

*The
Journal of the
Friends Historical
Society*

Volume 61 Number 1

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FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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THE JOURNAL OF THE FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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EDITORIAL

The Editor regrets the late despatch of this *Journal*.

It is a pleasure to record the ceremony which took place on 2 December, at which Edward H Milligan, Heather Rowland, Janet Quilley and Michael Darby planted three 'Abraham Darby' roses in the garden and courtyard at Friends House. These were the gift of an anonymous donor and given in appreciation of the contribution to Quaker historical research made by Friends House Library and the Friends Historical Society. Gerald Hodgett represented our Society.

It is also a pleasure to read about the success of the Glenthorne F.H.S. visit in 2006.

Will readers please note carefully the FUTURE EVENTS page which gives notice of two key events in the F.H.S. calendar for 2007.

Please also note carefully details of the new registration system for all library users at Friends House Library from 2 January 2007, which the Librarian, Heather Rowland, has sent to me.

Responses to Ben Gosling's letter will be welcome but, *please note*, that though the Editor is the first point of contact, he is not the expert to answer all queries!

Volume 61, Number 1 begins with Sheila Wright's stimulating Presidential Address, which was well attended at St. Pancras Church Centre on 28 May. A contrast of urban and rural communities between 1780 and 1860 allows a fascinating exploration of some important Quaker historical issues for the period and the areas covered.

Kenneth L Carroll brings the early years of the Maryland Quaker community to life in vivid presentation and scholarly detail. Thank you to Kenneth for his appreciation of Edwin Bronner.

Two short articles explore William Penn in a European context. Marieke F Clarke has provided a translation of research into a significant episode in the history of early European Quakerism with Penn's powerful appeal for religious toleration and understanding undiminished by the centuries since. Elisabeth Alley examines current European constitutional difficulties in comparison with Penn's proposals for establishing a frame-work for a continental peace in late seventeenth-century Europe.

David Matthews details Quaker involvement in an interesting episode in the history of the British coinage.

Claus Bernet, drawing on new research and documentation, recounts the courageous and principled efforts of Corder Catchpool for peace, reconciliation and justice between 1914-1952.

The Editor welcomes articles or short items for consideration in future *JOURNALS*. He is willing to read drafts and advise where appropriate. He would like to include annotated Quaker historical documents, of reasonable length i.e. not too long, from contributors who have the expertise and enthusiasm to prepare them.

Contributors are advised to use the MHRA (Modern Humanities Research Association) STYLE GUIDE in the preparation of material. This is available from Subscription Department, Maney Publishing, Hudson Road, Leeds LS9 7DL (email: maney@maney.co.uk) or online at MHRA'S website (www.mhra.org.uk). The Editor's decision is final as regards publication or revision.

Volume 61, Number 2 should appear in the autumn of 2007.

Howard F Gregg

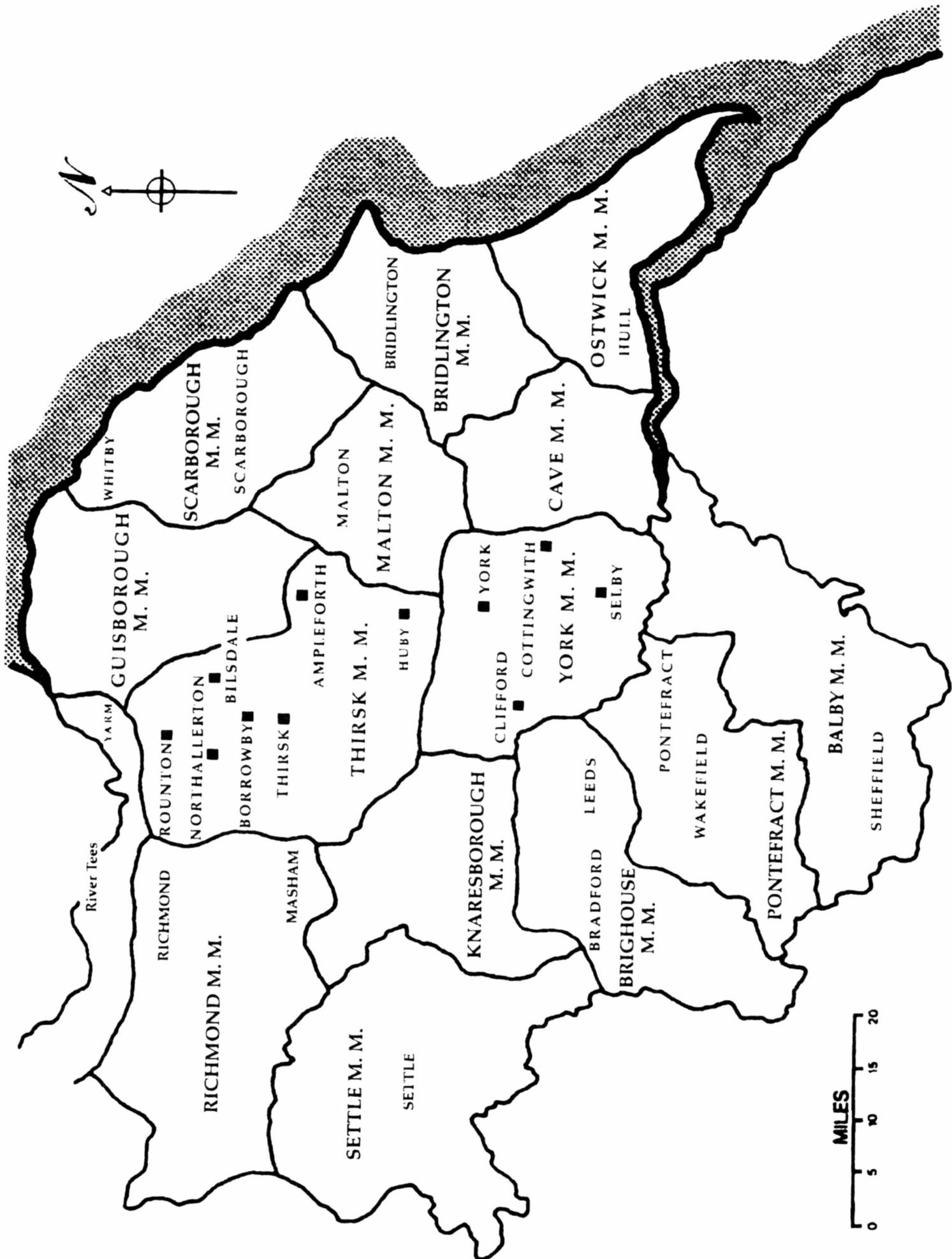
TOWN AND COUNTRY: LIVING AS A FRIEND IN URBAN AND RURAL YORKSHIRE 1780-1860

As with so many things in life, my interest in religious dissent started by chance reading of Emanuel Le Roy Ladurie's book *Montaillou* which is a study of the Cathars of fourteenth Century South Western France.¹ This became a fascination with groups whose religious beliefs led them to flout the rule of churches and the rule of governments, suffering persecution for their beliefs as a consequence. As a result, I found myself drawn to the history of the Society of Friends and this led to my original study of York Monthly Meeting in the period 1780--1860. Recently I have been working on Settle Monthly Meeting which was the most rural Meeting within Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting and provided an ideal contrast to York Meeting, having an entirely different economic and geographic profile and allowing an insight not only into the inner workings of a geographically less cohesive Meeting but also the economic and social relationship between Friends and their neighbours in the countryside. My primary concern in this paper is to come to some conclusions respecting Friends lives in the countryside by using evidence from Settle Monthly Meeting and from the communities within which Friends lived and from my original study of York Monthly Meeting.

My original work on York explored the internal dynamics of that Meeting and included a study of the relationship between members of the Meeting and the wider society, economics and politics of the City of York.² This study was deliberately confined to York Meeting for Worship which was geographically restricted to the City of York. Up until the early nineteenth Century, the City of York was effectively still enclosed within its medieval walls, giving the City a uniquely homogeneous social, economic and political profile.

Both York and Settle Monthly Meetings were part of Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting and although visiting ministers to Yorkshire recognised the isolation of many members in the more remote areas of the county, they also commented on the uplifting vitality of the county. In 1784 Rebecca Jones wrote an upbeat assessment of the Meetings, seeing in the present generation a spirit and hope for the future who "...in the right time [will] show themselves to Israel

MAP OF YORKSHIRE QUARTERLY MEETING SHOWING YORK AND THIRSK MONTHLY



Inventory of the Records of Yorkshire General Meeting & York & Thirsk Monthly Meetings of the Society of Friends (Leeds University Libraries. 1986). Map 2. Reproduced by kind permission of Leeds University Library.

equipped with the holy armour, on the right hand and on the left".³ Her assessment of the situation was overly optimistic and in fact the life experiences of Friends living in the countryside were very different to those living in the urban environment of one of Yorkshire's major cities in this period.

Both York Monthly Meeting and Settle Monthly Meetings were two of the thirteen Monthly Meetings which comprised the Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting. Settle Monthly Meeting established in 1669, whilst part of the Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting was geographically entirely different to many of these Meetings, especially those in the rapidly industrialising areas of West and South Yorkshire, in particular, Brighouse Monthly Meeting which included Leeds Meeting; Pontefract Monthly Meeting which included Wakefield and Balby Monthly Meeting which included Sheffield. Stretching across the Yorkshire Dales from Lothersdale - just outside Skipton in Lower Wharfedale in the East, and West to what is now almost the Cumbrian border, the only town of any significance was the small market town of Settle in Ribblesdale. Otherwise the Meeting consisted of small, dispersed communities which although some bordered on the manufacturing towns of Keighley and Bradford, were not a part of them. It is in this area that Quakerism has its roots overlooked as it is by Pendle Hill to the South and Swarthmore is just over the border in Cumbria.

Geographically the area was largely agricultural and mainly dependent on sheep and their by-products but it also had fast running rivers for water power and the climate being generally damp, was ideal for cotton, wool and flax spinning. Whilst many Friends were employed on the land or were farmers, others were involved in the woollen industry both as spinners and weavers and as manufacturers and merchants.⁴ Quakers also controlled the flax industry in parts of Yorkshire but what is less well known is how many of them were involved in the Yorkshire cotton industry.⁵ In 1784-5 William and John Birkbeck, partners in the Settle bank of Birkbeck & Co. built Yore Cotton Mill, near Aysgarth. By 1800 William Birkbeck, had a share in a number of cotton mills in England and Scotland including Settle and Montrose as well as Linton Mill, near Grassington which was used for worsted spinning.⁶ At the beginning of this period, many of the Quakers who were weavers would have been working in their own homes, on their own looms, so the scale of manufacture was small.⁷ The spinning mills in villages such as Cononley, Lothersdale, Barnoldswick, Kildwick and Airton just outside Skipton and in Settle and Higher Bentham further West were water driven and even at the end of this period, many of the mills were still small and few had installed steam engines.⁸

At the beginning of the period, Settle Monthly Meeting encompassed the Meetings of Lothersdale and Salterforth, Settle, Bentham, Langstroth, Newton in Bowland (Bolland) and Rilstone and Airton. In 1785 Langstroth to the North in Wenslydale became part of Aysgarth Meeting. Ultimately, in 1853 Settle Monthly Meeting was absorbed by Brighouse Monthly Meeting, which included part of what had been Knaresborough Monthly Meeting and which from this date onwards extended from Bentham and Settle in the North-West to Huddersfield in the South-East.⁹ These Meetings were isolated one from the other and compared with York, were small. The Meetings at Lothersdale in the South, Bentham in the West and Settle in the centre dominated the Monthly Meeting, accounting for nearly 95% of the membership. Lothersdale the largest Meeting had approximately 162 members over the whole period, Settle 92 and Bentham 87. Newton in Bowland (Bolland), Airton and Rylstone would each appear to have had less than 20 members and at times even fewer - Airton in the late eighteenth century had only four members. The total membership for Settle Monthly Meeting over the whole period was around 440 compared with an figure of around 540 for the period for York Preparative Meeting.¹⁰

John Yeardley's journal gives us an insight into the lifestyle of Friends in these rural Meetings. John Yeardley was a linen manufacturer who moved to Bentham in 1817 when his business in Barnsley was failing. As he explained to his wife, their move to Bentham would take them away from all their friends and relations but it would remove the "extreme anxiety attendant on trade, when the whole responsibility rests on our shoulders".¹¹ He accepted a post at the flax-spinning mill in Higher Bentham owned by Charles Parker, a minister in the Society of Friends and member of Bentham Meeting.¹² In June 1818 he rented a house in Low Bentham, remarking that it was a pleasant walk home along the waterside from the mill and that the house was near to the Meeting House. He noted that the Meeting was "a very small meeting indeed; there are only about two female Friends...".¹³ He and his wife enjoyed a quiet life but they had "kind neighbours, a very pleasant habitation, and little society, plenty of books both of the religious and amusing kind and leisure to meditate...".¹⁴ In John Yeardley's time Low Bentham had its own Meeting House, although as his journal shows, larger Meetings and public Meetings were more usually held at High Bentham.

EDITORS NOTE: Sheila Wright's book, *Friends in York...1780 – 1860* limited its study to York Preparative Meeting i.e. the City of York 'and its immediate environs...which includes outlying suburbs such

as Fulford, Askham Bryan and Naburn' (pages 2 and 113).

Unless otherwise stated, the figures given for York in the text and in the tables refer to York Preparative Meeting between 1780 – 1860 as a part of York Monthly Meeting but NOT to the Monthly Meeting as a whole.

The Demography of York Preparative and Settle Monthly Meetings

Firstly, I wanted to explore the statistical analysis undertaken on York Monthly Meeting which forms the basis for comparisons with Settle Monthly Meeting. In the prize-winning seminal essay written by John Stephenson Rowntree in 1859 in response to the concern of the Yearly Meeting with the fall in membership numbers, Rowntree demonstrated that of all the Monthly Meetings within the Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting, York was the only Meeting which had expanded its membership between 1780 and 1860.¹⁵ Critical to the maintenance of membership numbers were disownment figures. The figures produced by J.S. Rowntree for the Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting disclosed that of all the Meetings within the Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting, York was the only Meeting which was disowning fewer members than any other Meeting. His figures gave the numbers disowned and the reasons for disownment and nationwide, his figures showed that the Society as a whole was losing members at an alarming rate.

TABLE 1. YORK PREPARATIVE MEETING - DISOWNMENTS (excluding marriage-out)¹⁷

Reason for Disownment	1780-1800	1801-1820	1821-1840	1841-1860
Business failure	6	3	5	3
Immorality	5	3	0	0
Drink	2	1	1	1
Miscellaneous	1	4	5	1
Resignations	0	1	5	13
Resignations as % of members	0	0.7	2.7	5.9
Disownment as % of members	11.6	5.4	6.0	2.3

Records of disownment kept by Friends show who contravened the rules and which rule they had broken. From the disownment records for York Monthly Meeting it was possible to construct a detailed

record of all disownments within the Preparative Meeting and the reasons for disownment. Within the Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting some Monthly Meetings were disowning nearly half of their membership; between 1800-1850 Marsden Monthly Meeting (in Lancashire Quarterly Meeting) disowned 40%, Brighouse Monthly Meeting 33.5% and Pontefract Monthly Meeting 34%, whilst York Monthly Meeting disowned 26% of its membership.¹⁶ The figures for the whole period 1780 and 1860 show that in total York Monthly Meeting disowned 20.8% whilst Bristol Monthly Meeting, a Meeting of similar size and demographic makeup, disowned 47.1% in the same period - nearly twice the rate of York. Bristol in fact, disowned 406 members over the eighty year period and admitted only 148.

York Preparative Meeting provided a strong contrast; although it disowned 112 members over the period from 1780 it admitted 98, in effect almost cancelling the shortfall caused by numbers disowned.

**TABLE 2 SETTLE MONTHLY MEETING DISOWNMENTS
(excluding marriage-out)¹⁸**

Reason for disownment	1780-1800	1801-1820	1821-1853
Business Failure	3	0	0
Immorality	3	3	2
Drink	3	0	0
Miscellaneous	2	1	0
Resignations	1	0	3

Unlike York, because of a lack of reliable membership figures it has been impossible to construct accurate percentage figures for disownments but it is likely that Settle Meeting, in the period 1780-1810, disowned approximately 40% of its membership. Although, this figure did improve over the period from 1810 to 1853 when the Meeting disowned far fewer members, and the combined totals for the whole period are around 24%. It has been difficult to collate accurate figures on admissions for the Settle Monthly Meeting but it has been suggested by Raistrick, that the Monthly Meeting readmitted many of the members they disowned but what is clear from these figures is the highly detrimental effect disownment was having on all of these other meetings.¹⁹

Of all the regulations for which members could be disowned from the Society, marriage out was the most damaging in terms of membership loss. Marriage out, that is to a non-Friend and by implication until the introduction of Civil Marriage in 1837, by a priest, had a devastating effect on membership statistics.²⁰ Between 1780-1800 York Preparative Meeting disowned 18 members for marriage out; Bristol Monthly Meeting 45 and Settle Monthly Meeting 18 and over the whole period 1780-1860, York Preparative Meeting disowned 9.7%, Settle approximately 17% and Bristol 28.9%.²³ The figures for all three Meetings show that women were much more likely to marry-out than were men.

TABLE: 3

YORK PREPARATIVE AND BRISTOL MONTHLY MEETINGS MEMBERS DISOWNED FOR MARRYING-OUT-1780-1860

Date	York Meeting			Bristol Meeting		
	Male	Female	As % of members	Male	Female	As % of members
1780-1800	5	13	14.8	25	20	8.1
1781-1820	2	8	4.9	24	24	9.7
1821-1840	4	5	4.9	23	28	8.6
1841-1860	7	8	6.8	12	1	2.5*

(*the high number of female resignations in these years suggests that these women may have been 'persuaded' to resign before marrying-out; consequently this figure is misleading).

TABLE 4 SETTLE MONTHLY MEETINGS MEMBERS DISOWNED FOR MARRYING-OUT -1780-1863²²

Date	Male	Female
1780-1800	5	13
1781-1820	2	8
1821-1840	4	5
1841-1853	7	8

These figures are dispiriting but it has to be recognised that the chances of meeting a marriage partner who was a Friend in these small Dales Meetings was limited and the figures reflect this; whereas the larger, more integrated Preparative Meeting at York gave Friends

of marriageable age greater opportunities for meeting suitable partners.

Although it was apparent that York Preparative Meeting was not disowning members at the same high rate as some of the other Meetings, this did not explain the increase in membership. A further question had to be considered – was York Preparative Meeting's increase in members due to natural causes? Did the Meeting have a higher fertility rate, lower death rate or younger marriage age than the general population. To compare fertility and death rates of Quakers in York it was necessary to undertake a series of statistical comparisons with other populations in the City. For various reasons the parishes of St Mary's Castlegate and St. Michael le Belfry were chosen.

These records made it possible to compare death rates, birth rates, literacy rates, age at marriage, socio-economic status etc. They showed that York Friends were more middle class than the inhabitants of both parishes chosen and more literate, and that Quaker men and women married later than men and women in both parishes, as well as nationally. It also showed that Quaker children under 14 had a higher mortality rate than children in both parishes but having survived 25 years could expect to live a long life. Most of all, from these statistics it was possible to show that a higher fertility rate, younger age at marriage or lower death rates were not the cause of the expansion of York Preparative Meeting.²³

Birth rates for the three main Meetings within Settle Monthly Meeting show Bentham Preparative Meeting's birth rate was slightly lower than either York or Lothersdale Preparative Meeting over the whole period. Whilst Lothersdale was higher in the period 1780-1800 than either York or Bentham it became very similar to York in the other three periods. Vann and Eversley's figures for all Friends show that both York and Settle Monthly Meeting were experiencing a higher birth rate than any of the cohorts in their study. Unfortunately birth and death records for Settle Meeting cover only the period 1837-53 which reduces their validity as a source.²⁴

**TABLE 5 BIRTH RATES - YORK PREPARATIVE MEETING
(as a percentage of membership)**

	1780-1800	1801-1820	1821-1840	1841-1860
York Preparative Meeting	22.6	23.5	13.7	14.2

**BIRTH RATES - BENTHAM AND LOTHERSDALE
PREPARATIVE MEETINGS (as a percentage of membership)²⁵**

Meeting	1780-1800	1801-1820	1821-1840	1841-1853*
Lothersdale (1780-1845)	38.8	21.5	13.1	2.0
Bentham (1780-1845)	21.7	11.5	8.9	0

*Settle Monthly Meeting was merged into Brighthouse Monthly Meeting in 1853

BIRTH RATES - ALL FRIENDS (children ever born)³⁶

	1750-1824	1824-1849
Southern English	4.3	3.7
Urban	3.5	3.4
Irish	6.1	5.6

Adult mortality rates for Lothersdale and Bentham are significantly different from York. They show that unlike York, both Meetings were seeing considerably lower death rates between the ages of 16-55 than York Preparative Meeting and a longer general life expectancy than within the Quaker population as a whole.²⁷

These findings are confirmed by Eversley's work on the southern rural Quakers, which concluded that once Friends had overcome the perils of childhood "they could expect to live to what was then considered a ripe old age" and even more surprisingly that "by and large the Quakers had the same sort of life expectation as English people of all classes more than a century later".²⁹ However, when compared with Quaker men in the countryside, men in the cities enjoyed an inferior life expectancy.³⁰

**TABLE 6 YORK PREPARATIVE MEETING
- ADULT MORTALITY RATES 1780-1860**

	16-25yrs. %	26-40yrs. %	41-55yrs. %	56-74yrs. %	75+yrs. %
1776-1800	16.7	10.6	18.2	37.9	16.6
1801-1839	16.7	12.7	7.8	37.3	25.5
1839-1852	8.2	24.3	10.8	43.3	13.5
1853-1860	0	14.7	8.8	50.0	26.5

**BENTHAM AND LOTHERSDALE MEETINGS
- ADULT MORTALITY RATES 1780-1853²⁸**

	16-25yrs. %	26-40yrs. %	41-55yrs. %	56-74yrs. %	75+yrs. %
Bentham Meeting 1776-1800	2.5	5.1	2.5	12.8	15.3
1801-1839	2.5	2.5	7.6	17.9	25.6
1840-1852	0	0	0	0	2.5
Lothersdale Meeting 1776-1800	4.1	3.1	7.2	18.5	14.4
1801-1839	1.0	3.1	6.2	16.5	15.4
1840-1852	1.0	0	0	4.1	6.2

Although it is speculation until population statistics are collected from the parishes within Settle Monthly Meeting, it is likely that they will coincide with Edwin Chadwick's figures of 1841 which showed that a life-style which combined rural with middle-class was likely to lead to a longer life expectancy.³¹ Within the country Meetings, the majority of Friends lived past their 56th birthday and in Bentham 46% and Lothersdale 36% lived beyond the age of 75 and many died in their eighties and a few well into their nineties, one even reached 101.

Infant and child mortality rates are equally surprising. Out of a total of 142 live births in both Meetings there were only 19 infant or child deaths in the period.³² Whilst Eversley in his study of southern English Rural Quakers found that within these rural populations of Friends the mortality rate in children over the age of four was low, the figures for Settle remain exceptional. As Eversley says, these figures "do not fit into the historical experience of developed countries" and the implications of factors such as good diet, fresh air and exercise or inoculation cannot be calculated.³³ This high survival rate cannot be explained by either better or different childcare as Friends in both York Meeting and in the countryside followed similar child rearing practices. The only factor which may explain these differences is the healthier environment of the countryside where pollution and consequential health hazards may have been lower. Again this suggestion will only be confirmed by comparison with the general population of the parishes but in an age of high infant and

child mortality rates these figures are anomalous.

Both Lothersdale and Bentham Meetings record the births and deaths of Attenders in their birth and burial records, marking each 'not in membership'.³⁴ The infant and child mortality rates amongst those who were Attenders at the Meetings but were not in membership have been compared with Friends. In Lothersdale the infant and child mortality rates amongst Attenders children across all age groups are higher than Friends in the first period but slightly better in the later period. Whilst in Bentham there is no significant difference in the period 1776-1800, except that Attenders lost fewer children in the age group 1 to 4 years than did Friends, mortality rates were very similar between 1800-1853. The overall higher birth rate amongst Attenders outweighed the slightly higher death rate. The differences in the figures are so small that it has not been possible to form a clear distinction between Attenders and Members in relation to these statistics.

As Table 7 shows, the adult mortality rates amongst Attenders also show variations. Attenders did not enjoy the same longevity as Friends and in all periods and all ages the death rate amongst Attenders was higher and this is reflected in the lower numbers reaching the older age groups. They also experienced a higher death rate amongst their young people in the second period, a rate which is similar to those experienced by the urban Quakers of York. One factor which may influence these statistics is that Attenders were almost entirely drawn from the lower social groups and as Vann and Eversley have shown in Bristol, the poor had a considerably lower life expectancy than either the general population of the city or Friends.³⁵

**TABLE 7 LOTHERSDALE MEETING ATTENDERS
- ADULT MORTALITY RATES 1780-1853³⁶**

	16-25yrs. %	26-40yrs. %	41-55yrs. %	56-754yrs. %	75+yrs. %
1776-1800	4.4	9.1	4.4	3.3	2.2
1801-1839	15.5	13.3	5.5	15.5	6.6
1840-1852	3.3	1.1	5.5	5.5	1.1

Throughout this period, both Lothersdale and Bentham Meetings had a large number of Attenders - Lothersdale 88 and Bentham 37. By comparison York had no more than 15 over the whole period. Whilst some were members who had been disowned, there were many who

were attending the Meeting in preference to churches or chapels of other denominations. Attenders in both Bentham and Lothersdale were almost uniformly drawn from social Class IV - the partly skilled and Class V - the unskilled - reflecting the sources of employment available in these small mill towns for workers in these categories.³⁷ It has to be considered what the attractions of Quaker Meetings were, especially since in each village and often almost next door, there was a Methodist Chapel with its more enthusiastic and charismatic style of preaching. The lack of enthusiasm to take Attenders into membership can only be attributed to the potential drain these new members might have had on the limited resources already available for poor relief and the education for poor Friends' children in the poorer Meetings.

Several of the Meetings which formed Settle Monthly Meeting were poor Meetings with many members in receipt of poor relief.³⁸ The minutes repeatedly show Lothersdale and Bentham Meetings in particular having to ask the Monthly Meeting or Quarterly Meeting for additional funds for the relief of their poor.³⁹ These Meetings also struggled to find funds for the many collections made by the Monthly Meeting and Quarterly Meeting for causes such as Ackworth School, repairs to Sheffield Meeting House or the building of two Meeting houses in London.⁴⁰

An analysis of the social status of the membership of Settle Monthly Meeting show that although the social profile was different from York Preparative Meeting, it was not as different as might have been expected. The large number of manufacturers and merchants gave Settle Monthly Meeting a solid middle-class but whereas in York only 13.2% of its membership were in classes IV (partly skilled) and V (unskilled), in Settle Meeting 38.5% of the membership were in these lower social groups, reflecting the large number of weavers and agricultural workers in the Meeting. It is interesting to note that both Settle and York had a larger percentage of members in the Class I - professional and Class II - manufacturing/merchant occupations - than did Bristol and that Bristol also had a significantly larger artisan/skilled class (Class III) than either Meeting. When compared with the censuses of 1841 to 1861, all the Meetings had a larger proportion of their membership in Class II than the general population. These differences in social status in Settle Monthly Meeting may led to differences in Friends involvement within their communities.

TABLE 8

**YORK PREPARATIVE MEETING MEMBERSHIP:
BY SOCIAL STATUS 1780-1860**

Class I %	Class II %	Class III %	Class IV %	Class V %
13.5	41.0	32.1	9.5	3.7

**SETTLE MONTHLY MEETING MEMBERSHIP:
BY SOCIAL STATUS 1780-1853⁴¹**

Class I %	Class II %	Class III %	Class IV %	Class V %
9.5	33.7	18.2	23.6	14.9

**BRISTOL MONTHLY MEETING MEMBERSHIP:
BY SOCIAL STATUS 1780-1860**

Class I %	Class II %	Class III %	Class IV %	Class V %
7.6	21.0	63.7	5.5	2.2

**NATIONAL FIGURES SHOWING
SOCIAL STATUS FROM CENSUS 1841-1861⁴²**

	Class I %	Class II %	Class III %	Class IV %	Class V %
1841	9.40	12.30	20.00	44.10	14.20
1851	8.50	14.00	20.10	43.20	14.20
1861	9.10	13.80	21.00	41.80	14.30

Friends and their Neighbours

Friends living in the socially and politically tight-knit community of York had a history of a high level of involvement in their local neighbourhoods.⁴³ From the middle of the eighteenth Century Quakers had served in the parishes in York as Overseers of the Poor, as Constables, as tax collectors, as Auditors of various Church accounts and even in the case of one family, provided successive generations of Church Wardens. The parish was at the base of the political pyramid and gave the 'good and Godly' access to the regulation of their local community. For Friends the parish provided a forum for local activism and in many cases, it was often the only

arena within which they could have any effective influence. It was recognized from earliest times that it was 'the most substantial', 'the principal', 'the most discrete' inhabitants who formed the basis of parochial administration.⁴⁴ Good standing within their local community was of benefit to Friends, especially when it came to the collection of Tithes and Church rates.

The large geographic spread of Settle Monthly Meeting included nine different parishes and unlike York, a study of these parishes has shown that Friends in general contributed little to the governance of their local communities, although they did collaborate as 'good citizens'.⁴⁵ Surprisingly, in view of the acrimony surrounding the case of the 'Lothersdale Prisoners' in Carlton in Craven, Friends took an active part in governance of this parish. As in York Monthly Meeting, Lothersdale Meeting had several prominent families including the Conyers, the Wormalls, the Duckworths and the Stansfields and it appears that members of these families had been active in the parish throughout the eighteenth century. Carlton in Craven's Constables Accounts show that between 1784 and 1794 both William Conyers and William Wormall served as Constables. Until the arrival of George Markham as vicar in 1779, relationships between Friends and the Established Church in Carlton appear to have been tolerable but they broke down completely between 1794 and 1805 and during this period no Friends were involved in the management of the parish. Despite Markham continuing to collect Church Rates and Tithes, after 1805 relationships began to improve and in that year William Conyers' name reappeared on the Church Wardens Accounts as a member of the Vestry.⁴⁶ Between 1805 and 1819 David Duckworth, a farmer from Lothersdale, Daniel his brother, John Wormall, a grocer and Slater Stansfield, a woolstapler all served as Overseers of the Poor and as Auditors of the Poor Rate and in 1811 David Duckworth was responsible for undertaking the census.⁴⁷ Friends also served the Parish of Barnoldswick and John and Joseph King were members of the Vestry from 1816 to 1823, signing the Vestry minutes and the accounts.⁴⁸ Overall, these low levels of social and political involvement and influence, left Friends vulnerable in countryside parishes to the apparent more rigorous enforcement of distraint for Tithes and Church Rates. In York Preparative Meeting, relationships between individual clergy and Friends were generally harmonious and whilst Friends were pursued for Church Rates, frequently the collection of Church Rates was haphazard and apparently chasing a Quaker for a 2p rate was not worth the trouble when you had already collected £20; only five warrants for distraint of goods were issued between 1780 and 1855.⁴⁹

The same cannot be said for Friends in the countryside. The Great Book of Sufferings records all the Sufferings for Truths Sake i.e. the non-payment of Church Rates, Tithes and fines for refusal to enlist for military or naval service endured by Friends each year throughout all the Meetings in England and Wales.⁵⁰ This can be used to gauge the steadfastness of Friends with regard to the non-payment of tithes and to understand the effect that this non-payment had on their incomes and importantly, their relationship with their neighbours and with local parsons. An analysis of the figures indicates that in general, Friends living in rural areas were more likely to suffer higher and more persistent distraint of goods in lieu of tithe payment than were urban Friends. In almost all the periods, Settle Monthly Meeting Friends suffered higher distraint for Church Rates and for Tithe Rent than did Friends in York Preparative Meeting, although they almost always managed to avoid being fined for non-compliance with call-up for military service. Although my work on York Preparative Meeting did not include rural Friends, I did note that they suffered in a similar manner.

Figures for the Meetings of Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting for 1834 (Appendix 1) show a similar pattern - rural Meetings suffering more than urban meetings. I should add a note of caution here. These figures may well be distorted by the size of the Meeting as well as internal cohesion and steadfastness to refuse to pay tithes. Analysis of sufferings for York Preparative and Settle Monthly Meetings over the period from 1780-1853 show that in all the last period, 1841-1853, York Preparative Meeting suffered a much lower level of distraint for non-payment of both Church Rates and Tithes than did Settle Monthly Meeting.⁵¹ The figures clearly reflect the more zealous pursuit of Quakers for non-payment by country parsons, as well as the collection of Tithe Rent by local landowners, such as the Duke of Devonshire who owned vast tracts of lands in and around Carlton in Craven and Lothersdale.

In Settle Meeting, there is hardly a year goes past without local parsons distraining Quakers for goods in lieu of tithes and they are quite willing to take court action against them, the cost of which incidentally fell on Friends.⁵² The Rector of Bentham, Thomas Butler regularly collected Great Tithes from Friends in his parish between 1780-1800, as did Henry Wilson and his successor Henry Wigglesworth, as Rectors of Slaidburn.⁵³ This kind of action very rarely occurred in York. In small rural communities pressure to conform and non-compliance with custom and regulation become emphasised and the lack of integration into most of these parishes meant that Friends were more susceptible to persecution. It also has

to be recognised that in many of these parishes there were large numbers of Friends and Attenders whose refusal to pay Tithes and Church Rates not only undermined the influence of the local parson but also reduced his income. Several parishes in this area - Kildwick, Carlton in Craven, Settle Slaidburn and Bentham all had several Quaker families and many Attenders.

In 1795 eight members of Lothersdale Meeting, which is in Carlton in Craven parish, were imprisoned in York Castle for non-payment of tithes on a warrant issued by Rev. Dr. George Markham.⁵⁴ Although his predecessor Richard Withnell had always collected his dues from Friends he had never taken them to Court, preferring to send the constable to collect the Tithe which meant that Friends although out of pocket, could continue to pursue their livelihoods.⁵⁵ By 1781 the total debt of the Lothersdale Friends was £297 6s 4d.⁵⁶ One prisoner, John Wilkinson died in prison and Friends considered that Markham was deliberately prolonging their imprisonment, Joseph Brown one of the prisoners commenting that he thought Markham "...manifest[ed] a spirit of persecution and bitterness...".⁵⁷ Whilst undoubtedly Markham's actions were both provocative and callous it is likely that as a non-resident Rector, he had little sense of the reality of life in a comparatively poor Dales village. His relentless pursuit of the collection of his dues and the subsequent court case caused an outcry. An article published in the *Analytical Review* in March 1796, condemned Markham's actions in no uncertain terms stating that in the future he hoped "the Laws...will no longer leave it to the power of imperious priests, to trample on the rights of humanity and not on the spoils of the good".⁵⁸ *The Monthly Review* and *The British Critic* also weighed in with support and both condemned Markham's actions, as did a correspondent to *The Gentleman's Magazine* who commented that "It could never be the principle of the Church of England to persecute" but acknowledged that because the 'offenders' were Quakers, they had "excited [more] notice" than "innumerable other farmers" who also suffered from distraint for Tithes.⁵⁹ Markham was not only chasing Quakers, he was also pursuing others through the Ecclesiastical Courts for tithes, including disputes which appear to have had more to do with custom than with non-payment of the Tithe itself.⁶⁰ Ultimately, the prisoners were released in 1797 under Clause 60 of the Insolvent Debtors Act of 1796. Ironically, this clause ordered that the Quakers' property was to be sold to pay their debts and then paid to Markham but that the property was then to be re-conveyed or assigned back to the prisoners.

Being a Member of the Society of Friends in the Countryside

The agricultural, largely upland nature of the landscape which comprised Settle Monthly Meeting meant that Friends frequently lived isolated lives and inevitably suffered from a sense of dislocation. This was exacerbated by the small size and isolation of some Meetings, resulting in a lack of cohesion and a lack of a sense of belonging to the larger Monthly and Quarterly Meeting body. At Settle Women's Monthly Meeting in August 1784 it was noted that "...the very few Friends that frequently attend this meeting, evince the great shortness of the attendance of our Monthly Meeting which ought to be considered a branch of our duty as well as those for worship".⁶¹ In these small Meetings the responsibilities and duties of the Meeting fell on a very few shoulders and many of them struggled to send representatives to the Monthly Meetings. Between January 1793 and March 1795, there were no representatives at all from Rilstone Meeting and over the same period Newton in Bowland (Bolland) Meeting only sent three individual woman to the Women's Monthly Meeting on a regular basis, Alice Shaw being by far the most frequent attender. In the winter even the larger Meeting at Lothersdale sometimes failed to send representatives to Monthly Meeting.⁶² Quarterly Meeting frequently minuted the failure of appointed representatives to attend. This failure to attend resulted in the authority of the Monthly and Quarterly Meeting being diminished and control and discipline being reduced, as Friends became more isolated and removed from the organisation and benefits of the Society. In 1784 a Quarterly Meeting Committee was formed to ensure that 'weighty' Friends visited Rilstone, Newton in Bowland (Bolland) and Airton to oversee the well-being and discipline of the membership and over the next sixty years numerous members of this Committee visited every three months offering spiritual support and pastoral care.⁶³

Women's Monthly Meeting reported on the "desolate state" of Airton Meeting "from which we have had no later accounts as a Body" and it was requested that "they may come under the sisterly Notice of Friends in this".⁶⁴ In October, the Meeting sent Mary Birkbeck to Airton and having visited on First Day she reported on the dismal state of the Meeting:

only two men and two women in membership, two of these through indisposition and infirmity, together with the distance of 10 miles do not attend, that it appears to be sometimes dropped on 1st days, and also on weekdays, at others, there are several

who are not Members who attend it particularly on 1st days, they appear very low.⁶⁵

Sustaining a Meeting with two people was unlikely to be either spiritually uplifting or to encourage steadfastness to maintain the Quaker lifestyle. Over the next few years Airton continued to be watched over and by August 1800 the Meeting was under consideration for closure but it was decided that it should continue and "Friends latterly appointed [were] to visit them, occasionally to sit with them, also that any other Friends who feel their minds drawn towards that Meeting, may join them".⁶⁶ The Meeting survived and in February 1822 a visit found the Meeting to be "satisfactorily kept up" but to continue "under the care of Friends".⁶⁷

Another Meeting which had problems maintaining its membership was Newton Bowland (Bolland). The Women's Meeting continually failed to send representatives to Monthly Meeting, especially in winter but more usually due to a lack of suitable representatives. Ultimately in December 1796, Anne Huddleston reported that there was now no Women's Meeting at Bolland and therefore, there would be no representatives to Monthly Meeting.⁶⁸ The loss of the women's meeting meant that Bolland now had no representation at either the Women's Monthly Meeting or at the Women's Quarterly Meeting and therefore no influence over decisions or ability to raise awareness of problems existing within their own Meeting. It was inevitable that a Meeting was one of the most geographically isolated within the compass of Settle Monthly Meeting increasingly became dislocated from the main body of the Meeting.

Failure to attend Meeting for worship and 'dullness' was also a frequent problem in these Meetings and, some such as Rilstone Meeting did not have a Minister for considerable periods.⁶⁹ To augment the spiritual welfare of the Meetings, visits from a succession of ministering Friends gave support and encouragement to the Meetings and to the families within the Meeting.⁷⁰ Many of these visiting Ministers were from the Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting but many others were from further afield, including Sarah Shackleton from Ireland; Phebe Speakman and Sarah Talbot from America; Elizabeth Coggleshaw from Newport, Rhode Island in December, 1800 and Sarah Abbott and Sarah Fox from Plymouth in 1814.⁷¹

By the beginning of the nineteenth Century Settle Monthly Meeting was increasingly suffering from a decline in its membership and the membership figures for the period 1813 to 1837, show a steady decline in the number of members. At the beginning of the period the

**TABLE 9 SETTLE MONTHLY MEETING:
REMOVALS IN/OUT 1813-1837**

	Males in	Males deceased	Males out	Females in	Females deceased	Females out	Gain/ shortfall
1813- 1820	10	21	22	9	15	20	-59
1821- 1830	16	6	16	25	10	17	-8
1831- 1837	13	10	17	22	13	13	-18

Meeting had 73 male members and 69 females giving an overall total of 142 members. By the end of the period 1837, there were only 84 members over the whole Meeting despite its relative success in attracting a steady flow of new members. This decline in overall membership was to have a serious effect, especially on smaller Meetings.

In July 1809, Rilstone Meeting was declared inoperative and Quarterly Meeting agreed to dispose of the Meeting House and burial ground.⁷³ In 1822, Newton in Bowland (Bolland) Meeting was discontinued when the only family moved out of the village and despite two new families moving into the Meeting in 1823, the Monthly Meeting refused permission for the Meeting House to be reopened and Friends were advised to hold their Meeting in the School House.⁷⁴ Lack of members and members moving away from a Meeting could have a considerable impact on the ability of the Meeting to function and even the comparatively large Meeting at Settle complained in 1814 that "In consequence of the removal of several from this monthly meeting, the office of Clerk and Overseer is left vacant".⁷⁵ Over the next twenty Years Quarterly Meeting continued to express concern for the state of Settle Monthly Meeting and members of the Quarterly Meeting Committee continued to visit the Meetings for Worship and families within the remaining Meetings. But despite their efforts these Meetings continued to shrink and in 1831 Settle Women Friends Preparative Meeting was amalgamated with the Men's Preparative Meeting due to the lack of attendance by women members.⁷⁶

Returning briefly to York Preparative Meeting - the main statistical reason for the expansion of York Preparative Meeting was its ability to attract new members. Many Friends moved in and out of the Meeting several times. This was especially true of the lower echelons

of the Society, in particular servants. There were several unique factors within York Preparative Meeting which attracted members from other Meetings. The Retreat, opened in 1796, attracted not only patients but also staff and provided employment for servants, nurses, doctors and general assistants. Trinity Lane School was opened in 1785, and although it was mainly staffed by existing members of York Preparative Meeting, extra servants were employed by Esther Tuke to help with its management. Castlegate, later the Mount School provided employment for at least fifteen female servants and assistants between 1832 and 1860 and Bootham School, established in 1823 was a continual source of employment for a succession of Quaker male teaching assistants and several Headmasters. The increased prosperity of members also ensured a steady growth in the number of servants employed within Quaker homes and a steady increase in shop assistants, apprentices and other employees in their businesses. Friends always tried to employ Friends and many young men from wealthy Quaker families for example, Richard Barrow Cadbury, were sent to York as apprentices.⁷⁷ By far the most fluid sector of the Quaker population in York Preparative Meeting were shop assistants, servants and apprentices and they comprised the largest number of Removals. Families and individuals account for only a small percentage of these total Removals. In contrast, a preliminary analysis of Removals into and out of Settle Monthly Meeting, shows that families were the largest groups on the move whereas apprentices and servants accounted for a smaller percentage. This difference reflects the very different social makeup of the Monthly Meeting and reveals the depleted economic prosperity of its membership.

Conclusion

In this paper I have tried to show how different the life experience of Friends living in the countryside of the Yorkshire Dales was to the urban lifestyle of Friends in York. Despite the efforts of their Monthly Meeting and the Quarterly Meeting, country Quakers were likely to be less integrated into the communities within which they lived, suffered from dislocation within the organisation of the Society of Friends and generally, were disadvantaged by the isolation created by the dispersed nature of the Meetings and the geography and topography of the area in general. This is not to say that these Meetings were totally devoid of spirituality or cohesion but that the maintenance of Meetings was difficult and consequently it became more of a challenge to retain existing members and to attract new members. The very nature of the urban environment of the City of

York created for Friends a lifestyle which encouraged integration within their neighbourhood communities and created bonds within the Meeting, which were enhanced by the close proximity of Friends to each other. At the same time, the schools, the Retreat and Friends' increasing prosperity positively encouraged the migration of new members into the Meeting in search of work.

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28 May 2006.*

**APPENDIX 1 YORKSHIRE QUARTERLY MEETING - SUFFERINGS FOR CHURCH RATES, TITHES
AND MILITARY/NAVY - 1834**

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	Monthly Meeting			Tithe in Kind			Church Rates			Tithe Rent			Total		
	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
Brighouse	1	6	0	64	17	3	33	7	6	66	3	3			
Balby	18	0	0	57	8	11	33	7	6	108	16	5			
Pontefract	28	0	0	33	3	5	45	9	1	106	12	6			
Pickering				33	11	10				33	11	10			
Settle	3	7	0	27	18	0				31	5	0			
Hull				22	8	3				22	8	3			
Guisborough	20	18	0	105	7	6				171	5	6			
Knarborough	1	0	0	8	7	1				9	7	1			
York		10	0	32	7	11	7	10	9	40	8	8			

TOWN AND COUNTRY

Compiled from: *The Great Book of Sufferings*, Vols: 39 and 42, 1832-1848, Friends House Library.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1 E. Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou: Cathars & Catholics in a French Village 1294-1324* (Penguin, 1894)
- 2 S. Wright, *Friends in York: The Dynamics of Quaker Revival 1780-1860* (Keele: Keele University Press, 1995).
- 3 W.J. Allinson, (ed) *Memorials of Rebecca Jones* (Gilpin, London, 2nd ed. 1848), pp.85-86.
- 4 Morris Birkbeck, a farmer from Settle Monthly Meeting, became the first man in England to raise and breed merino sheep. He left Settle Meeting in August 1821 and went to New York.
- 5 Friends accounted for 14% of flax spinners, 15% of the oil merchants and dealers and 19% of the linen manufacturers in the county. D.H. Pratt *English Quakers and the First Industrial Revolution: A Study of the Quaker Community in Four Industrial Counties: Lancashire, Yorkshire, Warwickshire and Gloucester 1750-1830* (Garland, 1985), p.105. G. Ingle *Yorkshire Cotton: The Yorkshire Cotton Industry, 1780-1835* (Carnegie, 1997).
- 6 Linton Mill had originally, like many mills, been a corn mill but in 1786 it was for sale and the advertisement suggested that "Linton Mill is the most advantageous situation for a cotton mill, being supplied with water by the great river Wharfe...and within half a mile of the several populous towns and villages of Grassington, Threshfield, Linton, etc. where from the ring of a bell upwards of three hundred children may be collected in less than half an hour". The Birkbecks installed Arkwright spinning frames in their mills and the young workers (children) were sent to Winstanley's mill in Lancashire to be trained. The early machinery was difficult to use and produced low quality yarn but the children were also blamed for some of the problems. Ingle, *Yorkshire Cotton*, p.7; 58 & 68.
- 7 For many weaving was an additional source of income. John King the schoolmaster at the Friends School in Lothersdale, taught for 6 or 7 hours and then put in six or seven hours weaving at home. E. Delater, Schools. In: K. Wilson *The History of Lothersdale* (The Parish Council of Lothersdale, 1972), p.202.
- 8 D.T. Jenkins, *The West Riding Wool Textile Industry 1770-1835: A Study of Fixed Capital Formation* (Edington, 1975.)
- 9 Boundaries were redrawn again in 1924 and Settle Monthly Meeting was reinstated but now included Keighley Meeting.
- 10 The lack of formal membership statistics make it impossible to know exactly how many members there were in each meeting. This relates especially to Settle Monthly Meeting, consequently these figures have been extracted from a range of records including birth, death, marriage records and Removals lists and are approximate.
- 11 C. Tylor, (ed) *Memoir and Diary of John Yeardley* (London, 1859), p. 37

- ¹² Bentham Mill was built by William, John & Joseph Birkbeck (Quaker bankers of Settle) as a cotton mill. In 1799 their tenants were Thomas Danson & Co. (Thomas Danson was also a Friend) who employed 52 people at the mill, including several Friends and Attenders as spinners. It was converted sometime after 1804 to a flax spinning mill. Charles Parker appears to have taken the mill over in January 1813 and may have been in partnership with two other Friends, Issac Waithman and Jonathan Stordy whose Certificates of Removal give their occupations as linen manufacturers. They brought with them several employees, including two flax dressers and Anthony Thistlethwaite, spinning master and his son John, warehouseman. Anthony Thistlethwaite and his son moved to Stockton Meeting in November 1818. Later the mill traded as the Bentham Joint Stock Flax Mills, the partners included Joseph Rowntree of York, Joseph Dymond of Bradford and John Wilson of Thornton, nr. Skipton. His brother, Richard was apprenticed to Joseph Rowntree in November 1824. The mill existed until sometime after 1911, since when it has been demolished. Constructed from Bentham Meeting Register of births, deaths & marriages, 1625-1835, D. 7; Settle Monthly Meeting List of members, 1813-37, D.2. Friends' Carlton Hill Collection, held at University of Leeds, Brotherton Library (hereafter ULBL). Ingle, *Yorkshire Cotton*. p.205. The Birkbecks also appear to have owned Low Mill, Addingham in 1809 when it was converted from a worsted mill to a flax mill. See: Jenkins, *The West Riding Wool Textile Industry*, p.222.
- ¹³ J Tylor, (ed) *Memoir and Diary of John Yeardley*, pp.37-38.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.45-46.
- ¹⁵ J.S. Rowntree, *Quakerism Past and Present*, (London, 1859).
- ¹⁶ These statistics have been calculated using Rowntree's figures.
- ¹⁷ Wright, *Friends in York*, p.125.
- ¹⁸ Full membership figures were not kept in Yorkshire until 1813 and those for Settle only exist in any reliable form from 1813-1837.
- ¹⁹ A. Raistrick, The Society of Friends. In: K. Wilson, *The History of Lothersdale*, p.78-79. My analysis of the Minutes of the Meetings has been unable to confirm this statement. I only found 26 admissions throughout the Monthly Meeting but in some cases the records are incomplete.
- ²⁰ From July 1837 a couple could be married in specially designated buildings or in their local registry office. Friends abandoned the marriage rule in 1860.
- ²¹ Wright, *Friends in York*, p.128. Settle Women's Monthly Meeting Minute Book, 1793-1822, SE4; Settle Men's Monthly Meeting Minute Book 1767-1787, H.6; 1809-1834, SE1; Letters of Contrition, SE9/1-75; Letters of Disownment, SE8/1-129, All Carlton Hill Collection, Brotherton Library, University of Leeds (hereafter ULBL). Figures for Settle are approximate due to problems with reconstruction of accurate membership figures.

- ²² Constructed from Settle Monthly Meeting Women's Meeting Book 1793-1822; SE4; SE5, SE6; Settle Monthly Meeting Men's Minute Book 1809-1834, SE1; Letters of Contrition, SE8/1-125; SE9/1-175, (ULBL).
- ²³ Wright, *Friends in York*, pp.114-117.
- ²⁴ Bentham Preparative Meeting, Register of births, deaths & marriages 1652-1835, D7; Slaterforth & Lothersdale Preparative Meeting, book of births and burials 1776-1826, D14; Lothersdale Preparative Meeting, birth & burial notes, 1825-69, SE18, (ULBL).
- ²⁵ It has only been possible to approximate membership figures for these periods, therefore the figures may be misleading.
- ²⁶ R.T. Vann & D. Eversley, *Friends in life and death: The British and Irish Quakers in the demographic transition*, (Cambridge University Press, 1992), p.173.
- ²⁷ Ibid. p.228.
- ²⁸ Records for both Meetings cease when Settle Monthly Meeting was amalgamated into Brighthouse Monthly Meeting in 1853.
- ²⁹ D.E.C. Eversley, *The Demography of the Irish Quakers, 1650-1850*. In: J.M. Goldstrom and L.A. Clarkson, (eds.), *Irish Population, Economy and Society, Essays in honour of the late K.H. Connell*. (Oxford, 1981), pp.84-85. SRUR Quakers comprised the Quaker Meetings sampled by Eversley: Norfolk, Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire, Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Berkshire and Oxford Quarterly Meetings
- ³⁰ Vann & Eversley, *Friends in life and death*, p.231-232.
- ³¹ E. Royle, *Modern Britain: A Social History 1750-1997* (Arnold, 2nd edition, 1997), p.168-169.
- ³² It is unlikely but not impossible that these low figures are as a result of under recording.
- ³³ Eversley, *The Demography of the Irish Quakers*, p.81.
- ³⁴ Raistrick suggests that in both Meetings it was the custom to note those buried in the burial ground as Attenders, as most were Friends who had either left or had been disowned by the Meeting. Similarly in the births, when at least one parent still attended Meeting. Raistrick, *The Society of Friends*. In: Wilson *The History of Lothersdale* pp.78-79.
- ³⁵ Vann & Eversley, *Friends in life and death*, p.237.
- ³⁶ Salterforth & Lothersdale Book of Births & Burials 1776-1826, D.14; 1825-1869, SE18, (ULBL). The lack of age at death for many Bentham Meeting Attenders made it impossible to construct meaningful statistics.
- ³⁷ For a summary of these classifications, see: Royle, *Modern Britain*, p.168.
- ³⁸ In 1794 Bentham Meeting was supporting 24 members from its poor relief funds in the sum of £14. 00 per month. Bentham Preparative Meeting Minutes, 1782-1811, entry for 1794. H.18, (ULBL).

- ³⁹ Bentham Preparative Meeting Minutes, 1782-1811, H.18; Lothersdale Preparative Meeting Minutes, SE13, (ULBL). These Meetings frequently sent very small amounts to Monthly Meeting and Quarterly Meeting for the poor. E.g. Bentham in March 1789 sent 6/6d to Quarterly Meeting and 7/6d to the poor of Monthly Meeting.
- ⁴⁰ Minute dated 11/1788 notes that Bentham had been unable to raise funds for Ackworth School and in December 1790, the collection for the two London Meeting Houses yielded £2. 2/-. Bentham Preparative Meeting Minutes, 1782-1811, H.18, (ULBL).
- ⁴¹ Settle Monthly Meeting was absorbed by Brighouse Monthly Meeting in 1853.
- ⁴² Source: Banks, quoted in Royle, *Modern Britain*, p.89.
- ⁴³ See D.A. Scott, *Dissent, Politics and Quakerism in York 1640-1700*. Unpublished D.Phil thesis, University of York 1990.
- ⁴⁴ W.E. Tate, *The Parish Chest* (Cambridge, 1969) p.18.
- ⁴⁵ In November 1743 several Friends in Giggleswick Parish, including William Birkbeck, Sarah Maud, John Tatham and John Shackleton, had agreed to provide monies to help pursue criminals through the courts. In the Dales members of the vestry were often elected on the basis of property ownership. It was inevitable that Friends were elected as Church Wardens, few chose to serve and others paid another parishioner to undertake their service. In Giggleswick Parish which included Settle, John Birkbeck was elected in 1786 and Phoebe Hodgson (a widow) in 1794. Both paid for another to do their service. Record of Churchwardens in Giggleswick 1638-1926, PR/GGW/2/1, North Yorkshire County Records Office (hereafter NYCRO). Parish records consulted were Carlton in Craven, Giggleswick (included Settle), Kildwick, Gargrave, Thornton in Craven, Barnoldswick, Bentham, Slaidburn and Bolton by Bowland.
- ⁴⁶ William Conyers's first wife Susannah died in November 1810. In October 1811, he was disowned for marriage out and fornication. He had applied to Lothersdale Meeting to marry Elizabeth Binns but Friends objected to the marriage because she was 19 and he was 63 and they were known to be co-habiting. They married in the Church of England and after his marriage he continued to be a regular member of the Vestry until 1817. Finally in May 1825 Elizabeth and William were readmitted to Lothersdale Meeting.
- ⁴⁷ Carlton in Craven, Overseers of the Poor, 1751-1820, BDP18/114, West Yorkshire Archive Service, Leeds (hereafter WYAS); Carlton in Craven, Constables Accounts, 1737-1812, BDP18/103 (WYAS); Census Return for the Parish of Carlton, 27th 5th mo.(called May) 1811, BDP88/149(WYAS).
- ⁴⁸ Barnoldswick Church Wardens Accounts 1775-1871. PR34440/4/2/1, Lancashire Records Office (hereafter LRO). John King was member of the vestry of the parish of Salterforth which was part of Barnoldswick parish.
- ⁴⁹ In York Friends frequently enabled the Constable to collect their Church Rate by taking money from the till or by turning a 'blind eye' whilst he collected

appropriately valued goods. This effectively allowed Friends to comply with the Law whilst claiming they were true to their Tithe Testimony.

- ⁵⁰ *The Great Book of Sufferings*, Vols: 39 and 42, 1832-1848, Friends House Library (hereafter FHL).
- ⁵¹ *The Great Book of Sufferings*, Vols: 28,29,36,37,38,39,40,41,42 and 43, 1780-1848, (FHL).
- ⁵² Tithes consisted of two types; Great Tithes which were the inalienable right of a Rector and included corn, grain, barley, lambs, calves and wool and Small Tithes which Vicars who were appointed by Rectors were allowed (usually assessed at 1/10 of a parishioner's income) which included honey, eggs, hay, milk, poultry, garden produce, bees etc. The value between the Rector's tithe and the Vicar's tithe was considerable; the major part frequently going to an absentee Rector.
- ⁵³ *The Great Book of Sufferings*, Vols. 28 & 29. Thomas Butler was regularly collecting oats, barley, wheat, wool, lambs, potatoes, oatmeal, cheese & bacon. The Rectors of Slaidburn were entitled to Great Tithes which included wheat, barley, oats, and other grains arising on Raingill Farm, in the township of Easington. Some Rectors were holders of land which formed part of their Living. Several Rectors in the Dales collected wool which was by far the most valuable of the items collected. G. Lawton, *Collections relative to Churches & Chapels within the Diocese of York and Ripon* (London & York, 1842), p.268-9.
- ⁵⁴ Rev. Dr. George Markham, was made a Deacon by the Bishop of Oxford, 11th June 1775 and Priest, 14th June 1778; died in 1816. He became the incumbent at Carlton in Craven 27th November, 1779 and it appears that Carlton was his first Living. He was also Rector at Tattershall, Cheshire from 1780. He was an absentee Rector visiting Carlton infrequently, residing at Christ Church, Oxford. Christ Church, Oxford was the rector and lay impropiator of the Great Tithes. As incumbent, he appointed several Curates to look after the Parish. Markham's Tithes included wool, lambs & calves and he was also entitled to milk from Carlton Hall Farm.. G. Lawton, *Collections*, p.252.
- ⁵⁵ Raistrick, *The Society of Friends*, p83.
- ⁵⁶ Approximately £17,000 in 2006.
- ⁵⁷ Letter from Joseph Browne to Margaret Marriot from York Castle, dated 12. 12. 1795, portfolio 19:105, Lothersdale Prisoners, (FHL).
- ⁵⁸ Lothersdale Prisoners Committee Book, Yorkshire Friends Archive, MFR 166, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research (hereafter BIHR). Copies of these articles are included in the Minute Book.
- ⁵⁹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. 67, part I, 1797, p.51.
- ⁶⁰ Church Court Cause Papers, CPI 2323, (BIHR). Several cases involved non-payment or disputed payment of Tithes.

- ⁶¹ Settle Womens Monthly Meeting Minute Book, 1771-92, SE3, entry for August 1784. (ULBL).
- ⁶² Monthly Meeting was usually held in Settle or Lothersdale on a rotational basis but in June each year they met at High Bentham.
- ⁶³ Visitors included Esther and William Tuke, David Priestman, John Hoyland, Benjamin North, William Sowrby, Ann Tuke, James Backhouse, Benjamin Seebohm, Joseph Priestman, John Rowntree, Samuel Tuke and many others.
- ⁶⁴ S.W.M.M. Minute Book, 1793-1822, SE4, entry for July 1796. (ULBL).
- ⁶⁵ Ibid, entry for November 1797.
- ⁶⁶ Ibid, entry, for August 1800.
- ⁶⁷ Settle Monthly Meeting Minute Book 1809-1834, SE1, entry for February 1822, (ULBL).
- ⁶⁸ S.W.M.M. Minute Book, 1793-1822, SE4, entry for December 1796, (ULBL). Very occasionally these smaller Meetings might send a letter to the Monthly Meeting which was read out and noted in the minutes.
- ⁶⁹ There was no Minister between 1711 and 1802 and the Meeting relied solely on visiting Ministers.
- ⁷⁰ Settle Monthly Meeting did not entirely lack Ministers but compared with the urban Meetings within the Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting a few were spread thinly across a large geographic area and in the whole period there were 5 male and 9 female Ministers. In the same period in York there were 10 male and 21 female Ministers. Helen Plant has shown that the distribution of Ministers across Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting was extremely uneven; urban Meetings have a far higher number of Ministers. H. Plant, *Patterns and Practices of Women's Leadership in the Yorkshire Quarterly Community 1760-1820. Quaker Studies*, 10/2 (2006), pp.223-242.
- ⁷¹ S.W.M.M. Minute Book, 1793-1822, SE4, entries for April 1798 to November 1814. Salterforth & Lothersdale Preparative Meeting Minute Book, 1779-1826, SE13, entries for October 1794 to 1791; Bentham Preparative Meeting Minutes, 1782-1811, H 18, entries for 1791-1806. All at (ULBL).
- ⁷² Settle Monthly Meeting List of members 1813-1837 (ULBL). Reliable membership figures only exist for this short period.
- ⁷³ Rilstone had sent no representatives to the Monthly Meeting for several years prior to this. The Meeting House was sold in September 1813 for £30 and the money invested in improving Settle Meeting House. Settle Monthly Meeting Minute Book 1809-1834, entry for 7/1809. SE1, (ULBL).
- ⁷⁴ Newton in Bowland School was established under the will of John Brabbin in 1767. He built the school and a house for the schoolmaster. It was run by Trustees who all had to be Friends, as did the schoolmaster who was appointed by the Monthly Meeting. The school provided an education for Friend's children but also for six poor children who were to be taught Latin, English and

Arithmetic for free. At times it appears that the only pupils came from the village rather than being Friends.

- ⁷⁵ S.W.M.M. Minute book 1793-1822, Carlton Hill Collection, SE4, entry for October 1814. (ULBL).
- ⁷⁶ Settle Monthly Meeting Book 1809-1834, SE1, entry for 12/1831 (ULBR).
- ⁷⁷ Between 1842 and 1859 Joseph Rowntree employed 51 shop-assistants and apprentices. Wright, *Friends in York*, p.129.

“AMERICAN QUAKERISM’S 350TH BIRTHDAY: A LOOK AT ITS MARYLAND BIRTH PANGS”

Even though George Fox began his preaching in 1647 and soon gathered small groups of followers, most historians date the beginning of Quakerism in 1652. It was in that year that Fox, on Pendle Hill, had his vision of a great people to be gathered. Shortly thereafter, he came upon a large group of Seekers on Firbank Fell. Many of these Seekers became Finders - finding that Fox’s message gave them the direction, meaning, and religious understanding for which they had been so fervently longing and praying. Soon many others in Lancashire, Westmoreland, and Yorkshire joined the ranks of the convinced - with an increasing number going forth as “Publishers of Truth” - making their way, usually two by two, in ever widening areas of England, and then into the neighbouring countries. Quakerism reached Ireland and Scotland in 1654 and by 1655 was being proclaimed in Holland, France, and the West Indies.

Elbert Russell, the first Quaker historian I ever met, believed that Elizabeth Harris may even have reached Maryland as early as 1655.¹ That seems quite possible to me, although 1656 appears a more likely date. Harris was able to spend a considerable time in Maryland, establishing a vibrant Quaker community in Maryland, whereas Mary Fisher and Ann Austin had their 1656 New England work nipped in the bud - as they were first incarcerated and then banished from Boston. New England and eastern Long Island Quakerism (and Virginia Quakerism also), when they did arise, owe their starts to the labours of later Quakers.

Thus, as we mark the 350th anniversary of the start of American Quakerism, it is with Maryland Quakers that we are concerned - for this is where American Quakerism first appeared and prospered.²

How did Maryland Quakerism begin? Why was its initial growth almost miraculous? Why did the beginning period of welcome and acceptance give way to a time of persecution and suffering? How did this earliest American Quaker community respond to the various forces that came to bear upon it - forces both internal and external? These questions have intrigued me very much in the last several years, especially since I discovered that the “birth pangs” of this fledgling community were sharper and at some points even more painful than I had previously imagined.

My study of Maryland Quakerism began well over half a century ago and still continues down to this very time. In this long period of time there have been some exciting discoveries as well as some frustrating ones - such as the discovery that English Friends late in the seventeenth century asked Maryland Friends to draw up an account of the First Publishers of Truth in Maryland, giving an account of Quaker beginning in Maryland. After several reminders, Maryland Friends finally reported that none of those still resident in Maryland had the necessary information. Ultimately, however, they did produce the best possible account, drawn up by William Southby (who helped build Old Third Haven Meeting House in Easton and later became a resident of Philadelphia) and by Daniel Gould of Rhode Island (who had made a number of early religious visits into Maryland). This account was received by London Friends early in the eighteenth century.³ For a number of years I attempted to have the Librarian at Friends House, London, produce it for me. Eventually, the Library staff gave me the usual explanation or excuse which was offered when an item could not be found - "That must have been lost in the Grace Church Street Fire."!

As I now look back upon this time-consuming and fruitless search, I am convinced that its discovery probably would have produced little real information on the birth-pangs of Maryland Quakerism, just as Robert Pleasants' eighteenth Virginia Quakerism⁴ sheds no real light on the origins of Virginia Quakerism.

Elizabeth Harris, the "Mother of American Quakerism," arrived in Maryland by 1656, if not earlier - when a fortunate combination of circumstances promised the great success with which she would meet in Maryland. First of all, a number of Puritans had fled from Virginia to Maryland in 1649-1650 - settling in the rapidly developing areas of Anne Arundel and Calvert Counties as well as Kent Island where they joined settlers of a similar outlook.⁵ Thus, there were already communities where a sympathetic people were concentrated - along the Patuxent, South River, West River, Severn River, Rhode River, and in Broad Neck, as well as Kent on the Eastern Shore.

Secondly, Harris' arrival came in the middle of a Puritan government of Maryland. On July 27, 1654, a Commission (approved by Oliver Cromwell) was established to rule Maryland. The inner circle of the Commission was composed of Captain William Fuller, Richard Preston, and William Durand - all three of whom soon became convinced Quakers. The General Assembly, composed of sixteen men, had Fuller as president and Preston as Speaker.⁶ Many of the other members of the Assembly were also convinced by Harris. To some degree, then, the province became a sort of Quaker-run colony.

One of Elizabeth Harris' converts was Charles Bayly, who later became governor of the Hudson's Bay Company. As Bayly heard Harris' proclamation of Quakerism, he was convinced that God had answered his intense yearning for a "man of peace" or a people in whom he might place his confidence. God had done this, he said:

by sending one of his dear servants into these parts, whose name was Elizabeth Harris, who soon answered that which was breathing after God in me; by which means I came with many more to be informed in the way and truth of God, having a seal in my heart and soul of the truth of her message, which indeed I had long waited for: And then when I found this beloved life and people, I was like a man overjoyed in my heart; not only because I heard that God had raised up such a people in England, but also because I saw the sudden fruits and effects of it, both in my own heart, and in others, insomuch that in a short time we became all to be as one entire family of love, and were drawn together in the life, (which was his light in us) to wait upon him in stillnesse and quitenesse of our spirits, like so many people which desire nothing but the pure teachings of God's Spirit, in which we were often refreshed together, and one in another.⁷

Although Bayly's account is primarily concerned with his own experience and discoveries, it clearly shows that Harris' message reached out to embrace "many others" who were drawn together in living silence, in holy expectancy, convinced that they might be instructed and directed by the Spirit of God. There is no suggestion of any suffering or persecution of Quakers while Harris was actively proclaiming the new message in Maryland.

The next picture which we get of Maryland Quakerism comes to us from Robert Clarkson, one of Harris' many converts. In a letter⁸ dated 11th Month 14, 1657 (O.S.), and therefore January 14, 1658 (N.S.), Clarkson gives Harris a report on Maryland Quakerism some many months after her departure from the colony (and therefore shortly before the end of the Commonwealth Government). He reports that at least one letter from her had been received, as well as two from Edward Burrough. A number of books, which she had sent from England, had arrived safely some time before and had already been dispersed without difficulty among Friends around Herring Creek, Rhode River, South River, all around Severn and Broad Neck - as well as "the Seven Mountains"⁹ and Kent Island. He also reported that some of her convincements remained steadfast and others had been convinced.

At the end of 1657 and the beginning of 1658 the Maryland Quaker

community along the Chesapeake appears to have been quite peaceful - with no restrictions of freedom experienced by the Children of Light - just as one would expect (with Fuller, Preston, Durand, and other public officials having become Quakers). The only "troubling" development which hinted at possible difficulties down the road was the application of the "reproachful name" [Quaker] to members of this new movement.¹⁰ In reality, however, Maryland Quakers were on the threshold of severe suffering and persecution - as two developments, one political and the other religious, were about to alter their situation radically.

On March 24, 1657 (O.S.), the last day of the year, with 1658 beginning on the 25th, the old ruling Puritan commission (which had become heavily Quaker as a result of Harris' work) surrendered its power to Lord Baltimore's officials. Control now rested with the non-Quakers on the Council: the Governor, the Secretary, Nathaniel Utie, Robert Clark, and Edward Lloyd.¹¹ Whereas the former government did not demand oaths and hat honour, the new officials were very strict in their demands where these practices were involved.

The other factor which helped produce the radical change in the life and experience of Maryland Quakerism was the arrival of Josiah Coale and Thomas Thurston in the colony. Josiah Coale quite early in 1657, it would seem, felt called to labour in Maryland ["Virginia"]¹² and then go on through the backcountry to New England. In an undated letter,¹³ Coale told Margaret Fell about his plans to make this trip, adding that Thomas Thurston had expressed a willingness to go with him, telling her also that he had already made arrangements to sail from Bristol in about six weeks time. The passage to America took an additional six weeks or more, so that we have to allow for at least three months between the time of Coale's calling and their arrival in "Virginia." Their original destination had been Severn in Maryland,¹⁴ but for some unknown reason they unfortunately landed in Virginia rather than going up the Bay to Severn. They were soon apprehended by the Virginia authorities and imprisoned in Virginia in November 1657.¹⁵ They were released by the Virginia officials in the spring and then made their way into Maryland, arriving at their original destination in late May or the beginning of June 1658.¹⁶ Soon their Quaker activities came to the attention of the newly installed proprietary government. An order to arrest them was issued on July 8, 1658. Four days later it was announced that Thurston was already a prisoner, but that Josiah Coale was still in Anne Arundel "seducing the people" and diswading the people from taking the Engagement.¹⁷ Thurston had already sent a letter to the Governor and the Assembly telling them not to try to impose the Engagement - a sort of loyalty

oath in which people promised to aid and assist the new government (which would include serving in the militia).¹⁸ Thurston also told the authorities that some who had already subscribed the Engagement (which had been required by an Act of March 24th) had since become Quakers and now did "renounce and disowne" the Engagement. Thurston was released from prison on July 25, after promising to leave Maryland on August 2. Coale was freed on August 2. Both Coale and Thurston, accompanied by Thomas Chapman (a Maryland Quaker convert with both Kent Island and Anne Arundel connections) left Maryland on August 2,¹⁹ to make their way through the wilderness into New England, thereby circumventing the law that prohibited sea captains from bringing Quakers into New England.

Although the Quaker peace testimony was not given written expression until 1660/1661, it had been gradually arising throughout the late 1650s - as more and more Friends saw the inconsistency of waging war while trying to follow the "Prince of Peace." Did Coale and Thurston find this position already made known by Elizabeth Harris, or did they add it to her original message? Did it grow naturally out of their rejection of the Engagement which required an oath promising to "aid and assist" the government? Aiding and assisting meant to bear arms and to serve in the militia. There is no way of knowing how much of this position, if any, was explicit in the message of Elizabeth Harris, for there is no full account of her teaching. It is clear, however, that both Coale and Thurston proclaimed that Maryland Quakers could not "subscribe the Engagement" and therefore could not bear arms. Whatever its origins, it is certain that Maryland Quakers very early in 1658 embraced the peace testimony and endured great suffering on this account.²⁰ As far as I know, this is the earliest Quaker community that, as a group, rejects war.

Large numbers of Maryland Quakers refused to train - to serve in the militia. Two early 1660 publications,²¹ dealing with the suffering of Maryland Quakers, list 26 individuals who suffered, as heavy fines, ranging upwards from £5, were levied on them. When possessions were seized to pay the fines, the amounts taken were usually much higher. Sometimes the penalty was of a different kind. When Captain John Odber attempted to "press" John Everett to go with him to the fort of the Susquehannocks, Everett refused to go, saying that he "could not kill Indians." John Avery offered to go in Everett's place for 600 pounds of tobacco, only to have Everett say he could not give him one pound. Avery was then pressed, while Everett was kept in chains.²²

Refusal to train usually exposed Maryland Quakers to other sources of suffering when called before the authorities. As early as July 8, 1658, the increase of Quakers who refused to "subscribe the Engagement" alarmed the newly installed Council.²³ Their refusal to take off their hats [to show hat honour] led to abuses and fines. As early as July 23, 1658, it was recorded that a number of Quakers stood with their heads "covered" and refused to take the Engagement. Thus, even before the August 2 departure of Coale and Thurston, the success of their work was becoming quite evident. The Council judged that the Quakers' principles "tended to the destruction of all government" and therefore ruled that all people residing in the colony must subscribe by August 20, 1658, or leave Maryland by March 25, 1659, "upon pain due to Rebellers & Traitors."²⁴

Quaker refusal to take an oath of any sort led to heavy fines - usually ranging from £3 to £10. In some cases, as already noted, the amount was much larger when the authorities seized their possessions - such as cows or indentured servants who still had some years to serve.

About March 1659, near the time those not subscribing the Engagement were ordered to leave the colony, Thomas Thurston returned to Maryland, coming down from Rhode Island - this time with Christopher Holder. Thurston's return produced a swift reaction to him and led to more widespread suffering on the part of Maryland Friends. Thurston was arrested at Severn where he was charged with "disturbing the government" and "breaking the peace" (by not subscribing the Engagement). Although sentenced to a year and a day, he only served nine weeks as a prisoner.²⁵ Upon being freed he spent the next 10 weeks in Maryland proclaiming Quakerism (joined in his efforts by Christopher Holder and William Robinson, and Robert Hodson). Their success was so great that the Governor and Council soon expressed alarm and issued an order against "several vagabonds and Idle persons known by the name of Quakers" who have come into the Province persuading the people from "complying with military discipline in this time of danger," and also "from giving testimony or being jurors." As soon as any justice of the peace might hear of such Quaker preachers they should be apprehended and "whipped from Constable to Constable" until they were out of the province.²⁶

Thurston was in Virginia at the time this order was issued but soon returned to Maryland where he experienced being dragged down the steps on his back and then freed. On August 3 he was brought before the Governor and Council who ruled that (being out of Maryland at the time of the earlier order) he was not subject to it. They then

declared that if he had not vacated the colony within 10 days he would be whipped with 30 lashes and then sent from constable constable until he was out of the province. If he should ever return he would then be whipped 30 lashes at every constable and sent out of the colony again.²⁷

The Council sought to make it impossible for Thurston to stay in Maryland after August 13 - forbidding all Marylanders to receive, harbour, or conceal Thurston. A fine of 500 pounds of tobacco was to be imposed each time they might help him in any of these ways. Thurston himself then suffered whippings on his bare back on several occasions. A number of Maryland Friends (including Richard Preston) were fined for entertaining him. John Hollyday was both fined and whipped for refusing to help the sheriff arrest Thurston. A number of Friends (including Samuel Chew) had goods taken from them to cover the cost of Thurston's imprisonments.²⁸ Finally, Thurston, in poor health and after having received much cruel treatment, returned to England.

The intense persecution of 1658/1659 seems to have died down with the departure of Thurston and the other 1659 so-called "vagabond Quakers," and perhaps largely as a result of their departure. Perhaps this lessening of suffering also resulted from Gilbert Layty's [Latey] visits to Lord Baltimore on the behalf of Maryland Quakers,²⁹ and from the appearance of two 1660 publications describing the suffering of these Maryland Quakers - picturing the cruelty that Edward Lloyd and other Maryland officials had poured out upon Friends.³⁰

When Josiah Coale returned to Maryland in 1660, he discovered that, in spite of the temporary lifting of their suffering, Maryland Quakers were marked by a lack of unity. He recorded that they were "judging one and another and Clashing amongst themselves; they were even become as drye branches and there was little savour of Life amongst them, or little unity." This sad situation, as Coale understood it, centred about a "bad man that came among them out of England (who begot a false power amongst them); and soe about him they differed, some Judging him and some owned him, and soe they grew in Judging one another."³¹ Could this have been one of the "Vagabond" Quakers who criss-crossed the colony in 1659? His identity, whoever he was, remains unknown today.

Coale laboured vigorously among Maryland Friends for ten weeks before departing for Virginia and then for Barbados. He believed, at the time of his departure, that the difficulty was well over and that "Life springs over it all, and that some new convincement have taken place" - so that he was convinced that he "left them generally very

well and fresh in the Truth." Coale also reported back to George Fox that Maryland Friends believed that there was no possibility at this time of setting up their own colony beyond Lord Baltimore's government [in what was later to become Pennsylvania] - a possibility that Coale and Fox had discussed before Coale left England on this return visit to Maryland. Just where and when this idea appeared is unknown, but it did have the approval of George Fox. Lack of a suitable place north of the fort of the Susquehannocks, continuing warfare among the Indians, and the absence of William Fuller (the chief man dealing with the Indians) all ruled against going ahead with this proposal.³²

Josiah Coale was banished from Maryland in 1660 - bringing an end to his active work there - although his concern for Maryland Friends continued to the very end of his life. A proposed third visit to Maryland Friends never took place. Still a number of letters came from Coale in England to Maryland, giving Friends hope, comfort, admonishment, etc. (in a time of the renewal of persecution in 1660). Joseph Besse's *Sufferings of the People Called Quakers* lists many post-1660 cases of individual sufferings for non-swearing, refusing service in the militia, or actively proclaiming Quakerism in the colony.³³

Almost on the heels of Josiah Coale came a visit by George Rofe. In the winter of 1660-1661 he was in Maryland and Virginia, "in great service for the establishing many and bringing others into the truth." George Wilson accompanied Rofe in his Maryland labors in 1660, but he never returned to Maryland - for he was imprisoned in Virginia in 1661 and died there in 1662. George Rofe, however, made a return visit to Maryland in 1663 and was drowned there when a small boat in which he was travelling was overturned during a squall.³⁴

Another 1661 Quaker active in Maryland was Robert Stake [Stack, Stagge]. Accompanied by William Southby [Southbee], already mentioned in connection with the lost account of the "First Publishers of Truth in Maryland," Stake was imprisoned in 1661 for disturbing two church services in St. Mary's County (the only cases of this type that I have discovered in Maryland). Somehow he escaped from his imprisonment and accompanied George Rofe and Robert Hodgson on their way to New England to attend the general or yearly meeting to be held in Rhode Island (the beginning of New England Yearly Meeting).³⁵

1662 visitors included Joseph Nicholson, John Liddal, and Jane Millard. All of these early 1660s visitors added their efforts to the earlier work of Josiah Coale - seeking to strengthen individual Friends and meetings. Strife and contention were now pretty well absent from the Maryland Quaker community. Meetings increased

both in number and vitality. By the early 1660s there existed a string of meetings on both sides of the Chesapeake - Anne Arundel and Calvert on the Western Shore and in Kent, Talbot, and Somerset on the Eastern Shore. Maryland Friends would have been able to report, had that query then existed, that "Truth Prospers."

1663 brought two very disruptive Quakers to Maryland - John Perrot and Thomas Thurston. Both of these were about to sow strife, division, and disruption in the Maryland Quaker community.

John Perrot, during his imprisonment by the Inquisition in Rome, had come to trust completely in his own "leadings."³⁶ The death of John Luffe, his fellow prisoner, left him with no one to help him judge or test his "leadings." As a result, he became increasingly individualistic in his outlook and practices.

After his freedom (largely brought about by Charles Bayly, formerly of Maryland, and Jane Stokes), he returned to England where he became increasingly disruptive - bringing distress to the Quaker establishment, as he questioned many Quaker practices already well established. Unless one was moved by the Spirit, it was not necessary to remove the hat during prayer. To do so without the leading of the Spirit, he said, was only an empty form. The same thing applied to the shaking of hands with which the meeting for worship ended. One of his disciples, William Salt, even declared that meeting for worship at a specific time was only a dry form.³⁷ Perrot himself did not adopt that view until coming to the American colonies (with disastrous effects on Virginia Quakerism where meetings for worship almost completely disappeared for a number of years). While still in London Perrot also established separate meetings for worship. Increasingly he came under attack by Quaker leaders in England. When he was imprisoned in England, he accepted banishment in return for his freedom.³⁸ This, too, led to criticism from those Quaker leaders who themselves had suffered long imprisonments for their Quaker faith. Quaker practice was to meet openly and at regular times, rather than to try to escape suffering as did the Baptists (who met in secret) and the Muggletonians (who camouflaged their meetings by gathering in pubs and singing bawdy hymns).

Perrot's reputation preceded him, so that when he reached Maryland (even though accompanied by William Fuller who had been in hiding from Maryland authorities for some years),³⁹ he was rejected rather solidly by most Maryland Quakers. On several occasions Perrot later referred to being "ill-treated" and "shamefully treated" in Maryland.⁴⁰ Eventually he left Maryland for Virginia, where he almost destroyed Virginia Quakerism.

Although Perrot and his views had been rejected by the majority of Maryland Quakers, his destructive leaven remained after his departure from the province. Shortly after Perrot's departure, Thomas Thurston returned to Maryland, this time as an immigrant (with a wife and two children) rather than as an apostle of Quakerism. Somewhere along the way Thurston had drunk deeply from the Perrotonian well and soon became a very disruptive influence in that same Quaker community where he had once been such a positive influence.⁴¹ Also he seems to have been guilty of some immorality with Sarah Fuller, the wife of William Fuller⁴² Thurston remained a divisive and troubling force in Maryland until his death in 1692.

Among the first visiting Quaker preachers to oppose Perrot (and Thurston) in Maryland were Mary Tompkins and Alice Ambrose, Tompkins first in 1663 and both of them in 1664 (after their barbaric treatment in Virginia).⁴³ Josiah Coale, unable to be in Maryland, sent several letters, one of which contained a cry from the heart:

And what is the cause of the Strife, and Divisions, and Contentions, that of late hath been amongst you? Hath not the Evil One stepped in, and drawn you into Reasonings and Consultations about Differences which hath been occasion'd by Dissenting-spirits, and thereby vail'd the Understandings of some of you, and so brought Night upon them; and in the Night season sown the seed of Sdition amongst

Well, My Heart is griev'd within me for your sakes; and I am oft-times afflicted in spirit because of these things which have happened amongst you: for indeed, some there be, that have made the Hearts of others sad, whom God never made sad, because of their unsoundness, and unsteadfastness in the Truth, which in much simplicity, fear, and reverence was made know unto you by us, who labour'd amongst you in Word and Doctrine.⁴⁴

John Burnyeat, the great Anglo-Irish Quaker apostle to America, in 1665 made it clear that it was Thurston who was the cause of all the trouble and division. He reported that he and other "faithful Friends" of the Province labored hard and diligently to straighten out the various problems. Also, he said, it "pleased the Lord" to assist them in their efforts to manifest "the Wickedness and Wrongness of the Heart and Spirit of the Man" so that "most of the people came to see him [for what he was] and in the love of God to be restored into the love of God again, to our great comfort, Truth's honour, and their Everlasting happiness."⁴⁵ George Fox himself wrote a 1666 letter to

Thurston in which he expressed his shock and grief that Thurston had fallen into such grave errors and practices.⁴⁶

In 1672 John Burnyeat had arranged for a gathering of Friends from all over Maryland. George Fox, William Edmondson, and a large number of other Friends, just arrived from the West Indies, were in attendance. It was here that we see the origins of Maryland Yearly Meeting (later metamorphosing into Baltimore Yearly Meeting). One of Fox' chief purposes in his American work was to organize a Quakerism which had already been in existence for some years (just as he had done earlier in Ireland in 1666).⁴⁷ Now the Maryland Quaker community, with its monthly, quarterly, and yearly meetings, would have a way to judge, guide, and regulate individuals' leadings and behaviour.

Kenneth L Carroll

NOTES AND REFERENCES

* This talk was given at the annual meeting of the Friends Historical Association, at Arch Street Meetinghouse, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, November 12, 2005.

- 1 Elbert Russell, *History of Quakerism* (New York, 1943), p.39.
- 2 Kenneth L. Carroll, "America's First Quakers - Where, When, and By Whom?" *Quaker History*, 85 (1996), 49-57; and "America's First Recorded Quaker Communities," *Quaker History*, 94 (2005), 41-53.
- 3 There are several references to this document in both Maryland and English Quaker records. Unfortunately, I cannot put my hands on them at this time.
- 4 Kenneth L Carroll, "Robert Pleasants on Quakerism: 'Some Account of the First Settlement of Friends in Virginia,'" *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 86 (1978), 3-16.
- 5 Robert Walsh and William Lloyd Fox (eds.), *Maryland, A History 1632 - 1974* (Baltimore, 1974) pp.11-12; Babette M. Levy, "Early Puritanism in the Southern and Island Colonies." *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*. 70 (1960), 68-364, *passim*.
- 6 *Archive of Maryland*, 1:337; 3:312; 54:23-25.
- 7 Charles Bayly, *A True and Faithful Warning unto the People and Inhabitants of Bristol and to the Rulers, Priests, and People of England* (London, 1663), p.11. Concerning Bayly, cf. Kenneth L. Carroll, "From Bond Slave to Governor: The Strange Career of Charles Bayly." *Journal of Friends Historical Society*, 52 (1968). 19-38.
- 8 Swarthmore MSS, 3:7 (Tr. 4:197), Friends House Library, London. This letter from Robert Clarkson to Elizabeth Harris is found incorporated in a letter by Thomas Hart.
- 9 The "Seven Mountains" was an area between the headwaters of the Severn River and those of the Patuxent River.

- ¹⁰ Swarthmore MSS, 3:7 (Tr. 4:197).
- ¹¹ *Archives of Maryland*, 1:369; 3:334-340.
- ¹² Concerning the meaning of the word "Virginia" in the 1650s, see the articles listed above in Note 2.
- ¹³ Swarthmore MSS, 1:377 (Tr 1:614).
- ¹⁴ Francis Howgill, *The Deceiver of the Nations Discovered and His Cruelty Made Manifest* (London 1660), p.14.
- ¹⁵ H.R. McIlwaine, *Minutes of the Council and General Court of Colonial Virginia* (Richmond, 1924), p.506.
- ¹⁶ *Archives of Maryland*, 3:349.
- ¹⁷ *Archives of Maryland*, 41:104, 105.
- ¹⁸ *Archives of Maryland*, 3:348.
- ¹⁹ *Archives of Maryland*, 3:353. Cf. 41:318 concerning Thomas Chapman's departure from Maryland.
- ²⁰ See my article "Persecution and Persecutors of Maryland Quakers, 1658-1661," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, scheduled for 2006 publication.
- ²¹ Howgill, *The Deceiver of the Nations* (see Note 14 above); and *For the King and both Houses of Parliament For You (who have known Sufferings)...*(London, 1660). Howgill's book was designed to shame the persecutors.
- ²² *Archives of Maryland*, 3:435, 441, 446, 456.
- ²³ *Archives of Maryland*, 3:349-350.
- ²⁴ *Archives of Maryland*, 3:352.
- ²⁵ *Archives of Maryland*, 41:268-269, Cf. Kenneth L. Carroll, "Thomas Thurston, Renegade Maryland Quaker," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 42 (1967), 170-192; Howgill, *The Deceiver of the Nations*, p.16.
- ²⁶ *Archives of Maryland*, 3:362.
- ²⁷ *Archives of Maryland*, 3:364.
- ²⁸ *Archives of Maryland*, 41:331, 339; Howgill, *The Deceiver of the Nations*, pp. 21-24.
- ²⁹ Richard Hawkins, *A Brief Narrative of the Life and Death of that Ancient Servant of the Lord and his People, Gilbert Latcy* (London, 1707), pp.34-35.
- ³⁰ See Note 21 above.
- ³¹ A. Barclay Manuscripts, No. 53. This letter was printed in the *Journal of the Friends Historical Society*, 35 (1938), 88-90.
- ³² William Fuller, who had served as president of the Commonwealth Commission and was sometimes called "governor," not only did not subscribe the Engagement but remained a thorn in the side of Baltimore's restored government. He appears to have played a part in Fendall's abortive 1659 rebellion as well as in the attempt to free Fendall from prison. The colonial government sought to capture him and try him for treason. For a time he seems to have slipped in and out of Maryland secretly and then spent time in the West Indies (Jamaica in 1663 and Barbados in 1667) as well as visiting Virginia in 1663, and finally removing his family to South Carolina. Cf. my article listed in Note 20 above.
- ³³ Joseph Besse, *A Collection of the Sufferings of the People Called Quakers* (London, 1753), 2:380-382.
- ³⁴ Henry J. Cadbury "George Rofe, in These American Parts," *Bulletin of the Friends Historical Association*, 35 (1946), 17-26.

- ³⁵ *Archives of Maryland*, 41:522. There is some indication that Stake may have been a resident of Maryland at this time (as was William Southby also). Concerning Southby, see my article "William Southby, Early Quaker Antislavery Writer," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 89 (1965), 416-427.
- ³⁶ See Kenneth L. Carroll, *John Perrot, Early Quaker Schismatic* (London: Friends Historical Society, 1971), pp.40-44.
- ³⁷ William Salt, *Some Breathings of Life, From a Naked Heart* (n.p., 1662), p.4. Cf. George Fox, *Cambridge Journal*, 1:437 for a quote from Swarthmore MSS 4:95 (1663): "Will Salt hath publisht in print a Book against first day meetings, and that none should meet but as they are immediately moved..."
- ³⁸ Carroll, *John Perrot*, pp.64-66.
- ³⁹ Concerning Fuller, see Note 32 above.
- ⁴⁰ Carroll, *John Perrot*, p.72.
- ⁴¹ Carroll, "Thomas Thurston, Renegade Maryland Quaker," especially pp.185-192.
- ⁴² Carroll, *John Perrot*, p.98.
- ⁴³ Swarthmore MSS, 3:101 (Tr. 3:189); Nicholson Manuscript, pp. 100-104, found in Friends House Library, London.
- ⁴⁴ [Josiah Coale], *The Book and Epistles of the Faithful Servant of the Lord Josiah Coale* (n.p., 1671), pp.58-59.
- ⁴⁵ [John Burnyeat], *The Truth Exalted in the Writings of that Emminent and Faithful Servant of Christ John Burnyeat* (London, 1691), pp.33-34.
- ⁴⁶ Henry J. Cadbury (ed.), *Annual Catalogue of George Fox's Papers, Compiled in 1694-1697* (Ann Arbor, 1939), p.86 (item 18, 5E).
- ⁴⁷ See my articles: "Some Thoughts on George Fox's Visit to America in 1672," *Quaker History*, 61 (1972), 82-90; and "George Fox in America" in Michael Mullett (ed.), *New Light on George Fox* (York, 1993), 59-68.

A PLEA FOR FREEDOM OF RELIGION: WILLIAM PENN AND FRIENDS IN EMDEN

Friends in Anglophone countries have heard of the sufferings of their spiritual ancestors in Protestant colonies of America such as Massachusetts. Mary Dyer's sacrifice is related in *Quaker Faith and Practice* (1994), 19.18. Less well known are the sufferings of Quakers in what is now North West Germany, and the great letter of William Penn in their defence. The present article, made possible because of researches undertaken by Netherlands Friends, seeks to make this European history accessible for Anglophone Quakers.

In August 1670 George Fox and other Quakers visited Emden, Hamburg and Friedrichstadt¹ in what is now the Federal Republic of Germany, as well as towns which in the twenty first century lie in the Kingdom of the Netherlands. That year, the first steps were taken which led in 1677 to the setting up of Amsterdam Yearly Meeting. This was the fifth Yearly Meeting after New England, London, Baltimore/Maryland and Virginia. The area originally covered by Amsterdam Yearly Meeting included Friedrichstadt, Hamburg, Luebeck, Gdansk, and the Palatinate. There were at first three Monthly Meetings, one in Amsterdam, one in Rotterdam and one in Harlingen, a port on the west coast of the Netherlands province of Friesland. The Harlingen Monthly Meeting covered Friesland and East-Friesland.² Returning from Emden, Hamburg and Friedrichstadt in 1670, Fox and his company met William Penn at Harlingen.

Emden is the chief town in the region still known as East Friesland, in Germany. What are now the Netherlands provinces of Friesland and Groningen plus German East Friesland were in the days of George Fox and William Penn one cultural area. From the sixteenth till far into the eighteenth century there was a Netherlands garrison at Emden. The Netherlands³ language was the *lingua franca* in that town at least till the start of the twentieth century. Emden had played an important part in the Protestant Reformation, including that of the Netherlands.

In 1671, William Penn visited Emden, staying with friends in the Mennonite community. Penn spoke fluently the Netherlands and German languages. Through his ministry, some citizens of Emden became convinced Quakers. Among them were the medical doctor Johann Wilhelm Haesbaert and his wife: a small Quaker Meeting consisting of twelve households developed in their home.

After some of the inhabitants of Emden complained about "Quaker missionary activities", the city government and the council of the very influential Protestant church at Emden took action against the Friends. Through the intervention of a magistrate, the Quaker house meetings were forbidden and, when they continued, the Quakers were expelled from Emden. But the Friends returned after only a few days and were promptly imprisoned. Some gave in to the pressure and rejected Quakerism. As leader of the group, Dr Haesbaert was kept in jail. When the news reached William Penn that the Friends in Emden "were being treated in a bitter and barbaric manner" he sent them letters of comfort and wrote appeals for mercy to the Emden City Council.

This first formal business meeting of the Society of Friends at Harlingen was held on 11th September 1677 in the presence of George Fox.⁴ Probably a message reached the Meeting that Quakers in Emden were undergoing great suffering, and Penn was requested to take quick action. On 16th September, William Penn took an early morning boat from Delfzijl, the port on the west bank of the River Ems, and travelled to Emden again. He found an alarming situation. Now he saw the effects of the persecution with his own eyes, he was all the more affected. The Emden Friends Meeting, some twelve households in all, was scattered and broken. Dr Haesbaert had been repeatedly arrested and finally died in jail. His wife also died. The Emden Friends had been imprisoned and fined; they had several times been driven out of the town, but kept on returning.

Penn searched out the house of Dr Haesbaert's mother's family, and after meeting them was so deeply troubled by the suffering of the Emden Quakers that he sat down to write a letter to the Burgomaster (mayor) of Emden. But the task was difficult: Penn felt that his skills were inadequate and he laid down his pen. He said to his travelling companion, the Netherlands Friend Jan Claus, "I must myself go to plead the cause of our innocent Friends!"

The distinguished Burgomaster was amazed to receive these visitors and listened attentively to their pleas. He assured William Penn and Jan Claus that he did not regard the Emden Quakers as enemies; if Penn would write a letter to the Town Council, the Burgomaster would deliver it.

But in 1674 Penn had already written a similar letter to the Emden city fathers. This document was written in Latin and English, and translated into the Netherlands language by our Friend Benjamin Furly from Rotterdam. The translation was made into the *lingua franca* in Emden, as the Town Government could not be allowed to say that its members were unable to read the letter! The letter was

addressed to the Burgomaster and the town council of Emden. In abridged form it reads as follows:

May the Kings of Kings and the Lord of Lords, the God of all human beings who are here on earth incline your hearts to Justice Mercy and Truth, Amen.

The report of your harsh measures taken towards those inhabitants of your city, who are, contemptuously, called Quakers, has also reached this region and given rise to universal pity and astonishment. We hear with compassion of the misery and the evil treatment of innocent and sincere people, against whom you can bring no complaint except that they try to serve God without causing trouble and according to their conscience.

We hear to our amazement that you, a Protestant government, use your worldly power to obstruct people who are trying to follow their conscientious convictions and to persecute and punish them!

I advise you be mindful of your famous ancestors, who rightly and with powerful arguments diligently defended their freedom of conscience against papal laws, imperial decrees and the Spanish Inquisition! Did these ancestors not condemn all coercion of conscience as the work of Anti-Christ? The power and weight of these arguments cannot be lessened by your actions. On the contrary, your unfriendly, not to say unrighteous measures strengthen these words of your spiritual ancestors!

The name Protestant, by which you wish to be known, was given you because of protest against persecution. And will you yourselves now be persecutors?

Remember that belief is a gift of God and that everything that does not arise from belief is sin. And therefore it is unrighteous and unreasonable to force people to believe that which goes against their conviction. Without any doubt, you want to be Christians and you would be insulted to be called anything else. But what is more unchristian than to try forcibly to change people's conscience in matters of belief by the use of violence and pressure?

Even Jesus Christ, the Lord and founder of this religion, rebuked His disciples when they asked for fire from heaven to destroy listeners who did not accept His teaching. Consider then, that, through your actions, you justify the persecution of the first Christians and the first reformers, yes that you show the Popes how they could treat your brothers! If you want freedom, grant others freedom!

Bear in mind that you cannot say you know everything that is to be known, since not everything has been revealed to you. Take care that, if you take harsh action against what seems strange to you, you do not persecute angels!

Think no evil, and certainly speak no evil of that which you do not fully understand. I am completely convinced of the sincerity of the people whom

you have treated so harshly. I am completely convinced that they mean well in what they do and certainly mean better than you imagine.

I also believe that the reason for your difference in understanding lies not so much in that these Friends are publishing damaging or dangerous opinions, but that they want to lead a life of self-sacrifice that is holy and pure.

Since you cannot grant people faith, your conduct is all more unjust: you oppress people because they are not what they could not be without becoming hypocritical, and your power cannot reach further than that.

You daily struggle against the Roman Catholic Church because of its belief in infallibility, and yet you make yourselves guilty of the same, or an even worse error. For either you base your harshness on infallible knowledge, or you do not. In the first case, you restate the fundamental principle of the Roman Catholic Church and contradict yourself. In the second case, you punish people because they will not submit themselves to that about which you are uncertain!

Do you know whether you are coercing people to truth or to falsehood? Your inhuman actions are a disgrace to your creed, make your government hated and will bring eternal scandal to you and your descendants.

I pray you: find an easier way to help yourselves than by persecuting those who are different from you. Follow the merciful God of Nature and Grace who is kind to all people, lets His sun shine on everyone and His rain fall on everyone, who gives life and being to the whole creation, who visits all people with His grace and hides His face in times of ignorance. And although you probably think that we are in a state of ignorance, I hope you will understand that you, with your harsh measures are not following in the footsteps of the Lord. Have you so recently escaped ruination by your enemies that you can so quickly mistreat your friends?

If the Lord should judge you in the same manner, what would happen to you?

Let His Mercy empower you so that you may emulate His Greatness.

May the great God of the whole Earth, namely the God of all flesh, who does not accept the rich and the powerful in His Judgement, grant you His Mercy on the Day of Judgement. Amen

I am in great sincerity Your Honour's Friend in the universal principle of Love and Truth.

William Penn.

24 December 1674.

(translated into Netherlands and printed at Rotterdam 1675).

Note: Penn's letter was written in the Netherlands language of the time. A new and slightly abridged version was made for the Netherlands Quaker Monthly Newsletter *De Vriendenkring*, January

2005. Later it was discovered that an original English language version of this letter may be found in Sewell's *History of the rise, increase and progress of the Christian people called Quakers*, 1722, reprinted 1811, ii 360.

It is not known whether in 1677 Penn wrote a similar letter to Emden town government or whether he re-sent a copy of the original.

What is certain is that, as a result of Penn's plea, Emden Friends eventually were granted freedom of belief and conscience. The language and tone of the letter would have had a better reception in Emden in 1570 than in 1670, for Penn's spirit was present in the town in the early Protestant years. By the time Penn wrote his letter, other religious groups such as the Lutherans and the Mennonites were in conflict with the dominant Calvinists and city fathers for their religious freedom.

In spite of Penn's letter, the persecution continued for a time: in 1675 the magistrate of Emden forbade the publication of Barclay's *Apology*.⁵

But when Penn returned to Emden in 1677, he presented a petition to the Burgomaster Djurtko Andrée. It was not till 1686, when a group of British Quakers fleeing persecution in their own country, came to Emden and joined local Friends, that the city and church of Emden granted the Quakers full freedom of conscience as well as all civil rights by a special legal instrument. The 1686 document enabled Emden Quakers to buy a property where they could hold their meetings for worship.

But when William of Orange became King of England as well as King of the Netherlands, he ended persecution on grounds of conscience through the Act of Toleration of 1689. As a result, many Quakers of British origin left Emden, returned home and only about five Quaker households remained in the town. Eventually the Quaker community in Emden died out in the early eighteenth century.

By Kees Nieuwerth and Fritz Renken, translated and edited by Marieke Faber Clarke of Witney Monthly Meeting. 2006

Source Material

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- ¹ Now in the *Land* of Schleswig Holstein.
- ² For more information on Frisian language and culture in the present-day Netherlands and Germany, search under European Bureau for Lesser-Used Languages on the Internet.
- ³ Graham, J.W., *William Penn*, Swarthmore Press, 1917, The language called Dutch by Anglophone people is called Nederlands by native speakers. I propose to use the closest possible English term, "Netherlands".
- ⁴ Website of the Quakers in the Netherlands.
- ⁵ Published in England in 1678.

PENN'S 'SOLICITOUS THOUGHTS' FOR EUROPE

Think of William Penn and you think of Pennsylvania and the 'holy experiment' in Pennsylvania. But Penn had another, lesser known, plan for Europe.

He set it out in his 'solicitous thoughts for the peace of Europe' which he published in 1693. (An extract appears in *Quaker faith and practice* 24.44, and the complete text appears in *The Peace of Europe, the Fruits of Solitude and other writings*, available from the Quaker Bookshop). Many of Penn's ideas are worth re-reading during the 'pause for reflection' following the recent rejections of a European constitution by France and the Netherlands. The attempt to bring European institutions closer to the people by means of a written constitution, is far more binding than anything Penn had in mind. It proposes that Europe should become a single legal entity, which would take over its members' seats on the United Nations and the International Monetary Fund for example. For election purposes, our political parties would be replaced by trans-national ones, operating on a pan-European list system.

Other measures affecting justice and immigration, to name but two, are already in place. They go well beyond William Penn's proposals for peace. As for the surrender of the right to trial by jury and *habeas corpus*, for example, his reaction would not be difficult to imagine given the exceptional Pen-Mead trial of 1670.

Given that his mother was of Dutch extraction and that he himself had studied at the Saumur Protestant Academy in western France, his concern for peace in Europe is not at all surprising. England was at war with France at the time Penn put his ideas on paper and recent events in Europe had been far from peaceful. In the preceding decade, Vienna had been saved from the Turks; the Venetians had bombed Athens, destroying the Parthenon; and the war of the League of Augsburg had begun. 'He must not be a man' wrote Penn. 'but a statue of brass or stone, whose bowels do not melt when he beholds the bloody tragedies of this war, in Hungary, Germany, Flanders, Ireland, and at sea.'

According to Penn, the three reasons for going to war were: first, to keep what is one's right; secondly to recover that which by violence has been lost by the arms of a stronger power; and thirdly to add - by the acquisition of neighbouring territories. His solution was to 'let parliaments rather than arms decide': a Diet in which all European countries could take part.

Penn's European parliament was to consist of ninety members, and he suggested that the voting strength of each country should be based upon its relative economic power. This could be assessed by considering 'the revenue of lands, the exports and entries at the custom houses, the books of rates and the surveys that are in all governments to proportion taxes for the support of them.'

'Going wholly by guess,' as he described it, he came up with the following numbers: Germany twelve; France, ten; Spain ten; Italy 'where it comes to France', eight; England six; and so on down to 'little neighbouring sovereignties, two; the dukedoms of Holstein and Courland, one. If the Turks and Muscovites were taken in, they would have ten seats each.' This compares reasonably with today's population-based proportions, giving Germany most Members of the European Parliament, followed by France, Italy and the United Kingdom.

Next he thought about a meeting place: as central as possible for the first meeting and after that, as agreed. The modest numbers he proposed for his European parliament would have reduced today's tax burden considerably - no multitudes of civil servants working in costly office accommodation.

He stipulated that the assembly room should be round, with many doors, to avoid problems of precedence. Delegates would work in groups of 10; they would take it in turn to choose one of their number to preside over the assembly, collect the sense of the debates and declare the votes. Voting would be by ballot and a three quarters majority required - or at the very least, seven above the balance.

As for a common language, Penn suggested Latin or French. What would he have thought of our present multi-lingual system? In 2001, before the recent expansion, the work of translation and interpreting involved a total of 110 linguistic combinations and occupied one third of Commission staff. This is bound to expand as more states with new and generally unfamiliar languages join the Union.

In the last section of his paper Penn dealt with the possible objections to his proposals. The first was that the strongest and richest state might not agree to a particular decision. His answer to this was that such a state would be no stronger than all the rest combined, especially in view of what he had already defined as a majority vote.

Secondly there was a fear that without armies, youth would become effeminate. That sounds rather strange to twenty-first century ears, but Penn had a solution. This objection, he thought, could be overcome by a good education - 'how to save and help, not injure or destroy.' The education of its youth 'ought of all things to be the care and skill of the government.'

The last objection he foresaw was that 'sovereign princes and states will hereby become not sovereign; a thing they will never endure.' After the dreadful suffering experienced in two world wars, some nation states today are willing to forego their sovereignty, but to other it is too precious a thing to lose. Penn thought the sovereignties would remain as they were, for 'none of them have now any sovereignty over one another: and if this be called a lessening of their power, it must be only because the great fish can no longer eat up the little ones.'

The striking metaphor brings to mind the Common Fisheries Policy, which came into being when the four countries rich in fish were negotiating entry into Europe. Besides ourselves, these were Ireland, Denmark and Norway; the latter eventually opted to stay out of the Union and to manage its own fish stocks. Signing away our fishing rights has hardly produced the hoped for results. Norway, on the other hand, seems to be successful in conserving its fish stocks.

As for loss of sovereignty, Penn did not envisage a comprehensive merging of nation states, such as was gathering momentum until the Dutch and the French people showed it was 'a thing they will never endure.'

We share the same aim as Penn: the basic one of peace between nations. 'What can we desire better than peace,' he asked, 'but the grace to use it?' The grace to use it is surely something to pray for during the pause for reflection.

Elisabeth Alley

QUAKER SHILLINGS

The coinage of Queen Anne saw the source of silver identified through the incorporation of provenance marks and the trend continued through the first half of the eighteenth century. Coinage bore roses, plumes, WCC (Welsh Copper Company), Vigo, SSC (South Seas Company) and Lima plus one other device.

It has been said that coins bearing the combined roses and plumes device were minted from a mixture of metal from Wales and the West Country. There is some truth in this but there is more to it. This mark set in the reverse angles came into being as a result of a warrant given in 1706 and renewed in 1709 by Queen Anne. It confirmed that silver supplied by "The Company for Smelting down Lead with Pit Coal and Sea Coal" and converted into coin, would bear the roses and plumes device. Such a mark had been proposed by the company, more easily known as the London Lead Company or the Quaker Lead Company, as it mined in England and in Wales.

Its locus operandi was dictated by the occurrence of lead ore deposits which are to be found mainly in the carboniferous limestone of the Pennines and part of the Halkyn Mountains of North Wales, in Scotland's Silurian rocks of the southern uplands and the Ordovician rocks of Central and North Wales. The relevance of this to silver is that almost all lead ores contain some of this precious metal, varying in the mines of the London Lead Company from 36oz per ton of lead down to 4 or 5oz. The lead mined was melted in a furnace and "run off" to leave silver in the metal state (although this method was replaced by crystallization in 1833).

The silver so refined by the London Lead Company was then sold to the Mint in accordance with charters granted to native mining companies such as the Mine Adventurers of Wales, Copper Miners in England and Lead Miners in England and Wales, the latter being the parent of the London Lead Company. The Mint used the silver for coinage as shown in the table of denominations by years and reigns. From that it can be seen why this type of coinage became known commonly as Quaker Shillings as they are the most prolific denomination of the series by both years and numbers. But back to the London Lead Company:

This Company was to all intents and purposes a Quaker enterprise that can trace its history back to 1692 when coal replaced wood in smelting. However, 1704 is perhaps a better starting point. In that year there were various manoeuvrings that gave the Friends control of business that operated with a Governor and a Court of 24

Assistants, elected annually, that met every Tuesday. The Company was focused on the smelt mills at Gadlis near Flint in North Wales, Ryton-on-Tyne (soon to be replaced by Whitfield smelt mill some 30 miles from Newcastle upon Tyne) and Acton Mill in Derwent Valley. Also it had operations in Derbyshire and Scotland but perhaps its main centre was Alston Moor in Cumbria. It was in that area in particular where the common Quaker tradition was displayed with the building of a new community in 1753 at Nent Head, 5 miles south east of Alston. There the Company sought to provide for all the needs of the whole community, not just those of its employees, in much the same way the Cadbury family did in Bournville over a hundred years later. And other Quaker principles prevailed, such as at Gadlis where the workmen were "not allowed to swear, visit alehouses, or bring drink to the works except from their own families".

Philanthropy aside, the Company were ever pushing to improve techniques, productivity, economy and quality and to this end it paid great attention to staff training and investing in the best processes. The result was that it was said of it "that the market prefers the lead and silver of the London Lead Company to any other it can get".

In the early years through to 1837 the Company sent all its silver to the Mint, rising from 750lbs in 1704 to over 2,000lbs in 1720. It seems that the signing of new leases, the surrendering of others and the cessation of the Scottish output in 1831 reduced the overall output of silver in the 1730s but not to insignificant levels. Further, it needs to be kept in mind that between 1750 and 1765 the London Lead Company took out new leases around Newcastle upon Tyne and Alston Moor. Then its first lease in Teesdale was signed in 1753 and Nent Head/Derwent output more than doubled between 1738 and 1765. Hence there was still a considerable home supply of silver to the extent that it has to be asked why the Mint became so focused on imports of this precious metal.

It would seem that the London Lead Company, whose makeup had less Quaker input in the 1730s as the original members died out, reviewed its trade and finance and balked at selling silver to the Mint at less than the market rate. It appears the Mint looked elsewhere for silver and so the roses and plumes device was last seen on coins dated 1737. However it was not until 1766 that the Mint's solicitors challenged the Company, saying their charter bound them to supplying the Mint. Eventually the solicitors accepted the Company argument they were not so bound and henceforth if the Mint wanted silver from the London Lead Company, it would have to pay the going market price. Therefore the loss of the Company output is another factor in the great dearth of silver coinage in the late eighteenth century.



1732 Roses & Plumes 6d.

Despite circulating coinage ceasing to use London Lead Company silver after 1737, it seems the Mint still relied on its high quality output for Maundy money. This was not issued every year but it is possible the London Lead Company silver was used to produce Maundy coins in maybe as many as the next 16-18 years of issue.

After its provision of silver for coinage completely ceased, the London Lead Company continued in trade as obviously, silver was really a by-product of its main business. Restructuring continued and in 1790 the Derbyshire and Welsh leases were sold to leave the company concentrated in the north of England. Later in the late nineteenth century the lead market was going into decline and by 1883 the London Lead Company had no interests outside Teesdale. Its end however is unclear as the final Company Minute Book is missing, but major factors must be the influx of cheap foreign lead imports and the fact that the Company veins were nearing exhaustion. So the Company was wound up in 1905.

Hence 2 roses and plumes denote some 2 centuries of history but one has to be grateful Queen Anne's warrant did not confer the right to have "The Company for Smelting down Lead with Pit Coal and Sea Coal" inscribed in full on the coinage as that would not have fitted so neatly in the angles.

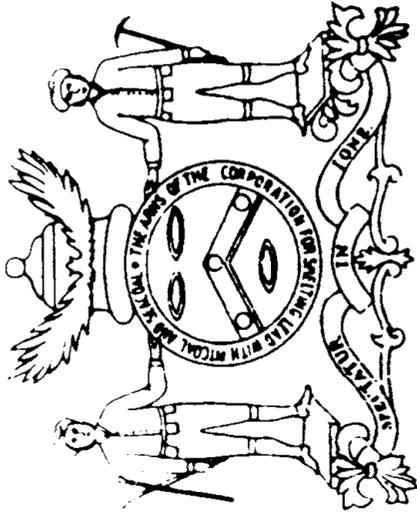
David Matthews

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All information about the London Lead Company comes from the research of Arthur Raistrick, principally published in *Two Centuries of Industrial Welfare* (2nd edition, 1977) and *Transactions of the Newcomen Society*, (1934), (pages 119-163). Raistrick was also the source for Brooke's article in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, (1934), (pages 51-6). *The Mint* by Sir John Craig (1953) and *Silver Pennies and Linen Towels* by Brian Robinson (1992) were also consulted and the table was populated with data from *The English Silver Coinage* by Seaby & Rayner (3rd edition, 1968).

P.S. If anyone can supply further information about the final years of the Company, the writer would be pleased to hear about it.

(This article has previously appeared in *Coin News*, (February 2006).



The Arms of the London Lead Company.

	1705	1706	1707	1708	1710	1712	1713	1714												
ANNE																				
Crown		R	C				N													
Halfcrown		S	N		S	C	S	N												
Shilling	S		R	R3	N	N		N												
Sixpence	S		S		R															
GEORGE I	1715	1716	1717	1718	1719	1720	1721	1722	1723	1724	1725	1726	1727							
Crown		S		R3		R						R								
Halfcrown	R		S			S						R5								
Shilling	S	R4	S	N	R3	S	R	S	S	S	S	R5	R4							
Sixpence			R									R								
GEORGE II	1727	1728	1729	1731	1732	1734	1735	1736	1737											
Crown					S	R	S	S					Key:							
Halfcrown				N	N	N	S	S					Common							
Shilling	N	R	R	S	R	N	N	N	N				Normal							
Sixpence		N		N	N	R2	R2	R					Scarce							
													Rare							

The Occurrence of Roses and Plumes

CORDER CATCHPOOL (1883-1952): A LIFE BETWEEN ENGLAND AND GERMANY

Thomas Corder Pettifor Catchpool, born on the 15th of July 1883 in Leicester, was the second of seven children born to Thomas Kingham Catchpool and Florence Pettifor.¹ When he was twelve years old his family moved to Guernsey, where he attended Guernsey High School and later, aged fifteen years, he was transferred to Sidcot School (Somerset), the Quaker School. After two years there he moved to Bootham School in York, also run by Quakers. His school years were not easy for him, although thanks to his outstanding ability in football, he won respect and recognition among his fellow pupils.

Corder's Quaker education anchored him firmly in pacifism. His consideration of a career was, at the age of nineteen, influenced by his wish to serve his fellow men. Owing to his modest financial circumstances, he was unable to study medicine and so decided on an engineering career. In 1902 he began a six year apprenticeship with James Holton, a London railway engineer of the Great Western Railway. From this he moved to the Greenfield Cotton Mills in Darwen, Lancashire. Alongside his paid work he took a B.Sc. Degree from London University in mechanics. But neither provided fulfilment. He spent a lot of time in the slums of London and became acquainted with the misery of the unemployed, the poor, and the sick. Again his mind returned to his wish to qualify in medicine, hoping so to soothe his troubled conscience. In January 1912, after giving up his post with the railway, he began at the medical school of the London Hospital. Yet again his hopes of a career in medicine remained unfulfilled. The study didn't live up to what he had expected. Trying to combine the need to earn a living with late night study was frustrating. So he abandoned the idea and spent sometime at Mürren in Switzerland where, by means of climbing and skiing he regained his health. After his return to England he attended the Woodbrooke Quaker Study Centre (Birmingham) for a term and followed classes in Social Studies and Religion. With a new-found zest for living he left for the United States of America, where he got to know the American version of Quakerism and entered into discussion with others on political, religious and cultural matters.

After returning to England he again worked as an engineer for a time and got involved in the planning of the garden suburb of

Bournville, built for the 400 employees of Cadbury living there. Just then the First World War broke out. He immediately resigned from his job in order to be available for voluntary relief work. He began by attending First Aid classes and then, together with other Quakers, he took part in the setting up of the First Anglo-Belgian Field Ambulance, later the *Friends Ambulance Unit* (FAU). His first posting was to Dunkirk. Here he helped on the Flanders front line with the French, German and British injured, caring for many in their final hours of life. For two years he worked in mortal danger on the front. Often he fetched soldiers injured in the battle trenches. He also helped with victims of gas attacks at the battle of Ypres. In 1915 he was promoted to Section Leader and worked in an office at Poperinghe.

With the introduction of compulsory military service (no. 2. Act) in England, the FAU was to work under army command.² For this reason Corder refused to be conscripted and returned to England, where he was prosecuted. In January 1917 he was first condemned to 112 days in jail.³ As an absolutist conscientious objector he served a total of two years' imprisonment. In this period he was held in Exeter, in Ipswich and in other prisons, where he was condemned to hard labour which ruined his health. He was only finally released on 8 April 1919. A collection of letters from those years was published in 1918 under the title of "On Two Fronts".⁴ During his time in prison he resolved to do what he could to contribute towards reconciliation between the warring nations in future. He developed the idea of a Quaker centre in Berlin and as a preparation for the tasks of the post-war period, he learnt the German language.⁵ Towards the end of 1919 and following his release, he moved to Berlin in order to take part in the Quaker relief work that had been started there. Immediately he became the first clerk of the Berlin Monthly Quaker group.⁶ Later he developed pneumonia, however, and had to be nursed. During this time he got to know Gwendolen Mary Southall (1891-1972).⁷ She was the second of six children of Wilfred and Isabel Southall and came from Birmingham.⁸ She had qualified as a piano teacher under the tuition of Leonard Borwick (1868-1925) yet, like Corder, she was not happy in her career. So she decided to help with relief work in Berlin. In 1920 the couple decided to marry and returned to England. After the wedding they both went back to Berlin in time for some of the wedding cake to be enjoyed by the Berlin Quaker group.⁹ There were four children from this marriage; the three girls, Jean (1923-2001), Esther Pleasaunce (born in 1926), Annette Christine (born 1928) and their adopted son Neave, born in 1929.

Although Corder Catchpool's unsettled life-style didn't meet with

the approval of his father-in-law, who served as an Elder in his local Quaker meeting, Wilfred Southall allowed the wedding to take place and his support for the couple ensured a financially unburdened future. Initially Corder returned to his work on a garden project in Darwen (Lancashire) and finally he acquired a home there. For supplementary income he gave language lessons in German and French. Every year he undertook a visit with 30 workers to Germany with the aim of promoting reconciliation between the nations. In 1930 the couple with their four children moved to Berlin as Quaker representatives. From 1931 onwards he was secretary of the Quaker International Centre.¹⁰ Here the couple worked with the American Quaker Gilbert MacMaster (1869-1967)¹¹ developing possibilities for peace and for a just settlement between nations. Among other tasks he undertook a lecture tour on peace questions through north-eastern France. Alongside other tasks, he organised vacations and visits by Germans to England. A small booklet by Catchpool about Quakerism, translated into several languages, met with great success.¹² After 1933 conditions for work in Berlin became difficult. Corder Catchpool was several times interrogated by the Gestapo and was twice taken into custody at the *Alexanderplatz* police headquarters. On 3rd April 1933 his home, *Wannseestrasse 14*, was searched for 5 hours.¹³ In August 1935 the Gestapo took him to the headquarters, *Prinz-Albrecht-Strasse 8* for an interrogation under *Kommisar* Nickel. The family were kept under observation by the Gestapo and had to exercise extreme caution on the telephone, in their post and in personal contacts.¹⁴

In order to understand members of the Gestapo better as human beings, Corder Catchpool made frequent contacts and even formed friendships with those in political power.¹⁵ He talked to and corresponded with the ministerial chief Hans Thomsen in the Reichskanzlei, with the press baron of the NSDAP, Ernst Hanfstaengl and with Hans-Heinrich Frodien, an adjutant to Heinrich Himmler (1900-1945).¹⁶ Catchpool was not inclined to condemn his opponents in all matters but to begin by getting to know them and to understand them in their human condition. He also attempted to hold a personal conversation with Hitler but he was not admitted to the Reichskanzlei. During those years this attitude of his was criticised as naive and even Nazi-friendly. In 1935 the English journalist Robert Dell edited the book "Germany Unmasked", in which those who had originally been opponents of National Socialism but who, apparently, had become turncoats or who would at least support Hitler indirectly were introduced. Dell wrote: "A typical case is that of Mr Corder Catchpool, who lives in Berlin and was converted to

Hitlerism after being arrested and imprisoned by the Nazis. He then proceeded to give lectures in various places in England, in which he explained the reasons for his conversion. The chief reason appeared to be that he had discovered that the Nazis had ideals (...). Members of the Society of Friends and many other religious people are influenced by the belief that there is some good in everybody, as there probably is. We must try, they say, to find out what is good in the Nazis rather than what is bad."¹⁷ Corder Catchpool, on the other hand, tried through his contacts, to achieve freedom for various prisoners, or at least, to have the condition of their imprisonment eased.¹⁸ The most prominent prisoner was the German pacifist Carl von Ossietzky (1889-1938), but Catchpool's support and pleading was also directed in support of the publisher Friedrich Küster (1889-1966), the politician Ernst Heilmann (1881-1940), the barrister Hans Litten (1903-1938), the communist Theodor Neubauer (1890-1945) and the poet Erich Mühsam (1878-1934).¹⁹ Apart from these, Irmgard Litten, the wife of Hans Litten and Rudolf Küstermeier, who in 1933 founded the opposition group "*Roter Stosstrupp*", were given help. The efforts of the Englishman were not without success. On 6 June Catchpool was allowed to spend two hours in the concentration camp *Papenburg-Esterwegen*. There he was able to meet Ossietzky and for the first time in two years Catchpool managed to obtain authentic news of his physical and spiritual condition to pass on to the world at large. He learnt from Ossietzky that the political agitation that some of his friends abroad were organising should be abandoned. It would be simpler for Ossietzky to obtain his freedom as relatively unknown than as the winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, which writer Ernst Toller (1893-1939) and Hilde Walter were diligently promoting.²⁰ In October 1936 Catchpool wrote in connection with this: "I know from my conversations with the Gestapo (sometimes also out of political considerations) how annoyed people over there can be with these often well-intentioned interventions. So there is, in my opinion, no doubt that he does well in asking his friends over there to exercise reticence."²¹ In the period that followed, Catchpool was able to effect Ossietzky's transfer into a hospital as his general condition had become very bad due to the fact that he had fallen ill with tuberculosis.²² One of Catchpool's greatest political successes was to obtain permission from the Lithuanian government to visit German political prisoners in 1935.²³ There is evidence that his report on the conditions of imprisonment led to improvements and early releases from prison.²⁴ In October 1936 he and his wife decided, out of consideration for their children and because of financial problems, to leave Berlin, which was a serious loss for those German Quakers who remained behind. In 1937/38 Catchpool led a relief mission to

the unemployed of the *Sudetenland* for which he was awarded the order of "The White Lion" by the Czech government. Up to this point he had succeeded in supporting the emigration of many Jews from the German Reich. From 1937 this work was difficult to carry on from London, where he once again had a permanent home, yet it was carried on within the context of what was possible.

During the Second World War he worked as an air-raid warden and stretcher bearer in a London working-class district. Simultaneously he devoted himself intensively to the question of Peace. He was on the Friends Peace Committee, on the Bombing Restriction Committee and in the Peace Pledge Union as well as in the International Fellowship for Reconciliation, War Resisters and National Peace Council. As late as 1940 he travelled to Holland and Belgium, in order to discuss with politicians the possibilities for Peace. After his return to London, from that autumn onwards, he worked for two nights each week in a hospital as a stretcher bearer and transported victims of the London bombing from the ruins into nearby hospitals.

After the war the couple again spent much time in Germany.²⁵ A first short round of visits was undertaken in 1946. From 1947 onwards they looked after the rest home in Bad Pyrmont.²⁶ The history of this institution is little known.

In November 1933 a rest home had been established by the Friends Service Council in Falkenstein, Hesse. It was housed in the former *Hotel Frankfurter Hof*. The manager put bedrooms and a meeting room at the disposal of English Quakers. Responsibility was largely taken by the Frankfurt Quaker group who lived nearby, particularly by Leonore Burnitz (d. 1949), who helped out at the Falkenstein for a time. Hertha Kraus (1897-1968), who herself had experienced being a refugee, had ideas about how to equip it. She initiated the foundation of the *Germany Emergency Committee* on which Bertha Bracey (1893-1989) and Helen Dixon (1865-1939) co-operated. Other helpers were Elizabeth Fox Howard (1892-1957) and, as translator, Helena Rosamund Wallis (1905-2001). The idea was that, in Falkenstein as in Bad Pyrmont later, victims of National Socialism should find rest and recovery for a time. There was daily worship, community singing and music-making, companionable evenings and more. In conversations with individuals, efforts were made to re-habilitate the 'guests', as those who came for help were called out of a feeling of respect. The costs for travel and their stay were largely met by English Quakers. On average they were given two weeks' respite. There were no special procedures for being accepted but acceptance rested exclusively on personal recommendations - or rejections. Decisions were generally taken by the Quaker Office in Berlin, under

the leadership of Corder Catchpool.²⁷ Among the first guests was Ernst Reuter (1889-1953) who was later elected as *Bürgermeister* of Berlin (West).²⁸ He was resident in Falkenstein in the spring of 1934. Among the other guests were Quakers, and members of other denominations, free thinkers, Jews, Social Democrats and Communists. Among the guests there were also many former concentration camp prisoners. After the opening of the Quaker House in Bad Pymont the rest home was transferred there and found a home in *St Josephs Heim*.²⁹ But every spring, as before, there was the opportunity for a short stay in the Falkenstein rest home, which was organised by Helen Dixon. In 1939 both arrangements had to come to an end because of Helen Dixon's death and the imminent war. The home waited for the time when the Catchpool couple could bring new life to these arrangements.

In 1951 both Catchpools returned to Berlin under the auspices of the Friends Service Council to help with the further strengthening of the German Yearly Meeting. The contact with Quakers in the Russian Zone of Occupation and the GDR became a special task, which Gwen took upon herself.

Corder Catchpool's absorbing hobby was climbing in the Alps. In 1952 he, along with his wife and a mountain guide, climbed the *Zumstein- and Dufourspitze* in Switzerland. On the return climb Corder Catchpool fell. As a result of his injuries he was rendered blind, yet he dragged himself on with his companions for another seven hours through a heavy snowstorm.³⁰ In an avalanche crevice at 4100 metres on the *Monte Rosa* he died on the 16th September of exhaustion and heart failure - just before help that his wife and the mountain guide had sent for, could arrive. Corder Catchpool was buried in the cemetery of Zermatt.

Corder Catchpool was one of those Englishmen who, in the difficult period of the Second World War, had never given up contacts with Germans. The foundation for his personal friendships as for social and political engagement was the assumption that there was something good in every human being, which was not always recognisable because of horrible conditions and circumstances. His life was a testimony to this ethical principle. There was in his nature a conservative, reticent trait combined with a certain elegance. He and his wife took upon themselves the needs of their fellow human beings. Their home was unfailingly a place of refuge for those who were looking for help and comfort, for friends and acquaintances, for Germans and English people alike. Already their country home in Lancashire near the town of Darwen had become, from 1920 onwards, a friendly meeting place. The same was true of their home



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Photo 1: The house of the Catchpool family. Picture post card, sent to Halle family (Berlin) in December 1938.



Photo 2: The Catchpool family in February 1948. From left to right: Annette, Oscar, Jean, Sidney, Plesance, Neave, Gwen and Corder Catchpool.

on the *Schlachtensee*, where there was an open gathering every Sunday afternoon, to which between twenty and thirty visitors regularly came. Study circles were organised here and travellers in transit found hospitality. From 1936 the Catchpools' house in Hampstead on Parliament Hill in London became such a meeting place. Among the more prominent visitors in this circle were the pacifist Philip Noel-Baker (1889-1982), the authoress Vera Brittain (1893-1970), and the American writer Lewis Mumford (1895-1990). The house in London was damaged by a firebomb in the spring of 1944 during a German air-attack. But through prompt action by the fire service personnel who happened to be in the house at the time, the fire could be quickly extinguished and the house could continue to be a refuge for those seeking help. It is an irony of history that it should be in this house, which had just missed being blown up by a German bomb, that racially persecuted, political and religious refugees from Germany were at that time being offered help.

Claus Bernet

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1 I am extremely grateful to Annette Wallis and Caire Greaves for their kind assistance and availability for interviews on Friday 15th 2004 at Woodbrooke Quaker Study Centre, Birmingham. The writer also wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to Marga Vogel-Zimmermann for her helpful comments and critiques in the preparation of this paper. I would like to thank the following for their constructive discussion, advice, criticism, etc. In thanking them I am not suggesting that they would all agree with any or all of my conclusions: Prof. Gisela Bock, Prof. Gottfried Lischke and Christian Scharnefsky, all three from the Free University of Berlin; Josef Keith (Library of the Society of Friends, London) and Ann Upton (Quaker Collection, Haverford College). The standard biography of Corder Catchpool is still Hughes, W.R.: *Indomitable Friend. The Life of Corder Catchpool. 1883-1952* (London 1956, London 1964), a helpful addendum is: Peetz, O.; Lachmund, M. (Ed.): *Allen Bruder sein: Corder Catchpool (1883-1952), ein englischer Freund in deutscher Not* (Bad Pyrmont 1963). For a new biography and bibliography of works by and on Catchpool, see: Bernet, C., *Catchpool, Corder (1883-1952)*, in: *Biographisch -bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon (BBKL)*, 24 (2005), pp. 423-432.
- 2 Catchpool, C., *Die Quäker* (Berlin, um 1920), p.13, and Catchpool, C., *Zur Geschichte der Kriegsdienstverweigerung in Groß-Britannien*, in: *Der Quäker*, 22, 3/4 (1948), pp.237-243.
- 3 Bryan, A., *Corder Catchpool. A Hero Who Never Made Heroic Gestures* (London 1982), p.5.
- 4 *On Two Fronts. Letters of a Conscientious Objector* (London 1918, London 1919². London 1940³. Reprint London 1971).
- 5 Information on Catchpool in Berlin came from Gisela (Gwen) Faust (12th July, 17th August, and 28th September 2005 in Berlin-Wilmersdorf), daughter of

Berlin Quaker Olga Halle (1893-1983). For more on the Berlin Quaker Group see her Richard-L. Cary-lecture: *Nimm' auf, was dir Gott vor die Tür gelegt hat*, which will be published in autumn 2006. Gisela's second name "Gwen" commemorates Gwen Catchpool, who was an intimate friend of the Halle family.

- 6 Faust, *Nimm' auf, was dir Gott vor die Tür gelegt hat* (2006).
- 7 For Gwen see: *Gwen Catchpool. 1891-1972* (London 1972).
- 8 LSF, Dictionary of Quaker Biography.
- 9 Peetz/Lachmund (Ed.), *Bruder*, p.16.
- 10 Lachmund, M.: *Corder Catchpool*, in: *Der Quäker*, 26, 12 (1952), pp.169-172, here pp.170/171; Peetz/Lachmund (Ed.), *Bruder*, pp.20ff.
- 11 For the life of G. MacMaster see Bernet, C.: *Gilbert MacMaster*, in: BBKL, 26 (2006).
- 12 The German version is: *Die Quäker* (Berlin, ca. 1020). A second edition was printed 1925 when the German Yearly Meeting was founded.
- 13 Faust, G., *Die Gründung der Deutschen Jahresversammlung vor 70 Jahren und die Arbeit im Quäkerbüro während der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus*, in: Gesellschaft zur Förderung vergleichender Staat-Kirche-Forschung e. V. (Ed.), *Vorträge, Analysen, Diskussionen. 1994-1996* (Berlin 1996), pp.83-88, here 85/86.
- 14 The Gestapo reports dealing with Quakers in Berlin were published in parts, see: Fischer, G.; Drobisch, K. (Ed.), *Widerstand aus Glauben, Christen in der Auseinandersetzung mit dem Hitlerfaschismus* (Berlin 1985), pp.100-108.
- 15 Fraust, *Gründung*, pp.86-87; Peetz/Lachmund (Ed.), *Bruder*, pp.33-46.
- 16 Berkholz, *Ende*, pp.13-14; Peetz/Lachmund (Ed.), *Bruder*, pp.42-43.
- 17 Dell, R., *Germany Unmasked* (London 1935), pp.17-18.
- 18 Geheimes Preußisches Staatsarchiv Berlin-Dahlem, Rep. 90 P, 104, Orig. Bl.69f.
- 19 Bernet, *Catchpool*, p.427.
- 20 Berkholz, S., *Vom Ende einer Hoffnung. Warum die Bemühungen des Quäkers Corder Catchpool im Fall Ossietzky erfolglos blieben*. (unpublished manuscript, Berlin 1998), p.14ff., p.21, p.32. Catchpool met Ossietzky at Papenburg-Esterwegen concentration camp on the 6th June 1935. *Bundesarchiv, R/58/1135 Reichssicherheitshauptamt*
- 21 *ibid.* p.21; Bernet, *Catchpool*, p.427 and Zehrer, K.: *Quäkerhilfe für Ossietzkys*, in: *Standpunkt. Evangelische Monatsschrift*, 12, 10, (1984), pp.289-291.
- 22 Fischer, G., *Quäkerhilfe für Ossietzky*, in: *Die Weltbühne*, 50/51, (13.12.1988), pp.1578-1581, here p. 1580.
- 23 Peetz/Lachmund (Ed.), *Bruder*, pp.65-66.
- 24 Bernet, *Catchpool*, p.427.
- 25 One year after the war was over Corder Catchpool wrote an open letter to people in Germany to commemorate all victims of war: Catchpool, C., *An die Freunde in Deutschland*, in: *Der Quäker*, 20, 2 (1946), pp.23-24.
- 26 Bernet, C., *Das, Rest Home' für Verfolgte des Dritten Reiches*, in: *Exil. Forschung - Erkenntnisse - Ergebnisse*, XXIV, 2 (2004), pp.75-81, here p.79.
- 27 *ibid.* p.77.
- 28 Brandt, W.; Löwenthal, R., *Ernst Reuter* (München 1957), 278f; see also chapter eleven of Elizabeth Fox Howard, *Downstream* (London 1955).
- 29 Bernet, *Rest Home*, 2004, p.79.
- 30 The dramatic circumstances of his death were described in a separate German pamphlet: *Corder Catchpool (Seine letzten Stunden)*. (Berlin 1952).

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Historical Dictionary of the Friends (Quakers) Ed. by Margery Post Abbott, Mary Ellen Chijioke, Pink Dandelion, John William Oliver Jr. (Historical Dictionaries of Religions, Philosophies, and Movements, No. 44) Lanham, Maryland and Oxford: Scarecrow Press. 2003 xxxii +432pp. £61.

This volume is in a series designed for libraries and presumably therefore mainly for those readers outside the movements or religions treated, so that no previous knowledge on the part of the reader should be assumed. It "attempts to describe the scope and history of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) worldwide and the modern diversity of its theology and practice". The list of just over one hundred contributors includes many well-known Quaker writers. The four editors were supported by an advisory committee of sixteen. The dictionary portion runs to 312pp accompanied by an 8pp chronology, a helpful and interesting if rather breathless 12pp introduction summarising the development and present state of Friends worldwide, 3 appendices: "Friends worldwide: Origins of Yearly Meetings", Yearly Meetings and number of members (including smaller groupings such as Moscow or Seoul Monthly Meetings) based on FWCC figures for 2001 and diagrammatic family trees showing the development of Yearly Meetings in Africa and North America. The book concludes with a comprehensive bibliography, index and details of contributors.

Despite the title, the dictionary does cover contemporary themes, e.g. under "Peace" there are references to the 1990s and September 2001. There is some overlap between the entries though the extensive cross-reference should prevent confusion. A good example is the comparison between the entries for "Peculiarity", "Simplicity" and "Testimony" and their more specific aspects such as "Plain Dress and Speech" or "Times and Seasons". Oaths do not receive an entry of their own but there are a number of references in the index, the main one being under "Truth". Occasionally useful information may seem to be in the wrong entry, detail about marrying out in Britain being under "Peculiarity" rather than "Marriage" and perhaps oversimplified, or scattered not so helpfully between entries as for the Friends Foreign Mission Association (appearing in three very slightly different ways). The international approach and constraints on space mean that individual entries may seem inadequate on the British aspects of a subject. Here I have in mind "Education" or "Bible" as

examples but more on the Beacon episode would have been helpful. Bankruptcy or insolvency receive only the briefest implicit mention under "Business and economics" so may have been unimportant in North America. However the editors and advisory committee must have weighed the relative importance of such points in the world Quaker picture when determining the balance of articles.

The volume cannot of course provide anything like a comprehensive collection of biographical entries for Friends in the space available. Nor are any two reviewers likely to agree on the most obvious omissions leaving aside living Friends where inclusion or exclusion must have resulted from some difficult decisions. I would have hoped to see Samuel Bownas (mentioned on p.226, not 225 as in the index) James Jenkins, Willem Sewel or the Darby women included. This may be an unfair comment because extensive random sampling did produce a result for almost every name tried, brief mention of some individuals being embedded in subject entries. Given the obvious constraints on length, the fuller entries are generally good though some of the briefest, for example James Logan, Job Scott or Isaac Sharpless seem barely worth including. A real strength of the dictionary is its extensive coverage of Friends from outside North America or Britain. A specialist might quarrel with entries in his or her own field, not I suspect for accuracy but because of what has to be left out, as with Rufus Jones. The article on Jones presents his achievements concisely but does not refer to the later debate about his views on the precursors of Friends (though two relevant articles are listed in the bibliography) or adequately to his role in Friends' affairs in the 1890s and the early decades of the twentieth century. In Jones' case as others it is important to use the index to find other references. This also applies to the name of a European country where material is gathered under "Continental Europe'.

Given the very concise nature of many entries, the thorough 48pp. bibliography is valuable. The emphasis is on published work "most likely to be available to the general reader, particularly in the United States" and preference is given to more recent titles with a deliberately limited number of journal articles. This explains most of the gaps that puzzled me on first perusal and other titles may still be there as the arrangement in subject categories can make finding things slightly hard work. Many readers will expect to use the internet to search for information and the web addresses of major Quaker research libraries are given.

The overall result is a dictionary that with a little practice is user friendly and extremely useful. The price will deter many individuals

who could make use of personal copies from acquiring them. For British Friends and students it makes available a good deal of unfamiliar information about individuals and Quaker practice elsewhere. One does have to bear in mind reading general articles that the basic perspective is North American. There are some inconsistencies and minor errors where proof-reading has failed but these do not detract significantly from the substantial achievement presented here.

David J. Hall

Knowing the Mystery of Life Within: Selected Writings of Isaac Penington in their Historical and Theological Context, selected and introduced by R. Melvin Keiser and Rosemary Moore, Quaker Books, 2005, pp.vii + 319, £18.00

This is a book which will be useful to Friends who want to learn more about the 'rock (or part of the rock) whence they were hewn' and people like your reviewer from a different tradition who wish to know more about a strand of seventeenth century history that has not hitherto commanded their attention.

The book is arranged in two parts: the first part is largely concerned with the story of the life of Isaac Penington (this by Rosemary Moore) while the second part is a collection of extracts from his writings (with commentary by R. Melvin Keiser), the latter helpfully organised under topics.

Penington is a subtle thinker. His writing tends to be dense and prolix (see, for instance, the last sentence on page 80!) and requires close attention from the modern reader who is unlikely to be accustomed to a style which characterized much of the Christian literature of the seventeenth century. He is clearly driven by a pastoral concern and usually writes with much warmth, and even when he feels it necessary to rebuke he does so with admirable straightness and boldness. His sensitive spirit suffered a good deal from imprisonment but his firmness in standing up for what he thought to be right and true is inspiring.

Penington (c.1616-1679) came from the kind of home which valued a good education and he received one. This stood him in good stead as he grew up in a world of great theological and ecclesiastical turbulence. In the wake of the Reformation a variety of 'denominations' had arisen which engaged in sometimes bitter disputes over points of doctrine and questions of order. The reaction of a gentle spirit, given to bouts of depression and troubled by

controversy was not at all surprising. We find him writing in 1653: 'Religion is grown so outward, and hath spread forth into such various forms. pleasing itself so much in that dress which it most affects, that the inward substantial part viz. the life and power of it, is almost lost in the varieties of shapes and shadow.....'

It was this sentiment that encouraged him to focus on 'experience'. The 'life' of which he often writes is for him something deep and beneath the outward appearance of things. Keiser explains that we are aware of the 'life' by sensing it, feeling it, abiding in it, being transformed by it. Though mysterious at its heart, if we ask Penington to give further account of it he may answer in terms found in St. John's Gospel or may speak of the notion of a formless energy. It is broadly this understanding that led him to have such a horror of set forms of worship which he regarded as a great hindrance to the maturing of people in the 'life'. Indeed he says that the Lord 'always loathed' a formal way of worship.

One needs to remember that Penington was writing at a time when the Protestant Church in general laid an immense amount of stress on the Bible, expounding its message and applying it in preaching and in other ways. He was reacting against what he thought to be the distortion and shallowness of spiritual life to which such a Bible-centred faith could lead. But as Keiser says, '...the Bible has shaped irrevocably the nature of Quakerism...', and we cannot help but notice in this selection, Penington's use of language derived from the biblical text even though his usage seems to betray from time to time more of what he 'felt' within himself, than what the text actually says. It was at this point that the most distinguished among the Puritan teachers joined issue with those of similar mind. They believed that the Bible, properly understood, is a book of historical divine revelation that is always authoritative yet at the same time a book of spiritual experience. The doctrines of the Bible must be taught from the standpoint for which Scripture presents them, i.e. to convert, to edify, to strengthen the spiritual life. While it is true that not all of the Church's leaders followed this rule but sometimes handled Scripture in a doctrinaire kind of way, yet the great Puritan physicians of souls followed a better path as do their successors in every denomination to this day. It is really a matter of dependence upon the work of the Holy Spirit in the Church and in the individual Christian heart.

There are, it must be said, deeply affecting and challenging, passages in this selection. Not least in pieces where Penington insists on faith involving the whole of a person's life. Christians of whatever persuasion would applaud that emphasis. Unfortunately his words are set within a doctrinal framework which many would find hard to

accept. He does indeed grasp quite clearly the importance of 'heart religion'. For instance, in his piece of 1675 on *'The Flesh and Blood of Christ'* he says, 'That which God ...hath given us to testify of, is the mystery, the hidden life, the inward and spiritual appearance of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.' His critics would say that what God has given us to testify of is the mystery of our redemption historically wrought by Jesus Christ. He goes on to say there are those who hold to, 'The historical relation concerning Christ' but yet are 'alienated from the life of God, in the midst of their literal owning and acknowledging of those things'. Such no doubt is a plain sad fact but his critics would argue that the Word of God, embracing the life, death and resurrection of Christ once given and proclaimed in the Church because of its permanent validity, intends not merely to shape a person's thought while leaving his heart unaffected, but to engage the whole of his life. Any sort of intellectualism is ruled out by the purpose for which Scripture was given in the first place. They would argue that the rational mind has a very important role to play in grasping hold of God's truth and meditating upon it so as to direct the whole of life in the way of holiness. Richard Baxter (1615-1691) writes that, 'Consideration (his word for reflecting with the mind)...opens the door between the head and the heart'. He was fond of the phrase, 'heart-work'. No wonder that one definition of theology among the Puritans was to the effect that it was the science of living for God.

The book has two appendices: Appendix A lists 'Short Titles and Notes on Works', and Appendix B gives 'Quotations from Isaac and Mary Penington's Writing' as these appear in *QUAKER FAITH AND PRACTICE* (1995). The customary bibliography, index of biblical references and a general index of admirable fullness complete the volume. Altogether a helpful and illuminating piece of work that will hopefully be read by many.

John Cockerton
Canon Emeritus, York Minister.

Judith Jennings, *Gender, Religion, and Radicalism in the Long Eighteenth Century. The 'Ingenious Quaker' and Her Connections*, Ashgate, Aldershot, 2006

The role of an eighteenth century 'celebrity' in British society seems improbable for a Quaker woman of provincial origin, and yet that was the achievement of Mary Knowles. She achieved this position by a mixture of personal attraction, intelligence and vigorous self-

promotion, which Judith Jennings' study describes with great clarity. In Boswell's words, she was "well known for her various talents". Although admired for her literary and conversational gifts, her own public career and her husband's lucrative medical practice were both made possible by her skills in needlework and the royal patronage they secured. She was brought to the attention of Queen Charlotte by the good offices of the artist Benjamin West. Her son was named George in honour of the king, and she presented him at court aged five to recite 14 couplets of her heroic verse ending:

I must, I will assume the man this day.
I've seen the King and Queen! Huzza! Huzza!

Mary Knowles is not an entirely convincing radical, for all Judith Jennings' determination to present her as such.

The book gives a very clear view of this author's interests and commitments, which are far removed from the dynamics of royal patronage and the emergence of a celebrity culture in eighteenth century London. Her writing is repetitive and relentless, which does scant justice to her subject's charm, but she has succeeded in tracing the details of Mary Knowles' social context. She is much less happy in exploring the intellectual world which formed her and to which she gave expression. Quakers contributed to the culture of sentiment which marked the early eighteenth century and were themselves profoundly marked by it. Many of Mary Knowles' characteristic attitudes were derived from it. It is also surprising that the writings of William Penn receive no attention, not least because he was the first Quaker to have direct access to the royal court, and she must have been quite as aware of him as of Robert Barclay, the only Quaker influence alluded to in this study. If Penn's role in the politics of James II remains controversial, Mary Knowles trod a more domestic and perhaps self-serving path. Summarizing the result of little George's loyal exhibition at court, Jennings concludes, "she facilitated the social integration of Quakers as loyal Christian Britons even though pacifism precluded them from military service" (p.74). Nowhere does Jennings suggest that the remarkable self-portrait now in the Royal Collection may have been Queen Charlotte's own commission. It was completed the following year, and if commissioned would not have been unrewarded.

Students of Quakerism will particularly regret that Mary Knowles' defence of her faith is here neither analysed nor reprinted. It is a sad irony that in this respect Judith Jennings has herself repeated the neglect, which Mary Knowles so resented and contested in Boswell's

Life of Dr. Johnson. Without that document it is very difficult to assess either her significance as a Quaker controversialist or the wisdom of her tireless defence of its importance. In conclusion this reader was struck by the sad contrast between Mary Knowles' own approach to death and the smug certainties with which she had once rebuked Boswell and Johnson. In that respect at least 'the children of this world' were 'in their generation wiser than the children of light'.

Graham Shaw

Journey into Silence: How and Why I Joined the Quakers by Margaret Norton; Sessions, York; 44 pages.

My first reactions to this little book were thoughts of Gerald Priestland who wrote: 'I have had as many churches in my life as a rather flashy film star has had wives - though I never regarded myself as divorced from any of them...Yet I am not ashamed of it. It is not my purpose to advocate plural membership for everyone; but if you do some day feel the urge to move on as I did, my advice is not to feel that you must let go of everything in your past-for in the life of the spirit, no experience need ever be wasted.'

I love those words and they could have been effectively used in the recent discussions in *The Friend* of Paul Oestreicher's position in the Society of Friends. Being a dual member myself I was tempted to enter those discussions but decided against it since I feel that it is my problem, not someone else's. And like Priestland I don't really see it as a problem. Also like Priestland, I have had various exposures to religious practices.

I was raised in a strongly Lutheran parsonage and was expected to follow my father and grandfather into the Lutheran ministry. Being a rather independently minded youth I was early converted to ecumenical thinking and fifty years ago this year when I was 20, I raised enough money to go from America to an ecumenical youth camp operated by the World Council of Churches high in the Italian Alps.

Later that same year I became an Episcopalian because I admired its strong ecumenical record. In 1961 I became an Episcopal minister but most of my ministry was in a teaching capacity. When my mother died I started reading materials she had left on the Quakers. When eventually I joined the Society I had no idea of dual membership. To my surprise that was suggested by the monthly meeting.

So it is easily seen how varied are the experiences of those who join

us and why. You cannot assume anything as the norm for all. Margaret Norton's spiritual journey is multifaceted involving groups which some of us will have no knowledge of. Just who are The Budos? But I especially enjoyed Margaret's Methodist background and the services conducted by Mr Chenhalls who 'looked like Lloyd George and rolled a magnificent R'.

When Margaret attended the Anglican Church it was largely to satisfy her fiance's family: 'It was an occasion which left me deeply shocked...(these people had to read their prayers out of a book!)

The formality of Anglicanism was frozen: 'Had those chanted words any meaning for them at all?' Margaret's boyfriend, John, defended the church by saying it was 'One of the things that happen in the family on Sunday'.

To which Margaret asks: 'Like roast beef and Yorkshire pudding?'
'Yes, if you like...'

But in John's defence it must be said he had acquired a healthy tolerance: 'My belief, my love, as you well know is to respect the beliefs of other people.' This attitude helped his future wife in her pursuit of religious truth.

It would not be until over thirty years later that Margaret found the Quakers. First she studied Christian Science; then the teaching of Gurjieff, Budos, Schools of Meditation and Theosophy. To a point Christian Science was appealing, but neither her children nor her husband showed interest, so much so that later neither child could ever remember the experience at all.

Margaret admits that she didn't take the Schools of Meditation she encountered very seriously. For a while Theosophy satisfied her religious needs. The modern movement originated in the United States in 1875 and followed chiefly Buddhist and Hindu theories. Margaret admits that 'there is no way in this short account I can do justice to Theosophy or any of the other teachings I came into contact with.' Rather than saying this I would think it better to say nothing than giving that old excuse. After all, we are all aware the book is only 44 pages.

When her husband gets ill the family goes back to Malta where Margaret had first 'met silence' and started on her quest. John's condition worsened and demanded more and more time from his wife. They returned to England where John died. Now she had to learn how to be a widow.

One day she passed a Quaker meeting house which was open and one of the members gave her literature on Quakers including some written by good old Gerald Priestland.

Chapter 8 presents a useful summary of Quakerism, and I was

particularly pleased to read Margaret's statement: '...the liberal compassion and welcome to all manner of beliefs and diversity of people has developed over the years in a way which seems to be not only wholly admirable but an attitude which is sorely needed elsewhere including some of the English, European and American churches'.

It is that attitude which permeates her little book; it is also a chief strength of modern-day Quakerism. There are far too many denominations especially in my natal land (America) which feel they have a monopoly on the truth.

David Sox

A Pilgrimage towards Peace, Joan Simkins. Sessions of York, 2006.

'This book', Joan Simkins writes, 'is a straight forward description of my reaction to the whole concept and experience of war.' (px)

She aims to show through this 'Biographical Strand' of her life that each individual 'can make a small contribution to the elimination of the shadow of war' (pxi) How then can I or you the reader, use the writers experience and thinking in our own Pilgrimage?

Unfortunately the book is anything but straight forward, and in spite of the beautiful clear print, and an apparently comprehensive contents list my enthusiasm was quickly lost. There is indeed a wealth of interesting biographical material but interwoven with endless conversations only vaguely related to the subject. How, for instance, was being a tenant of George (p79 ff), or the close observation of the author on the train to Leicester (p106-7) and the delightful cameo portrait of Dr Stanley Browne (p114-5) part of the Pilgrimage towards Peace?

The author's visits to Germany (pp41-45, 48-49) and her meeting with Dominican Brothers (p87-92), though interesting add little to the clarity of the story. Each chapter has its quota of similar conversations, and it was all too easy to lose the writer's train of thought, the strand. In the absence of an index this reader spent many fruitless hours trying to get a clear picture of the author's Pilgrimage. The juxtaposition of narrative, travelogue, reminiscences and academic analysis make for difficult comprehension.

The narrative takes us through childhood influences, family and personal experiences of war (WWI and WWII), staffroom strife and other people's marital problems. Academic progress through first degree at Birmingham to Ph.D at 'Edinburgh is recounted interspersed with insights into her arguments against the 'just war'.

Each stage provided sociological, theological and psychological strands, but their integration into the narrative may leave the reader bemused if not actually confused.

The author's studies interspersed with and followed by teaching, lecturing, travels and writing both here (UK) and the USA, and 'Holiday' visits to Germany and Egypt are remembered in some detail, to the disadvantage of many of her contacts.

Since retirement as a College Religious Education Lecturer the author having married, has settled in the West Country and found some satisfaction as a Methodist Lay Reader and District Tutor. Her pilgrimage has increasingly revolved round showing how she believes Christian tradition (and its ministers) has got its theology wrong. The final chapters of the book become a polemic against the Church. (politely done of course!) This is an unfortunate development in a 'Pilgrimage towards Peace'.

In the later chapters too there is a disconcerting variation in print style - underlined section headings (none up to p260); capitalized phrases; and even (p269) a newspaper article about a Vatican ruling in the middle of an account of a District Preachers' Committee.

There had been another question in my mind as I read about the author's PLD thesis on 'The Just War in Aquinas and Grothius' whose writing had so influenced the author's thinking? Sadly, I finished the book still not knowing! The lack of an index, and very inadequate notes about the many references in the text were a major frustration; And what happened to the appendices listed in the notes?

Some twenty years ago a friend of the author, after reading a collection of her cameos (presumably to assess their suitability for a book) suggested. 'You've got to be a bit ruthless, select some on a particular theme and string them together in an autobiographical strand (p225). The 'stringing together' is painfully obvious in the text, but the solution has not been nearly ruthless enough.

However reader, if this Journal may agree with the late Lord Soper that this is an 'essay in sincerity', and you may feel the excitement of reliving your own past (Foreword pix). An 'essay in sincerity' though is not necessarily a essay that will engage the general reader, and I was disappointed to have got frustration rather than inspiration from this book.

*Janet Rawlings
June 2006.*

APPRECIATION:

Edwin B. Bronner (1920-2005)

Edwin B. Bronner had a long career of dedicated service to the Society of Friends, both in America and worldwide. His education included a bachelor's degree from Whittier College in California, a master's degree from Haverford College in Pennsylvania, and his Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania (all in history).

As a conscientious objector he served in the Civilian Public Service during World War II. After some years teaching at Temple University he became Professor of History and Curator of the Quaker Collection at Haverford College in 1974. Edwin Bronner was an authority on William Penn, producing a number of books and articles on him. He became very active in the work of the Friends Historical Association (USA), serving as President for a number of years as well as on its various committees. he likewise served as President of the Friends Historical Society (U.K.) for 1970.

Edwin Bronner gave a lifetime of service to Haverford College and to The Religious Society of Friends giving extensive time and leadership to the world-wide Friends World Committee for Consultation, the American Friends Service Committee, Pendle Hill and other Quaker bodies - as well as organizing The Friends World Conference held in North Carolina in 1967.

Kenneth L. Carroll

FUTURE EVENTS

Saturday 21 April 2007 - An all-day event

at University of London Union
Malet Street
London
WC1E 7HY

11.00 Arrival and coffee

11.30 Metford Robson: 'Lyveleyn Stonis'. An illustrated talk on Quaker Meeting Houses of the 18th and 19th centuries

1.00 Lunch break. Those attending should bring their own lunch. Fruit juice provided

2.00 Gil Skidmore: Women Quakers of the 18th Century

A contribution of £5 is requested from those attending the event.

**Sunday 6 May 2007 (The Sunday of Britain Yearly Meeting) -
General Meeting and Presidential Address**

at St Pancras Church Hall
Lancing Street
London
NW1 1NA

6pm General Meeting followed by Melanie Barber's Presidential Address: 'Tales of the Unexpected: Glimpses of Friends in the Archives of Lambeth Palace Library'.

NEW REGISTRATION SYSTEM

1 December 2006

Dear Friends

New registration system for users of Friends House Library

I am writing to tell you that from 2 January 2007 Friends House Library will be introducing a new registration system for library users.

We will continue welcoming Quakers and non-Quakers from all over the world who wish to use the Library, but as the range of our users continues to diversify and use of the library increases we need to introduce a better system of registration.

All library users

All library users will have to complete a registration form on their first visit. If you are not a member or attender of Britain Yearly Meeting (BYM) you will also need to produce formal proof of identification showing your permanent address. This can be a driver's licence, bank statement or a recent utilities bill. We are sorry but we will not be able to register you without such proof. The new registration system will also apply to existing library users, who will be asked to complete a form on their first visit after 2 January 2007.

Members and attenders of BYM

Members or attenders of BYM will also need to fill in a registration form, but won't need to show proof of address. We need to include BYM members/attenders in the registration system for statistical purposes and so that we have a complete picture of who our users are and why you use the library.

Where you can obtain a registration form

The registration form is available from the library desk, and will also be downloadable from the library pages of the BYM website www.quaker.org.uk/library. We are sorry but we cannot accept completed forms sent by email. You will need to print it out and bring the completed and signed form with you.

If you have any queries about the new registration system, then please do contact me.

In friendship,

Heather Rowland
Librarian

Library of the Religious Society of Friends in Britain
020 7663 1135
library@quaker.org.uk

CORRESPONDENCE

to: Editor of JFHS
6 Kenlay Close
New Earswick
York YO32 4DW

6 5mo 2006

Esteemed Friend:

I have a suggestion to make concerning the JFHS which I hope you will find worth considering: would it not be useful to the readership to have an enquiries page in which those of us who are not erudite historians could 'ask the experts'? I cannot imagine that I am the only member who would gladly avail themselves of access to Friends who have specialised in the subject. It might even lead to lively exchanges and new investigations.

With best wishes,

Ben Gosling (Ohio YM conservative)

Editor: Many thanks to Ben for his suggestion. I am willing to try this for an experiment of one year and ask readers to send their enquiries initially to me at my address at the front of the *Journal*.

REPORT

Friends Historical Society - Residential weekend - Glenthorne, 6-9 October 2006.

Twenty-five Friends from many different parts of the country gathered at Glenthorne in early October for a weekend of discussions, lectures and visits. This was the first time that the Friends Historical Society has staged an event but it is the fervent wish of participants that it will not be the last.

The focus of the weekend was the 1652 country and Glenthorne made an ideal setting. Even in indifferent weather the Lake District was stunning. We visited by coach Meeting Houses at Brigflatts, Preston Patrick, Yealand Conyers and Meeting for Worship on Sunday at Swarthmoor. All of these seventeenth century sites impressed and we were treated with great generosity by local Friends, who provided explanations of the buildings and their place in Quaker history, as well as refreshments and in two places room to eat our packed lunches. Perhaps Brigflatts, the oldest, was the most evocative, since it has changed relatively little since its construction in 1675, but all four were full of interest. We also saw the splendid court room at Preston Patrick Hall which dates from the late middle ages, the spectacular site at Firbank Fell where George Fox spoke to a crowd which he claimed exceeded a thousand people, and the Quaker burial ground at Sunbrick near Swarthmoor, where Margaret Fell and over 200 other early Friends are buried without gravestones. The environs of Sunbrick have a glorious view over Morecambe Bay which will remain in the memory.

I hope without offending our generous hosts at the other sites I can say that I was particularly glad to see Swarthmoor Hall some fifty-six years after first attending the American college named for it and grateful to the warden, Bill Shaw, for making us welcome, giving us a tour of the house and willingly answering our questions. Bill was formerly a member of my Preparative Meeting, York Friargate, where he is much missed, but on this showing our loss is certainly Swarthmoor's gain, for he is the right person for the right job.

This was a lot to crowd into two days, but in addition to all we saw we also enjoyed a lecture by Roy Stephenson, formerly secretary of the North West 1652 Committee. Roy explained to us the causes of the initial Quaker flowering in north-west England and its consequences, though to some of us his claims for our subsequent influence seemed almost too impressive to be true. He also listed the

challenges arising from our early history which lie before us today, combating climate change and coping with Christian evangelicalism being only two. The lecture was an excellent introduction to the weekend, hugely stimulating and particularly appreciated as Roy had to leave us at its end to rush off to London to attend Meeting for Sufferings the following morning.

No less interesting was the lecture two evenings later by David Butler, author of the magnificent two-volume study entitled *The Quaker Meeting Houses of Britain* (1999), a labour of love and a revelation to all who have seen, let alone read it. David gave us an illustrated tour of about a dozen historic meeting houses in Cumbria which we did not visit. His lightly carried scholarship was eye-opening, even to those who knew local meeting houses well. His expertise was much appreciated by all those who love historic architecture, which must have included the whole audience.

We were heavily indebted, not only to the persons already named, but to the hard work of Peris Coventry and Clifford Crellin, organisers of the weekend. I hope that the success of the event was ample reward for their patience and hard work.

David Rubinstein

BIOGRAPHIES

SHEILA WRIGHT teaches Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century history in the Centre for Continuing Education at the University of York. Her publications include *Friends in York: The Dynamics of Quaker Revival, 1780-1860* and more recently she has published on Quaker women's friendships and interpretations of Quaker women's journals. Her current research interests continue to include Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Quaker women's writing and the lives of Friends in rural Yorkshire. She is also working on a longer term investigation of the role of women in York from 1860-1914. (She is a member of the International Review Panel for the journal *Quaker Studies*).

KENNETH L. CARROLL is Professor Emeritus of Religious Studies, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas. He is presently serving as President of the Friends Historical Association (U.S.A.) and is a past President of the Friends Historical Society (U.K.) His first article on Quaker history was published in 1950.

MARIEKE FABER CLARKE is the daughter of Titia Faber and Richard Cambridge Clarke. (See Yearly Meeting Testimony (2000) for Richard Clarke). After reading Modern History at Oxford, Marieke taught at Inyathi Secondary School in Rhodesia. Because of insights gained in Africa, on returning to Britain, Marieke started attending Oxford Friends Meeting and became a member in 1974. She cherishes her family links with the Netherlands and has attended one Netherlands Yearly Meeting.

ELISABETH ALLEY is a lifelong Friend and a member of Pickering & Hull Monthly Meeting. Her transition from teacher to writer came about through being invited to join Macmillan's Primary English Project, published for schools in Africa, south of the Sahara. On returning to England, Elisabeth compiled and edited the Quaker anthology *A Light to Walk By*, thereby raising funds for Wigton Meeting House. She was later commissioned to write articles of general interest for the *Ryedale Gazette and Herald*. She now lives in York and writes regularly on a voluntary basis for the *New Earswick Bulletin*, the village newsletter.

DAVID MATTHEWS researches coins and their histories, specializing in English, modern Greek and anything to do with Birmingham. He has written extensively on coin subjects as well as local history and architecture. Of late he has catalogued the library of the Birmingham Numismatic Society to which he belongs and he works full time dealing with insolvencies.

CLAUS BERNET has completed a doctoral thesis on *Religious Settlements in Eighteenth Century Germany and their Impact on Utopianism and Philanthropy*. His article, *The Apocalyptic Dream of Samuel Fothergill in 1760*, was published in *J.F.H.S. Volume 59, Number 3 (2002), pp. 211-214*. In 2006 he has published three articles in German on aspects of Quaker history. He has also published Quaker related entries for volume 26 of *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon (BBKL)*.

Supplements to the Journal of Friends Historical Society

21. AN ORATOR'S LIBRARY. John Bright's books. Presidential address 1936 by J. Travis Mills. 1946. 24pp., 50p
22. LETTERS TO WILLIAM DEWSBURY AND OTHERS. Edited by Henry J. Cadbury. 1948. 68pp. £3.00
24. THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY OF EARLY FRIENDS, Presidential address by Frederick B. Tolles, 1952. £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
- FHS, Occasional Series No. 1 MANCHESTER, MANCHESTER AND MANCHESTER AGAIN: from 'SOUND DOCTRINE' to 'A FREE MINISTRY'. By Roger C. Wilson. 1990. Members £2.00, Non-Members £3.00.

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

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