THE JOURNAL
OF THE
FRIENDS' HISTORICAL
SOCIETY

VOLUME FORTY-FOUR
NUMBER TWO
1952

FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY
FRIENDS HOUSE, EUSTON ROAD, LONDON, N.W.1

also obtainable at Friends Book Store
302 Arch Street, Philadelphia 6, Pa, U.S.A.

Price 5s. Yearly 10s.

Contents

Vol. XLIV No. 2 1952

THE JOURNAL
OF THE
FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Publishing Office: Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

Communications should be addressed to the Editor at Friends House.

Tercentenary Commemoration Notes

Presidential Address at Lancaster

FREDERICK B. TOLLES gave his Presidential address on *The Atlantic Community of the Early Friends* at Lancaster Meeting House on the evening of Wednesday, 13th August. Many visitors to the Tercentenary commemorations were present, and two smaller audiences in adjacent rooms heard the address relayed. The auditors numbered over 400, probably the largest meeting ever held by Friends' Historical Society. Isabel Ross took the chair (as our new president is a transatlantic visitor) and mentioned that Frederick Tolles is the seventh American president of the society in its 49 years.

The address, which was closely followed by the audience, is separately published, with an 8 page introduction by Isabel Ross on the *Influence of North-West England on Early Quaker expansion*, as Supplement 24 to this *Journal*; and it has been circulated to members. Further copies are obtainable, price 2s. 6d., post 1½d. A digest of the address appears in *The Friend* (London) for 22nd August, 1952.

At the meeting the County Archivist of Lancashire, Mr. R. Sharpe France, produced for examination and described two of the documents in the County Archives which concern early Friends.

One document, the Allegations against George Fox by ministers in north Lancashire, October 1652, was printed and described in *Journal F.H.S.* 1947, vol. 39, pp. 15-17, from a transcript furnished by Mr. Sharpe France. The other document, Margaret Fox's petition to the justices at the sessions at Lancaster, January, 1684

(Lancashire Record Office, QSP 576–4) has been printed in B. Nightingale: *Early Stages of the Quaker Movement in Lancashire*, pp. 155-156. It contains a spirited protest against the "Abuse & rong that is done" by calling her a widow—whereas in fact:

> "I have been Marryed to my Husband this fourteen Years & the King & his Counsell have allowed our Mariage as I have it to shew in his pardon under the Broad Seal."

The occasion of the protest was the fine of £20 for holding meetings —as Besse records (*Sufferings*, 1753, I 326, *sub anno* 1683) "Margaret Fox, for suffering Meetings at her House in Swarthmore, was fined by the Name of Margaret Fell, Widow, and had taken from her, at one Time, Cattle worth £30." The Act under which these fines were levied provided that no married woman should be fined more than 10s. (*See* Isabel Ross, *Margaret Fell*, 320.)

* * * *

EXHIBITIONS. Many local meetings exhibited historical documents and these added to Friends' enjoyment of the visits to the meeting houses. Subject to considerations of safety, local Friends with historical records in their care might well be watchful to seize opportunities to co-operate in local exhibitions, to bring Friends and their historic testimonies to the notice of a new public.

BRIGFLATTS has a library which contains a substantial proportion of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century books. Perhaps the earliest of these—Hanmer's translation of Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* (London, R. Field, 1619), with Hanmer's *Chronographie*, was displayed. Old prints, and a portion of the yew tree from Sedbergh market place where George Fox preached, were also on view. Sedbergh market cross was blown down late last century, and a part is preserved at Brigflatts.

COLTHOUSE Friends displayed George Fox's *Journal* (1694), Margaret Fox's *Works* (1710) and some papers from the old Swarthmore collection now in the possession of Isabel Ross. The papers, now bound up, include a contemporary copy of a paper by Margaret Fell on marriages, addressed to "Friends in the Truth" (1656); and a portion of George Fox's notes for a Hebrew vocabulary.

KENDAL Friends exhibited some of their MSS, including a volume recording early Sufferings, answers to queries, and the important Kendal Early Record Book. This volume contains contemporary copies of George Fox's epistles, minutes of the general meeting for the North at Skipton (Scalehouse, 1658), and later general meetings, as well as papers by William Penn, George Fox and London Friends dealing with the Wilkinson-Story dispute.

At LANCASTER Friends provided an exhibition of some interesting items. The first Monthly Meeting minute book was open at a date in 1699, recording the issue of certificates of removal to Pennsylvania—about half the emigrants are supposed to have died on the voyage. Daniel Eccleston's medal in honour of George Washington (1805)—the reverse inscribed "Millions now unborn will venerate the memory of him who gained their country's freedom"; the

printed announcement of the opening of York Retreat signed by Henry Tuke ; an account of distraints for tithes in Lancaster M.M., 1789 ; a deed of 1596 concerning Robert Withers' estate at Kellet ; these were among the other items.

In YEALAND there was an exhibition of costumes, needlework handicrafts and documents in the schoolroom. The printed books displayed included the folios of Besse's *Sufferings*, George Fox's *Journal* and *Doctrinals*, and Thomas Story's *Journal*. There were documents in the handwriting of Thomas Ellwood ; Yearly Meeting minutes and Women's Yearly Meeting epistles ; a marriage certificate of 1690 ; indentures of apprenticeship, 1770 and many registers and books from the school at Yealand. At Yealand Manor, could be seen a record of sufferings, 1720-1722 ; a small quarto pamphlet *An Account of Severall Things that passed between His Sacred Majesty and Richard Hubberthorne, Quaker*, 1660 ; and the Yealand Preparative Meeting minutes, open at the record of the fire which badly damaged the Meeting House in 1737.

Exhibitions of records of Quaker historical interest have been held this year at the following places, most of them initiated at the suggestion of the Friends' Historical Society : Birmingham, Bristol, Folkestone, Halifax, Hertford, Lurgan (Northern Ireland), Manchester, Southampton.

An Appeal to Readers

If any reader has a copy of our previous issue, *Journal* Vol. 44, No. 1 (1952), which is no longer required and can be sent to the Secretary at The Library, Friends House, London, N.W.1, it will be gratefully accepted, the available stock having been exhausted.

The Devotional Life of Early Friends

By BEATRICE SAXON SNELL

THE basic assumption of the Quaker interpretation of Christianity is that in every human being there is something which is capable of responding to and being changed for the better by the outgoing and attracting love of God.

"Feel that spirit that draws," wrote James Nayler, "that you may answer his love freely as it is freely tendred";[1] and Howgill, "The Spirit of God is Operative and works a Change in the Ground and translateth all that follow & hearken unto it into its own Nature."[2]

George Fox gave classic expression to this assumption in two short phrases: "There is one, even Christ Jesus, that can speak to thy condition";[3] and "that of God in every man."[4] To Fox, as to John, Jesus Christ of Nazareth and the Word, the eternal outgoing Love of God, were one.

About the precise nature of "that of God" Friends argued long and confusedly. Robert Barclay denied It "to be any part of Man's Nature or any thing that Properly & Essentially is of Man";[5] he identified it with the Logos, and held that the one spiritual capacity left man by the Fall was that of not resisting the Love of God; "In him that is saved the working is of the Grace and not of the Man: and it's a Passiveness rather than an Act."[6] Nowadays we would argue that the passive choice of submission to the Good must imply the active choice of non-submission to the Evil: and since nothing can choose Good but the Good, there must be something akin to God in the very will that chooses. Therefore, to us, expressions such as "the Seed," "that of God," or "that which is pure in thee" do not convey the meaning they had for Early Friends, to whom they were so many names for Christ himself; a Spirit "in but not of"

1 James Nayler: *A Door Opened*, 1659.
2 Francis Howgill: *An Epistle to the Church of Christ in London*, 1655.
3 George Fox: *Journal* (ed. Nickalls), 1952, p. 11, 1647.
4 George Fox, Epistle 200, 1661.
5 Wragge: *The Faith of Robert Barclay*, p. 78.
6 Wragge: *The Faith of Robert Barclay*, p. 80.

man ; a Spirit confined, oppressed and kept down by the evil in man until it was small as a grain of mustard seed, but waiting for the liberating power of the soul's decision to shoot up and by degrees fill the whole man and transform him into the likeness of God.

Fox declared that " the Nature of the World is above Christ in Man " ;[1] Barclay that " God is pressed down, as a Cart under sheaves : and Christ Crucified in the Ungodly " ;[2] John Crook calls It " the poor oppressed, Innocent Seed, that lies under the dust of fleshly Rubbish as in a Grave covered with Earth in thee " ;[3] and Luke Howard's name for it is " the prisoner of hope."[4]

The purpose of the " inner " metaphors (" the Inward Light," " Christ within thee," etc.) was to bring home the truth that God is always nigh in His Power and His Love ; it is our weakness which veils Him from our spiritual sight.

" Feel that which never sinned near you," wrote Nayler ;[5] and Fox " The light of God which calls the mind out of the creatures, turns it to God, into a being of endless joy and peace. And here is always a seeing of God present."[6]

Hence the first and principal devotional practice enjoined on Friends was known as " retiring to the Lord," " inward retirement," " waiting upon God," or " watching to the Spirit." Penington identified this turning of the will towards God in faith with prayer itself.

" By Prayer I do not mean any bodily exercise of the outward man ; but the going forth of the Spirit of Life towards the Fountain of Life for fulness and satisfaction ; The natural tendency of the poor, rent, derived spirit, towards the Fountain of spirits."[7] Richard Farnsworth exhorted Friends " to wait on the Lord in patience till vertue and refreshment come from the presence of the Lord & there is your Teacher always present. Before any can rightly worship God they must wait to know His Spirit."[8]

The emphasis on this turning towards God before any

[1] George Fox : Epistle 2, 1650.
[2] Wragge : *The Faith of Robert Barclay*, p. 79.
[3] John Crook : *Truth's Progress*, 1667.
[4] Luke Howard : *A Few Plain Words*, 1658.
[5] James Nayler : *A Door Opened*, 1659.
[6] George Fox : *Journal* (ed. Nickalls), 1952, p. 309, 1657.
[7] Isaac Penington ; quoted in Snell, *A Mystic's Calendar*, 1935, 13th-19th October.
[8] Richard Farnsworth : *A Flying Roll*, 1653.

petitions are offered is primary; it was considered as natural and necessary as breathing. Joseph Coale appeals to "All that Desire and Breathe after the Lord" to "feel in yourselves breathings and longings after immortal substance."[1] Petitionary prayer was considered as the result of, and conditioned by, this process. Penington writes: "He that begetteth the child, teacheth him to pray, even by the same Spirit that begat him . . . Now as the Father teacheth to pray, so he giveth desires or words (if he please) according to the present need."[2]

"Fulness and satisfaction" were not obtained without struggle and cost. "There is one, even Christ Jesus, that can speak to thy condition" implies that every man has a condition of fear, need or sin to be spoken to; therefore the first quality to be acquired in the spiritual life was that of humility: awareness of lack. It varied very much in kind. There was the acute consciousness of evil within which made Dewsbury write:

> "I was conceived in Sin and brought forth in Iniquity and in that state lived . . . untill I was about eight Years of Age . . . I knew my infirmity was the evil of my heart that separated me from the presence of my God . . . in this condemned state I lay crying in the depths of misery without any hopes of deliverance."[3]

Or there was the terror of contamination from without experienced by George Fox:

> "I could have wished I had never been born to see vanity and wickedness, or that I had been born blind, that I might never have seen wickedness nor vanity, and deaf that I might never have heard vain and wicked words or the Lord's name blasphemed. . . . I durst not stay long in any place, being afraid both of professor and profane, lest, being a tender yong man I should be hurt by conversing much with either."[4]

Contrast with these the simple longing for God of Isaac Penington, "I have been a man of sorrow and affliction from my childhood, feeling the want of the Lord and mourning after him";[5] and the robust and moderate humility of Thomas Ellwood:

> "I saw, that although I had been, in a great degree, preserved from the common Immoralities and gross Pollutions of the World,

[1] Joseph Coale: *All that Desire and Breathe*, 1667.
[2] Isaac Penington: *The Consideration of a Position*, 1660.
[3] William Dewsbury: *A Faithful Testimony*, 1659.
[4] George Fox, *Journal* (ed. Nickalls), 1952, pp. 6, 10, 1646-1647.
[5] Isaac Penington: *Works I*, xxxv.

. . . there were many Plants growing in me, which were not of the Heavenly Father's planting : & that all these, of whatever sort or kind they were, or how specious soever they might appear, must be plucked up."[1]

From this necessity for humility spring all the metaphors of lowliness.

" Dwell low in the fear of God," wrote Luke Howard,[2] and Charles Marshall, " The Door of Hope is found in the Valley."[3] " Sink down to that which is holy and pure in the light," says Nayler, " and to that give up your whole man and all you are and have." He adds " That's it (grace) in every man which gives him a sight of truth in himself."[4] Dewsbury calls it " The heartsearching Light," and writes " None be discouraged because you see an evil Heart, but prize the Love of God that discovers it to you " ;[5] so also Fox, " that love let me see myself as I was without him."[6]

Hubris, elation, " something getting up in you," was sternly discouraged.

" All Friends be low," wrote Fox, " and keep in the life of God to keep you low . . . if that will be fed, then carelessness cometh up, and they fall into flatness from the Spirit and are mindless of the Lord God ; such are soon up and down."[7] Stephen Crisp advises a correspondent " when thou feels most of the inflowings of joy, then to be most low and careful to keep thy heart open to the Lord and to his people ; and so shalt thou retain that which is given thee ; whereas, if thou give way to that which leads to exaltation and much talking, thou may talk it away, and then be dry and empty in thyself."[8] " None knows," wrote Penington, " how poor we have been made that we might receive the Gospel, and how poor in ourselves we are kept that we might enjoy the riches and inheritance of the kingdom."[9]

To the involuntary " sight of truth " which comes from waiting upon God, was added the voluntary practice of self-examination. Howgill wrote to his daughter, Abigail :

[1] Thomas Ellwood : *Life*, 23, 1714.
[2] Luke Howard : *A Few Plain Words*, 1658.
[3] Charles Marshall : *An Epistle to the Flock*, 1697.
[4] James Nayler : *A Door Opened*, 1659.
[5] William Dewsbury : *A Faithful Testimony*, 1659.
[6] George Fox : *Journal* (ed. Nickalls), 1952, p. 11, 1647.
[7] George Fox : Epistle 2, 1650.
[8] Stephen Crisp : *Letters of Isaac Penington with others added*, Phillips, 1796, p. 124.
[9] Isaac Penington : *The Flesh and Blood of Christ*, 1675.

"Search thy Heart often with the Light of Christ in thee, manifest and bring thy Deeds to it that thou may be tryed and examine thyself how the case stands betwixt the Lord and thee".[1]

It was the condition of growth and release. "Let everyone try themselves with the measure of Truth," writes John Crook, "that they may see whether they have kept to it as it was in the beginning . . . Thou wilt be enlarged through thy accepting of Judgment upon whatever is contrary to the Holy God."[2]

It was also, in Dewsbury's opinion, the only warrant for judging others. "Everyone with diligent watchfulness search your own Hearts with the Light . . . and seriously know your own conditions . . . then will the Lord give you a sound and perfect judgment to weigh and try all spirits."[3]

Lest the soul, confronted with its own imperfection, should be tempted to despair, George Fox and Isaac Penington gave wise counsel, in line both with the teaching of other mystics and with modern psychology.

"So then this is the word of the Lord God unto you all," wrote Fox, "what the light doth make manifest and discover, temptations, confusions, distractions, distempers; do not look at the temptations, confusions, corruptions, but at the light that discovers them, that makes them manifest; and with the same light you will feel over them to receive power to stand against them . . . For looking down at sin, and corruption, and distraction, you are swallowed up in it; but looking at the light that discovers them, you will see over them."[4]

And Penington, "Wait to feel the relieving measure of life, and heed not distressing thoughts, when they rise ever so strongly in thee: nay, though they have entered thee, fear them not; but *be still, awhile, not believing in the power which thou feelest they have over thee*, and it will fall on a sudden."[5]

The next necessary quality, allied to that of humility, was willingness to be changed: "God," wrote Audland, "has power to change the heart (which men by all their force cannot do)."[6] And this willingness presupposed obedience. George Fox underlined this by writing to

1 Francis Howgill, *Letter to his daughter Abigail.*
2 John Crook: *Truth's Progress*, 1667.
3 William Dewsbury: *Epistle*, 1663.
4 George Fox: *Journal* (ed. Nickalls), 1952, pp. 347-8, 1658.
5 Isaac Penington: Letter to Bridget Atley. n.d.
6 John Audland: *The Suffering Condition*, 1662.

Friends, " The World would have a Christ, but not to rule over them."[1] Obedience was not conceived of as easy ; it could, indeed, only come about through the working of God. Again and again Friends testify to the struggle it cost them to " freely give up my Heart to obey the Truth."[2]

James Nayler, feeling a call to go out and preach, after having been away from home nine years in the army, records that " not being obedient in going forth, the wrath of God was upon me, so that I was made a wonder to all, and none thought I would have lived."[3] " But oh ! the weakness, the fear and trembling in which I went upon this message," wrote William Caton, " who shall declare it ? and how did I plead with the Lord concerning this matter ; for I looked upon my own weakness and insufficiency, and how unfit I was in my own apprehension, to encounter with gainsayers, who I knew would also despise my youth."[4] John Burnyeat wrestled with a different temptation. " When the word of the Lord came unto me with this message, it became a great exercise unto me ; and I would willingly have shunned it, and have dwelt in that ease, peace, and pleasure into which the Lord had brought me."[5] Often the struggle had to be repeated ; Stephen Crisp writes :

" About the year 1659, I often felt the aboundings of the love of God in my heart, and a cry to stand given up to his will, which I thought I was . . . but his eye saw further than mine . . . Upon a time, as I was waiting upon the Lord, his word arose in me, and commanded me to forsake and part with my dear wife and children, father and mother, and to go and bear witness to his name in Scotland, to that high professing nation. But when that came to pass, I found all enemies were not slain indeed ; for the strivings, strugglings, reasonings and disputings against the command of God, that I then met withal, cannot be told or numbered."[6]

" But the Lord in time," says William Bennet, " did overcome my Heart by the Power of his Love, his inspeakable Love."[7]

[1] George Fox : Epistle 2, 1650.
[2] William Bennet : *The Work and Mercy*, 1669.
[3] James Nayler : quoted in W. C. Braithwaite : *The Beginnings of Quakerism*, p. 62.
[4] William Caton : *Lives of Caton, Burnyeat & Croker*, p. 10 (Barclay's Select Series), *c.* 1654.
[5] John Burnyeat : *Lives of Caton, Burnyeat & Croker*, p. 172, *c.* 1657.
[6] Stephen Crisp : *Memoirs* (Tuke), p. 53, 1653.
[7] William Bennet : *The Work and Mercy*, 1669.

Giving up the human will when it was not in accordance with the Divine Will seemed to Friends a sacrifice worthy to be named " The Cross." " Therefore," wrote Fox, " keep in the daily cross, the power of God, by which ye may witness all that to be crucified which is contrary to the will of God and which shall not come into His Kingdom."[1]

The " watch to be kept was conceived of both as watching *to* God, and watching *against* temptation ; Penington says there is " something to travail out of and somewhat to travail into,"[2] and Luke Howard wrote : " The Light discovereth the thoughts and intents of your hearts unto you before they are brought forth into evil actions. Keep your minds always staied on the Lord in the watch that the enemy enter not."[3]

Waiting upon the Lord was therefore what is now termed " a full-time job." Penington writes : " thus watching to the Spirit the life of a Christian is a continual course of prayer : *he prays continually*."[4]

Friends constantly speak of keeping the mind stayed on God " as I stood at my labour in my outward calling."[5] " The Light it will be with you when you are in the Fields, and when you lie on your Beds, and wherever you go . . . if you love it and keep your minds unto it, it will teach you when you are at your Labour."[6]

It was not only fear of the enemy that inspired this continual watchfulness, but a belief that God chooses His own moment to send help, guidance or commands to His people. As Penington said : " The Spirit breatheth as well *when* he listeth as where he listeth ; and man cannot limit him when he shall breathe or when he shall not breathe; but is to wait the season of his breathing and so to watch unto prayer."[7]

Hence Friends decried set times of prayer with a vehemence which seems strange to those of us to-day who pin our faith on set and regular times of quiet.

" Prayer is wholly out of the will of the creature, wholly out of

[1] George Fox : *Journal* (ed. Nickalls), 1952, p. 18, 1646-1647.
[2] Isaac Penington : *Letters*, Phillips, 1796, p. 5, 1665.
[3] Luke Howard : *A Few Plain Words*, 1658.
[4] Isaac Penington : *The Consideration of a Position*, 1660.
[5] Luke Howard : *A Few Plain Words*, 1658.
[6] William Gibson : *The Everlasting Rule*, 1667.
[7] Isaac Penington : *The Consideration of a Position*, 1660.

the time of the creature," said Penington,[1] and Ellwood declares "The Enemy . . . put me upon Religious Performances, *in my own Will, in my own Time, and in my own Strength*; which in themselves were good, and would have been profitable unto me, and acceptable to the Lord, if they had been performed in *His Will, in His Time,* and *in the Ability which He gives* . . . I Prayed often, and drew out my Prayers to a great length; and appointed certain set Times to Pray at, and a certain Number of Prayers to say in a Day, yet knew not, mean while, what true Prayer was."[2]

Friends lived in a state of holy expectation; and were fond of recording the exact time of day at which they felt a moving of the Spirit. Charles Marshall heads a paragraph in his tract The Way of Life Revealed: "On the 24th of the 5th Mo. 1674 as I Lay in my Bed, waiting on the Lord in the Morning Watch, the Universal Love of God I felt shed abroad in my Heart, in which sprang the Counsel of God unto me to write and send speedily a warning."[3] Howgill writes "the Word of the Lord came to me the last of the First Moneth about the Nineth Hour, as I was waiting upon the Lord, and waiting in James's Park at London."[4]

Similarly, early Friends decried the use of a set form of words in prayer, whether composed by oneself or another.

"Sometimes," wrote Penington, "the Father gives strong breathings and plenty of words to pour out the soul in before the Lord. But if a man should catch those words and lay them up against another time, and offer them up to God in his own will, this would be but will-worship and abomination. This I have known experimentally and have felt the wrath of God for it. That is prayer, which comes fresh from the Spirit."[5]

Fox was particularly tender to the inarticulate, especially those who felt moved by the spirit to speak in Meeting for Worship. "Such as are tender, if they should be moved to bubble forth a few words, and speak in the Seed and the Lamb's power, suffer and bear that."[6] For, as Penington says, "Sometimes the Father gives but ability to sigh or groan, if he gives no more, he accepts that."[7]

It was the same with Bible reading. "Read in fear,"

[1] Isaac Penington: *The Consideration of a Position*, 1660.
[2] Thomas Ellwood: *Life*, pp. 29-30, 1714.
[3] Charles Marshall: *The Way of Life Revealed*, 1674.
[4] Francis Howgill: *An Epistle to the Church of Christ in London*, 1655.
[5] Isaac Penington: *The Consideration of a Position*, 1660.
[6] George Fox: *Journal* (ed. Nickalls), 1952, p. 282, 1652.
[7] Isaac Penington: *The Consideration of a Position*, 1660.

wrote Penington, "and always wait God's season; do not presume to understand a thing, before he *give* thee the understanding of it." "What He openeth to thee, that is proper for thee to know: and what he shutteth from thee, that is proper for thee (as yet) not to know; but to wait the times and seasons of things, which are in the Father's hand."[1] Fox declared that "As man is led by the Holy Ghost into the truth and substance of the Scriptures, sitting down in him who is the author and end of them, then are they read and understood with profit and great delight."[2] George Whitehead records that "James Nayler, declaring upon a Mysterious Place in the Revelation . . . proceeded not to explain the Passage, but made a Stop, seeming to give a check to himself, intimating that he would not stretch or go beyond his Measure."[3]

Early Friends were very keenly alive to the spiritual dangers of formal religion, whether in worship or outward customs. "How many," writes Penington, "have first lost the guidance of His Spirit, and then drowned their life in religious performances." To an enquirer he writes "Thou expectest, perhaps, from me, an outward rule; but I have no rule, but the inward life—daily made known as my Father pleaseth; nor can I direct thee to any other but to wait, that life may be revealed to thee daily, according to thy daily need in every particular."[4] Fox bids Friends "take heed of getting into a *Form* without the Power (any of you) for that will bring *Deadness* and *Coldness* and *Weariness* and *Faintings*."[5] Margaret Fell, in her old age, warned again that "It's a dangerous thing to lead young Friends much into observation of outward things, for that will be easily done, for they can soon get into an outward garb, to be all alike outwardly. But this will not make them true Christians: it's the Spirit that gives life."[6]

Another reason why the "set time" was disliked was that early Friends believed passionately that faith results in

[1] Isaac Penington: Letter xvi. A Question Answered: *Works II*, 538.
[2] George Fox: *Journal* (ed. Nickalls), 1952, p. 32, 1649.
[3] James Nayler: *Works*, p. vii.
[4] Isaac Penington: *An Examination of the Grounds*, 1660. Letter, 1665, in Phillips edition, 1796, p. 4.
[5] George Fox: Epistle 180, 1659.
[6] Margaret Fox: Epistle, 1698.

action and must be expressed at *all* points of daily life. The whole purpose of man's life was the service of God. Richard Alder, a servant of William Austell of Oare, was arrested while threshing corn in his master's barn on Christmas Day. When asked "Why don't you go to Church and serve God?" he answered, "I hop I doe serve God in all my implyment."[1] A Friend with the initials T.W. wrote: "Every man's fruits maketh it manifest what seed it is that ruleth in his heart";[2] and Alexander Parker exhorted Friends "When your meeting is ended, do not look upon the service of God to be ended; but keep in the fear of God, that ye may receive wisdom from Him to order the creatures."[3]

This conception of the spiritual life expressing itself at all points of the active one required not only steadfastness and circumspection, but a calm courage which the leaders both demanded and expected.

"I know," writes John Burnyeat to Friends in Gloucester Prison, "your hearts are at ease, and your spirits free, and the weights and burdens from off you who are freely given up to suffer, though in these bonds outwardly; but there can be no such spiritual portion received by any that shrink from their testimony in this day of trial."[4] "Put on *Courage*, put on *Patience*," exhorted George Fox, "Let your *Loyalty* be known for your King . . . in walking in Righteousness, Peace and Truth . . . in the Power of the Lord God you are made strong."[5]

The cost may be read in page after page of Besse's *Sufferings*; but here is a little instance from the Book of Sufferings of the Vale Monthly Meeting (Berks.).

"Elizabeth Clarke a poor wooman of Sonnington near Highworth was fined 5s. for being at a meeting. The constable came to take away her goods and the poor wooman was going Abroad to worke and delivered the key of her door to him to do what he would and went her way to her labour, so the sayd Constable Entered her house and seized All her goods so much as her very spining wheel and Cards and Caryed away moste of it into his barne."[6]

Trust must be absolute. Thomas Ellwood relates how he

[1] John Albright: *Sufferings of Friends in Berkshire*, 1689.
[2] T. W. Tract, 1659.
[3] Alexander Parker: *Letters of Early Friends*, cxxiv, 1659.
[4] John Burnyeat: *Lives of Caton, Burnyeat & Croker*, 276.
[5] George Fox: Epistle 207, 1661.
[6] *Sufferings of the Vale Monthly Meeting*, 1676.

asked for a sign when in doubt whether he should have gone to a Meeting for Worship without his father's leave or knowledge, but adds " I knew that Outward Signs did not properly belong to the Gospel Dispensation, yet for my better Assurance, I did, in Fear and great Humility, beseech the Lord, that He would be pleased so far to condescend to the Weakness of his Servant."[1]

Simplicity was a key-note in the devotional life of Early Friends. Though they decried " natural wisdom " too much, there was great virtue in James Nayler's query, " Do you live as the Lord's Lillies ? "[2] in Fox's " Wait all for the Gathering of the *Simple-hearted* ones,"[3] and Penington's " Dost thou sensibly and experimentally know, how the Spirit of the Father begets the Child-like Life in the heart ? "[4] William Bennet's reproach " to those that profess Truth and yet walk contrary to Truth in Life and Conversation " is that " you are a stumbling-Block in the way of the simple-hearted."[5]

Not all the leaders' warnings were based on a distrust of man's reason in general. They were aware of its specific dangers : escapism, for example. John Whitehead wrote : " Let all whose minds are turned towards God, keep out of the reasoning which draws back into self-safety, lest thereby the nobility of your minds be clouded, and the plants choked whose growth is but little in the truth."[6] Farnsworth also warned Friends " Live not in words, but mind the power of words ; for words that proceed out of a vain, light mind, destroy the simple and draw your minds out above the cross to live in words ; and ye will form something in your minds to rest in, and so the fleshly mind will be kept alive ; but keep in the cross."[7]

Phantasy was also decried ; Dewsbury wrote : " With the light you will come to discern the subtilty . . . which hath often beguiled you, by drawing you from quietness and stillness into the Airy imaginations, whereby

[1] Thomas Ellwood : *Life*, p. 79, 1714.
[2] James Nayler : *Works*, p. 47, 1653.
[3] George Fox : Epistle 4, 1651.
[4] Isaac Penington : Some Sensible Weighty Queries, *Works II*, p. 304, 1761.
[5] William Bennet : *The Work and Mercy*, 1669.
[6] John Whitehead : *Letters of Early Friends*, 1660.
[7] Richard Farnsworth : *Letters of Early Friends*, cxxi, 1652.

he hath tost and unsettled your minds."[1] Fox warns, "Give not way to the lazy, dreaming mind, for it enters into temptations."[2]

It was often emphasized that growth in the spiritual life takes time. "Clearness of light is a state which is to be grown up into," says Penington[3] and Charles Marshall calls it "a going on from Step to Step."[4] Growth may be achieved through faithfulness in apparently trivial matters. Here is part of the advice which Isaac Penington gave to John Mannock, whose little cottage at Coleshill still stands, and whose humble duty was to look after the horses of Friends attending Monthly Meeting at Thomas Ellwood's house, Hungerhill.

"Be faithful in the little, in the day of small things; if ever thou desire to enjoy and be ruler over much. The Lord may exercise thee in, and require of thee, little things . . . and the enemy will be endeavouring to stop thee, and perplex thee, in every little thing the Lord requires of thee. But, be thou simple like a child . . . What though thou art weak and little, though thou meet with those that are wise and knowing and almost every way able to reason thee down; what though thou hast not wherewith to answer: yet, thou knowest and hast the feeling of God's pure Truth in spirit . . . yea, thou shalt so feel the Lord to help his babe against the strength of the mighty, in the seasons of his good pleasure, as shall exceedingly turn to his praise . . . The steps which the soul takes in the power . . . tend to salvation."[5]

Correspondingly, as Charles Marshall points out, "the Working of the Enemy first is to cause such to make Shipwreck of Faith in a little measure; that is, not to have the daily Belief to stand in the power . . . His first Footstep hereunto is to bring out of the constant daily sure Watchfulness."[6] And Penington, "There is that near you which watcheth to betray."[7]

As regards what is now frequently called "spiritual discipline" (the word of the soldier and schoolmaster), Friends used the word of the athlete and artist, "exercise"; and they regarded it invariably as imposed by God upon the soul, and not by the soul upon itself: the idea of

[1] William Dewsbury: *The Discovery of Man's Return*, 1659.
[2] George Fox: Epistle 45, 1653.
[3] Isaac Penington: *Concerning the Inward Principle*, 1663.
[4] Charles Marshall: *The Way of Life Revealed*, 1674.
[5] Isaac Penington: Letters to John Mannock, 10th Mo. 1668.
[6] Charles Marshall: *The Way of Life Revealed*, 1674.
[7] Isaac Penington: *Letters* (edited Phillips, 1796) p. 11, 1666.

"self-discipline" they would certainly have stigmatized as "will-worship." Everything that came outwardly or inwardly was either sent or permitted by God; whether pleasant or unpleasant it was an "exercise" for the development of spiritual muscles, and as such to be welcomed. "Submit to His will in all things," wrote Farnsworth, "and every condition will be good, seeing the Lord always present in it."[1]

Exercises were of many and various kinds. Edward Pyot wrote: "The Quakers are a people that are Exercised in good Works, by the Power of their Head Christ Jesus working in them."[2]

There was constant persecution; there was the spiritual depression of which Penington wrote to Bridget Atley: "It is good for thy spirit, and greatly to thy advantage to be much and variously exercised by the Lord. Thou dost not know what the Lord hath already done, and what he is yet doing for thee therein."[3]

There was a wrestling with tiresome people; the Second-day Morning Meeting in London wrote to Upperside M.M. that "Charles Harris has been an Exercise to us."[4]

The spiritual growth resulting from watchfulness, obedience and acceptance brought in time a sense of trust and spiritual security and an overflowing and sometimes ecstatic joy. "I am overcome with love, for it's my life and the length of my days, it's my glory and my daily strength," wrote William Robinson.[5]

The words of George Fox, James Nayler and William Dewsbury are well known from the Book of Discipline; but here is the outburst of old John Gigger, the very illiterate Clerk of Windsor M.M., after a particularly good Meeting for Worship.

"Here was at our meetting sevrall friends and blessed bee the name of the Lord our God his pressus Mightey power and Speriritt was maneyfested Amoungst all those that trewly weaighted for it. money in the box 1.12.9."[6]

The practical touch of the last sentence shows the happy

1 Richard Farnsworth: *Letters of Early Friends*, cxxvi.
2 Edward Pyot: *The Quakers Vindicated*, 1657.
3 Isaac Penington: Letter to Bridget Atley. n.d.
4 Upperside Monthly Meeting Minute Book, ed. Snell, p. 191, 1936.
5 William Robinson: *Several Epistles*, 1669.
6 Windsor M.M. Minute Book.

blend of enthusiasm and realism which was characteristic of early Friends. "Acceptance" never meant a false optimism; "exercise" prevented personal bitterness but not vigorous and often public protest where the permitted evil was the work of man; this protest was part of the obedience Friends felt laid upon them, and often undertaken with much shrinking and at great spiritual and physical cost. There may have been self-deception at times; there is a neat little example in Thomas Ellwood's life: referring to his first pamphlet he declares "the Sharpness of the Message therein delivered, was hard to my Nature to be the Publisher of,"[1] whereas it is the testimony of his friends that Tom Ellwood was at all times "sharp to that which he apprehended to be Insincere and Deceitful," and his style betrays considerable enjoyment in verbal cut and thrust. Lack of judgment there was also, as in the cases of James Nayler at Bristol and Elizabeth Fletcher who walked naked among the students at Oxford as a "sign"; but the amazing fact is that there was not more of it in a company of young and vigorous enthusiasts. Only with the pen was there an habitual intemperance of spirit; Penington is an honourable exception, and he was an older man.

The spiritual joy of early Friends is reflected in a seventeenth-century picture of a Meeting for Worship owned by Howard Smith, of Reading, where every face in the Meeting is radiant. This brings us to the communal devotional life of the Meeting for Worship.

It began, as the individual devotional life began, with "every one to Watch and Wait upon God in themselves, and to be gathered from all Visibles thereinto."[2] But it went on to the discovery of unity and fellowship, for as Fox said, "that which is pure in one another . . . joins you together."[3] And it is noteworthy that early Friends realized that this unity can only be obtained by purification from resentment. William Bailey writes:

> "Some there are, so far given up to the Spirit of Enmity, that it will be very hard (if ever) for them to come into the one holy peaceable Spirit of Truth and Love unfeigned, in which the Saints Fellowship is (and ever was) . . . And therefore take heed of entertaining

[1] Thomas Ellwood: *Life*, p. 104, 1660.
[2] Robert Barclay; Wragge: *The Faith of Robert Barclay*, p. 107.
[3] George Fox: Epistle 13, 1652.

the least thought of that Root of Bitterness . . . but judge it out, in its first appearance : for it tends first to separate from the feeling and enjoyment of the blessed presence of the Lord, by which the Soul is refreshed and nourished, and has dominion over its enemies, and so from that Life in which the Saints' Unity stands."[1]

John Crook writes : " Keep to the Seed in thyself which thinketh no ill, much less does any, and in that thou wilt find the benefit of Communion with God's people, and wilt be bound up together with them, as in the bundle of life."[2] James Nayler bade Friends " feel one another in harmless hearts."[3]

It was a purifying and revivifying time. Robert Barclay's declaration is well known : " When I came into the silent assemblies of God's people, I felt a secret power among them which touched my heart ; and as I gave way unto it, I found the evil weakening in me and the good raised up."[4] Farnsworth wrote : " Neglect not meeting together and stirring up that which is pure one in another."[5] Penington prayed : " Let thy powerful presence (which doth great things) be felt in the hearts and assemblings of thy people together, that they may be purified and preserved thereby to dwell in thy courts, to be satisfied with thee, to rejoice in thy goodness and be far from the fear of evil and transgression."[6]

Meeting for Worship was a sacrament, where Friends, to use the words of another denomination " fed on him in their hearts by faith with thanksgiving." John Claus, a Dutch Friend, describes how " I could sit down in the meeting and wait upon the Lord, to receive the daily bread of life, eating of the same and being refreshed, insomuch, that in silence I could delight myself as in fatness, and no time of meeting seemed too long."[7] Margaret Fell writes : " It is the Spirit that is the Living Bread and those that live in the Spirit and feed in the Spirit and meet in the Spirit, they eat the Flesh of Christ and drink his Blood."[8]

[1] William Bailey : *A Testimony of Truth*, 1667.
[2] John Crook : *Truth's Progress*, 1667.
[3] James Nayler : *Milk for Babes*, 1658.
[4] Robert Barclay ; Wragge : *The Faith of Robert Barclay*, p. 20.
[5] Richard Farnsworth ; *Letters of Early Friends*, 1652.
[6] Isaac Penington : *Letters* (ed. Phillips), p. 113, 1796.
[7] John Claus : *Letters of Isaac Penington & others* (ed. Phillips), p. 113, 1796.
[8] Margaret Fell : *A Touchstone*, 1667.

But spiritual feeding is not the end of the sacrament; the Bread and Wine are there to be passed on. "As Iron sharpeneth Iron," wrote Robert Barclay, "so the seeing of the Face one of another, when both are inwardly gathered into the Life, giveth occasion for the Life secretly to arise, and pass from Vessel to Vessel."[1]

In a similar strain Farnsworth declares of ministry that "Words that come from the Life will go to the Life."[2] Hence Friends are warned by Stephen Crisp against "presenting the body in the meeting, and then letting the heart (which God requires) depart far from him . . . Hold your meetings in the spirit where every one is made alive and flourisheth and grows in life and dominion and shines forth to the glory of God and to the comforting and refreshing of one another."[3] George Fox considered the physical weakness which made Friends drowse in meeting to have a spiritual origin, exclaiming with amazement: "I observed a dullness and drowsy heaviness upon people, which I wondered at: for sometimes, when I would set myself to sleep, my mind went over all to the beginning, in that which is from everlasting to everlasting. . . . And I told people they must come to witness death to that sleepy, heavy nature, and a cross to it in the power of God, that their minds and hearts might be on things above."[4]

Robert Barclay says: "Our Worship consisteth not in the words, so neither in silence, as silence; but in a holy dependence of the mind upon God." Dewsbury warns Friends "to wait to receive his gift in the inspiring of his Spirit, that there be no Eye one towards another, in expectation of anything from one another . . . and when the Lord ministers in you any gift watch that . . . the false birth that would pride itself in God's gift . . . may be kept down in every one of you." In a later letter he counsels the timid minister: "Let not thy mind look out from the Lord as to mind the presence of any of his there . . . so look not on thy weakness, but at God's strength and at thy clearness before the Lord."[5] Stephen

[1] Robert Barclay; Wragge: *The Faith of Robert Barclay*, p. 107.
[2] Richard Farnsworth: *Letters of Early Friends*, cxxi, 1652.
[3] Stephen Crisp: *A Copy of a Letter written from Germany*, 1669.
[4] George Fox: *Journal* (ed. Nickalls), 1952, p. 33, 1648.
[5] William Dewsbury: *Epistle*, 1661.

Crisp has a word of warning to the opposite type : " I have always found it safe, to keep something in the storehouse for my own use, and to break only that bread to others that was given me for that purpose."[1]

There is a hint of the gradual increase of spiritual power which many Friends have felt in a gathered meeting in a sentence by Dewsbury, which reads : " Keep your Meetings in the Authority and Life of the meek and patient Spirit which wares out and overcomes all things that is not of its nature."[2]

The Communion of Saints was believed in, both of the living and of the dead. Fox wrote " for the staying and settling of Friends minds " on the death of Edward Burrough :

" Friends,

Be still and wait in your own conditions, and settled in the Seed of God that doth not change, that in that ye may feel dear Edward Burrough among you . . . and enjoy him in the life that doth not change, but which is invisible."[3]

Intercession was part of the devotional life, and Friends were particularly fond of the words of Paul in 2 Cor. iii, 3 : " Ye are our epistle, written in our hearts." It was regarded not so much as a duty as a gift of God. Stephen Crisp writes to a friend :

" Dearly beloved, in the Lord my soul salutes thee, as one who is brought into my remembrance, by that Spirit that doth often bow to thy burdens, which I know are not a few."[4] Isaac Penington tells a correspondent that " it pleased the Lord to refresh me by thy letter " and commends a letter of his " For Friends in the Truth in and about the two Chalfonts " in the words " even when ye were sitting together, waiting on the Lord, (some of you I doubt not), did these things spring up in my heart towards you ; and if ye taste any sweetness or refreshment in them, bow to the fountain, and be sensible of his praise springing in the midst of you."[5]

[1] Stephen Crisp : *Letters of Penington & others* (ed. Phillips), p. 124, 1796.

[2] William Dewsbury : *The Faithful Testimony*, 1689.

[3] George Fox : *Journal* (ed. Nickalls), 1952, p. 437, 1663.

[4] Stephen Crisp : *Letters of Isaac Penington & others* (ed. Phillips pp. 128-129, 1796.

[5] Isaac Penington : *Letters* (ed. Phillips), p. 1, 1796.

To summarize the devotional life of Early Friends, here is what Isaac Penington wrote to a correspondent in 1678.

" Daily to be sensible what it is to lie down in the holy quickening power ; and to rise again in the risings of the life and power, and so be only, what thou art made and preserved to be, in the light, grace, life, virtue and power of the Lord Jesus Christ ; and to feel him remove any thing that is unrighteous, and clothing thee with his pure life, spirit and righteousness."[1]

[1] *op. cit.*, p. 38.

The Catholic Boys at Ackworth

From Letters before and after their time there

By way of Appendix to the article by Reginald Reynolds on "The Catholic Boys at Ackworth" (*Journal F.H.S.*, vol. 43, No. 2, pp. 57-71) we are glad to print the following extracts from letters between members of the Dziewicki family. These personal communications between members of the family, supplied by John S. Stephens, amplify most interestingly and further elucidate the story of the conversion of the boys to the Roman Catholic faith and of Michael Henry's subsequent migration to Poland and adoption of Polish nationality.

Dr. Marek Waysblum has contributed an illuminating note which is printed at the end of the letters.

SINCE Reginald Reynolds wrote on *The Catholic Boys at Ackworth* I have found among the belongings of their sister, Gertrude Dziewicka, a small packet of letters from her brothers. Those from Michael Henry to herself cover only the last two years of his life, 1926-1928. Most of them are written from Cracow. On 22nd January, 1927, he wrote of their father, Severin B. Dziewicki :

" He was an extraordinarily versatile man. Reading Latin poets, writing poetry (Polish, of course), making friends with all the cultured professors he came into contact with, making electrical machines and giving us shocks with Leyden jars ; expert in foreign cookery, in gardening, in brewing beer, in raising tomatoes in our garden (in those days nobody knew what a tomato was, at least in the West of England)—and so on, and so on. He had a taste for pretty nearly everything—except saving money. Had he had *that* (for I know he earned a great deal by his lessons) things might have turned out very differently for all of us. But he liked to show off—what you now call swank. But he was a man of great courage and self-control in an emergency. I remember how one evening as we were going about Aylestone Hill with Mother and him, some drunken men came behind us singing, and one of them approached lurching behind Mother, and singing Good-night ! Father expected some outrage. He did not say one word, but silently cudgelled the man about the legs five or six times. The man whined ' What you doin' that for ? I didn't hurt you ! ' and slunk away, much sobered. Father never said one word but continued his walk. I didn't know what it all meant, I was perhaps eight then, but I felt very proud of Father. And Mother too, I suppose.

"My father took the unwise risk of going to Poland to visit Uncle Roman with an English passport: he was in danger of Siberia. He gave Edward a beating (English fashion) for being naughty, and old Mme. D. was not even huffed![1]

"He certainly had great talents of making himself liked by everybody, and loved by some. Mother and he quarrelled sometimes, I know, but they made it up directly. Mother was enormously under his influence, that was almost magnetic. If he had tried, he would have made me worship him, but he loved Theodore better—and showed it very plainly sometimes. Yet, at others, I remember him very tenderly. You see he passed like lightning from one mood to another, quite what Bourget in his Cosmopolis calls 'l'instantanéité slave.' Yes, and makes me hope for him. Who knows but what, in his last instants, struggling in the icy waters of the Lugg, he may have turned instantaneously to God with sorrow for any misdeeds in the past!"

In another letter Michael Henry Dziewicki took up the subject again:

"I am writing in the old Quaker strain—my grandfather's inheritance, and my father's too, who often had, as my mother had too, fortnights and more of religious ardour."

The boyish memories here recorded must go back to Henry's[2] days as a pupil at the Hereford Cathedral School.

At this point I must begin to quote the letters which the three brothers wrote from their school at Polignan to their sister Mary at the Ursuline Convent at Boulogne. In one of these Henry at the age of eighteen idealizes the home of their childhood at Hereford:

"O, we were happy then. Dear Mary, neither you nor I have forgotten that time. How could we forget Rose Cottage, with its honeysuckle porch, and its green lawn, and its beautiful apple trees loaded with fruits? Alas! it seems to me as a dream of Paradise."

In the register of Sibford School, Henry's arrival is recorded on 23rd October, 1862. As there were then no Christmas holidays he must have been at school at the time of his father's death. Theodore, nearly three years his junior, followed him there on 24th July, 1863. In his first letter to G. K. Hibbert, 9th May, 1922, Henry wrote of his time at Sibford: "I took up the teaching and doctrines of the Society of Friends so heartily that I even thought of asking to become a member." Both brothers were assiduous

[1] Madame Dziewicka (Aunt Theophila) once told Gertrude that this visit was in 1859. Such was the exiled revolutionary's prestige that she took no offence when he thus chastised her small boy.

[2] I refer to him as Henry, the name by which his relations knew him.

contributors of essays at meetings of the Leisure Hour Improvement Society. On 8th August, 1864, Henry received a prize of two shillings for an essay on "Temperance." Other subjects of his essays were "The Human Frame" and "The Lion." He was evidently happy at Sibford and enjoyed Robert Mennell's gift of photographs of the school which he had not seen for nearly sixty years. In a letter to Gertrude, the old man wrote of "Sibford and its neighbourhood, all yellow stones and yellow earth."

We know from Henry's letter to Gerald Hibbert how their grandfather removed the boys and sent them with their younger brother, Roman, aged only seven, to school at Polignan in the Haute Garonne. They arrived on Henry's fourteenth birthday, 21st March, 1865, only a week after leaving Sibford. The first of their letters, dated 30th April, is written in tolerably good French by Theodore to Mary, already at Boulogne. In it he says that he had thought it was impossible for their mother to come and hopes that she will not come yet. Did the boys travel alone, crossing to Boulogne and leaving Mary there? No escort is mentioned or implied. A further question must now be asked. Who induced Joseph Jones to send the four children to Catholic schools? A clue is provided by their younger sister Gertrude,[1] who followed Mary to Poland and spent some years teaching the children of Princess Woroniecka at Kanie, near Lublin. Soon after starting work in October, 1886, she wrote:

> "The Countess Bodenham is her (Princess W.'s) Aunt, so I expect she will be writing to her to know all about us. It is rather unpleasant, because I suppose the C'tesse will say she has done such a lot for us, etc."

I can only take this as a confirmation of what Gertrude told a relation,[2] that a Polish Baroness (or Countess), a friend of the Dziewickis, arranged for the children to go to school in France and paid their expenses. Countess (more correctly Mrs.) Bodenham lived at Rotherwas House near Hereford, and Gertrude spent some months with her there in 1890, as

[1] A great number of Gertrude's letters to her "Aunt Annie" (Anne Jones of Hereford) have been preserved. They are full of lively descriptions of her life as a governess in Poland and Russia between 1886 and 1914.

[2] I am indebted for this information to Mrs. Gertrude Margry, who was named after her second cousin Gertrude Dziewicka, and knew her well in Paris in 1910.

appears from subsequent letters. From all this it seems probable that it was Countess Bodenham who persuaded Joseph Jones to send the four children to France in 1865.[1]

As 1865 went on, the boys' letters told Mary much about their life at school. In June, Henry wrote :

" M. l'Abbé Bize hurries us on very much indeed to get into the Latin class after the vacation. On the whole, I feel the change bitterly from our old school in England to this one in France. Not that we have not plenty of companions, not that the masters are not kind to us (indeed I think they are as kind to us as the French nature allows), not even our lessons which are not easy, weigh me down : it is the thought of a foreign land. I think you, though all alone in Boulogne, ought to be more happy than we ever can be here. You are so much nearer your friends and the dearest thing of all— HOME."

By September the experience of home-sickness was giving way to another. Both the elder boys were involved in arguments with their teachers about the sacraments, and wrote to their grandmother Mary Jones. Henry asked her how the Friends, with their view that all communion is spiritual, explain the text I Corinthians x, 16.

" Here I think St. Paul speaks very plainly about a *cup* and *bread*. The Friends have nothing like this although they profess to be the nearest of all to the early Christians. That they used to have a Lord's Supper is plain from the following chapter (verses 20 to 34). If you will show me the true sense of this passage I shall be much obliged to you, for the Catholics often show it to me to confound my Protestant views."[2]

Theodore, in his note on the same sheet, asks for " a book upon the Sacraments by the ' Church of England ', because I have got to make my first communion next year." Poor little Roman added in French that he was very unhappy and complained of one of the masters.

On 14th January, 1866, Mary Jones wrote to her daughter Elizabeth Stephens, telling her of letters received from France.

" The boys seem to be getting on very well in their studies, and each of them have had prizes and marks of Honor. I wish it was not Catholics they were with, though I believe it will be difficult to make Henry one. He is a very sensible boy and argues with the priests on baptism, etc.—I expect to little purpose."

[1] Dr. Marek Waysblum's note at the end of the present article confirms this and gives information about Mrs. Bodenham's aristocratic Polish connections.

[2] *Sacraments, a Quaker view ;* by Alfred Kemp Brown, M.A., B.D., 1924, reprinted 1947, well states the Quaker position. Ed.

Thus we see Mary Jones beginning to face what was inevitable. She seems to have cherished fewer illusions than her husband. Unfortunately there are no letters after this until May, 1867, when the boys had returned to Polignan from Ackworth.

On their journey to Polignan in April, 1867, the boys stopped at Boulogne to see Mary. Her Mother Superior gave them some books, including *The Stranger's Guide to the Church*. In Paris they hoped to see Princess Sulkowska and Père Perreau, but found neither at home. Evidently they had introductions dating back to their former stay at Polignan. Reaching there on 19th April, "we were *very* heartily welcomed by both masters and boys: everybody wanted to see us." Both boys' letters are headed by a cross, and Theodore begins "Dear Sister Mary Agnes." They use their new Christian names with the zeal of converts. Henry Severin is now Michael Henry, and Theodore is Stanislas, while Roman has become Joseph. On the same sheet, also headed by a cross, is a letter from Henry to the Mother Superior:

"Dear Madam, I write to you today to ask you a favour, a spiritual one, be it understood. You know that Jesus has said 'If any two of you shall agree touching anything you shall ask on earth, I shall grant it you.' I therefore beg your prayers in unison with mine to the end that Thomas Hartas (the boy who wished to be a Catholic) may be befriended by Catholics, and brought to Polignan. The prayer seems very unlikely to be answered but faith can do anything. Also if we ask the blessed Virgin to pray to that effect, Jesus will refuse her nothing. You will think it strange that I take such interest in him, but as he was my schoolfellow, before I knew his thoughts, I said to myself, 'What a pity such innocence should not know the true religion.' In effect, everybody except himself said he was the best boy in the school for religion. He was partially illumined, I being the feeble instrument, and now is surrounded by enemies, who wish to darken his mind. But God, the protector of innocence and truth, will, I am persuaded, hear my prayers, and yours if you accede to my request."

It is touching to see Henry thus continuing his work for the salvation of Thomas Hartas' soul. He does not refer to him again.

A few months later, Theodore tells Mary, "Today I asked leave of my professor, Mr. l'abbé Cazeneuve, to write two letters, one to Mr. Eyston and one to you." Can this Mr. Eyston be the "Catholic friend in Hereford" to whom

Henry refers in his first letter to Gerald Hibbert ? It is clear from the remainder of this letter that the boys were concerned for their mother, who evidently had an unsatisfactory post somewhere in France, but not near Boulogne. The Mother Superior, now " Mère générale des études," had promised to try to find a situation for her. This must be taken to indicate that Jane was by the end of 1867 on the way to conversion. Little Roman, writes Henry on the same sheet, " is filled with the best dispositions ; he works like a horse and attacks every difficulty like—a pontifical Zouave attacks a Garibaldian."[1]

In 1868 the boys began to learn Polish while on a visit to the Polish school at Lalande, near Toulouse. They then sent to Paris for a dictionary, and with the aid of a grammar and a guide to modern conversation were soon able to make sense of a Polish book. Henry and Theodore even told Mary in July, 1869, that they hoped to begin speaking Polish to each other. Roman, now eleven, was tackling this " very, very hard language " too, and the brothers exhorted Mary to do likewise. " You must have very much perseverance for such work," Theodore wrote, " and be seriously decided to stick to it."

" If I had not thought what a shame it would be for a Pole to be ignorant of the language of his ancestors and his country, I should often have left it off "

Henry added. Theodore enclosed with his letter an English poem on Poland which begins :

" Dear sister in my soul bright hopes oft glow
To see ere long our cherished country free,
Our cruel despots in the dust laid low
And our fleets floating proudly o'er the sea."

The verses " are not well done, I know, but they express my thoughts." Ardent Polish patriotism had evidently taken its place alongside zeal for the Catholic faith in the boys' minds.

Their Polish and English connections intrigued their French schoolfellows. Henry wrote to Gertrude not long before he died of some French acquaintance of his youthful days.

[1] On 3rd November, 1867, Garibaldi after invading the Papal States, had defeated the forces of Pius IX at Mentana, only to be routed immediately by the Pope's French allies.

" Funny she was disappointed in us. Did she think we should be dressed in square caps and Polish uniforms ? Of course we looked a good deal like the other boys, but they saw and knew the difference between us and they used to think us very eccentric (originaux)."

In a letter to Mary, dated 7th November, 1869, Theodore used the words, " I am pretty well, so are my brothers, who are in better health than I am." Roman, he says, is now almost as tall as himself. Theodore had always been small and rather frail. He died suddenly in January, 1870, aged just sixteen. Henry was at first unconsolable. He sent Mary a gloomy poem of six stanzas in French, written " at a time when grief blinded me altogether." At first life did not seem worth living without the beloved brother. But after a time Theodore became for him the guardian angel of the Dziewicki family. In May, 1872, he wrote :

" Who could deny that our coming to Polignan was a wonderful present of God's love, sent particularly to me as the eldest, but to all three in general ? And I do know also that our leaving Polignan was a signal favour ; I may not say why now, but it will appear clearly to all of us at the last day. Let us confide in the mercy of God, and the never failing protection of our guardian angel ; let us remember how we have been brought out of the land of Egypt, as Israel of old, without miracles, it is true, but in a most extraordinary manner ; how we have been kept in this desert and fed miraculously."

The letter ends with thoughts of Poland, for Mary was soon to visit her relations there. " You are the forerunner ; we perhaps may come afterwards." Henry was right, for both he and his sisters spent the best part of their lives in the land of their fathers.

JOHN STURGE STEPHENS

NOTE

The rather puzzling problem of the Catholic education of the Quaker boys may be solved if we turn to the personalities of their Catholic protectors in Hereford. As mentioned in Reginald Reynolds's article, Henry Dziewicki, when faced with his grandfather's opposition, sought advice and help of some Catholic friends at Hereford. On the other side, Gertrude Dziewicka—in her rather mordant way—mentions a Countess Bodenham to whom her sisters and brothers were indebted in some way or other, and who took interest in their family. According to Gertrude, she was a self-styled countess, and had no right to any title at all.

All this squares perfectly if we turn to the family of Bodenham, or rather De la Barre Bodenham of Rotherwas, one of the oldest and most influential Catholic families of Herefordshire. In the period critical for the young Dziewicki generation, the representative of this

family was Charles de la Barre Bodenham of Rotherwas Park, J.P., and D.L., Knight of the Order of St. John (1813-1883). His father, Charles Thomas Bodenham (1783-1865) was one of the leaders of English Catholics, and still a young man, was an elected member of the Catholic Board. His mother, Elizabeth Mary Weld, was a known Catholic scholar and writer whose exposition and defence of Catholic faith, "Mrs. Herbert and the Villagers, or Family Conversations on the principal duties of Christianity" (Dublin, 1853) won a sanction of both the hierarchy and of popularity, and ran into seven editions. Through his mother, he was related to Cardinal Thomas Weld (1773-1837). The Bodenham family—in opposition to the liberalizing "political" trend of the English Catholic nobility—represented the most rigid orthodoxy and unflinching attitude against any attempt at any compromise with the English Church and state. Both the father and son Bodenham were partisans of the Jesuit order, and that at a time when it could not be said to enjoy great popularity among the English lay Catholics and Catholic secular clergy.

In 1850, apparently during one of his journeys in Europe, Charles Bodenham junior made the acquaintance of a Polish girl, Irene—Marie Dzierżykraj-Morawska. Her father, Joseph Dzierżykraj-Morawski, of Oporòw, in the Great Duchy of Poznań (d. 1853), a late Referendar of State of the Great Duchy of Warsaw,[1] derived from a family known for their ardent Catholicism and intellectual preoccupations. Her mother Paula *née* Countess Lubienska belonged to a family which had many intimate connections with England. The Morawski family had a few outstanding representatives among the Polish political emigration in France, and was in close touch with their circles.

Charles Bodenham married Irene Marie Morawska in 1850. Although English genealogical sources liberally bestow a count's title on Mrs. Bodenham's father, he did not belong to the titled branch of his family, and Gertrude was apparently voicing the opinion of her Polish aristocratic employers when informing her English relatives that Mrs. Bodenham had no right to the title to which she was pretending. On the other hand, her mother-in-law signed her book Countess E. M. Bodenham. It is not impossible that the Bodenham family held a papal title which the male members of the family did not dare to use in this country, and which by right of courtesy and aristocratic connections was allowed to the ladies of the family. The Rotherwas estate and its lord's name later on passed on to a Polish relative of Irene Marie Bodenham, Louis Łubieński (b. 1853) who assumed the combined name of De la Barre Bodenham-Lubienski and married into the English nobility.

The above data solve the problem of connections between the descendants of the Quaker bookseller from Hereford and Mrs. Bodenham and her noble Polish relatives in France. It is clear that

[1] Grand Duchy of Poznan, created by the Vienna Treaty, was under Prussian occupation, 1814-1918. Grand Duchy of Warsaw (1806-1814), an independent state in personal union with Saxony, was created by Napoleon from Polish territories won from Prussia in 1806 and from Austria in 1809.

Mrs. Bodenham regarded it as her patriotic and religious duty to rescue the children of her late countryman from the danger of denationalization and heresy. And in view of both the Bodenhams' and the Morawskis' connections with the Jesuit Order, it becomes clear why the boys were sent to Polignan, and Mary to the Ursuline convent at Boulogne, why Henry's life and career took such an unexpected turn, and in what way Gertrude and Mary found aristocratic employers in Poland.

Henry's enthusiasm for Pontifical Zouaves may have had its source not only in his religious zeal and in the atmosphere of a French Catholic school of 1867. After the failure of the 1863-1864 insurrection in Poland, two members of the Morawski family served in this corps d'élite.

Sources

de Bodenham, Countess E. M.: *Mrs. Herbert and the Villagers, or Familiar Conversation on the principal duties of Christianity*, 7th edition, Dublin, 1853.

Correspondence between the Messrs Bodenham and the Rev. M. A. Tierney, 1840 (privately printed).

Boniecki, Adam, and Reiski, Artur: *Herbarz Polski* (Polish Heraldry Book), Warsaw, 1913, vol. XVI, p. 64-65.

Burke, Bernard: *History of the Landed Gentry*, 5th edition, 1871, p. 117.

Dunin-Borkowski, Jerzy, Count: *Almanach Błękitny* (Blue Almanac), Lwòw, 1908, pp. 585, 586, 592.

———: *Rocznik Szlachty Polskiej* (Polish Gentry Annual), Lwòw, 1883, p. 574.

Gillow, Joseph: *A Literary and Biographical History of . . . the English Catholics*, London, 1885, vol. I, pp. 254-255.

Morawski, Adam: *Żuawi papiescy w Rzymie i w wojnie francuskiej*, 1865-1871 (Pontifical Zouaves in Rome and in the French War, 1865-1871), Lwòw, 1872.

MAREK WAYSBLUM

Early Marriage Certificates

WILLIAM W. COMFORT, writing in the *Bulletin of Friends Historical Association*, 40, 1951, on "Quaker Marriage Certificates,[1] says that the earliest marriage certificate of which he has seen a copy is that of George Fox and Margaret Fell (p. 71). It is to be dated in October, 1669. Certificates have been published in *Journal F.H.S.* for 1670 (xxxi. 82), 1673 (xxxiii. 68) and 1679 (xxxii. 47f.). John William Graham (in *Friends Intelligencer*, 8mo. 20, 1927, p. 679) said the earliest marriage certificate known among Friends is in the Bodleian Library in Oxford and concerns a marriage of two of his ancestors at Allonby in 1677. For another certificate of 1673 see *Quakeriana* I, 1894, p. 124.

A certificate of earlier date from Bedfordshire is printed by W. M. Wigfield, M.A., in the documents illustrating his article on "Recusancy and Noncomformity in Bedfordshire" in the *Publications* of the Bedfordshire Historical Record Society, 20, 1938, pp. 173f. from the documents in the Public Record Office at Bedford. It reads as follows:

> These are to certifie all whome it doth or may concerne that James Albright of Asply-guise in the county of Bedd: and Elizabeth Yorke of Hanslope in the county of Bucks, did both by full expressions of words, and by takeing each other by y^e^ hand declare them selves to be man and wife, and to live to gether in gods holy feare as becomethe that relation so long as they both shall liue. all which was performed in the presence of us whose names are here unto subscribed, and in y^e^ dwelling house of y^e^ said James Albright in Aspley-guise aforesaid the eight day of y^e^ month (called Septem[ber]) in the yeare one thousand six hundred sixtie seauen.
>
> Tho: Ballard — Henry Biggs
> William Albright — Joseph Yorke
> Richard Marks
> Richard Hartwell — hugh albrigt
> John Yorke

Since the Quaker procedure resembled the civil procedure under the Directory one might not be sure whether such a

[1] Offprint, presented by the author, in the Library, Friends House.

certificate is rightly called Quaker when the text has no reference to Quaker auspices or when as in the 1673 certificates it refers only to " the assembly for the people of God " at Brigflats in the aforesaid Sedbergh or " the Lord's people " at Holderness. In the certificate here quoted the witnesses can mostly be identified as Friends through the occurrence of their names in the Bedfordshire chapter of Besse's *Sufferings*.

Two earlier certificates for 1661 and 1663 of widows of Nailsea are printed from the originals now at Friends House Library in *Journal F.H.S.* xxi, 1924, 44. Again, Besse, who has a long list of Somerset prisoners for precisely the year 1661, confirms the Quakerism of fully half the witnesses, though the text of the certificates contains at most for religious identification the phrase " according to Church order." Consulting the county registers of Friends' marriages, I find these and the Bedfordshire marriage entered, and with exact agreement of detail.

Perhaps still earlier certificates will come to light.[1] If not, that may well be an accident rather than evidence that they were not used. Instructions to Friends to have a record in writing to which some or all the witnesses subscribe their names date back to 1659 and perhaps earlier (A. R. Barclay, *Letters &c., of Early Friends*, 1841, pp. 283, 279). The earliest certificates extant show no stereotyped form.

That Friends did not conform to the procedure of the Church of England may be taken for granted. After the Restoration they were punished for not doing so. See, for example, *Record of Sufferings of Quakers in Cornwall*, 1928, pp. 52, 54, 56, cases in 1663 for which Besse i. 118 assumes that the witnesses to the Quaker ceremony " had signed a testimonial thereof." But even earlier according to Besse, i. 4 (Bedfordshire, 1658), 194 (Essex, 1659), ii. 96 (Yorkshire, 1654-1657), Friends were punished " for having taken each other in marriage, otherwise than in the form appointed by

[1] The digested marriage registers at Friends House begin, in the case of many Quarterly Meetings, with marriages in the Commonwealth period. No less than sixteen begin with marriages in 1655 or earlier, viz. (1646) Plymouth; (1650) Bradford, Brighouse, Lancaster, Pardshaw (Cumberland); (1651) York; (1652) Cartmel, Swarthmore (Lancs.); (1654) Knaresborough, Mosedale (Cumberland), Swaledale (Yorks.), Thirsk, Westmorland; (1655) Balby, Isel (Cumberland), Morley (Cheshire). An examination of the original entries for these digests might show that they were full copies of the certificates made.

the Directory." The Quaker registers enable us to expand the data of some of these marriages with wife's name and date, as follows :

John Impey and Anne Squire married at Beckerings Park, 13.iv.1658.
Simon Rither of York and Ann Key, 27.ix.1656.
Mathew Weightman of York, tailor, and Susanna Horsley, 26.x.1656.

In what respect they did not conform is a question that our historians do not seem to have considered or answered. The historians mostly connect the marriage procedure of Friends precisely with the Directory. So R. Barclay, *Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth*, 1876, p. 406. The latest and fullest discussion of Quaker marriage is in Arnold Lloyd's *Quaker Social History*, 1950, Chapter 4. He mentions (p. 63, note 30) the Kay-Worsley certificate (1666) and says of the Commonwealth period, "The Martin-Huntley certificate (3.x.1658) is the only known survivor of this period ; there is a transcript in the Somerset House folio collection" (*ibid.* note 22). This marriage is recorded in the Friends registers for London and Middlesex.

HENRY J. CADBURY

Two Italian Reporters on Quakerism

LORENZO MAGALOTTI travelled through parts of England in the suite of Cosimo III, Grand Duke of Tuscany, in 1669, and wrote an account of the journey. The manuscript was translated into English at a later date, and finally printed as a handsome quarto volume in 1821 (*Travels of Cosmo the Third, Grand Duke of Tuscany, through England, during the reign of King Charles the Second* (1669). Translated from the Italian manuscript in the Laurentian Library at Florence. London, Printed for J. Mawman, 1821).

In his account of English sects, the author devotes four pages to Friends (pp. 447-451). The survey, though superficial, is of some interest as a sample collection of errors and misrepresentations which went to make up the popular notion of Quakerism ; as can be seen below :

SECT OF THE TREMBLERS, OR QUAKERS

The sect of the Tremblers, or Quakers, was begun by James Naylor ; and, for the purpose of propagating it beyond England, one of the members was sent by the society into Hungary and Transylvania, to bring over those nations to their belief. There were thirteen of them in the first instance ; at the head of whom was Naylor, a wicked man, called by his disciples Jesus Christ, whom he endeavoured to imitate in his voice, actions, and appearance ; and as he was travelling from London towards Bristol on horseback, his followers spread their cloaks and strewed branches on the ground, applauding and shouting in the words of benediction which the multitudes of old made use of to Christ, " Hosanna ! benedictus qui benit in nomine Domini ! " (Hosanna ! blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord !). He arrogated to himself the power of raising the dead, of healing the sick, and, in imitation of Christ, of fasting forty days. This sect, by its pretended sanctity, obtained the ascendancy over all the others, its hypocrisy being extreme. Some of the individuals of it, however, are more humble, apparently more spiritual, and more full of Christ. Towards the poor and afflicted, they are compassionate and liberal. In all their external conversation, they are so modest and affable, that any simple person would take them for saints. They do not make any sign of obeisance to any one, even to those in authority ; so that, sooner than take off their hats in the king's presence, they would lose their heads. To their enemies and persecutors they return good for evil, offering the other

cheek. In the meditations which they make in the public places of the city, they remain as it were in an exstacy, and tremble through their whole body, whence they are called Tremblers. While they are in this state, they utter horrible cries, shed tears, and heave profound sighs from the bottom of their breasts; and when they recover themselves, they talk of the supreme majesty, of the glory, of the greatness of the light, and of the divine splendour which they enjoy in that pretended elevation of the mind. Their numbers increased in a short time to such an extent, that they rendered themselves formidable to all England, being estimated, in the year when Charles II was restored, at upwards of sixty thousand. Many of them have been sent out as apostles throughout almost the whole world; and two of them came to Rome in the year 1658, to convert the Pope, as they foolishly talked. They were there arrested, and interrogated as to their false doctrines; which are as follow:

1. The Quakers call themselves Catholics; they are perfect in this life, and no stain of sin is found in them.

2. Every person ought to be contented with that doctrine which he acquires by the inspiration of the internal spirit.

3. Baptism with water, or external ablution, is of no use, and, therefore, ought to be rejected as superfluous.

4. Among the Quakers, there is no one that has not the Spirit of God within him.

5. The reasonable soul is part of the Divinity, and exists before the body.

6. All men have within them a certain light, by which they may be saved without any other assistance from God.

7. We are justified by the natural justice peculiar to ourselves, which is within us.

8. After this mortal life, no other state of being is to be expected.

9. Those passages of Scripture which refer to heaven, hell, and the resurrection of the dead, are fables.

10. It is not in the power of a perfect man, that is, a Quaker, to sin.

11. The sacred things of the other sects are heathenish.

12. No Christian possesses any private property; for among real Christians all things ought to be in common.

13. Among real Christians one ought not to rule over another, and no one ought to be called *Master*, or *Sir*, nor ought any reverence to be made to men in passing them.

14. The liberty of preaching, and of prophesying, is to be refused to none who is truly called, not even to women. There are also two and thirty additional articles.

LUIGI ANGIOLINI

More than a century later, a second Italian who left record of his visit to Britain and of his impressions of Friends came to this country. Luigi Angiolini, the traveller, who was subsequently foreign secretary to the ruler of Tuscany,

and in 1797 the Tuscan ambassador to Paris, was born in 1750 at Seravezza. He was educated at the University of Padua, and during the course of a European tour in 1787, he spent eight months in Britain. On his return to Florence, he published anonymously *Lettere sopra l'Inghilterra, la Scozia e l'Olanda* (2 vols. Firenze, Allegrini, 1790)—the letters on Holland were never, in fact, published.

We are indebted to Mr. G. S. Darlow, of Leeds University, for drawing attention to this work and for providing the following translation.

Having mentioned in the fifth letter (part I) that he had stayed with a Quaker family during his visit to Chelmsford for the assizes, Angiolini devotes the next letter to an account of the Quakers. The author shows considerable knowledge of Friends ; but sympathetic understanding is not to be expected. Additional interest attaches to some of his remarks, however much he misunderstood, because they were written after attending meetings for worship.

THE QUAKERS

Having agreed to entrust myself to the Quakers, I want to tell you what I think about them, even at the cost of telling you some things you already know. So be persuaded of the facts I set forth, and then judge of their consequences as you will. I found the family with whom I lodged very modest, frugal, quiet, industrious, and of a cleanliness so exacting that the means of attaining it could hardly fail to be inconvenient and tiresome to one who is not a Quaker. Apropos of this, you may be amused to hear, in parenthesis, how one morning, arising from bed with the aftermath of a fever contracted from the extreme cold I had felt on the previous day in Chelmsford criminal court, I went downstairs half dressed to search for a means of relieving a call of nature. I imagined that as in all houses within my experience until then, there would be a convenience in the court, or Yard as they call it, or somewhere close at hand. With this idea in mind, I followed the guide who offered to show me the way ; but he, after making me cross half the town, led me to a garden a third of a mile away. Although this custom was truly inconvenient, I could not help laughing, so odd did it appear, apart from the novelty of it.

The Quakers, both men and women, dress in a very simple style, of an extreme propriety. They put on no adornments, no lace trimmings, no bright colours, and no jewellery. They raise their hats to no one, and never bow the head to anyone, even to the King. They speak little, with moderation, without compliments, and with as much exactitude as possible. Yes and No are customary expressions in their mouths. They claim to be Christians, but with other Christians they have nothing in common but the Bible. They have

no sacrament and no ritual; no priests; no ecclesiastical establishment, and perhaps no fixed tenet but the existence of God. What we call a church is for them just a meeting-place, without any decoration. There they sit in no order of precedence, although the women sit apart, and there reigns an air of melancholy and deep meditation. The silence is complete. It is broken by anyone, man or woman, who feels himself inspired to speak. All the communicants believe themselves thus to be divinely inspired, claiming to be guided within by the true voice of God. The inspiration is heralded with trembling, with sighs, with moans, with a strain amounting to a convulsion; it is finally uttered in a low voice, hesitantly; often the utterer knows not what he is saying, and much less do his hearers. In such circumstances I myself have many times attended meetings, for any person of suitable demeanor is permitted to attend, provided that he remains silent and calm. Presiding over them are certain persons elected by members, whom they call elders. Their government is truly democratic. These elders are the heads; they have the right to admonish members of their chapter who do not behave themselves with fitting propriety, they provide for the needy, give advice and assistance, receive donations, impose punishments. The Quakers will never consent to take an oath; they claim that the truth of their declaration is sufficient surety, and that one should not pronounce the name of God for profane purposes, nor put a sacred value on mundane objects. They refuse under all conditions to take up arms.

For these reasons, and because the Quakers are in the ordinary transactions of daily life honest, gentle and moderate, many people are inclined to think that the sect is closest in method—if that is the right word—to those primitive sects, children of nature and of the religious enthusiasm that animated early man before he was enlightened or corrupted by experience, when he felt the need of a guidance which circumstances caused him to believe could come only from a superior Being. I do not know the aims and forces that moved Fox and the other founders; I do not know whether they had political aims in mind, or if they were genuinely sincere in the simplicity of their habits, the gentleness of their character, and in that unspoiled practice of doing good, which proves its sincerity by its influence.

Perhaps they have these qualities, as I believe had the pioneers of the Catholic religious orders. . .

But to return to the Quakers: if their society in its original conception was regarded from the point of view of religion and the conduct of life, to my eyes it now seems like a political theory with a tendency towards independence and self-interest. That this should be so, a likely proof is the certain fact that every year in the provinces they hold, under the pretext of religious aims, conferences to which some members come from provincial cities 250 or 300 miles away; and in examining the state of trade of their respective cities, they take a record of the affairs of every merchant, the nature of his business, of his methods and of his way of life. Such is the value drawn from this investigation by the great Quaker houses of London,

Bristol and Liverpool, that they keep in business in every city some adherent of the sect, and establish one where there is none, being the more certain of custom by their cloak of modesty, of indifference to all that is not concerned with their religion and their occupation. I have said, and you already know, that they will not take the oath in courts of justice, a privilege that the government grants them in civil cases as well as criminal, except that the law does not inflict the death penalty on the word of a Quaker alone. I can add that a Quaker is exempt from the rules of his sect in a case where the crime affects himself or his property. Then he puts aside his charity in favour of self-interest, and condemns to death the unfortunate who has relied on his hypocrisy. The refusal to raise the hat, to salute or bow to anybody, proclaims a pride and arrogance that destroys or is opposed to every diversity of rank, however necessary, and that tends towards an equalitarianism truly incompatible with the general usages of contemporary society. The Quaker shows, it is true, an extraordinary probity in his business dealings; but since for this reason largely he has a greater volume of business and has a greater number of clients, I may be allowed to question whether this probity derives from sentiment or from motives of business. That this is possible, I quote as an example that a Quaker will willingly and shamelessly abandon his principles when faced with the chance of making a fortune at one stroke, not recking the possibility of being expelled by the others, who are perhaps waiting for an opportunity, in their cautious way, to imitate his apostasy. In short, the sect of Quakers, which fortunately can never be increased much farther, because then they would defeat their own object, is, in my opinion, a hindrance to any kind of civil government, and more pernicious than certain sects of friars are believed to be in a catholic polity. It tends more than they do to concentrate in itself the largest possible share of the wealth of the community, without giving to the same any return, even when in danger of destruction, in the form of armed service—deploring, as they say, the shedding of human blood on religious grounds.

This sect, from a religious standpoint, bears a close resemblance to the only known organised body of deists, I mean the Sages of China, followers of the famous Confucius. From a political standpoint, it derives much of its method from certain Asiatic dynasties, renowned for their ubiquity and for the close bond existing among them for countless years, in India, where they control such immense wealth, that local rulers and the East India Company itself and other merchant houses of European countries are heavily in debt to them, and must have recourse to them whenever they are in need of capital for their enterprises.

Forgive the length of this letter, and if there is but one new idea in it to satisfy you, I flatter myself I have not bored you.

Microfilms of Friends' Registers in Ireland

The Report of the Council of Trustees of the National Library of Ireland (Department of Education, Dublin), for the year 1950-1951, includes a " List of manuscripts relating to Ireland copied on microfilm and ' Photostat '." The list is dated, June, 1951, and includes (p. 27) a list of the films of the registers to be found in the possession of Friends in Dublin. The list is as follows :

	Film	
	negative	*positive*
Records of births, marriages, deaths of members of the Society of Friends, Carlow, Cork, to 1859	820	1021
Records of births, marriages, Dublin, to 1859	820	1021
Records of deaths, Dublin, to 1736	820	1021
Records of deaths, Dublin, 1736-1859	821	1022
Records of births, marriages, deaths, to 1859, for Edenderry, Grange, Lisburne, Limerick, Lurgan, Moate	821	1022
Records of births, marriages, deaths, to 1859, for Mountmellick, Richhill	822	1023
Records of births, marriages, deaths, to 1859, for Tipperary, Waterford, Wexford, Wicklow, Youghall ..	823	1024
Records of births, throughout Ireland, 1859-1949	823	1024
Records of marriages, throughout Ireland, 1859-1887, 1893-1947 ..	823	1024
Records of births, throughout Ireland, 1859-1900, 1909-1949	823	1024

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.

Recent Publications

The Journal of George Fox. A revised edition by John L. Nickalls. With an Epilogue by Henry J. Cadbury, and an Introduction by Geoffrey F. Nuttall. Pp. xlviii, (i), 789. Cambridge, *University Press.* 1952. 21s.

This neat little volume of over eight hundred pages, printed in a good readable type, contains all the live portions of George Fox's *Journal* so far as they can be assembled at this day. The cover of this edition describes it as " a full text in one volume, restored and edited from the sources, and sufficiently modernized to appeal to the general reader." The text which John Nickalls has produced, as he says " to replace for the general reader the text prepared by Thomas Ellwood," is based on the material which must have been in the Spence MS. when it was complete—the portions now lacking from the beginning of that MS. have been supplied from the Ellwood printed text with *Short Journal* readings interspersed. The portion covered by the Spence MS. has been supplemented at the editor's discretion from less comprehensive MSS. available for the period, and notably from the *American Diaries.*

Many of the letters and pastoral epistles which have lengthened previous editions have been abridged or omitted according to their interest, and footnote references to the full text given. This, and the omission of the last fifteen years in the Ellwood editions (as not true autobiography) have materially shortened the new edition to the reader's benefit.

The period after 1675 is covered by a chapter of over forty pages on George Fox's later years, by Professor Henry J. Cadbury, incorporating the results of recent research in a field of study for which he has done so much.

There is no denying that John Nickalls, by going back to original sources, has produced a more forceful rendering of the *Journal* text. One short example must suffice; it comes from the year 1661. Speaking of the use of the plain language and the sufferings that flowed from it, the Ellwood text reads :

> " we were often beaten and abused, and sometimes in danger of our lives, for using those words to some proud men ; who would say, *What, you ill-bred Clown, do you* Thou *me !* as though there lay breeding in saying *You* to one ; which was contrary to all their grammars and teaching books."

How much more pointed is the new text, which has

> " . . . some proud men, who would say ' Thou'st " thou " me, thou ill-bred clown,' as though their breeding lay in saying ' you ' to a singular . . . "

In effect, here, for the first time in readable modern style, stripped

of the outworn polish and inhibitions of second-generation Quakerism, we have the *Journal* as it came from George Fox's lips in the peace of Swarthmoor nearly three hundred years ago. How wide the editorial discretion exercised by Thomas Ellwood in fact was, has only recently been realized. There is no suggestion that editing went beyond the accepted standards of the time ; and whether we attribute the policy of omission, abbreviation and adoption of available text, to Ellwood personally or to the oversight given by the London Second-day's Morning Meeting, it is desirable that the *Journal* Fox left, which has been available to the scholar through the literatim printed Cambridge University Press *Journals* of 1911 and 1925, should be put within the reach of the general reader.

Through the years, apart from the series of standard editions of Ellwood's text, which have come down, with little alteration, to the Bi-centenary edition of 1891 (reprinted in 1901, 1902) there have been other editions and adaptations of it. But no attempt to get behind the printed text of Ellwood to an original MS. of any major portion of the *Journal* was made until this century.

It is to the industry and editorial skill of the late Norman Penney that we owe the *Cambridge Journal*, 1911, and the *Short and Itinerary Journals*, 1925, which make the Spence MS. of the journal of 1675 written down by Lower, and the *Short Journal* and other diaries available in admirably clear, complete and annotated form for the use of scholars. Norman Penney recognized the need for a revision of the accepted text, and his " Tercentenary edition " (published by Dent in 1924)—an abbreviated *Journal* covering practically the same period as the *Cambridge Journal*—introduced changes and additions to Ellwood dictated by the wording of the Spence MS. and *Short Journal*. At the time of his death, Norman Penney had already gone far in the preparation of a revised text to put the recently published manuscripts of the *Journal* before the general reader, and John Nickalls in this edition acknowledges his debt to that unfinished draft.

The *Journal*, as now published, incorporates a few concessions which the scholar will welcome. These include signs to indicate change of source for the reading adopted, and footnotes to cover essential points of identification and to explain shades of meaning. The signs are so unobtrusive that there is no interference with the pleasant appearance of the page and the easy flow of the narrative.

The text is preceded by a preface by the editor dealing with the sources used, a bibliography, and the biographical portion of William Penn's preface to the original edition.

For serious study of the founder of Quakerism, and for quotation in writing about George Fox, the new text offers advantages over the peculiarities of the former Cambridge edition as well as over the more conventional phrasing of the old standard editions. It should therefore be made available everywhere, whether the needs of the general reader or the student are to be served.

There is a new Introduction : George Fox and his Journal, by Dr. Geoffrey F. Nuttall, in which the writer draws on his wide and deep knowledge of seventeenth-century religious movements to set

the *Journal*, and George Fox the man as revealed therein, in the varied background of Stuart England. To read this Introduction, and still more to have heard the author read it as he did at Kendal during the Tercentenary Commemoration, is to appreciate that here we have a study fully worthy of the long line of prefaces which the *Journal* has called forth, from the first by William Penn to those of T. Edmund Harvey and Rufus Jones in this century.

The index, prepared by Nina Saxon Snell, occupies some 30 pages. Subheads under Fox and FRIENDS offer some guidance to passages on teaching and practice. Also under Fox there are: a chronological index, journeys and visits grouped regionally, and a series of references under selected topics. American continental place names are collected under AMERICA, and there is a collection under LONDON of topographical references in and about the city.

This spiritual autobiography is at once a classic in English literary expression and an account of religious experiences—" And much I could speak of these things, but I leave them to the right eye and reader to see and read."

R.S.M.

My Irish Journal, 1669-1670. By William Penn. Edited by Isabel Grubb. With an introduction by Henry J. Cadbury. Pp. (v), 103, 4 plates. London, Longmans, Green & Co. 1952. 12s. 6d.

The original parchment-covered pocket-book that is the source of this publication is in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. In the year 1901 it formed part of a collection of autograph letters, documents, etc., sold in Sotheby's auction rooms in London, described in the catalogue as " the property of Lady Sudeley, who inherited them from her uncle, to whom they were bequeathed by Lady Sudeley's cousin, Mr. Granville Penn, great-grandson of William Penn." The collection was not long after acquired by Charles Roberts of Philadelphia, an American Quaker, and it was through his widow, Lucy B. Roberts, that the Pennsylvania Historical Society became possessed of what is a most interesting and valuable source book.

William Penn was 25 at the time of this visit to Ireland. He was already recognized as a leading supporter of George Fox. He had suffered imprisonment in the Tower, and had become engaged to be married to Gulielma Springett. The main purpose of his visit was in connection with his father's property, landed estates near Cork that the Admiral had acquired for his services under Cromwell and Charles II. The " Journal " served the double purpose of recording day by day Penn's agreements with tenants and his interviews with government officials, often on behalf of persecuted and imprisoned Friends. It is interesting to note that he had with him in Ireland, Philip Ford, who later served him so ill, to help him with the tenancy agreements. There are frequent references to attendances at Friends' meetings, where he shared the ministry with William Edmundson, Solomon Eccles and others.

In 1910, Norman Penney, Librarian at Friends' Reference Library in London, produced a proof edition of fifty copies of the note-book with the object of getting further information on people and places referred to by Penn, who often used only initials for the persons he met with. Another transcription was published in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (vol. 40, pp. 46-84) in 1916. It is upon this foundation that Isabel Grubb and Henry J. Cadbury have worked with such historically interesting results. The former transcriptions have been much improved. Isabel Grubb has identified most of the 150 persons referred to in the MS. by initials. The spelling and punctuation have been modernized, and the abbreviations in which the MS. abounds have been extended. There are also numerous explanatory notes and a good index.

SAMUEL GRAVESON.

The first minute book of the Gainsborough Monthly Meeting of the Society of Friends, 1669-1719. Edited by Harold W. Brace. Volume III, 1709-19. Printed for the Lincoln Record Society by the Hereford Times Limited, Hereford, 1951. Pp. xi, 217. (*Lincoln Record Society publications, vol.* 44.) 30s. £4 10s. the set of 3 vols.

The third and last volume of Harold Brace's edition of the first Gainsborough M.M. minute book covers the period 1709 to 1719 and brings the work to a happy conclusion. In the first volume [reviewed *Jnl. F.H.S.*, xl (1948), 56] Harold Brace gave a general discussion of the value and type of record which appears in the minute book, and this volume rounds off the work with some valuable appendices and good indexes.

The second appendix comprises a chronological arrangement of various documents illustrating the development of Quakerism in the period from 1652 to 1669—from the visit of George Fox to the commencement of the minutes. The documents come from non-Quaker as well as Quaker sources. There are extracts from episcopal visitations, parish registers, Friends' sufferings records, letters and deeds. The third appendix gives a full list of minute books, deeds, registers and miscellaneous papers in the care of the Clerk of Lincolnshire Monthly Meeting.

The index of persons covers all people referred to in the text of any of the three volumes ; but page references are given to those only whose names appear in the text in this volume. Each name is followed by a brief note of occupation, residence, date of death, and the like biographical details where these have been discovered. The indexes for places and subjects refer to this third volume only.

Harold Brace is to be congratulated on the standard of editorial work, and we hope that the welcome accorded to this venture will encourage other record societies to consider publishing Friends' documents concerning their localities.

Unbroken Community: The Story of the Friends' School Saffron Walden, 1702-1952. By David W. Bolam. Published by the School, 1952. Pp. 184. 10s. 6d.

This compact little book is a worthy contribution to the history of Quaker Education; it is well-produced and the story it tells is presented in a simple, vivid and wholly interesting way. Against the social background of the period covered by the 250 years of Walden's life, the author traces the gradual development of a community from Workhouse to School with a strong continuing thread of religious care clearly seen throughout.

The history begins in 1702 with the adventure of John Bellers, whose desire was to help children and old people of the Society of Friends. The Society was not then so predominantly a middle-class body as it has since become. Supported by prominent business men who wished to make charity efficient, the workhouse had as its background the concern to foster Quaker ways in a hostile world. Within seventy years of the foundation at Clerkenwell, it was clear that the needs of the old people could not be catered for if, as interested Friends increasingly felt, the rights of the children were to be adequately maintained.

In new surroundings at Islington, the way was clear for the development of a school; a new approach was taking place, a time-table had been drawn up, schoolwork found its place alongside the work of the household, and the last of the old people finally left in 1811.

During the next 50 years, the intimate family life developed in a background of strict isolation from the world, and the author gives a revealing picture of the "covered fire," the conflict between piety and high spirits, which flared out from time to time. Outstanding during these years is the figure of Peter Bedford, committee member, friend and adviser, always available to help in any human need.

In 1825, the school moved again to Croydon and by 1860 a more humane and understanding atmosphere began to show itself. Changes in community life were to be the school's answer to the threat of anarchy, and the task now was to break down the walls of isolation, so that the children on leaving could hold their own in the changing conditions of the world outside. From early in the nineteenth century, the Junior Literary Society had, with its out-of-school interests, offered a richer experience than came through the classroom; and the vigorous school magazines, in the 1850's the joint work of young masters and senior scholars, provided an outlet for young enthusiasms and the exercise of creative capacities.

Not least helpful to this end was the move to Saffron Walden in 1879. Gradually more radical changes developed. The Old Scholars' Association has been a means of enrichment and new life; non-Friends were admitted in 1873; coeducation came almost imperceptibly in 1910; co-operation with the State education has

been amply justified and to-day, within its own bounds, the community is, in Bellers' words though with a different interpretation of his vision, " an epitomy of the world."

David Bolam has given a unity to his treatment of the story which helps to make this commemorative volume a most satisfying one.

The Story of Quakerism in Scotland, 1650-1850. By George B. Burnet. With an epilogue on the period 1850-1950, by William H. Marwick. Pp. 230. London, James Clarke. (1952.) 15s.

Dr. Burnet, Minister of the Parish of Corsock, has placed us in his debt for the first full survey of Quakerism north of the Tweed. Scotland was stony ground for the Friends, and there were probably not more than 1,500 of them altogether in the whole country during the two centuries covered by the author's study. Dr. Burnet shows how Quakerism throve only in situations where the state religion was in confusion, or for some local reason discredited (Douglas, in Lanarkshire, is a case in point), and that any break in the Quaker onslaught quickly led to the dwindling of the movement. An instance is provided early on when William Osborne, one of the foremost Edinburgh Friends, left the city, and Friends failed to secure a new meeting-place and the movement declined. One hazard was, of course, the anti-English prejudice which early Friends did not overcome, and in many places it is clear that the presence of English soldiery was the only restraining factor preventing the forcible expression of Scottish intolerance.

We may think that Dr. Burnet sometimes overdraws his picture —taking over the words of the polemically-minded seventeenth century unchanged into a twentieth-century context. Friends did not "deluge" districts with propagandist literature (p. 17); and although in a missionary sense the visits of public Friends between the Restoration and the Revolution had negligible results (p. 112), their influence in renewing the faith of the converts already gained may not have been unimportant.

The Friendly reader will find much that is new and interesting in this book—both in fact and in interpretation. Dr. Burnet points out that the " dark and untoward " nation of Scotland let Fox off more lightly than did England in the matter of persecution ; he tells us of the large meeting John Pemberton and his party held at the invitation of the church authorities in St. Magnus' Cathedral at Kirkwall in Orkney, 1786 ; and has well summed up the main aspect of eighteenth-century Quakerism—quietism in worship and devotion, legalism in discipline and administration.

This is not exactly a popular book, but it deserves to be read as (with William Marwick's Epilogue) the only full study of the subject.

There are one or two misprints : an intrusive accent on Descartes, p. 86 ; a wrong date, 1665, p. 98 ; umdergo for undergo, p. 99 ; and Bowron is mis-spelled Bowrom throughout.

The Birthplace of Quakerism. A handbook for the 1652 country. By Elfrida Vipont Foulds. London, Friends Home Service Committee. 1952. Pp. 47, 6 plates. 3s.

The Background of Quakerism in Wales and the Border. With contributions from Evelyn Southall Whiting, Ronald Morris, John R. Hughes. Wood engravings by Sally Sherwood. Published for the Wales and Western Conference, 23rd-25th August, 1952. Pp. 47. 2s. 9d.

(Both are obtainable at Friends Book Centre, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.)

THESE local studies, which were published in time for the Tercentenary Commemoration, will have an interest continuing after the occasion of their first appearance. The two pamphlets are outline guidebooks to the points of Quaker interest in the areas they cover. They are well-written, and are not overloaded with historical material, but have useful references.

Both are accompanied by line maps, and are pleasantly illustrated. The photographs by Morland Braithwaite of the "1652 country" (i.e. Westmorland, North Lancashire and the extreme North-West of the West Riding of Yorkshire) call for special mention, including as they do views of scenery, exteriors and interiors of local meeting-houses, and exteriors of the farmhouses of some of the early Friends —concerning these houses Dr. Geoffrey Nuttall has discovered some new facts, which are here published for the first time.

News from Cornwall. With a memoir of William Jenkin. By A. K. Hamilton Jenkin. Pp. xi, 202, 4 plates. London, Westway Books. 1951. 15s.

This book consists of extracts from the correspondence of William Jenkin (1738-1820), steward of the Lanhydrock estates in Cornwall, agent to a copper company, mining agent, miner and much else besides. The editor, and author of the memoir, is great-great-grandson of William Jenkin and an authority on Cornish history. He has chosen his material well and edited it unobtrusively. Extracts from letters do not usually make for good connected reading, and one could have wished for an index, although in many ways the chronological arrangement does carry the book along without a halt.

William Jenkin was a man of wide interests who became a Friend in middle life, sometime before 1790, when this book begins. Through his eyes as steward and agent we see the development of the Cornish tin and copper mines in the trying period of the Napoleonic wars and immediately after, and watch him helping in the relief of distress which befell the poor miners in many of those winters when bad harvests, failure in mining operations and the war drove the price of grain and potatoes up out of their reach. We watch, too, his interests as a Friend and father in the education of his son Alfred at

Isaac Payne's at Epping, and of his daughter Catherine Phillips Jenkin (so named after the eighteenth-century travelling Friend) at Sarah Gillet's at Sodbury. William Jenkin's interest in mineralogy brought him into contact with William Phillips, the Quaker publisher, and mineralogist, and the Phillips family. In one letter, William Phillips writes of his taking a partner in the business at George Yard, Lombard Street :

> " Our firm is Phillips & Fardon—and my partner is a man with whom I have been very intimately acquainted during the last 10 or 12 years—a man of great learning and probity—and some property. Our dispositions seem well suited—as indeed they ought to be, considering that taking a partner is but one step inferior to the taking of a wife." (*Dated* Tottenham, 23rd March, 1805.)

Reminiscences of old Limerick. By Ernest H. Bennis. Third enlarged edition. Tralee, The Kerryman, Ltd. 1951. Pp. 39. 1s. 6d.

In the course of this account, Ernest H. Bennis, of Limerick M.M., mentions Friends of the following families : Abbott, Abel, Alexander, Baylee, Beale, Bennis, Davis, Evans, Fisher, Grubb, Harvey, Hill, Journeaux, Mark, Malcomson, Newsom, Pease, Phelps, Pike, Robinson, Scarr, Taverner and Unthank.

Lancaster Friends and North America, 1652 to 1865. By W. Giles Howson. From the author, 20 Castle Park, Lancaster. 1952. 6d.

These notes are collected from Lancaster Monthly Meeting records and other sources.

Many minutes for Friends emigrating to America in the eighteenth century and those recording the visits of ministering Friends from America from 1790 onwards, are quoted.

Christian Experience : a Quaker approach. By Robert Davis. (Friends Book Centre. 9d.)

This reprints, with slight revision, the writer's article in the *Friends' Quarterly* for October, 1951, and in its course cites leading Quaker writers from George Fox and Robert Barclay to Thomas Hodgkin and Sir Arthur Eddington.

The Hidden Life ; a series of extracts from the writings of Isaac Penington. Selected by Robert Davis. London, Friends Home Service Committee. 1951. 3s.

Following a brief account of Isaac Penington's life, Robert Davis has selected some passages of great beauty, deep spiritual insight and permanent value from the voluminous and sometimes repetitive complete works as published in 1784, and from his published letters.

Separated unto God. A Plea for Christian Simplicity of life and for a Scriptural Nonconformity to the World. By John Christian Wenger. Scottdale, Pennsylvania, Mennonite Publishing House. 1951. $3.50.

The twofold purpose of this book is to emphasize the sharp separation which necessarily exists between the followers of Christ and " the world," and " to deepen the conviction with which the truth of separation unto God is held by the members of such bodies of Christians as Mennonites . . . and the Society of Friends."

The " separation " for which the author pleads " is not a matter of rejecting science and inventions, nor is it the maintenance of a cultural *status quo*, nor is it difference for its own sake." It is, rather, a positive witness to the prior claims of God over every department of life. Its implications for worship, culture, marriage, recreation, industrial and social relationships, the demands of the state and Christian mutual aid are surveyed in thirteen chapters. Valuable bibliographies are given at the end of each chapter, and several lengthy appendices reproduce important statements by the Mennonite Church on such matters as Peace, War and Military Service, the Christian attitude towards Investments and on Industrial Relations. The book is only to a minor extent historical. The chapter entitled " Christian Nonconformity in History," 40 pages, deals with Anabaptists and Mennonites in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

At a time when many in our own Society are conscious of a need to think more deeply about the practical expression of a Christian commitment, this challenging statement from a religious body with which Friends have had and still have much in common is greatly to be welcomed.

British Pamphleteers. Vol. 2: From the French Revolution to the nineteen-thirties. Edited by Reginald Reynolds. With an introduction by A. J. P. Taylor. London, Wingate, 1951. Pp. 302. 21s.

The second volume of *British Pamphleteers*, covering the period from the French Revolution to the nineteen-thirties, is edited by Reginald Reynolds. This volume includes *On Slavery and its Remedy* by Joseph Pease (1841), an appeal to planters' self-interest in the cause of humanity. Also appears such now classic tracts as William Hone's *The Late John Wilkes's Catechism*, Kingsley's *Cheap Clothes and Nasty* and H. N. Brailsford's *Origins of the Great War*, and ones we have not met before, including Laurence Housman's *Bawling Brotherhood* (1913) written for the suffrage movement, and *Why we burnt the Bombing School* by Saunders Lewis—as topical to-day as a decade and a half ago when it first saw the light.

In the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* for October, 1951, vol. 75, no 4, there is an article on *The Disgrace of John Kinsey, Quaker Politician*, 1739-1750, by Edward B. Bronner, of Temple University, traces the career of John Kinsey, who served for eleven years as Speaker in the Assembly and leader of the Quaker element in the government—" the Hinge on which the Quaker Politicks all turn "—until his sudden death in 1750, on which event it was discovered that he had misappropriated more than £3,000 of public funds, a fact which ruined his reputation in the eyes of his own and future generations. There are also reviews of Thomas Drake's *Quakers and Slavery*, and of *A Friendly Mission : John Candler's Letters from America, 1853-1854.*

The January, 1952, issue, vol. 76, no. 1, includes an account of *Robert Waln, Jr. : Quaker Satirist and Historian* and of his works (published between 1819 and 1825), by William S. Hastings of Purdue University.

The July, 1952, issue, vol. 76, no. 3, includes an account written by Professor Henry J. Cadbury, of the identification of Gulielma Penn's grave at Jordans ; a review of N. B. Wainwright's *A Philadelphia Story. The Philadelphia Contributorship for the Insurance of Houses from loss by Fire*, an insurance house which was long in Quaker hands ; and a review of *The Pennocks of Primitive Hall*—the history of a family, originally Irish Quakers, of some eminence.

The Autumn number, 1951, of the *Bulletin of Friends Historical Association* (vol. 40, no. 2) has an impressive list of research in progress and usual features. It contains two main articles : a study by William Wistar Comfort of the development of the Quaker marriage procedure and certificate, suitably illustrated by quotations from certificates of various periods ; and an account of Abington Friends Meeting, an address by Horace Mather Lippincott to the Association.

W. W. Comfort has presented a reprint of his paper to the Library, and it may be interesting to read the notes supplied by Professor Henry J. Cadbury, and printed in this issue.

The December, 1951, issue (vol. 20, no. 4) of *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, is largely devoted to George Keith. It includes an introductory article " Keith the Quaker and Keith the Anglican " by Edgar Legare Pennington ; an illuminating though biassed account of the state of the Church in North America, by Keith and others, dated from New York, 1702, and a reprint of Keith's *Journal of Travels from New-Hampshire to Caratuck* (London, 1706), with facsimile of the original title-page (from the Harvard copy) and ample notes by E. L. Pennington.

Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society, vol. 9, no. 4, October, 1950, includes an article by H. Lismar Short on "The importance of the seventeenth century in Unitarian history"—a formative period in Unitarian development as in Quaker growth, and another by Dr. Dorothy Tarrant "Unitarians and Bedford College" based largely on Dame Margaret Tuke's *History* of the college (1939) and other works.

"Thomas Collier, a seventeenth-century religious liberal" by Dr. H. John McLachlan (*Transactions*, vol. 10, no. 1, October, 1951, pp. 1-5) mentions Collier's controversy with Friends, and his answers to James Nayler and Thomas Salthouse (1657, 1659).

West New Jersey: a Quaker Society, 1675-1775, by John E. Pomfret, president of William and Mary College (*William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, vol. 8, no. 4, October, 1951) studies the social pattern of a province which throughout the colonial period held concentrated a strong Quaker element; the author enumerates the meetings and meeting houses of the state.

The April, 1951, issue of the journal included reviews of Thomas E. Drake's *Quakers and Slavery* (by Frederick B. Tolles) and of Janet Whitney's edition of Woolman's *Journal* (by Henry J. Cadbury).

The Fryers of Rastrick; by H. Travis Clay (*Halifax Antiquarian Society. Transactions*, 1951. Pp. 63-70; portraits, plans and pedigree), a paper read to the Halifax Antiquarian Society, 17th August, 1951, traces the descent of the family from the marriage of Joseph Fryer and Esther Preston in 1701 through to the second half of the nineteenth century. The article touches on the manufacturing interests of the family, and in the earlier period is indebted to Friends' records for particulars of sufferings and the like.

Notes and Queries

A Frenchman at Meeting, 1785

French interest in Great Britain was quickened in the eighteenth century in spite of the political differences between the two countries which resulted in the long series of colonial wars and ended in the continental war with Napoleon. One expression of this interest is seen in the printed guidebooks which were on sale in France during the period. Many of these mention Friends—dealing more or less superficially with their main beliefs and form of worship.

The *Tableau de Londres et de ses environs, avec un précis de la constitution de l'Angleterre, & de sa décadence*, by François La Combe (1785), has (p. 34) a section on "Quakers, ou Trembleurs," in which travellers are advised to go to meeting one Sunday. The account does not resist the temptation to poke fun at Friends, but it closes on a favourable note and mentions that in Pennsylvania 200,000 negroes have been set free—"Quelle leçon pour les Monarques!"

The interest of the copy of this work in Leeds University Library lies in the fact that it contains marginal notes on prices, times for travelling, and on the reliability of the printed account. These notes are by one Richard de Vesvrolle(?), jotted down during, or from the recollection of, a visit to London in the summer of 1785.

The traveller followed the guidebook's advice and went to meeting one day. The meeting was silent, and after an hour he lost patience and departed—as he relates in the margin of p. 34.

"Il arrive quelquefois que
"persone ne prent la parole, et je
"suis tombé maladroitement sur
"un de ces jours. Je comptois
"beaucoup sur un homme qui
"pousoit frequament de gros
"soupirs, mais il s'entint la. Je
"perdis patience et sortis après
"une heure de scilence. Ils sont
"neenmoins tres estimables et
"sont tres charitables et bien-
"faisants."

George Fox and War

Gerald Bullett, in *The English Mystics* (London, Michael Joseph, 1950. 12s. 6d.) has studies of George Fox, the Cambridge Platonists, William Law, William Blake and others. The author has a refreshing if sometimes slangy way of putting his points. Writing of George Fox's repudiation of war, Gerald Bullett says "his absolutism was never tested" and argues away his refusal to join the army as not counting because it would have been refusal only to fight in a civil war. But why so? Were there not English troops in Jamaica under the Commonwealth? And did Fox rise or rouse his Friends to fight for the Catholic James or the Protestant Monmouth before the ill-starred Sedgmoor battle? And did Fox bid Friends pray for victory or fight for Friend Charles when the Dutch were firing in the Thames and Medway towns and prayers were being said in all the churches in England for victory over the invader?

Robert Scothorn

The March, 1952, issue of the *Southwell Magazine* includes an interesting account of Robert Scothorn (b. 1659) one of the early emigrants from Nottinghamshire to Pennsylvania, and of the joint Anglo-American interest in erecting a memorial to him in Oxton church, Notts, where he was baptised on 23rd April, 1659.

Oxton provided four early settlers in Pennsylvania—Thomas Worth and Samuel Bradshaw (1682), Thomas Bradshaw (1683) and Robert Scothorn (1684). The memorial was unveiled on 14th October, 1951 (William Penn's birthday).

Thomas Maule and Witchcraft

The Devil in Massachusetts, by Marion L. Starkey (Robert Hale. 18s.) is a book concerned with the witch trials in the colony at the close of the seventeenth century.

It is interesting to note Quaker Thomas Maule's warning to Salem, that the witchcraft scare had been fabricated "from the petty hates and envies of the community."

Clarks of Street

Clarks of Street, 1825-1950 (48 pp. 7s. 6d.) is an historical and descriptive brochure of the development of the footwear-manufacturing firm of C. & J. Clark, Ltd., of Street, in Somerset. It will have interest outside trade circles. There are portraits of the leading figures in the firm's history, a Clark family tree, and many photographs and illustrations—including the Street Meeting House built in 1850 and its forerunner on the same site.

The Declaration of Indulgence in Devon

Devonshire Studies, by W. G. Hoskins and H. P. R. Finberg (London, Cape, 1952), includes at pp. 366-395 "A Chapter of Religious History" by H. P. R. Finberg. Dealing with the Declaration of Indulgence, he says that the number of licences taken out under the Declaration during the year in which it held good was 160—a larger number than in any other county. "Classified under the several denominations, these licences are a good index of their relative strength. Presbyterian 119, Congregationalist 32, Baptist 7, Quaker 2."

Cumberland & Westmorland Friends, 1670

"The population of the diocese of Carlisle in 1676," an article in *Transactions of the Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society*, vol. 51, new series (1952), pp. 137-141, by Francis Godwin James, gives in tabular form, by parishes and archdeaconries, numbers of persons of age to communicate (in church), Popish recusants, Quakers, and other dissenters. The information comes from papers in vol. 144 of the Bodleian Library Tanner MSS. and is based on returns from parish ministers to their bishop.

The returns are incomplete, the total possible communicants were returned as little more than 23,000 in numbers. The percentage of recusants is estimated at ½ per cent., of Quakers 2.2 per cent., and of other dissenters together at 1.9 per cent. Of the 497 Quakers, more than half were in Alerdale Deanery (Calebeck 70, Wigton 40, Bridekirk 30, Isell 22,

Kirkbride 21), where only three of the 16 parishes which made returns reported no Quakers. Elsewhere Friends were scattered more thinly. Carlisle Deanery counted 126 (Wetherall 20, and Burgh by Sands 18, the largest); Westmorland Deanery 104 (Ravenstonedale 32, Kirkby Stephen 19, the largest); Cumberland Deanery the fewest, 55 (only Grasdale, 12, and Dacre, and Castle Sowerby with Raghtonhead, 10 each, reaching double figures).

W. E. Forster

William Edward Forster: politician, statesman, educationist, an article by G. F. A. Baer, appears in *The Universities review*, vol. 24, no. 2, pp. 103-109. Mr. Baer traces the life of W. E. Forster from his birth at Bradpole in July, 1818, through his education and business life, until his marriage with Jane, daughter of Dr. Arnold of Rugby, in 1850, and then his launch forth into the political area on behalf of reformist movements.

Cornish Quakerism, 1744

In *The Early Cornish Evangelicals, 1735-60: a study of Walker of Truro and others* (S.P.C.K. 1951. 16s. 6d.), G. C. B. Davies recounts Samuel Walker's report on his cure at Lanlivery in 1744. In the parish there were no dissenters "excepting one family consisting of two persons, and a single person in another family, who are Quakers. The house of the former is licensed, and the few Quakers in the neighbourhood usually meet there on Sundays, but have no teaching, unless occasionally by an itinerant preacher." There are one or two other notices of Friends at this time, taken from the records of the Exeter diocesan visitation of 1744-1745.

Social Work in Liverpool

Charitable Effort in Liverpool in the 19th Century, by Margaret B. Simey (Liverpool University Press, 1951), has much information concerning the social work of Josephine Butler, James Martineau, James H. Thom and the Rathbone family, with a close study of the squalid conditions they faced and the organizations they formed to ameliorate the lot of the poor and unprivileged. We meet James Cropper and his "crockery of Quaker drab" with the figure of a negro in chains (p. 26*n*).

George Keith and the S.P.G.

Into all Lands: the History of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701-1950, by Henry Paget Thompson (S.P.C.K. 1951. 42s.) includes some account of the activities of George Keith (and a portrait taken from an engraving); extracts from Colonel Morris's survey of the relative strength of religious bodies in New Jersey, and other material of a similar nature.

Church Rates, 1813

Nottingham petty sessions records for 1812-1813 include, under date 10th May, 1813, a list of "Names of the Quakers who have refused to pay an Assessment to the Repairs of the Church of St. Marys Nottingham for the yr 1812." The sums due ranged from £2 3s. (Samuel Fox) to 1s. (Joseph Armitage jr.); the Friends concerned were: Samuel Routh, William Fox,

Samuel Fox, Joseph Whitlark, Mary Hoatham, John Gregory, Joseph Armitage, Joseph [*John* in the summons] Armitage jr., Messrs. Scales and Bakewell, George Bott.

The above information comes from *Records of the Borough of Nottingham*, vol. 8: 1800-1835 (Nottingham, Forman, 1952), p. 176. In the same volume (p. 188) we find a sum of 13s. 4d. charged in the county rate vouchers:

> "1814. June 6 A . . . notice not to molest Quakers, on account of not illuminating, fair copy for posting bill, and attending printer. 13s. 4d."

Irish Relief Records, 1847-1865

In *Irish Historical Studies*, vol. 8, no. 29 (pp. 45-58), there is *A short guide to the Public Record Office of Ireland* by Margaret Griffith. This includes notes of the main collections of non-official material which has been in the Office since 1922. On p. 54 we find the entry:

> "A large collection of papers (reports, accounts and correspondence) presented by the Religious Society of Friends, dealing with the work of the society in relieving distress, 1847-1865."

Quaker Discipline

John T. McNeill, Professor of Church History at Union Theological Seminary, New York, has a chapter in his recent book *A History of the Cure of Souls* (SCM Press, 1952. 25s.) on "The Care of Souls in Congregationalism, the Baptist churches, Quakerism and Methodism." He notes the features of mutual admonition and correction among Friends, and the functions of Elders and Overseers in enlightening and guiding others. "If this guidance has made too much of trivial matters of dress and recreation, it has also assailed slavery, racial discrimination, and dishonesty with uncompromising insistence."

Pills and Publishing

The close connection between bookselling and the sale of patent medicines, has often been remarked, and in the March, 1951, issue of *The Library: Transactions of the Bibliographical Society* (5th series, vol. 7, no. 1, pp. 21-37), John Alden, has an article entitled "Pills and Publishing: Some Notes on the English Book Trade, 1660-1715," in which he uses advertisements for patent medicines to be found in the library of the British Museum, to broaden our knowledge of the booksellers under the later Stuarts.

The advertisements usually give names of persons selling the particular medicine recommended, and Mr. Alden has brought unrecorded booksellers to light. Friends will be interested that Charles Marshall, the Quaker minister and apothecary, one of the earliest converts of Camm and Audland's ministry in Bristol, is mentioned for *A Plain and Candid Account of the Nature, Uses and Quantities of some Experienced Medicines* (London, 168-?), 8 pp. quarto, [Wing M741; BM: 546.d.44.(3.)] which seems to differ from the edition quoted in Joseph Smith's *Catalogue of Friends' Books*, II.146, in title, format, and imprint. The British Museum edition of the *Account* mentions, appropriately enough, the three

Quaker booksellers, Andrew Sowle, Benjamin Clark and John Bringhurst. It is probably the 1681 edition, issued at about the same time as the letter of recommendation for Charles Marshall's medicines signed by Bristol Friends (see Smith : II.614 under Richard Snead's name) ; while the edition of the *Account* quoted by Smith, printed by T. Sowle, and giving Charles Marshall's address in Winchester Street (after 1684 when he was released from the Fleet), may probably be dated between 1691 and 1694 from Tace Sowle's imprint.

Quaker Methodists

The March, 1952, number of the *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society* (vol. 28, part 5) includes the first portion of an article on " The women itinerant preachers of early Methodism " by Wesley F. Swift. The author mentions the influence of the " Quaker Methodists " of Warrington on Hugh Bourne, one of the early Primitive Methodists, and the possible preparation for Bourne's acceptance of the ministry of women through his reading of the works of early Quakers (1799).

George Graves

In *Watsonia*, vol. 2, part 2, pp. 93-99 (1951), W. H. Curtis, F.S.A., contributes a brief account of George Graves, 1784-1839, of Walworth, Peckham, and lastly of Edinburgh. Graves was a writer on botany and on British birds and their eggs. The son of William Graves the colourist of the plates in William Curtis's botanical works, in 1806 he married William Curtis's neice, Mary Curtis, and he and his wife left the Society of Friends shortly after their marriage. W. H. Curtis has kindly sent a copy of his article to the Library, Friends House.

Index

Passed for Press 20.xi.1952

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY

VOLUME XLIV

1952

FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY
FRIENDS HOUSE, EUSTON ROAD, LONDON, N.W.1

HEADLEY BROTHERS LTD
109 Kingsway London WC2
and Ashford Kent

Contents

Supplements to the Journal of Friends' Historical Society

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 pp., 2s., post 1½d.

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.

23. SLAVERY AND "THE WOMAN QUESTION." Lucretia Mott's Diary, 1840. By F. B. Tolles. 5s., cloth 7s. 6d.

24. THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY OF THE EARLY FRIENDS. Presidential address by Frederick B. Tolles, 1952. 2s. 6d.

PRINTED BY HEADLEY BROTHERS LTD 109 KINGSWAY LONDON WC2 AND ASHFORD KENT