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## Friends' Historical Society

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### Editorial

**A**mong the activities arranged for the Friends' Historical Society during 1979 were meetings to hear the presidential address by Gerald A. J. Hodgett on the Shackletons of Ballitore, Mary V. Whiteman's talk on various aspects of the Quaker contribution to the life of Saffron Walden during the nineteenth century, and Thomas P. O'Malley's research findings on the Press and the Quakers in the 1650s.

Thomas O'Malley's paper appears in this issue. It deals not only with Friends' own printed output, but also with the derogatory stories about Quakers which were part of the stock-in-trade of the newsbooks of the day.

Kenneth L. Carroll contributes a study of "Quakerism in Connaught", which was the subject of an address at an open meeting of the Friends' Historical Committee in Dublin on 1 June 1979.

This issue includes also the usual features on archives, notes and queries, and recent publications.

\* \* \*

It may be timely to draw the attention of readers to two forthcoming events. The summer meeting of the *Ecclesiastical History Society*, to be held in Bangor from 15 to 18 July 1981, will have as its theme "The Churches and Healing". It will be interesting to see whether any of the papers presented there will touch on the Quaker contribution to this side of Christian life. George Fox's miracles could well come under

reconsideration, or the work for mental health typified by the Retreat and other hospitals. Later that same summer the British Sub-Commission of the *Commission Internationale d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* are organising a colloquium at Durham from 2 to 9 September. It will have six main themes which all could have Quaker interest. They are Attitudes to Death: Order and Freedom in the Life of the Church: Schism and Reunion: Evangelism: Theology and pastoral practice in the history of the Church: Art and Spirituality. It may well be the case that not many readers of this *Journal* will be able to attend either of these meetings but it should be possible for many to get some idea of the work going on in other areas of Christian history through reading some of the papers which will be presented at them. The Bangor meeting will result in another volume in the annual *Studies in Church History* edited by Derek Baker, whilst the Durham colloquium will probably lead to the appearance of a separate book.

\* \* \*

*Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society*, vol. 17, no. 2 (July 1980). This issue includes brief notes In Memoriam by Dr H. J. McLachlan, the editor recording the deaths of Roger Thomas (formerly Librarian of Dr Williams's Library, Gordon Square, London, a former president of the Unitarian Historical Society, secretary of the Hibbert Trust, authority on Richard Baxter, and one to whom scholars the world over owe a debt of gratitude) and of Ernest A. Payne (the Baptist historian and former chairman of the British Council of Churches). An obituary notice of Dr Payne appeared in *The Times*, 15 Jan. 1980.

## The Press and Quakerism 1653–1659\*

IT is a commonplace of seventeenth century historical studies, that the Press only played an important part in national life during periods of maximum political crisis, such as 1641–1650, 1659–1660 and 1679–1681. Historians have tended to neglect questions about the Press outside of these periods precisely because they assume that except in times of crisis it was not playing a significant role. In this article it will be argued that the Press did play an important part in one significant aspect of national life in the years 1653–1659, and that this should prompt us to reconsider our view of its influence in the second half of the seventeenth century as a whole. The Press can be seen to have been playing an important part in forming the response of the political nation to the early Quaker movement, and was seen to be doing so not only by the early Quakers, but by those who chose to enter into printed controversy with them. The Quakers are of interest not only because they have been the subject of a considerable amount of scholarly attention in recent years, but also because of the extent to which many of the reasons given in print for prosecuting them in these years, prefigure many of those used for attacking Dissent as a whole after 1660. The evidence set out below will deal firstly with the significance of Press activity to the early movement. The second section will examine anti-Quaker pamphlets as evidence of the concern felt by many about the Quaker use of the Press, and of the stereotyped image they give of the early movement. In the third section the newsbooks of the years 1653–1659 will be examined to show how derogatory images were repeated and given wide circulation among influential groups in what, with some justice, can be called official publications. This will show how important a role the printed word was playing in one sensitive area of national life in the relatively stable years of the Protectorate.<sup>1</sup>

\* I am grateful to Dr. D. F. Allen for reading and commenting on an earlier version of this article.

<sup>1</sup> See Barry Reay in his "The Quakers, 1659, and the Restoration of the Monarchy", *History*, vol. 63 no. 208 (1978), pp. 193–213. Though it is important to be aware of the role the Quakers played in the politics of these years, it is equally important to remember that in 1659 there were many more significant factors operating on the national political stage than a reading of Barry Reay's article would lead us to believe.

## I

The early Quakers were keenly aware of the importance and efficacy of the Press as a means of disseminating their views. In *The Great Mistery of the Great Whore* (1659) George Fox replied to 110 individuals who had attacked Quakers in writing or by word of mouth in the previous six years. Of these at least 62 were printed attacks directed specifically against the Quakers. Yet this is only one example of Quaker interest in the Press, an interest which reached back to the beginnings of the movement in the early 1650's. Indeed the prodigious output of the early Quakers has often been noted by writers on Quaker history, and a recent numerical study has shown a steady increase in Quaker publications from 53 in 1653 to 210 separate titles in 1659.<sup>2</sup>

The correspondence of the early Quakers indicates both an interest and a trust in the efficacy of the printed word. A letter, probably from Thomas Aldam to Margaret Fell written about 1653, contains the suggestion that "there might be meanes amongst you used to send forth 2 or 3 who are made free to followe such a Callinge as to keepe the Markets in your County with Bookes." In an earlier letter he had written, "I would have thee write as often as thou canst to mee for what Bookes frends would have, they are Bookes which will be very serviseable for weake frends, & I have passed many Bookes abroade in these parts, & they are very serviseable in Convincinge the world."<sup>3</sup> Edward Burrough reflected this belief when he asked Margaret Fell for books to be sent to Ireland, asserting that they "might be very serviceable in spreading forth ye truth".<sup>4</sup>

Similarly, the early Quakers were concerned about their public image. They kept a close eye on the "diurnalls", or newsbooks of the period, often recounting to each other the content of those which were of specific interest to them. An item in one newsbook about James Nayler, the leading Quaker tried and convicted by Parliament in 1656 for

<sup>2</sup> D. Runyon "Types of Quaker Writings by Year 1650-1699", in H. Barbour and A. Roberts eds., *Early Quaker Writings* (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1973), pp. 568-9.

<sup>3</sup> Friends House Library, (T. Aldam) to M. Fell (1653?), A.R. Barclay [A.R.B.] MSS 159; T. Aldam to G. Fox, May 1652, *ibid.* 71.

<sup>4</sup> Friends House Library, E. Burrough to M. Fell, Jan. 5. 1656, Swarthmore [Sw.] MSS iii, 16.

blasphemy, helped create considerable concern among the Quakers of Plymouth where it was reported that "many stumbles and is offended".<sup>5</sup> In George Fox's *Journal* we learn of the lengths to which Quakers would go in order to protect themselves from the aspersions cast upon them in the newsbooks. A report written by Henry Walker in *Perfect Proceedings* prompted Fox to visit him. This was followed by a visit from three other Quakers, who subsequently published a denunciation of Walker and other producers of newsbooks. Two months later the Quakers attacked Robert Wood and George Horton, producers of the *Faithful Scout*, in which "is found many lies and slanders against those people whom he scornfully calls Quakers".<sup>6</sup>

They were also keen to answer the many printed attacks made upon them which appeared in pamphlet form, and replies to such attacks form a prominent part of Quaker output in these years.<sup>7</sup> Quaker response to these attacks was often swift, reflecting the confidence they had in the power of the Press to persuade. In one place Fox boasts:

And about this time the Church Faith was given forth, which was made at Savoy in eleven days time: and I got a copy of it before it was published, and writ an answer to it. And when their book Church Faith were sold up and down the streets, my answer to it was sold also.

Sometimes this confidence gave way to mild doubts about too much publicity resulting from too frequent use of the Press. In 1653 it was considered possible to ask Margaret Fell's husband, Judge Fell, who was not a Quaker, to take some manuscripts to the presses for the Quakers. Within four years his attitude had changed, so much so that his wife had to warn Gerrard Roberts to make sure a book "Com forth Speedely and Bee Sent Abrode, before my Husband Com up to London, lest hee sight of it and prevent the Sarvice of it".<sup>8</sup> Judge Fell's hostility may have had a minor motive. For

<sup>5</sup> T. Salthouse to G. Fox, 9. Nov. 1656, *ibid.* iii, 157.

<sup>6</sup> G. Fox, *Journal* (ed. J. L. Nickalls, Cambridge, 1952), pp. 201-2; Anon, *A Declaration from the Children of Light* British Library [B.L.] E 838 (11), dated May 14 1655; *Perfect Proceedings* 12/4-19/4/1655; A. Stoddard et al., *Something written in Answer* (B. L. E 848(14), 17 July 1655), p. 8.

<sup>7</sup> Runyon, *op. cit.*, p. 574

<sup>8</sup> Fox, *op. cit.*, p. 350-1; F. Howgill to M. Fell, (1653), A. R. B. MSS 76; Friends House Library, M. Fell to G. Roberts, 21 October 1657, Spence MSS iii, 49.

Several members of the Boate family were testified against for their "disorderly walking." Samuel Boate was disowned in 1735 for running up bills, refusing to pay his creditors, and for "leaving the nation."<sup>65</sup> Gershon Boate the Younger, already noted for his fighting spirit, was disowned in 1735 for having a child by a servant. Boate, left with three small children at the death of his wife, had kept the maid in his house even after being cautioned by family and Friends—thus precipitating his downfall.<sup>66</sup>

One of the most significant developments for Ballymurray Friends came in the winter of 1739–1740, when a small Quaker community of weavers left its former home at Newport (County Mayo) and removed to County Roscommon—settling mainly at Killarney and Galey near Ballymurray. This Newport Quaker group had originally come into existence at almost the same time that Sligo Friends were moving to Ballymurray. Starting in 1719 and coming from Drogheda and Dublin in Leinster and from Rathfryland Meeting (County Down) and Dunclady Meeting (County Derry) in Ulster, members of the Cantrell, Evans, Kelly, Maga (Magaw, McGae, etc.), Peck, Sutcliffe, Taylor and other families settled in Newport, largely at the instigation of Captain Pratt. They earned a rather precarious existence from linen weaving, so that they needed assistance from their fellow-Quakers on several occasions.<sup>67</sup> Some of them, in hope of a better financial future, removed to America in 1730, while others decided to continue the struggle a while longer in Newport. This small community also had its problems of "discipline." In 1720, shortly after their arrival, William Warding was testified against for causing the Truth to suffer in several ways.<sup>68</sup> Samuel Kennin (Kenning, Kennan) was disowned in 1723 for drunkenness and for "marrying out."<sup>69</sup> William Magae condemned his earlier "outgoing in marriage" at the beginning of 1727, while Susanna Cantrell did likewise at the beginning of 1728.<sup>70</sup> Only one Friends' wedding, that of Thomas McClung and Elizabeth Evans (in March 1726),

<sup>65</sup> Moate Monthly Meeting Denials (H.6), p. 48.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51. Gershon Boate the younger was also dealt with in 1729 for having shot his landlord's sow.

<sup>67</sup> See *Jnl. F.H.S.*, 54 (1976), 15–27.

<sup>68</sup> Moate Men's Meeting Minutes (H. 7), p. 188b.

<sup>69</sup> Moate Monthly Meeting Denials (H.6), p. 40.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 40–41.

1714 and which had been "settled" in 1715 or 1716,<sup>48</sup> ceased to exist in 1717. In spite of the disappearance of a Sligo Quaker community, travelling Friends were still drawn to that area for several more generations. John Fothergill (1676–1745) and Benjamin Holme (1683–1749), for example, held a meeting in the "Sessions-house" there on December 23, 1724, noting that "the Sheriff and several more of the People [present] being very loving."<sup>49</sup> Mary Peisley Neale (1717–1757), and her English companion, Catharine Payton (1727–1794), visited "the towns-people of Sligo in Connaught, and felt much satisfaction; she thought they were well worth visiting, and said there seemed much more openness to declare the Truth amongst those of other societies, than amongst them that go under our name."<sup>50</sup> Two American Quakers, John Pemberton (1727–1795) and William Matthews (1732–1792) held a meeting at Sligo in 1783.<sup>51</sup> Mary Dudley (1750–1823), an English Friend who for a period resided in Ireland, held an appointed meeting in the Presbyterian meeting house at Sligo in 1795 and reported that "A large number of solid people attended, who seemed disposed to receive the doctrines of Truth; indeed I trust some bowed under its precious influence."<sup>52</sup>

Those Quakers who left Sligo for County Roscommon in 1717 settled at or near Ballymurray (also called Mary's Town), about three miles south-southeast of the town of Roscommon and about ten miles from Athlone. In November 1717 it was reported that they had "not yet settled to satisfaction." Within six months, however, it was noted that not only were they now comfortably settled but that some other Friends from other sections of Ireland had also arrived —so that "a meeting is settled there for the Worship of God."<sup>53</sup>

<sup>48</sup> National Book for Recording Epistles and Papers from the Provinces, etc. (A. 20), epistle from National Half-Years Meeting to London Yearly Meeting dated 3rd Month 10th, 1716.

<sup>49</sup> John Fothergill, *An account of the life and travels . . . of John Fothergill* 1753 p. 222; *The Friends' Library*, XIII, 409.

<sup>50</sup> *The Friends' Library*, XI, 94.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, VI, 313.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, XIV, 332. Mary Dudley gives a lengthy description of this meeting and of her discussions with those who had attended, reporting "My very soul cleaved to some of the inhabitants of Sligo, and the remembrance of having been there is precious". (Mary Dudley, *Life*, 1825, p. 205).

<sup>53</sup> National Half-Year's Meeting Minutes, II (A. 3), minutes for 8th to 11th, 9th Month, 1717, and 8th to 10th of 9th Month, 1718.

Quakers on matters relating to points of finance, distribution and control was good enough and flexible enough to meet the needs created by their awareness of, and commitment to the Press as a means of propagating their views.<sup>14</sup>

The main uses to which they put this interest and organisation were to propagate their beliefs and to defend themselves against attack. Use was made of the printed word to spread the word abroad as well as at home. Books were used as part of the missionary work in Ireland, Barbados, Holland, Germany, and Wales during the 1650's. At home the tactic of using an imprisonment or a court hearing as an excuse to distribute books was being employed as early as 1653, when Thomas Aldam used the public interest aroused by a court hearing as an opportunity to give away books. In September 1654 Richard Hubberthorne wrote to Edward Burrough thanking him for sending some books whilst he had been before a court, for "the booke came to us in a convenient season upon ye 3 day when they weare endinge ye sessions & we gave about 12 of them amone the aldermen which was servisable".<sup>15</sup>

Another use to which they put the presses was to appeal to central government. Many of their books contained addresses to prominent political figures, including Cromwell. Between 1653 and 1659 they issued sixty-three titles which can be classified as being mainly concerned with appealing to the leaders of the nation.<sup>16</sup> This figure does not include all appeals made in other forms of publication, nor does it reflect their interest in ensuring that certain key figures received books from them. Among these, Cromwell, General Monk and other army officers are of particular interest. References to books written primarily for Cromwell's eyes are common

<sup>14</sup> T. Aldam to G. Fox, (1653), Sw. MSS iii, 39; R. Farnsworth to G. Fox, 1653, *ibid.* iii, 52; J. Nayler to G. Fox, 1652, *ibid.* iii, 64; J. Whitehead to G. Fox, 20 Nov. 1659, *ibid.* iv, 178; R. Hubberthorne to G. Fox, 16 Feb. 1658, *ibid.* iv, 15.

<sup>15</sup> J. Rous & H. Fell to M. Fell, 24 May 1657, Sw. MSS i, 79; R. Waller & R. Roper to M. Fell, 24 July 1657, *ibid.* iv, 23; J. Lawson & R. Hubberthorne to M. Fell (1653), *ibid.* iv, 66; *ibid.* i, 397 for accounts relating to books sent to France, Jersey and Virginia in 1656; W. Ames to M. Fell, 2 Sept. 1656, A. R. B. MSS 3; G. Rose to G. Fox, 23 June 1659, *ibid.* 55; T. Aldam to M. Fell, 3 April 1653, Sw. MSS iii, 43; R. Hubberthorne to E. Burrough, 27 Sept. 1654, *ibid.* iv, 5.

<sup>16</sup> Runyon, *op. cit.*, pp. 568-9.

in the correspondence of these years, and the distribution of books among soldiers is equally well represented. Major Packer saved Thomas Aldam's quota of books from a hostile mob outside Whitehall, and "did desire I would give him one of them." As late as December 1659 Thomas Rawlinson was supposed to be seeing that two hundred books got delivered to the officers of the army. In 1656 a Scottish soldier was trying to get books printed, probably for distribution among the Scottish soldiery. Something of more interest emerges from 1659, about which William Caton wrote:

When I was at Edenborough I endeavoured two or three times to speake with Geo. Monke but could not have acesse to him; And therefore it came the more upon mee to write to him: & to the Army, the wch. friends desired much to have printed, and soe it was, & I hope pritty well dispersed among the souldery who were pritty respective & courteous towardes me.<sup>17</sup>

If the Quakers were keen to appeal to government through the Press, then the authorities in their turn were keen to keep an eye on Quaker Press activity. Quakers were arrested and harassed for distributing books, as well as having books confiscated.<sup>18</sup> Twice in the 1650's the government acted against the Quakers' printer Giles Calvert. Although never a Quaker, he printed nearly three hundred titles for them, over half in the years 1655 and 1656; and had close links with the movement, attending meetings, supplying money, and acting as a forwarding address for letters.<sup>19</sup> In February 1655, on the strength of two reports from Leicestershire and soon after

<sup>17</sup> For two early references to Cromwell see, T. Aldam to G. Fox, 1654, Sw. MSS iii, 38 and T. Aldam to A. Stoddard, 21 June 1653, A. R. B. MSS 17. T. Aldam to G. Fox, 1654, Sw. MSS iii, 38; M. Fell Jnr. to M. Fell Sr., 3 Dec. 1659, Spence MSS iii, 65; T. Willan & G. Taylor to M. Fell, 6 Dec. 1656, Sw. MSS i, 293; W. Caton to G. Fox, 20 Dec. 1659, *ibid.* iv, 268.

<sup>18</sup> Friends House Library, The case of William Salt, (1656), Original Records of Sufferings, MSS iii, 285; J. Besse, *Sufferings* (London, 1753), Vol. 1 pp. 113-4, 150, 331, 528, 657-8, 661-2, 709, Vol. 2 pp. 50-6; *Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe* (London, 1742), Vol. 4 pp. 409, 531, 642; *Calender of State Papers, Domestic [C.S.P.D.] 1656-1657*, pp. 229-31, 351-2.

<sup>19</sup> On Calvert see, A. E. Terry, *Giles Calvert, Mid-Seventeenth Century English Bookseller and Publisher* (University of Columbia, School of Library Science M.Sc. thesis, 1937), especially pp. 26-8 on his relations with the Council of State; also R. S. Mortimer, "Biographical Notices of Printers and Publishers of Friends' Books up to 1750", *Journal of Documentation*, 3, 2 (1947), p. 110; for evidence of Calvert's relations with the Quakers see, letters and accounts in Sw. MSS i, 162, 208, 209, 250, 252, 263, 285, 303, 374.

The first Quakers known to have been active in Galway were Humphrey Norton, William Shaw, and John Stubbs, all of whom were there in 1656. Little is known about their work in that city. William Shaw (d. 1658) was one of the first "Publishers of Truth" in Norway. He may have made several journeys to Galway. On one occasion, perhaps his first visit there, Shaw may have been travelling by himself. After having been turned out of Limerick (where Colonel Ingoldsby would allow no "strange" Friends to enter the city to proclaim Quakerism),<sup>7</sup> he was reported to be on the road to Galway when he was badly beaten by a trooper "simply for being a Quaker." On another occasion, it would seem, Shaw was travelling with Humphrey Norton. Both of them were placed under guard in Limerick and also (either before or after the Limerick experience) were taken from a meeting at Samuel Newton's house in Galway, expelled from that city, and not allowed to "fetch" their horses.<sup>8</sup> Shaw, on still another occasion, was in Galway with John Stubbs. The two of them were imprisoned five weeks for speaking a few words in a "steeple-house" there.<sup>9</sup> This last episode, taking place in late 1656, is the only one which can be dated with any reasonable accuracy. The "Great Book of Sufferings," probably begun in 1661 but incorporating a list of earlier sufferings, seems to suggest a date of 1655 for all of these episodes, but that assignment does not bear up under close scrutiny. Samuel Buckley very late in 1656 wrote to Margaret Fell that "John Stubbs and W. Shaw is in outward bonds at Gallyway [Galway]."<sup>10</sup>

Malin (Malins, Maylin, etc.) spent much time in the West Indies and may have reached the American mainland. The best known, William Edmundson, has left us his well-known *Journal*, which deals with his discovery of Quakerism in 1653, when on a visit to England, and his life-long travels in religious service at home and abroad. The Cookes, Turner, and Lynch were primarily active in Ireland, although several of them did visit England and Turner eventually removed to America.

<sup>7</sup> National Sufferings, I (1655-1693), 7. This manuscript volume, numbered A. 11, is found in Friends' Historical Library, Dublin.

<sup>8</sup> National Sufferings, I (A. 11), 7, 10. Norton and Shaw were also imprisoned in Wexford, where they were taken from a meeting for worship, carried forcibly into a "public house of worship" to hear the sermon, and then imprisoned for speaking after the sermon was over.

<sup>9</sup> National Sufferings, I (A. 11), 10.

<sup>10</sup> Friends House Library, Swarthmore MSS I, 392 (Tr. I, 177), dated 11th Month 1656 (January 1656/7).

especially after 1655, their continued hostility towards the Quakers, and the fact that they had a wide national circulation possibly carried the day for those who wished to make the association of Quakerism and subversion explicit and widespread. They reinforced and gave official sanction to many of the views circulating in anti-Quaker publications and, in spite of determined efforts by the Quakers, helped make sure that by 1659 the link between Quakerism and subversion was well established in the minds of many of the political nation.

It would be wrong of course to attribute the heavy prosecution that the Quakers endured in these years solely to the influence of the Press, but that it was an important factor, and was seen to be so by contemporaries has been shown in the evidence set out above.<sup>41</sup> The Press, it has been argued, must be seen as a consistently active agent, mediating the relationship between the Quakers, the government and the public. It played an important role in the internal development of the movement, and the adverse images disseminated in anti-Quaker publications, and in the newsbooks of these years did much to create the climate of distrust which greeted the Quakers during the Protectorate and the early years of the Restoration. The Quakers were aware of the power of the Press to influence opinion against them, and as has been shown devoted considerable energy to making sure that their voice was heard. In the short term however the appeal to stereotyped adverse interpretations on the part of the relatively orthodox anti-Quaker authors and the official newsbooks proved to be in closer harmony with the views of the members of the politically influential classes, than did any position put forward by the Quakers.

The strength of the belief in the power of the Press to influence the opinions of those people who mattered politically, as exemplified by the activities of the Quakers, the government through its official newsbooks and the anti-Quaker writers, should prompt us to consider how far it may have influenced opinion on other issues. Many of the problems associated with the position of Dissent after 1660, and the

<sup>41</sup> For details of Quaker Sufferings, see *A Declaration of the Present Sufferings of . . . the . . . Quakers* (1659), p. 1, and W. C. Braithwaite, *The Second Period of Quakerism* (2nd ed., Cambridge 1961), p. 9.

agent of the Pope. William Prynne was one of the staunchest proponents of the idea that papists were "the chief Speakers and Rulers in most separate Congregations, and particularly amongst the Quakers," and it was an opinion he shared with most of his fellow anti-Quaker authors.<sup>26</sup>

The most consistent non-theological theme to which anti-Quaker writers returned again and again, was the notion that they posed a serious threat to the social order. A symptom of this threat to the basic fabric of society was the itinerant Quaker preacher. The basic, much repeated complaint was voiced as early as 1653:

Is this a peaceable harmlesse way for a man to leave his wife and children and to run about and let them shift for themselves . . . I thought this had been a disorder, that any should voluntarily leap out of that calling, and break off that Relation God had set & fixed them in.<sup>27</sup>

The Quaker practice of addressing all people in the same way, regardless of rank, was seen as another assault on the social order, as was their habit of keeping their hats on in the presence of social superiors. The implications of such behaviour were, as one writer saw it, clear:

Though they would cover over such actions with the guilded shew of humility, yet doth it directly tend to overthrow all government and authority amongst men; for take away outward honour and respect from superiors, and what government can subsist long among them?<sup>28</sup>

More seriously the Quaker refusal to swear oaths and pay tithes, along with their attack on the ministry of all other denominations, and what was construed as a direct attack on magistracy itself received extensive coverage from anti-Quaker authors.<sup>29</sup> Having highlighted the threat posed by the Quakers to basic institutions of civil society, the conclusion was obvious, and often repeated: "What could not be done by Seekers, Levellers, Arminians, and Ranters, shall be now better carried on by Quakers, the sublimate of them

<sup>26</sup> W. Prynne, *The Quakers Unmasked* (1655), p. 5.

<sup>27</sup> Anon, *The Querers and the Quakers cause* (1653), pp. 11-2.

<sup>28</sup> J. Clapham, *A Full Discovery and Confutation* (1656), p. 71.

<sup>29</sup> On oaths: J. Stalham, *The Reviler Rebuked* (1657), p. 235. On tithes: R. Baxter, *One Sheet against the Quakers* (1657), p. 6. On the Ministry: I. Bourne, *A Defence and Justification of Ministers Maintenance* (1659), p. 72. On Magistrates: Weld et al., *The Perfect Pharisee* (1654), p. 33.

all.'" This association of Quakerism with social subversion was the theme which, besides certain theological ones, occurred most often in anti-Quaker pamphlets. From the earliest printed attacks the cry was uniform: they had gleaned their learning from Winstanley, and so believed that all things ought to be in common, from which it followed that they meant to destroy the fabric of social relations, for as one writer put it, "Magistrate, People, Husband, Wife, Parents, Children, Master, Servant, all alike, no difference in the Quakers Religion."<sup>30</sup>

Having reached this conclusion the writers would often call for the suppression of the movement. One view was, "we see how necessary it is that both Magistrate and Ministers, with united hearts and hands endeavour to oppose and suppress these errors and heresies."<sup>31</sup> Even though a request like this was not always made, the tone and content of many of the pamphlets could leave the reader in no doubt about how the majority of the writers felt.

Anti-Quaker writers then were conscious of the power of the medium they employed and used it to try and undermine the position of the Quakers. They were concerned to warn their chosen audience, and through them the wider reading public of the threat they saw in the Quaker movement. In doing so they tended to characterise the Quakers in traditional ways that most literate people would understand, associating them with, atheists, papists, levellers etc., thereby giving concrete expression to fears and suspicions of the motives of the early movement. This helped to spread the notion, common by 1659, that Quakerism led automatically to social subversion. The truth or falsity of many of the accusations are not in question here, for what matters is that they were made in print by men confident that the medium they employed could influence, not only people in their local congregation or town, but also J. P.'s, lawyers and politicians.

### III

We can assume that the lower down the social order one was in this period, the more likely one was to be

<sup>30</sup> C. Gilbert, *The Libertine School'd* (1657), p. 19; F. Higginson, *A Brief Relation* (1653), p. 26; T. Collier, *A Looking-Glasse for the Quakers* (1656), p. 12.

<sup>31</sup> S. Morrise, *A Looking-Glasse for the Quakers* (1655), p. 4.

illiterate.<sup>32</sup> If in addition the J. P.'s, clergymen and local worthies responsible for prosecuting the Quakers were among the literate classes, it is not unreasonable to assume that many of them were guided in their interpretation of Quaker activities, as we have seen, by pamphlets issued by anti-Quaker writers. Even if such people did not read any of these pamphlets, it is highly probable that they read one of the newsbooks issued weekly from London during the years 1653–1659. Spawned in the years preceding the Civil War, the newsbook came to maturity, and was popular with both the masses and the influential, during the years of civil conflict. In 1649, 1653 and again in 1655 they became subject to more stringent government controls.<sup>33</sup> Although they may have lost some of their vitality after 1649, it would be wrong to assume that their influence was diminished significantly. The Civil War had helped foster and cultivate a desire for newsbooks. In the 1650's the market was still there, but the numbers and content of the newsbooks were kept in control by the government in a way that they had not been in the previous decade. The newsbooks of the 1650's then were to a greater or lesser extent organs of officialdom.

Government control of the newsbooks reached its zenith after August 1655, when only two licensed ones appeared each week, the rest having been taken off the streets by the authorities. If there was one consistent theme about their coverage of the Quakers, that theme was hostility. This was so until May 1659, when John Canne replaced Marchmont Needham as official editor of the newsbooks. Then, the need to secure sympathetic support from as many sources as possible for the "Good Old Cause" led to reports being published which attempted to contradict rumours about Quakers and Anabaptists rising to cut throats and bring about chaos. These rumours were, quite rightly, seen as attempts by Royalists to promote the cause of Charles II by promoting divisions within the ranks of those still sympathetic to the Commonwealth form of government. But

<sup>32</sup> D. Cressy "Levels of Illiteracy in England, 1530–1730", *Historical Journal*, 20, 1, (1977), pp. 22–3.

<sup>33</sup> On the newsbooks of the Civil War see A. N. B. Cotton, "London Newsbooks in the Civil War: Their Political attitudes and Sources of Information" (Unpublished University of Oxford D.Phil. thesis, 1971). For the 1650's see, J. Frank, *The Beginnings of the English Newspaper 1620–1660* (Harvard U. P., 1961), pp. 199–267.

these reports came too late from an official Press which for the previous six years had been consistently hostile towards the Quakers.<sup>34</sup>

Quaker interest in the contents of the newsbooks has already been noted—it was a well warranted one. Notices advertising anti-Quaker books appeared in June, July, August and October of 1653, initiating a practice which was to continue throughout these years.<sup>35</sup> The earliest full reference to the Quakers appears in the *Faithful Scout* in October 1653, in which they were equated with Shakers, Ranters, Seekers, Hugonists, and Singers, and it claimed that "These sixe Sects hold all things in communis, and that it is lawful to committ all manner of wickedness." During 1654, with the beginning of the Quakers' drive southwards, the number of hostile references to them increases slightly, but by the middle of the following year it had risen to a flood. Increased Quaker activity in the south of England, and the proclamation of February 1655, which according to the historian of the early Quakers was "a powerful persuasive to persecution" were the two major factors contributing to this increase.<sup>36</sup> Between January and October 1655, hardly a fortnight passed without some invariably derogatory reference to the Quakers. This interest subsided in the following three years, with the least number of attacks coming in 1658.<sup>37</sup>

The newsbooks then, reported a wide variety of incidents in which the Quakers had a place, usually presenting them in the worst possible light. Stories of them disrupting Church services, and of their appearances before magistrates were common. Bizarre stories about witchcraft were given prominence, as was an odd, but sinister one about some Quakers who claimed they had poisoned the Mayor of Newcastle.

<sup>34</sup> The reports appear in: *Mercurius Politicus* 21/7-28/7/1659, 18/8-25/8/1659, 24/8-1/9/1659; and in, *Publick Intelligencer* 22/7-29/7/1659, 15/8-22/8/1659. One report "seems to have been raised by Charls Stuarts Agents, during the time of this Rebellion, on purpose to inflame it" (*Mercurius Politicus* 18/8-25/8/1659).

<sup>35</sup> I have counted 7 advertisements for 5 books in 1653; 4 for 3 in 1654; 17 for 8 in 1655; 6 for 6 in 1656; 4 for 4 in 1657; 4 for 5 in 1658; and, 4 for 2 in 1659.

<sup>36</sup> *Faithful Scout* 30/9-7/10/1653; W. C. Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism* (2nd ed., Cambridge 1970), p. 181.

<sup>37</sup> In the following figures I counted each copy of a newsbook which carried an attack on, or hostile account of the Quakers. 1653, 6; 1654, 18; 1655, 84; 1656, 25; 1657, 17; 1658, 6.

Instances when Quaker behaviour caused a breach of the peace were highlighted, as when as a result of their activities in one area "the whole Parish was suddenly together by the ears."<sup>38</sup> The story of James Nayler's trial and punishment received extensive adverse publicity. The majority of the stories tended to make explicit, in one way or another, the sinister threat the movement posed to the civil and religious order of the nation. In April 1656 it was reported that they "make their boast here, that they are many thousands strong, and begin to look high and speak bigg; so that the Magistrates as well as Ministers had need to be watchfull". Later in the same year a report was printed suggesting that they were trying to influence elections.<sup>39</sup> A typical example of this sort of reporting, the type that sees all their actions as a social and religious threat, is to be found in 1655 in a report from Gloucestershire which manages to combine suspicion of their motives, criticism of their methods of gaining converts, with the suggestion that they are associated with the "malignants," or cavaliers:

The Quakers increase wonderfully . . . they are very fierce and violent in their way, damning all that are not of their opinion. They have had several meetings in a great common neer Glocester, called Corslawn, whither many hundreds of them resort, the noise of whom draw many of the ignorant Country people together, and some malignants have been observed to be at their meetings . . . They scatter their Pamphlets in all places, whereby many simple ignorant people are seduced by them . . . they teach their Prosilites . . . to rail against the Ministers, whom they call Priests, and not to hear them. Their pamphlets are common in all these parts and more perused then the Bible by their followers. And there are some persons of eminency in these parts, from whom it was not to be expected, do too much own them.<sup>40</sup>

Stories like these, echoing and amplifying the fears outlined in the anti-Quaker pamphlets described above, were, as the Quakers realised, doing much damage to the image of the early movement. The "official" status of these publications,

<sup>38</sup> *Moderate Publisher* 19/11-2/12/1653; *Faithful Scout* 25/11-2/12/1653; *Several Proceedings of Parliament* 22/11-29/11/1653, for variant accounts of the same story. *Several Proceedings in Parliament* 18/1-25/1/1655; *Perfect Proceedings* 19/7-26/7/1655; *Perfect Diurnal* 17/9-24/9/1655; *Perfect Proceedings* 22/2-1/3/1655; *Mercurius Politicus* 28/5-4/6/1657; *Public Intelligencer* 11/1-18/1/1658.

<sup>39</sup> *Mercurius Politicus* 17/4-24/4/1656; *ibid.* 21/8-28/8/1656.

<sup>40</sup> *Perfect Proceedings* 2/8-9/8/1655.

especially after 1655, their continued hostility towards the Quakers, and the fact that they had a wide national circulation possibly carried the day for those who wished to make the association of Quakerism and subversion explicit and widespread. They reinforced and gave official sanction to many of the views circulating in anti-Quaker publications and, in spite of determined efforts by the Quakers, helped make sure that by 1659 the link between Quakerism and subversion was well established in the minds of many of the political nation.

It would be wrong of course to attribute the heavy prosecution that the Quakers endured in these years solely to the influence of the Press, but that it was an important factor, and was seen to be so by contemporaries has been shown in the evidence set out above.<sup>41</sup> The Press, it has been argued, must be seen as a consistently active agent, mediating the relationship between the Quakers, the government and the public. It played an important role in the internal development of the movement, and the adverse images disseminated in anti-Quaker publications, and in the newsbooks of these years did much to create the climate of distrust which greeted the Quakers during the Protectorate and the early years of the Restoration. The Quakers were aware of the power of the Press to influence opinion against them, and as has been shown devoted considerable energy to making sure that their voice was heard. In the short term however the appeal to stereotyped adverse interpretations on the part of the relatively orthodox anti-Quaker authors and the official newsbooks proved to be in closer harmony with the views of the members of the politically influential classes, than did any position put forward by the Quakers.

The strength of the belief in the power of the Press to influence the opinions of those people who mattered politically, as exemplified by the activities of the Quakers, the government through its official newsbooks and the anti-Quaker writers, should prompt us to consider how far it may have influenced opinion on other issues. Many of the problems associated with the position of Dissent after 1660, and the

<sup>41</sup> For details of Quaker Sufferings, see *A Declaration of the Present Sufferings of . . . the . . . Quakers* (1659), p. 1, and W. C. Braithwaite, *The Second Period of Quakerism* (2nd ed., Cambridge 1961), p. 9.

failure of Charles II and James II's successive attempts at toleration might be illuminated by a closer study of the way the Press was, and was seen to be forming the attitudes of the political nation. Were there not evidence to suggest, as has been shown, that the Press was playing an important part in one sensitive area of national political life during the relatively stable years of the Protectorate, then the assumption that it only played an important role during times of acute national political crisis could go unchallenged. Closer study of certain topics, such as Quakerism and the Press, proves that evidence does exist, and so the assumption must be challenged. In the light of the evidence presented in this article, it is possible to begin to reconsider our ideas on the role of the Press in late seventeenth century England, and to recognise that it was playing a more active and influential role during periods of relative stability than it has hitherto been fashionable to assert.

THOMAS P. O'MALLEY

## Quakerism in Connaught, 1656–1978

QUAKERISM made its way into Ireland quite early and with such vigour that it soon produced a string of meetings that stretched from Ulster, southward through Leinster, and then westward into Munster. Connaught, however, proved to be rather inhospitable to the the "Publishers of Truth," with such small success there that today there is almost no awareness of the fact that Quaker centres actually existed in Sligo,<sup>1</sup> Newport,<sup>2</sup> and Ballymurray,<sup>3</sup> and standard histories of Irish Quakerism make no mention of the Galway meeting at all.<sup>4</sup> It is, therefore, with Connaught that this paper is concerned.

It was in 1654 that the earliest Friends travelling in the ministry made their appearance in Ireland. A steady stream of what were later called "public Friends" crossed the Irish Sea, carrying the "Lamb's War" to the various *English* settlements and garrisons in Ireland. Some of them, such as Francis Howgill, made only one visit, while others like Edward Burrough were there twice. Still others, such as Thomas Loe and John Tiffin made numerous efforts to plant, cultivate, and nourish Friends' settlements in Ireland.<sup>5</sup> They also produced, quite rapidly, a rich crop of "Irish" publishers of Truth (including William Ames, Samuel Buckley, Edward and Lucretia Cooke, John Luffe, Marcus Lynch, Robert and Mary Malin, John Perrot, and Robert Turner) who joined William Edmundson in the spreading of Quakerism not only throughout Ireland but also abroad.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Wight and John Rutty, *A History of the Rise and Progress of the People called Quakers in Ireland* (Dublin, 1751), p. 350, mentions a small meeting at Sligo (1714–1717), which then moved to Ballymurray, County Roscommon.

<sup>2</sup> Kenneth L. Carroll, "Quaker Weavers at Newport, Ireland, 1720–1740," *Jnl. F.H.S.*, 54 (1976), 15–27.

<sup>3</sup> Wight and Rutty, *op. cit.*, p. 350. Ballymurray, Ballymurry: both forms of the name are found.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Isabel Grubb, *Quakers in Ireland, 1654–1900* (London, 1937), where the only mention of Galway is in connection with William Forster's visit there in the nineteenth century.

<sup>5</sup> Wight and Rutty, *op. cit.*, pp. 351–352, contains a partial list of those who laboured in Ireland from 1654 to 1680.

<sup>6</sup> Ames was very active in the early Quaker work in Holland and Germany. Perrot and Luffe travelled widely in the Mediterranean area, with Perrot also appearing in the American colonies. Robert and Mary

The first Quakers known to have been active in Galway were Humphrey Norton, William Shaw, and John Stubbs, all of whom were there in 1656. Little is known about their work in that city. William Shaw (d. 1658) was one of the first "Publishers of Truth" in Norway. He may have made several journeys to Galway. On one occasion, perhaps his first visit there, Shaw may have been travelling by himself. After having been turned out of Limerick (where Colonel Ingoldsby would allow no "strange" Friends to enter the city to proclaim Quakerism),<sup>7</sup> he was reported to be on the road to Galway when he was badly beaten by a trooper "simply for being a Quaker." On another occasion, it would seem, Shaw was travelling with Humphrey Norton. Both of them were placed under guard in Limerick and also (either before or after the Limerick experience) were taken from a meeting at Samuel Newton's house in Galway, expelled from that city, and not allowed to "fetch" their horses.<sup>8</sup> Shaw, on still another occasion, was in Galway with John Stubbs. The two of them were imprisoned five weeks for speaking a few words in a "steeple-house" there.<sup>9</sup> This last episode, taking place in late 1656, is the only one which can be dated with any reasonable accuracy. The "Great Book of Sufferings," probably begun in 1661 but incorporating a list of earlier sufferings, seems to suggest a date of 1655 for all of these episodes, but that assignment does not bear up under close scrutiny. Samuel Buckley very late in 1656 wrote to Margaret Fell that "John Stubbs and W. Shaw is in outward bonds at Gallyway [Galway]."<sup>10</sup>

Malin (Malins, Maylin, etc.) spent much time in the West Indies and may have reached the American mainland. The best known, William Edmundson, has left us his well-known *Journal*, which deals with his discovery of Quakerism in 1653, when on a visit to England, and his life-long travels in religious service at home and abroad. The Cookes, Turner, and Lynch were primarily active in Ireland, although several of them did visit England and Turner eventually removed to America.

<sup>7</sup> National Sufferings, I (1655–1693), 7. This manuscript volume, numbered A. 11, is found in Friends' Historical Library, Dublin.

<sup>8</sup> National Sufferings, I (A. 11), 7, 10. Norton and Shaw were also imprisoned in Wexford, where they were taken from a meeting for worship, carried forcibly into a "public house of worship" to hear the sermon, and then imprisoned for speaking after the sermon was over.

<sup>9</sup> National Sufferings, I (A. 11), 10.

<sup>10</sup> Friends House Library, Swarthmore MSS I, 392 (Tr. I, 177), dated 11th Month 1656 (January 1656/7).

These are the only three "First Publishers" in Ireland who are known to have been in Galway in 1655–1656. It seems certain that Burrough and Howgill did not get beyond the Cork area before they were arrested, sent to Dublin, and banished. Probably few if any of the other 1655–1656 ministering Friends<sup>11</sup> made their way to Galway. Although there are no recorded visits for 1657 (when many English Quakers were crisscrossing Ireland), there must have been some such activity—for there is the very interesting testimony from the Reverend Reuben Easthorp about continued Quaker growth there. Easthorp, writing from Galway to Henry Cromwell on June 11, 1657, attempted to give an account of the religious situation in Galway at that time. He dwelt at length on the efforts of the "Anabaptists" (Baptists) and also spoke of the Fifth Monarchists and other groups labouring in the city—thus testifying to the radical Puritanism that marked much of the Cromwellian Army in Ireland.<sup>12</sup> Late in this report he says that "our quakers do get[gain] ground" and further notes that a hundred soldiers and others meet together at a time "at their assemblies."<sup>13</sup>

Almost nothing is known of this small, but growing, Quaker community—its makeup, experiences, sufferings, etc. The only two "members" who can be identified are Samuel Newton (at whose home a meeting was kept and from which Norton and Shaw were taken prisoners) and Marcus Lynch who very early became active in the ministry (so that his name appears in an early list of Friends who visited Cork Meeting).<sup>14</sup> Galway Quakerism appears to have drawn heavily

<sup>11</sup> Also present in Ireland in 1655 were Alice Birkett, Thomas Hill, Thomas Loe, Richard Milner, Elizabeth Holme, Lancelot Wardell, Sarah Cheevers, Elizabeth Fletcher, Elizabeth Smith, Anne Gould, Juliannah Browne, Barbara Blaughden, Richard Hickock, William Simpson, Rebecca Ward, and Elizabeth Morgan; in 1656 John Bowron, Thomas Shaw, Mary Howgill, and William Stockdale.

<sup>12</sup> It was on this radical Puritanism that Quakerism fed and grew. It made little or no headway in predominantly Roman Catholic, Lutheran, or Calvinistic lands.

<sup>13</sup> British Library, Lansdowne MSS 822, f. 246.

<sup>14</sup> A Catalogue of the Names of Friends in the Ministry, who visited this Nation, Since the Year 1655, Friends Historical Library, Dublin (Room 4, Shelf P, Number 26). This list, drawn up by Abraham Abell in 1756, uses an earlier list produced by William Morris who died in 1680. This "Catalogue" was published in *Jnl. F.H.S.*, 10 (1913), 157–180, 212–262. Robert Malin, also "Irish," is also included in this list, but the names of Luffe and Perrot are not to be found there.

from the Cromwellian forces, as did Quakerism in Bandon, Cork, Youghal, and Limerick. Yet, at the same time, it reached out into the native population, for Marcus Lynch was a member of that well-known Galway family which had provided numerous mayors and other officials for a two hundred year period.

It is probable that Galway Friends were visited in 1659 by Thomas Murford (Morford), who in May of that year wrote that he expected to make his way from Waterford to Limerick and Galway. He also reported that Thomas Loe had been in "the west."<sup>15</sup> Later that same year John Bowron and John Robinson, who had been in Ulster and then in Dublin, had "drawings" toward "Connow" (Connaught).<sup>16</sup> John Burnyeat was in Galway in 1660, but his *Journal* tells us nothing of the state of Quakerism there.<sup>17</sup> He was accompanied by Robert Lodge on this visit.

It was in this same year, 1660, that the first *known* suffering of resident Galway Friends occurred. The "Great Book of Sufferings," which is so full of early examples of sufferings in Cork, Dublin, Waterford, and elsewhere, makes practically no mention of Galway (other than the brief experiences of Shaw, Stubbs, and Norton already noted above). Probably Galway Friends in the 1656-1659 period suffered in the same ways and for the same reasons that their brethren elsewhere did, but their troubles before 1660 were not recorded. In the spring of 1660, however, a general persecution broke out, when Lt. Col. [Francis?] Gore "The Governor" of the garrison and Gabriell King "major" ordered "Marke Lynch, Richard Blisse and the rest of the Quakers in Galway" to depart the city about the second month [April], simply for being Quakers. When this period had expired the officers of Galway took up six Friends, kept them prisoners and then expelled them from the city—commanding them not to return to their houses and families. If any of those banished dared to return to their families they were to be put in prison.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Swarthmore MSS I, 26 (Tr. II, 781), dated 6th of 3rd Month, 1659. It seems very likely that Loe was active in Galway in his 1657-1660 visit to Ireland.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 90 (Tr. I, 235), dated 1st of 9th Month, 1659.

<sup>17</sup> John Burnyeat, *The Truth Exalted* (London, 1691), pp. 26-27.

<sup>18</sup> National Sufferings, I (A.11).

Marcus [Marke] Lynch, if banished in 1660, was back in Galway by 1661 and very possibly was imprisoned there. The Bristol Manuscripts contain the "Third part" of a discussion between Edward Burrough and some "Romish priests, prisoners in Galway."<sup>19</sup> This manuscript was sent on to Burrough by Marcus Lynch on the 10th of the 8th Month, 1661. Had Lynch become acquainted with Burrough in 1660 during the latter's second visit to Ireland?<sup>20</sup> Did Lynch's own imprisonment allow him to facilitate the exchange of these theological disputations between "Romish priests, prisoners in Galway" and Burrough now back in England? If Lynch and other Galway Friends were imprisoned in 1661, then they must have been freed by the order which William Edmundson succeeded in obtaining in Dublin—freeing Irish Quakers wherever they might be held prisoner.<sup>21</sup> Shortly thereafter Edmundson spent six weeks visiting meetings "throughout the Nation," possibly even that meeting in Galway itself.

Practically nothing else is known about Galway Quakerism during the remainder of the 1660s. John Burnyeat was among Galway Quakers again in 1664, when he took shipping from there for America about 7th Month 1664.<sup>22</sup> In 1669 they were also visited by Solomon Eccles, who is remembered for his "signs and wonders" throughout the British Isles. Here, we are told,

Solomon Eccles being moved of the Lord to go a Sign, on the 14th day of the 7th Moneth, at that Naked, with Fire and Brimstone burning on his Head, without the Gates of the City, unto a Papist's Mass Meeting, and the Fryar and People being upon their Knees, . . . [he called them to repentance].

Eccles, accompanied by Randal Cousins, Nicholas Gibble, and Henry Bloodsworth (all Irish Friends, several of which may have lived in Galway) went into Galway, calling that city and its inhabitants to repentance. All four were then imprisoned, and Eliza Harper who came to visit them in

<sup>19</sup> Bristol MSS, V, 99–106. A microfilm copy of this manuscript collection is found in Friends House Library; the original volume is deposited at Bristol Archives Office, SF/CI/I(a).

<sup>20</sup> The language of Lynch's note to Burrough suggests a warm friendship between the two. Was Burrough in Galway in 1660, or did Lynch meet him while both were engaged in religious travel?

<sup>21</sup> William Edmundson, *Journal* (Dublin, 1715), p. 40.

<sup>22</sup> Burnyeat, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

prison was also confined for a few days. Then all five Friends were released.<sup>23</sup> In this same year, 1669, George Fox may have visited Galway, when he travelled "through" the nation, although Galway is not specifically mentioned in his account.<sup>24</sup>

Very few references to Quakers in Galway are found in the 1670s. In 1672 Friends there were visited by Edward Edwards (d. 1706) and John Tiffin (d. 1701). Edwards reported that "a good meeting I had there amongst friends," although there was some disturbance toward the end by a "Jangling Baptist."<sup>25</sup> In 1673 Galway Friends undoubtedly were also visited by John Burnyeat, when he landed in Galway on returning from his second religious journey to America.<sup>26</sup> This visit is the last religious visit recorded for Galway, although there probably were others in the next few years before the meeting there ceased to exist.

It was in this same year that is found the last reference to Galway Meeting in the records of National Meeting of Irish Friends. On the 5th of 3rd Month, 1673, it was minuted that

Friends of Galloway [Galway] are desired to gett a Register Book for Births, Buryalls, Marriages & Sufferings . . . and thatt some of thatt Meeting to come to the Six weeks Meetings & every time bring an accoun[t] thither to the Men of the Births, Buryalls, and intentions of Marriages, &c . . . and that they get a burying place at Galway.<sup>27</sup>

This passage shows that there still must have been a sizeable Quaker community left in Galway in 1673 for such concern to be shown about records and representatives at the Six Weeks

<sup>23</sup> Thomas Holme and Abraham Fuller, *A Brief Relation of Some part of the Suffering of the True Christians, The People of God (in Scorn called Quakers) in Ireland* (n.p., 1672), p. 45. Cf. John M. Douglas, "Early Quakerism in Ireland", *Jnl. F.H.S.*, 48 (1956), 11–12, and especially p. 12 where he states that Quakers in Galway were "very few" (his only comment on Galway Quakerism). Eliza Harper's name is mistakenly spelled *Hooper* by Joseph Besse. Concerning going naked as a sign, see Kenneth L. Carroll, "Early Quakers and 'Going Naked as a Sign,'" *Quaker History*, LXVII (1978), 69–87.

<sup>24</sup> George Fox, *Journal* ed. John L. Nickalls (Cambridge, 1952), p. 547.

<sup>25</sup> Anthony Sharp MSS, IV, 25, contains a letter from Edwards to Sharp dated 14th of 6th Month from Mallow, reporting this earlier stop in Galway. The Sharp MSS are in Friends' Historical Library, Dublin. Edwards had gone from Galway to Limerick, while Tiffin had been sent on to Dublin.

<sup>26</sup> Burnyeat, *op. cit.*, p. 61. They arrived Galway on the 24th of 3rd Month (May). There is no further mention of Galway in Burnyeat's rather sparse account of his religious labors.

<sup>27</sup> National Meeting Proceedings, I (1671–1688), 14. This volume, numbered A. 1, is found in Friends' Historical Library, Dublin.

Meeting. The latest known references to Galway Quakers all deal with individuals who had "gone out" in their behaviour and had to be dealt with. The very fact that all correspondence seems to have been handled by Friends from Leinster suggests that Galway Meeting was too weak to discipline its "disorderly walkers" and that its demise was not far away.

Anthony Sharp (1643-1706), well-to-do wool merchant and influential Dublin Friend, wrote to Marcus Lynch on January 30, 1674/5, that he had recently encountered Lynch's cousin Peter Orinby (Ormsby) in a shop in Dublin and heard a disturbing report that Lynch "had turned from being a Quaker, and as I remember said thou wore a sword, &c." Sharp noted that he had heard some other troubling reports. In a very moving passage Sharp then expressed his hope that Lynch would soon return to his "first love" and then warns him of the affliction he was bringing upon the "righteous" as well as the woe which was to be his own "portion."<sup>28</sup> No evidence of Lynch's reclamation has been found.

Several years after the Lynch case it was reported that William Stanley of Galway had taken an oath (whether in connection with some political appointment or legal development is unknown). Friends were not satisfied with the explanation he furnished them early in 1677, so that he was written to once more.<sup>29</sup> The National Meeting in November of that year appointed Robert Taylor and Anthony Sharp to write to him once again on that matter.<sup>30</sup> In July 1678 William Edmundson was requested to correspond with Stanley, asking him to draw up a paper of condemnation and to attend the next General or Province Meeting.<sup>31</sup> By September Stanley still had not appeared before the Province Meeting, but the Meeting's paper of condemnation of Stanley was still not made public—for Gershon Boate had it "in his heart" to "visit him in love and to persuade him to Condemn the said action publicly," with Stanley's own paper to be set up in a public place in Galway ("Namely the Customs

<sup>28</sup> Sharp MSS, I, 77. Lynch probably died *ca.* 1678.

<sup>29</sup> Minutes of Leinster Province Meeting, I (1670-1707), 48. These manuscript records are at Friends' Historical Library, Dublin, and are numbered as Volume B. 1. This minute is dated 21st of 2nd Month, 1677.

<sup>30</sup> National Meeting Proceedings, I (1671-1688), p. 44.

<sup>31</sup> Leinster Province Meeting Minutes, I (B. 1), 65.

House").<sup>32</sup> Two months later, in November, Stanley was present at the Province Meeting and showed himself willing to give forth such a paper.<sup>33</sup> Yet, by April 1679 Stanley had done nothing. It was decided, therefore, that Friends would proceed with their own paper of condemnation of his "disorderly walking."<sup>34</sup>

It would appear that Galway Quakerism was quite weak by the 1670s. The very fact that Leinster, and especially Dublin, Friends were given the tasks of dealing with Lynch and Stanley suggests that the number of Friends in Galway was small. Their isolation from other Quaker communities seems to have kept them from being attached to any Monthly Meeting, that body of church government which was so important in seeing that Friends and meetings lived in "gospel order." The defection of Lynch and Stanley, two stalwarts of the Galway Meeting, must have seriously weakened the remaining group. Quite possibly some members removed to America (as many Irish Friends were doing at this very time) or to other sections of Ireland. Death itself would have removed others—both the worthy "elders" who had suffered persecution in the past and the younger members who might have taken places of leadership had they but lived. Whatever the reasons, Galway Quakerism soon disappeared. Even its very memory was soon obliterated, so that Wight and Rutty seemed to know nothing of it,<sup>35</sup> and James Dickinson (1659–1741) was able to report that in 1701 he held meetings in Connaught where "no Friends" dwelt.<sup>36</sup>

At the turn of the century there appeared a growing concern on the part of Friends (both Irish and travelling Friends from abroad) to reach out to Connaught once more—and especially to the people of Sligo. William Edmundson, travelling under religious concern, held meetings in Sligo in 1699 and again in 1701.<sup>37</sup> James Dickinson likewise was drawn to that area:

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, I (B. 1), 67.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, I (B. 1), 71.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, I (B. 1), 74. William Stanley appears to have been received back into the Society, and served on appointments in 1680 and 1681, but his name is not mentioned after the latter date.

<sup>35</sup> Wight and Rutty, *op. cit.*

<sup>36</sup> James Dickinson, *Journal* (London, 1745), p. 136.

<sup>37</sup> Edmundson, *Journal*, pp. 210, 245.

I was concerned to travel to many Places in the Province of Connaught, several [Irish] Friends accompanying me; we had Meetings at Inns, and in Places where no Friends lived; the Testimony of Truth was freely declared, and the People directed to the Light of Christ Jesus: Some strongly opposed the Truth, and others confessed thereunto.<sup>38</sup>

At a "Select meeting of concerned friends: of the three Provinces" (Ulster, Leinster, and Munster) at the time of the Half-Year's Meeting on the 9th of the 9th Month, 1703, it was noted that, "of late times it has been in the hearts of some publique friends to visit Remote places in the North, and other parts where no meetings are settled." Those going forth in this service were to be accompanied by "weighty, sound and seasoned" Friends. They should also have the unanimous consent of the Province Meeting, after having already received the consent of their own Monthly Meeting.<sup>39</sup> In 1706, it was recorded that,

as Friends of the Ministry of late years have had a Service in several places up and down this Nation by haveing meetings amongst unconvinced people where Meetings used not to be, and hath been followed time after time by other Quallifyed friends. And that an openness Appeares to bee [present] in many places. It is thought fitt to offer it to publick friends that the consideration thereof may lye before them Answering that Service.<sup>40</sup>

It was this "openness" to hear, united with the proclamation of the Quaker message, which brought into existence a small group of convinced Friends at Sligo—probably late in 1714. The first mention of this group dates from 1715, when it was reported that "there is an openness in several places of the three Provinces, to hear the Testimony of Truth declared, and that in Connaught near Sligoe, there are some convinced; who keep a meeting."<sup>41</sup> The National Meeting requested that Ulster and Leinster Province Meetings remember these Sligo Friends, visit them, and report to the next National Meeting. By November 1715 it was learned that John Byrn (Burn) and Thomas Siggins, two

<sup>38</sup> Dickinson, *Journal*, p. 135–36.

<sup>39</sup> National Meeting Proceedings, I (A.1), 289.

<sup>40</sup> Leinster Province Meeting Minutes, I (B. 1), 391.

<sup>41</sup> National Half-Year's Meeting Minutes, II (1708–1757), minutes for 8th to 11th of 3rd Month (May), 1715. This volume is numbered A. 3. Ulster Friends twice visited Sligo in 1715, while Thomas Lightfoot, Benjamin Parvin, and John Russell were visitors there in the summer of 1715.

of those lately convinced at Sligo, were now "close prisoners" in the Sligo gaol for their testimony against tithes. Byrn and Siggins were eventually released through the endeavours of Friends (from Dublin and Moate Monthly Meetings) and the assistance of their neighbours—with "the priest, sheriff & gaoler, etc. forgiving the payment of their demands." The two Sligo Quakers were reported to have "demeaned and behaved themselves well in their suffering and came out clear after having been Prisoners about six months."<sup>42</sup>

Shortly thereafter Leinster Friends learned, through a letter from James Byrn, that both he and Siggins were having further difficulty because of tithes and were scheduled to be brought before the Bishop's Court.<sup>43</sup> Dublin Friends were asked to communicate with Sir Edward Crofton (who lived near Roscommon) about this new difficulty.<sup>44</sup> Also, Gershon Boate and some other Friends from Moate Monthly Meeting travelled into Connaught to meet with Sligo Friends and "to endeavour in Truth's way, to prevent the Imprisonment of the few Men Friends there." They reported to Leinster Provincial Meeting that "it's hoped [that] by the endeavours of Sir Edward Crofton who appears much Concerned to prevent the Same, their Liberty is likely to be continued."<sup>45</sup>

By May 1717 another Sligo Friend, George Burn, was a prisoner for his testimony against tithes, and Leinster Friends were labouring for his release.<sup>46</sup> About this very same time the rest of the "few Friends who lived near Sligoe . . . [had] their farms whereon they lived . . . taken over their heads," so that they decided to move to County Roscommon near Friends at Moate.<sup>47</sup> With the help of Moate Friends, and some assistance from other Leinster Quakers, they settled in Roscommon northwest of Athlone. Thus the Sligo Meeting, which had come into being about

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, II (A.3), minutes for 8th to 10th of 3rd Month, 1716.

<sup>43</sup> Leinster Province Meeting Minutes, II (1708–1760), 142. This volume is numbered B. 2.

<sup>44</sup> Those Dublin Friends asked to intervene with Crofton were Samuel Baker, Samuel Braithwaite, Joseph Fade, and George Rooke.

<sup>45</sup> Leinster Province Meeting Minutes, II (B, 2), 147.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, II (B. 2), 155.

<sup>47</sup> National Half-Year's Meeting Minutes, II (A. 3), minutes for 8th to 11th of 3rd Month, 1717.

1714 and which had been "settled" in 1715 or 1716,<sup>48</sup> ceased to exist in 1717. In spite of the disappearance of a Sligo Quaker community, travelling Friends were still drawn to that area for several more generations. John Fothergill (1676–1745) and Benjamin Holme (1683–1749), for example, held a meeting in the "Sessions-house" there on December 23, 1724, noting that "the Sheriff and several more of the People [present] being very loving."<sup>49</sup> Mary Peisley Neale (1717–1757), and her English companion, Catharine Payton (1727–1794), visited "the towns-people of Sligo in Connaught, and felt much satisfaction; she thought they were well worth visiting, and said there seemed much more openness to declare the Truth amongst those of other societies, than amongst them that go under our name."<sup>50</sup> Two American Quakers, John Pemberton (1727–1795) and William Matthews (1732–1792) held a meeting at Sligo in 1783.<sup>51</sup> Mary Dudley (1750–1823), an English Friend who for a period resided in Ireland, held an appointed meeting in the Presbyterian meeting house at Sligo in 1795 and reported that "A large number of solid people attended, who seemed disposed to receive the doctrines of Truth; indeed I trust some bowed under its precious influence."<sup>52</sup>

Those Quakers who left Sligo for County Roscommon in 1717 settled at or near Ballymurray (also called Mary's Town), about three miles south-southeast of the town of Roscommon and about ten miles from Athlone. In November 1717 it was reported that they had "not yet settled to satisfaction." Within six months, however, it was noted that not only were they now comfortably settled but that some other Friends from other sections of Ireland had also arrived —so that "a meeting is setled there for the Worship of God."<sup>53</sup>

<sup>48</sup> National Book for Recording Epistles and Papers from the Provinces, etc. (A. 20), epistle from National Half-Years Meeting to London Yearly Meeting dated 3rd Month 10th, 1716.

<sup>49</sup> John Fothergill, *An account of the life and travels . . . of John Fothergill* 1753 p. 222; *The Friends' Library*, XIII, 409.

<sup>50</sup> *The Friends' Library*, XI, 94.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, VI, 313.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, XIV, 332. Mary Dudley gives a lengthy description of this meeting and of her discussions with those who had attended, reporting "My very soul cleaved to some of the inhabitants of Sligo, and the remembrance of having been there is precious". (Mary Dudley, *Life*, 1825, p. 205).

<sup>53</sup> National Half-Year's Meeting Minutes, II (A. 3), minutes for 8th to 11th, 9th Month, 1717, and 8th to 10th of 9th Month, 1718.

Among those coming from Sligo were James Byrn, his father Edward Byrn, George Byrn (James' brother), Thomas Siggins, and their families. Also arriving in 1718 were Robert Sinklar (Sinclar, St. Clar, etc.), Gershon Boate, Joseph Nevitt, and their families from Montrath in Queen's County.<sup>54</sup> Other Friends who moved in about the same time were Gershon Boate, Jr., Henry Willson, Thomas Jackson, and their families, as well as several others named Burton and Heaton.<sup>55</sup>

By June 1718, after most of these Friends from Sligo, Montrath, and elsewhere had settled in County Roscommon, Moate Monthly Meeting appointed John Wyly, Jacob Fuller, Josuha Clibborn, and Jonathan Robinson to speak to Gershon Boate "in order to have a convenient piece of ground sett out at Ballymurry in the County of Roscommon for a Burial place & to build a meeting house on."<sup>56</sup> It was not until 1721, however, that the meeting house was built.<sup>57</sup> Ballymurray Friends were also asked, in 1721, to "take care Duely to attend the Assizes and Sessions at Roscommon, without any further Advice of this [Moate Monthly] Meeting."<sup>58</sup>

The records of Moate Monthly Meeting, to which Ballymurray Friends belonged, contain relatively few references to Friends in County Roscommon. Yet, there are enough for us to make some observations about the life of that meeting. First of all, there were the usual marriages—both within the meeting and with members of other meetings. Isaac Burton and Rachel Heaton, both of Ballymurray, were married at Moate in 1724.<sup>59</sup> Joan Jackson of Ballymurray married Thomas Sproule of Westmeath in 1719 (at Waterstown in Westmeath).<sup>60</sup> The first marriage at Ballymurray Meeting House was probably that of Deborah Willson of Ballymurray and Richard Church of Athy (County Kildare) in

<sup>54</sup> Moate Monthly Meeting Births, Marriages, Deaths (H. 1), pp. 68, 77, 89, 103. James Byrn and his family settled at Galey (Gailey, Gawley, Gayly) on the western shore of Lough Ree, while the others appear to have settled at Ballymurray.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 101, 177, 189.

<sup>56</sup> Moate Men's Meeting Minutes, 1680–1731 (H. 7), p. 178b.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 193, 199b.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 192b.

<sup>59</sup> Moate Births, Marriages, and Deaths (H. 1), p. 189.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 177. She was probably the daughter of Thomas Jackson.

1728.<sup>61</sup> Two years later Deborah's mother, Mary Willson of Marystown (Ballymurray) married Richard Nevitt at Ballymurray Meeting House on the 16th of 7th Month, 1730.<sup>62</sup>

There were also the disagreements and disturbances that occasionally mark the lives of individual Quakers, so that the Monthly Meeting was frequently called upon to arbitrate the differences and condemn the disorders that sometimes developed. A dispute between Henry Willson and Gershon Boate, Sr. (both of whom lived at or near Ballymurray) caused Moate Monthly Meeting, in 1726, to appoint a committee to meet with them.<sup>63</sup> Much more serious was the trouble between James Byrn and John Sinklar. Byrn's condemnation of his action throws some light on the problem:

Whereas there Came some Difference Between John Sinklar and mee by his threatening mee Some time agoe which Since hath occasioned us to Quarrell which Quarrell made mee Challenge him to meet & fight as wee did which was Contrary to our Profession and a Scandall to the truth we profess & is a Scandall to our Society which was don[e] & acted by & in a wrong Spirit which Scandalous action I doe Condemn and hopes Never to be Guilty of the like again and am h[e]artily Sorry that Ever I was Guilty of the Like.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 197. Witnesses, mostly from Ballymurray, included the following: Gershon, Hannah, Rachel, and Susannah Boate; Abigail, Edward (2), George, James, John and Sarah Byrn(e); Jane Fenn; George Heaton; Richard Nevitt; Thomas Siggins; James, John, Mary and Robert Sinklar; and Elizabeth (2), Mary and Susanna Willson.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 202. Many members of the Boate, Bryn, Heaton, Nevitt, Nixon, Pritchard, Siggins, Sinklar and Willson families were present.

<sup>63</sup> Moate Men's Meeting Minutes, 1680–1731 (H. 7), p. 215b. Boate's first name is sometimes spelled Gershon and at other times Gershom. Both of these names are biblical, the first the son of Levi and the second the son of Moses.

<sup>64</sup> Moate Monthly Meeting Testimonies of Denial, 1685–1858 (H. 6), loose sheet at front of volume dated 27th of 4th Month, 1731. This volume is at Friends Historical Library, Dublin. As early as the 7th Month 1729 it was recorded that Mary Sinclair (Sinklar), John Sinklar and James Byrn "ye younger" had turned in to Moate Monthly Meeting papers respecting their quarrelling. Thomas Siggins was appointed to take the papers back to Ballymurray and to read them at a public meeting there (Cf. Moate Men's Meeting Minutes, (H. 7), p. 240).

John Sinklar's condemnation is as follows: "I do acknowledge that I have done amis[s] and Contrary to the peaceable Sprit of Truth which I profess, In Resisting when Strock by James Burn and also In answering his Challing [sic] and being so Disobedient to my Mother in not coming home with her when shee Commanded me which actions hath grieved my Dear parents and friends and brought reproach on the profession I Make for all which I am very sorry and do Condemn my S[ai]d Doings hoping for the time to Com[e] to be more Carefull and warned thereby and Desires friends to accept of this my acknowledgement". This is found on a loose sheet in the front of the same volume, dated 27th of 5th Month, 1731. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 42, for copies of these two originals.

Several members of the Boate family were testified against for their "disorderly walking." Samuel Boate was disowned in 1735 for running up bills, refusing to pay his creditors, and for "leaving the nation."<sup>65</sup> Gershon Boate the Younger, already noted for his fighting spirit, was disowned in 1735 for having a child by a servant. Boate, left with three small children at the death of his wife, had kept the maid in his house even after being cautioned by family and Friends—thus precipitating his downfall.<sup>66</sup>

One of the most significant developments for Ballymurray Friends came in the winter of 1739–1740, when a small Quaker community of weavers left its former home at Newport (County Mayo) and removed to County Roscommon—settling mainly at Killarney and Galey near Ballymurray. This Newport Quaker group had originally come into existence at almost the same time that Sligo Friends were moving to Ballymurray. Starting in 1719 and coming from Drogheda and Dublin in Leinster and from Rathfryland Meeting (County Down) and Dunclady Meeting (County Derry) in Ulster, members of the Cantrell, Evans, Kelly, Maga (Magaw, McGae, etc.), Peck, Sutcliffe, Taylor and other families settled in Newport, largely at the instigation of Captain Pratt. They earned a rather precarious existence from linen weaving, so that they needed assistance from their fellow-Quakers on several occasions.<sup>67</sup> Some of them, in hope of a better financial future, removed to America in 1730, while others decided to continue the struggle a while longer in Newport. This small community also had its problems of "discipline." In 1720, shortly after their arrival, William Warding was testified against for causing the Truth to suffer in several ways.<sup>68</sup> Samuel Kennin (Kenning, Kennan) was disowned in 1723 for drunkenness and for "marrying out."<sup>69</sup> William Magae condemned his earlier "outgoing in marriage" at the beginning of 1727, while Susanna Cantrell did likewise at the beginning of 1728.<sup>70</sup> Only one Friends' wedding, that of Thomas McClung and Elizabeth Evans (in March 1726),

<sup>65</sup> Moate Monthly Meeting Denials (H.6), p. 48.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51. Gershon Boate the younger was also dealt with in 1729 for having shot his landlord's sow.

<sup>67</sup> See *Jnl. F.H.S.*, 54 (1976), 15–27.

<sup>68</sup> Moate Men's Meeting Minutes (H. 7), p. 188b.

<sup>69</sup> Moate Monthly Meeting Denials (H.6), p. 40.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 40–41.

took place in Newport; Samuel Evans of Newport Meeting had to go to Waterstown (County Westmeath) for his marriage to Ann Hall on March 1, 1729.<sup>71</sup> The isolation of Newport Quakers from other Friends, when added to their own small size and the fact that most of them were so closely related, created a real problem for these Friends—for, if they remained in Newport, their children (many of whom were reaching a marriageable age) would be forced into “outgoing in marriage.” This was the major reason that Newport Friends finally decided to remove from County Mayo to County Roscommon, effecting that change of residence (with assistance from other Irish Quakers) in the very difficult winter of 1739–1740. Thus, the Newport Meeting, after a brief existence of only twenty years, came to an end; however, the life of Ballymurray Meeting was strengthened by the arrival of these Friends from western Connaught.

It was probably the influx of these Friends from Newport which allowed Ballymurray Meeting to exist for another century, for there were continuing problems of “discipline” which led to many being dropped from membership (a number of whom had come from Newport, it must be admitted). Usually the charge was “outgoing in marriage” or “marriage by a priest,” including Margaret Siggins (1741), Margaret Peck (1744), James Henan (1746), Sarah Alexander (1756), Mary Henan (1758), Abigail Byrn (1759), Jacob Fairweather and Sarah Magaw (1761), John Alexander (1766), Elizabeth Byrn (1777), and Sarah Byrn (1783).<sup>72</sup> There were also several other Ballymurray cases related to marriage that came before Moate Monthly Meeting. Among the more colourful examples was that of Thomas Robinson, son of Jonathan Robinson of Killarney in County Roscommon. After twice being refused permission by Nathan Nevitt to court Nevitt’s daughter, Thomas gave way to temptation and

went after a wicked Clandestine & Audacious manner, to her Uncle’s house at Gaily, where she was at that time & there being joined by a Number of armed Men did forcibly take her out of her said Uncle’s house late in the Night, & put the whole Family in great terror &

<sup>71</sup> Moate Births, Marriages, Deaths (H. 1), p. 200.

<sup>72</sup> Moate Monthly Meeting Denials (H. 6), pp. 61, 71, 77, 83, 103, 104, 108, 110, 113, 118, 120.

fear of Losing their Lives, as one of them fired a Pistol after [her] Aunt when she ran to alarm their Neighbours which they being apprehensive of Went away, & left the young woman.

Robinson was disowned for this act on the 14th of 1st month, 1770; several years later, however, he condemned his misbehaviour and sought to be readmitted into the Society.<sup>73</sup> The most scandalous case to be brought before the Monthly Meeting occurred at mid-century and involved two members of the Byrn family—Sarah (daughter of James, of Galey in County Roscommon) and her half-uncle Edward (who had attended meeting from time to time in the past but who was not counted as a member). The two of them eloped together, settled on an island in the Shannon, living as “man and wife.” and telling John Byrn that they were married. Sarah Byrn was disowned for this act of immorality.<sup>74</sup>

There were some disownments for other reasons: John Sinklar, charged with non-payment of debts and absconding (1745), Robert Sinklar, who in his “younger years has followed the light more carefully,” was guilty of unspecified “outgoings” (1750), and John Byrn of Carronolan in County Roscommon for not attending meetings and for taking an oath (1789).<sup>75</sup> These disownments (although occasionally followed by an acknowledgment and a request to be received back into membership—usually several years later) both served to weaken the Ballymurray Meeting and to point up the added “snares” experienced by members of a small and somewhat isolated Quaker community. Removals from County Roscommon also outnumbered those moving in, as Friends left for more prosperous areas of Ireland and even for America, as in the case of James Hennen (Henan) in 1751.<sup>76</sup> Then, too, late in the eighteenth century many of the old stalwarts of Ballymurray Meeting (who had come originally from Sligo, Newport, and County Westmeath) had died—leaving that Quaker community poorer and weaker by their going.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 114, 115. The disowning was signed by Nathan and John Nevitt, John and James Burn, Thomas Alexander, James Gaw (Magae), and Anthony Robinson (all of Ballymurray Meeting) and a number of other Friends belonging to Moate Monthly Meeting.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 83.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 76, 82, 85.

<sup>76</sup> Hennen’s certificate for Pennsylvania was dated 28th of 2nd Month, 1751.

Travelling "public" Friends visited County Roscommon throughout the entire life of Ballymurray Meeting. Among the first was John Fothergill who came to Ballymurray twice. In 1724 he recorded that "I went with several Friends to Bally-murry in Connaught, where a Meeting had been settled some time; and on the 15th [of the 7th Month] had a pretty open helpful Meeting there, in the reaching of the Love of Christ, yet in much plain dealing and faithful warning to keep to Truth, that so they might be blessed."<sup>77</sup> He returned again on the 1st of 11th Month, 1725–6 "to Mary's town [Ballymurray] to Gershon Boate's, jun., and had a good and large Meeting of Friends and others the next Day, and some good Service with the Families in the Evening."<sup>78</sup> Samuel Bownas was at Ballymurray Meeting in 1740, and Samuel Fothergill of Warrington was present in 1744.<sup>79</sup> Other visitors included John Churchman from America (who reported having "a meeting in a barn at Gailey, with a few Friends" sometime early in 1750), Ruth Follows and Anne White (1761), Joseph Oxley (1761), James Gough (1774, 1779), John Pemberton of Philadelphia (1783, 1784), Mary Ridgway and Jane Watson (1783), Patience Brayton and Rebecca Wright of America (1784), Mary Dudley (1795), Richard Jordan of America (1801), Thomas Shillitoe (1809, 1811), and Henry Hull of America (1811).<sup>80</sup> Many of these travelling Friends also held meetings in Athlone (on the very edge of Connaught), where Friends had lived and held meetings for worship off and on since 1660. The story of Athlone Quakerism still remains to be written.

John Pemberton reported that, in 1783, at a "crowded meeting at Ballymurray, divers people of the upper rank" were present. Concerning the meeting in 1784 he notes, "the priest as we were informed, intimidated the people; notwithstanding which, there was a pretty large meeting; considering the place, it was quiet, and many appeared satisfied."<sup>81</sup> Mary Dudley noted that in 1795 Friends had the use of the Sessions House at Roscommon and, after having

<sup>77</sup> John Fothergill, *Account*, 1753, p. 212; *Friends' Library*, XIII, 406.

<sup>78</sup> John Fothergill, *op. cit.*, p. 233; *Friends' Library*, XIII, 409.

<sup>79</sup> *Friends' Library*, III, 63; IX, 120.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 436; III, 63, 122, 146; IV, 31, 187, 282; VI, 218, 313, 325; IX, 34, 38, 120; X, 456; XIII, 316, 406, 409; XIV, 331.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, VI, 313, 325.

circulated notice of the meeting, had a large attendance in the evening.<sup>82</sup> Shillitoe, accompanied by William Neale, recorded that "Friends having been informed of our proposed visit, informed their neighbours, who came flocking to the meeting, which tried me not a little, my prospects being confined to Friends. The meeting, I believe, proved satisfactory to all parties."<sup>83</sup>

Ballmurray Meeting appears to have reached its zenith in size and "life" in the eighteenth century, with decline setting in even before the end of the century. Weakness continued to grow, so that by 1840 Ballymurray was almost never represented at Moate Monthly Meeting.<sup>84</sup> Some few Friends continued to gather for worship at the meeting house, which in 1840 was repaired at the cost of £3:0:4.<sup>85</sup> In the autumn of 1844 Ballymurray Meeting requested the "attention and care" of Moate Monthly Meeting, so that a committee of Friends travelled to Ballymurray to meet with the few Friends still there. They met at the home of "a woman Friend" (Rachel Pellett?) near the meeting-house "which place is open for other meetings for worship on first days." It was reported that several women and children usually attend, although one woman sometimes was absent because of "attendance" on her aged mother. A male Friend and his children, living three miles away at Roscommon, had not attended for several months. One non-member, a young woman, also attended from time to time.<sup>86</sup> Other Friends, appointed by the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings, reported to Leinster Quarterly Meeting in the spring of 1845 that

they feel for the lonely situation of the few members who are left in that remote place, some of whom thro' infirmities of age, are much confined to their dwellings; but they are still favored with ability, to use the strength afforded them, & faithfully to maintain their testimony by meeting together at the time and place appointed.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>82</sup> Mary Dudley, *Life*, p. 207; *Friends' Library*, XIV, 333.

<sup>83</sup> Thomas Shillitoe, *Journal* (1830), i. 159; *Friends' Library* III, 146.

<sup>84</sup> Rough Minutes of Moate Monthly Meeting, 1840-1853 (H. 21), minutes for 1840, *passim*.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, minutes for 19th of 6th Month, 1840.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, minutes for 18th of 10th Month and 15th of 12th Month, 1844.

<sup>87</sup> Leinster Quarterly Meeting Minutes, 1825-1857 (B. 5), minutes for 31st of 3rd Month, 1845.

In September 1846 Rachel Pellett, probably the mainstay of Ballymurray Meeting, requested "assistance" from the Monthly Meeting. By the end of that year she was dead.<sup>88</sup> With her death came also, it would seem, the demise of a Ballymurray meeting, for there appear to be no later references to it. The second edition of Lewis' *Topographical Dictionary of Ireland* (1847) gives a brief description of the village of Ballymurray and mentions the "place of worship" of the Society of Friends but makes no mention of whether or not meetings for worship were still being held there at the time of the writing of this account.<sup>89</sup>

Shortly after Ballymurray Meeting passed out of existence, the next chapter in the story of Quakerism in Connaught began—with the coming of James Ellis and his wife from England to Letterfrack. Ellis was a native of Leicester (which his brother represented in Parliament). Moving to Letterfrack, Ellis (a former flour miller and then a worsted manufacturer in Bradford) purchased 1800 acres of land—mostly mountain or bog—on which he built a "commodious" house. Although the local wage scale was six pence a day, Ellis offered his workers eight pence and, we are told, would have paid even more had he not met with such strong opposition from those who claimed that he would cause havoc in the whole local labour market. Sophia Sturge even reports that Ellis, upon the complaint of local employers over his eight pence wage, actually raised their pay an additional two pence a day.<sup>90</sup> Ellis seems to have employed over eighty men—draining the bogs, planting trees, building walls, roads, gardens, cottages, a school and a dispensary and even a small "temperance" hotel during the eight years he was at Letterfrack.<sup>91</sup> Letterfrack had been chosen by Ellis as

<sup>88</sup> Rough Minutes of Moate Monthly Meeting, 1840–1853 (H. 21), minutes for 18th of 9th Month, 1846, and 19th of 2nd Month, 1847. Her death took place on the 11th of 12th Month, 1846.

<sup>89</sup> Samuel Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*, 2nd ed. (London, 1847), I, 148. Ballymurry, a village in the parish of Kilmean, is described as three miles south-southeast of Roscommon, on the road from Roscommon to Athlone, with a few neatly built houses and about twenty cabins—as well as a Roman Catholic Chapel with thatched roof and the Friends Meeting House.

<sup>90</sup> William R. Hughes, *Sophia Sturge: A Memoir* (London, 1940), pp. 39–40. One wonders if her story is somewhat embroidered or even apocryphal.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 40–42.

the scene of his work largely on the advice of James Tuke who had administered Quaker relief funds in the west of Ireland during the Great Famine and had described the area as one of the most deeply suffering parts of Ireland, in which "mounds might be seen by the roadside, the resting-places of victims buried where they fell."<sup>92</sup>

Several of Ellis's letters are still extant and give some insight into the progress of his work. The earliest letter, written after only five months in Ireland, tells of real progress —growing beans, peas, turnips, carrots, parsnips, spring wheat, and even strawberries (which "grow like weeds"). He reported that about one-quarter of his potatoes were already diseased, even though they had cut off the blackened tops of the vines. Also, they had completed four thousand yards of walling (including much bog fencing, about six feet high), drained about forty acres, planted five hundred willows, and built "considerable lengths of occupation roads." Ellis also wrote that "Our house looks rather more imposing than I expected, and will, when completed, be the best dwelling in Connemara." Also, he noted, that three hundred yards of "well laid down gravel walks" had been constructed in his "pleasure grounds," adding "for James Ellis must needs have such strange things in the midst of the bog."<sup>93</sup>

A second letter, dated 1852, notes that the potatoes were the worst since Ellis had arrived in 1849 and that his neighbours reported that the situation was the worst since 1846. Now, however, most of the people had work and could buy "Indian meal." He also recounted that he had recently been visited by John Bright who had been "attending the Episcopalian & Romish places of worship, & had come to the conclusion that the latter were by far the most sincere worshippers." And Ellis added, "so Think I." He noted that he had already completed "our little Dispensary house" and that "just beyond it we have finished two cottages which also look neat, & are occupied one by our carpenter & the other by Mary's washerwoman." He then concluded by expressing his hope to build more cottages the next year, noting that he was already constructing one for his foreman on the south

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 42.

<sup>93</sup> Letter of James Ellis to Isaac Robson, 9th of 8th (?) Month, 1849, Friends House Library, London, Portfolio B, item 59.

side of Letterfrack.<sup>94</sup> In the last of these letters, Ellis writes that "Our Mountain home feels very homish to me, more so, I think, than it ever did before." He also noted, undoubtedly with real satisfaction, that "our school prospers again."<sup>95</sup> Soon, however, not so long after this letter was written, Ellis' eight years' of work at Letterfrack came to an end, for a breakdown in health forced him to return to England.<sup>96</sup>

A generation later Sophia Sturge arrived in Letterfrack on an autumn day in 1888, having chosen that village "as the scene of her work because of the golden memories which the old Quaker's [Ellis] loving enterprise had left in the place." Soon she started teaching the young girls the art of basket-making, and eventually produced a self-sustaining enterprise there—with much of the finished results being sold in Britain. Sophia Sturge, as a result of health problems, was forced to return home to England, but the work continued—under the direction of a manager—until 1905.<sup>97</sup>

The final development in the story of "Quakerism in Connaught" is still unfolding. In recent years a small number of Irish Friends have established weekend or summer homes in Connemara, especially near the town of Clifden. When they and their families (and sometimes their guests) are in residence a Friends' meeting for worship is sometimes held at Erislannen in the small Church of Ireland building (for which Friends helped provide a new roof some years ago). Even more recently several Friends have settled in Connaught and attend Limerick Meeting.<sup>98</sup>

KENNETH L. CARROLL

<sup>94</sup> Letter from James Ellis to Isaac Robson, dated 10th of 6th Month, 1852; Friends House Library, Portfolio B, item 109.

<sup>95</sup> Letter from James Ellis to Isaac Robson, dated 9th of 12th Month, 1855; Friends House Library, Portfolio B, item 104.

<sup>96</sup> Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 44–65. A very interesting account of her work is found on pp. 45–65. Sophia Sturge (1849–1936) was born in Birmingham, England, the daughter of Joseph Sturge (1793–1859) and Hannah (Dickinson) Sturge (1816–1896). She resigned from the Society of Friends in 1870 and joined the Anglican church for a time before rejoining Friends once more.

<sup>98</sup> Many individual Friends and families (such as Jonathan Pim near Newport) have lived in Connaught over the past century, but I have made no attempt to deal with these.

## Reports on Archives

The Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts *Accessions to repositories and Reports added to the National Register of Archives, 1978* (London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1979. £3.25), reports the following additions to the manuscript collections in various institutions which may interest workers on Quaker history:

Dublin University Trinity College Library, College Street, Dublin 2  
Richard Irvine Best, director of the National Library of Ireland: corresp 1883-1957.

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

John Brocklesby, conscientious objector: autobiography 1889-1957.

Ann Mary Burgess: letters relating to the Armenian Mission, Constantinople and Corfu, 1886-1931.

Theodore Burtt: diary, notebook, letters and papers relating to slavery in Pemba, Madagascar 1896-1930.

Joseph Metford: copies of corresp, 1788-1860, and political addresses.

Thomas Shillitoe, Richard Reynolds and Daniel Wheeler: corresp, 1802-46, with descriptions of France, Russia and America, Thomas Story, preacher, and his wife, Ann: corresp 1702-09.

Durham County Record Office, County Hall, Durham DH1 5UL  
Papers of Mrs A. E. Wallis of Darlington c. 1840-50, Edward Backhouse, and Wallis and other Quaker families.

Salford City Archives, 658-662 Liverpool, Irlam, Manchester M30 5AD

James Porter, pacifist and trades unionist: diary 1916, 1921-26.

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

Cadbury Camp Schools records 1920-52.

Wolverhampton Borough Archives, Central Library, Snow Hill, Wolverhampton WV1 3AX.

National Peace Council, Wolverhampton and district: records 1950-72.

Nottinghamshire Record Office, County House, High Pavement, Nottingham NG1 1HR.

Mary Howitt, author: corresp 19th cent.

Among the Reports listed are:

21687 Leicestershire Adult School Union. 1p. *Leicestershire Record Office*.

21693 Goldney family: deeds and misc. family papers. 11 pp. *Bristol RO*.

22033 Shackleton family of Ballitore: family corresp and misc papers. 14 pp. *Trinity Coll Dublin L*.

22086 North Somerset and Wiltshire Society of Friends. 5 pp. *Wilts RO*.

- 22154 B. F. Marriage, millers, Pakenham. [1934-74] 6 pp. *Suffolk RO, Bury St Edmunds.*
- 22191 Kingsbridge, Devon: Cookworthy Museum collection. 1 p. *The Museum.*
- 22396 Witham Society of Friends. 12 pp. *Essex RO.*

\* \* \*

Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts. *Record repositories in Great Britain: a geographical directory.* 6th edition. (London, H. M. Stationery Office, 1979. £1.75.)

This list is supplemented in the journal *Archives*, vol. 14, no. 63 (Spring 1980), pp. 163-77. The supplementary list includes the British and Foreign Bible Society, 146 Queen Victoria Street, London, EC4V 4BX.

\* \* \*

The Annual report of the county archivist, Durham County Council, for 1978-79, includes a note of accessions deposited in the County Record Office during the year. It includes the Papers of Mrs. Amelia Eliza Wallis (nee Mounsey), 19th-20th centuries [shelf-mark: D/Wa]. The papers consist mainly of her personal papers and those of her grandfather, Edward Mounsey, and provide much material for the history of Quakerism in Darlington.

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*Carlton Hill Archives.* Records of Brighouse, Knaresborough, Leeds and Settle monthly meetings were housed at Carlton Hill Meeting House, Leeds, until the building was sold in 1979. The documents are now on deposit in the Brotherton Library, University of Leeds, Leeds LS2 9JT, and are preserved in the Special Collections department.

The order of documents has been maintained. The entries in the typescript Alphabetical index and Copy of the Catalogue, 1972 [numbered 17118 in the National Register of Archives series of reports; see *Journal F.H.S.*, 53 (1975), p. 369] still provide a key to the collection. This document is available at Friends House Library and elsewhere, and there is also a summary "List of some major series of minute books, &c." which incorporates acquisitions of the last decade.

Settle Monthly Meeting records enumerated in National Register of Archives report 10954 (see *Journal F.H.S.*, 52 (1970), p. 224) are now (save for item no. 33) housed with the Carlton Hill Archives.

\* \* \*

*Sheffield City Libraries: Catalogue of business and industrial records* (1977) includes (pp. 37-8, 59): London Lead Company (documents given by A. Raistrick, concerning lead mining and smelting; MD3707-8); Dr Gilbert Heathcote's prescriptions, 1700-19 (BHD 310).

## HISTORICAL RESEARCH

*Historical research for university degrees in the United Kingdom*

List no. 39. Part II. Theses in progress 1980. (University of London, Institute of Historical Research. May 1980.)

*Included in the list are the following items, not noted previously:*

Quakers in Lancashire. A. B. Anderson. (Mr Mullett.) Lancaster M. Litt. 1363

The place of women in Quaker thought, polemics, organization and social and religious life, with particular reference to N. W. England, c.1655-c.1780. Mrs Beatrice M. E. Carré. (Mr Mullett.) Lancaster Ph.D. 1366

The Quakers in Essex, 1655-1725. T. A. Davies. (Mr K. V. Thomas.) Oxford M. Litt. 1367

The social organization of the Shropshire Meeting of the Society of Friends. I. M. Lawley. (Dr Jennifer Tann.) Aston Ph.D. 1368

A study of the business records and archives of the Bristol enterprise of Fry's Cocoa and Chocolate Manufacturers, 1728-1935. D. A. Williams. (Prof. Pollard.) Sheffield Ph.D. [Suspended.] 1572

The life of Thomas Goldney, 1696-1768. Peggy K. Stembridge. (Dr C. G. A. Clay.) Bristol M. Litt. 1663

Quaker boarding schools in the North of England from the late 18th century. R. P. Fenwick. (Mr J. C. Tyson.) Newcastle M.Ed. 1717

The administration of two Quaker schools (Ackworth and the Mount) from their foundation (1779 and 1831) to the present. T. Lupton. (Dr Stephens) Leeds M.Ed. 1718

The sociology of an established sect: the Society of Friends in the 20th century. J. Charlesworth. (Dr B. R. Wilson.) Oxford D. Phil. 2633

*Dissertation Abstracts International. A – The humanities and social sciences* (University Microfilms International, P.O. Box 1764, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 48106), vol. 38, for 1977, includes abstracts of the following:

"The persecution of the Quakers in England: 1650-1714", by William Wayne Spurrier, Ph.D., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1976. Order no. 77-17, 373. 323 pages. (p. 963-A)

"Quakerism in Germany: the pacifist response to Hitler", by Michael Steven Seadle, Ph.D., University of Chicago, 1977. (p. 2979-A)

"To plant the pleasant fruit tree of freedom: consciousness, politics, and community in Digger and early Quaker thought", by Robert Krehbiel Goertz, Ph.D., City University of New York, 1977. Order no. 77-23, 178. 341 pages. (p. 3022-3-A)

"Quakers' humanitarian efforts in Nigeria's civil war, 1968-1972", by Eyinloye Akano Afolabi, Ph.D., St. John's University, 1977. Order no. 77-29, 432. 272 pages. (p. 4295-6-A)

## Recent Publications

*The Dissenters. Vol. I: From the Reformation to the French Revolution*, by Michael R. Watts. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1978. £15.

It is over sixty years since the publication of the last comprehensive history of English and Welsh nonconformity, and this book is the first half of an intended two-volume work which sets out to make good the deficiency. It is sufficiently detailed and documented to be of value to the specialist; yet the flowing tide of the argument is strong enough to carry the general reader along, even if (like the present reviewer) he must sometimes look back and refresh his memory about the meaning of Arminianism or Antinomianism. The index is good and helpful in this quest; only one definition was sought in vain—that of “a gathered church”.

The author summarises the first two centuries in a “flow chart”, which plainly illustrates the intricacy of the interconnected groupings of Christians who were obliged, for one reason or another, to seek their spiritual home outside the Church of England. The greater part originated from the Puritan movement; but severance from the Church of England was not an immediate consequence of Puritan convictions. To many Puritans it seemed wrong that there should be more than one Christian church in the country, and they hoped to reform the Church of England according to the model described in the New Testament. Others saw a church as a body of believers who “covenanted together to walk in all God’s ways”; for them, separation from the state church became a matter of conscience. The author vividly brings out the clashes of principle and personality in this period, leaving at least one reader deeply impressed by the high seriousness with which questions of faith and conduct were discussed, and the patience displayed by many in the face of persecution or exile.

Thus we are shown how a number of bodies—Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Quakers, Particular and General Baptists—came into being in separation from the Church of England, each with its cherished idiosyncrasies. In 1689, through the Act of Toleration, most of these groups gained religious, though not civil liberty. The period of peace—in some cases, of torpor—which followed, prepared the ground for the Evangelical revival, associated above all with the name of the Wesleys. Here our author is at his most vivid, partly because more is known about the outer and inner lives of the *dramatis personae*, partly because of the intrinsic interest of the conflict of ideas between Calvinist and Arminian Methodism. This first volume ends with the death of John Wesley in 1791.

To Friends, many of whom have a strong interest in the historical origins of their Society, the book is likely to have a particular appeal. The author sees them as descended, not directly from Puritanism, but from a parallel stream of radical Christianity represented in an

earlier century by the Lollards. Their ideas were not original in themselves—in several very interesting pages the author shows how Quaker beliefs and testimonies, from seeking the guidance of the Spirit in business meetings to rejecting the pagan names of days and months, are to be found in the practice of other Dissenters of the period. "What was distinctive about Fox", he says, "was not his opinions but the sense of spiritual power . . . which he conveyed to other men"; and this enabled him to bring into being "one of the most remarkable missionary movements in English history".

It is this reviewer's conviction, after reading the book, that many Friends would benefit from contact with the mind of this well-informed and sympathetic observer of their origins. A secondary result of such study is to do justice to the Dissenters of George Fox's own day. Owing to his own unhappy experiences, he tended to regard the "priests and professors" as tarred all with the same black brush. This book reveals many of them as men of great sincerity and an uncompromising faith, for which, like Fox, they were prepared to suffer.

GEOFFREY W. CARTER

*Whispers of Truth. (Quaker Encounters, vol. 3.)\** By John Ormerod Greenwood. York, William Sessions Ltd., 1978. pp. viii, 400; illus. £4.95.

This last volume of Ormerod Greenwood's account of Quaker work abroad from the earliest days until 1945 cannot be considered altogether in isolation. Volumes 2 and 3 together are divided into three parts, and the present volume takes over from volume 2 after the establishment of the F. F. M. A. in 1868, in the middle of Part II, with accounts of six mission fields; their story is however carried back to their inception, which in some cases predates the F. F. M. A.

In Part III the author first examines the changing attitudes in the Society brought about largely by the impact of the first world war and leading, with the inspiration of Carl Heath and under the influence of a ferment of ideas in Europe after the war, to the establishment of the Council for International Service; this had the primary object of establishing "Quaker Embassies" throughout the continent, to assist in the imminently expected birth of a "New Europe". The scope of this chapter, however, extends beyond the activities of the C. I. S., with its disappointments, mistakes and achievements; it is essentially the wider story of Quakerism in Europe in the post-war years.

The last two chapters first deal with the eventual union of the C. I. S. and the F. F. M. A. to form the F. S. C., and continue with accounts of work in various countries; in particular, in India, with Friends' involvement in the Indian nationalist movement, and in Germany. Last but not least, attention is given to the emergence in the 30's of the concept of World Quakerism and the setting up of the F. W. C. C.

\**Friends and Relief* (Quaker Encounters, vol. 1) was reviewed by Elfrida Vipont Foulds in our 1976 issue, vol. 54, no. 1, pp. 37-39.

In giving a full account of work in many fields and of organisational changes, the author does not gloss over the not infrequent conflicts of aims and of personality, but more important, the story is always placed in a wider setting: of currents of thought both within and without the Society; of culture and politics in the various countries; of the background and lives of workers and of proponents of new ventures. This, as well as the intricate nature of the pattern it sets out to describe, with its many interwoven strands, makes the book rewarding to read and to digest; to ease the path, it is well organised, with useful cross-references and documentation.

WILLIAM BARRETT

*Leeds Friends' Minute Book 1692 to 1712*. Edited by Jean and Russell Mortimer. li and 269 pp. Leeds: Yorkshire Archaeological Society; Record Series Vol. CXXXIX (for 1977 and 1978), 1980. £14·90.

This edition of the oldest surviving minute book of the Preparative Meeting of the Society of Friends in Leeds is an apt addition to a distinguished record series. Obviously of major interest to present-day "people called"—"in scorn" says one entry here—"Quakers", it is also a social document of value to a variety of historical tastes and inclinations, religious, social and economic. Its impact is enhanced by meticulous editing and by additional material—poor relief accounts and a substantial biographical index which identifies and supplies from a range of sources details about many Friends, some men and women of substance, others of little account in "this evil world".

Friends had appeared in Leeds in the early 1650s and it is clear that a system of meetings was well set up long before this minute book was opened in 1692. The preparative meeting reported through its representatives to the monthly meeting, which made major decisions while leaving much responsibility lower down, particularly in disciplinary matters. Oversight of members was essential for the maintenance of internal unity which, together with an attitude towards "the corrupt practices" outside, made a Friend among Friends. Friends did not get drunk in public or private, go racing or bull-baiting, observe Christmas, neglect their families, make lace, take up vain fashions to the waste of their precious time and substance, sport unnecessary and extravagant wigs, smoke or chew tobacco. They did not pay tithes or steeplehouse taxes, keep company outside the Society, marry "with the world's people" before priests, nor, indeed, commit "the act of uncleanness" anywhere. They did not gossip, bear tales, backbite nor meddle in other men's matters, giving way to fury and passion. But unfortunately some of them did—as these minutes shew. Elders and advisers and the meeting generally, lacking means of external discipline, had only moral suasion and communal disapproval to keep control. Disorder could break out even in the meeting itself, not only among "the lads

and lassies". In the end, disowning was the only course left. What is interesting is how often the weak and the refractory, unwilling to accept reprimands, still wanted to stay within the warmth of the Society.

Among more positive activities was advice on economic activity (starting up a trade,—distilling was frowned upon— changing jobs, offering apprenticeships). The poor generally and their own in particular were a pre-occupation. Friends should look after their own elderly and infirm relations. A lapsed member in whom the meeting could see "little of the image of the Truth born again" was relieved "as a poor man and not one properly of our own society, till we see him more weighty in his life and conversation". But generosity was not lacking.

Even without the help —though that will be welcomed—of the Editors' comprehensive Introduction, it is possible to observe clearly the attitudes and concerns of Friends and the combination of organisation, commonsense and "sweet fellowship of the Gospel of Peace" that kept them together and kept them going in and yet not quite in a world certainly not as hostile as during the days of Fox and Nayler but still beset with snares and torments.

#### IVAN ROOTS

*Quaker History* (Friends Historical Association) includes in recent issues the following papers:

(Spring 1979) "The English Quakers and prison reform, 1809–23", by Robert Alan Cooper; "Barclay's Reply to Arnoldus", by Dean Freiday; "The social origins of the early Quakers" [with Lancashire evidence], by Alan Anderson;

(Autumn 1979) "Joseph Whitwell Pease and the Quaker role in the campaign to suppress the opium trade in the British empire", by John V. Crangle; "The impact of the Discipline: Ireland, New England, and New York", by Arthur J. Worrall;

(Spring 1980) "Fighting about peace: the No-Conscription Fellowship, and the British Friends' Service Committee, 1915–1919", by Thomas C. Kennedy; "Quaker women and the charge of Separatism", by Margaret H. Bacon.

\* \* \*

Attention is drawn to the following:

*Friends in York: the Quaker story in the life of a meeting*, by Stephen Allott. (York: Sessions, 1978. xii, 127 pp. £3.50)

*Hammersmith Quakers' tercentenary, 1677–1977*, by H. William Cundy. With a preface by Ormerod Greenwood. (London, Hammersmith Preparative Meeting, 1978. xviii, 87 pp. £1)

*The Quakers of Tottenham, 1775–1825*, by R. Collie. (Enfield, Edmonton Hundred Historical Society, Occasional papers. New series, no. 37, 1978. 29 pp. tables. 50p)

*The Somersetshire Quarterly Meeting of the Society of Friends, 1668–1699*. Edited by Stephen C. Morland. (Newton Surmaville, Yeovil, Somerset Record Society, Volume 75, 1978. ix, 303 pp. £7.50)

*The religion of Gerrard Winstanley*, by Christopher Hill. (*Past & Present* supplement no. 5, 1978. iii, 57 pp.)

## Notes and Queries

### ACKWORTH SCHOOL

*Then and now: Ackworth School bicentenary exhibition, 1979*, is a comprehensive catalogue of some 80 pages of the exhibition from the School archives covering the various activities of the institution over the last couple of centuries. Special sections cover the work of the Flounders Institute, Ackworth Old Scholars' Association, and notable Fothergilliana.

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West Yorkshire Metropolitan County Council County Record Office report, 1974-79 states that:

Since 1977 the County Council has an agreement with Ackworth School for the County Record Office to help with the care and use of the collection of records at the school. The Record Office has helped the school to plan and mount a large exhibition of their records as part of the school's bicentenary celebrations. The Record Office has also prepared for the school a detailed catalogue of this exhibition designed to provide a permanent record relating to many aspects of the life of the school.

### PRO-BOERS

Arthur Davey's *The British Pro-Boers, 1877-1902* (Cape Town, Tafelberg, 1978) has a section on the Society of Friends in the Boer War. The Society stood out among organised churches as the one body consistently condemning the South African War. Mention is made of Emily Hobhouse, F. W. Fox and Joshua Rowntree, and of Friends' relief

work in the concentration camps and where hostilities were taking place. The author notes that relief committees moved cautiously so as not to spark off obstruction to their work in official quarters.

### CHARD FRIENDS

"Quakers in Chard", by W. M. Wigfield (*Somerset archaeology and natural history*, vol. 122, 1978, pp. 113-116) gives a brief documented account of Friends in the town from the time of Thomas Salthouse—"a dangerous, idle and wandering person"—in the 1650s, to the present.

### COALBROOKDALE

"The Friends' Meeting House in Coalbrookdale formerly stood in Darby Road, and was built in 1789. It has been demolished, but a small burial-ground to the rear of the site survives." (W. Grant Muter, *The buildings of an industrial community—Coalbrookdale and Iron Bridge*, Phillimore, 1979, p. 14).

The volume includes plans and illustrations of the Coalbrookdale Company's housing provision for workers.

### DIARIES

*British Manuscript Diaries of the Nineteenth Century, an annotated Listing*, by John Stuart Batts (Totowa, New Jersey, 1976) covers unpublished material and has twenty-nine index references to Friends. Thirteen of these items are at Friends House. In addition there are Backhouse, Fry, Gurney, Pease and Seebohm diaries which might conceivably

contain material of interest to Friends even if their writers were not strictly Friends. The diaries of three members of the Ashworth family used by Rhodes Boyson in his *The Ashworth Cotton Enterprise* escape the listing.

DAVID J. HALL

#### ESSEX

The liberty of Havering-atte-Bower, and Chafford Hundred are covered in vol. 7 of the *Victoria History: Essex* (Oxford University Press, 1978), edited by W. R. Powell.

Friends are noticed at Hornchurch, and Upminster (a short-lived meeting on the initiative of Harry Frizzell, 1913). Information from Barking M. M. minutes at Friends House Library concerns Friends in Romford, including William and Sarah Mead of Gooshayes at Harold Hill.

#### LABOUR BIOGRAPHY

*Dictionary of Labour biography*, vol. 5, edited by Joyce M. Bellamy & John Saville (Macmillan, 1979. £20).

This volume includes biographies (and passing notices) of left-wing and pacifist sympathisers of the 20th century, including, Harrison Barrow (1868–1953) and Joseph Edward Southall (1861–1944).

#### LEWES FRIENDS

An article based on many Quaker documents in the East Sussex Record Office appears in *Sussex archaeological collections*, vol. 116, 1978, pp. 31–40: "Lewes Quakers in the seventeenth and

eighteenth centuries", by W. K. Rector.

#### YORKSHIRE ARCHITECTS

Derek Linstrom's *West Yorkshire—architects and architecture* (Lund Humphries, 1978) mentions Ackworth, Gildersome, Leeds, Rawdon, Brighouse, High Flatts and Wooldale meeting houses. The volume also pays attention to the architectural work of Edward Birchall (1838–1903)—including Carlton Hill, Leeds—and to that of William Henry Thorp (1852–1944).

#### YORKSHIRE FRIENDS

*Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting 1665–1966*, by W. Pearson Thistlethwaite (Published by the Author, 2 Russett Holt View, Harrogate, HG2 9AF, £7.50).

This substantial volume contains 14 chapters based on the author's study of the records at York Friends' Meeting House. The narrative is supplemented in 18 biographical and other Appendices, which include:—Meetings in 1665 and 1669; Visitors to Q. M. since 1823 (about 210 names, including 76 from America); "New Meeting Houses" in Yorkshire, 1647 to 1966 (143); "Ministers Deceased", 1687–1956 (440 names). The Index contains about 1300 personal names and about 2000 other items.

#### BERNARD BARTON

In *The Private Library* Third Series Volume 2:3, Autumn 1979, Denis Thomas writes about Bernard Barton and his friends (pp. 101–112). There are six illustrations. D. J. H.

### 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 £2.00 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,  
1654-1672. 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.
- 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.
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.
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.

Back issues of the *Journal* may be obtained: price £2.00 each issue.

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### Journals and Supplements Wanted

F.H.S. would be glad to receive unwanted copies of back issues of the *Journal* and of the Supplements. Address to F.H.S., c/o The Library, Friends House, London NW1 2BJ.

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