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# THE JOURNAL

## OF THE

# FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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### Editorial

THIS, the first number of volume 54 of the *Journal*, opens with a paper, by A. Day Bradley of New York, collecting together from various scattered sources what is known of Friends in Bermuda up to the early years of the eighteenth century. Quakerism in the colony was never strong, and records are hard to come by to try and produce a coherent picture which would support the natural impression that Bermudan Quakerism was of slighter growth but of similar development overall to the story of the movement in the more clustered English colonies in the Caribbean.

The seventeenth century is also treated in a note contributed by Amy E. Wallis on the results of her enquiries into the identity of the Colonel Wallis of Shanagarry who makes his appearance in William Penn's *My Irish Journal*, edited by Isabel Grubb with an introduction by Henry J. Cadbury in 1952.

Stephen Morland brings fresh evidence to bear on the controversy in Somerset meetings concerning the marriage of John Whiting and Sarah Hurd in 1686. This evidence sheds light on a problem left unsolved by Ethel Crawshaw in an article in the *Journal* in 1915. John Whiting's *Persecution Exposed* is the narrative which puts flesh on the bare bones of Friends' minute books and sufferings records in the West of England and brings vividly to life many of the actors in the drama of Quakerism in that region for the last quarter of the seventeenth century when persecution was at its height.

The book makes no mention of the difficulty which John encountered over his own marriage—editorial judgment perhaps—and as such understandable from the first Quaker bibliographer—but more probably a personal wish not to advertise an affair which he thought best forgotten.

Kenneth Carroll continues his researches on this side of the Atlantic with a study on a small group of Quaker linen-weavers who were settled at Newport in the west of Ireland for upwards of twenty years from 1720. The venture did not prosper, and the Friends later moved back eastwards into County Roscommon, nearer to the established Friends' Meeting at Moate.

Michael Mullett of Lancaster University provides a brief inventory of the documents preserved at the Friends' Meeting House at Lancaster; a timely note, since the meeting house celebrated its tercentenary in 1977. The usual features on archives, notes and queries and recent publications are included—in the latter, notably, a review by Elfrida Vipont Foulds of Ormerod Greenwood's first volume of *Quaker Encounters*, entitled *Friends and Relief*.

*Edgmont, the story of a township*, by Jane Levis Carter (KNA Press Inc., 1976. \$15.00; £10 including postage from Edgmont History, Box 239, Gradyville, Pa., 19039) is the official Bicentennial Project for Edgmont Township, endorsed by the Delaware County Institute of Science and published in an edition limited to 2,000 numbered copies.

Edgmont in Pennsylvania, not far from Bryn Mawr, a township bounded by its neighbours Willistown, Newtown, Upper Providence, Middletown and Thornbury is named after Edgmond in Shropshire where Joseph Baker came from when he bought 500 acres of land in the new province in 1686. This is a most satisfying local history, with good and well-chosen illustrations in facsimile and old photographs. It covers in competent and professional fashion many aspects of social life, and is a handsome volume to boot.

## Friends in Bermuda in the Seventeenth Century

A SHORT period of Quaker activity began in Bermuda when Richard Pinder and George Rose, two of the First Publishers of Truth, arrived on the "24th of Februarie 1659/60" [24 Feb. 1660]. Bermuda Friends rarely received any of the harsh treatment which was the lot of early Friends in England and some of the American colonies. True, "Foraigne Quakers" were subject to imprisonment until they could be deported, and the convinced Friends of Bermuda were fined and distrained for such offences as refusal to support the parish churches, interrupting church services and refusing militia duty. A law of 1668/69, perhaps never strictly enforced, made anyone married to a Quaker ineligible to hold office.<sup>1</sup> In Bermuda there had been a long history of religious dissent. By 1647 there were two distinct sects on the Island, Presbyterians and Congregationalists. However "the Bermuda Independents, considered by their more unsympathetic contemporaries in England to be disturbing radicals, were in turn not untroubled by a still more radical group, the Quakers".<sup>2</sup> Despite the small number of Friends in Bermuda and the short period of activity there, religious disputations led to printed controversy.

Some account of the early ministry in Bermuda is given

<sup>1</sup> The present writer acknowledges his indebtedness to J. H. Lefroy, *Memorials of the discovery and early settlement of the Bermudas or Somers Islands 1515—1685*, Vol. 2, 2nd ed., 1932. "A large part of this volume is taken up with proceedings against the Quakers, a sect which has entirely disappeared from Bermuda. There as elsewhere, the spirit of faction assumed the garb of piety and some of the worst men in the community were foremost in loud profession; yet there is something real in the courage and devotion of several of the party." (Introduction, p. viii.) Sir John Henry Lefroy was Governor of Bermuda 1871–1877; his work includes a careful transcription of the judicial and administrative proceedings in Bermuda. Hereafter cited as Lefroy.

Babette Levy, "Early puritanism in the southern and island colonies, Chap. 3. Bermuda: Non-Conformity 'Safe from the storms' and 'prelates rage'." (*Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, Vol. 70 (1960), 164–200); hereafter cited as Levy.

Harriet Frorer Durham, *Caribbean Quakers*, Hollywood, Florida, 1972, 42–49; hereafter cited as Durham.

Acknowledgement is due to Mr. Leonard J. McDonald, the Bermuda Archivist, and to the staff of Friends House Library, London, for generous assistance.

<sup>2</sup> Levy, 182, 193.

#### 4 FRIENDS IN BERMUDA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

in letters of Pinder and Rose. Richard Pinder writing to George Fox in 6th mo. 1660 said:

I have lately been at Bermuda where I left George Rose—great service is done in that place for before I came away severall meetings were established at which many knew where to wait to receive the Lord's secret strength. . . . My stay there was about half a year.<sup>3</sup>

George Rose in an undated letter, probably 1660 or 1661, says he had good service and had not missed three or four meetings a week since coming to the Island. He describes his work which was "to the great torment of the priests who as the dragon waits everywhere to destroy". On 3 May 1660 the Council of Paget's Tribe (Parish) sentenced Rose to one month's imprisonment for disputing with the parish priest. As noted by Rose, "foure or five of the justices declared against it".<sup>4</sup> The dissenting justices were Capt. Thomas Richard, Capt. Florentius Seymour, Mr. John Moore and Mr. Nicholas Thornton.<sup>5</sup> It has been stated without verification that Florentius Seymour's wife was a Quaker. While this may have been a factor in Seymour's dissent, such influence did not prevent the passage of laws against the Quakers when he was Governor.<sup>6</sup>

The Bermuda authorities were not hasty in moving against the Quakers. A proclamation by Governor William Sayle on 2 January 1661 stated that he would await the action of the Crown and Parliament with respect to the Quakers; however Quakers must obey the laws and not disturb the ministers. In October 1661 Henrie Smith and his wife and daughter were brought before the Council for breach of the Sabbath. The Council voted that they "and all other entitled Quakers may have their libertyes for their meetings provided they act in conformity to the Civil Government". The Bermuda Assize of 2–6 December ordered that a "publication be speedily drawn for the observance of the Sabbath Day. . . . And that the Quakers be not molested until further orders from the Companie or the Kingdom of England".<sup>7</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Friends House Library, London, Swarthmore MSS, IV, 39 (Transcript IV, 293–4).

<sup>4</sup> Swarthmore MSS, IV, 39 (Transcripts IV, 294–5).

<sup>5</sup> Lefroy, 132.

<sup>6</sup> Durham, 44.

<sup>7</sup> Lefroy, 145, 161, 183; Durham, 44.

At length, during the period of the Clarendon Code in England, laws directed against the Quakers were passed. In 1663 a £6 fine was authorised for refusal to testify under oath. A law of 1664 fixed a 12d. fine for each absence from church, after one warning. In 1666 a penalty of one shilling was leviable for absence from militia training. Laws of 1668/9 fixed the penalty for disturbing a minister as imprisonment until the next General Assize and a £5 fine; and ships' masters were required to give security not to land foreign Quakers, or to pay a penalty of £100. Quakers landing secretly were to be imprisoned "without bayle until deported".<sup>8</sup>

Some of the difficulties of Bermuda Friends are listed in Besse's *Sufferings*. In 1665 Capt. Dorrell of the militia took Robert Wilkinson and Francis Estlacke from a meeting at the house of William Wilkinson in Paget's Tribe. They were taken to the militia training with neck and heels tied together, as a punishment for "not appearing with them under arms". In case of invasion they were to be forced "to fight in the front thereof".<sup>9</sup> In 1670 "John Bennet, a very wicked man", came to the house of Robert Wilkinson and attempted to kill Robert Wilkinson and his wife and burn their house. Since Robert Wilkinson would not swear against John Bennet, Wilkinson was fined 50 shillings and Bennet was released. Elizabeth Carter and Anne Butler, visiting ministers, were banished in 1672 for causing a disturbance in Devonshire Tribe Church. For the same offence William White was fined £3, Parnell Wilkinson 40s., and William Righton £3 10s. William White was distrained £9, Parnell Wilkinson 20s. and William Righton £6 7s. Actually William White was fined £3 for the disturbance and 15s. for refusing hat honour to the Court.<sup>10</sup>

Elizabeth Carter twice returned, to be banished a second and, in 1676, a third time. In the same year Stephen Bullock, master of a ship from Barbados, was sent to jail as were Solomon Robson and William Righton; Edward Hinsham, "a reputable trader of Barbadoes", was ordered to leave in the custody of the master of the vessel in which he came.

<sup>8</sup> Lefroy, 202, 272-274, 287; Durham, 45.

<sup>9</sup> Joseph Besse, *A Collection of the sufferings*, 1753, Vol. 2, 366.

<sup>10</sup> Besse, Vol. 2, 368-9.

<sup>11</sup> Besse, Vol. 2, 368-9.

## 6 FRIENDS IN BERMUDA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

In 1686 fifteen Friends of Bermuda signed a certificate for Mary Smith "for ye satisfaction of all friends in Pennsylvania, New Jarsie or else where" recommending her as "a maiden well reputed . . . and as concerning Marriage free of all men in this Island so farr as we know".<sup>12</sup> This certificate adds some names of Bermuda Friends to those given by Besse and Lefroy. Other names are given in *The Tatum narrative*.<sup>13</sup>

In the following list, L indicates a Friend mentioned by Lefroy for fine, distraint, etc.; B a name in Besse's *Sufferings*; C one who signed Mary Smith's certificate; and T Friends mentioned in *The Tatum Narrative*.

Eliza Bentley, Widow,		Sarah Murrell <sup>17</sup>	C
Warwick	T	John Richards, Tuckertown	L
Margery Day	T	Sarah Righton, Paget <sup>17</sup>	C,T
Patience Bullock and two		Merriam Riddle	T
daughters, Warwick <sup>14</sup>	B,T	William Righton, Sr.,	
Merriam Bullock, Warwick	T	Hamilton	L
Maria Coates	L	William Righton, Jr., Paget	L,T
James Dorset, Warwick	T	Ruth Seymour	C
Francis Estlacke (Islie,		Henrie Smith, wife and	
Islock, etc.), Paget	L,C,B,T	daughter, Paget	L,T
Margaret Estlacke	C,T	Mary Smith	C,T
Wife & Daughter of Lieut.		William Smith, Paget	L,C,B,T
Thomas Forster <sup>15</sup>	L	Patience, wife of Nehemiah	
Frances Harriot	C	Tatum, Warwick	C,T
William Harriot	C	Dorcas, wife of Martin Taylor	T
William Homer and Wife,		Elizabeth Wetherbe	C
Warwick	T	William White, Hamilton <sup>18</sup>	L
Marie (Mary) wife of Capt.		Parnell Wilkinson	L,B
Philip Lee, Paget <sup>16</sup>	L	Robert Wilkinson, Paget <sup>15</sup>	B
Bethula Laycroft	C	William Wilkinson, Paget	C,B
Richard Laycroft	C	Thomas Woodhall, Paget	C,B
Eliza Morgan <sup>17</sup>	T		

<sup>12</sup> This certificate has been printed in the *Bulletin of the Friends Historical Association*, 6 (1914), 19; in the *Bermuda historical quarterly*, 4 (1947), 127; and in Durham, 49.

<sup>13</sup> Richard Parry Tatum, *Tatum narrative, 1626-1925*, Philadelphia, 1926. The author of this family chronicle died in 1925, and his wife published the work in 1926.

<sup>14</sup> At a Monthly Meeting held at the Meeting House in Flushing the 3rd of the fifth month 1681 the marriage of Nathaniel Field and Patience Bullock, formerly of the Island of Bermuda, was approved. MSS in Haviland Record Room of New York Yearly Meeting.

<sup>15</sup> The will of Lieut. Thomas Forster, written in March 1674 and recorded in October 1674 mentions his wife Penelope, son Thomas, daughters Ann, Sarah, Miriam and Mary the wife of Robert Wilkinson. Will Book No. 1, Bermuda Archives, 192-3.

Of more than passing interest is the will of "William Wilkinson, senior, of Warwick Tribe, merchant, written the 11th day of the 11th month 1704/5, and recorded 16 October 1706". He left bequests to his daughters, Bathsheba Robinson and Mary Wilman, to his sons John and William, and to grandchildren. His religious credo is explicitly stated in his will.

I dye in the Lord in whom I have lived, moved and had my being. A true real and protestant Christian and member of the true reformed Church as was in the Apostles Days before the Apostacy was, of which church Christ Jesus was and is the Holy Head and Husband, Mediator, Redemor and Saviour, and noe pope nor false Christian by whom I have been a sufferer for bearing a true testimony to the Lord's blessed and Holy Name in whom I hope I shall rise.<sup>19</sup>

It is not easy to distinguish all the William Wilkinsons of this period. It is quite possible that father and son of the same name were both Friends. A third William Wilkinson served in the Bermuda government when Capt. Josiah Forster was governor and is sometimes said to have joined Friends. This William however died in 1657.<sup>20</sup> Almost at the same time a William Wilkinson of Rhode Island was engaged in a pamphlet controversy over baptism with John Hammett and Joseph Jenks.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Bermuda Will Book No. 3, 216.

<sup>20</sup> Henry C. Wilkinson, *The Adventurers of Bermuda—history of the island from its discovery to the dissolution of the Somers Island Co. in 1684*, 1958, 402.

<sup>21</sup> For the writings of William Wilkinson of Bermuda and William Wilkinson, of Rhode Island, see Joseph Smith, *A descriptive catalogue of Friends' books*, 1867, Vol. 2, 937-9.

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<sup>16</sup> The will of Capt. Philip Lea written 19 Feb. 1673/74 and recorded 5 Mar. 1673/74 leaves to "Mary Lea formerly my wife, but had absented herself from me, her maintenance and personal property." Bermuda Will Book No. 1, 175.

<sup>17</sup> The will of Thomas Murrell (not Muzzell) written 9 Jan. 1675/76 and recorded 2 Feb. 1675/76 mentions wife Sarah, and daughter Sarah, now wife of William Righton, Jr. and grand-daughter Elizabeth Morgan. Bermuda Will Book No. 1, 216. William and Sarah Righton of Burlington, New Jersey, sold land in Paget in 1692, which was formerly the property of Sarah's father, Thomas Murrell. *Tatum narrative*, 48.

<sup>18</sup> William White of Hamilton Tribe, the Somers Island, "Marrioner" bequeathed one-fourth of his estate to the people called Quakers in the Island of Burmudas. If certain legatees could not be found, their shares were also to go to the Friends. His will is dated the 25th day of the 10th month called December 1664 and recorded the following January. Bermuda Will Book No. 1, 101.

The ministers of Bermuda, themselves of radical and dissenting views, were nevertheless resolved to combat the more heretical views of the Quakers. The Friends were no less resolved to expose the theological errors of the ministers. George Rose in an early letter described a public disputation with the ministers which was attended by many hundreds of people. This confrontation lasted four or five hours until the "chief priest confessed he was weary and soon after the governor broke up the dispute".<sup>22</sup> Three publications of Richard Pinder appeared in 1660. *The Captive*, addressed to present and future convinced Friends, and *A Loving Invitation to Repentance . . . unto all the Inhabitants of the Island of Barbadoes* were written during his ministry in the West Indies and Bermuda. The third publication of Pinder's, *The Spirit of Error*, resulted from the debates between Friends and the Bermuda ministers. The full title reads:

The Spirit of Error, Found, and Discovered, in the accounted Pastors and Teachers of the Island Bermuda, in the West-Indies; Their Principles and Practices also tryed by the True Spirit, and found to be contrary to the Scriptures of Truth, and disproved by them; though pleaded for by the strongest Arguments, the said Teachers could bring forth. In answer to some Queries that were sent unto them, by us called Quakers. Which answer was subscribed with all their Names hereafter mentioned. Their deceit unfolded for the Peoples sake of the Island; By a servant of the Truth (which searches out all iniquity, though it work in a Mystery) called, Richard Pinder. London, printed for Robert Wilson, at the sign of the Black-spread-Eagle and Wind-Mill in Martin's Le Grand, 1660. [24 pp].

The pastors mentioned here are Nathaniel White, Jonathan Burre and Brown, the latter probably Robert Browne. Jonathan Burre was licensed to preach at Hamilton Tribe Church in April 1661 and later at Devonshire Tribe Church.<sup>23</sup> Robert Browne received a certificate to preach from the Council in 1657; in 1658 he replaced a Mr. Righton as minister for Smith and Hamilton Tribes.<sup>24</sup>

The most publicized disputation occurred in 1678 between the Rev. Sampson Bond and a group of Quakers under the leadership of Francis Estlacke. Bond had arrived in Bermuda in 1663 and had raised questions concerning the status of

<sup>22</sup> Swarthmore MSS, IV, 39 (Transcripts IV, 294-5).

<sup>23</sup> Lefroy, 147, 162.

<sup>24</sup> Lefroy, 100, 122.

negroes, whether those embracing Christianity should not be given their freedom, and whether negro children should not be instructed in Christianity. He was dismissed from the ministry twice and twice reinstated.<sup>25</sup> "Sampson Bond not withstanding some deep religious feelings had the argumentativeness and tenacity of a trial lawyer and so provided, entered into practically every dispute ecclesiastical and civil to which he could gain admission."<sup>26</sup> Bond's account of the *Public Tryal* of the Quakers with its predetermined verdict was printed after some delay, in 1682.

A Publick Tryal of the Quakers in Bermudas upon the first day of May, 1678. *First* the charge against them was openly read containing these particulars:

1. That a Quaker's pretended Saviour within him, is not the true Christ, but the false Christ, the devil.
2. That the main end of the Quaker meetings, in these Islands, is to make the Lord Christ, His Holy Spirit, His Angels and Apostles, all lyars and false witnesses of God.
3. That the prime principles of a Quaker, are the same held and professed by the beasts, which Paul fought with at Ephesus.

*Secondly*, the whole charge being proved by the testimony of the Holy Scriptures, was found by the Sheriffs, and Justices of Peace, a true and just charge.

*Thirdly*, being found guilty, they are here sentenced, and brought forth unto the desrved execution of the presses.

By Sampson Bond, late preacher of the Gospel in Bermudas.

Boston, in New England, printed by Samuel Green, upon the assignment of Samuel Sewall, 1682. [104 pp].

Quite needless to say, the verdict of the sheriffs and justices was not accepted by the Friends. Evidently not so well known is the printed rejoinder to Bond by Francis Estlacke, William Wilkinson, John Tysoe and Richard Richardson\*, in which the verdict is emphatically reversed. This work is in five parts each with its separate title page.

A Bermudas Preacher Proved a Persecutor Being a Just Tryal of Sampson Bond's Book, entituled "A Publick Tryal of Quakers &c", Fraught with Fallacies, False Doctrines, Slander, Railings, Aspersions, Perversions and other Abuses, herein Detected, Disproved and Wiped off. And that the True Christ is Owned by the People called Quakers, plainly Made Manifest. By those that have been more particularly concerned, and

<sup>25</sup> Levy, 188-90.

<sup>26</sup> Henry C. Wilkinson, *op. cit.*, 362.

\* R. R. in the pamphlet, but identified as Richardson in London YM Morning Meeting minutes, Vol. 1 (1673-1692), 75, 18.iv. [June] 1683.

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Eye and Ear-Witnesses in the Dispute at Bermudas: and those that have had the perusal of his Book, which manifests itself.

The wicked has digged a Pit for others, and is fallen into it himself.

Psal. 7:15

A Lying Tongue is but for a Moment. Prov. 12:19

London, Printed by John Bringhurst at the Sign of the Book in Gracechurch Street, 1683

The titles are as follows:

To the Inhabitants of these Islands Bermudus, A Testimony for the Truth and the People of God called Quakers, against the Reproaches, Scandals and Slanders of Sampson Bond: Who calls himself a Minister, or Preacher, of the Everlasting Gospel in the said Islands.

11<sup>th</sup> of 3<sup>d</sup> Month 1678. Francis Estlacke. (pp. 1-9)

Some few Lines briefly answering some Part of Sampson Bond's Book. Entituled the Quakers in Bermudas Tryed &c. Bermudas 1st Month 1683. William Wilkinson. (pp. 10-18)

A Brief Touch of the Deceit and False Doctrine of Sampson Bond. R. R. (pp. 19-27)

Something further in Answer to Priest Bond's Lyes, Ignorance and Blasphemy, in his Book Entituled, the Quakers in Bermudas Tryed, Sentenced, Executed &c. John Tysoe. (pp. 29-44)

The Truth of Christ Jesus, with the Professors thereof in the Island of Bermudas (Commonly called Quakers) cleared from the Three Ungodly False Charges charged upon them by Sampson Bond (Teacher in the said Island) in a Book, entituled, The Quakers in Bermudas Tryed &c. In which Book are found many Blasphemies, Slanders, false Accusations, false Glosses and Interpretations, herein searched and noted in their particular Pages, and examined and confuted with as much brevity as the matter could well bear. By a Friend and lover of the Truth in the same Island, called Francis Estlacke. Written in Bermudas the 25<sup>th</sup> day of first month 1683. F. E. (pp. 45-92)

Francis Estlacke was evidently one of the most prominent Friends in Bermuda. William Wilkinson, the author, was probably the same William Wilkinson whose religious beliefs were expressed in words in his will. John Tysoe (1626-1700) was a London shoemaker, of whose presence in Bermuda I have found no record.

The group of Bermuda Friends was certainly never large and there is little indication that such Quaker activity survived into the eighteenth century.<sup>27</sup> The accounts of John Richardson and Thomas Chalkley show that there were few Friends in 1701, 1702 and 1716. John Richardson visited Bermuda in 1702 in company with James Bales. He was kindly received by the Governor, Benjamin Bennett.

<sup>27</sup> Levy, 195; Durham, 49.

## FRIENDS IN BERMUDA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY II

The Governor said some of our friends would be glad to see us. I replied there were some on the Island that did own us, but how much they were of us, I could not tell. . . . We had many good opportunities among a soberly behaved people amongst whom we met with no opposition.<sup>28</sup>

That merchant, mariner and minister, Thomas Chalkley, visited Bermuda in 1701 and twice in 1716, In 1701 in company with Josiah Langdale, he "found but very few Friends, yet had meetings in several places and at the houses of people not of our profession". Some opposition led to an interview with Governor Bennett which was followed by larger meetings than before. The visits of Chalkley in 1716 were equally satisfactory. "The people of the island generally received me lovingly and were very kind to me. Our ancients, who bore the burden and heat of the day met with very different treatment. . . . Divers such opportunities I had with several on this island, there being but very few of our society."<sup>29</sup>

A. DAY BRADLEY

<sup>28</sup> *Life of John Richardson* (1671-1758), Friends Library, William and Thomas Evans, editors, Vol. 2, Philadelphia, 1840, 101-104.

<sup>29</sup> *The Journal of Thomas Chalkley*, New York, 1808, 30-32, 73-76.

## Who was “Colonel Wallis”?

IT has apparently always been thought that “Col. Wallis” of Shanagarry was an English Cromwellian soldier<sup>1</sup> with whom William Penn had to deal on behalf of his father. Col. Wallis’s grant of Shanagarry, which had been made after his service in the Irish army raised by Cromwell, at the Restoration was reallocated by Charles II to Admiral Penn. As part of the redistribution of land, the Admiral’s original grant at Macroon (west of Cork), where William Penn had lived as a boy, was returned to its former owner, the Catholic royalist Earl of Clancarty. So it came about that Peter Wallis, although he had been “pardoned” in 1660 for his part in the wars, found himself displaced from his holding.

Those to whom lands were granted were actually “tenants”, paying an annual rent to the king’s agents in Ireland, the “Commissioners of Revenue”. They, in turn, let various estates at very attractive rents. Isabel Grubb in her masterly editing of *Penn’s Irish Journal* has a note on page 78, that Admiral Penn’s two baronies in County Cork amounted in all to more than 12,000 acres, for which he had to pay a rent of about £113 per annum while the lands returned him an income of about £1,000 per annum.

Many Anglo-Irish of Elizabethan or earlier settlements had taken service under Cromwell, and Peter Wallis was one of these, a Protestant. At one time he had an interest in Quakers. In the State Papers of John Thurloe<sup>2</sup> it is said (in 1655):

Report is made of the Quakers who begin to growe in some reputation in the County of Cork, their meetings being attended frequently by Col. Phaire and Major Peter Wallis and most of the chief officers thereabout.

Oliver Cromwell’s son, Henry Cromwell, as Lord Deputy for Ireland,<sup>3</sup> also mentions it in writing to his father. As far as we know, Peter Wallis did not continue to attend Friends’ meetings, though both Phaire and Wallis assisted Penn in

<sup>1</sup> *My Irish Journal*, William Penn 1669–1670. Edited by Isabel Grubb. 1952. p. 12ff, 71.

<sup>2</sup> State Papers of John Thurloe; *Jnl. F.H.S.*, 8 (1911), 153.

<sup>3</sup> *Irish Journal*, p. 74 (notes).

1669 when he was dealing with claims on the lands formerly held by them and others, then held by Admiral Penn. William Penn finally came to a settlement with Col. Wallis after litigation, and with Col. Phaire, who was an old friend of the Admiral and his family.

A genealogy, (included in a "General Search" on the Wallis family, from the Office of Arms, The Castle, Dublin, some fifty years ago, the then registrar being Thos. U. Sadleir,)<sup>4</sup> gives particulars of Peter Wallis of Shanagarry, Co. Cork, alive in 1630, High Sheriff 1660, died 1679. He was son of Thomas Wallis of Curryglass, Co. Cork (died before 1630), where that family had purchased land and settled in 1595, near the border of Cork and Waterford.<sup>5</sup> Peter Wallis had married Audrey, daughter of Barrachias Baker, son of an early settler from Cornwall. Peter and Audrey Wallis had a son John, and his daughter Mary married Charles Gookin in 1693. In 1709 Penn appointed Charles Gookin Governor of Pennsylvania, and of him Robert Proud gives an account in his *History of Pennsylvania*, setting out the difficulties the province faced in the period to 1717.<sup>6</sup> Other descendants of Peter Wallis and his brother Thomas married into families mentioned by Penn or his "tenants", and some to people called Meade, Webber and Cooke, names occurring among early members of Cork meeting.

In *My Irish Journal*, 1669/1670 William Penn mentions coming to his "father's house"—Shanagarry or "old garden", and several times speaks of returning "home" and writing his book there, and having guests.

Col. Wallis was living in a house built after the destruction of the Castle by Cromwell's order, and Penn reports visiting him and being "civilly treated".<sup>7</sup>

It seems likely, as Howard M. Jenkins notes in his *Family of William Penn*, 1899,<sup>8</sup> that an old house on the estate two miles south west of Col. Wallis and the Castle and named "Sunville" is indicated, as the old people in the neighbourhood insisted this was where Penn lived when in Ireland. It was used by some of his descendants of the Penn Gaskell

<sup>4</sup> In possession of A. E. Wallis.

<sup>5</sup> Cork Historical and Archaeological Society *Journal*, 1962, p. 48.

<sup>6</sup> Robert Proud, *The history of Pennsylvania*, 1798, vol. 2, pp. 3-94.

<sup>7</sup> *Irish Journal*, p. 31 (27 Dec. etc.).

<sup>8</sup> Howard M. Jenkins, *The family of William Penn*, 1899, p. 259.

family. A visitor more recently states it is out of repair now, and should be saved as the one relic of Penn's visit.<sup>9</sup>

Penn himself says in his diary on 3 May 1670, "The Irish inhabitants came—they had their houses and gardens as before. Two were made Serjeants to keep the grass etc."<sup>10</sup> Under 6 May, "I made the steps into the private walk". These touches point to a continuing interest and care of the place. He returned on his later visit to Ireland in 1698, but for a few days only.

After wondering for years as to the identity of "Col. Wallis", and suspecting that Peter Wallis and he were one and the same, comes confirmation.

On sending to Cork three years ago, I obtained several extracts from the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society's *Journal*, and in that for 1962, with regard to the grant of Carrigrehan to Abraham Baker (Will, 1615) is the statement: "Abraham Baker was succeeded by his son Barrachias Baker the father of Audrie, wife of Col. Peter Wallis of Shanagarry", and after failure of a male heir in the Baker line the property came to the sister of John Baker, Mrs Peter Wallis. Her eldest son John Wallis was described as of Carrigrehan in his Will 1731. It passed to his younger brother Barrachias Wallis of Ballycrenane. Through other changes it passed to his granddaughter Clotilda, wife of Sir Edward Hoare of Annabella, Mallow, and so into the Hoare family when it became the property of Sir Joseph Hoare. "The Hoare family disposed of Carrigrohan Castle and lands some score of years ago."<sup>11</sup>

Thus the granddaughter of "Col. Wallis" came to be the wife of the Governor of Pennsylvania and, through his grandson's descendants, linked with the Quaker family of Hoare—two unexpected results to come from the first contacts of "Col. Wallis" and William Penn.

AMY E. WALLIS

<sup>9</sup> Richard Hayward, *Munster and the city of Cork*, 1964, p. 27. This volume includes references to Quaker interests in Munster, and especially Newtown School, Waterford, where the author went to school.

<sup>10</sup> *Irish Journal*, pp. 51-2.

<sup>11</sup> Cork Historical and Archaeological Society *Journal*, 1962, p. 50.

## Quaker Weavers at Newport, Ireland, 1720-1740

SEVERAL times in the eighteenth century new Irish Quaker communities suddenly came into existence through the migration of a number of Friends into an area at the same time. This was true, for example, in the case of both the Timahoe Meeting, in County Kildare, and its American offshoot in Camden, South Carolina.<sup>1</sup> One of the more interesting and least-known examples of this type of development is seen in the sudden appearance in 1720 of a small group of Quakers at Newport in County Mayo, near the N.E. corner of Clew Bay on the west coast of Ireland. Its rapid departure to County Roscommon in the winter of 1739-1740 was equally striking. A brief reference to the existence of this Quaker settlement is found in Grubb's *Quakers in Ireland*,<sup>2</sup> but one is still left with many questions. Why did these Friends come to Newport? From where did they come? What was life in Newport like for them? Why did they leave? These and still other questions inspired the research and effort which have produced this present study.<sup>3</sup>

It was Captain Pratt's establishment of a colony of linen weavers at Ballyvaughan, or Newport, in 1719 which brought the Quaker settlement into existence. Whether or not Pratt purposely recruited Friends as such is unknown, although at this very same time there were a number of large landholders seeking *Quaker* tenants for their farms. A 1725 letter from Ireland reports that,

Many very considerable Men in this Country, that have great Quantities of Land to set, do very much covet to have Friends for their Tenants; for many of our Friends have been so dilligent and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kenneth L. Carroll, "The Irish Quaker Community at Camden," *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, LXXVII (1976), pp. 69-83.

<sup>2</sup> Isabel Grubb, *Quakers in Ireland, 1654-1900* (London, 1927), p. 94. Cf. Isabel Grubb, "Social Conditions in Ireland in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries as Illustrated by Early Quaker Records" (M. A. Thesis, University of London, 1916), p. 61, where she wrongly states that most of this Newport group was from Drogheda. A typescript copy of the thesis is to be found in Friends House Library, London, while the original hand-written text is in Friends Historical Library, Eustace Street, Dublin.

<sup>3</sup> I wish to express my appreciation to Olive Goodbody and her staff at Friends Historical Library, Dublin, for their kind assistance in making available to me the various documents which I required in the summer of 1976.

industrious, and have made such fine Improvements upon the Farms that they have taken, and have also been so punctual in paying their Rents, that they are very much respected by their Landlords.<sup>4</sup>

Most of the Friends who settled at Newport came from Ulster, with the majority of them having belonged to Rathfryland Meeting in County Down. Among these were the young families of John and Jane Peck, William and Jane McGae [MaGae], John and Margaret McGae, Robert and Margaret Taylor, and Thomas and Elizabeth McClung.<sup>5</sup> They were joined by Joseph and Mary Evans (formerly of Dunclady Meeting, County Derry) and other members of the Evans family.<sup>6</sup>

Thomas McClung, carrying a certificate from Lurgan Monthly Meeting, had originally set out for America but was soon shipwrecked. Eventually he reached Dublin where, being in poor health, he resided with Paul Johnson. In September 1720 he notified Dublin Friends that he intended to live on Captain Pratt's land at Ballyvaughn [Newport] in County Mayo. Dublin Quakers expressed their sorrow that he had not "advised" with them earlier, but since he had gone so far in his negotiations with Pratt they wished him well, expressed their hope for his "preservation", and advised him to "be careful in his conversation". They also gave him fifty shillings from the legacy of Samuel Baker, since McClung had been ill much of the time he had been in Dublin.<sup>7</sup> Thomas was soon joined at Newport by his wife Elizabeth whom he had married at Rathfryland Meeting in 1714.<sup>8</sup>

It was probably the presence of McClung at Newport which helped prepare the way for several Leinster Quaker

<sup>4</sup> Benjamin Holme, *A Collection of the Epistles and Works of Benjamin Holme* (London, 1753), p. 45.

<sup>5</sup> Moate Monthly Meeting Record of Births, Marriages, and Deaths, I (1660-1782), 79, 81, 82, 83, 84, 89. This volume is labelled H.1; cf. Olive C. Goodbody, *Guide to Irish Quaker Records, 1654-1860* (Dublin, 1967). These original manuscript records are at Friends Historical Library, Eustace Street, Dublin.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, H.1, 85.

<sup>7</sup> Minutes of Dublin Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1716-1724 (D. 15), for 20th of 7th Month, 1720. These manuscript records are at Friends Historical Library, Dublin, and are hereafter referred to as Dublin Monthly Meeting Minutes.

<sup>8</sup> Albert Cook Myers, *Immigration of the Irish Quakers into Pennsylvania, 1682-1750* (Swarthmore, Pa. 1902), p. 353.

families to join the Newport group. Early in March 1721 it was learned that William Sutcliffe and his family of Drogheda were about to depart for Newport, and some other Drogheda Friends were reported as "seeming to Encline that way". Before Dublin Monthly Meeting Friends could meet with Sutcliffe, he and his family had already removed to Connaught, but the other Drogheda Quakers decided to remain where they were for the present. The Monthly Meeting appointed Joseph Gill, Paul Johnson, and Peter Judd to write to Sutcliffe "and advise him to be very careful how he takes up money from Capt Prat[t] & be frugal & sparing in laying out money Either on Building or otherwise".<sup>9</sup> In 1722 Joseph Kelly and his wife removed from Dublin to Newport, after Dublin Friends had corresponded with Friends in Newport about the possibility of his earning a livelihood for his family there (not having done so well previously in Dublin).<sup>10</sup> It is not known whether any other Leinster Friends removed to Newport, although it is quite clear that none came from Munster.<sup>11</sup> Other members of the Newport Quaker colony (probably most of them being from Ulster) included Henry Lipscomb, Robert Hennen [Hainan, Henon], John Cantrell and family, Patrick McGae [McGaw, Maga, etc.] and family.

From Irish Quaker records still extant a partial picture of the religious life of this Newport Friends community can be recovered. From the first they held meetings for worship, both on First Days [Sundays] and week days. They were to some degree under the care of Moate Monthly Meeting, whose constituent meeting at Ballymurray in County Roscommon was the nearest one to Newport. Certificates of removal were received by Moate Monthly Meeting. The National Half-Year's Meeting, in May 1721, recommended that Leinster Province Meeting (to which Moate Monthly Meeting belonged) take the needed care of Newport Friends and that

<sup>9</sup> Dublin Monthly Meeting Minutes, D. 15, minutes for 7th of 1st Month, 1720/1 and 21st of 1st Month, 1720/1. There is no evidence that any more Drogheda Friends moved to Newport.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, D. 15, minutes for 21st of 6th Month, 1722. Cf. certificate for Joseph Kelly and family to Newport, in Moate Monthly Meeting Minutes, H. 8, no page number, dated 4th of 7th Month, 1722.

<sup>11</sup> The Epistle from Munster Quarterly Meeting dated 15th of 2nd Month, 1728, so states this. Cf. The National Book for Recording Epistles and Papers from the Three Provinces, etc., 1708-1737 (A. 20), pages unnumbered.

"Friends of Ulster be not wanting on their part".<sup>12</sup> Throughout the life of this community the National Meeting felt a special responsibility for its welfare and extended whatever aid—both spiritual and material—was needed.

From the very beginning Newport Quakers experienced some disabilities because of their religious beliefs. In 1721 Henry Lipscombe, who had suffered "to a considerable value by accident of fire", was refused "relief by way of Brief" *because he was known to be a Quaker*. A collection was, therefore, taken up in all Monthly and Particular Meetings, and about £42 was sent to him by his fellow Quakers.<sup>13</sup> Quaker testimony against tithes and a paid ministry led to distrains for tithes in 1722 and 1723, when David Costelow (on behalf of "John Birmingham Priest") took sheaves of oats from many Friends to satisfy these demands.<sup>14</sup> A 1736 epistle from Newport Friends to the National Meeting reported great sufferings for the same reason.<sup>15</sup>

Although Newport Friends do not appear to have had a meeting house (probably meeting for worship in their homes instead), they very early experienced the need of a burial ground of their own. Robert and Margaret Taylor buried their daughter Elizabeth early in December 1721, with William and Jane McGae burying their daughter Elizabeth twelve days later. Thomas McClung's wife Elizabeth died in 1722, while Joseph and Mary Kelly and Joseph and Mary Evans lost daughters in 1723.<sup>16</sup> In 1723 Dublin Friends learned from Joseph Kelly, who was in that city for a short time, that the "writing for the Burying place at Newport belonging to Friends [was] not [yet] perfected".<sup>17</sup> Paul Johnson and Samuel Fuller were appointed to get it done "this day" or before Kelly "go out of town homeward". By

<sup>12</sup> National Meeting Proceedings, 1708-1757 (A. 3), minutes for 8th to the 11th of 3rd Month, 1721.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, minutes for 8th to 11th of 3rd Month, 1721.

<sup>14</sup> Leinster Province Records, Tithes 1719-1723 (B. 8), 1722 Sufferings for County Mayo list Patrick Gae [McGae], John Peck, Robert Taylor, and John Gae as suffering; 1723 cases included William Sutcliffe, Thomas McClung, Patrick Gae, John Peck, Robert Taylor, and Joseph Kelly.

<sup>15</sup> The National Book for Recording Epistles and Papers from the three Provinces, 1708-1739 (A. 20), letter of 17th of 2nd Month, 1736, signed by Patrick Maga [McGae], John Peck, John Maga, Robert Taylor, Robert Hennen, and William Maga.

<sup>16</sup> Moate Births, Marriages, and Deaths (H. 1), 80, 81, 82, 83, 85.

<sup>17</sup> Dublin Monthly Meeting Minutes (D. 15), minutes for 10th of 7th Month, 1723.

1725 it was felt that this burial place needed enclosure, with Leinster Province Meeting giving £4 for that purpose.<sup>18</sup> In 1731 it was discovered that Newport Friends still did not have a lease on the burial ground, so that Dublin Friends were asked to assist them in that matter.<sup>19</sup> In 1736 there was great concern that John Cantrell (who had been “testified against” by Newport Friends some years earlier) still had possession of the lease. A committee was therefore appointed to attempt to get him to surrender it to Friends.<sup>20</sup>

Some time after the Newport Quaker community came into existence it was felt that there should be some form of “church government” provided for Friends’ use—even though they were too few in number and too far removed from the nearest Monthly Meeting for the usual pattern to be applied. In November 1724 the National Half-Year’s Meeting decided that when specially appointed Friends from Leinster, Munster, or Ulster Provinces visited Newport Quakers (on a fairly regular schedule), these visiting Friends and “such Friends of Newport that are Qualified to sit in Men’s Meetings, [are to] Hold a man’s meeting there for the management of Religious affairs and keeping up Truth’s Testimony, and their proceedings to be entered of Record in a Book to be prepared for that Purpose”.<sup>21</sup> Exactly one year later women Friends at Newport were given the right of holding a Women’s Meeting when visiting Friends were present.<sup>22</sup> At this time in 1725 it was agreed that if any should “contemplate” marriage, the first presentation should be to the Newport Meeting, the second to Moate Monthly Meeting, and the third to Leinster Province Meeting.<sup>23</sup> The first such Quaker marriage in Newport took place shortly thereafter, in First Month 1725/6, when Thomas McClung and Elizabeth Evans were married. After having declared their intentions of marriage once before a Men’s Meeting and a Women’s

<sup>18</sup> Leinster Province Meeting Minutes, II (B. 2), 292. Paul Johnson was asked to send the money to Newport.

<sup>19</sup> National Meeting Proceedings (A. 3), minutes for 8th to 10th of 9th Month, 1731.

<sup>20</sup> Leinster Province Meeting Minutes, II (B. 2), 456. The committee was composed of John Ashton, Jonathan Barnes, and Jerry Hanks. What success they had has not been ascertained.

<sup>21</sup> National Meeting Proceedings (A. 3), minutes for 8th to 11th of 9th Month, 1724. No such record book is known today.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, minutes for 8th to 11th of 9th Month, 1725.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

Meeting at Newport and once before Moate Monthly Meeting, they received permission from Leinster Province Meeting to accomplish their marriage at Newport (where their marriage was to be published twice in a public meeting). The marriage itself was to be under the care of Moate Monthly Meeting, with the assistance of Ballymurray Friends of County Roscommon.<sup>24</sup> The marriage then took place at a meeting for worship the 23rd of the 1st Month, 1725/6, with forty-seven witnesses signing the wedding certificate.<sup>25</sup> Among these witnesses were Benjamin Holme (well-known British travelling Friend who visited Newport Friends on several occasions) and Gershom Boate (of County Roscommon).<sup>26</sup>

Almost from the start of the Newport Quaker settlement Irish Friends felt a responsibility for providing religious visits to this isolated group. In May 1721 the National Half-Year's Meeting recommended that Leinster Province Friends take the necessary care of Newport Friends, and "that Friends of Ulster be not wanting on their part".<sup>27</sup> A few months later it was learned that they had been visited by Joseph Gill of Dublin and John Burton of Yorkshire, who were accompanied by a number of Friends from Moate Monthly Meeting.<sup>28</sup> They reported that they had "several meetings with Friends and [other] People, to good satis-

<sup>24</sup> Leinster Province Meeting Minutes, II (B. 2), 219 (minutes for 5th of 1st Month, 1725/6). It is not known whether there were any other Quaker weddings at Newport.

<sup>25</sup> Moate Births, Marriages, and Deaths [H.1], 195.

<sup>26</sup> Other witnesses, including the whole adult Newport Quaker community, were as follows: Joseph Evans, Mary Evans, Patrick McGae, Anne McClunn [McClung], Samuel Evans, John McGae, John Peck, William McGae, John Evans, Joseph McGill, Mary McGill, Mary Kelly, Jane Suttcliffe, Mary Suttcliffe, Elinor Cantrell, Kathrine Davis, Mary Kining (?), Elizabeth Cantrell, Deborah Evans, Mary Egger, John Suttcliffe, Henry Obrien, Margaret Birmingham, John Gee, John Clibborn, John Davis, Robert Richardson, Thomas Sanders, Dag (?) Bealy, George Farris, James Barington, Moses Evans, Hugh O'Donnell, Gerald Clark, Charles O'Donnell, Manus O'Donnell, William Suttcliffe, Thomas Todd, Samuel Larminie, Joseph Kelly, John Egger, John Cantrell, Jane Peck, Robert Henon (probably related to Thomas McClung's first wife who died in 1722), and Anne Birmingham. Several of these witnesses probably represented Moate Monthly Meeting and several others may possibly have been Ulster relatives.

<sup>27</sup> National Meeting Proceedings [A.3], minutes for 8th to 11th of 3rd Month, 1721.

<sup>28</sup> Leinster Province Meeting Minutes, II [B.2], 222. Joseph Gill (1674-1741) of Dublin travelled much in Ireland, made several religious visits to England and Scotland, and travelled on religious service in America in 1734-1736.

faction".<sup>29</sup> Shortly thereafter Newport Friends had a religious visit from Paul Johnson and John Stoddart of Dublin, who were accompanied by Philip Martin and Joseph Inman the younger.<sup>30</sup> A 1722 request by Newport Friends for more such visits led the National Meeting to ask the three Provincial Meetings to see that Newport Quakers were visited by ministers and elders. Soon they recommended that Connaught Friends have "seasonable visits", with Ulster and Leinster Friends appointing visitors to make the journey at least once each quarter.<sup>31</sup>

By May 1723 it was learned that Joshua Northall, Mungo Bewley, Gershom Boate, and John Pladwell (all of Leinster Province Meeting) had visited Newport. Later that same year several Ulster Friends, unnamed, made a similar visit. By May 1724 it was noted that Friends from all three Provinces had made one or more such visits.<sup>32</sup> Late in 1724 the National Meeting suggested a more definite visiting arrangement—with Leinster Friends being responsible for two visits each year, while Munster and Ulster were each responsible for one.<sup>33</sup> This scheme was accepted by all three Province Meetings and was faithfully carried out for the next several years. It was in conjunction with these visits that the Newport Men's Meetings and Women's Meetings for business were held.

In addition to these many visits by Irish Friends who were appointed by their Province Meetings, Newport Quakers also benefited from the presence of a number of British and American Friends who were travelling under religious concern. Among these were John Fothergill (1724), Benjamin Holme (1724, 1725, 1736), Edmund Peckover (1726), John Woodrow (1731), and Edward Tylee (1732) all

<sup>29</sup> National Meeting Proceedings (A. 3), minutes for 8th to 10th of 9th Month, 1721.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, minutes for 25th to 27th of 2nd Month, 1722. In addition to visiting Newport and Ballymurray Meetings in Connaught they also had several meetings among other people in that province "to good satisfaction". Paul Johnson (1682-1746) was a prominent Dublin Friend who travelled widely in Ireland and also paid a religious visit to America in 1731-1732.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, minutes for 25th to 27th of 2nd Month, 1722, and for 8th to 10th of 9th Month, 1722.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, minutes for 8th to 10th of 3rd Month, 1723; 8th to 11th of 9th Month, 1723; and 8th to 11th of 3rd Month, 1724. Leinster Friends who visited in 1724 included Joseph Gill, John Russell, and Benjamin Parvin.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, minutes for 8th to 11th of 9th Month, 1724.

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from England, and Susannah Morris (1731) and Arthur Jones (1732) from America. Fothergill, who accompanied Benjamin Holme to Newport in December 1724, notes that they

got the 26th to Newport, where there are a few Friends; we staid here several Days, and had three large Meetings in the Court-house to our Satisfaction, thro our Father's divine Help, many sober People coming in; And we had some good Service most of one whole Day among the few Friends there, whom we left in a good degree of nearness in the Love and Covenant of God, to whose heavenly Teaching and Help they were recommended.<sup>34</sup>

Most visiting Friends, especially if they were "public" or ministering ones, probably used much this same approach of open or general meetings to which the larger community might be invited and "select" meetings for the small Quaker constituency. Munster Friends, for example, reported that several of their numbers accompanied Benjamin Holme to Newport in 1725 and that they had several public meetings as well as holding, with Newport Friends, a "Men's meeting for the affairs of Truth among them".<sup>35</sup>

The winter of 1727-1728 proved very difficult for Newport Quakers who suddenly found themselves in great need of employment.<sup>36</sup> Soon they also met with further "discouragement as to a livelihood, by the failure of one Intrusted as the manager". John Cantrell, who had served as "manager" of their weaving enterprise, had seriously weakened the economic situation of the group. Cantrell was soon "testified against" for his failure, and another Friend was proposed as "manager".<sup>37</sup> Shortly after the National Meeting made known to others the financial needs of Newport Friends,

<sup>34</sup> John Fothergill, *An Account of the Life and Travels in the Work of the Ministry of John Fothergill* (London, 1753), pp. 222-223.

<sup>35</sup> Munster Province Epistles, Portfolio M II, number 120 (26th of 5th Month, 1725). These documents are at Friends Historical Library, Dublin. Munster Friends who travelled with Holme were Solomon Watson, Jonathan Hutchinson, and Edward Barwick. Paul Johnson and Philip Martin, both of Dublin, also accompanied Holme.

<sup>36</sup> National Meeting Proceedings (A. 3), minutes for 8th to 11th of 9th Month, 1727.

<sup>37</sup> Leinster Province Meeting Minutes II, (B. 2), 325 (17th of 12th Month, 1727) reports this development as well as a visit to Newport by Joseph Gill, Henry Brookfield, Jr., Alexander Shelby, and Robert Sinclair. It was probably at a Men's Meeting attended by these visiting Friends that John Cantrell was testified against.

Leinster and Munster Friends moved to assist them. Munster Friends gave £20 to help them. Leinster agreed to raise £41, and Ulster was asked to provide its proportional share. Friends proposed that some method be found to *employ* these weavers rather than simply giving them money.<sup>38</sup> It was in connection with this suggestion that Dublin Friends advanced them £20 of yarn and "wrought Lip".<sup>39</sup>

This financial difficulty soon made Newport Friends announce to the National Meeting that they would have to remove themselves for "want of livelyhood". They reported that most of their group who "are of ability" were inclined to transport themselves to America. The National Meeting responded that it could not recommend removal to America but advised that, as soon as they had cleared their incumbrances, they should move closer to other Irish Friends. Moate Monthly Meeting (drawing upon funds of the National Meeting) was asked to minister to their needs.<sup>40</sup> Several families, in spite of the advice of the National Meeting, emigrated to the New World—with those of Thomas McClung, Joseph Evans, and Samuel Evans moving to Pennsylvania in 1729.<sup>41</sup>

By late 1730 the somewhat reduced colony of Quaker weavers at Newport wrote that conditions had improved for some of them. They also spoke of a recent visit by some Leinster Friends and asked for the continuation of such visits which were now more important than ever.<sup>42</sup> Early in 1731 they were visited by Susannah Morris (an American Friend who had recently been shipwrecked on the coast of Ireland) and John Woodrow of Woodbridge in England. It

<sup>38</sup> Munster Epistles, Portfolio M II, number 140 (8th of 11th Month, 1727); National Meeting Proceedings (A. 3), minutes for 8th to 11th of 3rd Month, 1728. Ulster Province appears not to have responded with assistance.

<sup>39</sup> Dublin Monthly Meeting Minutes, 1724-1733 (D. 16), minutes for 9th of 2nd Month, 1728. The epistle from Leinster Quarterly Meeting to the National Half-Year's Meeting, dated 6th of 3rd Month, 1728, reported that Dublin Friends had advanced £25 *to give work* to Newport Friends.

<sup>40</sup> National Meeting Proceedings (A. 3), minutes for 8th to 12th of 9th Month, 1728.

<sup>41</sup> Myers, *Immigration of the Irish Quakers into Pennsylvania, 1682-1750*, pp. 353, 354, 355. It seems probable that the Sutcliffe family also removed from Newport about this same time (either to some other American colony or to some other section of Ireland).

<sup>42</sup> National Meeting Proceedings (A. 3), minutes for 8th to 11th of 9th Month, 1730.

was then learned that those Friends who were still in Newport were likely to remain there rather than removing either to America or to some other part of Ireland.<sup>43</sup> Soon Newport Quakers were reporting that "an openness appears in people thereaway to hear the Doctrine and Testimony of Truth declared", and once again asked for visits.<sup>44</sup> In 1732 religious visits were made by Arthur Jones of America and, a bit later, by Edward Tylee of Bristol, both of whom were accompanied by Leinster Friends. It was learned from these visits that Newport Friends were "in a hopeful condition in the Truth and a more likely way of getting a living than formerly and that there is an openness in people there and also at Castlebarr to hear the Testimony of truth declared". Friends in the ministry and others "Capable of ministering help & Encouragement" were asked to visit them.<sup>45</sup>

Late in 1733 Joseph Gill of Dublin received a certificate to visit Friends meetings in Connaught (at Ballymurray and Newport) and to appoint meetings in such parts of that Province or elsewhere as way opened.<sup>46</sup> Accompanied by James Pim, Daniel Huson [Hewson], and Richard Jessop, he visited Newport in December 1733 and had several meetings for worship and one for discipline with Newport Friends—finding them "in a hopeful way, both as to Truth & supporting their families by their lawfull employments, and also that there is a great openness thereaway & in other parts of that Province to hear the Testimony of Truth declared".<sup>47</sup> 1735 visitors John Russell and Robert Sinclair, accompanied by James Byrn, found Newport Friends "in a lively frame of spiritts & of good repute among their Neighbours and very desirous of Friends visitts more frequently".<sup>48</sup>

Newport Friends began to think quite seriously, early in 1736, about the possibility of removing from County Mayo.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, minutes for 8th to 11th of 3rd Month, 1731. Some Leinster Friends accompanied both of these visiting ministers to Newport.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, minutes for 8th to 10th of 9th Month, 1731.

<sup>45</sup> Munster Epistles from National Meeting, Portfolio M I, number 28 (8th to 10th of 9th Month, 1732).

<sup>46</sup> Dublin Monthly Meeting Minutes (D. 16), minutes for 13th of 9th Month, 1733.

<sup>47</sup> Munster Epistles from National Meeting, Portfolio M I, number 30, reports that wherever Gill and his companions travelled the people were "generally kind and ready to give places & conveniences for meetings".

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, Portfolio M I, number 33 (8th to 11th of 9th Month, 1735). This visit appears to have been in June.

In a letter to the National Meeting they reported that they were being visited by John Hancock and John Turner (both of Ulster), the first visit received since the previous June. They expressed the need for more such visits now—reporting that they were “more needful to us than formerly by reason of our youth growing up: our concern for them being such that they might be Preserved [in the Truth]”. Most Newport Friends had been young couples with small children or just starting their families when they had moved to Newport in 1720. By the mid-1730s, however, it was a growing concern that some, now being in a marriageable state, might “run out”. The few Quaker families remaining in Newport were so closely related that there could be no marriages within the group, “which is of great trouble to us”. They therefore requested that other Friends might propose a way for them to be brought near the “Body of Friends”. They also reported that they were experiencing great sufferings at the hands of a “tythe monger, whose oppression seems to grow, without much appearance of Relief”.<sup>49</sup>

A second 1736 letter from Newport Friends, some six months later, noted that “The few of us, that remains here, remains in love and the [spiritually] Living among us can say we are near one to another.” They also reported that their meetings for worship, both First Day and Week Day, were pretty well kept up. An addendum contained the information that they had recently been visited by Benjamin Holme (accompanied by Benjamin Wilson, Joseph Boardman, and Thomas Siggins) and even more recently by Elizabeth Tomey and Frances Knight (both of Cork) and Samuel Pearce and Janes Tomey (of Limerick).<sup>50</sup>

Holme and the Irish Friends who had accompanied him to Newport reported to Leinster Friends that the Newport brethren were in poor financial circumstances and expressed their belief that “if they had full work at their Looms they Could Maintain their Families, so that if about sixty pounds

<sup>49</sup> The National Book for Recording Epistles and Papers from the Three Provinces, 1708–1739 (A. 20), letter dated 17th of 2nd Month, 1736. The letter was signed by Patrick Maga, John Maga, William Maga, John Peck, Robert Taylor, and Robert Hennen.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, A. 20, letter dated 30th of 8th Month, 1736, and signed by Patrick McGaw [Maga, McGee, Gae], John Peck, and Robert Taylor. Holme’s visit was in the summer of 1736. Cf. Leinster Province Meeting Minutes, II (B. 2), 456.

could be raised for them to employ themselves without Diminishing their principal Sum" it would be very helpful. Leinster Friends in August 1736 expressed the hope that the National Meeting could raise this amount and offered to provide £35 of that sum themselves. Joseph Gill, Benjamin Dawson, and John Stoddard were asked to write to Munster and Ulster Friends to acquaint them with the great need of Newport Friends and what Leinster Friends had voluntarily accepted as their share of the desired relief funds.<sup>51</sup> Some Newport Friends, whose names are unknown, attended the National Meeting in November of 1736. A committee met with them to "inspect into their condition" and reported back to the National Meeting that there was no "present prospect" of constant employment—so that they would need assistance. The National Meeting therefore allotted £25 for this purpose, with Leinster's share being £13:15:00.<sup>52</sup>

No information for 1737 is available, but in 1738 Newport Friends were visited by Samuel Stephens, Samuel Pearson, Richard Jessop, and James Burn [Byrn] who reported them to be "in low circumstances in the [things of the] world, yet they think they are worthy of the Notice and visits of Friends". They were also said to want to remove from Newport and desired that Friends "Enquire out for Places for them".<sup>53</sup> It was their intention to settle *closer* to other Friends.<sup>54</sup> During this closing period of their stay in Newport they received from Dublin Friends three copies of Robert Barclay's *Apology*, one copy of David Hall's *Epistle*, and the relevant parts of the Proceedings of the last National Half-Year's Meeting.<sup>55</sup>

By May 1739 it was reported that Newport Friends had taken land in County Roscommon, where they would be much closer to Ballymurray Friends. They would not, how-

<sup>51</sup> Leinster Province Meeting Minutes, II (B. 2), 458. Within Leinster Province the following quotas were assigned: Moate Monthly Meeting £3:06:00; Mountmellick £5:07:03; Edenderry, £3:00:06; Carlow, £5:18:03; Wexford, £3:00:06; Wicklow, £0:16:06; Dublin, £11:11:00.

<sup>52</sup> National Meeting Proceedings (A. 3), minutes for 8th to 10th of 9th Month, 1736. Cf. Leinster Province Meeting Minutes, II (B. 2), 463.

<sup>53</sup> Leinster Province Meeting Minutes, II (B. 2), 495 (1st of 5th Month, 1738).

<sup>54</sup> National Meeting Proceedings (A. 3). minutes for 8th to 11th of 9th Month, 1738.

<sup>55</sup> Dublin Monthly Meeting Minutes, 1735-1742 (D. 17), minutes for 23rd of 3rd Month, 1738, and 6th of 4th Month, 1738.

ever, be able to remove there until they could dispose of their "present Interest" at Newport; therefore John Barclay and Paul Johnson were asked to help them settle with their landlord.<sup>56</sup> In the winter of 1739-1740 the Newport Quaker community finally ceased to exist, for its members transported themselves to the neighborhood of the town of Roscommon—experiencing great hardship in removing, as a result of the "extemity of the weather". Since they were now properly within the bounds of Moate Monthly Meeting they received financial help from Moate (at the request of Leinster Province Meeting) which was in turn repaid from the funds of the National Meeting.<sup>57</sup> A committee, with representatives from all three Province Meetings, met with these resettled Friends in the summer of 1740 and finding them still in need, advanced them an additional £13.<sup>58</sup> Further help was given to them the following year also.<sup>59</sup> Soon, however, they settled in and made a new life for themselves in County Roscommon, with some of them remaining there the rest of their lives.<sup>60</sup>

KENNETH L. CARROLL

<sup>56</sup> National Meeting Proceedings, A. 3, minutes for 8th to 10th of 3rd Month, 1739.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, A. 3, minutes for 8th to 11th of 3rd Month, 1740.

<sup>58</sup> Leinster Province Meeting Minutes, II (B. 2), 526, 529. Those who visited them were John Russell, John Gee, William Lightfoot, William Sprowles, James Byrn, and Thomas Siggins. Cf. Munster Epistles from the National Meeting, Portfolio M I, number 43.

<sup>59</sup> Munster Epistles from the National Meeting, Portfolio M I, number 44.

<sup>60</sup> Moate Births, Marriages, and Deaths (H. 1), 79 lists the burial of John Peck at Ballymurray in 1772, and p. 84 reports the death of John McGae in 1766.

In the list of theses under the heading of "Research on Irish history in Irish universities, 1975-6" in *Irish historical studies*, vol. 20, no. 77, March 1976, the following appears as being in progress:

Thomas Greer of Dungannon, 1724-1803: quaker linen merchant. By J. W. McConaghy. For Ph.D. Q.U.B. (Professor D. W. Harkness).

## John Whiting and Sarah Hurd

**A**N article by Ethel Crawshaw on the marriage of John Whiting and Sarah Hurd appeared in this journal in 1915 (*Jnl. FHS*, 12, p. 90–94). John was a prisoner at Ilchester from 1679 until the general release in 1686. In his *Persecution Exposed*<sup>1</sup> he describes a visit with Sarah to Bristol in 7th month 1683; he had had “drawings” in his mind towards her for “near half a year” before he disclosed this to her on their way homeward, “which she in due time received and closed with” (Whiting, p. 185). This was not the only visit to Bristol and elsewhere that John was able to make during his imprisonment. Sarah’s father, Thomas Hurd, was a fellow-prisoner; she herself was in prison from the 2nd of 2nd month 1684 until 4th of 4th month. With “keepers” such as Giles Bale and Edward Davis, confinement had very fluctuating rigours.

Ethel Crawshaw quotes two minutes of Ilchester M.M., dated the last of 5th mo. and the 28th of 6th mo. 1684, which refer to the proposal of marriage between John and Sarah. In the first, “it being questioned his intimacy formerly with Eliz: David”, Elias Osborne, Richard Lincolne and Jasper Batt were asked to speak with her and give an account at the next meeting. They found “that John Whiting did give sufficient ground of expectacon to Eliz: David to have had him to her husband . . . he hath gon out of truth and dun the said Eliz: great wrong therefore he ought to acknowledge and condemne the same”. (Her surname is also written as Davies.) It was referred to the next Monthly Meeting to be held on 30th of 8th month “when Eliz: David is to be present with John Whiting, face to face, unless friends can be other satisfied in the meane tine”.

These two minutes are found on sheets in the Dix MSS. (G.54) in Friends House Library, and appear to have been first drafts of the proceedings of these two meetings of Ilchester M.M. They are in Jasper Batt’s handwriting. In the

<sup>1</sup> Whiting’s account (dated 1696) was first published in 1715; quotations are from the second edition, 1791. Records of Somerset meetings are found at Street Friends’ Meeting House and at the Somerset Record Office, Obridge Road, Taunton.

normal way, they would have been copied into the minute book by John Anderdon, who was in prison from 1662 to 1672 and again from 1675 until his death. He had had a legal training, and his handwriting, fine and clear, appears in the minute books of both the Quarterly Meeting and Ilchester M.M. during much of his imprisonment. He died of ague in 1st mo. 1684/5 [March 1685] after six months' illness (Whiting, p. 279). He began to copy Jasper Batt's draft of the minutes of 5th mo. 1684 into the Minute Book, but never finished. He reached the bottom of a page before he reached the item dealing with John Whiting and Sarah Hurd's proposal of marriage. The next four pages are in a handwriting that seems to me to be John Whiting's own; the two items concerning John are omitted.

The most reasonable explanation of this omission seems to be that at, or before, the meeting held on 30th of 8th month 1684, either Elizabeth had withdrawn her claim to John, or the meeting had not supported her; but John was not entirely exonerated. This may have occurred before the relevant minutes were written into the book, so these were omitted from the record. John Whiting may have offered his help as a writer because by the end of 8th month John Anderdon was ill.

Ethel Crawshaw quotes a minute of the M.M. held in 12th mo. 1684-5 [February 1685], when the proposal of marriage was again put off, and one of 28th of 3 mo. 1685 when their proceedings were allowed. This minute, in Jasper Batt's handwriting, reads: "John Whiting haveing proposed his takeing Sarah Hurd of Long Sutton, daughter of Thomas Hurd to wife, there haveing bin a stop to the receiving of this proposeall for some reasons formerly, the meeting do now permittes the proposeall, And Its referd to Anne Ousley and Susan Perris and Robt Banton to make enquireys touching the clearenesse of Sarah Hurd, And its refer'd to the monethly meeting of the northerne parte of this County to Certifie in relation to John Whiting, In order to their proceeding."

The very next day, 29th of 3rd mo. the Northern M.M. met at Hallatrow, John was present, and Friends were appointed to enquire into his clearness. It was not until the 28th of 11th mo. 1685-6 [January 1686], eight months later, that the Northern M.M. agreed "to give him a sertificate that he is Cleare as far a[s] can be found or heard from all other

women in this part of the Country". The Monmouth Rebellion may have halted matters. The certificate was in cautious terms, and did not apparently cover anything that may have happened at Ilchester during his imprisonment there. His marriage took place "in a public meeting, appointed on purpose, the 20th of the 3d month, 1686" (Whiting, p. 341).

Quarterly Meeting held at Ilchester on 24 of 1st mo. 1686/7 [March 1687] condemned irregularities in John Whiting's proceedings in a minute quoted by Ethel Crawshaw, and which she found it not easy to understand. She had not seen two minutes of Ilchester M.M. which are very relevant. The first, on 27th of 11th reads:

According to the advice of the late quarterly meeting touching the evill consequence of slighting our meetings, and that none may put a slight esteeme thereon, and thereby walke disorderly, and cause devisions amongst us, but that such be watch't over, councelled, reproved and judged as in the wisdom of God shal be seen meet, And whereas John Whittings late marriage have occasioned devision amongst some Friends, and brought a great burthen and grieve on others, And now that the right ground of these things may be found out, This meeting do unanimously conclude, advise and order that John Whiting do not faile to be present at the next monthly meeting at Ivelchester, and that he bring with him, and produce to the meeting the Certificate of his Marriage with the names of all such as are subscribed thereunto, that the guilty may be found out, the innocent cleared, the burthened relieved, The judgment of trueth in all given and the lords name over all exalted, and that Robert Bannton or Roger Slocombe do give him timely notice hereof.

The second, of 24 of 12th Mo. 1686-7 reads:

The matter touching the manner of John Whittings marriage is referd to the next quarterly meeting and the Cert thereof being not produced according to the order of the last Monethly Meeting, it being aleadged by Jo: Whiting that his wife hath it in her custody and for severall reasons refuses to produce it to the Meeting, Its referd to Elias Osborne, Tho: Whitehead, and Robt Bannton to speake with his wife, And that the said Certificate, be produced at the quarterly meeting, unlesse his wife gives them sufficient reason to the contrary.

To this was added, after the Quarterly Meeting, "which she did". In the margin was the note: "Tho[mas] Whit[ehead] saying that there was nothing but truth writ and did not se that they should de anything further in it and at the Quarterly meet Jno sattisfied frds."

Quarterly Meeting had not been as well satisfied as

Thomas Whitehead suggested (John Whiting should have brought his certificate of clearness from the Northern M.M. to a meeting of Ilchester M.M. who would also have heard from the Friends appointed to enquire into Sarah's clearness, so that leave to proceed could have been properly given).

The Q.M. minute [21 March 1687] reads:

Touching the manner of John Whittings marriage, and his Certificate mentioning its being published in severall meetings of the people called Quakers, and Friends signing of it, as if it were in the unity of Friends, and the occasion of offence and devision thereby given amongst friends, and going to a place at such a distance from the place, where the said marriage had bin long in debate, (but never allowed by the Monethly Meeting) Friends of this Meeting do Judge it for condemnation; And that for the future no such president be followed by any Friends, and Jo: Whiting hath given forth a paper to condemne his practise therein which is on the fyle. And that not producing the said Certificate according to the order of the Monethly Meeting is for Judgement and a violation of this order, and an evil example for the future.

The marriage does not appear in Friends' registers, but this may be because the register of the particular meeting where it took place has been lost and not because Friends refused to recognize the marriage.

Who was Elizabeth David or Davies? Very possibly a daughter of Edward Davis the Keeper. She does not appear by name in *Persecution Exposed*, but there is much about him. "This Edward Davis, the keeper, formerly professed Truth, but apostatizing from it through the corruption of his own heart, he became exceeding wicked, as the sequel will show; insomuch, that a friend, John Dando, asking him 'what he thought would become of him when he came to die;' Edward Davis told him, that 'he knew what would become of him then, and therefore he would make the best of his time now' . . ." (Whiting, p. 41).

In the Spring of 1681/2, Giles Bale "being come in keeper of the prison, who was an angry peevish man, because I did not go out of the Friary (which belonged to Davis the former keeper, where I, with others, were prisoners) to his house at Bellispool, of my own accord . . . fetched me out, (against my will I confess, it being a pleasant prison to me) and put me down into the common-gaol" (Whiting, p. 118). During the

spring of 1682-3, according to his own account, he began to feel "drawings" towards Sarah Hurd, and when Edward Davis came back as Keeper in 12th Mo. 1683/4, John was living "at a friend's (the widow Scott's) house in the town, which had a fine garden and good conveniences" (p. 220). Sarah was in prison soon afterwards and both she and John were very hardly treated by Davis. When John was to be transferred to his care, "he threatened . . . that if I was not married before I came into his hands, I should not all his year, saying, He would lay me fast enough . . . my dear friend and I were separated, one at one end of the town, and the other at the other, and both under locks and bolts; the said Davis swearing desperately, as his manner was, that we should never come out or see one another again, all his time" (p. 229). Sarah's imprisonment was soon over.

Davis came to a sad end, as did many other persecutors of Quakers. "He grew very poor, though he used to boast of giving two hundred guineas for the gaol, and then oppress the poor prisoners to get it out of them again: it all wasted away; and after his wife died, (who was an honest Friend, and so were some of his daughters, though he almost distracted them with his wickedness) he dwelt alone, for his daughters could not live with him, only one of his bastards, that used to break hedge and steal wood for him for fire; but what they did for victuals, I cannot tell" (p. 325).

Frances Davies, his wife, died a Friend in 1682. Mary Davies of Long Sutton seems to have been homeless in 1688; Joseph Gaylerd and she had 'gon to live togeather alone in one house'; he was told that "his duty was first to have had Friends advice before he had extended such his pittty to the maide" (South Somerset M.M., 29, ix, 1688). She married Giles Knight of Chiselborough in 1690. She may have been a daughter of Edward.

As to John Whiting, his "pleasant prison" at the Friary which belonged to Edward; Edward's vindictiveness towards him and Sarah when John's interest in Sarah was manifest; and possibly a lasting respect for Elizabeth as an "honest Friend"—all these suggest that an attachment had existed between the young prisoner and the Keeper's daughter, which he felt it unwise to reveal in his memoirs.

STEPHEN C. MORLAND

## Historical Documents at Friends' Meeting House, Lancaster

**L**ANCASTER Meeting House attained tercentenary in 1977. The Meeting's unbroken existence over these three centuries can be charted in the extraordinarily rich collection of documents stored in two safes at the Meeting House. These documents at Meeting House Lane, Lancaster, have bearing on many important aspects of Friends' history: for example, demography and genealogy; fund-raising, philanthropy and building; Friends' involvement with commerce and industry; and Friends' organization and transatlantic connections. I would like to single out just two areas of historical and religious interest. The first is the highly developed articulacy which many of these documents show Friends to have possessed over the course of three hundred years. Quite ordinary men and women—and not just in the early days of intense revivalism—showed a mastery of Scripture and an ability vividly and spontaneously to express profound spiritual insights.

The second area is that of Sufferings. Whether Friends underwent spectacular persecution, or the more prolonged and exhausting tithe prosecutions, they showed remarkable fortitude and solidarity, and also an undimmed realization of the purpose of their sufferings.

In general terms the Lancaster documents form a sustained testimony to the acute spiritual consciousness of a religious society made up on the whole of socially and educationally unexceptional men and women. "For ye see your calling, brethren, how that not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, are called: But God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty" (I Cor. 1: 26–27).

The papers and record books at Lancaster have recently been arranged and shelved in serial order, and each envelope of papers has been given a number in accordance with this order. The Meeting House has a number of typescript copies of a full and detailed inventory which itemises, and briefly

describes the contents of, most documents. For reasons of space here I can do no more than refer very briefly to the full inventory to indicate some of the contents of the two safes.

Safe 1 (Porch Room): Record Books

Shelf A-B: Minute Books, etc. 1654-1970

Shelf C: Register Books, etc. c. 1650-1973

Shelf D: Loose plans and maps. 18th-20th centuries.

Safe 2 (Foyer): Packets of papers

[Including:] Lancashire Q.M. papers and minutes, 17th-20th centuries; answers to Queries [mid 18th cent.-mid 19th cent.] from the following monthly meetings: Fylde, Hardshaw (and Hardshaw East and West when divided), Lancaster, Marsden, Preston, Swarthmore [Shelf A xiv-xxvi]; Manley-Crossfield correspondence 1834-1837 [A xxviii];

Lancaster M.M. letters and papers, 17th-20th centuries; marriage certificates, 1671-1803 [Shelf B xii]; sufferings papers for all the monthly meetings, 17th to early 19th centuries [B xvi-xxiv];

Lancaster M.M. (chiefly) finance papers, from 1692 [Shelf C i, etc.], including papers and plans for building work at Lancaster M.H. 1789-90 [C vi], at Wyresdale schoolmaster's house 1861-2 [C vii]; and papers relative to the Friends' School, Lancaster, and to Friends' education, 17th-19th centuries [C xiv].

Copies of the typescript inventory can be obtained, on payment of £1, from me at the Department of History, Furness College, University of Lancaster, Lancaster, LA1 4YG, or from Ralph Randles, 6 Hillside, Lancaster.

MICHAEL MULLETT

## Reports on Archives

**T**HE Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts *Accessions to repositories and Reports added to the National Register of Archives*, 1975 (Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1976. £2.25), reports the following additions to the manuscript collections in various institutions which may interest workers on Quaker history:

Brotherton Library, University of Leeds, Leeds, LS2 9JT.

Ford family, of Leeds, and Pease family, of Leeds and Westbury-on-Trym, Bristol; documents. 19th–20th cent.

National Library of Ireland, Kildare Street, Dublin 2.

Douglas Hyde: corresp. and literary MSS., c. 1900–1920.

National Library of Scotland, George IV Bridge, Edinburgh, EH1 1EW.

Joseph Bevan Braithwaite: corresp. and papers rel. to David Livingstone, 1852–1914.

Library of the Religious Society of Friends, Friends House, Euston Road, London NW1 2BJ.

Anna Braithwaite of Kendal, daughter of Samuel Lloyd the banker: letters received, 1801–52 (Temp. MSS. 114).

Silvia Cowles, physiotherapist and relief worker: corresp. and papers 1918–22 (Temp. MSS. 198).

Richard Smith (1784–1824): journals in America, England and the Gambia, 1818–24 (Temp. MSS. 120).

Bristol Record Office, The Council House, College Green, Bristol, BS1 5TR.

Thomas Goldney (addnl.): merchant's ledger, 1681–90.

Cumbria Record Office, The Castle, Carlisle, CA3 8UR.

Carr & Co Ltd, biscuit mfrs., Carlisle (addnl.): 44 scrapbooks of sample labels, advertising materials and photographs, 1870–20th cent.

Dorset Record Office, County Hall, Dorchester, DT1 1XJ.

Calcraft of Rempstone (addnl.): incl. letters from John Bright, etc., 1860–74.

Penney family of Poole: papers, incl. accounts for voyage to Newfoundland, 1763–77; Quaker birth and marriage certificates, 1780–1832; partnership in coal and clay shipping business, 1806.

Hereford County Record Office, The Old Barracks, Harold Street, Hereford, HE1 2QX.

Society of Friends: papers rel. mainly to the First Day Adult School in Hereford, early 20th cent.

Greater London Record Office (Middlesex Section), 1 Queen Anne's Gate Buildings, Dartmouth Street, London SW1H 9BS.

Howard and other related Quaker families: addnl. corresp. and papers, 1786–1915.

Birmingham Public Libraries, Reference Library, Birmingham, B3 3HQ.

Midland Adult Schools Union: minute books, 1884–1959.

Severn Street First Day Schools Mutual Aid Society and Provident Sick Society: cash books, 1892–1928; minute books, 1868–1942.

East Sussex Record Office, Pelham House, St Andrews Lane, Lewes, BN7 1UN.

Beard family of Rottingdean: family and estate papers and material on Quakers and Rottingdean area, 16th–20th cent.

Tyne and Wear County Archives Department, 109 Pilgrim Street, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE1 6QF.

Richardson and Balkwill families: personal papers, 19th–20th cent.

Sheffield Central Library, Surrey Street, Sheffield, S1 1XZ.

Society of Friends, Balby Monthly Meeting and Sheffield Preparative Meeting: minutes, registers, accounts, title and trust deeds of charities, meeting houses, etc., 1673–1925.

Leeds Archives Department, Chapeltown Road, Sheepscar, Leeds, LS7 3AP.

William Ventress, undertaker, Gildersome: records, 1875–1927.

Gwent County Record Office, County Hall, Cwmbran, NP4 2XH.

Society of Friends burial ground, Shirenewton: deeds, 1700–1975.

Among the Reports listed are:

19449 York: The Retreat. *Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York*

19492 Kingsbridge Friends' Meeting: marriage agreement. *Devon RO*.

19634 Harford family, baronets, of Falcondale, Cardiganshire: corresp. and papers. *Bristol RO*

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Doncaster Metropolitan Borough Council, Library Service: Guide to the Archives Department. [1977].

Included are summaries of the papers of the Clark family of Frenchgate, Doncaster (DD.CL) comprising diaries and correspondence of the Clark family (William, Richard, Ann and Susanna Clark), Doncaster Temperance Society and Doncaster Peace Society minutes [period covered 1787–1880]; and the Warde–Aldam papers (DD.WA)—mainly papers of William Aldam (1813–1890) of Frickley Hall, and including his collection of pamphlets and Parliamentary papers, and material on the Society of Friends and various local charitable institutions.

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In the Scottish Record Office *List of gifts and deposits*, vol. 2 (Edinburgh, 1976. £4.50), p. 36, a couple of entries for documents in the Barclay Allardice Papers (GD.49) are as follows:

Letters (2 copies) from Robert Barclay of Ury concerning affirmation by Quakers, 1713.

Barclay and Allardice genealogical papers, c. 1700–1900 (including extracts from Quaker registers and papers concerning claim to the Airth peerage).

## “Friends and Relief”

*Quaker Encounters: Volume I. Friends and Relief.* John Ormerod Greenwood. (William Sessions Ltd. £4.50.)

In writing this book, J. Ormerod Greenwood has placed present and future generations of Friends under a considerable obligation. Here, in one well-researched volume, is the full story (within limits) of Quaker activities in relief. The limits which have been set are an editorial necessity; domestic relief work is excluded; so is any kind of relief in connection with the long battle against slavery; and though Friends of many nationalities figure in the story, it is told throughout from the point of view of London Yearly Meeting. To widen its scope would not only have made the theme unmanageable, it would have detracted gravely from the essential unity of the book.

The picture presented by Ormerod Greenwood is a balanced one. This is a record of achievement, sometimes of almost incredible achievement, but human failures, personal misunderstandings, and muddled thinking have their place in it. Sometimes these are indicated by a telling phrase, as when he writes of Quaker contacts with the Russian sects from 1815 to 1930: “The recurrent pattern of disappointment was due largely to political circumstances, and partly (since each party of Quaker visitors travelled in the same pristine innocence) to Quaker ignorance of the Russian set-up and of the nature of the sects.” One may suspect that Friends have since learnt in a hard school to mistrust that pristine innocence. He can record vividly the long and often heroic story of Quaker relief work in the Balkans, and yet confess soberly that “a spirit of frustration and anti-climax broods over Quaker efforts in the Balkans to the last”. And in his fascinating account of the little-known Quaker work in Finland, he includes in a footnote a comment which one suspects may be truer of Friends today than we like to think: “even the exemplary Quakers were often less tidy in terminating a project than enthusiastic in setting it up.”

Throughout the book, but more especially in the earlier chapters, individuals and groups come alive. Ormerod Greenwood does full justice to the Quaker Evangelicals and to the more conservative Friends, to the reforming zeal of the younger Friends at the turn of the century and to the many-patterned Quaker witness of the two World Wars. He also does justice to the deeply-concerned men and women who worked with Friends but who—like William Norcott and James Long, Emily Hobhouse, Francesca Wilson, and Judge Fell in an earlier day—never bore the name of “Friend”.

Ormerod Greenwood seldom fails to pick up the connection between the particular aspect of Quaker endeavour in question, and contemporary thought and development. In his admirable first chapter, he writes not only of the Quaker Evangelicals, but of the first Evangelical Revival and the Clapham sect. In his second, with its illuminating account of the little-known relief work carried out in

Germany from 1805 to 1816, he picks up the threads again in a telling paragraph.

"We are left with the question why the splendid ecumenical precedent of German relief in 1805-16 was never renewed until after the second World War; and several answers suggest themselves. The Evangelical Revival was a divisive force in the churches, and became more so as time went on and it was met by the High Churchmanship of the Oxford Movement and the beginnings of Christian Socialism. In the period of peace after Napoleon it concentrated on 'Foreign Missions', most of them denominational, and on domestic issues, and by the mid-century it had lost its force. The test case would be the work of Florence Nightingale in the Crimean War, for she was surely a child of the Evangelical Revival even though her personal faith was mystical; she received no communal backing comparable to that of 1814. But the real answer is perhaps that the German relief of 1814 was the work of a group of friends long accustomed to act together in the campaign against slavery, in the affairs of the Bible Society and many other matters; they shared much more than a set of doctrines. Their families remained together though their doctrines changed, and re-emerged as a still potent force in the twentieth century in Fabian Socialism and literary Bloomsbury. The Stephens, Buxtons, Trevelyan, Forsters, Hobhouses, and many more whom we shall meet again in these pages are physically and literally the children of the Evangelicals even though, as children should, they went their own way."

The stark tragedy of the Great Hunger in Ireland and of the succeeding years is brought home to the reader not only through descriptions of the scene, but through clear indications of the suffering and strain involved for those (all too few) who sought to bring relief. Ireland won their hearts and kept them to the end, but the sheer physical exhaustion resulting from their efforts and the psychological distress brought about by constant misunderstandings in the outside world sapped their strength and in some cases shortened their lives.

The chapter on the Franco-Prussian War brings to life the stories told to the present older generation in childhood by parents who as little children helped to make bandages and dressings in Meeting efforts forgotten long since. I can remember an aged Friend whose replies to comments on wintry weather would always be: "Not as cold as the winter of 1870, at the time of the Franco-Prussian War!" The origin of the Quaker Star, the colourful personalities, Quaker and non-Quaker, engaged in the work, the ghastly pictures of pestilence and famine and human suffering, are all dealt with here, together with the unexpected touches which bring the scene vividly to life—for instance, the picture of "a nurseryman handing in his list of losses: camellias, fuchsias, gardenias, orange trees, roses, geraniums and myrtles to the value of 5,000 francs . . . how such details bring to life, like a canvas of Renoir, the beauty of a century ago, shattered by war." Such a sentence, and many another, will serve to pinpoint the literary quality of the book, which is very considerable, though inevitably higher in the earlier chapters than in the later ones, where

the complexity and sheer weight of the available material militate against it.

The early chapter on Russia, with its illuminating study of Tolstoy and the Tolstoyans, and the repercussions of their ideas in Britain, is admirably balanced, and the story of the Dukhobors is told fairly and with charity, though here one inevitably longs to know more of the experience of Friends on the other side of the Atlantic. "It is always a disappointment to find that a community of saints are merely a mixed group of human beings," writes Ormerod Greenwood, and this discovery seems inevitably to recur in the long, fascinating story of Quaker Relief.

With the later chapters, the story swings into living memory, but with a prelude which may possibly be the most valuable part of the book. Ormerod Greenwood traces in the earlier pages of the chapter on Quakers in the First World War the origins of the spiritual re-awakening of the Society of Friends which enabled it, and especially its younger members, to meet the challenge of 1914 and the succeeding years. Though an entire book could be devoted to this theme, he gives a clear and reasoned account which within its scope is completely satisfying. One could wish that in his account of the Manchester Conference he could have found space to mention the reference to the Arts, which was to have its repercussions later on in an aspect of Quakerism of which he himself is an exemplary exponent, but doubtless this would have been outside the limits of his subject.

In his account of the work of the Friends Ambulance Unit during and after the Second World War, Ormerod Greenwood tells the story of a convoy in China, cut off from all contact with the outside world in the confusion which prevailed at the time. They had none of the "comforts of civilisation"; their clothes had gone long since and they wore the faded blue quilted cotton of the people; they had only four books between them—*War and Peace*, *Pickwick Papers*, *Vanity Fair* and the Bible—which they read aloud to one another in the evenings. Most of the bedding and medical supplies and equipment were gone. "As a medical unit they had lost most of their value," writes Ormerod Greenwood. "But they were a living witness to Quaker faithfulness and impartiality, and they were part of the birth-pangs of the new China."

Perhaps this sentence expresses as well as any other in the book the challenge it presents to Quakerism in our day. In so far as we can rise to meet such a challenge, may it yet prove to be a fitting epitaph for the puzzled, impoverished, striving, stubbornly idealistic Friends of our own day: "They were a living witness to Quaker faithfulness and impartiality, and they were part of the birth-pangs of the new world."

E.V.F.

## Notes and Queries

Sir PERCY ALDEN (1865-1944)

A biography of Sir Percy Alden, Christian socialist and M.P., appears in the *Dictionary of Labour biography*, vol. 3, by Joyce M. Bellamy and John Saville (Macmillan, 1976). Percy Alden joined Friends in 1901. This volume of the *Dictionary* also includes articles on the pacifist Frederick George Bing (1870-1948), and the artist Jessie Holliday Dana (1884-1915) who was educated at Polam Hall.

BERNARD BARTON

The sale catalogue of Bernard Barton's library is in vol. 9 of the series *Sale Catalogues of the Libraries of Eminent Persons*, 1974. In the sale were approximately 290 works in some 550 volumes, plus unbound periodicals and parts of illustrated books issued in parts. About thirty-five Friends' books can be identified from the catalogue, and there are another fifty or so of a religious nature. Most books in these categories are by familiar authors. Barton's wide literary connexions, and his great feeling for Wordsworth, Cowper, Scott and Crabbe, are not borne out by this catalogue which is thus something of a disappointment as a source of biographical material, as its editor, Roy Park, is ready to admit. A list of the books kept back from the sale by Barton's daughter Lucy is now needed to complement the catalogue.

DAVID J. HALL

FRANCIS BUGG

Geoffrey Nuttall has drawn attention to a letter from Humfrey Wanley at Oxford to Francis Bugg the energetic controversialist with Friends, in which Wanley invites the author to present his books to the Bodleian Library. The letter is printed in an article by P. L. Heyworth entitled "Humfrey Wanley and 'Friends' of the Bodleian, 1695-98" (*Bodleian Library record*, vol. 9, no. 4, June 1976, pp. 219-30).

The letter from Wanley is dated 6 April 1696, and reads ". . . I have seen your Book called The Quakers set in their true Light at the End of which is a Catalogue of 15 books more all written by you. The Quakers have allready presented us with Foxes Journal Barclays Works &c. [well] bound in the best Paper; I'me certain it would be extreamly well taken, if you would be pleased to send us your own Works, which are so capable of Instructing those who are desirous of hearing what can be said on both sides. Here they will be for ever preserved, & your Donation shal be particularly registred among the other Benefactions."

The letter produced the desired results. More than a score of Bugg's works are listed in the folio Bodleian Library catalogue of 1843. Similar appeals from Wanley to Thomas Crispe and George Keith were also successful.

## PETER COLLINSON

A chapter on "The Royal Society in America" in Alexandra Oleson and Sanborn C. Brown: *The pursuit of knowledge in the early American republic: American scientific and learned societies from colonial times to the civil war* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), has material concerning Peter Collinson the Quaker naturalist.

## ISAAC CREWDSON (1780-1844)

A letter from Isaac Crewdson, Ardwick, 5 i. 1835, to Jabez Bunting, asks him the favour of a review of his *Beacon* in the *Methodist Magazine*. The aim of the *Beacon* is described as being to promote amongst Friends recognition "of the paramount authority of the Holy Scriptures". The letter is printed in *Early Victorian Methodism: the correspondence of Jabez Bunting, 1830-1858*, edited by W. R. Ward (Oxford University Press, 1976), pp. 120-1, and it was brought to our attention by Geoffrey F. Nuttall.

The editor does not mention whether or not a review appeared in response to the author's application.

## ACHSAH (STORRS) DAVENPORT

*Bramall Hall: the story of an Elizabethan manor house*, by Eveline Barbara Dean (Stockport, 1977. £2.95) is a study of one of the most famous of Cheshire black and white houses, and the Davenport family which for centuries owned the property.

In the course of the narrative the author mentions the marriage of the Rev. Warren Davenport (d. 1749) who married Achsah daughter of Caleb and Elizabeth

Storrs of Stockport. Achsah's birth was registered in Friends' Cheshire registers 22 June 1711. She was baptized into the Church of England the day before her marriage. Joseph Marshall, a Doncaster Friend, was one of the legal guardians for her son William after her husband's early death.

The Hall was occupied by Wakefield Christy between 1869 and 1876, and a memorable fete in August 1872 celebrated the marriage of Wakefield Christy and Mary Elizabeth Richardson (dau. of Jonathan Joseph Richardson of Ireland).

FRANCIS WILLIAM FOX  
(1841-1918)

A letter from Francis William Fox seeking "some suitable American who could undertake the superintendence & management of our agricultural Industrial Mission which it is proposed to establish in one of the Islands of Zanzibar or Pemba", Westminster, 6 July 1896, is printed in *The Booker T. Washington Papers*, vol. 5, pp. 187-8.

"Being of Quaker descent, when the spirit moves, I must speak", so wrote Caroline H. Pemberton in 1897 (p. 268 in the same volume), conjuring up a vision of a well-concerned social worker.

## HADWEN FAMILY

Brian Loomes in his *Westmorland clocks and clockmakers* (David & Charles, 1974. £3.25) pp. 95-96, mentions the Hadwen family of clockmakers. They are traced back to Thomas Hadwen of Sedbergh in the 17th century. In 1737 Isaac Hadwen went to America on a visit, and died there.

## F. M. VAN HELMONT

"A Quaker-Kabbalist controversy: George Fox's reaction to Francis Mercury Van Helmont", by Allison Coudert (*Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 39, 1976, pp. 171-89) studies aspects of van Helmont's relations with Friends. The author concludes: "van Helmont's conversion to Quakerism was only an episode, albeit an important one, in his life."

## CHARLES LAMB

Charles Lamb's poem on the death of a young Quaker (Hester Savory) is reprinted (with the letter to Thomas Manning of 23 March 1803, with which it was sent) in the second volume of *The letters of Charles and Mary Anne Lamb* (Cornell University Press, 1976), pages 107-8.

## JOEL LEAN

"Two vanished Fishponds houses: a follow-up study", by H. Temple Phillips and C. Roy Hudleston (*Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, vol. 94, 1976, pp. 136-140) includes references to Joel Lean (d. 1856) and his school which he conducted from 1816 to 1837 at Upper Fishponds House, near Bristol.

There is a plate of the school. Bevan Lean said in 1931 that the school was wound up reputedly after an incident in which Joel Lean had boxed a boy's ear and inadvertently ruptured the drum.

## JOHN LOCKE

John Locke's hostility towards Friends is touched upon in an article in *The historical journal* (Cambridge), vol. 19, no. 3

(September 1976), pp. 581-610, entitled "James Tyrrell, whig historian and friend of John Locke", by J. W. Gough (Oriel College, Oxford). James Tyrrell wrote, "I never thought good morality or good manners can be suspected of Quakerism: and as for dresses and modes of clothes I think you are [too] much philosopher to think there is any morality or religion in them one way or another."

The author suggests that Locke might have been afraid that his "light of nature" might be confused with the "inward light" of George Fox.

## LUCRETIA COFFIN MOTT

"Lucretia Mott is the flower of Quakerism . . . She brings domesticity & common sense, & that propriety which every man loves, directly into this hurly-burly . . ." (*The journals and miscellaneous notebooks of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, vol. 11, 1975, p. 249. Anno 1850.)

## PEASE FAMILY

Robert Moore's *Pit-Men, Preachers & Politics* (1974) is about Methodism in a Durham mining community in which the Peases were major employers. He gives an account of the family's ideas of the employer's responsibilities in running Pease and Partners, their attitudes towards unions and the education of workers, their belief in arbitration and their encouragement of temperance and religion, whether Wesleyan, Methodist New Connexion or Baptist. The period especially covered by these references is between 1870 and 1900.

DAVID J. HALL

## DAVID RICARDO

Chapter IV "Love and marriage" in David Weatherall's *David Ricardo, a biography* (Martinus Nijhoff, 1976) deals with Ricardo's marriage to Priscilla, daughter of Edward Wilkinson, the Quaker surgeon of Bow in Middlesex. The marriage resulted in the disownment of Priscilla Ricardo, although she maintained contacts with the Society and births of children were registered with Friends. In six short pages we have the sketch of the marriage of Jew and Quaker at St. Mary's, Lambeth, on 20 Dec. 1793, which has the ring of truth and which one can feel confident is correct without the need of referring to the details of records and documents.

## ALYS RUSSELL

Ronald W. Clark's *The life of Bertrand Russell* (Jonathan Cape, 1975) includes an account of Russell's first marriage, to Alys Pearsall Smith, which took place at Westminster Meeting House on 13 December 1894. After the ceremony Russell settled down to "satisfying intellectual pursuits", while "Alys had her good causes: the emancipation of women, teetotalism, and a variant of Quakerism which, harking back to its ancestry in Anabaptism, included advocacy of free love".

## CORNELIUS SARJEANT (d. 1726)

Letters from Colonel William Fitzhugh (1651-1701), Virginia tobacco planter and exporter, are printed in Stuart Bruchey's *The colonial merchant, sources and readings* (Forces in American economic growth series: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1966).

Many letters go to London, but one to Bristol is addressed to Cornelius Sarjeant [see Bristol Record Society, xxvi. 214-5] with a good opening compliment inviting trading relations:

"Sr. Hearing so fair a Character of your honest & punctuall dealing, by Capt. Jno. Moore Commander of the good Ship the Assurance of Bristol, in which you are a Considerable Owener both of Ship & Cargoe, & with all considering your present trade of a Tobacconist, I have sent you three hhds. [hogsheads] Sweetscented Tobo. all ready stemmed & fit cutting without any manner of loss or trouble..."

In return Fitzhugh wished to receive "Kerseys Cottons & Bedminster Cottons, coarse Canvas, Ironware & shoes, thread silk, also a hundred of Gloucestershire Cheese, & what else you think convenient for this Country's use", and four spinning wheels. [Letter of June 21st 1692.]

## PEREGRINE TYZACK (1706-70)

Dr. O. S. Pickering brings to notice a series of 18th century manuscript poems in a volume in the Bowes Museum at Barnard Castle, and identifies the author as the Friend Peregrine Tyzack, who was born at Norwich in 1706, and who died "greatly lamented" a respectable merchant at Newcastle upon Tyne in 1770; *Notes and queries*, Nov. 1976, pp. 497-500.

## ADDINGHAM, YORKS.

Richard Smith, labourer, Ebenezer Lister, farmer, Marshall Lister, farmer, George Scott, towspinner, and Joseph Smith, yeoman, are five inhabitants of

Addingham who are named as Quakers in *The Craven muster roll, 1803* (North Yorkshire County Record Office publications, no. 9. Northallerton, 1976).

#### BAPTISTS

"Quakers and Baptists, 1647-1660", by Craig W. Horle (*Baptist quarterly*, vol. 26, no. 8, Oct. 1976, pp. 344-62) is a rapid survey of the difficult terrain which the student of Quakerism has to negotiate in surveying the relations which early Friends had with the Baptists. The four pages of close-packed notes, and the timely use of the telling quotation in the course of the article shows that Craig Horle has used his time in Friends House Library to good effect, and has come to know well both the secondary and the Quaker primary sources which will have to become familiar to anyone who essays to follow him in the field.

#### BOOK LABELS

Brian North Lee: *Early printed book labels* (Private Libraries Association, 1976) includes notes on half a dozen book labels for Friends:

Thomas and Ann Cox (London, 1706); John and Rebecca Walker (1713); William Aldam (1718); John Backhouse (1718); Anne Fothergill (Leeds, 1737) [Query: was this last item printed by William Lister, the Leeds printer?].

There is also a label for Richard Backhouse, 1755, nearly at the end of the period covered by the book.

#### BRISTOL

*Leisure and the changing city, 1870-1914* by H. E. Meller

(Routledge, 1976) is a study of Bristol based on the author's doctoral dissertation of 1968. It uses Friends' records deposited in the Bristol Archives Office and a multitude of other documents, both manuscript and printed, to survey a large part of the social and socio-religious work which took place in the city in the half century up to the First World War.

Friends' activities in First-Day Schools, Adult Schools and social work are noticed, as is also the development from 1910 of Bristol University settlement (which grew from work Marian Fry Pease began in the 1880s). Under Hilda Cashmore the Settlement continued active through the inter-war period.

#### CATHOLICS & QUAKERS

John Bossy's *The English Catholic Community 1570-1850* (1976) argues strong parallels between the histories of English Catholicism and of Friends and the Presbyterians. The author suggests that Friends possess a "special historical link with the Catholic community", saying that they bore little direct relation to other English Protestants; he quotes an Irish Franciscan: "none came so near him as the Quakers". "Geographically, the Quaker community was a product of the northern uplands, and it has already been suggested that the success of Fox's mission here may be seen as a consequence of the failure of the Catholic clergy to take advantage of its missionary opportunities in this region. The Quakers, it may be argued, were the body which most successfully filled the vacuum created by the geographical and social

indrawing of Catholicism in the seventeenth century" [p. 393]. The suggestion is made that various aspects of Quakerism have more in common with pre- than post-Reformation Christianity.

DAVID J. HALL

#### EARLS COLNE

*The Diary of Ralph Josselin, 1616-1683.* Edited by Alan Macfarlane (Oxford University Press, 1976. £20).

Ralph Josselin was vicar of Earls Colne, Essex, from 1641 until his death in 1683.

The diary includes references to Quakers in the district under various dates between 1655 (James Parnell at Coggeshall) and 1674. These have been noticed on pages 349, 350, 366-7, 373, 377, 380, 388, 397, 399, 417, 418, 422, 426, 450, 459, 481, 504, 529, 554 and 581.

One of the appendixes includes notes on various Earls Colne families, some of which have close Quaker connections.

#### EDINBURGH MEDICINE

"The influence of the Edinburgh Medical School on America in the eighteenth century", an article by Dr. J. Rendall, Department of History, University of York, in the symposium volume *The early years of the Edinburgh Medical School* (Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, 1976. £3) lists more than one hundred medical students from the American colonies who studied at Edinburgh between 1770 and 1795.

The author identifies a handful of the students as Quakers—Thomas Parke, John Hannum Gibbons, S. P. Griffitts, T. C.

James, William and George Logan—and notices the assistance and goodwill which they could call upon from Friends and particularly from Dr. Fothergill and J. C. Lettsom.

#### FIFTH MONARCHY BROADSIDES

An article on "Illustrated German broadsides of the seventeenth century" by D. L. Paisey, appears in the *British Library journal*, vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 56-69. Two of the items (nos. 25 and 26) mention Quakers in their titles, but are in fact concerned with the suppression of the Fifth Monarchy Men, 1661.

25. Abbildung der zu London vorgangenen Execution wider die rebellirende Quackers, und dess Cromwels, Iretons und Brandschauens ausgegrabene Körper; sampt beygefüger Relation.

26. Relation auss Londen vom 4. Febr. 1661. Die Examination Verurtheilunge vnd Execution der Gefangenen Quäckers . . . betreffend.

#### KENDAL

"Social transition in Kendal and Westmorland, c. 1760-1860", by J. D. Marshall and Carol A. Dyhouse (*Northern history*, vol. 12, 1976, pp. 127-157) uses to good effect extensive material available to assess the influence and importance of the various groups and classes in the town, including Friends.

#### LANCASTER UNIVERSITY

Dr. John S. Andrews has written on "Some early Quaker material in the University of Lancaster Library" (*Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 1976, pp. 333-339). The Quaker collection now num-

bers some 2,000 volumes and includes books given or deposited from meetings and libraries near (like Brigflatts and Yealand) and far (like Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania).

#### LEEDS (CARLTON HILL) OLD LIBRARY

The deposit of over 400 volumes, being the older books (of the 17th to 19th centuries) from the Old Library at Carlton Hill M.H., Leeds, is reported in the Annual report of the Librarian, University of Leeds, 1975-76.

In recent years the books have not been much consulted, and the Meeting decided to offer them on deposit to the University Library where, after cataloguing has been completed, they will be housed in the Special Collections and available to a wide circle of scholars.

Leeds Meeting had a Library at least as far back as 1720, and the books have been well-used in earlier centuries. The collection includes over a hundred small-quarto pamphlets by Burrough and Howgill and George Fox of the 1650s, bound in two portly volumes and indexed for Anne (Yeamans) Curtis of Reading in 1660.

#### M.P.s

Michael Stenton's *Who's who of British Members of Parliament*, vol. 1, 1832-1885 (Harvester Press, 1976) includes brief notices on John Henry Gurney (1819-90; M.P. 1854-65; only son of Joseph John Gurney, of Earlham), Samuel Gurney (1816-82; M.P. 1857-65; second son of Samuel Gurney of Upton, Essex), Henry Pease (1805-81; M.P. 1857-65; son of Edward Pease),

Joseph Pease (d. 1872; M.P. 1832-41; president of the Peace Society, 1860-72) and John Whitwell (1812-80; M.P. 1868-80; of Kendal, who married Anna Maud in 1836).

#### MIDDLESEX

*A history of Middlesex*. Edited by T. F. T. Baker. Vol. 5 (Victoria History. Oxford University Press, 1976. £35) includes references to Friends at Winchmore Hill, Hendon, Edmonton (and Christopher Taylor's school), Enfield, South Mimms, and Tottenham (including a paragraph on Grove House School and its distinguished pupils).

#### MONK BRETTON FRIENDS

"The early Quakers of Monk Bretton, 1657-1700: a study of dissent in a south Yorkshire village", by Brian Elliott (*Transactions of the Hunter Archaeological Society*, vol. 10, part 4, 1977, pp. 260-272) is an account of the early "Burton" Friends. The author uses to good effect documentary evidence from the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research in York, as well as local material and records at Friends House, London. It is illustrated with two full-page maps.

#### THE MOUNT SCHOOL, YORK

The Mount School annual report for 1976 records the establishment of an Archives Room at the School. There is a paragraph briefly enumerating some of the records still preserved at The Mount. These documents date back in the Admissions registers to 1831.

## MOUNT STREET, MANCHESTER

Léon Faucher in *Manchester in 1844: Its Present Condition and Future Prospects* (English translation, 1844) wrote: "Many of the Independent and Baptist chapels have exchanged the plain meeting-house of the last century for imitations of Gothic architecture, and diminutive Grecian porticoes—even the Quakers have been infected with the prevailing fashion; and although their consciences refuse the ordinary nomenclature of the days and months, yet the Spirit moves them in a building, so heathen by its architecture, that Jupiter or Bacchus would not be disgraced by it."

The above quotation is reproduced in Valentine Cunningham's *Everywhere Spoken Against, Dissent in the Victorian Novel*, 1976, p. 88. In his study Cunningham notes the relative absence of Quakers from Victorian fiction, and that they are generally approved of when they do appear; although Thackeray's *The Newcomes* is the exception in this regard.

DAVID J. HALL

## NAILSWORTH M.H.

A photograph of Nailsworth Meeting House by Lilywhite & Co., c. 1960, faces p. 192 in the *Victoria History* volume II for Gloucestershire (Oxford University Press, 1976). The volume also includes notes on Friends in various parishes in Bisley and Longtree hundreds, as Bisley; Miserden (marriage of Richard Pinchin of Miserden at Painswick, 1684); Painswick (a meeting reborn in the last half century); Minchinhampton (where the market-house was licensed

as a meeting place in 1746 ready for the Western Circular Yearly Meeting at the end of August that year); Nailsworth itself; Rodborough; Tetbury (with Upton House—Nathaniel Cripps's estate—the house is 18th century); Westonbirt; and Woodchester.

## PEACE MOVEMENT, 1914-18

"The pacifists of the First World War did little to influence the course of the fighting . . . The peace societies preached the possibility of permanent unity and concord on a universal scale, yet on their own small scale exhibited few signs of co-operation between themselves . . ." So sums up Professor Keith Robbins in his study of British politics and war's impact on the various anti-war movements entitled *The abolition of war: the "peace movement" in Britain, 1914-1919* (Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 1976).

## PENNSYLVANIA DUTCH

*The Pennsylvania Dutch: a persistent minority*, by William T. Parsons (Twayne Publishers, 1976) gives an extended study of the Germans from the Rhineland and elsewhere who made their home in Pennsylvania and influenced Commonwealth life there right from the time when Francis Daniel Pastorius established his settlement.

## PENNSYLVANIA POLITICS

A fair, if unsympathetic, summary of the problems which faced peaceable Friends in Pennsylvania in the eighteenth century is to be found in Douglas Edward Leach's *Arms for empire: a military history of the British*

*colonies in North America, 1607-1783* (1973), a volume in the Macmillan Wars of the United States series.

\* \* \*

*Empire or independence, 1760-1776: a British-American dialogue on the coming of the American revolution*, by Ian R. Christie and Benjamin W. Labaree (Phaidon, 1976) has many valuable points made cogently, and sheds new light on politics a couple of centuries old.

The cautious behaviour of the Philadelphia merchants during the crisis on the duties on tea and other commodities led to a shift in political alignments in the province. Popular support ebbed from the Quaker party as the tide for "no taxation without representation" began to flow strongly in the early 1770s.

#### PREACHING

A passage from Immanuel Bourne's *A Defence and justification of ministers maintenance by tythes* (1659), in which Bourne instances the Puritan practice of giving lectures and preaching freely in market towns and other places, is quoted in a footnote to Patrick Collinson's "Lectures by combination: structures and characteristics of church life in 17th-century England" (*Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, vol. 48, no. 118, Nov. 1975, p. 182). Immanuel Bourne was writing against Anthony Pearson's *Great case of tithes*, first published in 1657.

#### PRESSURE GROUPS

Graham Wotton's *Pressure groups in Britain, 1720-1970, an essay in interpretation with*

*original documents* (Allen Lane, 1975) presents nothing new concerning Friends to those who are familiar both with Norman Hunt's *Two early political associations* (1961) and the main outline of the campaign for the abolition of the slave trade.

The introduction is substantial, and the documents illuminating. These latter, although predominantly economic in character, include recent items concerning the Howard League for Penal Reform, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, and the peace movement.

#### PRINTERS

"Congreve and control of the printed text", by Nicolas Barker, an article in *The Times literary supplement*, 24 Sept. 1976, p. 1221, deals with Professor D. F. McKenzie's Sandars lectures on the London book trade in the later seventeenth century. The careers of the Quaker printers Giles Calvert, Thomas Simmonds, Andrew and Tace Sowle are brought under review, and the work of Mark Swanner in Friends' care for the press is noticed.

\* \* \*

*The London book trades, 1775-1800: a preliminary checklist of members*, by Ian Maxted (Dawson, 1977), is based on the author's librarianship degree dissertation.

Among those noticed as having Friendly connections (and some of these are dealt with in *Jnl. F.H.S.*, 50 (1963), pp. 103-115) are: John and Arthur Arch, Stephen Couchman, William Curtis, William Darton, the Frys, Joseph Harvey, Samuel Clarke, James Phillips, William Richardson and Thomas Tegg.

### Supplements to the Journal of Friends' Historical Society

- 1, 3, 5. FIRST PUBLISHERS OF TRUTH. Ed. N. Penney. 1907. Copies of these three parts only available, at £2 each part.
7. THOMAS POLE, M.D. (1753-1829). By E. T. Wedmore. 1908. 53 pp., £2.00.
- 8-11. EXTRACTS FROM STATE PAPERS relating to Friends, 1654-1762. Ed. by 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. By T. Edmund Harvey. 1928. 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., 50p.
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. £1.00.
26. JAMES NAYLER, A FRESH APPROACH. By Geoffrey F. Nuttall, D.D. 1954. £1.00.
27. THOMAS RUDYARD, EARLY FRIENDS' "ORACLE OF LAW". By Alfred W. Braithwaite. 1956. £1.00.
28. PATTERNS OF INFLUENCE IN ANGLO-AMERICAN QUAKERISM. By Thomas E. Drake. 1958. £1.00.
29. SOME QUAKER PORTRAITS, CERTAIN AND UNCERTAIN. By John Nickalls. 1958. Illustrated. £1.00.
31. GEORGE FOX AND THE PUREFEYS. By T. Joseph Pickvance. 1970. £1.00.
32. JOHN WOOLMAN IN ENGLAND, 1772. By Henry J. Cadbury. 1971. £2.00.
33. JOHN PERROT. By Kenneth L. Carroll. 1971. £2.00.
34. "THE OTHER BRANCH": LONDON Y.M. AND THE HICKSITES, 1827-1912. By Edwin B. Bronner. 1975. £1.25.
35. ALEXANDER COWAN WILSON, 1866-1955. By Stephen Wilson. 1974. £1.00.

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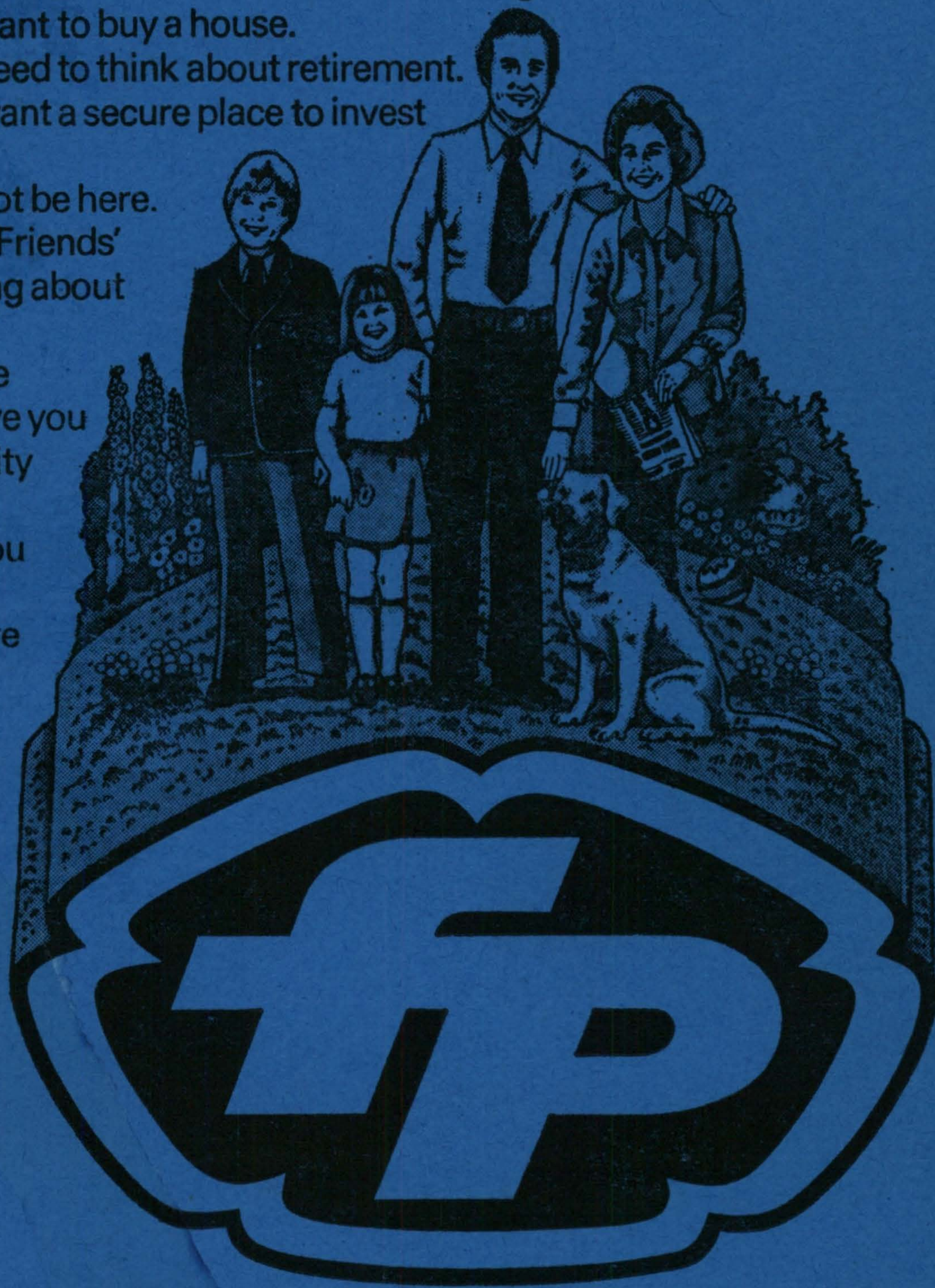
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