24 1678) including three months on the continent of Europe, and itinerary journals for parts of the years 1681, 1683-1685, 1686 to his death. Evidently Ellwood had similar detailed journals for other parts of these final years.[1] His procedure, however, was quite different from that of the earlier part of the Journal. Except for the two European journeys of 1677 and 1684 he generally reduces the narrative to mere summary. Three-quarters of the printed Journal after 1677 consists of the text of letters or epistles written by Fox.

Major Decision

The publication of the *Journal* in one handsome folio volume was a major event in Quaker literary history. It at once became a source for biographers and historians, the latter including Croese (in Latin 1695, in English 1696) and Willem Sewel (in Dutch 1717, in English 1722. In fact, it had probably more general influence through Sewel's *History* than directly).

There had evidently been some lack of continuity or division of assignment in the printing, for a new series of signatures begins with p. 189 [Aaa, following Pp] in the text covering the year 1658. The earlier section has great con-

[1] Cf. what I have written in G. Fox, *Journal*, ed. Nickalls, 1952, p. 728.

fusion of page numbering caused by the need to allow for over 100 new pages. The title page carries the imprint: "London, Printed for Thomas Northcott in George-Yard, in Lombard-Street. MDCXCIV". The preface by William Penn has a colophon: "London, Printed and Sold by T. Sowle . . . 1694." We know that for a while there was objection by some of Margaret Fox's family to the inclusion of this preface and that some copies were bound up without it, but others were not.[1]

Already while it was being completed two significant errors were found and were noted at the very end of the last index [Gggggg2b]. One was the omission of an episode in Barbados related in *Camb. Jnl.* in connection with an encounter with Paul Gwin in 1656 at Bristol and promised by Ellwood in its place but not included at p. 356 in Ellwood. The other error is described: "The Letter against plotting is printed p. 200, and the same over again p. 267. by a mistake." Minor errata were not printed but were corrected in later editions.

Two passages subject to criticism on historical grounds were soon brought to the attention of the Morning Meeting and substitute pages were printed to correct them. These both had to do with exaggerated "examples" of divine judgment.[2] These were corrected in later editions.

This is not the place to give in detail the later history of this form of Fox's Journal. The *editio princeps* was reported in 1708 as "out of print and very scarce these four or five years past".[3] Its price had advanced from 13*s.* to 20*s.* per copy. The subsequent editions were, except the folio of 1765, in octavo, and mostly bound in two volumes. Some of them were checked by comparison with the first edition. Others were modernized in spelling and punctuation, and by the omission of unnecessary words. Rarely were changes introduced as substantial as those introduced by Ellwood in editing the manuscript.

[1] *Camb. Jnl.*, vol. i, pp. xiv–xv.

[2] They are described at length in *George Fox's Book of Miracles*, pp. 91–93. Cf. N. Penney, "Geo. Fox's Writings and the Morning Meeting", *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, 1902, pp. 67–69.

[3] See Eighth (Bi-Centenary edition, 1891, 1901), ii, 541 ff. where the several editions are described, eight in England 1694, 1709, 1765, 1827, 1836, 1852, 1891, 1901, and four in America 1800, 1808, 1831 and one of no date. Cf. Joseph Smith, *Descriptive catalogue of Friends' books*, 1867, i, 690 f., *Supplement*, 1893, 135.

In the following quotation the text of the 1694 edition (p. 2) is given with notes showing minor changes (other than punctuation and capitalization) that had come in by the last edition of 1901.

In my very Young Years, I had a Gravity and stayedness of Mind and Spirit, not usual in Children; insomuch, that when I have seen[1] Old Men carry themselves[2] lightly and wantonly towards each other, I have had[3] a Dislike thereof risen[4] in my Heart, and have said[5] within myself; If ever I come to be a Man, surely, I should not do so, nor be so wanton.

Afterwards, as I grew up, my Relations thought to have made[6] me a Priest; but others perswaded to the Contrary. Whereupon I was put to a Man, that was [7] Shoomaker by Trade, and that[8] dealt in Wooll and used Grazing,[9] and sold Cattel.

Abridged editions were published in 1886, edited by Henry Stanley Newman, in 1903, 1906, edited by Percy Livingston Parker, and in 1903, 1919 edited by Rufus M. Jones (paperback reprint 1963). Since the publication of the *Cambridge Journal* in 1911 and the *Short Journal* in 1925, editors of the Journal have used the Ellwood edition only in combination with the earlier texts represented by these newer printed works.

Appendix

There was one bit of Ellwood's editing which deserves perhaps extended reference here. That was in the letter written by Fox to Cromwell in 1654 (*Camb. Jnl.* i, 161–2). The Protector asked for Fox to sign a letter promising not to take up a sword against him or against his government. This Fox agreed to do, and while the letter had never been printed its contents were widely known as it was distributed in MS.[10]

A copy was in the Spence MSS. which lay before Ellwood, but it contained phrases that could easily be objected to as blasphemous. Ellwood, who is otherwise not averse to giving documents in full, abbreviates this one and rephrases it in indirect speech in this innocuous way (137; *Bicent.* i, 209 f.):

But the next Morning I was moved of the Lord to write a Paper 'To the Protector, by the name of Oliver Cromwel, wherein I did in the presence of the Lord God declare, that I did deny the wearing or

[1] saw [2] behave [3] I had [4] raised [5] and said
[6] to make [7] *omit* that was [8] but who [9] and was a grazier.
[10] See references to many copies in *Annual Catalogue of George Fox's Papers* (1939), 23, 4A.

drawing of a carnal Sword, or any other outward Weapon against him or any Man. And that I was sent of God to stand a Witness against all Violence, and against the Works of Darkness; and to turn People from the Darkness to the Light, and to bring them from the Occasion of War and Fighting, to the peaceable Gospel; and from being Evil-Doers, which the Magistrates Sword should be a Terror to.' When I had written, what the Lord had given me to write, I set my Name to it, and gave it to Captain Drury to give to O Cromwell; which he did.

Charles Leslie, however, came upon a copy of this "Letter of his to Oliver Cromwel, transcrib'd by a Quaker, and preserved as a precious Piece. He then calls himself the Son of God, and says of himself My Kingdom is not of this World". Leslie quotes these passages in their context and goes on:

> These are his words. And tho' given forth (as he pretended, and the Quakers own) as from the Mouth of the Lord: Yet the editors of his Journal since his death have made bold (as in many other instances hereafter mentioned) to alter his work, to leave out, and put in, as they see cause, to blind the eyes of the world, and obviate the objections against their horrid blasphemies. Therefore in his Journal, printed 1694 p. 137 these words of Fox's letter [My kingdom is not of this world] are left out as likewise these [who is the Son of God] instead of which is added [I set my name to it].[1]

A century later the anonymous author of the article on "Quakers" in the *First American Edition in Eighteen Volumes Greatly improved* of the *Encyclopaedia, or a Dictionary of Arts Sciences and Miscellaneous Literature* quotes from Leslie's *Theological Works* the same letter, printing in italics blasphemous-sounding phrases. The writer regards the letters as genuine and, following Leslie, notes that "the Quakers, after the death of their apostle expunged from their edition of it the words which we have printed in italics, ashamed, as we hope of the blasphemy, imputed to them". He infers from it that Fox was "one of the most extravagant and absurd enthusiasts that ever lived and fancied himself, in his apostolic character, something infinitely superior to man". In addition, the writer endorsed the view that Fox was nothing

[1] *Snake in the Grass*, 1698, pp. 113 f. The "instances hereafter mentioned" do not appear to be from Fox's Journal but from the collected Works of Howgill and Burrough. Leslie in his *Defence of the Snake*, 1700, pt. 3, p. 39 gives the full text of Fox's letter. It agrees with other early copies in Quaker hands, including the attestation of Thos. Aldam and Robert Craven.

more than a tool employed by certain deists to pave the way for their system of natural religion.[1]

Evidently Philadelphia Friends learned of this particular attack on Fox before it was published in permanent form. Included in the bound volume was a four-page printed "vindication of the character of George Fox from the account given of him in the Encyclopaedia, Vol. XV, page 734 . . . drawn up by the Society called Quakers and . . . now printed by their particular desire". The vindication was "signed on behalf of and by direction of a meeting of the representatives of the religious Society called Quakers held in Philadelphia, 15th of 12th month, 1796, John Drinker, Clerk".

These Friends assumed that George Fox's Journal is to be trusted rather than Charles Leslie's version of the letter to Cromwell. The latter it calls "a palpable perversion—a piece of mockery thru' a mimicry of the style of George Fox and making use of some of the expressions contained in his genuine letter to Oliver Cromwell of which this forgery is pretended to be a copy". The Friends admit that Leslie's version "affords ample grounds indeed", if genuine, for calling Fox a senseless enthusiast.

The genuineness of the longer version was soon to be discovered by an American Friend, Elisha Bates, who was preparing a History of the Society of Friends. He was allowed to look at the original MSS. of Fox's Journal on two successive visits to England, and, recognizing their bearing on a current controversy, he printed this paper with some others in *An Appeal to the Society of Friends* (London 1836), pp. 13 f. with a facsimile of it as a frontispiece. The purpose of Bates' publication was not so much to discredit Fox as to encourage Friends to give more authority to the Bible than to the utterances of the respected founders of the Society.

HENRY J. CADBURY

[1] This article and indeed much of the Encyclopedia is largely independent of the third (1788–1797) edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*. It omits the latter's repeated mention of the persecution of Quakers in New England. For the main contents it quotes pretty fully parts 2 and 3 of the anonymous *Summary of the History, Doctrine and Discipline of Friends: written at the desire of the Meeting for Sufferings*, 1790. The author of the summary was Joseph Gurney Bevan. This summary was mentioned and partially used in the British edition.

Friends and the Inquisition at Malta

AGAIN, as a few years ago, I find myself in a position to supply some information about a confrontation of early Friends and the Inquisition, from the latter side. This is the long and well-known imprisonment in the island of Malta of two West Country British matrons, Katharine Evans and Sarah Cheevers. The preliminary paragraphs of an earlier article will serve as summary.[1]

In it I referred to the Malta chapter as important, but I had no idea that the records of it would become available. In fact, in 1941, referring to the Friends involved in Rome, in Malta, or Paris, I wrote:

> "Specially addicted as I am to hunting out the opinions of Friends held by their opponents, I have often coveted a chance to look for these names [of Friends] in the records of the Holy Office, but I am told that the Church still jealously guards the archives of the Inquisition from inquisitive Protestants."[2]

In spite of that, when in 1966 I happened to be at Woodbrooke, when a substantial number of men and women from Malta were in residence, I hoped I might form a connection to see if the material there was still so inacessible; and later writing to one of them, I had a reply from a nephew saying that the gentleman I had written to had recently died, but offering to help me in my research. He said that "the archives of the Inquisition are housed in the Museum of the Cathedral of Malta, together with the archives of the Episcopal Curia. Last year a programme of micro-filming was commenced on these Archives, but as you can imagine, it will be years before all the documents housed in the Museum are photographed." But he referred to a pamphlet published by Professor Andrew Vella of the Royal University of Malta on *The Tribunal of the Inquisition in Malta*. I sent for this by airmail and received it promptly and have decided with the author's kind permission to cite

[1] "Friends and the Inquisition at Venice, 1658", *Jnl. F.H.S.*, *52*, 1968, pp. 39–45.

[2] "Letter from the Past", No. 2, *Friends Intelligencer*, 1941; *Friendly Heritage*, 1972, p. 3.

the relevant section pretty fully, without waiting for complete microfilms and the delay of transferring their contents into an English article.[1]

Before quoting the pamphlet, I may mention the Quaker sources which lay stress upon the Friends' sufferings.[2] It will be seen that the account from the Inquisition reports rather the inquiries addressed to them by the inquisitional authorities. This is the same emphasis which was obvious in the accounts from Venice concerning John Stubbs and Samuel Fisher. The Quakers' answers refer to other Quakers travelling abroad, some of whom can be identified from our Quaker sources.

In the preface, the author raised from the modern Catholic point of view the question of the freedom to use such material. He says (p. 4):

> There is nothing whatever to be feared from making these documents available to scholars. Before undertaking this research, I myself thought that there were many scandals and unpleasant incidents connected with this Tribunal, the publication of which might bring the Church into disrepute. But nothing of the sort, considering of course our human frailty, and the fact that the Church, though of divine origin, is composed of mere humans. Another point the reader must keep in mind is that if he desires to understand past events in their true light he should not judge them by a comparison with the present, since the idea of law and liberty in those days was not what it is today.

The printed account in Professor Vella's pamphlet runs (pp. 31–37):

[1] Royal University of Malta Historical Studies, (1) *The Tribunal of the Inquisition in Malta*, by Andrew P. Vella, O.P., Professor of History, first published in 1964, second impression in 1973, with the list of archive material brought up to date by Rev. J. Azzopardi. The volume on the Quaker women in the list of Registers of the Criminal Proceedings is Vol. LXX under the Inquisitor Jerome Casanate. The pamphlet summarizes the material very fully on pp. 31–37.

[2] See Joseph Smith's *Descriptive Catalogue of Friends' Books* under the headings, Evans, Katharine; Cheevers, Sarah; Sufferings; Baker, Daniel; and Robinson, George. Much of this is reprinted in Joseph Besse, *Sufferings*, 1753, ii, 399–420. Independent additional information was included in William Sewel's *History* and in George Fox's *Journal*, which explains how he secured their release finally, through the intervention of Lord D'Aubigny. See also C. V. Wedgwood, *Velvet Studies*, 1946, pp. 129–37, "The Conversion of Malta".

A curious event occurred under Mgr. Inquisitor Jerome Casanate. On the 21st December, 1658, two Quaker ladies reached Malta in a Dutch ship . . .

The reader may wonder why these two ladies, who were not Catholics, and as such did not fall under the jurisdiction of the Inquisitor, were imprisoned by him and kept for such a long time. Who was responsible? And why were they detained for nearly five years? They themselves blamed the Jesuits and the English Consul, the latter of whom they refer to as the Judas who delivered them into the hands of the former "that they might execute their cruel will upon them, or cause them to retreat their testimony and conform to them".

In the Inquisitorial Archives, *Registrum Sententiarum latarum in materiam S. Officii a Revmo Dno Hieronymo Casanate*, Vol. LXX, there is still extant a complete account of their trial, from their arrival in Malta to their deliverance, and from this we may gain further information.

It is reported that when these two ladies appeared in the streets of Valletta in Franciscan attire, three Friars Minor, Frs. Michael of Malta, Saviour of St. Nicholas and Francis Ottaviano, became alarmed and immediately carried out inquiries to see where they came from and where they were going to. Hence, two days after the ladies' arrival, Fr. Michael called on the Prior of the Conventual Church of St. John. After obtaining the necessary information, he appeared in the presence of the Inquisitor, Mgr. Jerome Casanate, and made the following statement, namely, that as the Island's Commissioner for the Holy Land he had been informed by another priest of his own Order that lately an Englishman, who claimed to be the Messias, had reached Jerusalem and had told them that two ladies would soon be arriving there to confirm his mission. Suspecting that the two in Malta were the ladies referred to, and were followers of the heretic sect, he felt in conscience bound to denounce them.

Fr. Saviour, a Spaniard, appeared at the Tribunal on the same day to confirm this statement, requesting the Inquisitor to take the necessary steps, as the arrival of these ladies in Jerusalem—which was under Turkish rule—would be detrimental to the Franciscans residing in the Friary of the Holy Sepulchre.

The third Franciscan, Fr. Francis Ottaviano, declared that eleven months previously in Jerusalem, he had met an Englishman aged 18 years, George by name, who in England was a shoemaker. This Englishman was conveyed to the Franciscan Friary and after being questioned by their Theologians whether he was the Messias, confessed that he was not the Messias but his companion was, and his mission was to preach to the Turks and the Papists.

The impression given by this George, continued the Friar, was that he was an ignorant man, that at certain intervals a wave of emotion caused a trembling in him, but that he showed that he knew his Bible. This man belonged to a Religion newly founded in London in opposition to the opinion of the Englishmen, Turks and Papists. And since his stay in Jerusalem was considered as a danger to the Catholic priests, he had been sent back to England via

Marseilles the previous May. Before leaving he said that two ladies were following him. "I suspect", concluded Fr. Ottaviano, "that these may be the two."[1]

After hearing these witnesses, the Inquisitor summoned the English Consul whose name was Mr. James John Watts, in whose custody Katharine Evans and Sara Cheevers were staying. Watts, we learn, a gentleman of 37, had his sister in a Nunnery in Malta. Presumably he was a Catholic. He was questioned about the two ladies and testified on oath that they were Quakers, which *in linguaggio italiano vuol dire setta dei Tremolanti*. Moreover, he said, they contend that they have been inspired by God, Who appeared to them in the form of fire, to undertake this mission.

From London they sailed to Leghorn and stopped here in Malta on their way to Alexandria in Egypt. Being asked by the Consul whether anybody had sent them on that journey and who had sponsored their activity, they had answered that an English merchant provided them with all that was necessary and gave orders to his agents in Leghorn to give them any assistance they might need. They had a passport, concluded the Consul, which as far as he remembered, was written in Latin, Flemish and French.

On 24th December of the same year [1658], the Assessor of the Inquisitor, Fr. Saviour Pontremoli, and the Chancellor, Francis Zammit, called on the English Consul to interview the two ladies. As they refused to confirm their answers by oath, since, they said, God ordained "Swear not at all", the oath was instead imposed on the English Consul, who acted as interpreter to speak the truth and to keep secret whatever was being transacted in the Holy Office.

Sara was asked her name, surname, parents, country, status and religion. She answered that she was the daughter of William and Margaret, wife of Henry Scivers, of Slatenford in the Province of Wilthshire, England, and that she was 50 years old, and a member of the Puritan Religion, in scorn called Quakers, that is tremblers.

Asked why she had come to Malta, she answered that about a year ago, feeling an inspiration to go to London, she there met Katharine and together they embarked on the ship of Captain John Grin [Greene]. Asked whether she knew of any person or persons of her religion, she answered that two gentlemen had left London some time ago and proceeded to Italy but one of them died and the other was imprisoned in Rome. Moreover, she said, that she knew a man of 18 who also had left London but had since returned from Jerusalem. Two ladies also had returned from Alexandria where they went to preach the word of God as inspired by Him.

Then Katharine was interviewed, and as she too was reluctant to take the oath, Watts again acted as interpreter. Katharine declared

[1] The references to the Quaker who had been to Jerusalem and returned are all apparently to one individual, George Robinson. He left England in mid-September 1658 in the ship *Joshua* for Leghorn. He stopped briefly at Malta and elsewhere until he reached Jerusalem. The Turks and the Catholics quarrelled over him, but he finished his mission and apparently returned safely to England. See his own account appended to *A true account of the great tryals . . . of . . . Katherine Evans and Sarah Cheevers*, 1663, pp. 277–292, and later editions.

that she was 40 years old, the daughter of Roger and Anne, wife of John Evans, of the village of Inglesbeck [Englishbatch] of the Province of Somerset, England. She said that first she had been Lutheran like her parents, then changed to the Baptists, afterwards to the sect of Independents, and finally became a Puritan, the religion of the Apostles and the holy ancient Fathers, which religion, she said, some Englishmen call in scorn "Quakers". She said, moreover, that once she went to Ireland to preach to Henry Cromwell, son of Oliver Cromwell, entreating him to stop war since it was unlawful: there she was imprisoned but after four days set free again . . .

On the 27th December, by order of the Inquisitor, Mr. James Watts, the Consul, was ordered to keep the two ladies confined in his home and commanded not to allow anybody to communicate with them.

In the meantime the Inquisitor sent all the information he had gathered about the two women to Rome and on the 15th February [1659], Cardinal Barberino sent him instructions to make further inquiries about the sect of the two ladies and to find out the names of its members scattered all over the world. The Inquisitor, Mgr. Jerome Casanate, was also asked to repair his prison and then transfer the ladies to his custody. Barberino finally instructed the Inquisitor to consider the women mad, as they had done in Rome with the two Quakers who went there, one of whom had already died in the mental hospital. If treated as mad, wrote Barberino, they might be brought back to their senses and at the same time members of the same sect would be deterred from coming to Europe. Accordingly, on 4th April, the two ladies were taken from the Consul's house and imprisoned in the Inquisitorial prison.

For Katharine Evans and Sarah Cheevers see *Camb. Journal*, ii, pp. 374–5. Quaker sources spell Sarah's surname Chevers (or Cheevers) but say nothing of her parents or husband. Slatenford (Slaughterford) in Wiltshire is a location mentioned in Besse *Sufferings*, ii, 43, 45.

The two Friends who had gone to Italy were evidently John Luffe, who died in Rome in a mad house, and John Perrot who was imprisoned there but released. George Robinson is again referred to, and his age is given as 18 years. The two lady Quakers who had been to Alexandria and returned are not identified.

The Quaker accounts do not give the name of the English consul. They do mention, however, that he had his sister in a nunnery in Malta and that she desired to see the two Friends, and that they had visited her there with a priest.

Brought back from prison, on 7th April [1659], the two ladies appeared before the Inquisitor and this time Fr. Malachy of the Presentation, a Discalced Carmelite, acted as interpreter.

Mgr. Casanate asked them to mention the names of those members of their sect who were sent round the world to preach their religion.

Sara Scivers answered that as far as she was aware, besides the two gentlemen already mentioned, namely, the one who died in Rome and the other whose name was John Parat [Perrot], she knew a certain Thomas Bauls, a man of 26 and also another called Thomas, whose surname she did not know, a man of 30 years. There were, moreover, two ladies, whom both Katharine and herself had met in Leghorn, one named Mary Fisher and the other Patras. These two ladies had informed them that two other gentlemen were in Rome but by then had returned to England without being recognised, one named John Strips and the other Samuel Fiscer [Fisher]. Another lady named Hester Bisel, together with another whose name she could not recollect, had also left for Alexandria. Yet another was called George Robinson. Finally, she said, when she was on her journey she was told, but did not remember by whom, that a lady of the same sect had founded a congregation in Spain.

Two days later, both Sara and Katharine were again summoned by the court to give more details about those they had mentioned. Sara declared that two years before she left London, from six to eight persons had embarked on a ship named "Woodhouse", but she did not know their names. However, the Inquisitor, Mgr. Casanate, anxious to know more about that lady who went to found a congregation of Quakers in Spain, asked her from whom she learned that information. Sara replied that about six months previously, on her journey between London and Leghorn, she was told that a lady, by name Anne Garghel, was introduced to the King of Portugal, but the latter found a ship and sent her back to England before she had even reached Spain. Katharine, for her part, did not supply further information except that she confirmed that Anne Garghel was 24 years old, a former Catholic, had joined her sect, and had founded a congregation in Spain, but could not tell exactly where. Katharine on this occasion mentioned the names of Henry Fel and Robert Neiler.

Fr. Malachy, evidently an English-speaking Friar, is mentioned also in the Quaker account, sometimes spelled Malachi. Finally, he was sent to Rome to arrange for the arrival there of the two Quaker women.

The two Quaker visitors to Rome are here mentioned again, and one name John Parat is in Quaker records spelled Perrot. Thomas Bauls (*sic*) I do not recognize nor the other Thomas. Mary Fisher is correctly named, but her companion "Patras" has not been identified. The two men who visited Rome and returned are evidently John Stubbs (for Strips) and Samuel Fisher. Hester Bisel must stand for Hester Biddle, whose travels, as derived from Quaker sources, include a voyage to the Mediterranean.[1]

The *Woodhouse* contained eleven passengers but had sailed to America in mid-June, 1657, not to the Mediterranean. Anne Garghel (Gargil) and her experience in

[1] *Jnl. F.H.S.*, xlvii, 42.

Portugal are not without Quaker confirmation—in this case, in the first part of George Bishop's *New England Judged* (edition of 1702, p. 26 ff, cf., *Friendly Heritage*, 1972, No. 2). She was heard by the Inquisition there and sent on her way.

Henry Fel should be Fell, who also is known to have been in the Mediterranean as well as in the West Indies.[1] Robert Neiler is not identified.

The effort of Daniel Baker to secure their release at Malta in 1661 appears not to be mentioned in the Inquisition records. It was unsuccessful, and he returned home.

The two ladies remained imprisoned for four years until the new English Consul, Mr. Alphonse des Claus, petitioned the Inquisitor to release them. The Consul's petition was sent to Rome and on the 30th August, 1663, Cardinal Barberino with the approval of the Pope and the other Cardinals wrote to the Malta Inquisitor, instructing him to hand them over to the Consul, once there was no hope whatsoever of their conversion.

On the end of July 1664, the Consul pledged himself to pay *quartas **quingentas***, that is, a fourth of the whole amount of rent drawn on his consulship, to be used in charitable works if the two ladies did not go back to their country and instead continued their "perverse works".

In their account Sara and Katharine tell us that "When they had been at the Consul's house eleven weeks, there came into the harbour one of the King's Frigates called 'The Saphire'; the captain's name was Samuel Tistwel [Tiswell]. The Grand Master of Malta sent to the Captain of the Saphire, to entreat him to take up almost forty passengers . . . namely, twenty-four Knights, Cavaliers, and their servants and two Quakers.

In the passage from Malta in this ship, they continued, they found their own Country-men much worse than most of those others that were of diverse Nations.

On returning home, Katharine Evans and Sarah Cheevers went with Gilbert Latey to thank Lord D'Aubigny for his intervention.[2]

HENRY J. CADBURY

[1] *Jnl. F.H.S.*, liii, 119–120.

[2] For a modern review of this whole aspect of Quaker history, see W. C. Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism*, Chapter XVI, especially pp. 428–33. An interim account of these women in Malta sent to London by Henry Fell, June 18, 1661 is in Swarth. MSS. iv 184; printed in I. Ross, *Margaret Fell*, 1949, pp. 394f.

Camb. Journal, ii. 375 mentions a letter from S. Cheevers, written from the house of the English Consul to Friends of Street, Som., 20 viii 1662; it may be remarked in this connection that the date heretofore assigned for their return to England has been "about the end of 1662", and until the Maltese documents become available the dates in 1663 and 1664 at the end of Professor Andrew Vella's pamphlet account should be veiwed with reserve. [Ed.].

The First Publishers of Truth in Norway

ONE of the most striking aspects of early Quakerism is the explosive missionary effort that characterized its opening years. Within eight years of its 1652 start, the apostles of Quakerism had almost reached the ends of the earth—having made their ways from the north of England into Scotland and Ireland in 1654, on to the mainland of Europe and into the West Indies by 1655, to Maryland and New England by 1656, to Constantinople in Turkey and Surinam in South America by 1658, and to Norway, Egypt, and even to the East Indies by 1660.

Although we do not possess as much information about any of these developments as we might like, it is still possible to say—for the most part—who the "First Publishers" were in many of these places. To the 1970s student of Quaker history, the biggest question marks about early Quaker missionary activity have been in connection with the early work in Surinam, Norway and the East Indies (where some unknown Friend was active for three years prior to 1661).[1] Only recently the picture of early Quaker activity in Surinam has been brought more fully into focus, so that we have been able to date John Bowron's work there in 1658 and also have seen that this was followed up shortly thereafter by the religious labours of Henry Fell and several Barbados Friends.[2] In this brief paper, I would now like to offer some suggestions about the identities of the earliest Quaker missionaries to Norway.

Over thirty years ago, Henry Cadbury produced a very thorough article on Christopher Meidel and early Norwegian contacts with Quakerism.[3] Recently, I had my first occasion to read this work and—after completing it—decided that

[1] William C. Braithwaite, *The Second Period of Quakerism*, second edition with notes by Henry J. Cadbury, Cambridge, 1961, pp. 217, 668–669.

[2] Kenneth L. Carroll, "Early Quakers in Surinam (1658–1659)," *Quaker History*, 62 (1973), 83–89, and "Henry Fell, Early Publisher of Truth", *Jnl. F.H.S.*, 53 (1973), pp. 113–123.

[3] Henry J. Cadbury, "Christopher Meidel, and the First Norwegian Contacts with Quakerism", *Harvard Theological Review*, 34 (1941), 7–23.

there was nothing more to be said on the subject. It was my thought at that point that Henry Cadbury was probably right when he noted that our earliest references are only to 1659 and 1660 lists that include Norway[1] and that our first-named Quaker to appear in Norway was Mary Fisher's husband William Bayly, who was there in 1674.[2] Even more recently, however, while searching through my research notes of the past fifteen years, I discovered to my astonishment that I already possessed two bits of information that throw some light on the origins of early Quaker contact with Norway. Perhaps making known what little I have discovered will open the way for someone else to uncover some other clues.

Thoughts on proclaiming the Quaker message in Norway appear to have been quite strong on the minds of two well-known Quaker apostles, Richard Clayton and James Lancaster, about 1657 or 1658. Clayton [Cleaton] and Lancaster, each of whom had made earlier visits to Ireland, returned together to Ireland in 1656, drawing upon the Kendal Fund for this work.[3] They probably remained in Ireland until the summer of 1657, returning to England later in that year. It seems quite possible that they were once more in Ireland in 1658.

In a letter from Dublin, dated only 10th of the 4th month [June], Clayton reports that their work had been largely in the northern part of the nation where there had been some real success. In May, they had gone to Dublin, where James Lancaster had been imprisoned for speaking in the street and at a meetinghouse. Then they had gone north again—*hoping to get a ship to Norway*. This had proved impossible, so that they had once more returned to Dublin, where Lancaster had been to speak to *Deputy* [Henry] Cromwell. They were now thinking of going on to Waterford.[4]

This letter bears no year in its dating, so that we cannot say with certainty just when it was produced. Henry Cromwell arrived in Ireland in July 1655, but Lord Deputy

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 8.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 9.
[3] Friends House Library, Swarthmore MSS I, 267 [Transcripts III, 587] and I, 295 [Tr. III, 647].
[4] *Ibid.*, I, 28 [Tr. I, 558].

Fleetwood did not leave until September (and retained his title for two more months). Henry Cromwell, although the chief figure in the government of Ireland after the departure of Fleetwood, did not succeed to the title "Lord Deputy" until November 1657. If the title had actually been conferred on Cromwell (as seems likely) before this letter was written, then the letter should be dated 1658.[1] It seems possible, however, that the title may have been used somewhat loosely even before it was actually made official.

Did James Lancaster and Richard Clayton (individually or as yoke-fellows) ever make a religious journey to Norway? It seems quite possible that they may have done so, for there are several "silent" years for these two following 1657–58. There is, however, no known evidence that suggests that they actually did go, even though both of them travelled rather extensively in the ministry in the 1650s. James Lancaster (d. 1699), who was in Ireland many times, travelled widely in England (often accompanying George Fox) and even joined Fox in his visit to America in 1671–1673.[2] Richard Clayton, who made at least three visits to Ireland, was also very active in England in the 1650s.[3]

A second piece of information, taken from the Kendal records for 1659, is of much greater significance. On the 18th of 6th month, 1659, a sum of thirteen shillings from the Kendal Fund was given to Thomas Shaw *"at his Coming out of Norway through Scotland towards London"*.[4] Quite clearly, Thomas Shaw, if not the first Quaker to have laboured in Norway, is at least the first "Publisher of Truth" known to have been active in Norway whose name has come down to us.

Who was Thomas Shaw? How much can we really know about him? Shaw today seems to be a very shadowy figure, with only a few facts known about him. What little infor-

[1] Geoffrey F. Nuttall, *Early Quaker Letters*, No. 445 (p. 249), gives a date of 1658 for this letter.

[2] George Fox, *Journal*, ed. by Norman Penney, Cambridge, 1911, i, 409, and *passim*. Cf. Norman Penney, ed., *First Publishers of Truth*, 1907, 6, 33–36, 43, 45, 46, 52, 55, 61, 72, 302. Lancaster was first in Ireland in 1654 and visited it once more in 1655.

[3] Fox, *Camb. Journal*, ii, 395; *First Publishers of Truth*, p. 97; Besse, *Sufferings*, London, 1753, i, 144, 315, 319, 487, 658, 660.

[4] Minutes and Records, Kendal "and Meetings neerby", p. 18. This volume, covering the period 1656–1699 and numbered volume 93, is in the vault of the Friends' Meeting House at Kendal.

mation we do possess is marked by numerous contradictions —so that today even the place of his birth, his occupation, and the scene of his death cannot be stated with certainty.

One early source says that Thomas Shaw was a weaver, either from Cheshire or Lancashire, who travelled widely in England and Ireland and suffered much persecution. According to this early note, he "laid down his body" in Ireland about the time that Charles II became king [1660].[1] Still another testimony, signed by Robert Wardell of Ireland,[2] tells us that Shaw was a shoemaker from Durham (where he was convinced early) and that he was a faithful labourer in England and Ireland.[3] An even earlier Irish document, produced in 1660 shortly after Charles II came to the throne, records that Thomas Shaw, who had suffered much in Ireland, died in Wales after leaving Ireland.[4]

Shaw's sufferings, which are not recorded by Besse, were much more than we have any record of, so that only a rough outline of what he experienced can be recovered. An early paper, addressed to Judge Corbet, notes that

> Thomas Shawe in the publique meeting house at bandon bridge for propounding (2) Questions to a priest, after he had ended [his sermon] was sent to Corke prison, & there kept about nine weekes & after[wards] sent to bandon againe, & tryed by the Law, of which there could be noe breach against him be proved. Yett was he committed to the bridewell, where he was kept so close that his

[1] Portfolio 5.60, Friends House Library, London.

[2] William Edmundson, *Journal*, London, 1774, p. 32, refers to Wardell as just a "boy" in 1655.

[3] Portfolio 16.76, Friends House Library, London. Cf. Henry J. Cadbury, *Narrative Papers of George Fox*, 1973, p. 159, for a 1679 document that connects Shaw with Durham. Also it might be noted that Thomas Shaw was one of the eighteen Friends who signed the decision to organize a monthly meeting in the County of Durham (Bishopric) in 1653—cf. *Epistles from the Yearly Meeting of Friends Held in London*, London, 1858, vol. i, pp. vi–vii.

[4] Heare is A Brief Roll presented to the King of England, that he may see how the servants and people of God suffered in Ireland, In the dayes of Oliver Cromwell and his sonnes . . . [a manuscript found in the Public Record Office, London] (SP 63/344), p. 2. Cf. *To the Parliament of England, Who are in place to do Justice, and to break the Bonds of the Oppressed* (*A Narrative of the Cruel, and Unjust Sufferings of the People of God in the Nation of Ireland, Called Quakers*), London, 1659, p. 3, which notes "Thomas Shawe, for propounding two Questions to a Priest in the Steeple-house at Bandon Bridge, was imprisoned nine weekes in Corke, and after kept seven weeks more in Bridewell, where he received about thirty stripes".

friends & acquaintances were denyed to visitt him or to administer to his necessityes; Yea, bread and water was by the keeper denyed to be brought to him, three weekes was he there kept, in which time he was put into their whipping stockes where he received in cruell manor with a knotty Corded whipp about 36 stripes at one time.[1]

It seems quite possible that Thomas Shaw may have been the brother of William Shaw, who was also very active in Ireland, making his first visit there in 1656 and a second one in 1657 (the year in which he died).[2] Richard Richardson's list of deceased ministers has William Shaw as number 16 and "W. Shaw's brother" as number 17. At the end of this list there are to be found a dozen or more unnumbered names, including that of Thomas Shaw. Several of those whose names surround Thomas Shaw's died in 1679 and 1681, but there is no strict chronological arrangement to Richard Richardson's list. On the reverse side of this list once more is found the name of Thomas Shaw with a date of 1660 and the note that he had travelled with William Fallowfield.[3] The fact that Thomas Shaw's name has been added to the end of Richardson's list does not mean that he could not have been listed earlier as William Shaw's brother. Richard Richardson's list contains several duplications or repetitions—such as the double-listing of Margaret Killham (99 and 114) and Margaret Robertson (125 and 132).[4]

Although Richard Clayton and James Lancaster may possibly have been in Norway after their departure from Ireland in 1657 or 1658, it seems much more probable that it was Thomas Shaw's visit to Norway early in 1659 (perhaps starting at the end of 1658) that gave rise to the inclusion of that country's name in the two lists that Henry Cadbury pointed out in his 1941 article. As a postscript to a general epistle in 1659, Fox added "And so, if any Friends have Friends (or Relations) beyond Sea, send them Books or Papers, and be diligent to spread the Truth; and send them Latin Books, or French Books, or other Books to Leghorn,

[1] Swarthmore MSS VI, 18 [Tr. VII, 499].

[2] Swarthmore MSS I, 10 [Tr. I, 101]; IV, 99 [Tr. IV, 131].

[3] Portfolio 5.60, Friends House Library, London. Cf. Cadbury, *Narrative Papers of George Fox*, pp. 152–155.

[4] Cf. Cadbury, *Narrative Papers of George Fox*, pp. 152–153, which shows this double-listing, as well as the repetition by error of two numbers (114 and 115).

France, Poland, Italy, Norway, Low-Countries, etc."[1] In a 1660 epistle, sent out from the general meeting held at Skipton, note was made of

> the great work and service of the Lord beyond the seas in severall parts and regions as Germany, America, Virginia, and many other Islands and places as Florence, Mantua, Pallatine, Tuskany, Italy, Rome, Turkie, Jerusalem, France, Geneva, Norway, Barbados, Bermuda, Antego, Geomeca [Jamaica], Serenam [Surinam], Newfoundland, through all of which friends have passed in the service of the Lord, and divers other Countries, places, Islands & Nations: Over & amonge many Nations of the Indians, in which they have had service for the Lord.[2]

KENNETH L. CARROLL

[1] George Fox, *A Collection of Many Select and Christian Epistles*, London, 1698, p. 140, Epistle 181.

[2] Portfolio 16.3, Friends House Library, London. This epistle is dated 25th of 2nd month, 1660. Cf. *Epistles From the Yearly Meeting*, vol. i, p. xxxv.

Holland's Welfare

THE recent death of Henry J. Cadbury has led me to re-read the remarkable story of his great-grandfather John Warder, born 1751, died 1828. As an outstanding example of the way in which Friends of that time maintained unswervingly and unremittingly their testimony against war it is worth recording again.

John Warder, though born in America, was in 1781 a merchant in England and a member of Devonshire House Monthly Meeting. He was the owner, jointly with a Captain Samuel Smith, of a trading vessel called the *Nancy*, which in this year set sail from London to New York. Without John Warder's knowledge Captain Smith had not only fitted out the *Nancy* with 12 guns, but had also taken out Letters of Marque in its name. These, under the international law of the time, which was only altered in 1856, entitled the *Nancy* to act as a privateer and commit acts of piracy against merchant shipping belonging to enemy subjects.

Included among "enemies" at this date was Holland, by reason of its having recognized the independence of the United States. When therefore the *Nancy*, in conjunction with another armed British merchantman, encountered a Dutch ship on her homeward voyage from the East Indies to Amsterdam, they attacked and captured her, and brought her into Limerick for repair. The name of the Dutch ship, translated into English, was *Holland's Welfare*.

At what stage John Warder learnt of these un-Quakerly proceedings by a vessel owned partly by him, does not appear, nor what action he then took to get rid of his part ownership. What is clear is that as soon as he heard that he had acquired an interest in the valuable Dutch cargo, he insured this at Lloyds, a prudent action as it turned out, for on the voyage back from Limerick to London the *Holland's Welfare* was caught in a storm and went to the bottom, with all her cargo. John Warder thereupon claimed and was paid the insurance, a net amount of £1,833.

At this stage the Monthly Meeting, through their overseers, began their long involvement in the affair. As the

official record has it, "a concern was awakened that any one of their number should obtain an advantage from proceedings which so obviously compromised our testimonies against the lawfulness of war". John Warder was visited and, after the probable alternative of disownment had been mentioned, agreed to place the insurance money under the control of Friends, so that if any claims were made against him by the Dutch owners of the ship and cargo these could be satisfied. He stipulated however that if no claims were made within a stated period the money should revert to him. In the event no claimants appeared, clearly because no sustained efforts were made to trace any, and the fund was handed back to John Warder.

The Monthly Meeting, however, was far from satisfied. In their judgement, to quote the record again, "no stipulation as to time could bar the Christian obligation for restitution of any property wrongfully acquired, and therefore when (in about 15 months after his having resumed possession of the Stock) John Warder applied to the Monthly Meeting for a certificate to Friends in Philadelphia (whither he was about to sail on a visit), he found that the fact of his not having restored the money for the prize was an effectual obstacle to any such document being granted by the Meeting on his behalf". This meant, in terms of Quaker usage at the time, that his status among Friends in Philadelphia would be something approaching a pariah. Nevertheless, he did leave England, ultimately settling in America, and a frustrating period of 15 years ensued, during which Friends both in London and Philadelphia continued indefatigably to urge John Warder to take further steps to make restitution of the money, and he continued to maintain that it was impossible to do so, and unreasonable to expect him to try. Eventually a compromise was reached, whereby it was agreed that he should not be expected to make any effort himself to trace the rightful owners, but would authorize the Monthly Meeting to do so if they could, and would accordingly re-transfer the fund to trustees under the terms of a Trust Deed. This, finally executed in 1799, provided for the payment of the just claims of any claimants who could be found, and if this proved impossible then that the Monthly Meeting should apply the fund "in such way and manner as they shall think most consistent with the principles

of justice and equity". The Monthly Meeting then at last felt free to forward to Philadelphia its Certificate of Christian Fellowship on behalf of John Warder.

Unfortunately the period of the Napoleonic Wars now commenced, and for many years communication with the Continent was impracticable. But the Monthly Meeting remained undaunted and unsatisfied. As soon as the wars were over, attempts to trace the owners were begun, and advertisements setting out the facts were inserted in all the principal Dutch newspapers. Claims began to come forward for investigation, and in 1818, 37 years after the capture of the *Holland's Welfare*, the Monthly Meeting was able to record that out of the £1,833 placed on trust, plus the large amount of accrued interest added to it, between three and four thousand pounds had been paid out, and there was still a balance of more than the original £1,833 remaining to be applied, under the terms of the Trust Deed, according to the Meeting's judgement of the principles of justice and equity.

What were these? Should the money be refunded to John Warder, or alternatively, be employed for some good purpose within the Monthly Meeting? No, the conscience of the Meeting was still not satisfied. The wrong had been done to persons of Dutch nationality, and it was therefore only just and equitable that Dutch nationals should be the beneficiaries. For some years longer no practicable proposition to implement this was forthcoming, but in 1824 the situation was changed as the result of a visit to England by Jean Etienne Mollet.

John Stephen Mollett,[1] as he was known here, was a Dutchman, a silk-merchant by trade, who had lived in several continental cities, including the Paris of the Revolution, before settling in Amsterdam. He was the last survivor of the once flourishing Society of Friends in Holland, and there was to be a long gap before there were to be Dutch Friends again. Peter Bedford is said to have introduced him to a visitor with the words: "Thou seeth before thee the whole Monthly, Quarterly and Yearly Meeting of Friends in Holland." Mollett, while in England,

[1] For J. S. Mollett see *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, v, p. 125.

had occasion to visit the Infant School then recently established in Spitalfields. He was much struck by it, and expressed the view that a similar school in Amsterdam would meet a real need. The suggestion was carefully examined and approved by the Monthly Meeting, and after some further delay, occasioned partly by a final bid by John Warder's executors to recover the fund, a suitable house, in Bereenstraat, off Keizersgracht, was acquired, and the School was opened in 1829. In memory of the Dutch vessel, which had foundered nearly half-a-century earlier, the School was named "Holland's Welfare", and when it was re-built in 1864, with money largely subscribed by English Friends, a model of a full-rigged ship was placed on the peak of the roof and over the front doorway.

Stephen Grellett, who paid several visits to the School, expressed the view that "no more powerful peace sermon could have been preached than that embodied in these circumstances". What is particularly impressive about the story is the way in which a Monthly Meeting, with its constantly changing membership and leadership, retained till the end its steadfast concern for the right use of the money wrongfully acquired by one of its members, never acting in haste, dealing patiently with all its difficulties, the lukewarmness of John Warder, the inaccessibility of the continent, the absence of any suitable project, and finally, with no doubt many sighs of relief, discharging its self-imposed duty, then nearly fifty years old.

NOTE.—The chief source for the above is the booklet on "The Warder Trust" compiled for Devonshire House Monthly Meeting from M.M. minutes and records; it is undated, but Joseph Smith's *Descriptive catalogue of Friends' books*, 1867, i. 750, gives 1859 as the date, and William Beck as compiler. The story, in abbreviated form, has often been re-told subsequently, but only the 1859 booklet gives the full details of the Meeting's long "labouring" with its member.

ALFRED W. BRAITHWAITE

Joseph Sturge and the Crimean War. 1. The Search for a Cause

BY nineteenth-century standards, Joseph Sturge was in every way a model Quaker. The wealthy head of a thriving Birmingham grain firm, he chose to live unostentatiously, less committed to getting and spending than to philanthropic and social concerns. Among other things, Sturge had been engaged in the anti-slavery movement (for which cause he undertook the journey made famous in his published journal *The West Indies in 1837*), the Anti-Corn Law League and the movement for franchise reform.[1] Yet nowhere are his Quaker principles more strikingly revealed than in his attitude toward war and in his attempts to secure world peace.

As a birthright member of the Society of Friends, Joseph Sturge had been imbued with the spirit of pacifism from

[1] Henry Richard, *Memoirs of Joseph Sturge*, London, 1864, hereafter cited as *Memoirs*. See pp. 73–249 (anti-slavery), 269–290 (Anti-Corn Law League) and 291–341 (franchise reform).

Most of what has been written about Sturge, including Stephen Hobhouse's competent *Joseph Sturge*, London, 1919, has largely been derived from Richard's standard biography. This is understandable. Richard tells us that he had for his sources "a correspondence . . . extending between three and four thousand letters", as well as "a large number of other documents and records, including diaries, reports of societies, minutes of committees, pamphlets, newspapers, etc.", and he had an intimate, first-hand knowledge of his subject. Very few of the documents which Richard had at his disposal have survived to the present day and for this reason Richard's biography is essential to anyone who wishes to write about Sturge. By modern standards, Richard does not use much of the material available in his day. The result is that many statements of fact concerning Sturge are unsubstantiated by reference to the sources; and this is particularly true of the activities of Sturge at the time of the Crimean war. Fortunately, there are letters and other documents written by or relating to Sturge which have not yet been exploited, and by referring to these it has been possible to develop a more accurate picture than that presented by Richard of Sturge's role in the pacifist opposition to the war.

These documents, mainly unpublished, are to be found in the Manchester Central Library, at the West Sussex County Record Office, among the Additional MSS. of the British Museum, in Friends House Library, in the Library of Woodbrooke College and in other repositories. The Sturge revealed by these documents is benevolent, but more hard-headed than Henry Richard's Sturge. He is a Quaker pacifist, deeply committed to the principle of non-violence, yet ready to employ any methods other than violent ones in order to achieve results.

childhood; and one incident from his early days is significant. In 1813, at the age of twenty, Sturge was ordered to serve in the militia, and he refused. Under the provisions of the law,[1] his property was distrained, and we are told that he returned home one day just in time to see the sheep being driven off of his farm.[2] Pacifism, in nineteenth-century England, conflicting as it did so directly with the dominant political principle, nationalism, was an ideal for which one could expect to suffer.

Throughout his career, Sturge had had many supporters, people who applauded him for his philanthropy, or for the part he played in Corn Law repeal, or for his active role in the movement to abolish slavery. He even won admirers as a result of his involvement in the Peace Society and the Peace Congress movement of the late 40s and early 50s—that is to say up until the Crimean war. At that point, however, Sturge lost most of his support, because his brand of pacifism was of the politically embarrassing variety which refuses to go dormant in time of war. If we are to recognize Joseph Sturge's achievement in resisting the war, then we must understand the context in which he operated, particularly from the autumn of 1853 onward. One way to accomplish this is to read almost any standard account of the war, noting how every writer on the subject comments upon the inflamed state of public opinion. Another (and this has not been done in any detail, to my knowledge) is to consider what happened to the organization in which Sturge was most deeply involved, the Peace Society, at the time when, as Kingsley Martin says, "most of its members were either dumb or apologetic.[3]"

The British Peace Society (more formally, The Society for the Promotion of Permanent and Universal Peace) had

[1] For the law, see *Statutes at Large*, Vol. VIII, London, 1770, p. 86. The provisions of this law were extended in 1802 in 42 Geo. III, cap. 90, secs. 27, 33 and 50—see *Statutes of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. I, London, 1804, pp. 451, 452 and 456.

[2] *Memoirs*, pp. 23–24. The Account of Sufferings for Gloucestershire and Wiltshire Monthly Meeting indicates that on April 16, 1813, Constable William Osborne took from Joseph Sturge two ewes and six lambs, valued at £11.6*s*, in order to satisfy a local militia fine of £10. London Yearly Meeting, MS. Book of Sufferings, Vol. XXXIV, Gloucestershire and Wiltshire Quarterly Meeting Returns to Yearly Meeting (1814).

[3] B. K. Martin, *The Triumph of Lord Palmerston*, new and rev. ed.; London, 1963, p. 196.

been founded in 1816 after, and in reaction from, the Napoleonic wars. The Society grew slowly at first, joining with the American Peace Society during the 1820s and 30s to form the nucleus of an international peace movement whose culmination was the series of Peace Congresses held during the 1840s and early 50s. The world's first General Peace Convention held in London in June, 1843, attracted 324 delegates, mostly from Britain (292), a few from America (26) and the continent (6);[1] but the real blossoming of the peace movement took place between 1848 and 1853, with International Peace Congresses in Brussels (Sept. 20–22, 1848), Paris (Aug. 22–24, 1849), Frankfurt (Aug. 22–24, 1850), London (July 22–24, 1851), Manchester (Jan. 27–28, 1853) and Edinburgh (Oct. 12–13, 1853).[2] Large numbers of delegates attended these meetings. The Proceedings of the London Congress exaggerate only slightly in claiming the attendance of "more than a thousand delegates"—by actual count there were 969.[3] Moreover, in the years before the Crimean war, the cause of peace was well financed. Early in 1853, at the time of the French invasion scare in Great Britain, Richard Cobden claimed that in order to counteract anti-French propaganda, the movement could have "any amount of money we require".[4]

What sort of people supported the peace movement? Concerning the Manchester Congress, Cobden noted that the delegates were "quiet, earnest, influential men from all parts of the kingdom",[5] and the *Proceedings* of the London Congress state that those who attended were "selected for the most part, on account of the honourable distinction they had locally acquired among their fellow citizens".[6] The records support these assessments. An appendix to the London Congress *Proceedings* lists all the delegates, with their place of residence and their occupation. I have grouped

[1] Arthur C. F. Beales, *The History of Peace*, London, 1931, pp. 66–67.

[2] *Proceedings* of five of the Congresses are bound together in *Reports of the Peace Congresses, 1848–53*, London, 1861. These do not include the Manchester Congress, reports of which are available in the *Manchester Guardian* and *The Times*.

[3] The complete list of delegates is in *Proceedings of the Fourth General Peace Congress*, London, 1851, pp. 83–104.

[4] Cobden to Joseph Parkes, February 6, 1853 (Parkes Papers, University College Library, London).

[5] Cobden to Joseph Parkes, January 31, 1853, *ibid.*

[6] *Proceedings of the Fourth General Peace Congress*, London, 1851, p. 1.

the delegates according to county and occupation (the original gives no breakdown), and the list does indeed show that they were men of substance who came not only from all parts of Great Britain, but from many European countries and from the United States.

Delegates to the London Peace Congress
July 22–24, 1851

By Country	Number of Delegates
Great Britain	862
United States	61
France	20
Germany	14
Belgium	4
Spain	4
Canada	2
Italy	1
Austria	1
Total	969

By Occupation	
Merchants, tradesmen manufacturers	409
Clergymen	224
Misc. professional men (writers, architects, engineers, artists, etc.)	89
Gentlemen	86
Teachers and professors	25
Physicians and surgeons	22
Lawyers	17
Bankers	16
Farmers	15
Members of Parliament	13
Students	5
Yeomen	2
No occupation listed	46
Total	969

In the period which immediately preceded the Crimean war, then, most of those in the peace movement came from the substantial middle class. Had all those who supported the Peace Congresses—the business-men, clergymen and Members of Parliament—actively opposed the war with Russia, there might not have been a Crimean war. But the influential men who favoured peace in theory were, for various reasons, unwilling to work for peace when the test came.

In this regard, it is interesting to see what happened to those Members of Parliament who supported the Peace Society before Britain became involved with Russia. No fewer than twenty-eight M.P.s had adhered to the principles of the Peace Society, most of them as late as October 1853. I have compiled the following list, indicative of parliamentary support for the peace movement:

Name of M.P.	Constituency	Nature of Support*
Henry Aglionby	Cockermouth	1
Thomas Barnes	Bolton	4
Michael T. Bass	Derby	1
James Bell	Guildford	1, 2, 3
John Bright	Manchester	1, 3
John Brocklehurst	Macclesfield	1
Joseph Brotherton	Salford	1, 2, 3, 4
William Brown	Lancashire S.	1,2
John Cheetham	Lancashire S.	2
Richard Cobden	West Riding, Yorks.	1, 2, 3
Charles Cowan	Edinburgh	3
Joseph Crook	Bolton	2, 3
Frank Crossley	Halifax	2
William Ewart	Dumfries	1, 2, 3
Thos. Milner Gibson	Manchester	2
George Hadfield	Sheffield	1, 2, 3
Lawrence Heyworth	Derby	1, 3
Charles Hindley	Ashton-under-Lyne	1, 3
Joseph Hume	Montrose	2, 3, 4
James Kershaw	Stockport	1, 2, 3, 4
William Laslett	Worcester	2
John MacGregor	Glasgow	1
Edward Miall	Rochdale	1, 2, 3
Apsley Pellatt	Southwark	1, 3
W. T. Price	Gloucester	3
Wm. Digby Seymour	Hull	4
John B. Smith	Stirling	1, 2, 3
William Wilkinson	Lambeth	2

*1 = Delegate to London Peace Congress (1851); see *Proceedings*.
2 = Member of deputation to Lord Aberdeen from Manchester Peace Congress, seeking reduction in armaments; *Herald of Peace*, n.s. XXXIV (April, 1853), p. 201.
3 = Signed invitation to Edinburgh Peace Congress (October, 1853); *Herald of Peace*, n.s. XL (October, 1853), p. 272.
4 = Signed "letter of adhesion" to Edinburgh Congress; *Herald of Peace*, n.s. XLI (November, 1853), p. 284.

When on March 31, 1854, John Bright rose in the House of Commons in order to condemn the declaration of war, none of the other twenty-seven men on the above list spoke in support of him. The views of many of the erstwhile supporters of peace are displayed in the remarks made by several of them, shortly before the declaration.

Although "he highly approved of the conduct of the Government in making war their *dernier ressort*", George Hadfield nevertheless announced that "Europe would find the wrath of the peaceful man more effectual than the fury of the enraged Emperor".[1]

[1] Speech of February 24, 1854, *Hansard*, 3 ser., CXXX (1854), p. 1283.

Frank Crossley pursued the non-interventionist theme. "England was not a part of continental Europe and ought not, therefore, to entangle herself with European politics", he stated. However, "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".[1] He did not offer any compelling reasons why war should not come.

One of the most assertive statements in favour of war came from Joseph Hume, one of those who had been among the strongest supporters of the Peace Congresses. Hume said that "he was prepared . . . to support, by our Navy, to the fullest extent, what he considered to be the honour of the country and . . . to resist those aggressions which Russia had gradually been making on the neighbouring countries".[2]

With the collapse of all parliamentary support for peace, in February, 1854, war with Russia became almost inevitable. When Joseph Sturge failed to join his former co-workers in the peace movement in modifying his pre-war views, the number of men willing to offer him public support shrank to a handful. Most of his friends in the Peace Society fell silent or turned hawkish, the townspeople of Birmingham disavowed him and he was castigated by a previously sympathetic press. At no time in his life had Sturge been less admired than during the Crimean war. At no time was he more deserving of admiration.

* * *

Joseph Sturge had been an active pacifist throughout his life, but it was not until the years preceding the Crimean war, from the time of the Peace Congresses onward, that the cause of peace became his *major* concern. Richard says of Sturge that from 1848 to 1854 "a large proportion of his time, energies, and influence were devoted to [the peace movement] and around no one's personal history could the movement be made to revolve with greater propriety than around his. For he was to a large extent its animating spirit."[3] Briefly, here follow a few of Sturge's pre-war involvements.

In 1850, Sturge, Frederic Wheeler and the American pacifist Elihu Burritt attempted to mediate in the conflict

[1] Speech of February 17, 1854, *ibid.*, p. 910.
[2] Speech of February 22, 1854, *ibid.*, p. 1114.
[3] *Memoirs*, p. 428.

between Denmark and Schleswig-Holstein.[1] This action, even though unsuccessful, has a place both in the history of international arbitration and in Sturge's personal history, for it prefigures his later, successful attempt to have an arbitration clause inserted in the Treaty of Paris.

In 1852, Sturge held a public meeting to protest against Britain's involvement in the Kaffir (or Caffre) war[2] and, at about the same time, was writing letters and circulating petitions in opposition to a new Militia Bill.[3]

One arresting bit of evidence of Sturge's willingness to oppose war in any of its manifestations is to be found in the Bevan Naish Collection in the Library of Woodbrooke College. When the Duke of Wellington died in November, 1852, a day of public mourning was declared in his honour. Joseph Sturge, however, refused to involve himself in the tributes to the Duke's memory, offered by the townsmen of Birmingham. In fact, he and two other Friends, George Barrow and William White, drew up a manifesto explaining why they could not "join in the homage now paid to a Military Hero, or in any way sanction the Funeral Pageant".[4] They had their statement printed on a placard which they circulated throughout Birmingham prior to the funeral. It was, of course, an unpopular action and called forth counter-placards, one of which, signed "Justicia", demanded that "those who are calling themselves the unoffending Quakers prove themselves such, by not opposing the government and the voice of the people".[5] Another, signed "Argus", reiterated the old slur that it was the object of the Quakers, in taking this step, "to be peculiar from their fellows".[6] Sturge was undaunted, and throughout this period continued to occupy himself with preparations for what was to prove the pen-

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 434–455.

[2] Cobden to Sturge, January 3 and January 8, 1852, Cobden Papers, British Museum, Add. MS. 43656.

[3] Sturge to "My dear Friend" [unknown], February 4, 1852, Manchester Literary Club Papers, Vol. IV, Manchester Central Library; Cobden to Sturge, n.d., 1852, Cobden Papers, Vol. LXIV, West Sussex County Record Office; Cobden to Sturge, February 19, 25, 28, etc., 1852, Cobden Papers, British Museum Add. MS. 43656.

[4] Woodbrooke College Library, Bevan Naish Collection, Vol. II, pp. 22–23.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 26.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 27.

ultimate International Peace Congress, to be held in Manchester in January, 1853.[1]

In January occurred the French invasion scare, that outbreak of national hysteria which was to call forth the best effort ever on the part of the Peace Society. Sturge played an active role in helping to calm his countrymen's fears of Napoleon III, by raising funds in the North for anti-war propaganda and by joining a deputation to Lord Aberdeen, who, said Sturge, "received us very differently to what Lord Melbourne did in the early days of the Anti-Corn Law Cause".[2]

There was to be no war with France. The English gave up their French bogey, but only to adopt a Russian one. By the summer of 1853, there were new rumblings of war, about which Sturge wrote to his American friend, Lewis Tappan:

> We are here in much uneasiness as to whether this Russo-Turkish affair may not lead to a European war. What strangely inconsistent beings professing Christians are! A few months ago Louis Napoleon was held up as a monster in human shape and we were put to great expense to prepare against the pretended danger, that he and his people would turn pirates and suddenly come over to murder and rob us. Now we are uniting our fleet with that of this very monster to fight with the Turks against a professedly Christian country.[3]

It was the prospect of war against Russia that was now to occupy Sturge's attention, although as late as November, 1853, we hear of Sturge organizing a meeting to oppose the *Burmese* war.[4]

In the new year, 1854, Sturge undertook the mission to St. Petersburg, an enterprise which, eccentric though it seemed to his countrymen, was no mere whim, but part of a consistent pattern of behaviour which had been developing for some years.[5]

Shortly after the deputation's return from Russia, the

[1] Sturge to George Wilson, October 2, December 7, December 9, 1852, Wilson Papers, Manchester Central Library.

[2] Sturge to Wilson, February 28, 1853, Wilson Papers, Manchester Central Library. See also letter of February 10. Sturge was from this time onward consistent in maintaining Aberdeen's reputation as a peace seeker.

[3] Sturge to Tappan, July 8, 1853, in *Memoirs*, p. 461.

[4] Bright to Sturge, November 17, 1853, Bright Papers, British Museum, Add. MS. 43389.

[5] For the full story, see my article "The Quaker Deputation to Russia: January–February, 1854", *J.F.H.S.*, 52 (1969), 78–96.

Crimean war began. Before considering Sturge's wartime activities, it will be worthwhile to note Henry Richard's assessment of his subject's character. I insert this testimony because most of the evidence to be presented indicates Sturge's energy and powers of organization, but gives little indication of those humane qualities for which Sturge was particularly noted. This, then, is the man who was honoured after his death by those very townspeople of Birmingham whose opinions he had so often challenged and whose prejudices he had so unsparingly refuted:

> His activity of body and mind was marvellous. As the poet says of another character, "He was a man of an unsleeping spirit"; nor was it easy for anyone engaged in the same enterprise with him to slumber at his post. Not that there was anything fussy or dictatorial in his manner, but that the contagion of his earnestness communicated itself to all those around him. Who could complain of being stimulated to exertion by one who was willing himself to bear so large a share of the burden of labour? . . . But more valuable than all to those associated with him were those moral qualities of character by which he was distinguished; his calm courage springing from unfaltering faith in the truth and power of great principles; the habitual serenity of temper which no excitement or provocation could seriously ruffle; the utter self-forgetfulness which never intruded the susceptibilities of personal vanity to disturb the conduct of a great enterprise; and the sunny cheerfulness of mind which seldom failed to light up the less sanguine spirits of some of his associates with a ray of hope in the darkest hour of discouragement and gloom. He had, moreover, the rare and inexpressibly valuable power of inspiring undoubting confidence in the purity and simplicity of his own motives, which drew men towards him with a sort of instinctive and child-like trust.[1]

* * *

For many years before the Crimean war, Joseph Sturge had worked for a durable peace. When war threatened, he did what he could to avert it and for his actions was criticized as being either naïve or malicious. Finally, when the war erupted, he continued to put into practice his pacifist principles, slowly and tentatively at first, but increasingly, as the war progressed, with characteristic energy.

Few Sturge manuscripts have survived from the first months of the war. It may be that proportionately more documents pertinent to the period April-September, 1854, have been lost than for other periods. It is also possible

[1] *Memoirs*, pp. 428–429. Compared with some of the poets and writers who wrote obituaries for Joseph Sturge, Richard was not exaggerating.

that Sturge, an avid correspondent, suspended his usual habits for a time. There is no way of proving which of these conjectures is the correct one, but for two reasons I favour the latter.

In the first place, in travelling to St. Petersburg, Sturge had undertaken an arduous journey on behalf of a principle which was scorned by most of his countrymen. This he was used to bearing. However, there seems to have been some criticism of his actions from within the Society. Friends as a whole supported what he had done, but individual Quakers had taken exception to the handling of the deputation. In April, 1854, a letter which violently attacked the character and principles of Nicholas I appeared in *The British Friend*.[1] Pseudonymously written by "X", it was as condemnatory of the motives of the Russian Emperor as the Russian-baiting periodical *John Bull* had ever been. This personal blast at Nicholas followed one month after that same journal had published the account of the deputation of Sturge, Pease and Charleton, an account which tended to stress the humane aspects of Nicholas's character. In May, *The British Friend* reprinted an article from the *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent* which put the deputation in a bad light. *The British Friend* did not concur in any way in the judgment offered, but printed the article because the editors believed it to be "suggestive of serious thought to us as a body".[2] Nevertheless, both this article and the letter of April, appearing in the leading Quaker periodical, must have troubled such a committed Friend as Joseph Sturge.

At London Yearly Meeting, held that year from May 22 to June 1, Sturge had an opportunity to reply to his critics. After relating the details of the mission, he delivered an emotional justification of the way the matter had been handled by those who had made the journey to St. Petersburg. John Stephenson Rowntree tells us that Sturge, when he addressed the Meeting, "was considerably affected, acknowledged the deficiencies of the deputation, wished

[1] XII (April, 1854), 113–114. *The British Friend* during the period 1854–1856 was never militantly anti-war, but concerned itself largely with internal matters pertaining to the Society of Friends. This is not to say that it ever expressed any sentiment which could be construed as approving of the war. (The same may be said of the other British Quaker periodical, *The Friend*.)

[2] *The British Friend*, XII (May, 1854), 132–133.

more suitable friends had offered, but said that if the business was to do over again, in the most essential particulars they would have to take the same course".[1] After he had spoken, "W. T. Clayton and W. Fowler . . . expressed some regret" that the deputation should have commented on the character of Nicholas, "a subject on which there was a decided difference of sentiment".[2] Sturge carried the day easily, however, for the report is that

> there seemed . . . to be but one feeling in the meeting, as to the concern itself having been a right one; as well as to its having been judiciously and effectively carried out, which was expressed by more than a few.[3]

There was no mass movement on the part of the Society of Friends to dissociate itself from the deputation—quite the contrary. The evidence is that two Quakers, Clayton and Fowler, and "X" (who may have been either Clayton or Fowler, or may not even have been a member of the Society) criticized the manner in which the deputation had portrayed the Russian Emperor. Others may have voiced criticisms, either directly to Sturge, or which may have reached him second-hand. His reaction at Yearly Meeting indicates that he was quite sensitive on this point, and it is possible that such criticisms were responsible for a minor spell of introversion, causing the usually steady flow of his correspondence to slacken for a time.

I believe, however, that there is another reason why we have fewer letters from Sturge at this time than at any other. Reading Sturge's correspondence, one is struck by its *practical* quality. Virtually every one of his surviving letters is concerned with a particular enterprise. Sturge had done what he could to stop the war and had failed, and for a time the initiative was with the other side. For the

[1] Unpublished journal of Yearly Meeting, 1854, Friends House Library, MS. Vol. S 366.

[2] *The Friend*, XII (June, 1854), 110. The first Friend would most likely be William Impey Clayton (1800–1855), of Dunmow, Essex, the "T". probably being a misprint; and the second is certainly William Fowler (1827?–1905), of Essex. *The British Friend* does not give the names of those who expressed displeasure at the deputation's attitude toward Nicholas and Rowntree names only Fowler. For more on William Impey Clayton, see Francis Corder and Ellen Clayton, *Francis Clayton, 1739–1774, of Chiswick and His Descendants*, Gloucester, 1892, pp. 34–37.

[3] *The British Friend*, XII (June, 1854), 150–151. The deputation's strongest support came from John Bright.

moment, there was little that the pacifists could actually do, and this accounts for the falling off in Sturge's correspondence: he had nothing to write *about*. What I am saying will become more apparent when we consider Sturge's part in the founding of the *Morning Star*, for it is then, with a definite and practical end in mind, that he is at his most prolific as a letter writer.

Sturge had not given up looking for a way to put his pacifist beliefs into practice. Shortly before attending Yearly Meeting, he was present at the annual meeting of the Peace Society, held in London on May 23. His remarks there indicate that even if his pacifist sentiments had momentarily no practical outlet, his opposition to the war was not for that reason any less intense. He moved a resolution:

> That this meeting cannot but regard the war with Russia as furnishing additional illustration of the evils that have frequently come upon this country from the practice, unhappily too common in our history, of interfering by force of arms in the quarrels of other nations; and is of the opinion, that it is the duty and wisdom of the English people to urge upon their Government the adoption of the full principle of non-intervention in their foreign policy.

After stating the resolution, Sturge said that "Christianity, as well as true policy" dictated a policy of non-interference; and that England was surely "the last nation in the world to teach morality to other people", considering her conduct in Caffraria, India and China. Indicating that he was aware of the sort of criticism which was to be made by Clayton and Fowler at the forthcoming Yearly Meeting, he said that

> he was, perhaps, a little blinded by having had an opportunity of shaking hands with the Emperor of Russia, [but that he] was persuaded history would show that the whole blame of the war did not rest on one side.

"Christianity", he said, "destroyed all nationalities", and it grieved him "to see so many ministers of religion assenting to rather than checking the military spirit of the country".[1] When Sturge had finished speaking, he was applauded by a sparse audience. At the 1854 Peace Society meeting, twenty-three men are listed as attending, whereas in 1852,

[1] *Herald of Peace*, n.s. XLVIII (June, 1854), p. 74. The problem of Christian ministers supporting the war was one which particularly distressed Sturge's biographer, Henry Richard, who edited the *Herald*.

when there had been no war, on the platform alone there were over forty-one.[1]

For the first few months of the war, Sturge searched unsuccessfully for a satisfactory outlet for his pacifist convictions. Often, during this period, we must interpret Sturge's actions through letters written to him, because the original Sturge letters have not survived. There are several letters to Sturge from Cobden and Bright during the period April-August, 1854, which indicate that Sturge had returned to one of his earliest social preoccupations, the slave trade. But these letters show that he is less concerned with slavery *per se*, than with slavery in the Turkish Empire, considered as one more reason why England should not be that country's ally.

In a letter to Cobden in April, Sturge had compared unfavourably the condition of slaves in the United States with that of Cuban slaves.[2] Another letter in June discusses slavery in America,[3] and early in July Sturge is looking for help with a scheme to discourage American slavery by encouraging the growing of cotton in India.[4] The connection with the Crimean war begins to be made toward the end of July, at which time Cobden and Sturge corresponded concerning some of the more brutal aspects of slavery in the Turkish Empire, such as sodomy and castration.[5] In August, the two men continued to discuss the problem. Sturge had reported that the Quakers were "stirring" about the Turkish slave trade, and had asked Cobden to furnish particulars about the trade. Cobden replied that he had spoken to Ionides, the Greek consul, who had told him that "if any body doubts [the extent of slavery in the Turkish Empire], let them send an order to Constantinople for half a dozen black eunuchs".[6] The Society of Friends never made the slave trade the focal point of an anti-war propaganda effort, but these letters indicate the direction of Sturge's thinking. The theme of the unseemliness of Christian nations fighting

[1] *Ibid.*, n.s. XXIV (June, 1852), pp. 67–68.
[2] Cobden to Sturge, April 6, 1854, Cobden Papers, British Museum, Add. MS. 43656.
[3] Cobden to Sturge, June 8, 1854, Sturge Papers, British Museum, Add. MS. 43722.
[4] Bright to Sturge, July 4, 1854, B.M., Add. MS. 43723.
[5] Cobden to Sturge, July 28, 1854, B.M., Add. MS. 43722.
[6] Cobden to Sturge, August 14, 1854, *ibid.*

with one another on behalf of the infidel does recur in Sturge's letters, in the writings of Henry Richard and in such tracts as the *Christian Appeal*.[1] It is the basis of Sturge's inquiries into the horrors of the Turkish slave trade.

During this time, the threat of official backlash against the Quaker pacifists had been growing. In May, Sturge had written Cobden about a bill proposed by Lord Campbell "for preventing unofficial intercourse with foreign potentates". On the face of it, such a bill would have prevented the Quaker deputation from travelling to St. Petersburg; however, Sturge seemed to be ignorant of the details. Cobden advised him to "get a copy of the bill and if it be as bad as you suppose, then try to ascertain whether the *government* intends to support it". If this were the case, Sturge should "send a deputation to the leading men on the other side of the House to ask them to oppose it".[2] This is the only mention, in the records which have survived, of Sturge's concern in this matter, and it is not possible to discover what action he took, if any. The details of the bill and its history are these:

On Friday, April 7, 1854, Campbell introduced before the House of Lords "An act to prevent any unauthorized negotiations or intercourse touching public affairs between the subjects of Her Majesty and any Foreign Potentate or State". In presenting the bill, Lord Campbell claimed

> I shall be able clearly to show that this is the law of nations . . . that it has been in several instances infringed to the prejudice of public affairs in this country . . . and that we have an undoubted right to legislate with respect to the conduct of British subjects abroad.[3]

The timing of this Bill suggested that it was prompted by the Quaker deputation; and at the second reading, Campbell revealed that this was the case and that he wanted to see all such missions stopped. He attacked the Quaker deputation specifically, and to support his case, invoked before his colleagues "an authority which they would all reverence", namely, Edmund Burke![4]

[1] See Stephen Frick, "The *Christian Appeal* of 1855: Friends' Public Response to the Crimean War", *J.F.H.S.*, lii (1970), 203–10.

[2] Cobden to Sturge, May 2, 1854, Sturge Papers, British Museum, Add. MS. 43722.

[3] *Hansard*, 3 ser., CXXXII (1854), pp. 605–606.

[4] *Ibid.*, CXXXIII (1854), pp. 13–20.

Lord Lyndhurst, while referring to the "absurd pilgrimage" of the Quakers, nevertheless spoke against the Bill. In a highly diplomatic way, Aberdeen advised Campbell to withdraw his bill and was supported by Clanricarde. Campbell, however, proceeded with the second reading and his proposal was referred to a select committee.

At the select committee meeting on May 11, in order to allay the fears of his colleagues who felt that the bill threatened traditional English liberties, Campbell announced that it was not his intention to prohibit purely private delegations and that the bill "would not apply to such a deputation as had recently proceeded from the Quakers of this country to the Emperor of Russia".[1] This was quite a turnabout, because it had been apparent from the second reading that *the* purpose of the bill was to prevent just such missions. The bill could not survive in its original form, nor was there much reason for Campbell to pursue it now that his intentions had been thwarted. The select committee met on May 22[2] and again on June 2, at which time they reported against proceeding with the bill.[3]

Sturge may have called on Aberdeen before the second reading. Certainly it was not necessary that he should enlist the aid of the Opposition, for after May 9, when Aberdeen advised Campbell to withdraw his proposal, it was evident that the bill would receive no support from the Government and would be short-lived.

Had Campbell's bill passed into law, or had it even threatened seriously to do so, then fighting against it might have provided a suitable channel for Sturge's still pent-up energies. But it did not; and at the end of the summer, still seeking an outlet, Sturge was writing to Cobden and Bright with a proposal for publicizing the anti-war writings of "Mr. McQueen". James MacQueen's book about the Crimean war had just been published. *The War: Who's to Blame, or the Eastern Question Investigated from the Official Documents*,[4] is heavily documented with facts about the

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 147.
[2] *Lords Journal*, LXXXVI (1854), p. 172.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 217.
[4] London, 1854. A massive volume of over 400 pp., one's first reaction on reading it is to wonder how it could even have been written and published in the short time that had elapsed since Britain had declared war on Russia, let alone have made any claim to accuracy of detail. James MacQueen (1778–1870): editor, author, geographer [*D.N.B.*].

diplomatic background of the war, Russian industry, the slave trade (white as well as black) in the Turkish Empire, the cost of the war and the like. Cobden was sceptical of MacQueen. He told Sturge that he had distrusted MacQueen's manner of using statistics ever since the latter had placed his talents at the disposal of Lord George Bentinck, the protectionist, at the time of the anti-Corn Law struggle.[1] Bright agreed to look at MacQueen's book, but refused to be "responsible in any way for it".[2] Sturge let the matter drop.

* * *

Toward the end of 1854, Sturge became engaged in a public controversy reminiscent of his attack on the funeral pomp for the Duke of Wellington in November, 1852, and his popularity suffered even more on this occasion than on the previous one. Henry Richard gives few details of the controversy, but he writes of Sturge that

> the language in which he was spoken of at that time by some of his fellow citizens of Birmingham . . . was such as fills one now with surprise and sorrow, and would probably give sincere pain to those who used it, if it were now quoted. We forbear, therefore, further allusion to the circumstances of that unhappy period.[3]

The unpleasant language which Richard forbore to quote appeared mainly in the columns of the *Birmingham Journal*. An editorial of December 9, 1854, begins:

> Mr. Sturge, next to the Austrian alliance and the Smithfield Cattle Show, is the topic of the week. For five mortal days, his address to the working classes has gathered groups of readers at every dead wall, and has found its way into the principal journals of the kingdom, accompanied by comments more flattering to his love of notoriety than to his judgment or his patriotism.

The cause of the excitement was a placard dated December 2, 1854, and signed by Sturge, entitled *The Russian War. To My Fellow Townsmen of the Working Classes.*[4] In the address printed on the placard, Sturge

[1] Cobden to Sturge, August 21, 1854, Sturge Papers, British Museum, Add. MS. 43722.

[2] Bright to Sturge, September 4, 1854, *ibid.*, B.M., Add. M.S. 43723.

[3] *Memoirs*, p. 494. Richard deals briefly with this phase of Sturge's life and gives an abridged version of the address to the working classes, pp. 489–494.

[4] Woodbrooke College Library, Bevan Naish Collection, II, pp. 20–21. The placard, dated 12th Month 2, 1854, was printed in *The Times* of December 6 and appears in Richard, *Memoirs*, pp. 492–494.

cited the Crimean war as the direct cause of the current high price of bread. His remarks will shortly be considered, but first the setting in which they occurred must be understood.

Ever since the beginning of the war, the price of bread had risen. A number of people blamed the high prices on the desire of the corn factors to reap huge profits; and Joseph Sturge was one of Birmingham's leading corn factors. Ironically, Joseph Sturge, one of that small group of pacifists who unequivocally opposed the war, was widely accused of encouraging the war in order that he might use it as a cover for inflating the price of grain.

For several weeks before the eruption of the controversy, this idea that the factors were responsible for the high cost of bread was being bruited about. On October 28 the *Birmingham Journal* reported:

> We have received several communications on the subject of the extraordinary rise in the price of wheat, some of which we cannot publish, as they are directed against tradesmen who have really no more influence on the market value of wheat than we have, and although we can sympathize with our correspondents whose comforts have been abridged by the high prices, we must decline to publish insinuations against tradesmen who are wholly guiltless of any offence.

In retrospect it may be argued that the *Journal* aggravated the problem by not publishing these letters immediately, thereby giving those who were being attacked no chance to refute the charges against them. It is apparent that a whispering campaign directed against some of the corn factors, particularly Joseph Sturge, flourished during the early part of November.

On or about November 20 the matter was brought to a head. The occasion was the distribution in Manchester and Birmingham of a placard entitled *The War and Dear Bread*. The anonymous author of this placard stated as his thesis that the cost of bread was a result of the lack of Russian wheat on the British market, and that the war was therefore directly responsible for the high prices. In developing his statement, he cited Harriet Martineau as one of his authorities, using her book *The History of England during the Thirty Years' Peace* (London, 1849) to buttress his arguments.[1]

[1] For Harriet Martineau (1802–1876), see *D.N.B.*

This proved to be an extremely unpopular opinion. In describing the fate of the placard, one Manchester daily echoed the tone of most of the newspaper commentary on the subject:

> The officers of the law have very properly put a stop to the activity of the would-be-mischievous noodles who have been placarding the walls in this and other localities with treasonable appeals to the working classes, calling on them to be discontented with the present war as the cause of the late advance in the price of bread.[1]

The placard was pulled down, but not before Robert Martineau had obtained one and sent it to his sister for her consideration. Harriet Martineau, in turn, sent a letter to the *Birmingham Journal*. It was published on November 25, along with one from Robert, explaining how he had come to send the placard to Harriet. In her letter, Miss Martineau disclaimed any sympathy with the opinions of the author of *The War and Dear Bread*, claiming that the arguments which he had borrowed from her applied only to the *Napoleonic* wars and not to the present conflict with Russia.

In the same issue, the editors of the *Journal* printed, under the heading "The Un-English Party", an extract from the *Daily News* which contradicted *The War and Dear Bread*.[2]

A week later, the *Journal* published a letter, signed pseudonymously by "Fair Play", which defended the opinion that the war was responsible for the price of bread; and on the same day or immediately thereafter appeared Joseph Sturge's controversial placard addressed to the working classes.

In the placard, Sturge disclaims any knowledge of the identity of the author of *The War and Dear Bread*, but says that he knows the man who circulated the placard in Birmingham, and approves of the decision to distribute it. He joins the controversy about the cost of bread by contradicting Harriet Martineau. In his words

> [N]o one conversant with the foreign corn trade of this country would venture to assert that, could we be supplied from the shores of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azof, the present rate of prices could be maintained. From *five* ports in these seas alone, upwards of Thirty Millions of Bushels of wheat were shipped in 1853, to the United

[1] *The War Express and Daily Advertiser* (Manchester), November 24, 1854. I have been unable to locate a copy of *The War and Dear Bread*.

[2] The original appeared in the *Daily News* on November 23.

> Kingdom and other parts of Europe. Wheat which is now worth Ten Shillings per bushel in England, can, at the present time be bought in some of these ports at less than Two Shillings per bushel.

Sturge says that he has received an anonymous warning that if the price of bread is not lowered "something of a very serious nature will occur to disturb the peace of the town, and you will be considered then in a worse light than even Nicholas himself". Sturge offers to meet the author of the threat to discuss the problem.

Then Sturge defends John Bright's position on the war by drawing an analogy between Bright's situation and that of Sir Robert Walpole in 1739 and Charles James Fox at the time of the Napoleonic wars. He sees them all as patriotic Englishmen, unjustly accused of "doing the enemy's work".[1]

In concluding, he says what most of his countrymen wanted least to hear:

> When we reflect on the atrocities committed in wars of aggression by this country within the last twenty years, in India, in China, in Afghanistan, and lastly in Africa and Burmah, it will be seen that, however unjust towards Turkey the invasion of the principalities by Russia might be, it sinks by comparison into insignificance.

Although he called for Christian love, Joseph Sturge's words had an inflammatory effect upon those to whom they were addressed, far greater even than that created by *The War and Dear Bread*. On December 9, two letters attacking Sturge were printed in the *Birmingham Journal*.[2] The first, signed by Edwin George "on behalf of the carpenters and joiners of Birmingham", stated that "the working classes are disgusted with the placards in question being addressed to them" and suggested that if the author "were to listen to the remarks of those who read his placards he would soon be convinced of the futility of his attempts to assist in doing the work of the enemy".

George's remarks were bland compared with those in the second letter, signed by George Griffith. Griffith must have read the reprint of the placard which appeared in *The Times* of December 6. He wrote:

[1] Because of his stand on the war, some of Bright's Manchester constituents had recently burnt him in effigy.

[2] A reprint of the Sturge placard also appeared in this issue, with the editorial comment: "At the request of Mr. Sturge, made in a manner which, if it had been done by a man capable of an intentional impertinence, we should have called it so, we publish the following address."

The perusal of the letter which appeared in *The Times* of this date, bearing the signature of "Joseph Sturge", must fill the mind of every Englishman with disgust. Its selfishness, hypocrisy and cunning are alike conspicuous.

. . .

Why not denounce the Kaffir war at the time it occurred? Because no American barrel flour comes from thence. Friend Sturge's feelings were not so disturbed then as they are now that his trade is lessened by the Black Sea war.[1]

Griffith also accused Sturge of having been a member of a cartel whose purpose was to inflate prices by cornering the market in wheat.

There are indications that the controversy continued with great heat, but it soon disappeared from the columns of the *Birmingham Journal*. Sturge wrote one more letter, refuting Griffith's claim that he had joined a combine in order to drive up grain prices (December 16). There was another abusive letter from Griffith; and there was one by David Smith which defended Sturge's reputation (December 30). By the new year, the dispute, if not forgotten, had passed out of the press. It was an interesting affair in so far as it revealed not only the attitudes and activities of Joseph Sturge, but also the temper of the British people and their press under the strain of war.

* * *

(The war was almost a year old, yet Joseph Sturge had found no suitable outlet for his energies. During the second year of the war, however, he became deeply involved in plans for founding the world's first daily newspaper dedicated to the cause of peace. The story of Sturge's essential role in the founding of *The Morning Star* will be related in a subsequent issue.)

STEPHEN FRICK

[1] It should be noted that Sturge actively opposed the Kaffir war, and that if the parallel argument were true—that Sturge, as a corn factor, was making extra profits out of the inflated price of wheat—then he would not, logically, given his "selfishness, hypocrisy and cunning", have been at all "disturbed" about the loss of Black Sea wheat. Would Sturge have profiteered in grain? In the *Memoirs* (pp. 52–54), Henry Richard quotes a letter of November 11, 1844, from Sturge to "C.D., Corn Exchange, London". In this letter, Sturge sets down the temperance principle which caused him to give up all his trade in malting barley, thereby sacrificing "large annual profits". It would seem odd if he were capable of carrying principle to such an extreme in the instance of temperance, but not in support of pacifism—an area of actual life-and-death concern to him.

A Note on the Origins of the George Fox School, Lancaster

THE George Fox School at Lancaster, formerly Friends' School, is known to have been founded in the 1690s. "Circa 1690" is the estimate on the signpost outside the school and this is a perfectly reasonable approximation.

The first mention I have been able to pick up of the school project is in September 1692 when there was "A query of friends concerning providing schoolmasters and schooldames or mistresses for Lancaster meeting. It is desired that they will put the same into practise and give us an account at the next Monthly Meeting."[1] In these early days the chief problem was that of getting hold of a suitable teacher. In October, November and December 1692 "the query about a schoolmaster continues" and in January 1693 "the query about a schoolmaster continued, though a report we have by R. Lawson from one in Yorkshire who has promised to write to him shortly about his coming".[2] The query was continued, however, into the early Spring of 1693 when the matter was in the hands of two weighty Friends and the meeting was satisfied, by a letter from them, "that they are in the exercise of it".[3]

Finance may have been a problem in attracting a good teacher. The demands on the stock of the meetings were very heavy and the permanent resources—chiefly through legacies—growing only slowly. In October 1695, a substantial Friend helped solve the problem. William Gunson gave Lancaster Particular Meeting £20 "and declared for what use as follows. The same to be put forth to interest and the profit or interest of the same to be applied yearly towards the wages of a Friend who may teach Friends' children in learning, in and about Lancaster, but if no schoolmaster be

[1] Friends' Meeting House, Lancaster, Lancaster Monthly Meeting minute book, 1675–1731, p. 124.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 125, 127.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 130.

procured, then the interest to be applied to the most needful use that may be seen among Friends."[1]

Nonetheless fees would have to be paid to cover the school's expenses and if Friends "not in affluence" were without the means to pay, the Monthly Meeting would take on responsibility for schooling. On the analogy of the system whereby the Meeting underwrote the expenses of the apprenticeships of poor Friends' children, in 1695 a local Friend received £3 "in order to bring up his son a scholar according to an order of this Monthly Meeting".[2] The apprenticeship analogy continues in a minute of 1703 which shows the Monthly Meeting taking measures to secure a succession of Quaker schoolmasters for the future: "Lancaster meeting giving account of their charge in maintenance and care and learning of Robert Bankes, and that to perfect himself so far in learning as to fit him for a schoolmaster it will be a further charge which they desire the Monthly Meeting to assist in. So this meeting is free to pay the charge of his learning with Gilbert Tompson for half a year."[3]

The school, of course, was not intended to provide purely secular education but was designed also to inculcate in the young Friends' principles. Thus its running came under the close scrutiny of the Particular Meeting. In 1698 Joshua Lawson and Thomas Wilson were "appointed to take care that the schoolmaster be diligent in educating his scholars and keep them out of anything that would corrupt them".[4]

Clearly in Friends' thinking about the school the schoolmaster, rather than the building or the syllabus, took first place. They were accustomed to think in terms of the relationship between the master and his apprentices. It is my opinion that finding a teacher was a pre-requisite to founding a school and that the George Fox School was not founded until 1692 or, more probably, 1695.

MICHAEL MULLETT

[1] Friends' Meeting House, Lancaster, Record of Trust Property to Lancaster Meeting for the Poor and Education, p. 76.

[2] Lancaster M.M. minute book, p. 150; i. iv. 1695.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 219; 1. xii. 1702/3. Gilbert Thompson (*c.* 1658–1719) of Penketh is first mentioned 2, vii. 1695 (p. 155).

[4] Friends' Meeting House, Lancaster, Lancaster Particular Meeting minute book, 1698–1740, p. 97; 6. ix. 1698.

Bristol Channel Boating Fatality

SAMUEL LLOYD, of Bristol, merchant (1700–1736), son of Edward (d. 1718; for whom see Humphrey Lloyd, *The Quaker Lloyds in the industrial revolution*, 1975, p. 93) and Elizabeth (*née* Andrews, d. 1731) Lloyd, was born 14 vii 1700. He married Sarah Rogers, daughter of Francis Rogers, 10 iii 1722, and was buried 20 vi 1736. Behind this final record lies a tragedy which was recorded in the newspapers of the time, but which has not recently been noticed.

On Thursday 12 August 1736 a group of Bristolians went for a sail down the Channel as far as Flat Holm. The result is recorded in *The Leeds Mercury* for Tuesday 24 August 1736, under the heading: Country News. Bristol. Aug. 14.

> Last Thursday Mr. Samuel Lloyd, Mr. King, Mr. Michael Beecher, and several other young Gentlemen, Merchants of this City, took a trip to the Holms, about ten Leagues down the Channel, in a new Pleasure Sloop, built in Ireland, and had with them a small Boat to carry them to and from the Island; and for the better Management of the Sloop, Mr. Samuel Rumley, a noted Pilot at Pill, in much esteem, and of good Circumstances, accompanied them as their Navigator. After regaling themselves on the Island, and coming off to the Sloop, on the Tide of Flood, which lay at Anchor, a little distance from it, they overset the Boat close to the Sloop's side, in endeavouring too eagerly to get on board, and rising up together, were all set a swimming; Mr. Lloyd and Mr. Rumley got fast to the Boat, which was so light, that they tilted it on their Heads, by which they lost their Hold, and were both unfortunately drowned; Mr. Lloyd was seen at some distance swimming, but there was no possibility of giving him the least Assistance. He was a Gentleman of a good Family among the Quakers, a large Trader in Wines, and much lamented. The other Persons had the good fortune to get on board by the help of a Rope slung from the Sloop.

The end of the sad affair was likewise recorded in *The Leeds Mercury*, Tuesday, August 31, 1736. (Num. 556.)

> Last Sunday the Body of Mr. Lloyd, the unfortunate Gentleman mentioned to be drowned, was taken up by a Farmer on the Shore of Waltham-Park, and buried in the Sands; there was found about him a Silver Watch, a Silver Snuff-Box, Silver Knee and Shoe-Buckles, a Gold Neck Buckle, and 4*s*. 9*d*. in Money: The Body was taken up last Thursday, brought to Town, and buried in a mournful

Manner yesterday in the Burying Yard belonging to the Quakers near the Redcliff, it was observed, the Servants of the several Coaches, and most of the Company that attended the Funeral, could not refrain from weeping on so melancholy an Occasion; which must be the more shocking and penetrating, when the poor Lady, his loving Wife is upon the Step to follow him, occasioned by an inexpressible Pressure of Grief, even to such a Degree, as to be insensible, and given over by the Physicians.

Leeds: Printed by James Lister, in New-Street.

R.S.M.

Early Quaker Writings, 1650–1700. Edited by Hugh Barbour and Arthur O. Roberts (Grand Rapids, Michigan, William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1973. $9.95).

This is an imposing anthology of over 500 pages of reprints from pamphlets and representative extracts from Journals and larger works illustrating facets of the growth, development and spread of early Quakerism.

A valuable framework, introduction and linking text, matched by analysis of types of Quaker writings of the period, make this a useful survey and first move towards any detailed study of further particular aspects of Quaker writing and thought. A useful course book, and one to have beside you when studying the William Charles Braithwaite volumes in the Rowntree history series.

Pennsylvania Politics, 1746–1770: The Movement for Royal Government and Its Consequences. By James H. Hutson. Princeton University Press. London: Oxford University Press. 1972. pp. viii, 264. £4.25.

This is a full and very readable account of the years of conflict between William Penn's son Thomas, as the successor to the Proprietorship of Pennsylvania, living in England, and the elected Pennsylvania Assembly, composed largely of Quakers. The conflict culminated in a sustained effort by the Quaker party, assisted by Benjamin Franklin and others, to overturn the Proprietary Government and substitute for it direct Government by the Crown. The attempt, although unsuccessful (and against the wishes of the majority of Pennsylvanians), was of importance, as familiarizing the colonists with the idea that arbitrary Governments could and should be overthrown, and so making easier the task of the Revolution, a few years later.

A.W.B.

George Cadbury. By Walter Stranz. (Shire Publications Ltd., 12B Temple Square, Aylesbury. 45p). Well supplemented by nineteen illustrations.

Leeds Friends and the Lancashire Cotton Districts Relief Fund, 1862-66

WHEN the American Civil War began to affect the supply of raw cotton to mills in Lancashire, several thousand workers became unemployed. Funds were started in several towns to relieve the distress this caused. In Leeds £29,000 was promised within a few months of the fund being set up, and so much was collected that it could not all be used. Part of the unspent residue was returned to contributors (at their request); the unclaimed remainder was divided among the Leeds General Infirmary, the Public Dispensary, and other local institutions.

A collection of papers concerning the Leeds Fund has recently been deposited in the Brotherton Library, University of Leeds (Leeds University MS. [Deposit] 1973/1), by Robert Jowitt & Sons, Ltd., Bradford. These papers indicate that several Friends were involved in the fund, whether as members of the committee appointed to administer it, or simply as donors. The notes which follow concern only those Friends whose names appear in the Index to the papers. Copies of the Index are available from the Brotherton Library, and there is a copy in Friends House Library.

For Leeds Friends generally, see Wilfrid Allott's "Leeds Quaker Meeting", in *Publications of the Thoresby Society, Miscellany*, vol. 14, pt. 1 (1966), pp. 1–77.

Additional details have been supplied from Jean E. Mortimer's MS. index of Leeds Friends.

Wilson ARMISTEAD (1819–68; son of Joseph, 1793–1861, and Hannah (Wilson) 1792–1827), oil merchant (see *Jnl. F.H.S.*, vol. 50 (1963), 158–63). Committee member: gave £100.

Samuel BIRCHALL (1818–64; son of Samuel Jowitt, 1788–1854, and Maria (Atkinson) d. 1820), wool merchant (see *Bootham School Register, 1935*). Committee member; gave £100.

Henry BROADHEAD (1802–82; son of James, d. 1835, and Rachel (Holmes) 1774–1856), brush manufacturer. Gave £30.

Edwin EDDISON (1806–67) Leeds town clerk 1836–43; solicitor. An attender. Committee member; gave £50; on 17 xi 1862 he brought before the committee certain resolutions concerning the inadequate agriculture of the cotton districts, but withdrew them at the committee's suggestion.

F. EDDISON (referred to in the Headingley Ward committee minutes as Mr Eddison jnr.). Probably Frederic[k] Eddison, b. 1837, son of Edwin and Hannah Maria. An attender. In a letter to Henry Appleton, 25 xi [1862], he declined to serve on the Headingley Ward committee.

Robert Lawson FORD (1809–78; son of John, 1762–1833, and Mary (Lawson) d. 1862), solicitor. Gave £100; on 22 v 1865 he asked for the return of the unspent portion.

Thomas HARVEY (1812–84; son of William, and Susanna (Atkinson) d. 1870), chemist. Committee member. On 12 iii 1863 he raised in committee the subject of distress in the Irish cotton districts. After detailed enquiries into the extent of the distress in northern Ireland, the committee resolved, 2 iv 1863, to give to Jonathan Joseph Richardson, a Friend, of the Island Flax Mills, Lisburn, £200 for the Lisburn relief fund.

John JOWITT (1811–88; son of Robert, 1784–1862, and Rachel (Crewdson) 1782–1856), wool merchant. (Left Friends in 1837 and joined the Congregationalists.) One of the four secretaries of the committee; following rumours that mill-hands were refusing alternative work, he spent two days in Preston and neighbourhood, and reported that the rumours appeared to be untrue and that the administration of relief was satisfactory. His firm, Robert Jowitt & Sons, promised £150, of which £75 had been paid by June 1864.

George TATHAM (1815–92; son of Thomas, 1773–1851, and Ann (Witchell) 1780–1860; married i. (1845) Hannah Maria (1819–52) dau. of Robert, 1796–1867, and Elizabeth, d. 1848, Walker; married ii. (1855) Elizabeth (1822–87) dau. of Thomas, d. 1868, and Martha, d. 1838, Morris), leather dresser; thrice mayor of Leeds. Committee member. His firm, Wilson, Walker & Co., of Sheepscar Leather and Glue Works, gave £100, but on 17 v 1865 requested the return of the unused portion. In a letter of the same date, written on his own account, George Tatham made a similar request concerning his personal donation, on the grounds that he wished to assist local institutions which worked on the principle of prevention being better than cure. From letters he wrote on 4 viii and 7 viii 1865 it seems that there was some difficulty in finding a record of his own donation of £5, which he said was sent on 26 ix 1862 (before the fund was started) "probably through a member of our own Society".

Edward WALKER (1826–1901; son of Robert, 1796–1867, and Elizabeth, d. 1848), of Springfield Mount; his widow, Celia, d. 1903. On 19 v 1865 he asked for the return of the unused portion of his subscription; he received £8 10*s*. on 17 viii 1865, so he had presumably given about £12.

Robert WALKER (1796–1867; son of Joseph, 1757–1814, and Sarah (Armistead) 1756–1839), father of the above, wool merchant. Gave £50, but on 23 v 1865 requested the return of the unused part so that he could give it to another institution very deserving of support; received £35 12*s*. 6*d*. on 14 viii 1865.

Thomas WALKER. Probably Thomas Walker, flax spinner, d. 1873, aged 70; son of John, overlooker, d. 1837, and Sarah, d. 1828, Walker; married i (10 vii 1833) Betty (1805–54) dau. of Joseph, 1772–1852, and Sarah (Thompson) 1774–1845, Smith; married ii (22 iv 1857) Lydia (1814–1900) dau. of James, d. 1835, and Rachel (Holmes) 1774–1856, Broadhead. Promised £30, but is listed in June 1864 as having paid £20 only.

John WHITING (1819–99; son of John and Margaret Whiting of Hitchin; married (1850) Anna Rebecca (1829–97) dau. of James and Mary (Sturge) Gilpin), linendraper. One of the four secretaries of the committee; his firm, Hotham and Whiting, gave £60, and their employees collected an additional £12.

R. H. DAVIS

Employer and Employed: Ford, Ayrton & Co. Ltd., Silk Spinners With Worker Participation, Leeds and Low Bentham 1870–1970. By Elizabeth R. Pafford and John H. P. Pafford. Pasold Research Fund Ltd., Edington, Wiltshire. 1974. pp. x, 77. Cloth £1.75. Paper 90p.

The authors of this book are the daughter and son-in-law of Charles Ford. who managed the firm for nearly 60 years. It is a valuable addition to our records of the small family business, Quaker-owned and Quaker-inspired, which were for so long an integral part of the life of the Society of Friends in England. This firm is of particular interest as a pioneer in "worker participation", meaning by this not only profit-sharing but the inclusion of employees in management and policy-making. The story is skilfully told, drawing on personal reminiscences as well as on the firm's papers; and, although the authors modestly disclaim any expert knowledge of technical matters, their account of silk-spinning processes and techniques will also interest many readers. With the firm's closure in 1970, the last British silk-spinning mill wholly concerned with the business ceased operations.

A.W.B.

We are glad to record that William Sessions Ltd., of York, are now publishing or distributing a number of books of interest to Friends; among others, they will be responsible in future for the distribution of the two volumes of Quaker history by William C. Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism* and *The Second Period of Quakerism.*

Two other works recently published by them may be mentioned: *Alcuin of York*, which is a selection of the letters of this scholar of the "Dark Ages", edited by Stephen Allott, formerly of Bootham, and *Bishophill, York*, by George G. Pace, a detailed survey, beautifully illustrated, of this little-known district of the city. Of especial interest to Friends will be the appraisal of the Friends' Burial Ground (disused), which the author calls "one of the major aesthetic experiences in York".

Recent Publications

Contrasting Communities: English Villagers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. By Margaret Spufford. pp. xxiii, 374, Cambridge University Press, 1974, £7.70.

What makes Mrs. Spufford's contribution to our knowledge of three Cambridgeshire villages so important is that she writes on all aspects of village life; not only does she deal with the economic history of Willingham, Chippenham and Orwell but with educational opportunities and the religious beliefs of their inhabitants. These three villages were chosen because they have different soils, contrasting methods of cultivation, and dissimilar social structures, and Dr. Spufford surveys them in the period between the Henrician Reformation and the religious persecution that occurred after Charles II's restoration. Although the three aspects are carefully and skilfully inter-related, Quaker historians will be more interested in the last section on religious dissent and especially in the part played by Friends in the county.

The author shows that much Puritan feeling existed in the county in the 1570s when a group in Balsham was suspected of belonging to the Family of Love and in the 1630s when many parishioners were opposed to the Laudian innovations and petitioned Parliament in 1640–1 against the practices of Dr. Wren, Bishop of Ely. They were clearly anti-episcopalian. In this soil dissenting opinions, Congregationalist, Baptist and Quaker, grew freely between 1640 and 1653. Organized Quakerism came into the county in 1653 when Mary Fisher and Elizabeth Williams talked to scholars at the University and the following year Anne Blackin was sent to gaol. It was probably this happening which caused James Parnell to come to the county and to work in it for six months in the early part of 1655 before he moved into Essex where, at the age of eighteen, he was martyred.

But Mrs. Spufford has shown from Baptist sources that Quakers or people with Quaker beliefs were present in 1651–2. This is an original contribution; but, it seems, there is no doubt that Baptists were struggling to maintain a hold over their members who were attracted by the view that the Scriptures could be tested by the Spirit rather than the Spirit by the Scriptures. Widow Pepper of Over said in 1653 "I have seen that to love, to clothe the naked, and to feed the hungry is enough", and, therefore, that she could no longer come to Baptist meetings, and, the following year, Sister Sneesby of the same village was tormented by the need to choose between Baptist and Quaker meetings, finally joining the latter. By 1657, Friends were fully organized and from that year Quaker marriages were recorded in a Register Book.

Opposition between Baptists and Quakers was considerable and the tone of debates between them was not very high. Debates and

pamphlets exacerbated the conflict and, while it continued, the Congregationalists gained ground. With these latter early Friends did not at first clash for it was not until 1676 that they debated with them on predestination. There were probably about 600 Quakers in the county, a strong representation although not approaching the numbers in Yorkshire, Wiltshire and Somerset. The author has much to say of the social status of early Friends and her findings in various places, notably Swavesey, lead her to question Richard Vann's thesis that the first generation of Friends was richer than the post-1660 converts. Her findings are based largely on the Hearth Tax returns of 1674, but, she admits, and in this she is wise, that her numbers are not large enough for statistical treatment. Dr. Spufford's book is essential reading for all those Quaker historians who want to learn something of the economic and social background of the period in which Quakerism was born.

GERALD A. J. HODGETT

A History of Friends' School, Lisburn. By Neville H. Newhouse. Pp. 148; 20 plates. Privately printed under the auspices of the Board of Governors. 1974.

This book, which commemorates the bicentenary of Lisburn School, is a welcome addition to our histories of Friends' schools. The author was himself Headmaster for nine years, and although his account comes to an end some time before his own headmastership began, his intimate knowledge of the School, and its traditions and "atmosphere", make his assessment of past events particularly valuable and convincing.

Neville Newhouse does not withhold occasional criticism, either from the School Governors or from successive headmasters, but his comments are always charitable and full of understanding, and the prevailing impression left is of dedication and devotion on both sides, and a record of which Friends in Ireland can be justly proud.

There are sufficient extracts from other writers to diversify the narrative without destroying its continuity, and some well-chosen illustrations. Altogether a most attractive book.

A.W.B.

Quaker by Convincement. By Geoffrey Hubbard. (Penguin Books. 45p). Admirable account of Quakerism for the general reader; solidly based on historical fairness and fact, without being just another history of the Society.

Victorian Nonconformity: Documents of Modern History. Edited by John Briggs and Ian Sellers. Edward Arnold, 1973. pp. vii, 180. £3. (Also available in paperback, price £1.50.)

This is a useful collection of extracts dealing with various facets of nonconformity in Victorian England, drawn from a wide range of sources, grave and gay. There is nothing, however, relating specifically to Quakerism.

Notes and Queries

Norman Angell

"Norman Angell and *The great illusion*: an episode in pre-1914 pacifism", by Howard Weinroth (McGill University), in the *Historical Journal*, vol. 17, no. 3 (1974), pp. 551–574, has something to say about relations between Norman Angell and the older pacifist and socialist movements working in the same field. The author quotes from *Labour Leader* articles by J. T. Walton Newbold in 1913. The reader should not be put off by the knighthood vicariously attributed to Joseph Rowntree.

James Barrett

A History of Hale, Cheshire, by R. N. Dore (1972) includes the following note in a paragraph on nonconformity:

> "In 1778 a lone Quaker was recorded at Ringway, James Barrett, who according to his great-grandson, Fletcher Moss, came from the Wilmslow area in the early 1770s and built Wicker House."

D. J. Hall

Samuel Birchall (1761–1814)

The appearance of the name of Samuel Birchall in a list of members of the printing and book trade in Leeds in the 18th century in Elizabeth Parr's Leeds M. Phil. thesis (1973) on "Early Leeds Printers" (p. 179) brings to notice Samuel Birchall's *Alphabetical list of provincial copper-coins or tokens, 1796*. There is a biography of Samuel Birchall in R. V. Taylor, *Leeds worthies*, p. 253. He was son of Caleb Birchall of Stockport, and was born in 1761. At Leeds, 6 vi 1785, Samuel Birchall, of Stockport, linen draper, married Anna Jowitt. His death is recorded, d. 17 v 1814, aged 53 years, Samuel Birchall of Leeds woolstapler, buried 22 v 1814, at Camp Lane Court, Leeds.

George Bishop, d. 1668

Professor G. E. Aylmer's *The state's servants: the civil service of the English republic, 1649-1660* (Routledge, 1973. £8) devotes a couple of pages to a summary of the known career of George Bishop, secretary to the Committee for Examinations in 1650 and in other Whitehall posts until 1653 when he appears to have returned to Bristol. He was an unsuccessful candidate in the parliamentary election in the city in the summer of 1654 and immediately after makes his mark as leader among Friends in the district, and continued as such until his death. There is a brief notice of him in Bristol Record Society's publications, vol. 26, p. 194–5. Not all of Professor Aylmer's references refer to the same man, since the name is not uncommon.

George Brantingham

George Brantingham is mentioned (p. 80) in the course of "Abolitionists and abolitionism in Aberdeen: a test case for the nineteenth-century anti-slavery movement" by G. Duncan Rice, an article in *Northern Scotland: a historical journal*, published by the Centre for Scottish Studies,

University of Aberdeen, vol. 1, no. 1, December 1972, pp. 65–87.

John Bright

John Bright's hand in the Irish Land Bill of 1870 and the events which led up to it, are effectively studied by E. D. Steele in *Irish Land and British politics; tenant-right and nationality, 1865–1870* (Cambridge University Press, 1974).

John Dalton, F.R.S.

"Mr. Dalton is open, very ingenious, and certainly a most extraordinary man." So wrote Friedrich Mohs (mineralogist, 1773–1839) after meeting John Dalton in Manchester in 1818 (letter in the Pollok Morris MSS. Edinburgh, quoted in the course of articles on "The Henrys of Manchester" by W. V. and Kathleen R. Farrar and E. L. Scott in *Ambix*, vol. 21, p. 195).

Mohs met Dalton most likely at the house of William Henry (1774–1836), and there is a considerable study of the scientific collaboration and interests which the two shared (pp. 208–228).

Darby Family

A good general account in *The Darbys of Coalbrookdale* by Barrie Trinder (Phillimore, 1974. £1.00) mainly aimed at the growing number of interested enquirers who visit this classical spot of the Industrial Revolution. There are diagrams, maps, illustrations and a family tree.

Madeleine Hope Dodds

"Madeleine Hope Dodds, 1885-1972", an obituary by Ruth Dodds appears in *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 5th series, vol. 1 (1973), pp. 223–4.

Ford Family, of Leeds

Ann Thwaite, in her *Waiting for the party. The life of Frances Hodgson Burnett, 1849-1924* (London, Secker & Warburg, 1974), mentions the acquaintanceship between Mrs. Hodgson Burnett and Vernon Lee (Violet Paget) in Florence in the 1880s and Vernon Lee's interest in F.H.B's early book *That lass o'Gowrie's* (published 1877) set in a Lancashire mining village. Reference is made to Vernon Lee's visits to "the rich and philanthropic Fords of Adel Grange near Leeds, who were much concerned with the condition of women employed in the mills" and to the fact that Emily Ford [Emily Susan Ford, 1850–1930, dau. of Robert Lawson (1809–78) and Hannah (1814–86, *née* Pease) Ford] had taken her to see the night school, started by the Fords, very like the one set up by a character in F.H.B.'s book.

Dr. John Fothergill

Chain of Friendship: selected letters of Dr. John Fothergill of London, 1735–1780. With introduction and notes by Betsy C. Corner and Christopher C. Booth. (Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971.)

A substantial and solid piece of work, much to be commended. The editors betray some lack of appreciation of the English provincial scene, but this is more than redeemed by Christopher Booth's sensitive photograph of Carr End, Yorkshire—showing it for what it is, not the stockbroker's place in the Sussex Downs, but a working farm-place in a Yorkshire dale.

Joshua Gilpin

"An American in Gloucestershire and Bristol: the diary of Joshua Gilpin, 1796–7", by A. P. Woolrich, reproduces Gloucestershire entries from the diaries of Joshua Gilpin, papermaker and Friend, concerning his English journey. The notebooks which survive are preserved in the Pennsylvania State Archives, Harrisburg, Pa. They show that Joshua Gilpin was interested in industrial processes and commercial affairs, and he seems to have had little difficulty in collecting information which he wanted.

(*Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, vol. 92 (1973), pp. 169–189.)

At Cheltenham, 25 July, 1796, he "Called on a gentleman name of Rich, a Quaker; but 2 families in the town."

On 12 February, 1797, he arrived in Bristol, and records his movements until the 17th. He put up at the White Lion in Broad Street, and called on Edward Harford (1720–1806). This began a busy time of visiting Harfords, Lloyds, Warings, Dr. Fox and Joseph Storrs Fry. He went to see "Champion's machinery for rolling lead", the Brass Company, and Blaise Castle.

George Gregson, d. 1690

"Unpublished seventeenth-century tokens of Lisburn, co. Antrim" by G. R. Chapman and W. A. Seaby (*Seaby's Coin & medal bulletin*, Nov. 1973, no. 663, pp. 394–6) records what is known of George Gregson, issuer of a copper token, 1659, of which a unique copy is in the Numismatic collection at the Ulster Museum, Belfast.

George R. Chapman has searched Friends' sources and recounts what is known of George Gregson's sufferings, and indicates his service for Friends in Lisburn and Ireland. At his own expense George Gregson built the first Friends' meeting house in Lisburn "a small plain thatched building in his back garden, with an entrance from Schoolroom Lane (now Railway Street)". This building escaped destruction in the great fire of Lisburn in 1707. A copy of his will is preserved among Friends' records at Lisburn Meeting House, and it records a bequest to "Poor Friends in the County of Lancaster where I was born".

George Chapman has presented a copy of the article, and it is in Friends House Library.

Grigg of Milnthorpe

"The domestic economy of the Lakeland yeoman, 1660–1749." By J. D. Marshall (*Transactions of the Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society*, vol. 73 New series, 1973, pp. 190–219), traces from many surviving records the farming activities of the yeoman or statesman in the Lake District. Few farmers probably had as many as the fifteen or twenty pigs as the inventory of 1673 allows one to ascribe to John Grigg of Milnthorpe, "a member of an outstandingly resourceful Quaker family". John's son, Joseph, "was one of Westmorland's leading entrepreneurs."

Documents are quoted from *The Household account book of Sarah Fell* (edited by Norman Penney, 1920).

Gurney Manuscripts

The List and Index Society, Special series, volume 6, consists

of a *List and index of Gurney Manuscripts at the Friends House Library, London, 1973*, which reproduces a typescript of the Synopsis of the Gurney manuscripts deposited in the Library of the Religious Society of Friends. Prepared by Arthur J. Eddington in 1933, and subsequently revised by him and others. (Published and printed by Swift (P. & D.) Ltd., London. £4.90.) This is a valuable key to a major manuscript collection. A less sedulous dedication to shortened titles might help the unaware; for instance "*Opie*, p. 75", last line in entry for MS 1/325, really indicates p. 75 in Margaret Eliot Macgregor's *Amelia Alderson Opie: worldling and Friend* (Smith College studies in modern languages, vol. 14, no. 1–2, 1932–33), although this is not immediately apparent.

BENJAMIN HAGEN

Edward Royle's *Victorian infidels: the origins of the British secularist movement, 1791–1866* (Manchester University Press, 1974) includes mention of Benjamin Hagen, formerly a Friend, but in the 1850s a socialist, a retired brewer, and worker in the secularist cause in Derby. The brief biography for Benjamin Hagen reads: b. 1791; a Quaker brewer, attracted to Owenism, c. 1841; retired in 1843 to spend more time on Owenism; president of the Derby Secular Society, 1853; the backbone of Derby freethought until he moved to Brierly Hill; d. 1877. (*Reasoner* 6 August, 1851).

JOHN HANCOCK, (1762–1823)

"John Hancock, Junior, 1762–1823", by Neville H. Newhouse (*Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol. 101, part 1, 1971, pp. 41–52) records the life and work of John Hancock who left £1,000 for the founding of Friends' School, Lisburn. The account is lively, and deals largely with John Hancock's Quaker upbringing, which contributed lastingly to his attitudes to life and social and political problems even after he severed his ties with the Society of Friends. "For John Hancock religion was a quality of life, not obedience to the forms of church membership."

We are grateful to Bancroft Clark of Street for bringing this article to our notice, and would like to encourage others of our members to bear the *Journal* in mind when similar new material comes to their notice which escapes our net.

HARTAS FAMILY

Cruck-framed buildings in Ryedale and Eskdale, by R. H. Hayes and J. G. Rutter (Scarborough and District Archaeological Society, Research report no. 8, 1972, pp. 35–37) includes two references to houses in north Yorkshire which belonged to the Hartas family. The houses are:

STANGEND, DANBY. This remarkable building stood until recently on a steep slope to the north of the River Esk below Winsley Hill and about ¼ mile West of the village of Danby, by a pannierman's "trod" from Cleveland to the coast . . . the east end was built, then the central bays, which are dated by the inscription I.H.1704 on the lintel over the door of the cross-passage, and finally the west end . . . The deeds . . . only go back to 1764 when it was known as Stang Farm. John Hartas was

the owner [probably John Hartas 1714–92, *see* George Baker, *Unhistoric Acts*, 1906] and the initials over the south doorway may be his. . . .

THATCH HOUSE, DANBY DALE. Situated high up (altitude 600 feet) on the west side of Danbydale is Thatch House, which is possibly the cruck-house described by G. Baker [in *Unhistoric acts*, 1906, pp. 25–27] . . . and the one in which George Fox, the Quaker, held meetings. It was in the occupation of the Hartas family for several generations before it was bought by John Hartas in 1655. John Hartas married Euphemia Rigg (of Glaisdale?) in 1638. The building was of long-house type with laithe, hay-house and tan-house. The southern end of the house with its thatched roof and oak beams and rafters was demolished before 1900. The chimney with its smoke-hood was at the north gable end.

JOHN WILFRED HARVEY (1889–1967)

Some 2600 manuscript and typescript leaves mainly consisting of manuscripts of talks and lectures on philosophical and religious subjects forming part of the collection of John W. Harvey, professor of philosophy in the University of Leeds from 1932 to 1954, have been presented to the Brotherton Library, University of Leeds, by representatives of the Harvey family, formerly of Leeds. In the Brotherton Library they come under the same roof as a large number of printed books presented by members of the family over the last half century and more, since the time of William Harvey (1848–1928) and the late T. Edmund Harvey (1875–1955).

GILES HOWSON

A biographical notice of Dr. Giles Howson of Lancaster (d. 1973) appears in *Local population studies*, no. 11, Autumn 1973. It is written by John Marshall of Lancaster University and deals with Howson's work on plague and other diseases in north-west England.

ANTHONY HUTCHINS

"Was your ancestor a Quaker?" by Constance Church, in *The Cheshire family historian*, no. 4, Oct. 1974, reproduces a brief account in manuscript from the Mayor's Files of Chester Corporation of the sufferings of Anthony Hutchins. The account gives also information concerning the sufferings of Deborah Maddock in the prison "Little Ease" at Chester gaol. It was printed first in 1657 with the title *Caines Bloudy Race*, and as such appears in Joseph Smith's *Descriptive catalogue of Friends' books*, 1867, i. 1025.

CATHERINE IMPEY (1847–1923)

A letter from Catherine Impey, dated: Street, Somerset, England March 5/90, to Booker T. Washington, is preserved, written on the back of a circular (of February 1890) concerning her publication *Anti-Caste*. The letter, with annotations, is printed from the Booker T. Washington Papers in Library of Congress, in *The Booker T. Washington Papers*, Louis R. Harlan, editor, vol. 3 (1889–95), pp. 33–34.

The note states that "Miss Impey published *Anti-Caste* from

March 1888 until July 1895, except for a time in 1893–94, when it apparently did not appear". In visits to the United States from 1878 onwards Catherine Impey became acquainted with several of the black leaders there, and her liberal racial outlook coincided well with her other social and humanitarian activities.

Hannah Lightfoot

Ian R. Christie dismisses pretty comprehensively the story of George III's romance with Hannah Lightfoot in an article on "The family origins of George Rex of Knysna" in *Notes and queries, N.S.*, vol. 22, no. 1 (vol. 220 of the continuous series), Jan. 1975, pp. 18–23.

James Lister, Printer

James Lister [see *Jnl. F.H.S.*, 41, p. 80; and 50, p. 131] was active in the Leeds printing trade, and was (between 1734 and 1753) printer of the *Leeds Mercury*. He appears in Elizabeth Parr's Leeds M.Phil. thesis, 1973, on "Early Leeds printers". Mrs. Parr reproduces portions of the inventory of his goods prepared in 1746 when James was in financial difficulties. The inventory gives details of some of his stock, including works by Benjamin Holme, Thomas Story, and William Penn's *No cross, no crown*; it is preserved in the Spencer Stanhope collection (no. 2041) at Bradford Central Library.

Yorkshire Friends' archives at Carlton Hill Meeting House show that Leeds Meeting was active in advice and assistance. The matter came up at each meeting from May to October in 1746, and regularly through the winter of 1748 to 1749, when he was "again in difficulties on account of his creditors" [Leeds P.M. minute book, 1712–1749, no. E2].

The Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting Registers digest at Clifford Street M.H., York, gives entries for the marriage of James Lister, of Leeds, printer, son of Francis Lister of Wakefield deceased, to Rachel Jackson, of Tyersal, at Bradford, 3 ii 1734 [see H. R. Hodgson, *Society of Friends in Bradford*, 1926, p. 112]. James died 13 v 1753; and Rachel died 20 x 1753; both were buried at Meadow Lane, Leeds.

Richard Marchant (1702–1773)

The Bath business career of Richard Marchant, a Friend, who assisted the Woods in the building development of 18th-century Bath, is briefly outlined in R. S. Neale's article "Society, belief and the building of Bath, 1700–1793" in *Rural change and urban growth, 1500–1800: essays in English regional history in honour of W. G. Hoskins* (Longman, 1974), pp. 257–8.

The author concludes: "When Richard Marchant died (1773) he must have possessed assets worth at least £30,000 including all his property in Bath, his loans to Wood, and a £6,000 share in the Bristol Brass Company."

It may be recalled that Richard Marchant married Mary Goldney, widow, at Bristol, 28 ix 1751. The links with the Bristol Brass Company go back further, to his father, who had a protracted dispute with the general meeting of the Brass Company which got as far as an abortive appeal to London Yearly Meeting in 1720 [see Bristol Men's Meeting minute book no. 4, for 1716–1727, pp. 35, 35a, 36a–37, 45, 45a, 55a,

57, 61a, 64 (volume deposited in Bristol Archives Office, series SF).]

AYLMER MAUDE (1858–1938)

"Tolstoy and his Quaker", by Alfred Kazin (*New York review of books*, vol. 21, no. 19, 28 Nov. 1974, pp. 33–34), gives a sketch of Aylmer Maude's study and translation of Tolstoy's works. "An English businessman in czarist Russia, a committed Quaker, and a frequent visitor to Tolstoy's great estate at Yasnaya Polyana", Aylmer Maude knew Russian perfectly, and with his Russian-born wife, Louise, translated Tolstoy's principal works and could interpret Tolstoy's outlook and influence perceptively.

ALBERT KIMSEY OWEN

The Huntington Library quarterly, vol. 38, no. 1 (Nov., 1974), p. 96, mentions the acquisition for the library of "a significant addition to the Albert Kimsey Owen collection on the utopian community of Topolobampo in Sinaloa, Mexico. Owen, a Quaker, was a civil engineer from Pennsylvania who dedicated many years" at the end of the 19th century to founding a city "based on cooperative principles".

THOMAS BENSON PEASE

Eleanor M. Ford of Leeds has recently presented to the Brotherton Library, University of Leeds, estate plans and sales register and documents for the Sheepscar estate in Leeds, the property of Thomas Benson Pease (1782–1846). T. B. Pease had married Martha Whitelock in 1814 at Bradford, and their son (Eleanor Ford's grandfather), Thomas Pease (1816–1884, removed to Henbury Hill, near Bristol in 1852) was still conducting sales of portions of the property as late as 1875, although the main plan is dated 1837.

With considerable clearance in the district in the past few years, most of the street names have disappeared from the map, but they included then Bristol Street, Clifton Street, Henbury Street, Benson Street, Ford Street and Pease Street.

WILLIAM PENN

The Oaths of Irish Papists no evidence against Protestants: or, A Warning piece to Jurors. In a letter to a friend. [Signed at end:] August 1st. 1681. Yours Philanglus. London: Printed for William Inghall the Eld. Book-binder. 1681. 12 pp. 4to. Entered at P1333 under PENN, WILLIAM, in Wing's *Short-title catalogue . . . 1641–1700*.

This work cannot be identified in the collections of William Penn's works examined, is not recorded in Joseph Smith's *Descriptive catalogue, 1867*. The printer is not known to have worked for Friends, and seems unacquainted with Friends' dating customs and forms of address.

The ascription to William Penn must be viewed with a good deal of suspicion, although it is true that on occasion he did use the pseydonym "Philanglus", as is recorded in the British Museum catalogue. The work is not in the Library at Friends House. There is a copy in the Brotherton Collection at the University of Leeds.

* * *

The National Library of Ireland report for 1973–74 notes (p. 7) that documents concerning the sale of the Co. Cork estates

of the Penn family in 1711 have come to light during the listing of material in the Irish Land Commission archives.

* * *

A manuscript copy of John Dryden's *Ode on the death of Purcell* is to be found on the recto of the preliminary leaf of a collection of music in several seventeenth-century hands, formerly the property of William Penn and now in the Folger Library. The manuscript copy is from the text printed 1698 in *Orpheus Britannicus*. (*Works of John Dryden: vol. 4—Poems, 1693–1696*, University of California Press, 1974, p. 805.)

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Edmund Rack's "Kurze Nachricht von dem Leben Wilhelm Penns, Esq., Eigenthümers und Statthalters von Pensylvanien, worin zugleich seine Einrichtung dieser Provinz beschrieben und sein Character geschildert wird" appears at pages 167–243 of the collection entitled *Brittisches Museum, oder Beyträge zur angenehmen Lectüre. Aus dem Englischen*. 19. Theil. Leipzig, im Schwickertschen Verlage, 1778.

William Readshaw of Beckwithshaw

William Readshaw, a sufferer in 1682, was of Beckwithshaw, Pannal parish, near Harrogate. By his first wife Jane (d. 16 vi 1667, buried at Scotton) he had five children: William (b. 28 xii 1655), Elizabeth (b. 1 iv 1656), Mary (b. 17 v 1658), Judith (b. 11 v 1661) and Grace (b. 18 ii 1665).

The eldest daughter, Elizabeth (described in 1682 as "of York, spinster") married Thomas Hammond, of York, printer, 17 vii 1682; and William Readshaw's daughter Christiana (b. 2 x 1670) by his 2nd wife Ann (Spence), whom he married 12 xi 1668, married Benjamin Horner of Leeds, 6 viii 1692.

William Readshaw removed to Leeds some years before his death and his signature is found at the end of notes on the first meeting in the new Meeting House in Water Lane, Leeds, 24 vii 1699 (Carlton Hill archives, E1).

Among the Carlton Hill Meeting House, Leeds, archives is a letter (F25/9/3-4), dated York, 24 iv 1703, from Thomas Hammond addressed "To William Readshaw att Benjamin Hornors In Leeds."

The registers record the death of William Readshaw "of Leeds borelaine", 3 ix 1703; he was buried Near Leeds. Anne Readshaw, "late wife of William Readshaw late of Leeds" died on 15 ii 1711, aged 80 or 81, and was buried at Leeds.

These notes supplement the information given in a footnote in the *Journal*, xi (1914), p. 111, with reference to Margaret Fox's visit to Readshaw on her Yorkshire journey in 1672.

William Reckitt

"A Quaker prisoner in France (1756)" by Graham E. Rodmell of the Department of French, University of Durham (*Eighteenth century studies*, vol. 7, no. 1, 1973, pp. 78–92) deals with the treatment accorded to William Reckitt (1706–69) who fell into the hands of the French when the ship on which he was sailing to America was captured by a French privateer in the English Channel. The article studies Voltaire's published account of Friends, and the possible in-

fluence which this may have had on Reckitt's reception, and uses Voltaire and Reckitt's *Life* (1799) in parallel columns to illustrate some of his points.

Minutes of Meeting for Sufferings are also quoted.

JOHN ROBERTS

The Memoirs of the Life of John Roberts, by Daniel Roberts (1746 and many later editions) and the encounters between John Roberts, of Siddington and the village parson, are recalled in an article by J. B. T. Homfray entitled "George Bull, D.D., 1634–1710" (*Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, vol. 92, 1973, pp. 121–138).

George Bull ended his life as Bishop of St. David's, but near the beginning of his ecclesiastical career (1655) he was under the direction of the rector of Ubley, Somerset, William Thomas (well known to Friends for his controversy with Quakers in Bristol). Soon after obtaining the living of St. George's, Easton-in-Gordano, Somerset, Bull began to have trouble with Friends. The parish was full of "Quakers and other wild sectaries". On one occasion "a Quaker sprang up and cried out in the sermon, 'George, come down: thou art a false prophet and an hireling'. The parishioners to a man fell on the Quaker and belaboured him", until Bull came down and caused them to desist.

In 1658 Bull was presented to a living at Siddington, near Cirencester, and he stayed there for 27 years, during which time occurred his tithe dispute with John Roberts. In 1685 he moved to Avening, and was consecrated bishop of St. David's in 1705.

DAVID RICARDO

The appearance of vol. 11—General index to *The works and correspondence of David Ricardo*, edited by Piero Sraffa with the collaboration of M. H. Dobb (Cambridge University Press, 1973. £3.50) reveals points concerning Friends.

Ricardo was expecting Mr. Phillips [identified by the editor as probably William Phillips (1773–1828) the Quaker bookseller and geologist] and Etienne Dumont to dine with him on 11th March 1815 (Ricardo, *Works* vol. 6, p. 180).

On 9 March, 1816, Ricardo wrote: "The quakers, who are a very benevolent people, are about to open a saving bank in the populous borough of Southwark, from which they anticipate the happiest effects." (Vol. 7, p. 26.)

On 20 May, 1817, Ricardo was writing to John Barton to defend his theory of profits. John Barton (1789–1852) of Chichester, brother of Bernard Barton the poet, was one of the promoters of the savings bank, the Lancastrian school and Mechanics' Institution of Chichester, his printed works are recorded in Joseph Smith's *Descriptive catalogue of Friends' books*. At the time of writing John Barton was staying at Clapham. (Vol. 7, p. 155.)

On 30 March, 1822, Ricardo wrote to David Hodgson declining to enter a contest for the Liverpool parliamentary seat. David Hodgson was a partner in the merchant house of Cropper, Benson & Co. at Liverpool. (Vol. 9, p. 182.) A few days later Ricardo wrote to another: "The reflection that Mr. Hodgson and a few of his friends thought so favourably of me as to be willing to give me their aid in elevating

me to the rank of a representative of Liverpool will always be a source of satisfaction to me." (Vol. 11, p. xiv.)

Ricardo married Priscilla Ann Wilkinson on 20 December 1793. In the section "Independence and marriage" (vol. 10, pp. 36–46) there is some account of the marriage. Priscilla Ann Wilkinson was eldest daughter of the surgeon Edward Wilkinson (1728–1809) the author of *Wisdom, a poem* [see Joseph Smith's *Descriptive catalogue*], and she maintained some connection with Friends after marriage. The birth of Ricardo's children was recorded in Friends' registers, but "not Members". There is a glimpse of Priscilla Ann Ricardo in Charlotte Sturge's *Family records* (London, 1882).

Willem Sewel

Willem Sewel, as well as being the first Quaker historian of Quakerism of note, compiled the second English and Dutch dictionary (1691). He figures also as a translator and as author of philological works. His work is extensively studied in N. E. Osselton's *The dumb linguists: a study of the earliest English and Dutch dictionaries* (Oxford University Press, 1973).

Henry Thomas, d. 1714

Henry Thomas, buried 22 viii 1714 according to the Bristol Friends' registers, appears to be the "Quaker named Thomas" who, while making "well-intentioned efforts to calm the situation, was trampled underfoot and crushed to death" in a Bristol riot on 20 October, 1714, the day of the coronation of George I. [See "Daniel Defoe, John Oldmixon and the Bristol riot of 1714", by Pat Rogers, *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, vol. 92, 1973, pp. 145–6.]

Information at present available does not enable us to say whether he was the Henry Thomas, hooper, who married Mary Tippett of Brislington, in Bristol, 5 v 1675, or (as seems more likely) their son Henry, born 26 iii 1680. In this latter case, he would have been a man of 34 when the tragedy occurred (see Bristol Record Society's publications, vol. 26, p. 217).

George Trosse

Andrew W. Brink, the author of the article on "*Paradise Lost* and James Nayler's *Fall*" in our last issue, has edited "The Life of the Reverend Mr. George Trosse. Written by himself, and Published Posthumously According to his Order in 1714" (McGill—Queen's University Press, Montreal and London, 1974). George Trosse (1631–1713), a nonconformist divine in Exeter, was one of the very many seventeenth-century writers of spiritual autobiographies, but he is one of the few whose writing has the literary quality necessary to attract the modern reader. Although he makes only one allusion to Quakerism (a condemnation of their alleged prophetic excesses), the book will be of interest to Friends both on account of the many parallels that exist between Trosse's sufferings under persecution and those of Quakers, and for Andrew Brink's Introduction, which includes a reasoned exposition of the seventeenth-century autobiographical convention and its relation to the psychology of "guilt" and "melancholy".

Robert Spence Watson

A paper in *Irish historical studies*, vol. 18, no. 72, Sept., 1973, pp. 583–91, entitled "Lord Spencer on the Phoenix Park murders" is based on a memorandum drawn up by Robert Spence Watson in 1889 after a conversation in which Lord Spencer gave an account of the murders, which occurred in 1882 when he was Viceroy of Ireland.

The document is in the Spence Watson MSS, in the possession of Mr. W. B. Morrell, of 99 South End Road, London NW3.

Hew Wood

Rosalind K. Marshall's *The days of Duchess Anne. Life in the household of the Duchess of Hamilton, 1656–1716* (Collins, 1973), devotes a page or two (pp. 71–73) to the Scottish Quaker, Hew Wood, who was employed by the Duchess of Hamilton as head gardener at Hamilton for more than 25 years. Hew Wood held meetings in his house at Hamilton, and it was there (27 June, 1680) that the marriage took place of Margaret Cassie and William Miller, gardener at Newark. William Miller became famous as "the Patriarch", and was employed by the Duke and Duchess of Hamilton at Holyroodhouse. Hew Wood died 25 March 1701, and was buried in his own garden; he left two sons, both Friends and both gardeners.

Africa

Materials for West African history in the archives of the United Kingdom, by Noel Matthews (London, Athlone Press, 1973. £4), includes a note on the papers describing some of the work of Richard Smith (1784–1824) in the Gambia, Hannah Kilham in Sierra Leone, and copies of letters by Mary Ann Bisshopp (1819–64) written from West Africa, which are kept at Friends House Library.

America

"Wealth, war and religion: the perfecting of Quaker asceticism, 1740–1783", by Jack D. Marietta (professor of history in the University of Arizona, Tucson), an article in *Church history*, vol. 43, no. 2 (June 1974), pp. 230–41, is concerned with the response of Friends in America to the problems posed by the wars on the American mainland in the middle of the 18th century.

The author ends: "The Quaker prophets . . . predicted a reward for Friends who steadfastly followed their consciences and suffered. And some were rewarded. They got liberty, security and peace."

American Revolution

European manuscript sources of the American revolution, by W. J. Koenig and S. L. Mayer (London and New York, Bowker, 1974), is a useful survey of libraries and archives preserving documents and copies of material throwing light on United States history during the third and fourth quarters of the eighteenth century.

The "General Index" is not comprehensive, so a careful reading of the text is needed to pick up all the Quaker references. These begin on the first page of the inventory, with references to the Penn papers among the Stuart papers at the Bedfordshire Record Office. Note is made of records for the period 1770–1821 in the hands of Fox Bros. &

Co. Ltd., Tonedale Mills, Wellington, Somerset. Nearly a page is devoted to manuscripts, journals and letters at Friends House Library. There are notices of papers in the hands of Allen & Hanburys, Colonel Q. E. Gurney, Worcester Cathedral Library, and the National Library of Wales (Dillwyn diaries).

Barbados

Jerome S. Handler in his *The unappropriated people: freedmen in the slave society of Barbados* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974) mentions the presence of Friends in the island. He quotes George Fox's message at a Men's Meeting in Barbados, encouraging Friends to let their negroes go free "after a considerable term of years, if they have served them faithfully, and when they go, and are made free, let them not go away empty-handed". (p. 29.)

The author thinks that Fox's words may have had some influence on Quaker slaveholders, but not on others. He does not think that Friends' treatment of their slaves had any measurable effect on the persecution of Friends in the island, although this may have added another reason for the sufferings which they had to undergo on account of their conscientious objections to militia service and to enforced contributions for the upkeep of the Anglican ministry, and of their criticism of the standards of morality and behaviour elements in the white population.

Bessbrook, Co. Armagh

Newry area plan (Belfast, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1973. £1.50) covers the area of Bessbrook, outside Newry, where in 1845 John Grubb Richardson established his flax mill, and planned the model village which housed the workers. There are some striking photographs in the survey.

Bristol Brass

Bristol brass: a history of the industry, by Joan Day (David & Charles, Newton Abbot, 1973. £4.75), provides a comprehensive study of the industry, and notes the activities of Friends in it during the 18th century. Abraham Darby, the Lloyds, the Thomases, the Champions and the Harfords all make an appearance. The index is selective.

Canals

Friends' hand in the financial development of English canals is glimpsed briefly in J. R. Ward's *The finance of canal building in eighteenth-century England* (Oxford historical monographs), O.U.P., 1974. £4.50.

Evidence is adduced concerning the Leeds and Liverpool Canal, the Shropshire Canal and the Chesterfield Canal, in the finance of which Friends from various parts of the country participated, illustrating "the possibilities for the long-distance recruitment of capital offered by the exceptional cohesion of the sect" (p. 79).

One of the most noted names in this connection is that of John Hustler, of Bradford, woolstapler and treasurer of the Leeds and Liverpool until his death in 1790.

Carmarthenshire, 1710

The first portion of the record of an ecclesiastical visitation of parishes in the archdeaconry of Carmarthen, July–August, 1710, undertaken by Archdeacon Ed-

ward Tenison (1673–1735) is printed in *The National Library of Wales journal*, vol. 18, no. 3, 1974, pp. 287–307, from a manuscript among the Church in Wales records deposited in the National Library of Wales. The following items appear:

LLAN LLWCH. About a mile from Carmarthen is Llan Llwch, a Chapell of ease to it. Q. if there is not a Quakers meeting at this Place? [p. 295].

LLAN DDEWI WELFRI. There are in the Parish two Families of Dissenters, one of Quakers, another of Anabaptists. [p. 299].

LLACHARN. In the Parish are two Meetings one of Quakers and another of Presbyterians. They are both of a long standing. The Quakers have continued ever since the reign of K. Charles II, & the Presbyterians were here in K. James's reign. . . . There Quakers are two families, & there are besides two other Dissenters that call themselves Antinomians. A Charity of 50s a year was left by Matthew Warren of Bristol to buy bread for the poor, which is distributed every Sunday. [Reference to *Endowed Charities, County of Carmarthen*, London, 1901, pp. 100–101, 105] [p. 307].

COFFEE-HOUSES

"The Leicester coffee-house and cocoa-house movement" by Malcolm Elliott (*Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society*, vol. 47 (1971–2), pp. 55–61) tells of the group of temperance sympathizers who, between the late 1870s and the end of the First World War, set out to provide restaurant facilities in the town not associated with the licensed liquor trade for the general public and the working classes. Three Friends, Edward Shipley Ellis (d. 1879), and the brothers Edward (architect) and Alfred Howard (solicitor) Burgess, are mentioned in the article.

DARLINGTON

Darlington Newspapers, by John Robert Page (himself a long-serving member of the staff of Darlington newspapers), is the third in the Darlington Public Library local history publications series (1972. 30p). This pamphlet provides a good outline of the activities of the North of England Newspaper Company, formed in 1903 by Arnold Rowntree and others, and the local interests of the Westminster Gazette group. There are illustrations of the front pages of papers from 1772 onwards.

It is enlightening to find that in the election for parliament after Darlington had received its charter of incorporation in 1867, Henry King Spark, proprietor of the *Darlington and Stockton Times*, although he received the popular acclaim by show of hands at the hustings, he was dealt a crushing defeat at the polls by Edmund Backhouse.

DUBLIN NATURALISTS

My Uncle John, Edward Stephens's life of J. M. Synge, edited by Andrew Carpenter (Oxford University Press, 1974. £3.75), contains the following information:

John Synge joined in December 1885 the newly-formed Dublin Naturalists' Field Club. It is noted that "about half the members of the club were professionally interested in science and that about half were Quakers who, 'though they followed other

avocations, were careful and accurate naturalists'." [p. 38.]

"Eminent Quakers, who attended the meetings of the Field Club, saw in a scientific examination of nature new and unexpected evidence of the infinite wisdom of the Creator." [p. 40.]

Essex

The Victoria history of the counties of England volume on Essex, vol. 6, edited by W. R. Powell (Oxford University Press, 1973. £20), covers portions of Becontree Hundred adjacent to Middlesex and fronting the Thames. Friends were active in this area and there are brief sketches of their presence in East Ham (p. 32), West Ham (pp. 131–2), Walthamstow (pp. 299–300) and Wanstead (pp. 334–5). Plaistow meeting was held at the house of Solomon Eccles (d. 1683) in the 1670s. The Barclays, the (Elizabeth) Frys, the Gurneys, Luke Howard (1771–1864), and the Listers (Lord Lister's family) all had homes in the district within easy reach of London.

* * *

Essex Quarter Sessions order book, 1652–1661. By D. H. Allen. (Essex edited texts, vol. 1. Essex Record Office publications, no. 65. 1974) prints an order of Midsummer Sessions, 1656, against Quakers—"many idle, seditious and evill disposed persons" who "doe travaile and passe from County to County and from place to place propagateing and spreading certaine desperate and damnable opinions and Delusions" and requiring that they be arrested and brought to justice (p. 88).

A record of October Sessions, 1661, orders payment to one of the constables of "Burneham in this County" of money spent on conveying Quaker prisoners to Colchester Castle (p. 203).

Follies & Grottoes

Barbara Jones: *Follies & grottoes* (2nd edition, 1974. Constable, London) at p. 152, gives a good account of the Goldney grotto in Clifton, Bristol, and there is a striking sketch on the facing page. The Goldney's shipping interests enabled them to get shells from the West Indies and elsewhere for the decoration. The author deals also with William Reeve and Arnos Castle, Brislington (pp. 63–65).

Friends at Enfield

A paper on "Non-Conformist Churches in Enfield" by G. W. Knight, published by the Edmonton Hundred Historical Society (copy in Friends House Library) gives a useful account of the Quaker association with Enfield, which lasted from 1687 to about 1790, after which date the meeting-house was sold. There is a photograph of Meeting House Yard, which appears to derive its name from a Friends' meeting place. Mention is made of George Fox as a frequent visitor to Enfield, and of the Quaker goldsmith and banker John Freame, who lived at Bush Hill.

Gateshead

A history of Gateshead, by F. W. D. Manders (Gateshead Corporation, 1973) has a brief passage on Friends in the town, and mentions the works of J. W. Steel around the beginning of this century.

Aspects touched upon include the early visits by George Fox,

the sufferings, and growth of Quakerism in the district in the 17th century.

From 1697 when Friends purchased the site in Pilgrim Street, Newcastle, for a meeting house, local Quakerism was centred there, and not until 1965 did a meeting again begin in Gateshead (on Sunday afternoon in a private house).

GILDERSOME M.H.

"In Gildersome two Nonconformist groups, the Quakers and the Baptists, were established very early. The Friends' Meeting House with its gateway on Street Lane dates from 1758 but this replaced an earlier building in The Nooks." The above description is printed beneath photograph no. 99, which shows the Meeting House, in David K. Atkinson's *Morley borough, 1886–1974: a pictorial history* (Morley Borough Council, 1973. £1).

GLAMORGAN

Glamorgan county history. General editor: Glanmor Williams. vol. 4: Early modern Glamorgan, from the Act of Union to the Industrial Revolution (Cardiff, distributed by the University of Wales Press, 1974). This imposing volume includes chapters on the civil wars, politics and religion during the Interregnum, economic and social history during the 17th and 18th centuries, and over 100 pages on "Religion and education in Glamorgan, 1660–*c.* 1775".

Beginning with Morgan Llwyd and John ap John and the controversies with the Baptists in the 1650s, and continuing with the sufferings of Friends ("probably the most hounded of the sects"), the account of Quakerism notices meetings at Merthyr (Quaker's Yard), Cardiff, Swansea and elsewhere, and concludes that Friends were "virtually a spent force in Glamorgan by 1689". Quakers had been "transformed from the fiery, aggressive, outgoing zealots of the 1650s into the placid, comfortable, in-group quietists of the eighteenth century".

GLORIOUS REVOLUTION

The Quaker involvement in politics during the reign of James II is discussed in brief in Stuart Prall, *The Bloodless Revolution, England, 1688* (Anchor Books, A482. 1972. $2.50).

James II's friendship with William Penn is noticed, and the influence which James's move towards toleration had in securing politically some support for himself from the protestant dissenters—in the event from the Baptists and Quakers rather than from the more influential Presbyterians and Independents. "The Quakers and the Baptists, however, were men of lesser substance and of little or no political experience." (p. 143.)

It is probably a fair assessment when the author says that "the mass of Englishmen—Anglican, Dissenter, and Catholic—distrusted Penn, hated Petre and his Jesuits, and feared the king". (p. 153.)

GLOUCESTERSHIRE

The Victoria History of the county of Gloucester, vol. 10 (Oxford University Press, 1972) mentions Friends in Westbury-on-Severn (meeting 1670, meeting house registered 1690, burial ground 1724) and Woolaston (a handful of Friends, 1676–81).

Hat Honour

Puritanism in north-west England by R. C. Richardson (1972) is interesting on the subject of the early opposition to hat honour and shows that this did not originate with Friends.

D. J. Hall

Highwayman Quaker

The Leeds Mercury, no. 559, for 21 September 1736, has the following account (under dateline, London, Sept. 14):

"On Thursday the 9th Instant, Zachariah Whyat, a Quaker, of Saffron Walden, going from thence to Sturbridge Fair, at Littlebury, he met with on the Road a Brother Quaker, as he appeared by his Dress and Talk, so they became very familiar on the Road: Whyat tells his new Brother he was going to the Fair, to see what Pennyworth he could buy, and in order to do it, he had put 50 Guineas in his Pocket; upon which his Friend told him he must have it, and immediately acted the compleat Highwayman: Whyat told him he had work'd hard for it, and that he should not have it without taking some Pains for it, and immediately took his Purse and Gold and flung it over the Hedge; the Rogue jump'd off his Horse and went to fetch it, and in the Interim, Whyat dismounted a poor, sorry Scrub of his own, and rode away with the Villain's Horse, which proves to be a fine Bay Stone Horse, with four White Feet, and of great value; which if nobody claims it, will go a great Way towards his Loss."

Hutton-le-Hole

Quaker Cottage, Hutton-le-Hole, next door to the "Hammer and Hand" is a surviving long-house named the Quaker Cottage from its association with John Robinson, a Quaker, whose daughter married John Richardson, a friend of William Penn. The stone with JR 1695 indicates the date of the rebuilding of Robinson's house. The north end is still a byre and the cross-passage survived until the 1920s. Parts of crucks have been used as lintels. [Research report no. 8 of the Scarborough and District Archaeological Society, *Cruck-framed buildings in Ryedale & Eskdale* by R. H. Hayes and J. G. Rutter, 1972, p. 59.]

Irish Records

"Libraries and Archives. 10: Ireland", by C. J. Woods and R. J. Hunter (*History*, vol. 58, no. 194, Oct. 1973, pp. 392–396), is a brief introduction to the subject. The fact that Quaker records are at 6 Eustace Street, Dublin 2, is noted. The section on Northern Ireland runs: "At the Friends' Meeting House, Railway Street, Lisburn, Co. Antrim, are preserved the records of various Quaker meetings in Ulster since 1674. See O. C. Goodbody, *Guide to Irish Quaker records* (Dublin, 1967)."

Irish Wills

Wills and where to find them (Phillimore, published for the British Record Society, 1974) includes sections on wills in Scotland, Ireland, the Channel Islands, the Isle of Man, and north and south Wales, as well as each county of England, indicating the whereabouts of the wills in the areas concerned.

Wills of Friends at the Friends' Meeting House, 6 Eustace Street, Dublin, and at Friends' Meeting House, Railway Street, Lisburn, are noted (p. 195) and the printed guides issued by the Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1957 and 1967, edited by Olive Goodbody, are quoted.

KENDAL

Roy Millward of Leicester University contributes a perceptive chapter on "The Cumbrian town between 1600 and 1800" to the Festschrift volume for W. G. Hoskins entitled *Rural change and urban growth, 1500–1800* (Longman, 1974). There are a couple of plans of Kendal (1614, 1787) and the author describes the growth of the town and its cultural amenities around the end of the 18th century. The two newspapers (the Whig *Chronicle* and the Tory *Gazette*), the subscription library, the Natural History Society, flourished, but there was no profitable ground for a theatre—not perhaps surprising in a place where between 10 and 12 per cent of the population at the time was estimated to belong to the Society of Friends.

KINMUCK

In "The Kinmuck Meeting-House: a seventeenth-century scandal?" (*Aberdeen University review*, vol. 45, no. 152, Autumn 1954, pp. 369–379), Christopher J. R. Armstrong argues persuasively for a date of 1680 or very shortly after for the building of the Kinmuck Friends' Meeting House.

LAMBETH PALACE LIBRARY

S.P.G. papers in the Lambeth Palace Library. Calendar and Indexes. Prepared by William Wilson Manross. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1974.)

The papers of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts in Lambeth Palace Library include minutes for the years 1701–1711 and from 1737 to 1750, together with correspondence for other periods. These all relate to the English Church and its affairs abroad, particularly in the American colonies. The (two) indexes point to documents concerning Friends and the missionary work of George Keith.

For Lambeth Palace Library generally, see the article in our last issue (pp. 165–69), "Records of Quaker interest in Lambeth Palace Library", by Melanie Barber.

LEEDS FRIENDS, 1736

One source of historical information for filling in details of the economic activities of Friends is that of the local newspaper. For instance, *The Leeds Mercury*, for Dec. 14 and 21, 1736, contain notices of the bankruptcy and sale of goods of Joshua North, of Leeds, merchant, some months before the matter came before Leeds Preparative Meeting owing to his failure to satisfy all his creditors.

Also, in the Dec. 21, 1736, issue is a notice of a friezing-mill erected at Sheepscar, Leeds, by William Whitelock. William Whitelock (1705–74) was the Friend who married Martha Jackson in 1732 (see Beatrice Saxon Snell, "Martha Jackson's minority", *Jnl. F.H.S.*, xlv (1953), pp. 6–14).

Local newspapers are usually scarce, even where they have survived, and are rarely indexed. So, before a search is begun, one

needs to know the names of the Friends concerning whom information is sought.

Lisburn

The *Ulster Architectural Heritage Society list of historic buildings . . . in . . . Lisburn*, prepared by C. E. B. Brett, Lady Dunleath, in 1968 and 1969 (The Society, Belfast. 60p), places the Friends' Meeting House, 21/23 Railway Street, among the category of buildings which are "important and should be preserved wherever possible". The information given on p. 8 is:

> "The original thatched church of 1674 escaped the great fire of 1707, but was rebuilt and enlarged in 1793; parts of this church may have been incorporated in the present building, which dates from 1853. It has round-headed windows, and a U-shaped gallery on plain Tuscan cast-iron columns; pleasant pews and restrained panelling. At the side, a small, charming, and very unusual burial ground with head-stones set out in a long row, to thirteen Richardsons, and one other. The exterior of the church is of painted stucco and quite seemly."

London, Horslydown

Friends gave up their lease of Horslydown Meeting House, Fair Street, in 1800, but recently I have come across the following minute, 3 April 1823, of the governors of Queen Elizabeth's Grammar School in the parish of Saint Olaves, Southwark:

> "[The Treasurer said] he had seen the holder of the original lease of the Quaker Meeting House in Fair Street, who had underlet part for a Welch Chapel.
>
> [Signed:] Charles Barclay, warden."

This minute shows who were the freeholders of the property. Charles Barclay, warden of the school in 1823, was son of Robert Barclay and Rachel Gurney. He was head of Barclay Perkins brewery, and at one time M.P. for Southwark. He left Friends when he joined the militia during the Napoleonic wars.

Roque's Map, 1746 [see *Jnl. F.H.S.*, liii, 179] marks the site, "Q.M." in Fair Street.

George W. Edwards

London Lead Company

"The lead-mining landscape of Alston Moor", a chapter in the Landscapes of Britain series (Macmillan, 1972) on *Cumbria*, by Roy Millward and Adrian Robinson, notices some of the results of the activities of the London Lead Company in the district, and sets the historical setting. The chapter is illustrated, and in the suggested further reading is *A history of lead mining in the Pennines* (1965) by Arthur Raistrick and Bernard Jennings. The reader will recall Arthur Raistrick's volume on the Company issued as a Supplement to this *Journal* in 1938.

Two further papers: "The London (Quaker) Lead Company mines in Yorkshire", by Arthur Raistrick (*Memoirs of the Northern Cavern & Mine Research Society*, vol. 2, no. 3, Sept., 1973, pp. 127–131), and "The influence of the London Lead Company on the development of Middleton-in-Teesdale; a lesson in good management/labour relations, 1750–1905", by R. A. Barnby (*Durham County Local History*

Society bulletin, 15: December, 1972, pp. 19–32).

MATHEMATICAL PRACTITIONERS

The Mathematical Practitioners of Hanoverian England by Professor E. G. R. Taylor (Cambridge, 1966) is a sequel to the same author's earlier book on this theme, covering the Tudor and Stuart period and probably containing some notices of Friends. This volume contains 2,282 biographical notices. At least six Friends are named. The work of George Graham (1673–1751) is fully described. Notices are given for George Dixon, Jeremiah Dixon, John Hadley, Stephen Horseman and Daniel Quare (who belonged essentially to an earlier period). The information about Jeremiah Dixon does not agree entirely with that in Raistrick's *Quakers in Science and Industry*. Professor Taylor does not mention Samuel Frotheringham in this volume.

DAVID J. HALL

NEW ZEALAND

"Pacifists and anti-militarists in New Zealand, 1909–1914", by R. L. Weitzel (*New Zealand journal of history*, vol. 7, no. 2, 1973, pp. 128–147) is partly based on papers at the Friends' Meeting House, Auckland, and on the Charles R. N. Mackie Papers, at Canterbury Museum, Christchurch. Charles R. N. Mackie, a founder of the National Peace Council, was a Baptist lay preacher. The names of W. H. F. Alexander, Henry Corder, John P. Fletcher, and other English Friends are mentioned.

* * *

"The awkward ones—dealing with conscience, 1916–1918" by P. S. O'Connor (University of Auckland) deals with the effects of military service legislation on conscientious objectors in New Zealand in the latter half of the first world war when the flow of volunteers to the Expeditionary Force had dwindled and conscription was introduced in the country. The paper appears in *The New Zealand journal of history*, vol. 8, no. 2 (1974), pp. 118–36.

"NO" OR "NAY"

"Scott could never remember whether his Quakers should say "No" or "Nay". In an article by G. A. M. Wood of the University of Stirling, entitled "Scott's continuing revision: the printed texts of 'Redgauntlet'" (*The Bibliotheck*, vol. 6, 1973, pp. 121ff.), the author notes changes from the first edition, which had both versions, for the *Magnum opus* edition. "Unfortunately, changes are made in both directions at once, for 'Nay, Rachel' becomes 'No, Rachel' in the same scene as 'No, my good friend' is altered to 'Nay, my good friend'." (p. 131.)

NORTHUMBRIAN ARTISTS

The artists of Northumbria: a dictionary of Northumberland and Durham painters, draughtsmen and engravers, born 1647–1900 (Marshall Hall Associates, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1973) is the first in a series entitled Artists of the Regions, and includes biographical notes of James Edward Backhouse (1808–1879), Myles Birket Foster (1825–1899), John Edwin (Jonathan Edward) Hodgkin (1875–1953), Claude Edward Pease (1874–1952), Ernest Procter (1886–1935), Charles James Spence (1848–1905), and Robert Spence (b.

1871). The exhibition of *Geo. Fox at Lichfield* by the last-named at the Royal Academy in 1902 is mentioned.

Oxfordshire

Oxfordshire (The buildings of England) by Jennifer Sherwood and Nikolaus Pevsner (Penguin Books, 1974. £5), notices meeting houses at Adderbury (1675), Banbury (1751), Burford (1710), Charlbury (1779), Henley-on-Thames (1894) and Witney (early 18th-century) as well as the school at Sibford Ferris, and Ellwood House at Crowell.

Philadelphia in Revolution

"Political mobilization and the American revolution: the resistance movement in Philadelphia, 1765 to 1776" by R. A. Ryerson (*William and Mary quarterly*, 3rd series, vol. 31, no. 4, Oct. 1974, pp. 565–588), is based on the author's doctoral thesis, and gives statistical basis on which to gauge the influence of Friends in the politics of Pennsylvania immediately before the revolutionary war.

While it is true that Friends mainly were neutral in the struggle for independence, and some were tories, yet the author finds that among the younger sort there were numbers who espoused the radical cause and even remained in good standing among Friends until the watershed of 1775, after which time they could not engage in revolutionary affairs without risking disownment by the Society.

Philanthropy

"Women in English philanthropy, 1790–1830" (*International review of social history*, vol. 19, pt. 3, pp. 426–45) by F. K. Prochaska of Cambridge, is a thought-provoking study in a field where a good many Friends must have found outlet for their energies. More than 40 charitable organizations are studied and assessment made of the part played by women.

Phrenology

Note of articles on phrenology in *The Friend*, 1846, vol. 4, pp. 15–16, 35–37, 37–38, 54–55, is made in the course of an article on phrenology in *The Journal of modern history*, vol. 46, no. 1, March 1974.

Political Attitudes

Christopher Hill's *Change and continuity in seventeenth-century England* (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1974, £5), has some wide-ranging views and perceptive assessments in fields which continually engage the interest of the historian of early Friends.

The author places emphasis on the influence of the North in the spread of Quakerism, and quotes the enconium of Edward Burrough in 1655, extolling the virtue which had come from thence to the rest of the country: "and thou, O North of England, who art counted as desolate and barren, and reckoned the least of the nations, yet out of thee did the branch spring and the stem arise which gives light unto all the regions round about."

Likewise, attention is given to radical criticism of the universities and the professions in the 1650s. The writings of Richard Farnsworth, George Fox and Samuel Fisher are quoted in this context.

In the course of a chapter on social attitudes, Christopher Hill quotes the claim made by Francis

Howgill before Bristol magistrates in October 1654, that he and Edward Burrough were "free-born Englishmen" who had served faithfully the Commonwealth [note here that Besse's *Sufferings* has altered the "had" of *The Cry of Blood*, 1656, to "have"].

In Quaker Guise

John Wilson Bowyer, *The celebrated Mrs. Centlivre* (New York, Greenwood Press, 1968. Reprint of edition of 1952, Duke University Press.)

This account of Mrs. Susannah Centlivre (1667?–1723), actress and author of 18 plays, is described as the first attempt at a complete study of "her life, writings, stage history and literary relations" and includes a brief assessment of her use of Quaker characters and of the disguise of a Quaker.

The farce *A Gotham election* (1715) includes among its *dramatis personae* a Quaker, Scruple, distinguished for his frankness and honesty.

Two other plays introduce the use of the disguise of a Quaker for the purpose of furthering the plot. In *The Beau's duel* (acted 1702) Mrs. Plotwell is able to gain the upper hand of the heroine's tiresome father by appearing as a highly virtuous Quaker, a disguise which she puts off immediately after their marriage. *A Bold Stroke for a Wife* (1718) contains both a Quaker character, Obadiah Prim "a very rigid Quaker", one of the four guardians whose consent must be obtained before the heroine can marry and enter into possession of her estate, and also the use of disguise by the hero, Feignwell, who appears as "Simon Pure from Pennsylvania", and extracts Obadiah's consent just before the real Simon Pure arrives. Incidentally, Mrs. Centlivre may be credited with the origin of the phrase "the real Simon Pure".

J. W. Bowyer suggests a play by Newburgh Hamilton from which Mrs. Centlivre may have got the idea of using the disguise theme, but considers it more likely that she was burlesquing the language and "the sermons" of Quakers whom she had heard. He also points out that though *A Bold Stroke for a Wife* was extremely popular, it did not receive much critical mention, except in *The stage the high road to Hell* (1767) in which it is particularly objected to as making a mockery of religion under the guise of satirizing the Quakers.

Quaker Women

Women and Protestant culture: the Quaker dissent from Puritanism, by Jeanette Carter Gadt (Ph.D., University of California, Los Angeles, 1974. 347 pages. Abstract in *Dissertations abstracts international, A*, vol. 35, no. 3, p. 1591–A) studies "the relationship between two Protestant ideologies and women in England and America during the seventeenth- and eighteenth-centuries". "This study maintains that there was a necessary and compelling connection between Quaker doctrine and the unusual participation of women in the sect."

Russia

Dr. John S. Andrews of Lancaster University Library has kindly drawn our attention to an article "Quakers in early

nineteenth-century Russia", by Arnold B. McMillin of the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University of London (*Slavonic and east European review*, vol. 51, no. 125, Oct. 1973, pp. 567–79).

The paper surveys briefly earlier contacts from the 17th-century, but is mainly concerned with the land drainage work of Daniel Wheeler near St. Petersburg under the patronage of the Emperor Alexander. The author draws usefully on George Edmondson's letters preserved at Friends House Library.

The conclusion is: "Tenuous and artificial as they may have been, the friendly relations and understanding achieved between Quakers and Russians at this time have not been bettered or even equalled in the hundred and fifty years that have elapsed since then."

Scholes, Yorks.

A history of Quakerism in Liversedge and Scholes, by David Blamires (the author, Friends House, Euston Road, London, 1973. 75p.) is an illustrated, referenced and thoroughly readable history of Friends in one part of Brighouse Monthly Meeting in the West Riding of Yorkshire. There is a useful map to show the situation of Liversedge, Cleckheaton, Scholes, the Sepulchre and the M62 motorway.

Scottish Records

Among local records deposited in the Scottish Record Office and noted by Margaret Sanderson, assistant keeper in the Historical Department there, in an article in *The local historian*, vol. 11, no. 3, August 1974, p. 128, are those of the South-east Scotland Monthly Meeting of the Society of Friends (CH 10).

Sheffield

"The development of a scientific community in Sheffield, 1790–1850: a network of people and interests", by Ian Inkster (*Transactions of the Hunter Archaeological Society*, vol. 10, part 2, 1973, pp. 99–131) includes notices of various scientific societies and activities. "Robert Barnard, known as 'the Poet Laureate of Sheffield" was a Quaker, a dealer in staple wares and a radical poet who published a 'variety of fugitive pieces' in the town around 1790 and 1791." (p. 103.)

Robert Barnard moved to Coalbrookdale sometime after 1805.

Sheffield Archives

A description of the collections in Sheffield City Libraries Archives Department by R. Meredith (*Northern history*, vol. 9, 1974, pp. 139–152) includes the following summary:

> "The Quakers have not deposited their archives, which remain at the Hartshead meeting house and go back to the seventeen-thirties. The Society of Friends is represented in the Library archives by a few records relating to the burial ground and library of the Handsworth Woodhouse meeting of nineteenth-century date; and by family letters addressed to Mrs. Eliza Payne of Newhill in Wath and her daughter Susannah, the wife of Jonathan Peckover of Wisbech (both Quaker families), 1756–1800." [pp. 148–149.]

Slave Trade

The African slave trade and its suppression: a classified and annotated bibliography of books, pamphlets and periodical articles, by Peter C. Hogg (London, Frank Cass, 1973). This useful piece of work does not appear to have drawn on the resources at Friends House Library, where, for instance, item 1493 might have been identified, and the name of Wilson Armistead (1819–68) given to the initials W.A. which sign *Slavery illustrated* (Manchester, 1849) [see Joseph *Smith, Descriptive catalogue*, 1867, i. 125].

Slavery

An article by D. D. Wax, entitled "Quaker merchants and the slave trade in colonial Pennsylvania" (*Pennsylvania magazine of history and biography*, 1962), dealing with economic reasons encouraging the withdrawal of Pennsylvania Friends from the slave trade, is mentioned in Jacob Viner's *The role of Providence in the social order: an essay in intellectual history* (Jayne lectures for 1966: Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, vol. 90, 1972, p. 84).

In the passage concerned the late Professor Viner expressed his little faith in the existence of a *purely* economic or a *purely* non-economic man, and quotes the contrary views of Adam Smith and of James Dunbar concerning the Pennsylvania Friends emancipation of their slaves. Adam Smith said that had slaves made any considerable part of Friends' property, the resolve to emancipate "could never have been agreed to". James Dunbar held that the resolution "seems to evidence a degree of pure and disinterested virtue . . . beyond the example of the most virtuous communities of ancient times."

* * *

Politics and the Public Conscience: Slave Emancipation and the Abolitionist Movement in Britain by E. F. Hurwitz (1973) contains a number of references to Friends. The book reprints a small but useful selection of documents, although only one, an 1833 letter from Thomas Clarkson, appears not to be available in a printed form. The author points out that contact with Anglicans, and with other dissenters, in this context was responsible for the influence of evangelical Christianity on Friends. He notes the increasing part played by Friends, particularly in finance, in the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

David J. Hall

* * *

"Blacks and blackface on the Irish stage, 1830–60" by Douglas C. Riach of the University of Edinburgh (*Journal of American studies*, vol. 7, no. 3 (December, 1973), pp. 231–241) concludes with a paragraph or two concerning the abolitionist campaigns of the middle of the century. "[Irish] abolitionists were usually middle-class dissenters, and the same high-minded principles that led them into the movement to free the slave also led them to ignore the music hall as something unworthy." It is true that "Richard Davis Webb, the Dublin Quaker, did have printed a parody of 'Dandy Jim of Caroline' with anti-slavery words", but, the author concludes, "it is probable that the cause of the Negro in America suffered from the failure

of the abolitionists in Ireland to condemn as wholly inaccurate the image of the Negro most often presented on the Irish stage, and carried to America in the minds of countless Irish emigrants".

Somerset

Footnotes in *The Victoria History of the county of Somerset*, vol. 3 (Oxford University Press, 1974. £24), reveal the value of the monthly meeting minutes at Street Meeting House as a source of information concerning Friends in the districts of mid-Somerset covered by this volume. Friends appear widely scattered in the district, although Long Sutton is the only meeting of which any considerable record is given and which continues today. Entries occur under the parishes of Aller, Charlton Mackrell, East Lydford (home of John Clothier, *c.* 1656), Ilchester (and the prison), Langport, Long Sutton, Montacute, Muchelney, Northover (Ilchester, the home of Jasper Batt), Pitney, Somerton, and Stoke sub Hamdon.

S. C. Morland is noted as having provided information.

South Carolina

"'Camden's turrets pierce the skies': the urban process in the southern colonies during the eighteenth century" by Joseph A. Ernst and H. Roy Merrens (*William and Mary quarterly*, 3rd series, vol. 30, no. 4, Oct., 1973, pp. 549–574), traces some of the origins of Camden, S.C. in the early 1750s when a number of Irish Quakers moved and settled as a group in the area. Robert Millhouse built a gristmill and Samuel Wyly seems to have set up a store.

York Retreat

The report for 1973–74 of the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, University of York (p. 5), includes a note of records deposited in the Institute by the committee of The Retreat. The deposit includes "much correspondence addressed to William and Samuel Tuke, as well as the official and medical records."

Yorkshire

"The pattern of nonconformity in south Yorkshire, 1660–1851", by D. G. Hey (*Northern history*, vol. 8, 1973, pp. 86–118) has some dubious information concerning Quakers in the district. A footnote on p. 89 credits George Fox with establishing at Balby and Pontefract in 1646 monthly meetings, which kept "baptism registers".

Meeting houses at Balby and Darfield are recorded in 1669; and the High Flatts, Wooldale and Lumb Royd (Penistone) meeting houses are also mentioned. The author gives tabular returns of Friends in various parishes based on visitation returns of 1743 and 1764, and a summary from the 1851 Ecclesiastical census returns. "By 1851 the Quakers still had eight meeting-places but had a total attendance of only 1,231. They were scattered, and almost finished as a force to be reckoned with."

* * *

A history of the county of York, East Riding. Edited by K. J. Allison (Victoria History), vol. 2 (Oxford University Press, 1974). This volume deals with Dickering Wapentake. Friends are mentioned in the parishes of Bridlington, Filey, Foston on the Wolds, Fraisthorpe, Garton on the Wolds, Kilham and Thwing.

Supplements to the Journal of Friends' Historical Society

1, 3, 5. FIRST PUBLISHERS OF TRUTH. Ed. N. Penney. 1907. The company set is out of print, but copies of parts 1, 3, and 5 are available at £2 each part.

8–11. EXTRACTS FROM STATE PAPERS relating to Friends, 1654–1672. Ed. N. Penney. 1910–13. 4 parts. 365 pp., £5.00.

12. ELIZABETH HOOTON, First Quaker woman preacher (1600–1672). By Emily Manners. 1914. 95 pp., £3.00.

15. QUAKER LANGUAGE. F.H.S. Presidential address by T. Edmund Harvey. 1928. 30 pp., 50p.

16–17. PEN PICTURES OF LONDON YEARLY MEETING, 1789–1833. Ed. Norman Penney. 1930. 227 pp., £7.00.

20. SWARTHMORE DOCUMENTS IN AMERICA. Ed. Henry J. Cadbury. 1940. £1.50.

21. AN ORATOR'S LIBRARY. John Bright's books. Presidential address 1936 by J. Travis Mills. 1946. 24 pp., 40p.

22. LETTERS TO WILLIAM DEWSBURY AND OTHERS. Edited by Henry J. Cadbury. 1948. 68 pp., £3.00.

23. SLAVERY AND "THE WOMAN QUESTION". Lucretia Mott's Diary. 1840. By F. B. Tolles. 1952. £2.00, cloth £3.00.

24. THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY OF THE EARLY FRIENDS. Presidential address by Frederick B. Tolles, 1952. 60p.

26. JAMES NAYLER, A FRESH APPROACH. By Geoffrey F. Nuttall, D.D. 1954. 40p.

27. THOMAS RUDYARD, EARLY FRIENDS' "ORACLE OF LAW". By Alfred W. Braithwaite. 1956. 40p.

28. PATTERNS OF INFLUENCE IN ANGLO-AMERICAN QUAKERISM. By Thomas E. Drake. 1958. 40p.

29. SOME QUAKER PORTRAITS, CERTAIN AND UNCERTAIN. By John Nickalls. 1958. Illustrated. 60p.

30. "INWARD AND OUTWARD." A study of Early Quaker Language. By Maurice A. Creasey. 1962. 25p.

31. GEORGE FOX AND THE PUREFEYS. By T. Joseph Pickvance. 1970. 60p.

32. JOHN WOOLMAN IN ENGLAND, 1772. By Henry J. Cadbury. 1971. £1.25.

33. JOHN PERROT. By Kenneth L. Carroll. 1971. £1.00.

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