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of the
Friends' Historical
Society

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THE JOURNAL
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Editorial

THE Presidential Address for 1955, delivered by John M. Douglas at Friends House, on October 6th, is printed in this issue, which appropriately resolves itself into a number concerned with Irish Quakerism in the early period. Olive C. Goodbody, who is Secretary of the Historical Committee of Ireland Yearly Meeting, contributes a background outline of economic and social conditions in Ireland at the time of the Commonwealth, and a paper on Anthony Sharp, Dublin wool-merchant and one of the leaders in the Quaker community there.

At a well attended spring meeting of the Society held on March 1st, at Friends House, Amy Wallis gave a most enjoyable address on Darlington, under the title "The English Philadelphia", which the town was called by its local historian, Friend John William Steel. Its rapid growth as an industrial city in the nineteenth century took place very much under the leadership of a number of Quaker families. Its large and active Friends Meeting had also a strong social life. These activities and what they meant to her in her childhood were the main substance of Amy Wallis's address, which also included excursions into the early rise of Quakerism in the North and also some of the world wide services of various Darlington Friends in the nineteenth and present centuries. A report of the meeting appeared in "The Friend" for March 9th, 1956 (Vol. 114, no. 10), p. 205.

Olive C. Goodbody contributes the following note on Irish Friends' records in Dublin.

At 6 Eustace Street, Dublin, Irish Friends have a considerable collection of Records, and a Library, mainly of Quaker literature.

The MS. records number about 650 volumes, comprising minute books of the Yearly Meeting and of many Friends meetings in various parts of Ireland, records of sufferings in Ireland from 1656 and early registers of births, marriages, and burials, one containing dates as early as 1641.

The Historical Library numbers some 1140 volumes, many dating from the seventeenth century. It also contains a collection of some 3,000 letters, chiefly the correspondence of a number of Irish Quaker families, e.g. Grubb, Lecky, Newsom, Chandle and Shackleton. There are 12 volumes of MS. material on the life of Anthony Sharp, and a collection of correspondence on the following matters:—the Irish Famine of 1846-47, and measures of relief, the anti-slavery campaign, the schism of the White Quakers, besides some 1700 other MSS. in volumes. A thesis on Social Conditions in Ireland 1650-1750, by Isabel Grubb, and Extracts from the diary of Mary Leadbeater from 1769-1826 are also to be found there, besides photostat copies of a number of letters of early Friends relating to Ireland, whose originals are in London. An account of some items of particular interest in the collection was printed in this *Journal*, XXIV (1937), pp. 29-31.

Accounts for the year 1955 and *Journal*, vol. 47

Expenditure			Receipts				
	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
<i>Journal of Friends' Historical Society</i> , vol. 47, 2 parts	192	13	8	Balance brought forward	312	11	8
Stationery	9	6	8	Subscriptions and Dona- tions	240	2	11
Expenses, including post- age	20	0	0	Sales	11	11	8
Donation to <i>Bibliography of Early Nonconformity</i>	2	2	0	Advertisements ..	4	10	0
Balance carried forward to 1956:				Interest on Post Office Account	6	3	6
Post Office Account—							
295	9	2					
Barclays Bank—							
55	8	3					
	<hr/>						
	350	17	5				
	<hr/>						
	£574	19	9				
	<hr/>						
					£574	19	9
					<hr/>		

Examined with the books of the Society and found correct.

17.ii.56

(Signed) BASIL G. BURTON.

Early Quakerism in Ireland

Presidential Address
to the Friends' Historical Society, 1955

By JOHN M. DOUGLAS

AT intervals of twenty years or so, the Friends' Historical Society casts its mantle over some Irish Friend; now for this generation, the honour is mine.¹ It is my desire, at the year's end, to return the grey garment not merely free from spots of green or orange, but even warmed and stretched a little, by reason of this its third trip across the Irish Sea.

Inevitably my subject must include the land of my birth, preferably in that half century when the Quaker way was hopeful and dangerous, before the good rules and precedents were fixed, hardened, and prickly. In fact wherever my thoughts lead me this evening, I am really considering what inducements I can offer to English or American Friends to study the development of our Religious Society in Ireland, or the adventures of its members, during three centuries.

Is there any apology needed, for turning our attention to such a narrow field as Quakerism in Ireland? In my own case, having read a lot of historical books at school and college, I awoke one day to the interest of the lists in family Bibles. My father took me round to visit the late Thomas H. Webb, who showed me some of his collection of pedigrees. I found we had many ancestors in common, and he gladly let me copy as I wished. Since then as opportunity offered, I have kept adding names. I now have well over 100 direct ancestors docketed; almost all of these were Friends, more or less faithful and orderly, dwelling in the one island.

But as a rule, pedigrees are dull lists, names and dates, and places. My ancestors were cautious undistinguished folk who would have blushed to see their names in print. In order to imagine them as living beings, I had to find out all I could about the changing life of the religious society that calmed their fears, and cherished their hopes of Eternal Life.

Fortunately not many Friends now living have quite so

¹ Previous Irish Presidents of F.H.S. were J. Ernest Grubb (1913) and Isabel Grubb (1934).

many genealogical reasons for studying the past records of Quakerism in Ireland as myself. We do get new blood in sometimes. But apart from pedigrees, fifty years of attendance at meetings, committees and conferences might well give me a lively curiosity about those who sat on similar seats in similar gatherings during the 250 years before me. Although the old minute books give inadequate details of the meetings of long ago, I keep discovering little usages that could be traced back at least to 1700. For the customs and phrases of a religious group have pedigrees as well as the members. I have occasionally wished that our Society could forget its honourable history, and start out again without precedents to find expression for its beliefs and principles. Even then we should need a good history safely locked up somewhere to make comparison later. Since this wish cannot be fulfilled, I can pass happily through the duller parts of our proceedings by using my historical imagination to consider how all things, good and less good, must have grown up.

So long as there remains alive an international Religious Society of Friends, therefore, the history of Friends in Ireland cannot lose its value. But suppose the Society ended, merged in something greater, or just vanished into hot air, what then? Nearly a century ago, Robert Barclay the younger, with some such thought in mind, wrote in his *Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth* (p. 516).

The lessons of the past, if wisely considered in so important a subject as that of the history of a perfectly free and self-governing religious Society can hardly be without instruction to the visible Church of Christ.

I believe Barclay's dictum has gained in weight, even though it may seem that political man shows less hope in churches. In modern civilized life we tend to be crushed between the powerful, all-embracing state, too enormous to call out our loving service, and the individual citizen who feels insignificant and helpless although his knowledge and vision have been enlarged. Is not the cultivation of particular free religious societies becoming more important for all who appreciate freedom?

Quakers in Ireland are, as they have always been, the minority of a minority, remnant of a remnant. And by no means all of them care to read history. Anything we think of writing must, therefore, be considered in relation to Quaker experience as a whole. Interest in some Irish locality or

custom may be added to the general interest, but is not likely to be valuable taken alone.

Whoever attempts the history of a religious group faces a perennial difficulty. He cannot worship the Lord of Life with all his heart and strength and mind, and at the same time compare, evaluate, and judge the object of his worship. The words and gestures of the human worshippers, their relations with each other and with their neighbours, the expression of their aspirations in books, letters, verses: all these can be studied: also the effects of their worship upon their social and economic culture, and their relations with other religious groups, and with the state. But the essential thing in Quakerism, the group of friends waiting humbly together in silence, in a room bare of adornment, on the presence of the Eternal Living Christ, offers no scope for historical writing. The moment is timeless; the place insignificant; if there is a verdict, God alone can give it. "To his own master, he standeth or falleth."

Among the attitudes of mind which I have remarked among those who essayed to contemplate the Eternal Christ I may mention two that prevent historical study. The first is a kind of contempt, not only for the rituals of the past, but for the details of daily intercourse in society. It was bound up with Quaker simplicity, and Quaker iconoclasm and rationalism, and no doubt a deep respect for the "unseen things that are eternal". But those who despise the visible and temporal will not write much history.

The second is extreme conservatism. Since we worship one "who is without change or shadow of turning," why should a Christian society, once established for two generations, make any change in its usages unless dictated by light, weather, or transport. In this way petty details which can have no importance in the sight of God, become unchangeable, and so acquire a new importance. If indeed "nothing changes here," how can there be any history to write? These two attitudes of mind help to explain much in our old minutes and books of advices, especially the many interesting things that got left out.

The Muse of History does not seem to be the same person in the two islands. In England we have the conception or tradition of "freedom broadening down from precedent to precedent"; rights of the citizen, parliamentary democracy, trades unions, voluntary schools, private development of

useful enterprises. There is a record of long continuing struggle, never without some successes. In all these, individual Quakers took a notable share, generally with some encouragement from their Society. But Irish history seems a succession of failures in a resistance movement against forces coming from without. Each fit of revolutionary enthusiasm leads to violent war, followed by a generation of exhaustion. From this has sprung inspiring poetry and romance. But Quakerism, with its rejection of war and violence as a blasphemy against God the Creator, and its passion for finding a little good on both sides of a question just does not fit into Irish history.

IRISH BACKGROUND

What kind of background must we imagine for the year 1654, when William Edmondson began that first regular meeting for worship in Ireland, which so incredibly still gathers in Lurgan every First-day morning? To give a full answer would involve rewriting the history of Ireland; but a few paragraphs may help us to consider how far the times were ripe for planting a new religious movement in the island.

Politically the situation might seem the same as in Great Britain. The parliamentary armies had defeated and destroyed the King and all who rose to support him, including the Established Church. The only leader who had the general support of the Army, Oliver Cromwell, ruled as Lord Protector over a left-wing protestant republic. He kept searching for a new constitutional position, but died without founding either a republic or a new monarchy. When he called a parliament, there were representatives from both Scotland and Ireland. Probably this policy of unification was intended to appeal to the soldiers, but was later reversed to suit commercial opinion in London. In Ireland the Civil War, dragged out from 1641-53, had been more disastrous than in England or Scotland. Generally it had been fought more desperately; discipline had been poorer, pay less regular. Quarter was seldom granted, and all parties were accused of killing women, children, and clergy. The refugees, escaping fire and sword, encountered hunger, cold, and the plague. It was estimated by Sir William Petty, Surveyor of the confiscated estates, that half the population had perished.

In 1655 Francis Howgill describes a journey westward with Cornet Cooke

into the heart of the nation, about 50 miles from Dublin, through deserts, woods, and bogs, and the desolatest places that ever any did I think behold, without any inhabitant except a few Irish cabins here and there, who are robbers and murderers that lives in holes and bogs where none can pass.

His comrade, Edward Burrough, who travelled southwards, wrote, "Our service lies only in great towns and cities, for generally the country is without inhabitant." In Fuller & Holme's *Compendious View of Sufferings* we read:¹

Thomas Loe, Thomas Holme, William Blanch, and John Wrenn, being peaceably in their friend's house at Cashel, and their horses at an inn, as travelling men, were apprehended by a guard of soldiers in the year 1657, by order of Colonel Richard Le Hunt, and being brought before him and examined, were violently turned out of the town, and the gates kept against them though it was near night, and a dangerous time for Englishmen to lie out of garrison, because of the tories or robbers.

The Quaker who lived in Cashel was probably George Baker. The tories were generally men of old landed families who had lost their estates, and preferred to live as outlaws rather than settle down to be day-labourers. After the nickname "tories" had been given to the High Church Party in London about 1678, the outlaws in Ireland were called rapparees. At the National Half Year's Meeting in May 1681, a report was mentioned (presumably a complaint from Dublin Castle) that "Friends in the North countenance, entertain, or connive at the Torrys." This was a serious matter in the days of Redmond O'Hanlon,² so four Ulster Friends were appointed to enquire. At the next meeting in November, 1681, we read that the answer about tories had been deposited with Joseph Sleight (I suppose he was expected to show it to all enquiring). A short minute was made: "It is desired that Friends everywhere be careful to have no correspondence or familiarity with such persons."

As the Civil War wore on, plans were made to remove all papists from every position of influence, and to replace them by Englishmen loyal to London. Landowners, if proved innocent of rebellion, were ordered to transport themselves into far-off Connaught; merchants were expelled from their city houses; priests and teachers were given twenty days to leave the country. Soldiers as they surrendered were either allowed to sail as recruits to European armies, or were trans-

¹ 1731 ed., p. 53.

² An Irish outlaw leader, d. 1681.

ported, along with young men and women who had no clear means of support, to become indentured labourers in the West Indies. Those who remained were intended to be tenant farmers and labourers, without education or powers of leadership. It is not hard to imagine how deep must have been the gulf of bitterness that separated Irish and Anglo-Irish from any religious or spiritual movements among their conquerors.

The lands confiscated from rebels had been promised as early as 1642 to "undertakers" who subscribed money for the parliamentary cause. Again in 1649 they were promised to the army that reconquered Ireland, in lieu of pay. By 1655 the change over was in full swing; soldiers disbanded were receiving certificates for pieces of land chosen by lot; a few with capital became the new landed gentry of Ireland, those without capital sold out to their officers or other speculators, and either returned to England or took service with some wealthier comrade. In England the authorities were advertising for folk ready to go to Ireland as "planters"; traders and craftsmen in the half-empty towns, tenants and stewards on the new estates. There were also many lawyers, surveyors, and agents earning their share of profit from the great operation. Our records are far from complete; but among the first generation of Quakers in Ireland we find two or three from the adventurers' lists; rather more ex-soldier landowners; perhaps a score of names found in Ireland before 1641; and a considerable number of planters, for this word continued in use long after the Restoration of 1660. Such were the folk among whom Howgill, Burrough, and their comrades preached, argued, and made convincements in the towns of Leinster and Munster 1655 to 1659.

QUAKERISM AS A GENERAL CHURCH REFORM

In all three nations men had seen in a dozen years the downfall of all the old authorities in church and state; the ruins of civil war, and the instability of new men and institutions. Reports from the continent, exhausted by the Thirty Years' War, were not reassuring. Their minds were deeply troubled. Some turned back to the good old days and longed for a revival of Church and King. Others prayed for some new pattern more in accordance with the will of God, and sought for plans in Gospels, Epistles, or Apocalypse.

Amongst these latter were groups of Seekers who had ceased attending the national church services, and met

weekly to wait in silence for some message from the Lord as to the true nature of church membership and worship, and their own duty in such matters. To many Seekers George Fox came as an answer to their prayers; they saw in him a prophet sent by God to show their way forward. He gave them the courage to develop and spread their ideas, already in line with his characteristic messages; "Christ Jesus has come to teach his people himself"; "freely ye have received, freely give"; "turn your mind inward, that the light of Christ may show you what is wrong, and lead you into the right path." No doubt there were many individual Seekers also, whom George Fox drew together in the northern half of England. By 1654 they were strong enough to send out fifty missionaries towards London, Bristol and the South.

It would be interesting to know if there were groups of Seekers in Ireland also where the scarcity of clergy must have encouraged religious gatherings in private houses. On page 55 of Edmondson's *Journal*, we read that in Kilmore, Co. Armagh, at the house of Margery Atkinson, a tender honest woman, "we had a meeting there; the tender people thereabouts generally came to meeting, most of them received the truth in the love of it in much tenderness; for they were waiting for it." Were these a Seekers' group, or were they individuals who had heard about new movements in England through travellers, such as Edmondson himself?

Many Roman Catholic priests and friars had been executed or banished. When William Edmondson first saw Carrickfergus Castle, it contained 26 of them, whom the authorities fondly hoped would be the last ever in the island, held ready for deportation. The Anglican clergy had suffered severely in 1641-2; a list drawn up in 1647 contained 87 names of those believed to be alive in Ireland. In 1650 the use of the Book of Common Prayer was forbidden. It will please some of my readers to learn that at least one disobeyed. Cromwell was ahead of most of his contemporaries in advocating some freedom in practising religion; but he did not, and I suppose dared not, offer it to Anglicans and Roman Catholics, regarded by his party as persecutors.

QUAKERS DISTURB THE NEW CLERGY

In order to refill this dangerous vacuum, the Commonwealth Commissioners in Dublin gradually organized a supply of "Ministers of the Gospel" appointed to definite

places at salaries up to £100 a year. The newcomers included Independents, Baptists, Presbyterians, and former Anglicans, presumably Low Churchmen. The best known of these last was Edward Worth, Dean of Cork, whose wife caused him much worry by joining the Quakers.¹ This did not prevent his preferment to the see of Killaloe at the Restoration. Most of the salaries came from a central fund, into which all tithes were to be paid; a few were allowed to collect tithe in their own parish. For a detailed account of this improvised church establishment, full of compromises, we are indebted to St. John Seymour's *Puritans in Ireland* (Oxford, 1921). One interesting name on the list is that of George Keith, appointed to Dungannon in 1660. As the meeting at Grange near Charlemont, only three miles away, had been settled in 1657, he must have formed his first impressions of Quakers while there.

It was against these new ministers, who according to the Quaker way of thinking, had obviously been called to the ministry not by God but by a secular government, and attracted by the bait of a fixed salary and a lodging, that the first Quaker preachers in Ireland turned their controversial batteries. It was the custom under the Commonwealth, when the Lecture had replaced the Common Prayer, for the listeners to ask questions and make speeches at the end of the sermon. The audience could stay or go.² This was an opportunity for the wandering Quaker preacher to make his point, and start an argument. If he spoke before the minister had finished his sermon, he was liable to punishment. If he irritated the audience, there would be some rough fellows, tired of a long sermon, who would be glad to beat him up in the churchyard. These tactics were transferred from England to Ireland with similar results. At Lurgan

William Edmondson was moved to go to the public worship-house to declare truth, and was much beaten there by Colonel Stewart; but his testimony reached the hearts of some, particularly Mark Wright and Mark Sawyer who followed him out of the said worship house and joined with Friends.³

The most active member of the Commission in Dublin who examined the ministers before appointment was the worthy Samuel Winter, Provost of Trinity College, Dublin.

¹ John Ruddy, *History . . . Quakers in Ireland*. 2nd. ed., 1800, p. 86.

² See Barclay, *op. cit.*, chapter XII.

³ Ruddy, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

As such he could hardly escape the attention of these anti-clerical preachers. The Swarthmore MSS. contain a paper, which looks like the draft for a broadsheet, headed *An Hue & Cry after a Robbery committed in the Temple being in short the Fruits of the High Priest's Sermon*. It gives Robert Turner's account of his maltreatment by the congregation at Christ Church in Dublin, where he began to speak after Samuel Winter has finished his sermon. The robbery complained of was of Robert Turner's coat, which was torn off his back and not returned to him.¹

Reading this in 1956 our sympathies run rather with Samuel than with Robert, whose style of humour grates upon us. He was aged 25. Next time he asked a question of a priest in Dublin, he was put in the Bridewell for three months, including a sojourn "in a cell or dungeon, a very noisome place, graves being over his head and under his feet." But although his protests infuriated the governing class, I suspect there were many in Dublin who rejoiced secretly to see the Quakers openly defying an upstart ecclesiastical establishment. There is an account of Robert Turner's career in A. C. Myers' *Immigration of Irish Quakers into Pennsylvania* (Swarthmore, Penna., 1902) pp. 257-62.

Under the Commonwealth, this type of Quaker "witness" at or after services of the state-supported clergy was not uncommon. After the Restoration when it was legally compulsory for all to attend the parish church, the situation had changed. To make any kind of protest was clearly a breach of the law. None the less a few cases are recorded; probably it ceased completely when the Anglican clergy ceased to punish Quakers for holding meetings or for failure to attend the parish church.

In his very readable *Irish Life in the Seventeenth Century* (Cork, 1950) E. McLysaght draws attention to the strange story of that strange man, Solomon Eccles.² In 1669 he believed himself called to go as a sign, naked, with fire and brimstone burning upon his head, to a papist Mass-meeting, without the gates of Galway, the friar and people being upon their knees, and give them a warning from God to repent. In the account printed by Ruddy in 1755, but written by Thomas Wight in 1700, there are alterations; "naked above the waist", "in a chapel," and "praying to their idol" have been

¹ Swarthmore MSS. VI, 29.

² Printed in Fuller & Holme, *Compendious view*, 1731, p. 113.

inserted. Wight also omits the names of three other Quakers who accompanied Eccles, and gives it as an example of extraordinary zeal and courage.

This seems to call for some explanation from Quaker historians, which I have not seen given anywhere. All the puritans were strongly anti-Roman, filled with tales of the Inquisition, St. Bartholomew, and the like, and the early Quakers were no exception. But this is the only case I have seen recorded in Ireland of a Quaker interruption of Roman Catholic worship. This is also the only case I have noticed of a direct threat of hell fire to make people repent, used by a "publisher of truth", I should have thought that in the seventeenth century everyone knew about hell, and it was waste of breath to use it in a sermon. There were never many Quakers resident in Galway, and no records have survived of their meeting. But Galway was an important port, used by ships trading with America, and many Quaker travellers passed through it. I am doubtful if Wight is right in using the word chapel; Fuller's phrase suggests to me an open-air gathering.

Of Eccles' companions, Randal Cousins had been in prison in Cork, 1661, and Nicholas Gribble was living at Limerick in 1680, but Henry Bloodworth I cannot place, nor Eliza Barton who visited them in prison. The next year (1670) Solomon was still in Ireland, and spoke at Cork in the Anglican cathedral; for this he was imprisoned ten days, then whipped through the city, receiving 87 lashes.

HOWGILL'S AND BURROUGH'S CALL TO VISIT IRELAND

Among the score of preachers who travelled in Ireland in Commonwealth times, the best known were Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough. For each of them the Swarthmore MSS. have preserved an account of his first call to go to Ireland. Evidently the fact that each received it independently seemed to them a confirmation of its authority. They had been friends and comrades for five years in "publishing the Truth" in London, Bristol and elsewhere. Howgill was aged 37, Burrough only 22.

Francis Howgill's Command to go into Ireland

The word of the Lord came unto me the 7th day of the 4th month, about the 10th hour of the day, near Islington, a mile off London, as I was waiting upon the Lord, saying, Go to Dublin, Ireland with my servant Edward Burrough. I have opened a door for you, and my

living presence shall go before you. My righteousness shall be your reward, and my everlasting blessing, and my eternal power shall be with you. I will open your mouths in wisdom, in utterance, and in understanding. And behold, all is a plain before you, and my power shall encompass you as a wall of brass. Lo, many shall bless you in the name of the Lord, and shall say "What hath the Lord wrought" Go on, my valiant men of war; I will make your feet as the prancing of horses in battle, to tread upon the heathen. My flaming two edged sword into your hands I will put. Ride on, sound an alarm, make the sound of my words go forth as thunder, that the heathen may fear and tremble; And lo, I will pour upon you my everlasting blessing, and make you honourable among those that are called. The mouth of the Lord hath spoken it, who is thy salvation and thy sword.

Francis Howgill¹

Edward Burrough's Commission

On the 10th day of the 4th month late in the evening the movings of the Lord came upon me to go to Dublin City in Ireland. Upon the 30th day of the 4th month I submitted and gave up to go. And as I was in the deep where the wonders of the Lord are to be seen, it came upon me to write as followeth;

Into Ireland thou must go, my word for to declare—
 The mountains high, nor the Rocks hard, thy hammer must not spare;
 My words shall be thy Sword, my Arm shall be thy Power—
 My Arm shall thee uphold, my Strength shall be thy Tower.
 To Dublin City I thee move, thy Journey for to take—
 to Seek that which is lost. It is for my Seed's sake
 which in captivity lies, under th' Oppressing Nature
 In which the Devil dwells, professing Righteous matter.

The High do thou not spare, but wound incurable. Let not thy hands have pity. The Just for vengeance cries to me, Saith God, and thee do I prepare to beare my Name with boldness before the Base and Rare; and with thee I will be, thy defence Strong and Sure, and none shall do thee hurt, but what from me they shall have power; Therefore be bold, and give up all, thy life freely lay down and trust me with it. I am God; in power I do abound; fear me with uprightness, Thy Life shall freed be, and in this work to Serve me, I have chosen thee.

This I writt as to me was given, not knowing whether my brother must go or not.

Edward Burrough²

The older man wrote in prose; the younger in a kind of free verse, which I surmise went humming through his mind to the tune of some psalm he had sung in the old home in Westmorland from which his parents had expelled him when he joined the Quakers. Clearly to go across to Ireland was a serious adventure, quite different from anywhere in England, or even Scotland.

¹ Swarthmore MSS. vi, 15; Transcr. vii, 483.

² Swarthmore MSS. vi, 6; Transcr. vii, 467.

Howgill and Burrough reached Dublin in August, 1655, having first gone to Margaret Fell at Swarthmoor for advice, encouragement, and the needful money for travel. Separately they visited the newly planted towns of the South, Waterford, Youghal, Kilkenny, Limerick, Bandon, Kinsale, and Cork, preaching to soldiers, inviting arguments with Baptists and Independent ministers. In each town they convinced a few whom they persuaded to meet together, waiting in silence in Quaker custom; but in Cork and Kinsale, the military governors, Colonel Phayre and Major Hodden were favourable, and encouraged their soldiers to listen. This roused the Dublin Council to action. Hodden was dismissed, and Phayre compelled to arrest the preachers and send them to Dublin as vagabonds without visible means of support. After a few days in custody of the Sergeant at Arms, who allowed them to write letters and see their friends, they were put on board ship and landed in England six months after their departure.

Having heard his sentence to be banished from Ireland without trial or opportunity to answer any charges against him, Burrough wrote down a prophetic warning and sentence, which will not appeal to modern readers, and yet seems worth quoting, seeing that the "curse of Cromwell" passed into Anglo-Irish literature.

To thee, Henry Cromwell, & to thy Council, & to thy Teachers, & to all thy train of perverters of the just law of God and of man in this your act of cruelty, thus saith the Lord, the Dreadful God of Vengeance; My plagues remain with you upon earth, till you repent of this your tyrrany. . . . The sword of vengeance from thy house never shall depart, but as thou hast done, so it shall be done to thee. Banished art thou from the presence of the Living God, and sealed shalt thou remain in the pit of indignation of the just wrath of God. . . .¹

I have seen a similar curse addressed to Sir John Endicott, the repressive ruler of New England, but none against Charles II under whose reign thousands of Quakers were imprisoned in England. The question arises why such indignation was felt against the lenient Henry who banished eight and imprisoned 101. Two explanations may be offered. First, this government professed liberty of conscience. Second, and more important, by deportation to England, Burrough was prevented from obeying God's command to him; if it had been imprisonment, he could still have given his witness in Ireland.

¹ Swarthmore MSS. v, 7; Transcr. vii, 33.

Howgill showed his continued interest in his friends in Ireland by epistles and messages, but the younger man did more. He returned to Ireland after the change of government, and reported in August, 1660, "I perceive in this land Friends are generally well, and Truth grows in victory and dominion . . . and through the rage of men and above it all the little flock is preserved in its beauty."

In Friends House Library, on a scrap of paper is this fragment, attributed to Edward Burrough.

Oh, Ireland, I bear thee in my mind
in my soul to thee much love do I find
in thee I have laboured, not sparing my own life
the good in thee to gather, which God hath made full ripe
into his garner to rest for ever more
all who are thither come do sure rejoice therefor.¹

One surmises that was written in prison; possibly in Newgate where he died in 1662. If it does not prove him a poet, it points to an unusual interest in Ireland.

One supposes that the warning letter reached Henry Cromwell, but before he had time to consider it, there was blown in to Dublin Barbara Blaugdone, whose adventures may be read in a booklet printed in 1691, *An Account of the Travels . . . of Barbara Blaugdone*. She was a Bristol teacher, whose pupils had mostly left her when she joined the Quakers. She had sailed from Bristol in a ship bound for Cork which had struck so violent a storm that the master thought himself lucky to reach Dublin. Wondering what this escape from death meant for her, Barbara heard of the deportation of the two Friends whom she had known at Bristol. Soon she was on her way to the Commander-in-Chief, with a feeling that God had sent her to give him a lesson.

Beware that he was not found fighting against God, in opposing the Truth and persecuting the innocent; but like wise Gamaliel to let them alone, for if the work was of God, it would stand, but if of man, it would fail.

She heard later that Henry was so melancholy that he could not go to bowls or any other pass-time. Was she mistaken in thinking she had made some impression? Brought up in a puritan home, he could well believe that the God who had blown away the Spanish Armada might have diverted a ship from Cork to Dublin in order that a prophetess should bring him a warning. He let her go in peace to Cork, but his policies

¹ Spriggs Coll'n. MS., Vol. 156 (11).

remained unchanged. In order to restore religion in a ruined country, it was his duty to persuade as many respectable clergymen as possible to become ministers and teachers of the Gospel; and the Quakers criticized in public those very ministers, for being hirelings without vocation. But he had a more peremptory duty to keep order in an army of occupation, composed of puritans, many of whom he knew to be affected by Fifth Monarchy prophecies. Even if he had heard of the Quaker testimony against wars and fightings, which in truth was not yet clearly developed, he might well fear that some Quaker prophet might give signal for the Saints to take and possess the Kingdom foreseen in Daniel's seventh chapter.

I wish it were possible to indicate the content of the early Quaker message in Ireland by quoting a few contemporary paragraphs. In the 1672 folio volume of E. Burrough's works, he is called "Son of Thunder and Consolation." I take the thunder to be the voice of the prophet calling the professing Christian and the careless alike to repent, and obey the voice of Christ within and without; the consolation to be the loving fellowship of those who risked their liberty, property, and social position by attending the Quaker meetings.

The thought of repentance may be connected in our minds with the fear of punishment or with the hopes of a deliverer. In the terse dramatic phrase of Edmondson's journal, it seems to be the former.

So the mayor [of Londonderry] asked me where I dwelt; I told him in the Queen's County. He asked what trade I was? I told him a ploughman. He asked my business there, and who sent me? I told him the Lord Jesus Christ sent me to warn them to repent, or he would lash them with his judgements. As I declared this, the Lord's power reached him, and he could not refrain from tears, being a tender spirited man. . . . So I went from the mayor, and beginning near the Watergate, I sounded the Lord's message through the streets; it was dreadful to the people, and several ran as before naked swords. As I came near the main guard, a soldier being at the door mocked, but in the dread of the Lord's power, I looked in at the guardhouse door, and cried,—Soldiers, all repent! The soldiers on the guard were smitten as men afrighted, for the power of the Lord was mighty, in which I performed this service.¹

But another old ironside phrased it differently. In 1663 Miles Gray, of Cavan,

for exhorting the people to repentance, and declaring the day of God's Love unto them, through the streets of Carrickfergus, was put into the

¹ *Journal*, 1820, p. 81, 82.

gaol there by Col. Charles Meredith, and the next day expelled the town, being driven thence by Geo. Spring the Gaoler, who beat him as he turned him out.¹

MESSAGES TO TRADERS AND LAWYERS

We have, however, notes of some messages delivered to particular groups of people, under a feeling of command by God, and yet moral and social as well as religious. For example, Thomas Loe, to the folk in the market-place, 1657 or 1658:

This is a warning and a charge to you all, from the presence of the living God of heaven and earth, to cease from cozening and cheating one another and from all deceit and deceitful merchandise. In all your buyings and sellings, come to plainness, to yea and nay in all things; that justice and equity may be set up, and righteousness may have a place in your hearts, and all deceit and fraud may be departed from, lest God's wrath break forth against you.

Thomas Loe²

There seems little to catch the ear in this: only those who feared the prophet would remember the message.

One can imagine in the early days, before there were many convinced Quakers in Ireland able to give hospitality, how important must have been the willing service of innkeepers in strange parts to these rather unpopular "publishers of truth". Some of them became Quakers, and suffered imprisonment. Among the records of Cork meeting is the rather pitiful story of one of these who failed to reconcile two difficult callings.

Stephen Harris of Cork was an innholder who from being a great drinker became a zealous Friend, bore witness for the Truth in public, suffered imprisonment, and let his customers have no more drink than was good for them. But through lack of watchfulness and love of company became a backslider, though not so far as to lose his respect and love for Friends and Truth; according to the testimony which also records his sorrow at his end for his unfaithfulness. This testimony of 1680 is a great contrast to the hopeful and confident tones of 1655 and 1662.

In Swarthmore MSS. v, 22 (Transcripts vii, 109) we have "The Lawyers' Fee", 1656, by John Perrott, addressed

To all you lawyers, attorneys, and clerks in the City of Dublin and Nation of Ireland, . . . the Almighty Searcher of all your hearts, and dark corners in secret, sees and beholds your loathesome abomina-

¹ Besse, *Sufferings*, 1753, II, 464.

² Swarthmore MSS. v, 8; Transcr. vii, 347.

tions, and how many of you join oftentimes as one in the destruction of your neighbour, by overthrowing his just cause for your unrighteous gain . . . For which things you cannot escape the judgments . . . for behold, behold, the Mighty Judge and God of Heaven and Earth is arisen . . .

Probably the lawyers of the Commonwealth courts were tough and deserved what he said, but I doubt if any would allow themselves to be influenced by that diatribe.

As a reply to John Perrott I quote from Edmondson what took place at Maryborough Assizes about 1664. The Rev. George Clapham "had drawn up two indictments against me; and when they came into court, four lawyers one after another pleaded for me, though I knew nothing of them or gave them any fee."¹

Here is a paper from Edward Burrough to the magistrates of Ireland, undated, but referring to the imprisonments of 1661.

Friends, it is in my heart to advise you . . . that you be moderate concerning the breaking up of separated meetings, and be not passionate or rigorous, but wise and meek in your proceedings, lest you vex the Lord against yourselves. . . . For alas, is it not hard heartedness to hinder and prevent your honest neighbours from meeting together in so good an exercise as to wait upon the Lord, when you can justly charge nothing against them as to their conversations in the world and dealings between man and man? . . . For God never made you judges of men's consciences in spiritual matters, but only in outward things. If men transgress by doing that to their neighbours which they would not be done unto, in such cases you ought to judge justly by the law of God, but in spiritual cases, whether they will pray in one manner or another, or whether they will hear this man preach or another, you ought not to judge or prosecute. . . . Remember there is a God to whom you must give an account . . . and if you should pull and hale and imprison your honest neighbours, will not your conscience condemn you? And why should they be forced to your church and common prayer against their consciences? Would you yourselves be forced to go and hear mass? . . . Walk by the law of God, and prosecute not the sectaries (as you call them) for the same things for which you would not be prosecuted by the papists. But now, ye will say, you have good occasion to break the separated meetings, because they will rebel . . . as has happened in London. To which I say, I hope you will not condemn all for some, though some have given occasion . . . Further as for the Quakers, so called, they are not of a principle of rebellion, but of a principle of patient suffering, and though they are now under great reproach, be not too extreme toward them . . . for time and things and all men are in the hands of God to change at his pleasure . . . This is my loving advice and farewell to all you that bear rule in Ireland; be meek, sober, and upright in all your ways. But if

¹ *Journal*, 1820, p. 77.

you be otherwise and deal cruelly; vengeance belongs unto God, he will repay . . . I am a lover of all your souls, and a witness against all oppression.

Edward Burrough¹

Was this ever printed as a broadside? If not, how did he expect it to reach its destination? Did the writer realize that his plea for freedom of worship for all law-abiding inhabitants would logically cover Catholic as well as Protestant dissenters? I believe that he was aware of its inclusive meaning.

PASTORAL EPISTLES

We do not know exactly what kind of messages were delivered by the Publishers of Truth to their freshly convinced adherents, whom they called Friends if they came frequently to meet and wait in silence. We may guess that they were similar in content to the epistles which they sent back to the meetings after they had returned to England; except that a written message is never the same as the spoken word. We have copies of such epistles by a dozen different preachers; here is an abridgement of one from Francis Howgill to Ireland, dated London, 29.ix.1659.

Friends,—dwell in the life and power of God by which the soul comes to be redeemed out of death. . . . Wait that you may all know the fellowship of the gospel; keep low in the fear of the Lord which cleanseth the heart, and mind . . . that ye may all bring forth the fruits of the spirit which may demonstrate your being born again, and answer the witness of God even in the worst. . . . Every one keep to your proper gift, and therein be faithful. . . . Dwell in love one with another, and know one another in the spirit . . . and provoke one another to love, to humility and obedience, and so his blessing you will feel amongst you all. . . . Farewell

Francis Howgill²

Such writing would have little meaning except to those who had heard him and felt the power of devotion to Christ overflowing from him. Almost every word and phrase recalls the Gospels or Epistles. This should not surprise us. Where else could a Christian teacher find his spiritual vocabulary if he had not studied at a university? Some Quakers and other Puritans went so far as to maintain that any systematic theology going beyond the sentences of the New Testament was a human effort, belittling the divine prevision. But the

¹ Swarthmore MSS. v, 5; Transcr. vii, 25.

² Swarthmore MSS. vi, 49; Transcr. vii, 597.

Quakers, more than the other Puritans, believed Christ called them to live over again in a changed world the life of the Apostolic Church. Therefore they use the apostolic phrases more freely in daily Christian living, and they dare to put Christ's promises to the test in persecution and tribulation. This free use of the scriptures was their strength, but also their weakness. In England the language of the Authorised Version of James I had been used in every parish for two generations; it was familiar to English planters and soldiers. In Ireland attendance at the Anglican services had been made legally compulsory also; but this had been carried out successfully in very few parishes. For the majority of Irish and Anglo-Irish, the beauties of the English Bible would have little meaning, and no attraction.

SOME NOTABLE CONVERTS

The "First Publishers of Truth" in Ireland were not chiefly concerned with laying the foundation of a new institution, connexion, or society. Their vocation as they believed was to witness to the true nature of the mystical church, of Christ, revealed partially in the New Testament, and to seek men and women whom God was calling to join them in witnessing. They had many failures, and some success in this search. One of them wrote about their converts that they came faithfully to meetings, "but did not take up the cross." Another said that they "knew little of the power." In truth the atmosphere of Ireland in 1655 must have been very damping to enthusiasm. None the less, some red-hot enthusiasts were recruited; Robert Malyns, William Ames, John Perrott, John Love, Samuel Buckley, who left Ireland never to return; also others who remained, (Cornet) Edward Cooke, and his wife Lucretia, (Ensign) William Morris, Robert Turner, who were not long in attracting as strong opposition as William Edmondson himself. William Morris had been a Baptist elder, as well as an officer, and we have a farewell letter of his addressed to his old connexion, interesting because it shows how near some of the Baptists were to the Quakers as well as how far. One paragraph describes the scene on Sunday morning in College Green, at a time when Fleetwood as Lord Deputy had attracted worldly folk to join the Baptists in hopes of promotion; neither they nor their wives had puritan notions of dress.

But come now, let us reason together, . . . and in the dread of the Lord God when you are quiet, meditate upon these things. . . . Are you indeed a church of God. Doth not Christ say he hath chosen his out of the world, and therefore the world hateth them. Are ye indeed out of the world? Wherein is the difference more than in baptism and singing? . . . Doth the world hate you? . . . How shall they know you from their own? Wherein do ye witness against the world and its kingdom?

Stand but at the gate of your assembly in Dublin upon a first day of the week, behold and hear. What rattling of coaches, lashing with whips, and prancing of horses (to the annoying and endangering of the passengers) there is before Chichester House, and see, is there more at any idol-temple in the city? And if any of the servants of the Lord be moved to go into your meeting to testify against evil practices . . . are they not immediately thrust out of doors? And is this a good savour before the Lord God, think ye? . . . Do such things commend you in the sight of God? Are they marks of members of Christ? Are these the garments of the bride, the Lamb's wife?

The following final paragraph is of interest because its writer has been dismissed from all his employment for joining the Quakers.

But he that will follow the guide will find a daily cross to take up, a narrow way to walk in, and a strait gate to enter, and this it is which sets the whole world in a wonder, to wit, the cross of Christ; a foolish thing to the world's wisdom, and a mortal weapon to the carnal will and yet the mighty power of salvation. Everyone that will be Christ's disciple must take up his daily cross; a foolish thing, that he who hath been honourable, rich, and accounted wise in the world must now part with all, freed voluntarily for Christ, become a fool, and take the lowest seat. Many chose affliction rather than pleasure, the reproach of Christ rather than riches or honour, a foolish thing to the carnal mind. Yet know ye all that say ye are seeking an eternal inheritance, this is a condition annexed to the Crown; no Crown without a Cross. And so, friends, if I never see your faces more, nor you never hear more of me hereafter, you are forever henceforth without excuse having been faithfully warned and admonished for the Lord by his unworthy servant and a lover of your souls,

W.M.¹

From the pen of Edward Cooke of Bandon we have a paper which represents Quakerism, not at its best, but at its most anti-clerical.

Here are many young scholars lately come over into Ireland, young priests sent from Oxford or Cambridge . . . and the Committee of Old Priests sitting at Dublin have approved of them. Here they come and challenge the tenth part of our goods, which they say is now their own. And when they can find an old ruined masshouse, they get an order for repairing of it. And if any do refuse paying for the mending of this old place, (which the land is full of) grant forth their warrants

¹ Swarthmore MSS. v, 34; Transcr. vii, 147-154.

to distraint other peoples goods because they cannot for conscience sake repair the papists' old houses. . .

Now these young priests are not like the first planters of the Gospel, who used to travel from city to city publishing the gospel freely, and from house to house eating what was before them; and they had no certain dwelling place.¹

WAS GAELIC A BARRIER?

I have been asked whether the Gaelic language prevented Quakerism from spreading among the Irish. If I put myself in the shoes of a "mere Irishman" about 1654, remembering Tudor wars and Stuart plantations by tradition, and the long Civil War by experience, I should have been in no state of mind to accept any religious ideas from the conquerors. More probably Irish and Anglo-Irish would be hoping for a miraculous return of the good old days, when their religion had been practised with full ceremony, their clergy and nuns respected. They would not quickly see any difference between the various puritan sects, and possibly would not consider Quakerism to be a religion at all. Latin was the language of religion, and the publication of Barclay's *Apology* in Latin in 1676 might seem the first sign of respectability.

There were a minority who accepted the apparent fact that Cromwell's victory had finished off Catholic and Gaelic culture, and were ready to make a new start, for the sake of their families. Such men, seeking land and position, would turn to the religion in favour in Dublin Castle. For them Quakerism offered nothing but trouble in this world.

The one example of propaganda in Gaelic is found in Ruddy (page 129), the visit in 1678 of Katharine Norton, who in her tour round the Friends' meetings preached in Irish in Lurgan market, and had several meetings near Coleraine where her relatives lived. Her maiden name had been McLaughlin, daughter of Irish parents of good family who sent her to be educated at Derry. When she was sixteen, there came a ship to Derry to take in passengers for Barbados, in which she embarked and landed in that island, where she was married. Some time after, that island being visited by George Fox and some others, she was convinced by their ministry, and after became an able minister. And that is almost all that is known about her; there are copies of two letters by her preserved at 6 Eustace Street, Dublin, and some references to her in Swarthmore MSS. What a pity she left us no account

¹ Swarthmore MSS. xi, 8; Transcr. vii, 471.

of her adventures. And to think that Quakers in Ireland, having found such a treasure, did not persuade her to settle in her native land.

QUAKERS SOMETIMES CONSIDERED TO BE WITCHES

I have also been asked how the seventeenth-century Quakers escaped being rounded up by their enemies as witches, and dealt with accordingly. I cannot answer that, but here follow a few notes that concern Quakers in Ireland. Needless to say witchcraft has been used to cover a wide variety of practices, bad, indifferent, or harmless. In the Conway Letters¹ we find that for the talented Lady Anne's illness, for which he had consulted the best doctors in England, including the famous discoverer of the circulation of the blood, Viscount Conway and Killultagh was advised as a last resort to try the "moss that grows on slain men's skulls." So he wrote to a brother-in-law at Lisburn to procure it locally, thinking that a dozen years after the end of the Civil War should have grown a good crop. This was white magic, for a healing purpose; but if some poor old woman had been dabbling in it instead of a Privy Councillor, she might have got into trouble. The same Viscount, to please his wife when she joined the Quakers, arranged to free three Quaker tenants imprisoned at Carrick prisons for tithe offences, and paid their fees.

The Quaker message was first preached in Youghal, Kinsale, and probably Cork, by women. This must have seemed a strange novelty in Ireland. Some of the women were put in prison, but we do not hear of physical violence against them. Was this because no one was afraid of them, or because it seemed luckier to keep off them; who could be sure what spirit was in them? When Barbara Blaugdone was in Cork, where she found old Bristol acquaintances, including Governor Phayre and his wife, we are informed by Besse; "Many of her former friends grew afraid of her, speaking in so solemn and awful a manner as made them tremble. Others called her a witch, and kept out of her way till their servants turned her out of doors."²

In that century the human mind was struggling fitfully to be rid of its age-long fears of ghosts and evil spirits. In this

¹ *Conway Letters, . . . Anne Viscountess Conway . . .* Ed. Marjorie Nicolson, 1930.

² Besse: *Sufferings*, ii, 459.

respect the Quakers were allies of the rationalists and agnostics. Because they were accustomed to wait in silence for the movings of the Spirit of Christ, they were free from the dread of any lesser spirit. Their graveyards, sanctified not by a bishop, but by the meeting for worship at every funeral, must have caused worry to superstitious neighbours. The following extract from an epistle sent by Robert Stepney to Anthony Sharp in 1678 uses a simile from this universal superstition to point his good advice.

And now being in a weighty sense of God and having his fear before my eyes, it is in my heart to advise thee and the rest of friends to a reconciling of whatever of difference hath been among you. Let it die, and a grave be made for it, that the dead may never come to trouble the living.¹

From the *Great Book of Sufferings* at 6 Eustace Street, Dublin, comes a strange tale which I do not remember having seen in print:

1673 George Gregson being a goldsmith, had in the year 1661 clippings of English coins offered him to buy by a stranger at his shop window. He knowing it to be contrary to the law of the land to buy or conceal the same, therefore informed a magistrate of it who committed the owner of the said clippings to the gaol and bound the said George to prosecute at the next assizes. But when it came to trial before the judge, it being required of George to swear as a witness in the case, which for conscience sake he could not do and break the command of Christ who saith "Swear not at all", he was fined five pounds, put in bar amongst thieves, and committed into custody of a cruel gaoler who put a bolt on his leg at night with many threatening words. And the next day he was brought into the bar again amongst felons and was at night brought from thence along the streets among those who were charged with felony, murder, and witchcraft, who were suffered to have their hats on; and so was put into the worst prison with two women, one of whom was charged with witchcraft and the other of whoredom and murdering of her child; which place was very foul and noisome with excrement, where he was kept close, and the owner of the clippings cleared and set at liberty. But the judge before his departure thence reduced the fine to five shillings, and notwithstanding he could not pay the said fine for conscience sake, the sheriff released him when the judge had gone.

And the next assizes the said George was indicted for being a Quaker, and notwithstanding the judge said that the indictment was insufficient in law, (or words to that purpose) he left him a prisoner for fees.

Now we know that George Gregson kept his shop in Lisburn on the site now occupied by the Northern Bank; therefore the assizes would be at Carrickfergus. This is the

¹ Sharp MSS. (Eustace Street, Dublin), 55, No. 2.

town of which the Rev. Alexander Peden remarked casually that a certain black sheep of his flock "was burnt at Carrickfergus, which is the usual punishment for murderers of children there." Why then did the gaoler put George Gregson into a cell with two women who had a prospect of being burnt? Three ingenious explanations have been suggested. (1) Prison accommodation was scarce, and he thought any old cell good enough for a Quaker. (2) Tampering with the King's coinage was connected with the black art. George Gregson, by refusing to swear had made himself an accomplice with the coiner; he was no better than a witch. (3) As the Quakers were notorious for allowing women to preach, the gaoler, in derision, gave him two hard cases, whom he could try to convert into preachers.

The loss of the hat seems to have annoyed him as much as the foulness of the cell. It may have been taken from him because the Quakers refused to take off their hats except in honour of God. But surely he might have been prepared for that. Can it be that in Co. Antrim in 1661, the English were recognized by their hats, the Scots by their bonnets, and the Irish by their luxuriant growth of hair?

When I lived in Central India, I was informed that at important times such as weddings, timid folk make careful arrangements to avoid one moment of silence, lest it should give a fatal opportunity to witches or evil spirits. It would not be surprising to find similar fears among our ancestors. We are told something like it by Ruddy on page 279 about Thomas Wight, the compiler of the early part of his history. About the age of 16, while an apprentice to a clothier at Bandon, he went to a Quaker meeting out of curiosity; but finding that the people sat silent for a long time, he began to be very uneasy, and to think within himself, that as he had heard that the Quakers were witches, he might be bewitched if he should stay longer. However he waited a little, until Francis Howgill got up and said, "Before the eye can see, it must be opened; before the ear can hear, it must be unstopped; and before the heart can understand, it must be illuminated."¹

In that eighteenth-century thriller, *The Life of the Rev. Alexander Peden*, who took refuge in Co. Antrim for some time after Bothwell Brig in 1670 and again about 1681, is found a very tall story, which yet may reveal some effects of

¹ Ruddy, *op. cit.*, 2nd ed., 1820, p. 299.

a silent meeting on a Scots minister who had crossed the North Channel as a refugee.

As Mr. Peden was travelling by himself in Ireland, the night came on, and a dark mist which obliged him to go into a house belonging to a Quaker. Mr. Peden said, "I must beg the favour of the roof of your house all night." *Q.* Thou art a stranger. Thou art very welcome, and shalt be kindly entertained, but I cannot wait upon thee, for I am going to the meeting. *Mr. P.* I will go along with you. *Q.* Thou may if thou please, but thou must not trouble us. *Mr. P.* I will be civil.

When they came to the meeting, as their ordinary is, they sat for some time silent, some with their faces to the wall, and others covered. There being a void in the loft above them, there came down the appearance of a raven, and sat upon one man's head, who started up immediately and spoke with such vehemence, that the froth flew from his mouth. It went to a second, and he did the same, and to a third who did as the former two. Mr. P., sitting near to the landlord, said, "Do you see that? you will not deny it afterward." When they dismissed, going home, Mr. P. said to him, "I always thought that there was devilry amongst you, but never thought that he did appear visibly among you until now that I have seen it." The poor man fell a weeping, and said, "I perceive that God hath sent you to my house, and put it into your heart to go along with me, and permitted the devil to appear visibly among us this night. I never saw your like before. Let me have the help of your prayers." After this he became a singular christian.

This yarn is reprinted in Seymour's *Irish Witchcraft & Demonology*, 1913. But when I tracked down an original Life of Peden in the National Library of Ireland, I discovered that the Quaker story had been omitted from the edition printed in Cork, 1794, though good enough for English readers.

EFFECTS OF THE RESTORATION OF CHARLES II

The Restoration of Charles II changed the situation and hopes of the Quakers as deeply in Ireland as in England, but neither Edmondson's *Journal* nor Ritty tell us much about what happened. In *Calendar of the State Papers Relating to Ireland, 1660-1662* (ed. R. P. Mahaffy, 1905), p. 191, we are given the terms of the Proclamation by the Lords Justices & Council, January 22, 1661 "against the holding of unlawful assemblies by Papists, Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists, Quakers and other fanatical persons." This was doubtless the result of the Fifth Monarchy rising in London. But according to Fuller's *Sufferings*, page 126, the number of Quakers imprisoned, in Ireland in 1660 was 124, in 1661, 135, and in 1662, 47. He also informs us that Mountrath and Eustace, the Lords Justices of 1660, and also Orrery, who

became Deputy in 1661, were personally favourable. I interpret this to mean that there was a general imprisonment of the leading Friends early in each year, and that Edmondson was successful in getting a general release on two occasions, once through Mountrath, and once through Orrery.

Three documents kept at Friends House, London, refer to Cork, where Burrough and Howgill had been more successful than in Dublin. Swarthmore MSS. vol. v, no. 94, is addressed to Lt. Col. Barrington, governor, and Jonas Morris, mayor of Cork, and shows why the obligations attached to a bond proposed to be signed by the prisoners could not be accepted by the Quakers. This copy is not dated or signed, and is written in the high and confident style of 1655-6; e.g.

we are bound in a bond which can never be broken unto the Lord of Heaven and Earth . . . to do unto every man as we would be done by.

That spirit by which we are led, and in which we worship the God of our fathers, leads us into tenderness toward all, and not into enmity against any.

Let proof be made against us wherein we have showed disaffections in these turning times more unto you than to those that are turned out by you. . . .

Take heed how you receive the counsel or information of such who would have us turned out of the city for self ends, and to lift or enrich themselves by our destruction.

Swarthmore MSS. vol. v, no. 91 (Transcripts vii, 355) is headed "By the Lord Justices in Council, Max Eustace, canc., Orrery, Mountrath," and subscribed, "Given at the Council Chamber at Dublin, 4 May 1661. Kildare, Jerem. Dunensis, Fran. Aungier, R. Coote, W. Caulfield, Kingston, Hen. Tichborne, Rob. Meredith, Arthur Hill, M. Trevor."

Considering that at His Majesty's coronation he is graciously pleased to extend acts of clemency to his subjects, we think fit that persons commonly called Quakers may partake . . . and therefore order that Francis Rogers, Jr., Tobias Weare, Alex. Atkins, John Conner, Philip Godfrey, Rich Brocklesby, Wm. Thorne, Geo. Peate, Christopher Pennock, Randall Cuszens, Thos. Chandler, Geo. Smithfield, Ananias Skello, John Edwards, Wm. Steele, Geo. Neno, David Williams, Philip Dimond, Rich. Jordan, Robt. Wheston, Jer. Cary, George White, Tho. Cooke, James Pucteridge, Step. Haris, Tho. Biss, Wm. Driver, Tho. Alley, Rich. Abraham, John Buttler, Robert Sandham, John Clarke, Edward Alby, John Workman, John Gosage, John Davis, Wm. Morris, Richard Pike, Daniel Savory, John Exham, Nicolas Turke, and Leonard Robinson remaining prisoners at Cork, and such persons as are now prisoners at Waterford, Limerick, Youghal, Maryborough, and Cashel, if they stand committed for no other cause than being Quakers, do before the Chief Magistrate

respectively engage themselves and promise hereafter to demean themselves dutifully and loyally to His Majesty . . . such magistrates do then give order . . . to release them, they paying their due fees . . . And as the petitioners do now receive the favour from His Majesty . . . we do let them know that if any of them, instead of going to their parish churches . . . shall leave their habitations . . . and join with others under the pretence of the worship and service of God, such meetings are unlawful and not to be suffered . . . a warning that they may not presume to offend in that kind and so render themselves liable to those punishments which by the laws of the land are justly to be inflicted.

Jerem. Dunensis somewhat disguises Jeremy Taylor, recently consecrated Bishop of Down and Connor. Those who have appreciated his prose style will regret that his King and his Church could not find him more suitable work than imprisoning Quakers.

Our third document, Swarthmore MSS., vol. v, no. 92 (Transcripts vii, 357), is the most important, because it definitely attempts to set out the "state of our principles, by way of reply."

you were pleased to grant an order for our releasement, yet upon such hard conditions as . . . gives us not one weeks security from future bondage, except we utterly forsake our meetings. For first you enjoin us . . . to engage . . . to behave ourselves dutifully, loyally . . . which terms we cannot subscribe . . . firstly because since the restoration of the King . . . we have behaved ourselves both innocently and peaceably . . . and now after twelve weeks wrong imprisonment, to subscribe . . . would . . . justify those that wrongfully committed us. . . . 2ndly, we do not know how far the words "dutifully and loyally" may be construed and extended to . . . restrain us from God's spiritual worship. The next thing is to pay fees; . . . this, being innocent, we cannot do, lest we make ourselves accessory to our own injuries and other mens' injustices, whom, though we can forgive, we cannot fee for wrong imprisonment.

Lastly, which is our greatest grievance, you seem to hold our meetings but pretence. . . . To which we solemnly . . . affirm that our meetings were instituted according to the will of God, and the doctrine of Christ and his disciples; that they were and are . . . employed in worshipping God in spirit and in truth; in watchfulness and prayer in the Holy Ghost; in working out our own salvation in fear and trembling; in giving all diligence to making our calling and election sure; in edifying one another in the most holy faith. And that these and such-like are the ends . . . of our meetings, we call the living and eternal God to be our witness, by whose almighty power we are preserved in these our lingering sufferings for his living truth; and neither dare dissemble nor deny . . . our meetings, if there were no deliverer on the earth.

Therefore . . . that yourselves, the Parliament and people of this kingdom may be satisfied . . . we hereby, as in the presence of the

Lord, declare . . . that we do own Charles II who was about a year ago proclaimed King of England, Scotland, Ireland to be the chief and supreme Magistrate and Ruler under God . . . 2nd. that . . . saving our duties to Almighty God, we do next under him acknowledge our duty . . . to the King, and unto all his righteous and just commands shall cheerfully . . . yield obedience in the Lord. 3rdly, that if the King require ought of us . . . contrary to our faith, and which for conscience sake we cannot freely do, or leave undone, we shall rather choose patiently to suffer than to sign; and shall not rise up with carnal weapons to resist him or to work our own deliverance, (hereby utterly renouncing the use of all such instruments whereby to draw the blood of any man, or break the public peace) but shall in patience and well-doing commit our cause unto the Lord who judges righteously. 4th. That we do utterly renounce all plotting, conspiring, and attempting violence against the King, his government, or any in subordinate authority under him. . . . it shall be our constant practice, (if we are in health and able) forthwith to appear before any person in lawful authority over us, from the King to the Constable, according to due and lawful summons given us.

These things, in the singleness . . . of our hearts we do publish and make known unto you; and according to the principles thus truly stated, we do engage . . . active or passive obedience to the King. Which we desire may be accepted on his behalf, our bodies released . . . our meetings permitted . . . our liberty restored . . . according to his Declaration from Breda . . . but as we claim the benefit thereof, shall ever keep the condition inviolate on our parts.

Evidently there was at least one of the prisoners trained in writing legal documents; and three months in prison together gave them time to discuss matters. One point strikes me as curious; their desire to be solemn led them rather near using an oath in several places. The phrase, "as in the presence of the Lord" had its special meaning. All their meetings for discussing common affairs began with a short meeting for worship. Relying on one of their favourite sayings of Christ, "Where two or three are gathered in my name, there am I in the midst", the phrase was used for any action taken after joint worship. For example, some early marriage certificates are worded "In the presence of the Lord, and before an assembly of his people."

Whether these documents were a help or a hindrance in getting the prisoners released, they give a careful statement of principle and practice of Quakers in Ireland for several centuries. It is strange that they went out of sight as documents, and have not been, so far as I know, published until now.

Quakerism had begun as a movement to reform all churches in the light of Christ. A century later it was a

Christian sect, interested chiefly in guarding the purity of its worship and of its members. It should be possible to illustrate this change, how it occurred, and the speed of the process, from the smaller group in Ireland, for comparison with similar change in England and America.

FOX'S VISIT AND ITS EFFECTS IN CORPORATE LIFE

The visit of George Fox to Ireland in 1669 must have been a landmark. In Edmondson's phrase, "he settled men's and women's meetings, that faithful men and women should take care in the government of church affairs amongst our society." But that phrase was written a generation later. Fox's account of his visit is difficult to follow; it would seem that he lost the note of the place names. Apparently the meetings for discipline were already in existence, and he visited everyone of them; he says he had written about forming them a year before from England. But we know that Dublin Friends had had a treasurer as early as 1657, who kept the "stock", and paid ten shillings to Richard Waller in prison.

Apart from the deep interest Friends in Ireland must have felt in meeting face to face the founder of their movement, we may trace the influence of Fox in making the discipline uniform, in encouraging women's meetings, and in persuading the men to start keeping minutes and family records in books. We have sets of minutes with scarcely a gap from 1670 for the National or Yearly Meeting, three Province or Quarterly meetings, and seven local Men's or Monthly meetings. For ten other local meetings, the early minutes are missing. Mostly the scribes are anonymous; all were unpaid, struggling with quill pens and home-made ink, without a spelling dictionary, to note briefly the decisions of a group that had come together "in the name of the Lord." When we consider the fire and brimstone fate that has befallen so many public and church records in Ireland, our own imperfect books must be considered a wonderful tribute to the personality of George Fox.

From the seventeenth century we also have in Dublin the *Book of Sufferings*, mostly to be found printed in Fuller & Holme, Stockdale,¹ or Besse; Anthony Sharp's correspondence from about 1670-1705; and the *Great Book of Tithes*. This last has been neglected by historians because the

¹ William Stockdale, *The Great Cry of Oppression*, 1683.

once burning subject became an annual bore. It was decided in 1680 that refusal to pay tithe would be a distinguishing mark of Quakerism in Ireland. Christ had put an end to the Temple sacrifices and priesthood; the gospel was free to all; therefore to demand or pay compulsory tithe was a kind of blasphemy. All Friends were asked to send in a brief testimony of their conscientious objection to paying tithe, and we have them all copied in this book. After that, any Friend known to have allowed anyone to pay tithe for him was publicly condemned and excluded from the Men's meeting.

So in this book we have a few sentences written individually, no two the same wording, by 780 Quakers living in Ireland in 1680, adult householders liable for tithe or church-rate, or their wives; no apprentices or children. There are 340 from Ulster including 156 women; 295 from Leinster, including 59 women; and 163 from Munster, including 61 women. All of them were literate; there are no "so-and-so his mark" as we occasionally find in marriage certificates. Here we have the only document giving us any idea of the number of Quakers in Ireland while the first generation were still living, and before the ruins of the Jacobite War. For comparison I give for each Men's meeting the total number, with the number of women in brackets, who signed. Some of the women would, however, be widows with separate households.

Ulster Charlemont 40 (19); Ballymoney 12 (3); Grange (near Randalstown) 8 (4); Antrim 23 (11); Carrickfergus 5 (4); Belfast 6 (3); In & about Lisburn 93 (40); Lurgan 60 (31); Ballyhagan 70 (32); Cavan 23 (9).

Leinster Drogheda 5 (1); Dublin 49 (10); Co. Wicklow 54 (21); Co. Wexford, 55 (13); Newgarden (Carlow) 46 (10); Mountmellick 21 (3); Birr 13 (1); Ballynakill 8 (0); Moate 31 (0); Edenderry 13 (0).

Munster Castlesalem 7 (3); Bandon 29 (13); Cork 44 (15); Mallow 10 (4); Charleville 7 (3); Limerick 32 (14); Youghall 17 (6); Co. Tipperary 10 (0); Waterford 7 (3).

The five hundred distinct surnames are predominately English. A quick glance through the list reveals four that might be Irish, one Anglo-Irish, and two dozen Scots, mainly Lowland names. If Robert Barclay had seen this, he would not have fallen into the temptation of detecting the Celtic mind working in the Dublin National Meeting in 1686.¹ If we had a comparable list for about 1710, we might find

¹ *Inner Life*, p. 491.

the Irish names slightly, and the Scots considerably, risen in numbers.

Another interesting fact emerges from the testimonies. Several Friends declared that they had not paid any tithe for eighteen years, "since we first became a people." Clearly it was their opinion that the year 1662 had seen the transformation of the Quakers from an advanced wing of the reforming puritan movement into an independent Christian body. That was the year when after a sharp attempt to suppress all the "separated meetings" by fines and imprisonment, the local magistrates had mostly left the Quakers to meet in peace without legal sanction.

In the earliest marriage certificates of which copies exist, the words run, "at a meeting of the people of God, in scorn called quakers." But in the oldest book of Mountmellick meeting, believed to be in William Edmondson's handwriting, we find, "The People and Church of God in scorn called Quakers" on the title page. Forty years later or more, he spoke of "our society." Was this a revolution in his thinking, or just a development? And what about the other changes in their thinking; about membership in the Society, and the duties of Ministers, Elders, and Overseers; about the nature of the "world" from which they were to keep themselves "unspotted", and the development of the testimonies on Temperance and Peace; lastly, the slow change in their relations with other Christian groups, and with their clergy? I believe all these can be of great interest in the hands of a competent historian, who will make use of the limited experience in the Yearly Meeting of Ireland for comparison with the more varied life in England and America.

Ireland in the Sixteen-fifties

A Background to the Coming of Quakerism

By OLIVE C. GOODBODY

THE hardihood shown and the fatigue endured by early Friends, men and women alike, in the seventeenth century in the publishing of their beliefs, are now too well known to call for comment. Little, however, has been written of the peculiar hazards and discomfort of those who travelled throughout Ireland where the tense political and religious situation and the ravages of the long Confederate War had left the countryside desolate, a prey to thieves, marauders and roaming packs of wolves. The Catholic gentry of Ireland rose in 1642 and formed the Confederation of Kilkenny. It was supported by Irish exiles in Europe, by the Pope and by Cardinal Richelieu, both influenced by Father Luke Wadding the founder of the Irish College in Rome. The Confederacy aimed to restore full Catholic government to Ireland, and sided unmasked with Charles I against the Puritan Parliamentary forces. For seven years Ireland was in a state of war which ruined farm lands, and desolated homes and cities. The country population fled or died. Soldiers pillaged, wolves roamed the denuded country, even to the outskirts of the capital. Life was reduced to a state of chaos and distress which was hardly over at the time of which we write.

A visitation of plague had added to the general misery in 1654 and this is noted by William Edmondson who, arriving in Dublin, was tempted to stay, "trading being very brisk and houses on easy terms, it being not long after the plague."¹ In that same year the Puritan Government in Dublin, under the Deputy Henry Cromwell, had issued an order

that all thatched booths and cabins be removed from Dublin, and that it be taken into consideration whether Irish Papist merchants should not likewise be removed; also that the works and fortifications about Dublin be viewed and repaired.²

The voyage to Dublin was usually made from Chester or Holyhead to Ringsend, the tiny fishing village outside

¹ Edmondson's *Journal*, 1820, p. 45. 3rd ed.

² Dunlop: *Ireland under the Commonwealth*. II, 469.

Dublin, where was the only water with sufficient depth for large vessels. Many times contrary winds held up travellers for days and occasionally blew them right off their course, as when Barbara Blaugdone in 1656, intending to land at Cork was, because of storm, put in to Dublin,¹ or Robert Salthouse who, intending for the Isle of Man, found himself blown to Ringsend.² The journey to Cork and Waterford was usually made from Bristol or from some smaller port as Haverfordwest. Ringsend stood at the end of a narrow neck of land, projecting about a mile into the sea, and the journey thence into Dublin could only be made at low tide when the sandy slobland was uncovered. Cars, known as Ringsend cars, which were low vehicles seating three persons on a cross board at the rear, with the driver in the front, almost on the horse's tail, could be hired to complete the journey.

Most Friends seem to have stayed at the house of Captain Stephen Rich in Lazy (or Lazar's) Hill just outside the city, where is the present Townsend Street. Little has been recorded about this man Rich, in whose house meetings were sometimes held.³ He apparently owned a small packet boat which was hired from him by the Commonwealth government together with his services for the purpose of patrolling the coast and intercepting enemy persons and vessels.⁴ He may also have been attached to the retinue of the Lord Deputy Henry Cromwell in 1656, as Sewell states that after Barbara Blaugdone's visit to the Deputy on behalf of Friends, Rich "*coming home*, told her how troubled the Deputy was."⁵

Edward Burrough, writing from Waterford on the 5th of 11th month, 1655, says [Dublin], "is a bad place, a very refuge for the wicked and God's judgment is over it, and, being moved, I passed from it to this place, for our service lay only in great towns or cities, for generally the country is without inhabitants except bands of murderers, thieves and robbers which wait for their prey and devour many, from which yet we are preserved."⁶ Earlier in the same year he had written to Margaret Fell of the lonely state of Elizabeth Fletcher then in Dublin.

¹ Swarthmore MSS., 3, 133.

² Swarthmore MSS., 1, 369.

³ Wight: "Rise and Progress of People called Quakers in Ireland." Cf. MSS., "Rise and Progress" in Eustace Street Meeting, Dublin, which cites location of his house.

⁴ Addenda to Calendar, State Papers (Irish) 1648.

⁵ Cf. pp. 15, 40.

⁶ Swarthmore MSS., 3, 16.

Little Eliz. Fle[tcher] is present here, but I know not how long she stays . . . truly I suffer for her she being as it were alone, having no other woman with her in this ruinous nation, where it is very bad travelling every way afoot and also dangerous (but we are much above all that). If it were the will of the Lord that any woman were moved to come over to her Fr. [Howgill] and I were speaking of Amy Wilson; thee may write to her or to E. F. if it is as thou art moved; and truly we wait in patience under great suffering at present, hoping that some true lads may be moved to come over, which might be servicable in the work of the Lord here.¹

Edward Burrough concludes this with a plea for letters, having had none since coming to Ireland, though "there is a post weekly if the wind be not wholly contrary," and finishes "truly at present we are men of sorrow."

Inefficient posts were common to both countries at the time, and letters were liable to examination and seizure. Doubtless Friends' letters were among those suspect. Books consigned (not of course by post) to Samuel Claridge in 1659 were held at the Customs House as being seditious and blasphemous.²

Sir William Petty, writing in 1672,³ estimated that the population of Ireland was 1,100,000, averaging five to each family. There were 200,000 English and 100,000 Scots in the country, the latter being Presbyterians and the former "are above 100,000 legal Protestants or Conformists and the rest are Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists and Quakers." The bulk of the Irish Roman Catholic population of 800,000 lived in wretched cabins without window or chimney, and 120,000 of these in houses with but one chimney.

The method of erection of these wretched cabins was described twenty years later by John Dunton, the English bookseller, who travelled in Ireland.

They build them by putting two forked sticks of such length as they intend the height of the building, and at such distance as they design its length; if they design it large, they place three or four such forks into the ground, and on them they lay other long sticks which are the ridge timber; then they raise the wall, which they make of clay and straw, tempered with water, and this they call mud. When the wall is raised to a sufficient height, which perhaps is four foot, then they lay other small sticks, with one end on the ridge piece, and the other on the wall; these they wattle with small hazels, and then cover them with straw or coarse grass, without any chimneys, so that when

¹ Swarthmore MSS., 3, 17.

² Dunlop: *Ireland under the Commonwealth*. II, 716.

³ *Political Anatomy of Ireland*.

the fire is lighted the smoke will come through the thatch, so that you would think the cabin were on fire.¹

Whilst some attempt at road maintenance in Ireland had been made in the early years of the seventeenth century, the Confederate War had brought such attempts to a standstill and early Friends travelling on foot or on horseback met with many unforeseen difficulties. William Edmondson tells us of the two London women, Anne Gould and Julia Westwood, who travelled from Dublin to Londonderry, and thence to Coleraine and Clough, "all on foot in winter time, wading rivers and dirty miry ways." One MS. version of Thomas Wight's *Rise and Progress of Friends in Ireland*, says of William Edmondson that he had

many hard travels and exercises and dangerous journeys . . . alone in the times after the wars when Tories and robbers were abroad, sometimes put to the necessity of passing deep waters in the winter season, bridges not being then made.²

It is interesting to note that the later printed version says "where bridges were not built." Actually, there appear to have been comparatively few bridges except on the ancient highways. Dr. Gerard Boate, writing in the middle of the century describes the deliberate making of fords through rivers, which, had there been bridges, would have been navigable.³ In 1662 the inhabitants of County Tipperary petitioned the government for the repair of the pass of the Long Ford, south-west of Urlingford on the way to Ballymoreen, "being a causeway of a mile long and the only road for most parts of Munster, eaten away and destroyed by the waters." The estimated charge for this repair was £600 and the petitioners claimed that King's and Queen's counties, Limerick, Clare and Kilkenny, all being benefited by the said pass, should share the cost.⁴ Many Friends must have used this road as they travelled on foot or horseback to the South and through these parts. Roadways to the North were in better condition, but those to the West, passing through great tracts of bog and waste land were often mere swampy tracks sometimes petering out altogether. The failure to maintain roads is easily understood when it is remembered that their upkeep was the liability of the landlords in each

¹ John Dunton: *Conversations in Ireland*.

² MS. at Eustace Street M.H., Dublin.

³ Gerard Boate's *Natural History of Ireland* was published posthumously. He was the father of Gershon Boate who became a Friend.

⁴ Ormond MSS. Vol. 3, p. 24 (Irish MSS. Commission).

parish, employing local labour. By 1654, the Cromwellian scheme to transplant to Connaught all Irish with the exception of those "who had shown their Constant Good Affection to the Parliament of England in preference to the King" and such husbandmen, plowmen, labourers and artificers who were necessary to the country,¹ was at its height. Labourers were, therefore, very scarce, many having banded themselves into companies of wandering highwaymen. Even the Irish of the land-owning class had been dispossessed of their homes to make way for the English settlers and adventurers and for soldiers whose arrears of wages were paid in forfeited land. It was obviously to the advantage of the roaming bands of homeless Irish to use, not roads but tracks and paths through bog and heath which were so well known to them, but impassable for English soldiery.

Thomas Wight tells us that John Burnyeat travelled "often in cold, hunger, and hardship" in 1659. He had spent months preaching the Word of God all through Ireland, journeying into each province and meeting many times with opposition. His work, we know, bore much fruit, but of his hardships little has been said.

There were inns of a sort through the country, sometimes no more than the cabins described, sometimes of a better sort, but often Quakers were refused lodging and we know that William Edmondson on at least one occasion, at Finagh, near Mullingar, being refused by an innkeeper, demanded accommodation from the constable of the town.² The fare in these inns was that of the country people—oatmeal bread, milk, cheese, potatoes (about this time becoming the staple food) and sometimes meat. Edmondson, writing thirty years later to Anthony Sharp, the well known Quaker merchant of Dublin, said that soldiers quartered on him had "spurned oatbread, cheese, veal, milk and new butter, our ordinary diet."³

¹ *The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*. By John Prendergast. 2nd ed., Dublin, 1875.

² *Journal*, 3rd ed., p. 62.

³ Anthony Sharp MSS. in Eustace Street Meeting House, Dublin.

Anthony Sharp, Wool Merchant, 1643-1707 and the Quaker Community in Dublin¹

By OLIVE C. GOODBODY

THE story to be told is a small bit of forgotten history of Dublin during the late seventeenth century—a fascinating period, rich in post-revolutionary drama, in schemes for re-building and restoration, rich in the budding of scientific thought and the advancement of learning, for so long eclipsed after the suppression and desecration of the monastic establishments of the country. This revival followed a period of desolation. In the great Confederate War of 1642-49 the Catholic Irish struggled against the stern Puritan regime, with the terrible results indicated in the previous article.²

Next followed the merciless Cromwellian period of terrible repression. The population was about halved by death in eleven years. In the dubious Restoration times which followed, it behoved men to walk warily; but trade began to grow once more, homes and cities to be rebuilt and men to assert their freedom.

Such was the background of recent Irish history when in 1669 Anthony Sharp came as a young man of twenty-seven to live permanently in Dublin. He was born in January, 1643 to a quiet God-fearing wool merchant and his wife, members of the Church of England, living at Tetbury in Gloucestershire. The full names of his parents are not known to us. By his mother's words, spoken later to his brother-in-law who has left us an account of Anthony's life, we know that he was a studious child, doing well at his books, with a taste for learning and an aptitude for study. When he was fourteen years old, in 1656, his parents decided to apprentice him to an eminent lawyer, of Marlborough in Wiltshire, whose name has not come down to us. This lawyer thought very highly of Anthony and, when business called him to Ireland, he took

¹ Based on an address to the Old Dublin Society in March, 1955, and printed here by permission. The Sharp MSS. (13 vols., entitled "The Memory of Anthony Sharp, and the Memorial of his Works and Writings recorded from his own Manuscripts, by John Crabb") are in the Historical Library, Friends' Meeting House, Eustace Street, Dublin.

² P. 33.

Anthony with him as his clerk. In 1656 the Dublin City Council decided to employ an agent—one William Sommers¹—“to solicit for its affairs in England and in Ireland”; a fresh insistence was placed upon the order that all Irish and Papists must withdraw to a distance of two miles from all walled towns or garrisons,² the Black Book of Athlone containing the names of Confederate Catholics was brought under armed escort by wagon from Mallow to Dublin; the Commissioners for the Transplanted Irish, sitting at Loughrea, in County Galway, struggled to bring some equity in their allocation of the wild barren Connaught country to which these unfortunate people were compelled to go. All this, and much more, was taking place. Was it after business of this kind that the boy “seeing the subtle turns and devices of the law” decided after some time not to follow it, but to return to his father in England? Before doing so he must, however, have explored Dublin in his free time with a boyish interest and enthusiasm which may have impelled his decision to return there later in his life.

DUBLIN IN 1656

Let us look back on the Dublin he would have known. It is most likely that he lodged in one of the narrow streets surrounding Christ Church, for at that period the Law Courts (originally the house of the Deans of Christ Church) stood right in the centre of what we now know as Christ Church Place, the narrow street on the south side being called Skinners’ Row, then filled to overflowing all day with lawyers, clerks, plaintiffs, merchants and workmen of every kind.³ It intersected Nicholas Street, at the end of which, at Nicholas Gate, ran the city walls. From the ramparts one could view, over the houses of Francis Street, the vast tract of arable and pasture land, fertile and well-watered, which formerly had belonged to the now dissolved monastery of St. Thomas. This property in 1656 was owned and inhabited by the Earl of Meath and stretched down to the Combe or Valley through which ran the river Poddle. Anthony, bred in a sheep-rearing district, would notice that this sloping valley was filled with a

¹ *Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin*. Ed. Sir John Gilbert. IV, 100.

² John Prendergast, *The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*, 2nd ed., 1865, 282.

³ Sir John Gilbert, *History of Dublin*, 1854, I, 182.

fine breed of sheep for which the Earl of Meath was famous.¹ He could not know that those same lands would, in his own lifetime, be built upon and that many of its houses, gardens, orchards and pastures would be owned by members of the despised people called Quakers of whom he was to become a member, and who, finding that all this district was a liberty outside the ordinary jurisdiction of the city, settled here, it is believed, in order to try to avoid the heavy penalties inflicted on their sect in the city proper. The liberty of Thomas Court and Donore remained under the jurisdiction of the Earls of Meath and had its own Courthouse until as late as 1862. The remains of it may still be seen behind St. Catherine's Church.

Eastwards from St. Nicholas Gate was Pole Gate, near which in 1656 about thirty of the new sect of Quakers met for worship at the house of George Latham. This house becoming too small for their numbers, the following year they removed to a house at Bride's Alley lent by William Maine and his wife, having previously for a while met at the house of Richard Fowkes, a tailor, also at the Pole Gate. Anthony was not to become a Friend for another nine years, but in the year 1656 when he was in Dublin, some Quakers' doings could hardly have escaped his attention. Two English women Friends proclaimed their testimony to the congregation in St. Audeon's Church and were very harshly dealt with for so doing. Barbara Blaugdone arrived one day from England and went straight to Lord Deputy Henry Cromwell. When he entered the reception room at the castle and seated himself upon a couch, she straightway told him all that was in her mind about Friends' beliefs and the treatment which Friends received from his followers. Cromwell was "much troubled and melancholy that he could not go to bowls or any other pastime."²

Anthony, however, having found the profession of the law little to his liking (though he attained an eminence in it which led his brother-in-law to say that his opinion was valued as counsel), returned to England to his father's house at Tetbury. There he decided to enter the wool trade, and in order to learn it thoroughly he worked in a humble capacity as a journeyman at worsted combing, receiving a journeyman's wages but "dietted free." In the first year he saved

¹ S. C. Hall, *Ireland*, 1843, II, 33.

² W. C. Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, 2nd ed., 1955, 218; cf. *An account of the travels . . . of Barbara Blaugdone*, 1691.

£20—which he considered of more worth than the several hundred pounds he had from his parents.¹ In the year 1663 he married Hester Curtis, a daughter of Thomas Curtis of Tetbury, and had by her four children, all of whom died in infancy. We know little of these years, but by 1665 he was himself an employer, and amongst his employees was a Quaker journeyman with whom he, in that year, travelled to Warwick. Whilst there, he heard William Dewsbury preaching to prisoners in the jail, and by his ministry was convinced of the principles of Friends. On his return to Tetbury it is likely that Anthony became known to Nathaniel Cripps, a well-known Friend of that town, and a Justice of the Peace, for on his coming to Ireland a few years later, one of the first letters he received was from this kindly man.

SETTLEMENT IN IRELAND

In 1668, Anthony realized that the price of wool in Ireland was cheap and that it would be a profitable venture to settle there and trade with England. He, therefore, set up correspondence with London, Bristol, Chester and Gloucestershire, with a view to merchandizing in wool. The Cattle Act of 1664 prohibited the export of livestock from Ireland to England—hitherto her greatest customer—and in order to alleviate this hardship, an Act was passed providing greater freedom of trading with foreign countries in manufactured goods. The Duke of Ormond, Lord Deputy, made an attempt to encourage the woollen and linen industries.²

In 1669, therefore, Anthony and Hester removed to Ireland where “in a short time he became known through the kingdom as a wise, honest and just trader,” so that, in the words of his brother-in-law, “his credit among men dayley increased as well as his substance, which in no way hindered his wayting upon God.”

Journeying to Ireland in the seventeenth century was no easy matter, and we know from a letter to Anthony written by Nathaniel Cripps³ soon after his arrival, that he and Hester must have had a wild and tempestuous crossing causing much fear “especially to thy wife.” Ships sailed sometimes from Holyhead, sometimes from Chester, or from the Black Rock outside Chester, and after a journey lasting

¹ Sharp MSS., I, 5, 6.

² Edward McLysaght, *Irish life in the seventeenth century*, 405.

³ Sharp MSS., IV, 8.

anything from 30 hours to, in extreme cases, a week, put in at Ringsend. When the tide was out passengers would be driven on a Ringsend car¹ to Lazy Hill, that small village, now Townsend Street, and so past the College by Hoggen Green, up Damas Street and through the gateway, climbing the hill and turning by St. Nicholas Church, near which lived their friend Samuel Claridge, to whose house Anthony's letter from Nathaniel Cripps was directed.

Friends had greatly increased since Anthony's last being in Dublin, but the burden of persecution lay heavy upon them. George Fox had just visited Dublin and helped William Edmondson, the pioneer of Friends in Ireland, to organize and settle the growing body both in its spiritual and business concerns. There was also growth in the city. A great hospital and free school was being erected, and a College of Physicians was to be set up. Also, the great Norse assembly mount called the Thing Mote was to be demolished. Coaches in the city so crowded and jostled one another that the number for hire was limited by the City Council. A new and larger water supply was provided, large pipes of English elm replacing smaller leaden ones.

Anthony and Hester settled at Wormwood Gate near the junction of Cook Street and Bridge Street, and it must have been here that Hester's last child was born and lived for her short life of two years, dying the year before her mother, who gradually falling into ill health passed away on the 24th May, 1672, and was buried in Friends' burial ground in Stephen's Green, where the College of Surgeons now stands.

In November, 1669, William Penn visited Dublin, traveling via Cork and the Midlands. He stayed with a Friend, John Gay, in George's Lane and had several Meetings with Friends—one recorded as taking place at "the little house, where William Edmondson and one Sharp spoke."² William Penn's visit to Dublin was in the mayoralty of Lewis Desmynières, whom he visited on behalf of the many Friends then imprisoned in Newgate Gaol in the Cornmarket for non-payment of tithes. Though his first advances to the Lord Mayor met with a rebuff, Penn succeeded before leaving Dublin in having all these Friends released.

On the 30th November, Anthony Sharp was among a

¹ See previous article, p. 34.

² William Penn, *My Irish Journal*. Ed. I. Grubb (1952), Nov. 7, 1669, p. 21.

group of Friends who accompanied Penn on the early stage of his journey back to the south.¹ His later correspondence with Penn shows that in him he had made a firm friend, who may have introduced him to Sir William Petty with whom Penn was well acquainted. A copy of a letter of 1671 is extant from two Friends, Goodbody and Taverner, imprisoned for conscience sake, in King's County, asking Anthony to approach Petty's agent on their behalf.

In spite of his own personal sorrows, Anthony's life seems to have at once become filled with work of many kinds on behalf of other people. He saw the "great distress of the poor and the indifference of the rich" in Dublin and set to work to give as much employment as he could, gradually acquiring property both in the city and the country for his business as "clothier" or merchant of cloth and wool. Dublin was a town of the Staple and each year a Mayor was elected to ensure the workings of the ordinances of the Staple by which freemen of the city had the right of trading with all other staple towns at home and abroad. Anthony, however, was not a freeman, and at first it must have seemed unlikely that he and other Dublin Quakers could be admitted to the franchises because of their testimony against taking oaths. Their firm convictions, their honesty and good faith, must have prevailed with the City Council, for in September, 1672 we find Samuel Claridge, Anthony Sharp, Robert Turner and William Maine, "having desired that their oaths be dispensed with for the time being," all admitted to the franchise with free liberty of trading as other freemen have.²

The trade of a clothier was often a large one, and Anthony's growing business must have employed spinners, weavers, fullers, and dyers, many of whom would have worked at home, the finished work being collected by the master or his agent. Anthony acquired property in Meath Street, Cole Alley (now Meath Place), Elbow Lane and Marrowbone Lane, about 23 houses in all and about six houses in Pimlico³ down which flowed the river Poddle, from which we can realize the magnitude to which his business must have grown. Many of these houses would be small ones, inhabited in his lifetime by his workmen. The city was anxious to bring

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

² *Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin*. Ed. Sir John Gilbert, V, 12.

³ Anthony Sharp's will; MS. book of wills, D.4.205, at Eustace Street, Dublin.

Englishmen over to help to build up its trade and the Earl of Meath, the ground landlord of the Thomas Court and Donore liberty, encouraged building on his land. The poverty and distress of the city in the year 1671, and the famine of 1673 when men died in the streets, were both a cause of deep concern to Anthony, whose philanthropic outlook preceded that of so many of his sect through the centuries. The policy of one price only for goods was one rigidly adhered to by Quakers, but was so foreign to seventeenth century usage that until they became known for their steadfast integrity they were strangely mistrusted.

Anthony's second marriage in 1674 to Anne Crabbe, of Marlborough in Wiltshire, was preceded by a hesitant letter to his future father-in-law, Thomas Crabbe, asking whether he had a daughter to dispose of¹ (a procedure which would hardly be popular amongst twentieth-century girls) and saying that modesty since the death of his first wife had hitherto prevented him from making such a proposition. Thomas Crabbe, however, was in advance of his day and wrote that, whilst knowing his daughter to be clear of any other affections,² he would leave the decision entirely to her, and inviting Anthony to stay at his house when he came over, the time of the visit being determined by Anthony's business affairs. He had just bought 5,000 stone of wool, with 2,000 more to come, and 2,000 ready to ship out of Ireland, which he says was much more than he had expected, being due to the concluded peace with Holland. He eventually set forth, however, and from London and Bristol where he stopped to transact business he both wrote to Anne Crabbe and from her received, at Bristol, a restrained letter. In due course, the intention of marriage between Anthony Sharp and Anne Crabbe was published in Meetings of the Society of Friends,³ and on the 17th of the 6th month (August) 1674 the marriage took place at the house of William Hitchcock in Marlborough. The wedding was followed by visits to and from friends and relations in and about Marlborough, and then they set forth on the long journey to Dublin accompanied by Anne's brother, Thomas, and by a woman relative. Anne's first letter to her parents was that of any girl away from home for the first time.

¹ Sharp MSS., I, 55.

² Sharp MSS., I, 57.

³ Sharp MSS., I, 63.

I have not my health as well as I had in England which makes me think is the change of country, although the country is a good country and no want of anything, but the parting from so tender a father and mother is hard, though I do not repent of my condition, but should have been glad had the Lord seen best for us to have lived near our relations.

To this Anthony added a letter saying his wife longed to see her relations, but in time would be settled—and “as it is she is not discontented.”¹ They lived long and happily together and had 16 children, which must have kept Anne busy, though only eight survived infancy. One wishes that more might have been preserved about Anne Sharp, who evidently was a woman well able for a strenuous life as wife of a man prominent not only amongst his own sect but in the civic life of the city of his adoption. We hear of her courage on one occasion when serving in her husband’s shop. The parish clergyman came in to buy cloth worth 25s. for which he tendered 3s. saying the rest was due for his maintenance.² Anne refused to acknowledge this claim, but finally was not able to secure the payment due from the clergyman.

The years that followed must have been hard and busy ones filled not only with the cares of a big household, but with widening interests in the civic and industrial life of the city, in everything which pertained to the life of the Society of Friends and its organization, in acquiring and administering property in divers parts of Ireland and as far afield as New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and later in watchful care over the children growing up. In all these interests Anne shared.

Their home was at Wormwood Gate, close to which flowed Coleman’s Brook, a sluggish stream near whose mouth stood a mill. It is thought that the house was outside the city walls, beside the meadows into which people gazed over the walls, which by reason of their going upon them had become ruinous and unsafe as a defence. As his business prospered, Anthony acquired more land mostly lying beside the river Poddle in the Coombe and Pimlico, some fronting on to Cole Alley and Elbow Lane, near which lay Briccan’s tenter park where his new woven cloth might be stretched, and close to the New Market of 1674 with its sheep pen and sheep walks.³

By 1680 he was employing 500 workmen of all persuasions,

¹ Sharp MSS., V, 29.

² I. Grubb, *Quakers in Ireland*, 46.

³ Maps in the Earl of Meath’s estate office; article (A. Elliott) in *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, xxii (1892), 35.

and scorned the accusations of those who accused him of disloyalty because he feared not to give employment to Catholics as well as Protestants in face of the bitter feeling and unjust laws against the former. His conscience never let him swerve from that which he deemed a duty towards those less fortunate; and he did not hesitate to correspond with the Lord Mayor elect, at whose request he drew up rules for the better government of the city in 1700.¹ The corporation of Weavers soon recognized his worth, and whilst he could not become a full member because of his principles against taking the oath, he was admitted as a quarter-brother, and later his oath was dispensed with and he became a full member. In 1688 he was made Master of the Weavers' Corporation, whose charter under James II contained a clause saying that those who could not swear might simply promise to be true to the King and the Corporation.² His brother-in-law, John Crabbe, had been apprenticed to him in 1675 and was by now able to take a full share in the responsibilities of the business and release Anthony for the many journeys he made to secure the best markets for buying and selling wool, and for negotiations on the Tholsel or Merchants' Exchange. Anthony and his friend, Samuel Claridge, became aldermen of the city about this time, and Anthony anticipated Dean Swift in his proposals for dealing with the problem of beggars in Dublin's streets. His proposal for erecting a workhouse where vagrants really would work and earn their keep was not carried out, probably because of the Williamite war. He also served on the committee for the erection of a Ballast Office and, in 1689, was one of the City Auditors.

That he was a prominent citizen is evident. He seems to have been one of the earliest to receive news of the Battle of the Boyne, and a copy of a letter closely describing the tactics and manoeuvres of the English, Irish and French armies is preserved among his papers.³ We are told, without authority, that King James, to whom Anthony Sharp was already well known by reason of the latter's appeals on several occasions on behalf of suffering Friends, met Anthony as a member of the Dublin City Council on his flight through Dublin. We know that the King sheltered in the houses of other Friends on his journey southwards.

¹ Sharp MSS., VIII, 52.

² I. Grubb, *Quakers in Ireland*, 50.

³ Sharp MSS., VIII, 1; I. Grubb, *op. cit.*, 53.

ANTHONY SHARP AS A FRIEND

In spite of manifold civic and public activities, the main interest and concern of Anthony's life was the Society of Friends, of which he was the most prominent member in Dublin. His counsel and aid were continually sought both by individuals and by the various meetings and committees of the Society. His knowledge of the law, his educational attainments, his close knowledge of the structure of the growing Society, coupled with his facility of expression and his equable disposition, made him a valued and appreciated Friend. Letters both of a private and business character are preserved among his MSS. showing the detail and care which he must have given to all sorts of concerns. Some include references to business transactions—as one in which Anthony is asked to cash a money note to be “paid to Mary Drewit for Andrew Melvin to lay out in cloth which Anthony is to see shipped to Bristol or London—Andrew not being used to the Customs.”¹ Over and over again, Friends write to Anthony to help them in dealing with money transactions, or to take in letters for travelling Friends, or to make arrangements for help in kind or in money, to Friends both in England and Ireland who are imprisoned, or otherwise suffering for their convictions.

In 1684 a subscription was opened in Ireland to help Friends in England who were in great distress.² Anthony Sharp's name heads the list of subscribers to which 123 names are appended and a total shown of £128 3s. 10½d., though more must have later been received, for an acknowledgement comes for the receipt of £25, £50 and £84 with gratitude for the care and thought shown, and telling of the great sufferings under the Conventicle Act in England. On other occasions Irish Friends were offered help by the English, but while thanking them said they were sharing what they had with each other and to hold the money over till the need was greater!

The English Conventicle Act was never applied to Ireland, but in spite of that Anthony Sharp and other Friends were in 1684 imprisoned for a short while at the instance of the Protestant Archbishop of Dublin for continuing to hold their meetings in spite of orders made to the contrary. The imprisonment took place in the Marshalsea Prison in Cook

¹ Sharp MSS., VI, 43.

² Sharp MSS., VI, 1.

Street not far from the Sharp home. Other letters requested Anthony to approach the King, the Lord Deputy, the Archbishop, Sir William Petty and others in high places on behalf of well known Friends in the country—as William Edmondson—who were in difficulties for refusing to pay tithes, etc. On one occasion William Edmondson asks him to get the Lord Deputy to have soldiers removed from the village of Rosenallis to Mountmellick as the difficulties of feeding them so far from the town were great, especially as the soldiers spurned the diet offered of oatbread, “our daily bread”,¹ veal, cheese, milk and new butter. The horses of the army had eaten all the hay in the district. Very many letters from the North of Ireland between 1687 and 1689 told of the wanton destruction by all forces, and “that there are no meadows left near the highway, the horses having eaten all,” whilst cattle, tools and household goods were all taken. One pathetic letter to King James asked for the “restoration of our gardening tools”! One of another kind came from Friends in Cork telling of a man of middle height with a light brown periwig and a short chin beard to match who pretended to be a Friend and took presents of clothes, bedding, etc., and then ran away leaving many debts behind. Dublin Friends were warned not to harbour him.

Of all the many letters of which copies are preserved perhaps the most interesting are those in 1676 dealing with taking up shares of land in New Jersey, in which Anthony had a 24th-part.² There were many difficulties attached to the early administration of these lands, and Irish Friends concerned wrote a strong letter objecting to the fact that they had not been notified of certain vital changes in organization of the government of the colony. The voting power of the land proprietors is carefully set out in a letter to Anthony Sharp. Anthony had split his share with Samuel Claridge and Thomas Warne, and is asked to advise Friends in London as to his wishes about voting. Other Dublin Friends settled in New Jersey and corresponded with Anthony, one letter being conveyed by “Governor Penn’s gardener who is about to sail for London.” Letters everywhere were difficult to send as is shown by one to Anthony from Wensleydale in Yorkshire,³ asking him to direct the reply to “L. Routh, at Hawes in

¹ See p. 37.

² Sharp MSS., IV, 60.

³ *Ibid.*, VI, 10. ♥

Wensleydale, in Yorkshire, leave this at Michael Hamson's in Whitehaven, thence to be sent to Bryan Lancaster's in Kendal to be delivered as above, and little question but it will reach." Nevertheless, the letters poured in, and Anthony dealt with them all, advising, succouring, admonishing, dealing with the minutes and accounts of the meetings of the Society, never seeming to fail or tire in his work wherever he was needed. He also managed to travel, visiting meetings through Ireland and England and also Holland, where he went on business.

Travel in Ireland was difficult and many roads through the country districts were not much more than tracks over boggy, miry ground. Friends, however travelled to and from meetings by horseback, women often riding pillion. Nothing daunted them except when (we read) all horses had been taken by the soldiers and "women will be hard set to get to Meetings, if not the men." Hospitality was always available in the houses of Friends throughout the country, and Anthony and Anne entertained largely in Dublin, and in her absence he wrote to her that he had had twenty Friends to dinner one day. There was an inn owned by a Quaker—one Roger Roberts, between Cork Street and Marrowbone Lane, and here horses could be put up. In his will Roberts left "my field at Ropers Rest for Friends' horses to graze in whilst they are at Meeting." This Ropers Rest was the name of a large country property owned at one time by the family named Roper, and in Petty's Down Survey Map it is shown as encircled by the Poddle. Most of the prominent Quakers in Dublin had the foresight, it appears, to settle near this useful waterway, as soon afterwards did their friends, the Huguenot weavers. This Roger Roberts also left to Dublin Quakers in his will the title of the burial ground in Dolphin's Barn Lane in which many Dublin Friends are buried. Later it was levelled and became the garden of the Nurses' Home of Cork Street Fever Hospital.

Anthony Sharp had many interests but he did not neglect his family. Letters to his sons at school at Penketh in Lancashire betray his deep concern for their welfare and for their educational attainments, not always fulfilled, for one broke into wild ways ill-suited to his upbringing, whilst another, caught up in a religious zeal and fervour beyond his years, died at the early age of 14. To sons Jonathan and Daniel he wrote in 1701

I would have you get as much of the Latin tongue as you can besides writing and casting account. I did order Jonathan a Latin Bible on purpose to bring him to understand Latin. The Grammar teacheth four things: Orthography is true spelling; Syntax to write good language; Prosodia to make verses in the right length; Etymology to know the ground and root of Latin words. But your brothers Isaac and Joseph I could not persuade to learn so much.¹

We must now leave Anthony, but first let us take a brief survey of the man and his interests. The right ordering of Meetings for Worship were his life's concern. He first attended Meeting in Dublin in 1669 in a house in Bride's Alley, now Bride Road, then at Wormwood Gate,² then in 1686 at the great new Meeting House in Cole Lane. This was supplemented in 1692 by the present Meeting House in Eustace Street, which as first built faced to Sycamore Street. He was a virile, interested, active man. So active that one day he went off in a hurry to Howth on hearing of a Friend being drowned with 85 guineas hidden in his shoes. Anthony searched and enquired among the local fishermen till he heard of the finding of the body and got back many of the guineas for the man's family!

Anne died in 1702 and Anthony in January 1707. Many folk mourned for the passing of this great and good Friend, but gave thanks for his wonderful life.

Recent Publications

Arnold Rowntree. A life. By Elfrida Vipont. pp. 126; 5 plates. London, Bannisdale Press, 1955. 12s. 6d.

This book is neither the success-story of big business, nor the study of developments in adult education, nor a social history of York and Friends during the last eighty years—although Arnold Rowntree's wide-ranging interests compel it to have elements of all these. It is an account of a great life, and into an all-too-short 120 pages Elfrida Vipont Foulds has packed a good deal of a well-loved man, showing his deep concern for people, and letting readers glimpse with her the humour and affection which he so fully shared with others.

Born in 1872 and educated at Bootham School, York, Arnold Stephenson Rowntree went into the cocoa business. Here his natural friendliness, easy popularity and flair for publicity brought success to Rowntrees in happy staff relations and mounting sales. In this work

¹ Sharp MSS., VIII, 40.

² A manuscript copy of John Rutt's *History of the Rise and Progress of the People called Quakers in Ireland* in the Historical Library at Eustace Street says that a warehouse at Wormwood Gate was fitted up for a meeting house in 1678.

and his multifarious activities outside, it seems clear that Arnold Rowntree had the priceless gift of choosing able men to work as a team, and men like Frederick J. Gillman or Ernest Taylor who would find their own satisfaction in works which he had at heart and which he made possible.

Two turning points in Arnold Rowntree's life are well brought out. First, the removal of the formative influence of his cousin John Wilhelm Rowntree by death in 1905 and the dedication of life which the shock of that event called forth from so many well-concerned younger Friends of that time. Second, his defeat at York in the "Khaki Election" of 1918 and the subsequent failing fortunes of the Liberal Party which robbed the British Parliament of other good men of affairs in the inter-war years. The end of his parliamentary career did not mean any diminution of activity for a man whose interests were wide as humanity. The Adult School movement, allotments, educational settlements, the Friends' Ambulance Unit, industrial relations, the Quaker "pilgrimages", Woodbrooke, and the York Schools all claimed his allegiance and received his aid and interest until the very close of his life in 1951.

This is the best short biography of a good Friend for a very long time—and a readable book at any time. R. S. MORTIMER

George Fox et les Quakers. Par Henry van Etten. (Maîtres Spirituels. 4) Editions du Seuil, 1956. pp. 192. 350 f.

We hope that people outside the Society, perhaps intrigued by the curiosity of the cover or attracted by an illustrated paper-back, will read the balanced and sober story by a Friend who has himself helped to make of Quakerism a movement which in this century more than ever before transcends the Anglo-Saxon world.

Henry van Etten has produced a useful compilation outlining the life of George Fox and the early growth of Quakerism, with additional sections on William Penn and American Quakerism, the later periods, sketches of some eighteenth and nineteenth-century Friends like Antoine Benezet, Étienne de Grellet, John Woolman and Elizabeth Fry, a chapter on French Quakers in the eighteenth century, and one on Quakerism in the modern world.

It is inevitable that some errors will creep into a work of this sort, though not to mar greatly its value: the date given in the text on p. 17 is correct, not the one in the note; the Fox/Nayler interview at the foot of p. 73 should come before not after Nayler's arrest in Bristol; it was Jean sans Terre who "signed" Magna Carta (p. 95); Woolman is mis-spelt, other spellings noted are "Nottingham", "Beverlay" and "Lindlay" Murray.

The number of illustrations is remarkable, although some have had to be so greatly reduced in size as to take away much of their value. R. S. MORTIMER

A Wilderness to Conquer. By Helen Corse Barney. London, Bannisdale Press, 1955. pp. 254. 9s. 6d.

When large numbers of American Friends left the eastern states in the early part of the nineteenth century to found new settlements in

the west, they were committed to a hard and sometimes perilous adventure. In groups of families together, with their household goods and their farm stock, they made their way by covered wagon over hundreds of miles of a trackless country of mountains and forests to new lands offering prosperity to determined and industrious settlers, and free from the taint of slavery.

This first novel by an American Friend tells, with some debt to actual record, of the migration of such a family of Friends, from the events determining their departure from Virginia, a land of slavery, until their settlement in the frontier country of Ohio.

Many American Friends in the west cherish in their background of family history just such adventures as these. The publication here of this lively story, with characters true to their convictions, and its picture of a part of American history, is to be welcomed. Not without some flaws in the style of dialogue, the book will be enjoyed by readers of all ages.

The Farthing Family. By Caroline Graveson. London, Bannisdale Press, 1955. 9s. 6d.

This is a story of a fictional family of seventeenth-century Friends, in and out of which also move several early Quaker historical characters. The Life of Restoration London, the Great Fire, and the Plague, and for Friends the trials of persecution and the triumphs of faith and of fellowship: all these go to make up a book that, having the first edition sold out, is now reprinted.

The Controversy between Puritans and Quakers, to 1660. By Ralph P. Bohn. (A thesis accepted for the Ph.D. degree, University of Edinburgh, 1955. Unpublished.)

The differences which emerge between Quakers and Puritans in the first decade are those stated by the protagonists themselves. All the early Quaker leaders are involved, especially Fox with his polemical magnum opus *The Great Mystery*, Fisher with his *Rusticus ad Academicos*, and Burrough, Nayler, Howgill, Whitehead and Farnsworth with their many pamphlets. The bulk of the Puritan writings come from Congregationalists, Baptists, and Presbyterians, with such notables as Owen, Bunyan, Baxter and Prynne taking prominent rôles. Among approximately one hundred and twenty-five Puritan controversialists concerned, only the radical left-wing Puritans have no representative, for points of agreement find no place in this thesis.

The controversy, the author finds, was principally theological, with subordinate social and political differences. It raged round authority, immediate and inward for the Quakers and mediate and external through the Bible for the Puritans, with similar differences between the inward and the objective view regarding Christ, justification, heaven, etc. Each side falsified its own true position and that of its opponents by overstatement, to the loss of truth and mutual understanding.

Supplements to the Journal of Friends' Historical Society

- 1-7. FIRST PUBLISHERS OF TRUTH. Ed. Norman Penney. 1907. 410 pp. with binding case, unbound. 15s., post 1s. 5d.
14. Record of the SUFFERINGS OF FRIENDS IN CORNWALL, 1655-1686. 1928. 152 pp., 7s. 6d., post 5d.
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. 1930. 227 pp., 10s., post 10d.
21. AN ORATOR'S LIBRARY. John Bright's books. Presidential address 1936 by J. Travis Mills. 1946. 24 pp., 2s., post 2d.
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 3d.
23. SLAVERY AND "THE WOMAN QUESTION." Lucretia Mott's Diary, 1840. By F. B. Tolles. 1952. 5s., cloth 7s. 6d., post 3d.
24. THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY OF THE EARLY FRIENDS. Presidential address by Frederick B. Tolles, 1952. 2s. 6d., post 2d.
25. JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER, The Quaker. By C. Marshall Taylor. 1954. 2s. 6d. post 2d.
26. JAMES NAYLER, A FRESH APPROACH. By Geoffrey F. Nuttall, D.D. 1954. 1s. 6d., post 2d.
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Journals and Supplements Wanted

F.H.S. would be glad to receive, and in some cases to buy unwanted copies of the following. Address to F.H.S., The Library, Friends House, London, N.W.1.

Journal: Vol. 37 (1940); Vol. 46, No. 1 (1954).

The London (Quaker) Lead Co. By Arthur Raistrick. 1938.

Psychical Experiences of Quaker Ministers. By John W. Graham. 1933.

Appeal to Members

During the last two or three years the Committee has made repeated efforts to gain new members for the Friends' Historical Society. The Society needs also the help of members in getting new subscribers.

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