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OF THE

# FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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Communications should be addressed to the Editor at Friends House.

## Annual Meeting &c.

A BUSINESS meeting of the Society was held at Friends House on 1st February, 1951. Owing to the unavoidable absence of last year's president, Alfred B. Searle, Irene Edwards kindly took the chair.

The following were appointed to the committee of the Society, George Edwards, Irene Edwards, Elfrida V. Foulds, Richenda Scott, Alfred B. Searle, Beatrice S. Snell, and the officers *ex officio*, viz. Isabel Ross (President 1951-52), Muriel Hicks (secretary), Edward H. Milligan (assistant secretary), John Nickalls (editor), Russell Mortimer (assistant editor), Basil G. Burton (auditor).

This marks a change in the practice of recent years which has been to appoint the members of the Library Committee for the time being to be the committee of F.H.S. Care will be taken to see that the Library Committee continues to be adequately represented.

James Strachan then gave a lecture, which was both instructive and entertaining, with pictures projected on the screen, about the illustrations in The Great Bible of 1541. These were taken from the copy which belonged to George Fox, and which is now in the Library at Friends House.

On 4th October the annual general meeting was held at Friends House to hear the president, Isabel Ross, speak of "Some Byways in Quaker Research" which she has followed in the study of Quakerism in the North-West of England. The address, which was much enjoyed by the audience, is printed in this number.

The meeting appointed Geoffrey F. Nuttall to be vice-president for 1952-53, to become president in the following year. Frederick B. Tolles, of Swarthmore College, Penna., president for 1952-53, will give his presidential address on " The Atlantic Community of Friends " at Lancaster on 13th August, 1952, as part of the Tercentenary commemoration programme.

# More Funds Needed

During the last two or three years the Committee of the Friends' Historical Society has made special efforts to bring to the notice of Friends and others information regarding the Society with a view to increasing its membership.

Recently over 220 Universities, Theological Colleges and Libraries in this country and in America received a copy of the *Journal* with a covering letter. All Monthly Meetings have been reminded that they can join as Institutional members for a subscription of 10s. a year, and a number of individuals have also been approached. The result was an increase in membership of about 30, mostly by American Colleges.

A second effort is now being made and letters are being sent to County Archivists, Historical Societies, Schools and individuals. A member of the F.H.S. in each Quarterly Meeting is also to receive a request encouraging him or her to seek new members within their own locality.

The Committee is aware that in order to keep the F.H.S. alive appeals such as have been mentioned must be made periodically, but the Society nevertheless needs the support of its members to get new subscribers.

Members are invited :

(1) To encourage people who do not wish to subscribe to give a donation.

(2) To increase their own subscription above the normal 10s. per annum.

(3) To send an annual subscription as a gift to someone else.

(4) To remind Monthly Meetings and Preparative Meetings that they may become Institutional Members for 10s. a year.

ISABEL ROSS, *President*
ALFRED B. SEARLE, *Chairman*

# Some Byways in Quaker Research

By ISABEL ROSS

*The Presidential Address to the Friends' Historical Society,* 1951

## I. The People of the North-West

George Fox wrote in his *Journal* for 1653 :

" The next day we came through the country into Cumberland again, where we had a General Meeting of many thousands of people atop of an hill near Langlands.[1] A glorious and heavenly meeting it was ; for the glory of the Lord did shine over all ; & there were as many as one could well speak over, the multitude was so great. Their eyes were fixed on Christ, their teacher, & they came to sit under their own vine, insomuch that Francis Howgill coming afterwards to visit them, found they had no need of words. . . A great convincement there was in Cumberland, Bishopric, Northumberland, Westmorland, Lancashire, and Yorkshire, and the plants of God grew and flourished so, the heavenly rain descending, and God's glory shining upon them, that many mouths were opened by the Lord to his praise ; yea, to babes and sucklings He ordained strength."[2]

ELSEWHERE George Fox explained that he stayed and preached in the North-West for two years, and when he was satisfied the Meetings really understood how to have and feel Christ their leader, then he moved South. In no other part of England had he so far stayed for so long a time.

A Quaker historian has written that the remarkable success of George Fox in those several northern counties needs explanation. I have felt so, too, and this evening I venture to make some suggestions in explanation of this interesting fact.

My question would be, therefore : What kind of people did George Fox find in the North of England, and particularly in the North-West ? What of their race, history and condition in the mid-seventeenth century ?

1. As regards race, they were Angles or Norse, the earlier Celts having been pushed into the high fells, and

[1] Near Caldbeck.
[2] *Journal* (Bi-Cent.) I, 182-3 ; Cambridge *Journal*, I, 137.

largely died out. The two languages are interwoven. Place and family names are often Norse—thwaite, satter, how, gill, etc. Features of face and body often are Norse still. Even the Herdwick sheep are Norse, having been brought in a thousand years ago by these sturdy marauding Norsemen.

2. Over all life in the North, down to the Union of the Crowns in 1603, was the terror of Scots invasions. Destruction, death, poverty, brutality. Twice in the fourteenth century they poured even through Furness, once across the Sands to Lancaster. Behind my house in Far Sawrey, the lane over the fell to the north still bears the name of "Scots Lane," a relic of one of those raids. In their first attack on Furness, the Scots were delighted with the abundance of iron which they found. The reduction in taxation allowed to the whole North country shows how heavy were the ravages of the Scots. Not until the early seventeenth century was it possible to have any feeling of security, and then it was that the old pele-towers gradually were enlarged to become in many cases beautiful homes; many manor houses and stone farm-houses, with English oak panelling and furniture, often finely carved, came to be built. Such were Swarthmoor Hall, built about 1600, and Rydal Hall near Ambleside.

3. Another characteristic of the Northern scene was as follows:—after feudalism was established at the Norman Conquest, it never lay so heavily on the people of the North-West as it did on the southern part of England. There were of course, a few great noble families, but there were many lesser gentry, and below them in the social scale the yeomen or estatesmen who were the owners of small estates worked by themselves, and there were very few serfs. Probably this was due to the fact of the large numbers of the very independent Norsemen. This independence is a present-day characteristic. This loose form of feudalism, together with Roman Catholicism, was destroyed at the time of the Pilgrimage of Grace (1536) in Henry VIII's reign, and the Rebellion of the Earls (1569) in Queen Elizabeth's reign. After these events the great noble families were destroyed or died out, and Roman Catholicism remained as a hidden religion. The tragedy was that the Protestantism put in its place was so meagre—churches in ruins, churches without clergy, the people's spiritual life neglected, the abbeys

closed. In the seventeenth century Puritanism came into the North-West to fill in the vacuum left by a Protestantism which had largely failed. The Puritans were Baptists and Independents chiefly—Presbyterianism was too Scotch! Schools, however, were increasing. In the latter part of the sixteenth century, eleven schools were founded, and between 1600 and 1660, seventeen were founded, including Judge Fell's at Ulverston. And there were others of older foundation, and also schoolmasters, often curates, had schools; Bampton school, for example, was "turning ploughboys into bishops."

> "These figures show that our ancestors in these counties in the seventeenth century were not quite the wild untutored barbarians that they are often assumed to have been."[1]

Bampton, Appleby, Hawkshead, specially, became famous schools; also Sedbergh and St. Bees, and Kendal.

And so in the North-West George Fox in and after 1652 met two very contrasting types of people. One was the independent, but ignorant man, easily given to violence, on sight of a stranger suspicious to the point of "heaving half a brick at him"—such Fox met in Ulverston and on Walney Island. Probably these were still showing their descent from Norse sea-reavers in qualities accentuated by centuries of poverty and isolation. The other was the Puritan minister and his flock, such as Thomas Lawson of Rampside, near Barrow, and the Independent John Wilkinson of Brigham, near Cockermouth, and particularly the Seekers in Sedbergh, Preston Patrick and Kendal. These presumably had developed through the centuries from the same Norse stock, but by education, and the working of the Spirit of God and the spread of ideas of a purer religion than formerly, they had become ready for still further development. I would suggest that the characteristic which the people of the North-West had pre-eminently was a love of liberty, and a love of independence, and it was this particularly that helped Fox to win so many followers, that it was said that in some parishes none but the minister and his clerk continued to attend the parish church; and again the Earl of Carlisle was able to say (many years later) that Fox and the Quakers had done more to destroy the moss-troopers than any army had

[1] Bouch: *Prelates and People of the Lake Counties*, 241-2.

done. Studying the history of this interesting and beautiful part of England, and living in it for many years, I can still see—and am not alone in this—the proud independence of its people, and I feel this is due largely to two closely related facts—to the settlement of the Norse people one thousand years ago, and the lack of severity and thoroughness of the feudal system established 850 years ago but destroyed after four and a half centuries. It is not without significance that we see in the spread of Quakerism throughout the world, that it thrives best where there is a spirit of liberty and a love for it. One of the early missionary Friends who travelled through Poland to Danzig reported to George Fox, that the Truth in those parts could make no headway as the people were so enslaved to their feudal princes that they could not believe other than their feudal lords.

## II. Daniel Fleming[1]

Another byway in my Quaker research took me to the study of Sir Daniel Fleming of Rydal Hall, near Ambleside. He it was who after the Restoration was the chief persecutor of Friends in Westmorland. In 1663 after the Kaber Rigg Plot he was the leader of all those justices of Westmorland and Lancashire who attacked George Fox, Margaret Fell and many others. Fleming presided at the sessions in Lancaster in January 1664, at the first of the series of trials of George Fox which ended in his imprisonments at Lancaster and Scarborough. It is not my purpose to tell here the story of the persecutions by Daniel Fleming and the two Kirkbys, Colonel Richard of Kirkby Hall, and Justice William of Ashlack Hall. That has been done elsewhere. I should like this evening to give a picture of Fleming, taken largely from his own memoirs, the remarkable collection of manuscripts he left at his death in 1701, and the extracts of his accounts, published some fifty years ago by the Historical Manuscripts Commission. These accounts are comparable to Sarah Fell's of Swarthmoor Hall—hers from 1673-1678, his from 1656 to 1688. The two homes are about twenty miles apart.

Daniel Fleming was born in 1633 at Coniston Hall, being the son of William Fleming and Alice Kirkby his wife. He came of a family which had owned land and castles and halls

[1] He was knighted in 1681.

in Furness, and other estates in Westmorland and Cumberland for some centuries. His mother, an able woman, belonged to the Kirkbys of Kirkby Hall, near Margaret Fell's birthplace on the Duddon estuary. The Kirkby family had some members with a streak of wildness and wickedness in them which did not seem to occur in the Fleming family. H. S. Cowper wrote about Richard Kirkby (who died in 1681) "a man at once ambitious, unfeeling and mean." After schooling locally, Daniel Fleming went to Queen's College, Oxford, and later was a member of Gray's Inn. He was there about the time Judge Fell's son George was. In 1655, at the age of 22, he married Barbara, daughter of Sir Henry Fletcher, and soon afterwards he restored Rydal Hall where he and his wife now went to live. During this time of the Commonwealth, Fleming (whose father had been a Royalist, and who had compounded for his estates after the defeat and death of the King) held of course no public positions. His time was chiefly occupied in winning and then improving his home and estate, and living the life of a country gentleman, by no means wealthy. Thomas Fell, as a barrister, helped him to get possession of Rydal. It was not until the Restoration had come about, that he was able to hold office, and soon he was appointed Commissioner for Westmorland, Deputy Lieutenant of Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire, sheriff of Cumberland for one year, and lieutenant of the train-bands, later becoming colonel. It was while he was carrying out those duties—and they were arduous in the days following what the Royalists looked upon and described as the years of rebellion—that he came across the Quakers, and, of course, other so-called fanatics, and did his best to break up their meetings and impoverish them. I believe the main reason for this persecution—it was different from the imprisoning for non-payment of tithes and church dues—was fear. The authorities lived in a panic. Reading Daniel Fleming's letters to Sir Joseph Williamson, Secretary of State, and to others, one can see that clearly. They feared particularly plots against the King, and they also feared the possibility of the return of the Scots. They had had quite enough of the Scots during the Commonwealth—not as bad as the former raids, but bad enough! Fleming and his friends also feared new ideas in the realm of religion. Till lately the Flemings and Kirkbys had been Roman Catholics—

and a modern Roman Catholic writer states that Richard Kirkby was a Catholic until 1678.

George Fox and Margaret Fell and Quaker prisoners and their wives might write to Daniel Fleming as much as they had strength for, and they might explain how peaceable they were, but how could he believe them? To us it seems unintelligent and inhuman, but where fear and panic exist, many virtues disappear. Perhaps some chord in his heart was touched, for he kept the letters, and there they are still in his collected MSS.

Aug. 10, 1663. The Deputy Lieutenants of Cumberland and Westmorland to Sir Henry Bennet. Concerning the militia. The Quakers and other separatists are numerous, and their meetings weekly are apprehended dangerous, if by any insurrection an opportunity to do mischief should be offered to them. Although we have lately proceeded according to law against some of them, they abate nothing of their obstinacy.[1]

Letter from William Wilson of Stangend, Little Langdale, to Daniel Fleming, Dec. 9, 1663.

"Oh fye, Justice Fleming, that ever this report should be sounded in our ears that within thy liberties such plundering should be amongst thy neighbours. We never had the like in our parish since the Scots was amongst us, nor never expected that our own justices should have made such work as set men of robbing & spoiling true men's goods who dare not spoil themselves, nor do any hurt to any man. . . My friend William Grave is this day lying in the peril of death, & one prisoner is lying dead this day upon the checker table. . . Thy cousin William Kirkby reported that night that you had done that wicked act of casting us all into prison, that you had had an honourable bench, & that thou was such a man as was not in many parts, & your whole service had almost been taken up about Quakers, & that you had holed the Fox, & stayed his Hambrough Quaker from travelling. . . I have heard thy name honoured among men where I have been both for courage and understanding."[2]

Yes, Fleming was a very intelligent man. He was one of the pioneer local antiquaries and historians; he was a genealogist, a scholar, a careful collector of old documents, and keeper of accounts. Above all, his marriage was an extremely happy one, and the relations with his large family of children were wise, affectionate and generous. Three things he wrote throw light on his character as husband and father.

[1] From *The Le Fleming MSS. at Rydal Hall* (Historical Manuscripts Commission), 1890, no. 561.

[2] With editorial addition: "A very long letter in the usual Quaker style." From *The Le Fleming MSS. at Rydal Hall* (Hist. MSS. Comm.), 1890, no. 580.

1. In the Accounts :

Aug. 6. 1665. Paid for my loving & lovely son John's coffin, 2/6. Given to the poor at Hutton church, being threepenny dole, £3/0/6. Item to the servants at Hutton, 10/-, & to a guide 6d., in all . . . £3/13/6.

The little boy, aged nearly three, had been sent "to accompany his cousin, Henry Fletcher" at Hutton Hall, and died there, away from father and mother.

2.

"April 15, 1675. Memorandum. My dearly beloved wife was delivered of a boy the 3rd day of April 1675. . . . It pleased God to call to his mercy my Dear Wife upon Tuesday, April 13 . . . at Rydal Hall, who was buried at Grasmere Church the next day in the evening, to the great loss of me her afflicted husband & of fourteen children, all living, whom God preserve."

A measure of the love felt by others for her is the entry that her husband gave at her funeral to the poor at 4d. apiece, the sum of £30/10/4.

3. Sir Daniel Fleming's Advice to his Son.

"Son,

"The vertuous Inclination of thy matchless Mother, by whose Godly and tender Care thy Infancy was govern'd, together with thy Education under so zealous and excellent a Schoolmaster, puts me rather in Assurance than hope, that thou art not ignorant of that summary Bond, which is only able to make thee happy, as well in thy Death as Life ; I mean the true Knowledge and Worship of thy Creator and Redeemer, without which all other Things are vain and miserable ; so that thy Life being guided by so all-sufficient a Teacher, I make no Doubt but he will furnish thy Life both with divine and moral Documents ; Yet that I may not cast off the Care beseeming a Parent towards his Child, or that thou shou'dst have Cause to derive thy whole Felicity and Welfare rather from others than from whom thou receivedst thy Birth and Being, I think it fit and agreeable to the Affection I bear thee to help thee with such Advertisements and Rules for the Squaring of thy Life, as are gather'd rather by long Experience, than by much Reading ; to the End that thou, entring into this exorbitant Age, may be the better prepar'd to shun those ill Courses, whereinto this World and thy Lack of Experience may easily draw thee. And, because I will not confound thy Memory, I have reduced them into Ten Precepts, which if thou imprint in thy Mind, thou shalt reap the Benefit, and I the Comfort and Contentment.

"When it shall please God to bring thee to Man's Estate, use great Providence and Circumspection in the Choice of thy Wife ; for from thence may spring, as thy future Good, so thine Ill ; and it is an Action like unto a Stratagem of War, wherin a Man can, for the

most Part, err but once. If thy Estate be good, match near Hand and at Leisure, if it be otherwise then far off and quickly. Enquire diligently of her Disposition, and how her Parents have been inclined in their Youth. Let her not be poor, how generous[1] soever, for a Man can buy nothing in the Market with Gentility, nor chuse a base and uncomely Creature altogether for Wealth, for it will cause in others Contempt and Loathing in thy self. Neither make Choice of a Dwarf, nor a Fool, for by the one thou shalt beget a race of Pigmies, and the other will be a daily Disgrace, and it will irke thee to hear her talk, for thou shalt find, to thy great Grief, that there is nothing more fulsome than a She-fool. And touching the Government of thy House, let thy Hospitality be moderate, and according to the Measure of thy own Estate, rather plentiful than sparing, but not too costly; for I never knew or heard of any grow poor by keeping an orderly Table; but many consume themselves through secret Vices, and then Hospitality bears the Blame. But banish all swineish Drunkards out of thy House, which is a Vice that impaireth Health, consumeth Wealth, and makes no shew but of Beastliness. And I never heard any Praise ascrib'd to a Drunkard, more than the well-bearing of his Drink, which is a fitter Comendation for a Brewer's Horse or a Dray-man, than for either a Gentleman or Serving Man. . . .

"Bring thy Children up in Learning and Obedience, yet without Austerity; praise them openly, and reprehend them secretly; give them good Countenance and convenient Maintenance according to thine Ability, otherwise thy Life will seem their Bondage, and then what Portions thou shalt leave them at thy Death, they will thank Death for it and not thee; and I am persuaded that the foolish Cockering of some Parents, and the over stern Carriage of others, makes more Men and Women to take ill Courses, than their own vicious Inclinations.

"Marry thy Daughters in time lest they marry themselves; and suffer not thy Sons to pass the Alpes, for they shall learn there nothing but Blasphemy, Swearing and Atheism; and if by Travel they chance to get a few broken Languages, they will profit them no more than to have one Meat serv'd in divers Dishes.

"Neither by my Consent shalt thou train them up to Wars, for he that sets up his Rest to live by that Profession, can hardly be an honest Man, or a good Christian; for every War is of it self unjust, unless the Cause make it just; besides it is a Science no longer in Request than there is use for Soldiers; for in the time of Peace, they are like to Chimneys in Summer. . . ."[2]

What a pity it was that Fleming and the Quakers did not know each other better!

The rest of Sir Daniel's advice to his son refers to hospitality, lawsuits, relations with friends and relations, credit, and jesting.

[1] "Well-bred."

[2] Printed in *The Memoirs of Sir Daniel Fleming* (Cumb. & Westm. Antiquarian & Archaeol. Soc. Tract series, 11, 1928), 92-95.

## III. Household Economy

Can we get a picture of the man and his life from his accounts, contrasting these with Sarah Fell's entries? And possibly giving a sideways glance from time to time at the elaborate accounts kept for the Earl of Bedford at Woburn about the same time?

Both at Swarthmoor and at Rydal, and far more than at Woburn, the households were practically self-supporting as regards food and some of the clothing. Wheat and wheaten bread were bought sometimes, but oats, making porridge and clap-bread were home-grown. Beef and mutton, pork and bacon were largely home-grown—although Sarah Fell did spend 7s. 6d. on a sheep when William Penn stayed with them. Venison is often mentioned by Daniel Fleming, usually sent as a present from one of his gentleman neighbours, when a tip was given to the carrier. Twenty geese cost 13s. 4d. at 8d. each. Fish, if not from the nearby rivers Rothay and Brathay which supplied them abundantly with char and trout, came sometimes from Morecambe Bay. At other times, salmon was bought, five for 9s. 6d. in 1657. They must have been large, for Sarah Fell says a "little salmon" cost 9d. One hundred herrings cost 3s. Fruit was not entirely home-grown at either house—apples, strawberries and blayberries (bilberries) are bought for Rydal; cherries, strawberries, currants, raisins and prunes (plums) appear in the Swarthmoor Hall accounts. Wines, spirits and ale are in both accounts, bought locally or in London or Newcastle. Home spinning and weaving by local craftsmen make the clothes of children and servants, but best dresses, wedding dresses and the like, are bought in London and sent by carrier.

In both households local craftsmen are employed to make large pieces of furniture like tables, bedsteads, and chests, and to put in the panelling. Looking-glasses (10s.), clocks and watches, are bought elsewhere, as are silver spoons and pewter plates. Wages are the same in both places, 1d. or 2d. a day for women workers in the fields, together with about 8d. for food provided; and house servants varied from £1 to £3 a year. A Rydal milkmaid had £1 a year. Both Daniel Fleming and Sarah Fell banked savings for their servants, and sometimes borrowed from them. Ten pounds were once borrowed from the Rydal shepherd. There are

some payments made by Daniel Fleming which do not appear in Sarah Fell's accounts—many times the father pays "cockpennies and barring out." "Given to the 3 boys for cock-pennies 2s. and to bet 6d. 2s. 6d." The barring out was 1s. or 1s. 6d. According to Miss M. L. Armitt who made a most exhaustive study of the Fleming MSS. and accounts, the cockpennies were in practice a tribute or fee for the schoolmaster. The custom was based on an authorised cock-fight, held in every school at Shrovetide. (Is the modern pancake struggle at Westminster School, a civilized version of it?). Possibly the boys' captain supplied one cock, and the schoolmaster the other. A pit was dug, and at Hawkshead that was in the floor of the school-room. The amount of cockpennies varied with the school. The Ambleside master had 1s., the one at Hawkshead 2s. 6d., at Kendal 5s., and at the last school the Fleming heir gave 10s. "Barring out" was a very ancient custom, generally done before the Christmas holidays. Sometimes school charters made rules for it—"scholars should bar and keep forth the school and the schoolmaster in such sort as other scholars do in great schools"—was written by the founder of a Cheshire school. It is a kind of mock rebellion, the scholars seizing the school, barring the doors, and refusing to open them until the schoolmaster outside had been brought to terms in the matter of holidays or hours of study. The money was used on a feast.

Daniel Fleming had nine surviving sons to educate, and Kendal and Hawkshead were the chief schools, but they had a schoolmaster at the Hall for a time at a salary of 40s. a year and diet. "A Hornbook and wire" cost 3d., primers, a grammar bought for the children cost 10d. The daughters were taught at home, special mention being made of their music on virginals and other instruments ("harpsicalls and manicords" at £1 a month). You may remember how Margaret Fell records how, on the return of her husband after the first visit of George Fox, her children, astonished at their father's silence, "were all quiet and still, and grown sober, and could not play on their music that they were learning." That was in 1652—twenty years later there is no record of the purchase of musical instruments for the Quaker grandchildren at Swarthmoor.

Another payment in the Rydal book which does not

appear in the Swarthmoor one is for losses at playing at cards. Mrs. Fleming is a rather frequent loser, though her husband lost also at times. He lost 8d. to his wife's 5s.—but higher sums at other times. Another time—" paid my wife which she had lost at cards, etc. £2 10s." Another time £1 10s. 6d.—and fairly frequently 5s.

Then there are entertainments—fiddlers at Kirkby Hall (before they went to Rydal) 2s., the waits at Penrith had 1s., the waits at Kendal, players from Ambleside, players of Cartmel, a fiddler at Christmas, shovel-board, cards and hunting. A football was once bought for the children.

Presents are mentioned in both books, of course, tips to servants of a host, tips to servants bringing presents of venison, and so on. Once in the Rydal book is recorded a present of 2s. to the Kendal schoolmaster and some scholars " for cakes and ale." Sarah Fell sent potted char to Guly Penn, but Daniel Fleming sent char pies and potted char frequently to his friends, particularly to Sir Joseph Williamson in London. This was a famous dish of the Lake District. The char, a relic of the Ice Age, still lives in deep lakes like Windermere and Coniston, and is very good eating. The char-pie appears in the first known accounts of the Fleming family in 1632, and in Daniel Fleming's accounts it appears frequently down to about 1674, when pots and tins began to take the place of the pastry. The pies, covered, of course, with pastry, were huge in size, weighing (together with wooden case for packing) up to nearly 8 stone. They were sent to Carlisle, London and elsewhere by packhorse. The earthenware pots were cheaper than the tins, and both were more reliable than the pastry. The fish were cooked in and seasoned by cloves, mace, nutmegs, cinnamon, pepper, pounds of butter, wheaten flour—a whole pie might come to £3 in cost, in addition to the chars, and the carriage to London was at the rate of 2d. a lb.

As regards charitable gifts, both Halls gave to Bedlamers, to men calling whose houses had been burnt down, and ship-wrecked people. Fleming gave 5s. for the poor of London for the late fire, 6d. " unto a Portugall," 5s. to the rebuilding of St. Paul's church in London ; in 1686 he gave £1 to the collection for the French Protestants in England.

There seems to be more mention of medicines for men and beasts by Sarah Fell than by Daniel Fleming. The latter

however, records the services for his eldest son, of a bone-setter, and for a Dr. Dykes who " laid plasters to Will," and another for medicine for him, and on another occasion he gives his brother Roger £10 " towards his charges in going unto London to get the King's touch for the evil." The medicines mentioned by Sarah Fell are all from herbs. I have mentioned them elsewhere.[1]

Smallpox, of which there were a number of cases in the Fell family (among the grandchildren), and also in the family of the Earl of Bedford, did not visit the Flemings.

In the Bedford family, the 2nd Countess died of it in the sixteenth century, the 3rd Countess had had her beauty ruined by it, the 5th Countess had been desperately ill with it in 1641, after her father-in-law had it. In 1659 the Earl had it, and there were a number of other cases too in that family. Smallpox was not only a disease of the poor.

An unusual glimpse into something very close to negro slavery is given us by the following entry by Daniel Fleming, 1685:—" Given to my Lady Thanet's page and to a Black, at Skipton Castle. 1s."

As regards books, though there are none among Sarah Fell's purchases (except a primer for young William Yeamans and *The Young Clerk's Tutor* for herself) we know that Margaret Fell had a library which was valued at £10 (=£100-120 now) in the inventory of her will. A number of books were bought by Daniel Fleming, chiefly historical and philosophical. The Earl of Bedford had about 400 volumes in his library, chiefly Puritan theological works, no drama or poetry, and very few literary works of any kind. It is interesting to compare these with the variety of books in George Fox's library. One contrast between these three accounts struck me very forcibly. We know how Margaret Fell had visitors constantly staying at her home ; sometimes, as William Caton said, " Friends from 5 or 6 Counties at the same time ; " and how Judge Fell found his hay being eaten at an alarming rate by Friends' horses. The Flemings must have entertained their friends, as there is frequent mention of their staying with their friends, and giving the servants little presents ; this hospitality must have been reciprocated. But when they had visitors who stayed a long time, sometimes money was paid in return, as the following

[1] I. Ross : *Margaret Fell.*

memorandum shows: "May 1688, my daughter Wilson came to Rydal May 12, 1688, and her husband, May 15, and they returned home with their two sons, May 17, 1688, who had been at Rydal ever since Dec. 28, 1687. Their father paid me five guineas for their table, and without pocketting of the same I gave the five guineas unto my daughter Wilson."

In the case of the Earl and Countess of Bedford, Gladys Scott Thomson in her book *Life in a Noble Household*, 1641-1700, writes:

"It is certain that, in spite of that expansion [after the Restoration], life at Woburn continued to be extremely quiet until towards the end of the sixties. No royal visit was paid to Woburn. There was remarkably little entertaining, probably because two of the daughters were married and for the greater part of the time all the sons were away."

But what is more surprising is the fact that when relatives came to stay at Woburn, they paid for their entertainment, as well as for that of their servants. For instance, in 1671, there is the entry:

"Received of Mr. Wm. Russell [a son], for the diet and entertainment of himself, his lady and retinue from Lady Day 1670 to the 9th of June then next following at £8 a week—£88 etc."

The cost of each servant was 10s. a week. When Lady Diana Verney, a married daughter, came with her little son and a company of servants, she paid £230. "These handsome payments," adds Miss Thomson, "reduced the cost to the Earl for his household to £1,038 for the year."

In another book on accounts, *A Seventeenth Century Country Gentleman*, by E. A. B. Barnard, it is stated that when Sir Francis Throckmorton was buried, relatives came to stay at his home, Chisfield Park, near Stevenage, and stayed there as paying guests. Their servants were included. Was this difference in custom due to difference between the North and the South, or was it due to the fact that the wealthy always brought many servants with them, and naturally enough they could not expect their friend-hosts to keep them without payment?

Now I have taken you along two of my byways, and hope that by the first of these I may have added something to your knowledge of a beautiful part of our country, whose people's

history and race gave them a love of freedom and independence which may well largely account for the fact that George Fox grew those spiritual roots essential for the success of his mission. I hope that along the second byway light may have been thrown on one of the most energetic persecutors of the early Friends, and that we can at the same time enter into his own mind to explain his action, and also learn from him that fear in the end is conquered by courage and by the consistent determination of those that suffer for conscience sake.

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LAURENCE DOPSON has presented to the Library his article, *The bicentenary of John Sims, M.D., F.R.S.* (1749-1831), reprinted from *The Practitioner*, Feb. 1950, vol. 164, pp. 156-170.

Son of a Canterbury Quaker doctor, John Sims followed in his father's footsteps at Edinburgh University, where his thesis was on the use of cold water *De usu aquae frigidae interno* (1774). In 1779 Sims came to London and soon became a leading obstetrical physician. He was called in by Sir Richard Croft just before the death of the Princess Charlotte when complications had arisen in her first confinement. Although Sims married outside the Society, he continued to move in Quaker circles and many Friends were among his patients. He had the Quaker interest in botany, and he was executor for and followed William Curtis in the editorship of his *Botanical Magazine* (1799). The editorial correspondence is preserved in the Library at Kew Gardens, and there are letters by Sims in the British Museum (Natural History) and in the Linnean Society's collections.

This well-documented review supplements the life by Joseph J. Green in an article in the *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, 1913, p. 265.

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CYCLONE COVEY writes on *Puritanism and Music in Colonial America* in the July 1951 issue of *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, vol. 8, no. 3, pp. 378-388. The author reconsiders the Calvinist colonial evidence on which Percy A. Scholes worked for his *The Puritans and Music in England and New England* (1934). The conclusions now reached are that Calvinism was lethal to music in proportion to its independence of other influences. Cyclone Covey considers Percy Scholes' attribution to Quakers of all the antipathy to music that is usually charged against the Puritans, and largely discounts it. He brings in as evidence the easy passage many worshippers made from the silent worship of Quakerism to the use of German and Swedish organs, the losses of Pennsylvanian Quaker Tories to Anglicanism, and the toleration in Pennsylvania of the music of other sects.

# The Catholic Boys at Ackworth

## A Footnote to Quaker and Catholic History in the Nineteenth Century

By REGINALD REYNOLDS

SOME years ago my friend Robert Mennell told me from memory a story which greatly interested me.

It was not until last year that I began, quite fortuitously, to trace the details of this story. Many have helped me since, including Robert Mennell himself, my cousin Eileen Morland, Philip Radley, the Librarians at Friends House and at Ackworth School and—above all—my friend Dr. Marek Wajsblum and my distant cousin, John Sturge Stephens.

For permission to quote from correspondence I am further indebted to Robert Mennell and to Gerald Hibbert.

* * * *

This story really begins at Warsaw in the year 1830. Among the young Polish "intellectuals" who participated in the revolt against the Russian Czar in that year of revolutions was Severin Boleslaw Dziewicki, a student of law and literature, a poet and already a political conspirator.

Dziewicki was then only twenty. His subsequent career is summarized in the *Polish Biographical Dictionary*.[1] When the Polish revolt failed Severin Dziewicki, who had served as a second lieutenant, went into exile. He went first to Hungary, and on his expulsion from that country took refuge in France. Here he came under the influence of socialist

[1] *Polski Slownik Biograficzny*. For the translation here, and of the P.S.B. article on Michael Henry Dziewicki I am indebted to Dr. Marek Wajsblum. With regard to the information from this source I shall give reasons later for doubting its reliability, especially with regard to the English episodes. One claim made on Dziewicki's tomb at Leominster churchyard is not mentioned in the *Polish Biographical Dictionary*—viz., that he was "one of the ten students who took the Arsenal from the Russians." If Severin Dziewicki was one of the small band of students who captured the Warsaw Arsenal he must have been among the few who were initiated in the plot by Peter Wysocki, the leader of the insurrection. The capture of the Arsenal and of the Belvedere Palace were the first acts of the revolutionaries.

thought, particularly the ideas of Saint-Simon. He participated in the *attentat* at Frankfurt-am-Main in 1833, fled to Switzerland after its failure, and there came into contact with Mazzini, himself an exile after the failure of the Sardinian revolt in the same year.

Severin Dziewicki was undoubtedly influenced by Mazzini and the " Young Europe " association (international, democratic and equalitarian) which Mazzini founded in 1834. In that year the young Pole (with many other Polish exiles) was again involved in an abortive conspiracy—the attempted revolt in Savoy. Switzerland was evidently willing to give shelter once more to this professional revolutionary ; but under pressure from Russia, Prussia and Austria the Swiss eventually agreed to expel all Polish refugees. In the nineteenth century, however, there was one country where all such unfortunates were sure of asylum ; and about the year 1835 Dziewicki arrived in London.

I have sketched very briefly the background of a story which is now transferred abruptly from revolutionary struggles to the well-ordered life of the Society of Friends. Because the transition is so abrupt it may be well to point out that Severin Dziewicki did not share the materialist opinions so often associated with later nineteenth century socialism. An ex-Catholic, he remained a Christian and (like Saint-Simon) he regarded his socialism as an expression of his Christianity. Though himself a leader of the first Polish socialist organization (The Polish People's Association) he was purged from this body in 1837 because he refused to follow the communist ideas of some of its leaders.[1]

From that time onwards the political activities of Severin Dziewicki appear to have been very limited, though his nationalism still found expression through the Literary Society of the Friends of Poland, an Anglo-Polish organization in London, organized by Dziewicki's former teacher, Krystyn Lach-Szyrma. The ex-revolutionary, who was an accomplished linguist, taught French and possibly other modern languages, also classics, in English schools. It was in the course of this peaceful activity that he met Jane Jones,

[1] Dr. Wajsblum comments that this " purge " was really a revolt of the rank and file—former peasants who had a unique policy of agrarian socialism quite distinct from the " industrial socialism " of England and the rest of Europe.

the daughter of Joseph and Mary Jones, of Hereford, respected members of the Society of Friends. Jane was then in her early twenties and sixteen years younger than Dziewicki.[1]

It would be interesting to know exactly in what circumstances this meeting took place ; but full information is lacking. Elsie Stephens of Falmouth, a relative of Jane Jones whose personal memories include the eighteen-sixties, has said that it was—she believed—at some private house in Somerset where both were teaching. Fortunately, however, some knowledge of the course of events has recently been provided by John Sturge Stephens, who discovered in September, 1951, that he had among his papers the Journal of his great-grand-mother, Mary Jones of Hereford. It appears from this journal that Mary Jones was already disturbed about her daughter Jane in October 1848. Jane was then at Bridgwater, Somerset ; and it was there that she had met the romantic Pole. Jane returned home, but was soon back at Bridgwater, evidently a cause of continued anxiety on her mother's part. The Jones parents decided later to remove Jane to some other part of the country ; and a teaching post was found for her at the Friends' School, Croydon. She went there at the beginning of 1849.[2]

Joseph Jones was (as we shall see) very unfortunate in many of his undertakings. Severin Dziewicki evidently followed Jane and on 12th December, 1849, Joseph went himself to Croydon, returning on the 15th with his daughter, who announced her determination to marry Dziewicki.[3]

[1] She was born in April 1826. S. B. Dziewicki, according to *P.S.B.*, was born in 1810.

[2] Croydon School Committee Minutes, 9.ii.1849. The *Journal of Mary Jones* shows that Jane was on holiday the following July and returned to Croydon on August 2nd—4 days before the end of the official vacation instituted the previous year. By August 10th the School Committee, for reasons unspecified, had already decided to terminate the engagement in December.

[3] While hunting through Croydon records for some comment on this part of the story, I was interested to find that, in 1839, minutes of the Girls' " Juvenile Society for the Improvement of the Mind " at Croydon School recorded their efforts to help a young woman, " Ann Dee Laspie," who had married out of the Society some four years previously and been disowned. The husband was " a Linguist and used to go to different schools to teach the children languages." Poverty had followed this marriage. So Croydon School must have been used to the deplorable fascination of the itinerant linguist. . . . This makes it more odd that,

Christmas Day found the ex-revolutionary a guest in the Quaker household at Hereford. There was no help for it. On 29th December, 1849, the two were married " at one of the very *unparticular* English churches," as Elsie Stephens put it,[1] neither of them being an Anglican. As a family memory this wedding evidently left a deep impression, for one of the Dziewicki children told of the gloomy occasion in later years[2] as her mother had described it. The impending disownment of Jane no doubt added to this sense of gloom ; and in due course disownment followed.

A minute of Herefordshire and Radnorshire Meeting for Discipline, held at Leominster the 29th of 1st month, 1850, recorded a report by Women Friends that " Jane Jones, a member of this Meeting has been married to a person not a member of our Religious Society, and in a manner contrary to the good order established among us, viz. by a person claiming to be a priest . . ." Meanwhile, however, " Jane B. de Dziewicki " (this " de " is used throughout the Friends' minutes) had moved with her husband to North Petherton, near Bridgwater. Friends of the local Monthly Meeting were accordingly asked to visit Jane and to report back.

The Friends of Somerset West Division met at Wellington on 12th March. Their report, signed by the M.M. Clerk (Thos. Clark, Junior) and Anna Thompson recorded that Jane had received Friends appointed to visit her " in an agreeable manner and expressed her attachment to Friends

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in 1857, only eight years after the *Affaire Dziewicki*, the Croydon Sub-Committee on Apprentices boldly engaged another emigré linguist (and a Pole at that) explicitly to teach French to the mistresses : "Przyiemski, a Teacher of languages employed at Grove House School, Tottenham, engaged to instruct the Teachers on the Girls' side in French." (Minutes, 9.i.1857). Przyiemski, or Przjemski, more correctly, was a Polish colonel who had had as adventurous a career as Dziewicki ; and like the latter he was of literary inclinations. He was one of a small group of Polish exiles then living in Tottenham, and Dr. Marek Wajsblum thinks Dziewicki may have been associated with this group. Przyiemski, unlike his compatriot, eventually joined Friends.

[1] Quoted in a letter to me by John S. Stephens. For the dates and order of events leading up to the marriage I have followed notes by J.S.S. from *Mary Jones's Journal* and Croydon School Committee Minutes.

[2] *Scenes from Polish Life* by *G.E.D.* (London 1937), G.E.D. was Gertrude Elizabeth Dziewicka (1861-1948), the youngest child of this marriage and the last to die. In earlier records she sometimes signed her name " Dziewicki," but in later years she used the correct feminine form, " Dziewicka."

and regard for the Society." She was, however, on her own admission " attending with her husband the established place of Worship," and she evidently expected disownment. This followed in a minute of 30th April, whereby Hereford and Radnorshire Meeting for Discipline gave its judgment that Jane " be disunited from Membership with our Religious Society." A copy was forwarded to Somerset West Division M.M. with the request that it should be delivered to the delinquent. The minute, however, was not unfriendly in tone and expressed " affectionate and Christian concern on her behalf, desiring that in her future walk she may be willing to submit to the restraints and guidance of the Spirit of Truth." There was even a hint that she might be guided back into the Society.

Five children were born to Severin and Jane: Michael Severin (later known as Michael Henry), Theodore, Roman, Mary and Gertrude. In 1850 Mary Jones had written in her Journal that " the marriage will not prove satisfactory " and that " there is no prospect of their being able to do for themselves." But in 1853 Jane was running a school (her mother mentions it in connection with a cholera epidemic) and Severin no doubt continued to teach languages. Some time before Severin's death, at the age of 52, the family evidently came to live at Tenbury. The date and circumstances of Severin's death are worth a special note because the *Polish Biographical Dictionary* needs to be corrected on certain important points.[1]

According to this authority Severin Dziewicki had " joined the Quakers," which is incorrect. It is also stated that he committed " suicide by drowning (in Hereford) ". Severin was drowned, not at Hereford, but at Leominster, in the River Lugg. At the inquest Dziewicki's brother-in-law Joseph Jones, Junior, testified that Severin was " doing well and had money owing to him ; we have known him the worse for liquor, but since he has been at Tenbury he has been steady, and I heard he was improving in his means. . . ." Evidently Severin had suffered a " delirious attack " and had been warned to limit himself to one glass, which on this occasion he had exceeded. A juryman volunteered the information that he had known Dziewicki for 15 years and

[1] Some further doubt of the reliability of *P.S.B.* is indicated by its location of Bridgwater in Sussex.

that " through his habits he lost a good deal of his connection in Hereford." In fact quite clearly, Severin missed the last train home, consoled himself somewhat and began to walk home, with disastrous results. The verdict, returned without hesitation, was accidental death.[1]

After this tragedy Jane's father, Joseph Jones—a well-to-do bookseller in Hereford—took charge of his grand-children. For the next and most interesting part of the story I am able to follow the account by Michael Henry Dziewicki himself.[2]

According to M. H. Dziewicki's account he and Theodore were sent first to Sibford School, where they remained for two years. Then comes a really astonishing development. " Suddenly, and to our great surprise, our grandfather took us both away and sent us, along with a third brother[3] to a school in the South of France, where he had heard we could get a classical education, good and cheap, and master the French language besides. But it was a Catholic School. . . ." How Grandfather Jones expected the boys to learn French and the classics without picking up some Catholic teaching has yet to be explained. The boys discussed religion and asked questions of their teachers—the priests of the Polignan Seminary. When Michael first went to this place he " had expected to become a martyr " for his Protestant beliefs. At the end of a year and five months the prospective Protestant martyr was a Catholic convert. So, it appears, were his two brothers.

" I wrote home very zealous letters " (so Michael Dziewicki told Gerald Hibbert) " which startled exceedingly both my grandparents and my mother, who came over to France to bring us back to England and Protestantism." Joseph Jones forbade his grandsons to have anything more to do with Catholics—which seems strange in view of the optimistic way in which he had formerly entrusted the boys to Catholic priests. Michael felt unable to obey this ruling and Joseph next announced his intention of sending Michael and Theodore to Ackworth School. Catholic friends, consulted by Michael, advised him to point out to his grandfather that he was a Catholic and intended to remain one.

[1] *Hereford Times*, Dec. 27th, 1862.

[2] M. H. Dziewicki in his first letter to Gerald Hibbert 9.v.22. (Ackworth School Archives).

[3] Roman Dziewicki the younger—there was an uncle of the same name.

The old man asked the boy if he was still open to conviction. Michael replied that he was, but he added : " I felt that no argument could ever prove Catholicism, such as I knew it, to be false." The boy was then about 16 years old.

Joseph Jones was nevertheless determined upon what proved to be yet another blunder. The boys were sent to Ackworth and at the same time forbidden to say a word about their real beliefs to anyone at their new school. If they disobeyed—so Michael Dziewicki told the story in later years—Joseph assured them he would do nothing for them but send them both to sea.

The brothers only remained at Ackworth for five months ; so the events which brought about their departure must have moved swiftly. Michael had been placed in the top class (the 10th) ; and boys of the 9th and 10th classes enjoyed the privilege of walking in the country with a companion on Saturdays. On one such walk Michael Dziewicki was accompanied by a boy named Thomas Hartas, who expressed (to the great surprise of Michael, whose secret had been faithfully kept) some leaning towards Catholicism.

> " I said nothing then, but took counsel with my brother, doubting whether it was not our duty to let him know all. He thought it was ; and so, the next week, we went out again for a walk together. Then I made my convictions known, and told him that if he wished to know about the Catholic Church, I could instruct him perfectly. And indeed, having then an excellent memory, I knew by heart the catechism of Toulouse Diocese (more than 70 pp. 8vo). He consented very willingly, and I set about my task during our weekly walks. I do not recollect whether, in order to hasten what was a slow business, I did not begin to give him the catechism in cipher : at any rate I intended to do so.
>
> " One day we were together on Hemsworth Heath, and I was speaking of Baptism. I still see the place and the dull grey day and a brook running at about twenty yards beneath us. Then he said : ' See, here is water : what hinders me to be baptised ? ' I had a great mind to take him at his word, for he had never been christened : and any one has the right to baptise in a case of necessity, if he has the intention to make a Christian. But I doubted whether this was allowed, since he was in no

danger ; so, returning to the school, I wrote to my Catholic friend in Hereford, telling him all, and asking what I ought to do . . ."[1]

Unknown to the Dziewicki brothers, however, their grandfather had asked the Superintendent of Ackworth (George Satterthwaite) to open any letters which the boys might address to persons outside their own family. The letter to the Catholic friend was intercepted, and George Satterthwaite immediately communicated its contents to Joseph Jones. Michael and Theodore, as a result of this, were suddenly sent home.

This was in 1867. I propose to return to the Ackworth episode later, because there are some curious queries occasioned by it. But first it may be desirable to sketch the subsequent career of Michael Dziewicki and the circumstances of his correspondence with Gerald Hibbert, fifty-five years later.

Michael's mother, though disowned by Friends, does not appear up to this time to have been favourable to Rome. Her husband had himself left the Catholic Church and both are on record as having attended the " established place of Worship "—i.e. the Anglican establishment—when at Bridgwater. Jane had also evidently co-operated with her father, Joseph Jones, in the sudden removal of the boys from Polignan. But soon after this second removal of the Dziewicki boys (from Ackworth) their mother apparently became a Roman Catholic herself—probably influenced by her sons. At an unspecified date Michael, evidently free from his grandfather's control, returned to Polignan.[2] He studied at first for the Jesuit priesthood, but decided eventually on an academic career.

I am not clear whether it was during his first or his second period at Polignan that Michael was baptised into the Church—presumably it was during the first, as the question of baptising Thomas Hartas could hardly have arisen if

[1] First letter to G. K. Hibbert, as above.

[2] His uncle Roman Dziewicki had remained an ardent Catholic ; and it is possible that he or other Catholic friends may have helped at this point. Gertrude, still a very small child, remained in the care of her grandparents, who sent her to Sidcot. The Sidcot School Register (Birmingham, 1919) says that Gertrude E. Dziewicka was at the school from 1874-76. She is described as the daughter of " Count Severin B. de Dziewicka "—a nice collection of three errors in one name.

Michael had not been already baptised himself. However, it is from his baptism that Michael Severin became Michael Henry.[1]

According to the *Polish Biographical Dictionary*, in an article written by Michael's friend and pupil, Prof. Roman Dybowski, the young convert was granted an "honour medal" at Polignan in 1871. He was then 20 years of age. But it was not until 1880 that he abandoned the idea of taking orders and became a teacher of English at the Seminary of Montauban. The following year he went to Galicia (Austrian Poland) where the oppression of the Poles was less severe than in those parts which were dominated by Germany and Russia. Under a measure of self-government Polish culture still flourished at Cracow ; and it was here that Michael eventually settled. He married and remained, until the nineteen-twenties, a lecturer at the University.

In addition to his work at the University Dziewicki both wrote and translated books. His original work included one published novel (another novel—autobiographical—was, most unfortunately, destroyed in the First World War). There were also a number of translations (mainly novels) from Polish into English. What is interesting in the story of such an ardent Catholic (as he remained) is that M. H. Dziewicki edited several works of John Wyclif for the Wyclif Society. Apparently this work was entrusted to Dziewicki at the suggestion of F. J. Furnivall. The connection between the two men is at present unknown to me : Dziewicki undoubtedly possessed the qualifications, but it is hard to sèe how Furnivall came to know of them or why the Wyclif Society should have agreed to the proposition.

I come now to the correspondence between M. H. Dziewicki and Robert Mennell in and after the year 1922. There had long existed a story that Wilfrid Meynell had been converted to the Catholic Faith while he was still a boy, at a Friends' School—i.e. Ackworth or Bootham (W.M. having been at both). Robert Mennell has kindly lent me his file of the Dziewicki correspondence, from which it appears that Robert Mennell wrote to M. H. Dziewicki in 1922 asking whether Dziewicki had known his uncle Wilfrid. There must also have been some suggestion that Michael Dziewicki

[1] It was as "Henry" that he was afterwards known. I have kept to the first name as it gives continuity and avoids confusion.

could have influenced Wilfrid Meynell during their schooldays.

Dziewicki's first reply to Robert Mennell states that he " had but little to do with Wilfrid *Meynell*,[1] but I talked of religion to Thomas Hartas . . . and subsequently Hartas (I believe) won over Wilfrid Meynell, but he himself afterwards became an Irvingite and I heard no more of him, though I made the acquaintance of Wilfrid Meynell of Burns & Oates many a year later."[2]

Robert Mennell had written on his way to Poland and had asked if he might visit M. H. Dziewicki at Cracow. Dziewicki went on to say that he would be welcome ; and that month Robert and Lilias Mennell met him. Robert Mennell recalls that the old man still felt distressed about the events at Ackworth ; and it was at Robert Mennell's suggestion that the letter to Gerald Hibbert was written. This letter (to Gerald Hibbert) gives us the approximate date of the Ackworth episode, as Dziewicki stated that it happened 55 years previously (*i.e.* in 1867) and that he was then 16. The chief cause of Dziewicki's unhappy feelings about this episode appears to have been the words used by George Satterthwaite when the brothers were sent home—that he thought that they were not so much to blame as the " detestable principles " on which they had been brought up.

" Of course," wrote Dziewicki (in his first letter to Gerald Hibbert) " he was speaking in good faith ; but the words have rankled in my heart all my life, and, circumstances having brought Ackworth School prominently before my mind, I feel the want of stating things clearly and precisely as an absolute necessity. . . . I consider that I owe an explanation, as a man who is nearing his grave, to take off any slur from my religion, and show that what took place was not the result of any ' detestable principles ', but the mere outcome of circumstances in which only I myself (together with perhaps to some extent my grandfather, too) was to blame."

[1] The name is underlined, evidently to distinguish it from that of Robert Mennell, who had doubtless mentioned his relationship. At that time M. H. Dziewicki may have been unaware that Wilfrid Meynell was originally a " Mennell." The spelling of the name was changed by Wilfrid, whose version was followed by his branch of the family.

[2] Post-card dated 1st May, 1922. Dziewicki-Mennell Correspondence.

The story then follows, including the passages already quoted. In the last paragraph of this letter there is a clear indication of the reconciliation already effected by Friends' relief work in Poland : " Of late I have had several times to do with Friends, coming to visit Poland, and been materially beholden to them more than once : and I cannot but say that I greatly admire those who sacrificed their lives, *martyrs in the* CAUSE OF CHARITY."[1]

There are some final comments, in this letter to Gerald Hibbert, relating to Joseph Jones. " He was," wrote Dziewicki, " an earnest religious man, firm in his belief in Christ, and in the opinion that the Catholic Church was a monster of iniquity, to whom it was not possible for a reasonable man to belong. This explains why and how he came to send us three boys into the midst of Catholics . .. we were far too intelligent, he thought, to be snared by any such wild superstitions. I remember a letter he wrote to me at Polignan, when I was still a Protestant, and had expressed my fear lest I should turn Catholic ; he was quite sure, he said, that my faith could be in no danger. He was right, though otherwise than he thought . . ."[2]

So close was the link with 1867 that Frederick Andrews, whom Gerald Hibbert had succeeded in 1920, was actually remembered by Dziewicki as one of the junior masters at Ackworth in his own school-days. But times had changed indeed ; and Gerald Hibbert's reply was described in glowing terms in a letter from Dziewicki to Lilias Mennell. Robert Mennell, wrote Dziewicki, would be interested to hear that he had written to Ackworth. " I got an answer today, such as he himself might have written it, from G. K. Hibbert, Superintendent." A quotation from Gerald Hibbert follows, with the comment : " The whole letter is charity itself."[3]

Two days later Michael Dziewicki wrote a second time to Gerald Hibbert. In place of the formal " Dear Sir " of his first letter, this one opens with " Dear Friend (for I surely may call you so, after such a letter)." From the standpoint

[1] This reference was to Gertrude M. Powicke and Richard Reynolds Ball, who died of typhus at Warsaw while serving with a unit of the Friends' War Victims Relief.

[2] First letter to Gerald Hibbert, as above.

[3] M. H. Dziewicki to Lilias Mennell, 23.v.1922.

of my present enquiries the most important passage in this letter is a further reference to Wilfrid Meynell :

> " I sent some passages of your letter to Robert Mennell, a Friend whom I had a week or so since the pleasure of showing the sights of Cracow. . . He had been told about the Ackworth affair, and even credited me with having influenced his uncles, Philip and Wilfrid Mennell, on behalf of Catholicism : I need not say this is a mistake ; but perhaps Thomas Hartas may have had something to do with it, after my departure."[1]

I will refrain from quoting further from Dziewicki's letters to Gerald Hibbert, interesting as they are. Judging by the P.S. to this second letter it may be assumed that Gerald Hibbert's reply to the first one was kept as a precious possession until Dziewicki's death, so it may still be in existence.

The Dziewicki-Mennell correspondence continued. (In view of the Sibford connection Robert Mennell sent photographs of Sibford School and put the old man in touch with the Sibford O.S.A.) There are clear indications that Michael Dziewicki, in his seventies, was living in great poverty. He was even obliged to send post-cards as a rule, because he could not afford to write letters. But his last communication[2] was a letter in 1927. It was the letter of a man without long to live and he died in the following year. Before his death he was visited by his cousin John Sturge Stephens, who travelled to Cracow on hearing that M. H. Dziewicki had had a stroke. This visit was deeply appreciated and J.S.S. had an opportunity of learning, at the funeral, the high esteem in which the old man was held for his goodness and Catholic piety.

I come now to the unanswered questions raised by this story. In 1922, following his correspondence with M. H. Dziewicki, Gerald Hibbert made a public reference to this

[1] M. H. Dziewicki to Gerald Hibbert, second letter (25.v.1922). It will be observed that this is less positive than the statement made previously to Robert Mennell. Viola Meynell, when consulted regarding this point, said that (while it was possible that her father's interest in Catholicism began at Ackworth) his " actual conversion " took place two years after he left Bootham. This was when Wilfrid Meynell, at the age of 18, met a certain Father Antoninus Williams.

[2] M. H. Dziewicki to Robert Mennell, 13.xi.1927.

correspondence. When these observations were published[1] G. K. Hibbert received a letter from John H. Randall, who had been at Ackworth with the Dziewicki brothers. John H. Randall's memory was evidently not perfect in recalling events of 55 years ago. In his first letter[2] he spoke of the Dziewicki boys as Theodore and Adolphus. But he recalled them as a clever pair who spoke French fluently, and remembered that George Linney, when teaching the 9th class, used to consult the younger Dziewicki on questions of pronunciation. John Randall also remembered the sudden expulsion of the Dziewickis.

In response to this letter Gerald Hibbert sent the correspondence from Cracow to John Randall, who wrote again, after reading Dziewicki's story.[3] He well remembered Thomas Hartas and he equally well recalled Wilfrid Mennell, who had been his contemporary (together with Theodore Dziewicki) in the 9th class. Many of the boys had been ardent young politicians, but were all Liberals "with the exception of Mennell." But John Randall said nothing to confirm or contradict the suggestion that Wilfrid received his first indoctrination as a Catholic (directly or indirectly) through the Dziewicki influence. The coincidence of dates is, however, far too suggestive in the circumstances to be ignored, for here were Wilfrid Mennell, Thomas Hartas and the Dziewickis at the same place in the same year: and the story of Wilfrid's conversion at school fits all too neatly into the facts as we know them.

In the list of boys and girls admitted into Ackworth School up to 1879 (published by the Centenary Committee), Wilfrid Mennell's dates are given as 1862-67,[4] Thomas Hartas was there from 1865-69, and John H. Randall from 1863-68. There was time enough—judging from the rapidity with which Michael Dziewicki got to work on Thomas Hartas, for the latter (presumably an enthusiastic young convert) to have influenced Wilfrid Mennell before the latter left in the same year. As Wilfrid was probably, among laymen, the most prominent Catholic convert in nineteenth century England, the point is not unimportant.

[1] Forty-First Annual Report, Ackworth O.S.A. (1922-23), pp. 63-64.
[2] John H. Randall to Gerald Hibbert, 29.xi.1922 (Ackworth School Archives).
[3] John H. Randall's second letter to Gerald Hibbert, 2.xii.1922.
[4] He was later at Bootham (1867-68).

But the printed list of Ackworth scholars here presents a peculiar difficulty : *there is absolutely no mention in it of the Dziewicki brothers.* A careful check on the Christian names during the period shows that they cannot have been entered under any other surname (e.g. Severin or Jones). The procedure regarding the printed list was admittedly peculiar and irregular. One non-member (Henrietta Taylor) was admitted from Sibford, according to the Ackworth Committee minutes of 1864 ; but her name does not appear on the printed list. On the other hand two non-members admitted in 1865, though registered as " not counted in the list " were both included in the published list of 1879. So far it might be assumed that the inclusion or non-inclusion of the Polish boys in the printed list, since they were both non-members, was a matter of chance. What is much more puzzling is the assurance of the present Ackworth authorities that the names of the Dziewicki brothers *do not occur in the minutes of any Committee Meetings.* It is perhaps explainable that their departure should have been " hushed up " to the point of keeping it out of the minutes. But how did their arrival at the school take place without any official record of it ?

By contrast it will be observed (see footnote on page 64) that Gertrude's presence at Sidcot was duly recorded. Alone of the family she was, for a time, registered as a Friend ; but her resignation from the Society was recorded by Hereford and Radnor M.M. in 1890 (7th of 10th month). The rest of the Dziewickis left England and appear to have had little more to do with Friends apart from the connection established with M. H. Dziewicki in the 'twenties, with such happy results.

The principal questions which remain to be answered are :

1. What truth, if any, is there in the suggestion that Wilfrid Meynell was influenced by Thomas Hartas in the matter of his conversion, and therefore (indirectly) by M. H. Dziewicki ?
2. What is the reason for the absence of any reference to the Dziewicki brothers in the official records of Ackworth ?

It would be interesting to know also, in order to complete this record, the nature of M. H. Dziewicki's connection with F. J. Furnivall and the Wyclif Society. To Furnivall the

foundation of this Society was an act in which patriotic and protestant pride were mingled.[1] It was a unique tribute to the ability and integrity of one who was a Pole and a Catholic that Dziewicki should have been entrusted *in the nineteenth century* with so much of the editing. Furnivall's confidence was fully justified and M. H. Dziewicki's introductions in the series of Wyclif tractates are models of objectivity in discussing highly controversial matters of faith and dogma. But the number of uncut pages in the British Museum copies tell their own story—Protestant England still shows far less interest than this Polish Catholic evidently felt in the greatest English Reformer.[2]

[1] See John Munro's quotation from Furnivall on this point in *Frederick James Furnivall—A Record* (London 1911), p. LXXVI.

[2] M.H.D.'S own apologia for his work on the Wyclif tractates will be found, as Russell Mortimer has pointed out, in the introduction to *De ente* (London, 1909). For some reason a priest whom Dziewicki consulted considered that it was right for a Catholic to edit Wyclif so long as he did not translate the works into English !

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# Accounts for the year 1950 and *Journal* Vol. xlii

| RECEIPTS | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Balance brought forward .. .. | 110 | 12 | 10 |
| Subscriptions .. | 190 | 14 | 6 |
| Anonymous Donation | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| Sales .. .. | 34 | 7 | 4 |
| | £435 | 14 | 8 |

| PAYMENTS | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Journal of Friends' Historical Society*, Vol. xlii Parts I & II .. .. .. | 134 | 16 | 9 |
| Stationery .. .. | 13 | 7 | 9 |
| Expenses including postage .. .. | 10 | 17 | 6 |
| Balance carried forward to 1951 .. | 276 | 12 | 8 |
| | £435 | 14 | 8 |

Examined with the Books of the Society, and found correct.

1.X.1951. BASIL G. BURTON.

# Bristol Quakers and The Oaths

A LITTLE known aspect of the sufferings of Friends comes to light from a study of the Common Council Proceedings in the Bristol City Archives.

Both the charters granted to the city during Charles II's reign required freemen on taking up their burgess-right to take the oath of a burgess. Some Friends did take the oath, but others set up in contempt and were dealt with as the following extract shows :

"Whereas Peter Young[1] Soapeboyler liveing on the Bridge, James Fry[2] Grocer and Samuell Hollister[3] Grocer liveing in Winestreete in this Citty have of late opened their Shopps & Exposed their goods and Weares to Sale, not being a Freeman of the Citty and being often required to take the oaths of alleigeance and the oath of a Freeman, hath hitherto severally refused" had their shops shut up according to custom, but "in Contempt have againe frequently Opend them," and the parties being sent for by the Council, and "appeareing & giveing noe Sattisfactory answere for contempte and Disorder, nor promiseing Obedience & Conformity for time to come, which practise of theirs—being wholly distructive of the privillieges of the Citty and Free Burgesses thereof," order was given that their shops be "Shutt and Kept downe and Such goods as they Sell, be Seized upon, as Foreigne bought and Sold accordeing to Custome untill they Shall Severally take their said oathes."[4]

Nearly 18 months later Samuel Hollister's name appears in the burgess roll as "admitted into ye liberties of this Citty for yt he was ye apprentice of Dennis Hollester & hath taken ye Oath of allegeance & paid 4/6," but whether the others conformed does not appear.

Some years before, in 1669, the matter had been before the Men's Meeting and it asked :

[1] Peter Young, soapmaker, of Bristol Bridge and later of St. Thomas and St. Nicholas parishes, d. 1713.

[2] James Fry, grocer, of Wine Street and later of Trinity, St. Mary-le-Port, and St. Peter's parishes, d. 1692.

[3] Samuel Hollister, grocer, of Wine Street. Nephew of Dennis Hollister, M.P. for Somerset in 1653. Perhaps the same Samuel Hollister who died at Brislington, 1696.

[4] *Common Council Proceedings*, VI 275, 15 Dec. 1674.

"That care be taken of such young men that have served out their aprenticeshipp and cannot have their freedom for that they cannot for Conscience sake take an Oath : that their Conditions bee lookt into, and they be Incoradged as opertunity shall present."[1]

Again five years later Friends at the meeting queried why young men out of apprenticeship had not set up.[2] But it was not until 1696, after the passage of the Affirmation Act, when national affairs bore a different aspect to Charles II's reign, that Bristol Friends succeeded in easing the matter. Friends petitioned the Common Council (in the words of the record) :[3]

"Alledging they had right to the Freedom of this City and to be made Burgesses thereof, But not being Free to take the oath which was by custome required of all persons at the time of their Admission into that priviledge, They were deprived of the Benefitts which they had right to by Service, Birth or otherwise."

Friends

"prayed, That seeing the Legislative Power had by a Law Indulged Quakers by Enacting that a Solemn Declaracon in some cases should be Equivalent to an Oath, That this House would in like manner Exert their power And order that a certain solemn Declaracon annexed . . . should stand and be in lieuw of the oath taken by others in that case."

The Common Council referred the Quakers declaration to a committee for consideration,[4] and after hearing the report the Council ordered that

"all Quakers having right may be admitted by the Chamberlain according to that form So as their right of Freedom be examined into by the Maior for the time being & two Aldermen who are to Certifie the Persons having mad & subscribed the severall declaracons, and also the Profession of Christian faith Directed by the Act exempting Protestant Dissenters from the Penalties of Certein Laws To be made & subscribed by Dissenters who scruple the taking any oath."

The form of declaration which Friends were to make in the presence of the Chamberlain read :

"I A.B. in the presence of Almighty God the witnes of the Truth of what I say Doe promise to be good & true unto King William the Third and to his heires & Successors And to the Leiftenant the Mayor of this Citty of Bristoll and to the Ministers of the same in all causes reasonable to be Obediant and Assistant", then follow the more

[1] Bristol Two-weeks' meeting minutes. Vol. 1, p. 11a, 29 Sept. 1669.
[2] *Ibid.* 46-46a.
[3] Bristol city archives, 04264(8), *f.* 155b.
[4] 04264(8), *f.* 144, 28 Oct. 1696.

particular promises to keep the peace, not to cover foreign goods and so forth. " Which Solemn Declaracon," the record states, " is taken to be sufficient security for their being Faithfull to what they do or shall Stipulate and promise therein."[1]

When these matters were before the Council, Friends at their business meetings also had the procedure up for consideration to watch progress. The Monthly Meeting of Ministers and Elders feared that the city officers might be imposed upon by persons, not Friends, but having a grudge against the government, claiming this legal privilege to avoid taking the oath of loyalty to the House of Orange. The meeting

" thot meet yt our young Men, yt goe the Majestrates, to be made free Men of the Citty, may have some certificate from some known freinde, or freinds . . . how far they May own sayd person, or desire he may be admitted to the benifitt of the Law as such."[2]

This proposal does not appear to have been adopted,[3] but the Men's Meeting was active in forwarding the procedure approved by the city council. One minute directs certain weighty Friends

" to provide what Gratuety they Intend to the officers servicable to them in the procuring the ease to the young men friends that are to be made burgises & freemen of the City & also to prepare the Chamberlane not to give obstruction or delay therein."[4]

Henceforth, with procedure fixed, matters doubtless went smoothly and no more records are found in the Council Proceedings. Only when the freedom could not be claimed as of right did people petition for the privilege, and it is to this cause that the following record is due :

" The Peticon of Gregory Powell[5] Silkweaver, a known Quaker, for Freedom of this City having been Referred to a Committee, who have now Reported that it is their Opinion that he may be thereto admitted on payment of Fifty shillings for a Fine, This House doth concurr with the said Committee. . . And Mr. Chamberlain is hereby Ordered upon receipt of that Fine to administer to him the

[1] 04264(8), *f.* 156.
[2] Friars M. H. Records, vol. 96, p. 54, 24 Nov. 1697.
[3] It is interesting to note that a similar proposal had been dropped from the Lords Affirmation Bill in 1693.
[4] Bristol Two-weeks' meeting minutes. Vol. 2, p. 144, 22 Nov. 1697.
[5] Gregory Powell, silkweaver, of St. Thomas and later of Redcliff parish, d. 1722. Named in James II's mandate to receive the freedom of the city of Bristol. Active worker in Friends' Workhouse.

said Gregory Powell the Declaracon appointed to be taken by Quakers instead of the oath of a Burgess."[1]

Previous record of an attempt to obtain the freedom of the city without the oath comes from James II's reign, and is parallelled by the Norwich attempt.[2] A royal mandate required the mayor, aldermen and corporation of Bristol to make sixty-five[3] named persons freemen " without administring unto them any Oath or Oaths whatsoever, with which wee are graciously pleased to dispence in that beehalfe."[4] The mandate is dated April 29, 1688. It was not read in the Common Council until October 11, and consideration was then deferred. Nothing more is heard of the proposal. In the meantime, however, the burgess roll had the names of a few[5] of the persons mentioned entered upon it, some with no mention of them having taken the oath.

Not many months before, the West had been aflame with the Monmouth rebellion, and, although Bristol escaped both the fighting and the difficulties of Somerset Friends with backsliders in their midst, the costs of quartering and entertaining royal troops and emergency defences bore heavily on the city purse. In turning round for means to defray this additional expenditure and finding that a rate could not legally be levied, the town clerk is credited with the idea of electing Friends, and others who could not take an oath, to the Council in order to fine them for refusing to take the oaths for this service to the city. Naturally this was confined to Friends who were freemen, probably mostly those who had been freemen before joining Friends.

The first to be elected was Thomas Speed. In the Common Council Minutes for September 8, 1685 appears the following entry :[6]

" And there being a Member wanting in the Common Councell Mr. Thomas Speed being a Free Burgess of this Citty this house hath elected him. And doth forthwith require him to appeare before the Mayor and Aldermen and to take the Oath of a Common Councell

[1] 04264(8), *ff.* 187-188, 13 Dec. 1699.

[2] At Norwich, Friends petitioned the king that they might become freemen, and instructions were issued accordingly, but the corporation resisted, with apparent success.

[3] The great majority, possibly all, Friends.

[4] 04264(8), *f.* 21.

[5] 11 June 1688 : Thomas Goldney ; 22 June : Joseph Vigor ; 18 Aug. : Simon Clement ; 22 Sep. : Joseph Kippon ; 24 Sep. : William Rowch.

[6] 04264(7), *f.* 221.

man In Obedience to the Oath he took when he was admitted a Burgess To which The house doth expect his Speedy answer That his Maiestys service may not be neglected in this City." A week later the Council " being this day moved on behalf of Mr. Thomas Speed Merchant lately elected a Member of the Common Councell who desired That he might be discharged therefrom," decided that on payment of £200 to the Chamberlain, " He shalbe dismissed from being a Member of the said Common Councell And shall not at any time hereafter Without his owne free consent be called upon or elected to beare any of the offices of Maior Alderman Sheriff or Member of the Common Councell."

Payment was promised by Michaelmas and Speed was discharged.

Other prominent Friends were elected in the following months and among them Thomas Goldney (fined £200), Thomas Jordan[1] (fined £100), James Freeman,[2] Thomas Harris,[3] Charles Jones junior[4] (fined £50 each), and John Love.[5] The latter declared the " great losses he has lately susteyn'd " and was fined £100. Thomas Callowhill was nominated at the same council meeting as Thomas Speed, but was not finally elected until November 6, 1686.[6] His fine was " carried at Two Hundred Poundes, accordingly he gave his Bond to pay the Chamberlain ye said £200 at Paulstide[7] next." It might appear that Callowhill had put the matter to legal issue, for in March 1687 the sum was still outstanding and the Council, being

" mou'd that Mr. Callowhills fine of £200 be mittigated for which he has given Bond . . . order'd that upon his payment of the £150 within these three dayes, and all the charges that has bene layd out in suit ; this his Bond be deliuer'd up ; and he discharg'd from a member of the Common Councell."[8]

Among those nominated for office, but not in fact elected,

[1] Thomas Jordan, linendraper, d. 1701.

[2] James Freeman, apothecary, of Wine Street, later of Broad Street, St. John's parish. Guardian for Trinity ward in the Bristol Corporation of the Poor, 1696.

[3] Thomas Harris, apothecary, of Mary-le-Port Street, later of St. Philip's parish, d. 1698. Thomas Harris married, 1683, Phoebe, daughter of Dennis Hollister.

[4] Charles Jones, jr., merchant, of the Castle, d. 1701. He affirmed that he was not worth £2000. There is a note in *Short Journal*.

[5] John Love, grocer, of St. Peter's parish, later of St. James's parish, d. 1696. Treasurer for Bristol Friends, 1679-86.

[6] 04264(7), *f.* 226.

[7] The winter fair in Bristol, beginning on St. Paul's day, Jan. 25.

[8] 04264(7), *f.* 232.

were Nathaniel Day,[1] Erasmus Dole,[2] Charles Harford,[3] Charles Jones senior and William Rogers. The matter appears to have been brought to the notice of the government before Barbara Blagdon's letter to the king (dated Bristol September 11 [1686])[4], with unknown success, but little was done in the matter after that summer.

These little known incidents do not appear in Besse's *Sufferings* since they were not concerned with Friends' meeting together; but they provide good illustration of the temper of city authorities and the difficult paths into which Friends' testimony against oaths could lead them before the era of toleration.

RUSSELL S. MORTIMER

[1] Nathaniel Day, hosier, of Bristol Bridge, later of Castle Precincts, d. 1691.

[2] Erasmus Dole, pewterer, of St. Thomas's parish, later of Temple Street, and Clifton, d. 1717. Freeman of the city, 1660.

[3] Charles Harford, soapmaker and merchant, of St. Peter's parish, later of St. Philip's parish. b. 1631, d. 1709. Member of the Bristol Corporation of the Poor, and Treasurer for one year. Member of the Society for the Reformation of Manners, 1700.

[4] Friends House. Portfolio I, 44.

# Additions to the Library

## A FRANCIS BUGG TRACT

THE Library has recently purchased a single sheet folio item by Francis Bugg. It is headed "An Abstract of the Quakers present Principles, Humbly laid before the Honourable, the House of Commons, Assembled in Parliament." London, Printed for the Author, and Sold (with others of his Books) at the Kings-head, Crown, and Green-dragon, in St. Paul's Church-Yard. 1709. (Joseph Smith: *Catalogue of Friends' Books*. I, 344.)

The principles are listed under ten heads, followed by three proofs. The author says he believes some Quakers, if "convinced of the errors of their Teachers would forsake them. And I knowing of no better Method, than an Examination by the Government, have, once more (as in Duty bound) endeavoured to unfold their Principles by this short Abstract, Submitting the Premises to Your Pious Consideration. Who am Your most Humble and most Obedient Servant, Francis Bugg."

## PAPERS CONCERNING ELIZABETH FRY

The library has also received a small collection of letters and papers concerning Elizabeth Fry and work among Newgate prisoners, the gift of Miss Margaret E. J. Taylor, of Englefield Green, Surrey, namely :

1. A statement about conditions for women in Newgate and their improvement. c.1817. 3 pp. Begins " Female convicts in Newgate. (From a correspondent.) The public attention having been lately called to an attempt now making by an association of persons to improve the condition of the female prisoners in Newgate . . ."

2. Minutes of the Committee of Alderman (London) concerning Elizabeth Fry's work in the Gaols, 3rd and 10th May 1817. 2 pp. Printed in the *Memoir of the Life of Elizabeth Fry* (1847), I. 280-1.

3. Maria Pothiary to Elizabeth Fry. Letter dated Blackheath, 16th October 1817. Suggestions for teaching women prisoners. 3 pp.

4. Mary Ann James to Mrs. Coventry. Letter dated Newgate Cell Sunday Evening. 2 pp. (Mary Ann James was executed for forgery, 17.ii.1818. (*Memoir*, I. 309) presumably wife of the writer of no 5. Miss Taylor, the donor, thinks Elizabeth (*née* Barton) wife of Michael Millis Coventry (m. 1798, left a widow 1821, d. 1867 aged nearly 96) is the Mrs. Coventry addressed.

5. Joseph James to Mrs. Coventry, 109 Upper Thames Street, London. Letter dated Norton, 17th Feby, 1818. Cannot come to see his wife. 2 pp.

6. Letter from Jane Williams ; dated " New South Wales, 4 mo 10th 1820," and beginning " R Sir." Account of the voyage in the *Lord Wellington*, arrival in Sydney Cove January 20, of conditions in the country, and the importance of good conduct on the voyage in helping the transportee to a new start in life. 4 pp.

7. John and Sarah Foster to Mrs. Coventry, No. 109 Thames Street, London. Letter dated Leiheigh [U.S.A.], Sept. 17th 1820. Account of their experiences by two emigrants. 2 pp.

8. British Ladies' Society for promoting the Reformation of Female Prisoners. Minute on the death of Mrs. Fry. November 3rd, 1845. 4 pp. printed. (Mentioned, and part printed *Memoir*, II. 503-4 ; printed in Timpson : *Memoirs of Mrs. Elizabeth Fry*, 2nd ed. 1854, 306-313). With lithograph facsimile, and MS. copy of the letter dated Upton Lane, 1.xi.1844, printed in the body of the Minute. (Letter printed in *Memoir*, II. 492.)

9. Elizabeth Fry's letter, dated Ramsgate, 10.x.1845. 2 pp. MS. copy. (Printed in *Memoir*, II. 514-5).

10. Letter in the Bath Chronicle. Dated Nov. 4, 1845, and signed AN EYE-WITNESS OF, AND A SHARER IN, MRS. FRY'S EARLY LABOURS. 1 p. Reprint. Printed again in Timpson, *op. cit.* 299-305.

11. British Ladies' Society for promoting the Reformation of Female Prisoners. Printed appeal for funds. 1856? 2 pp.

# Microfilms in the Library

This, the first list of microfilms in the library of the Society of Friends, at Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1, details the films (35 mm.) in the library in June, 1951. Supplementary lists will be published from time to time. Films may be lent for use in approved libraries. Films are negative unless otherwise stated.

1. Portfolio no. 41.
2. Portfolio no. 26.
3. Portfolio no. 17.
4. Swarthmore MSS. vol. 1, no. 1.
5. Swarthmore MSS. vol. 1, no. 2.
6. Swarthmore MSS. vol. 2.
7. Swarthmore MSS. vol. 3.
8. Swarthmore MSS. vol. 4.
9. Swarthmore MSS. vol. 7.
10. A. R. Barclay MSS. vol. 1.
11. A. R. Barclay MSS. vol. 2.
12. Portfolios no. 9 and 10.
13. London Yearly Meeting minutes, 1668-1708.
14. London Yearly Meeting minutes, 1709-1726.
15. Meeting for Sufferings minutes, 1675-1686/7.
16. Meeting for Sufferings minutes, 1687-1696.
17. Meeting for Sufferings minutes, 1696-1702.
18. Meeting for Sufferings minutes, 1702-1715.
19. Meeting for Sufferings minutes, 1715-1725 *also* Morning Meeting minutes, 1673-1691.
20. Morning Meeting minutes, 1692-1725.
21. Letters to and from Philadelphia vols. 1 and 2.
22. Radnor M.M. (Penna) : marriages, births, burials, removals, 1684-1729, [positive].
23. Spence MSS. vol. 1, vol. 2, 1-386.
24. Spence MSS. vol. 2, 387-end, vol. 3.
25. Lewis Richardson : *Arms and insecurity*, 1949 [positive].
26. Lewis Richardson : *Statistics of deadly quarrels* [positive].
27. John Tapper MSS.
28. Ecroyd (or Earnshaw) MSS.
29. Gerard Winstanley tracts.
30. Abraham MSS. ; Bristol MSS. V.

31. Illustrations in the Great Bible (1541) belonging to George Fox.
32. ditto [positive].
33. Mary N. Baker's Thomas Wilkinson MSS.
34. William Allen : *Colonies at home.*
35. Portfolio no. 36.
36. London Yearly Meeting minutes, 1727-1740.
37. London Yearly Meeting minutes, 1741-1754.
38. London Yearly Meeting minutes, 1755-1764.
39. London Yearly Meeting minutes, 1765-1773.
40. London Yearly Meeting minutes, 1774-1781.
41. London Yearly Meeting minutes, 1782-1789.
42. London Yearly Meeting minutes, 1789-1800.
43. London Yearly Meeting minutes, 1801-1817.
44. London Yearly Meeting minutes, 1818-1830.
45. London Yearly Meeting minutes, 1831-1846.
46. London Yearly Meeting minutes, 1847-1860.
47. Meeting for Sufferings minutes, 1726-1739.
48. Meeting for Sufferings minutes, 1739-1754.
49. Meeting for Sufferings minutes, 1754-1766.
50. Meeting for Sufferings minutes, 1766-1777.
51. Meeting for Sufferings minutes, 1777-1783.
52. Meeting for Sufferings minutes, 1783-1791.
53. Meeting for Sufferings minutes, 1791-1803.
54. Meeting for Sufferings minutes, 1803-1823.
55. Meeting for Sufferings minutes, 1823-1839.
56. Meeting for Sufferings minutes, 1840-1857.
57. Meeting for Sufferings minutes, 1857-1860.
58. Crisp collection of letters and papers 1655-1691. (Colchester MSS.)
59. John Matern MSS.

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## Research in Progress

Harold E. Walker, of 503 W. Walnut Street, El Sequndo, California, is preparing a thesis to be submitted in the University of Edinburgh for the degree of Ph.D. in 1952. The subject : "The conception of ministry in the Quaker movement and a survey of its development."

# Recent Publications

*The Valiant Sixty.* By Ernest E. Taylor. London, Bannisdale Press, 1951. Pp. 120. 8s. 6d.

A revised reprint of the story (first published 1947, reviewed *Journal*, xxxix, 72-73) of the " First Publishers of Truth " who first spread Quakerism through the north-west of England. A map and twelve illustrations have been added. Four of the latter are local and topographical in interest. Eight etchings by Robert Spence, R.E., of scenes in the life of George Fox, not closely connected with the text, are carefully reproduced, but fail to do justice to the high lights of the originals.

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THREE recent *Pendle Hill Pamphlets* have come to hand (58—*Ten Questions on Prayer*, by Gerald Heard ; 59—*Quaker Strongholds*, by Caroline Stephen ; 60—*Promise of Deliverance* by Dan Wilson. 35 cents each. Pendle Hill, Wallingford, Pa. Obtainable through Friends Book Centre).

Caroline Stephen's *Quaker Strongholds* has been out of print for a good many years, and many Friends of today have probably never read it. The book is, however, to be found on many library shelves. The approach to literature by way of digests is not always to be recommended, but if this competent little selection of passages from the larger work, illustrating Quaker belief and practice, encourages Friends to read a book whose message is still valid today, it will have served a useful purpose.

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*John Allen, the man.* By Edwin Spurway, J.P. Cornish Times, 1951. Pp. 8.

John Allen (1790-1859) was a woolstapler of Liskeard. He wrote the history of his native town (1856, 564 pp.) and was active in its religious, social and economic life. His various benefactions are briefly indicated in this pamphlet. Besides his history, he wrote a number of works on religious and economic questions, which are described in Joseph Smith's *Catalogue of Friends' Books*, I 16, 17.

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FREDERICK B. TOLLES has presented to the Library a reprint of his *The Transatlantic Quaker Community in the Seventeenth Century*, which appeared in the *Huntington Library Quarterly*, vol. 14, no. 3, May, 1951, pp. 239-258. F. B. Tolles prefaces his study of Quakerism in the countries of the North Atlantic world where it became established in the seventeenth century with a view of the original world-wide aim of " conquest " for the Truth. The writer likens the first evangelizing movements to a military campaign, and

it is rather startling to have the terms Supreme Commander, beach-heads, task force and the like applied to the Quaker missions to the continents of Europe and North America. F. B. Tolles likens the activity of the travelling ministers to the bloodstream of a body, and then goes on to describe the bony structure—meetings for business, linked by correspondence all over the world. Finally, the author instances the Perrot and Keith controversies to show how intimately the Quaker movement on both sides of the Atlantic was bound together.

Enough has been said to show that this article is not concerned with the American continent alone, and we look forward to F. B. Tolles's presidential address to this Society at Lancaster next summer, when we hope to learn more of the international relations of Quakerism before it accepted a role as an Anglo-Saxon religious manifestation.

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THE *Bulletin of Friends Historical Association*, Spring 1951, vol. 40, no. 1, includes *Leskov on Quakers in Russia*, by William Edgerton. This is a translation of an article written by Leskov in 1892, and printed in his collected works, but never before translated. The article "On Quakeresses" concerns 22 Russian women influenced by a mystical heresy who were exiled to Tomsk in Siberia in 1744. The material was also treated by V. V. Gur'ev (1881; translated as *Russian maidens who suffered as Quakers*, London, 1919). No evidence of English Quaker influence at so early a date as 1744 has yet come to light to satisfy Professor Edgerton that these women were really Quakers.

The issue also includes a study from various sources by Professor Henry J. Cadbury surveying the earliest records of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (1681-85); a useful summary Guide to the location of American Quaker meeting records, and other material.

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THE January, 1950, number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (Vol. 74, No. 1), is the 125th anniversary issue. It includes a short article by Henry J. Cadbury entitled "Another Child to William and Gulielma Penn" in which he argues (convincingly despite the lack of register evidence) the birth of a daughter to Gulielma Penn at Worminghurst in March, 1683, while her husband was in Pennsylvania. Henry J. Cadbury suggests that the burial of this child may have been the basis for the tradition of a Penn burial at the Blue Idol.

The October 1950 number (Vol. 74, No. 4) includes an article on the turbulent short term of office which the old Cromwellian soldier John Blackwell served as governor of Pennsylvania in 1689. In the course of this study Deputy-Governor Thomas Lloyd appears through Blackwell's eyes as a petty-minded quarrelsome politician. We may guess that a more experienced statesman might have made a better governor of the young province, but it is clear that, in politics, Philadelphia hardly lived up to its name.

HENRY J. CADBURY has performed a useful service in collecting early references to Pennsylvania in the London press from eight current English newspapers of the years 1681-3. These extracts are printed in the April, 1951, issue of *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (vol. 75, No. 2, pp. 147-58), and the author has also presented an offprint to the Library. Henry J. Cadbury makes particular mention of the report that William Penn had died a Catholic in Pennsylvania. This report was refuted by Philip Ford in the *London Gazette* of 15th January, 1683. The story was calculated to injure the infant colony's prospects and was doing damage to Quakerism in this country as well. The day before Ford's denial appeared, the Bristol jailer had tried to terrify his Quaker prisoners by telling them (as they reported) "That our Captain William Penn was dead, and that he received Orders from Rome, and dyed a Roman-Catholique in Pennsilvania."[1]

John E. Pomfret, president of William and Mary College, in the same issue, has a penetrating study of the proprietors of the province of West New Jersey, 1674-1702. This is based largely on a study of Thomas Budd's *True and Perfect Account of the Disposal of one Hundred Shares or Proprietaries of the Province of West New Jersey by Edw. Bylling* (July, 1685, London), of which no perfect copy is known to survive. The only copy known to the author is in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The author concludes that practically all the original proprietors were Quakers.

This number includes W. W. Comfort's review of Arthur Raistrick's *Quakers in Science and Industry*, published in New York by the Philosophical Library at $6.00.

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THE *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, for July 1951, vol. 75, no. 3, opens with an account of Thomas Parke's student life in England and Scotland, 1771-1773. It is based on the Doctor's Journal and written by Whitfield J. Bell, jr., professor of history at Dickinson College. The second article in this issue is *George Logan, Agrarian Democrat : a survey of his writings*, by F. B. Tolles, who is engaged upon a biography of Logan. Here we have a brief conspectus of the author's medical essays, pamphlets on improving agriculture, and economic and political tracts. George Logan, M.D., 1753-1821, grandson of James Logan, William Penn's secretary, is perhaps the only strict Quaker to be a United States senator.

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THE July 1951 issue of *The Baptist Quarterly* (vol. 14, no. 3, pp. 117-124), includes the first portion of a study by Kenneth E. Hyde on *The Union Church at Launceston, Cornwall*. George Fox's imprisonment in Doomsdale is mentioned. During the latter half of the seventeenth century the Presbyterians had a congregation in Launceston, and the author has found no other evidence than George Fox's statement (Cambridge *Journal*, I. 228) that Col. Robert Bennett, owner of the jail, was a Baptist.

[1] *A Narrative of the Cruelties & Abuses Acted by Isaac Dennis, Keeper . . . In the Prison of Newgate, In the City of Bristol,* [1684?], p. 10.

# Notes and Queries

## Whittier's Quaker and the Birds

Can anyone identify the Friend mentioned by John Greenleaf Whittier in the following passage from his short paper on "Our Dumb Relations" [1886] (vol. 7, p. 243 of the "Riverside Edition" of *The Writings of John G. Whittier*, 7 vols. Macmillan, 1889)?

"How pleasant to think of the English Quaker, visited, wherever he went, by flocks of birds, who with cries of joy alighted on his broad-rimmed hat and his drab coat-sleeves." C. Marshall Taylor, 140 Cedar Street, New York 6, N.Y.

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## Meeting House Architecture

In Professor Nikolaus Pevsner's new Penguin Books series on *The buildings of England*, the first two numbers of which have appeared (dealing with the counties of Cornwall and Nottingham), Mansfield, Redruth, St. Austell, Truro and Come-to-Good meeting-houses are mentioned. There is an illustration of the exterior of Come-to-Good (1703), surely one of the most engaging of our places of worship, in name as well as in appearance.

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## Edward East the Clockmaker Not a Friend

G. C. Williamson, in his book *Behind my Library Door*, stated that Edward East, a famous seventeenth century clockmaker, was a Friend. Williamson based his claim on the supposed identity of the clockmaker with a Friend of the same name, but unknown occupation, buried in London in 1701, aged 84. Williamson's statement has been quoted in two subsequent works, *Quakerism and Industry before* 1800, by Isabel Grubb, and *Quakers in Science and Industry*, by Arthur Raistrick.

Mr. A. H. Lloyd in an article on the life and work of Edward East, in the *Horological Journal*, May and June 1950, proves the error of the supposition. He has found at Somerset House that the clockmaker's will was proved in Feb. 1696/7, and the Friend of this name was much too young to have held the office in the Clockmaker's Company which Edward East held in 1631. Mr. Lloyd has kindly placed in the Library at Friends House a copy of his article.

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## Frandley Meeting House

*A Country Parish: Great Budworth in the County of Chester*; by A. W. Boyd (Collins, 1951. 21s. *The New Naturalist* 9), includes a colour photograph of the Friends' Meeting House at Frandley, a hamlet well over a mile away from the main village and the parish church. Friends gained an entry here in the early years, and retained their foothold in face of vigorous persecution by the local gentry. In the era of toleration we notice the Quaker names of John Gandy (1692), Edward Gandy (1695), Richard Gandy (1698) in the list of Overseers of the poor for Sevenoaks [Frandley] and Cogshall (in Great Budworth parish).

### John Hanbury

*Annals of science*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (28th March, 1951, pp. 43-61) includes an article by F. W. Gibbs, Ph.D. on *John Hanbury* (1664-1734) (Major John Hanbury of Pontypool), third in a series of papers on the rise of the tinplate industry. In a concluding note the author mentions the Major's namesakes, including Quaker John Hanbury (1700-1758) the London tobacco merchant of the Panteg family, and a trustee of Major Hanbury's estate on his death, who welcomed Benjamin Franklin on his first visit to England.

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### Quakerism in Hertfordshire

One of the essays in *Relics of an Un-common Attorney* by Reginald L. Hine (Memoir by Richenda Scott; London, Dent, 1951. 18s.) gives an historical survey of Quakerism in Hertfordshire. There are many references in this volume to Friends of the county and outside, and the many illustrations include facsimiles of John Roberts' prison letter to his wife dated "from my Strong House, Gloucester, 7.vii.1657" and of the Quaker marriage certificate of William Morris of Ampthill and Ann Marsh of Hitchin, 3.xii.1789.

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### Censorship of the Press

The October 1950 issue of *History* (N.S. Vol. 35, No. 125) includes an informative paper by J. Walker on *The Censorship of the Press during the reign of Charles II* which is well worth reading. We may not agree with all the author's views, and there are some misprints (e.g. *Sands Foundations Shaken*, for Penn's *Sandy Foundation* printed by John Darby), but the author has collected much information concerning the reasons for the Caroline repression and the internal politics of the printing and publishing trades which, fortunately, made the enforcement of a rigid censorship impossible.

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## Periodicals Exchanged

Receipt of the following periodicals is gratefully acknowledged:

*Bulletin of the Friends Historical Association* (Philadelphia).
*Wesley Historical Society, Proceedings.*
*Presbyterian Historical Society, Proceedings.*
*Presbyterian Historical Journal* (U.S.A.).
*Unitarian Historical Society, Transactions.*
*Mennonite Quarterly Review* (U.S.A.).
*Institute of Historical Research, Bulletin.*

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# Contents

## Supplements to the Journal of Friends' Historical Society

6. JOHN AP JOHN and early Friends in Wales. 1s. 6d., post 2d.

7. THOMAS POLE, M.D. (1753-1829). 2s. 6d., post 4d.

14. Record of the SUFFERINGS OF FRIENDS IN CORNWALL, 1655-1686. 152 pp., 7s. 6d., post 4d.

15. QUAKER LANGUAGE. F.H.S. Presidential address by T. Edmund Harvey, 1928. 30 pp., 1s. 6d., post 2d.

16-17. PEN PICTURES OF LONDON YEARLY MEETING, 1789-1833. Ed. Norman Penney. 227 pp., price 10s., post 6d.

20. THE SWARTHMORE DOCUMENTS IN AMERICA. Edited by Henry J. Cadbury, Ph.D. 1940. 90 pp. Thirty-five 17th c. MSS., originally in the Swarthmore Hall collection. 5s., post 2½d.

21. AN ORATOR'S LIBRARY. John Bright's books. Presidential address 1936 by J. Travis Mills. 1946. 24 pages, 2s., post 1d.

22. LETTERS TO WILLIAM DEWSBURY AND OTHERS. Edited by Henry J. Cadbury, Ph.D. 1948. 68 pp. Thirty-three early Quaker letters, 1655 to 1678. 5s., post 2½d.

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